



**International Initiative
for Promoting
Political Economy**

THE CHANGING WORLD ECONOMY, AND TODAY'S IMPERIALISM

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International Initiative for Promoting Political Economy

14th Annual Conference in Political Economy

The Changing World Economy, and Today's Imperialism

4-7 September, Istanbul 2024

ABSTRACT BOOK

Conference Organizing Committee: Al Campbell, Ourania Dimakou, Alfredo Saad Filho, Pedro Mendes Loureiro, Marco Rodolfo Di Tommaso, Ben Fine, Dimitrios Milonakis, Satoshi Miyamura, Lorenza Monaco, Chiara Pollio, Aylin Topal, Regula E. Bürki

Local Organizing Committee: Coşku Çelik, Galip Yalman, Havva Ezgi Doğru, Can Cemgil, Ömer Turan, Cemil Boyraz

Conference Technical Support Team: Eren Altuntaş, Manal Hassan, Derin Okur, Bahar Karabulut , Ekin Önşan

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Call for Papers and Activist Proposals

While the capitalist world economy has always been in a process of continuous change, it is now undergoing many large and rapid changes similar in scope to the process of the birth of neoliberalism almost half a century ago. This is strikingly manifested in the de facto abandonment of two very influential, albeit far from ever universally applied, pillars of neoliberal ideology: “free markets” and a “minimalist state”. They are being openly rejected by governments throughout the Global North in favour of advocating and implementing both greatly increased protectionism, and greatly increased direction of the economy (in the interests of capital) by the state.

At least two major developments are important drivers of this change. The first is the new technologies that promise capitalists huge profits, thereby motivating huge investments, which have the potential to dramatically alter both capitalism’s labor and accumulation processes. Three of the most important of these technological changes that have been unfolding at an exponentially accelerating rate over the last decade are the human biological technologies, artificial intelligence, and the pressingly essential non-carbon renewable energy technologies.

The second major development has been unfolding for at least the last 40 or 50 years, the changed relation between the developed Global North and the less developed Global South as parts of the global capitalist system. It is widely accepted by advocates of a better world that value still flows out of the Global South to support the higher standards of living in the Global North. The way imperialism extracts this value, however, is clearly very different from that indicated in the classical radical theories of imperialism which were developed a hundred years ago. Dependency Theories and World System Theories, developed in the 1970s and 1980s, then greatly enriched the classical theories with insights from the very different post WWII capitalist world system. But the relative “decline of the North and the rise of the South” over the last 50 years, including in particular the rise of “the Asian economies” over the last few decades, has put the issue of the nature and role of Imperialism in today’s world economy back on radical political economy’s research agenda of “urgent issues”.

IIPPE calls for submissions to its 2024 Annual Conference. Presentations on all aspects of political economy are welcome. New participants committed to political economy, interdisciplinarity, history of economic thought, pluralism in economic and social thinking, and/or their application to policy analysis and activism are strongly encouraged to submit an abstract.

Conference Program

September 05, Tuesday

09:30-11:15 SESSION 1	
<p>E2 231A Agrarian Change 1. Commercial Crops, agrarian transformations and labour</p> <p>Pedro Méndez-Guardado Changes in crop types in Jalisco, México from 2003 to 2022 and some socio-environmental repercussions. The case of raspberries in Jocotepec</p> <p>Joaquín Cardeillac Land grabbing processes in the Uruguayan wine sector</p> <p>Mina Kozluca Informal labour regimes and multiple modes of (re)production among migrant labour families in hazelnut picking in Turkey</p> <p>Lucilla Salvia Racial oppression and class relations in Italian Agricultural Value Chains: Punjabi Migrant Workers in the horticultural district in Central Italy</p> <p>China Sajadian Reproductive Binds: The Gendered Economy of Debt in a Syrian Refugee Farmworker Camp</p>	<p>E2 301 Work 1. Labour processes and changing world of work</p> <p>Pedro Henrique Evangelista Duarte Superexploitation of the labour force: a methodological proposal for analysis</p> <p>Chandni Dwarkasing Towards Ecological Microeconomics: Working Conditions and Carbon Footprints</p> <p>Riccardo Rinaldi Is the green transition segmenting labour? Evidence on migrant workers</p>
<p>E2 303 Teaching Political Economy</p> <p>Ariane Agunsoye Equity, Diversity and Inclusion – A New Buzzword or A chance to Create an Inclusive Education</p> <p>Michelle Meixieira Groenewald Centring African scholarship in the teaching of Political Economy</p> <p>Ross Cathcart Teaching Economics for the 21st Century: discussion on Rethinking Economics report into UK economics curriculum, and opportunities for expansion</p>	<p>E2 110 World Economy 1. Imperialist Wars</p> <p>Ximena de la Barra War, Power Struggle, Financial Trail and the Territory: the Palestinian case</p> <p>Jacob Mundy Why has the 'Everywhere War' Been Mostly in the Middle East?: Structures and Conjunctions in the (Un)Making of American Hegemony</p> <p>Sarai Godo Luque Policy interventions under domestic political constraints</p> <p>Adem Açar Spatial Contradictions of Imperialism: From Unipolarity to Multipolarity?</p>

<p>E2 221 China 1. China's Development Strategy</p> <p>Fanqi Lin Is China a Developmental State? A Case Study of China's NEV Industry</p> <p>Tomás Costa de Azevedo Marques FDI IN CHINA DURING XI JINPING'S ERA (2013-2023)</p> <p>Zhenzhen Zhang What kind of industrial policy does China need to develop new pillar industries for an uncertain future?expansion</p>	<p>E3 101 Marxist PE 1. Marx's Theory of Value</p> <p>Simon Mohun Mobility and the Theory of Value</p> <p>Saratchand Chandrasekharan Value, Money and the Reserve Army of Labour</p> <p>Kamir Gemal Non-Value as Capital's Frontier: A Scheme Proposition for the Dialectic Triad with Value and Anti-Value</p> <p>Heesang Jeon The Dual Character of the Reality - The Matrix Trilogy and Marx's Value Theory</p>
<p>E2 103 Financialisation 1. Citizens and labour under financialisation</p> <p>Ewa Karwowski Financialisation and taxation: Undermining democratic cohesion in South Africa</p> <p>Anamika Sen, Esra Ugurlu How did financial liberalisation policies affect household credit dynamics?</p> <p>Ricardo Barradas Why Are (Financialised) Workers Becoming More Resigned and Conformist and Less Claimants? Empirical Evidence for Portugal</p> <p>Hwanhee Bae Financialisation of housing in South Korea: State-sanctioned popular speculation on houses</p>	<p>E2 203 Social Reproduction 1. Financialisation, indebtedness and social reproduction</p> <p>Kate Meagher COVID-19 and The Will to Protect: African Informal Economies and the Financialization of Social Reproduction</p> <p>Susan Himmelweit Social reproduction in the age of finance capital</p> <p>Lena Gempke Reproducing Debt: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Household Debt in South Africa and Beyond</p> <p>Veronica Serafini Social reproduction and financialisation in Latin America</p>

<p>E3 201 Neoliberalism 1. Neoliberalism, State and Crisis</p> <p>Diogo Mazon The impacts of the government spending ceiling on the role of the state in redistribution policies and reduction of inequalities in Brazil</p> <p>Duygu Öztürk Kırışik Macpherson's Property Thesis: An Attempt at Analysis in a Global and National Context</p> <p>Gonenc Uysal</p> <p>Galip Yalman Crises of Capitalism in the Era of "Interregnum"</p>	<p>E2 102 Varieties of socialism 1. Socialism and development since the 1970s</p> <p>Goran Musić Workers' Self-Management and African Humanism: Tracing Yugoslav-Zambian Exchanges on Labor, 1970-1991</p> <p>Alina-Sandra Cucu Deregulation anxiety: Debates on planning mechanisms in the Romanian 1970s</p> <p>James Nealy Soviet Women, Soviet Industry, and the Soviet Welfare State in the 1970s</p> <p>Anna Calori Cultivating development? Agricultural industrialisation, self-reliance and interdependency in the non-aligned world</p>
<p>E2 213B Environment 1: Political Economy of Water</p> <p>Felipe Coimbra Moretti A Prologue to Failure: Unbuilt Infrastructure in the Ceará Hinterlands, 1919-1925</p> <p>Luis Andueza Notes on Climate, Late Neoliberalism, and the Hydropolitics of Crisis in Chile</p> <p>Natalia Buier From agricultural work to the labour of conservation: reflecting on the integration of social and environmental justice through the case of groundwater overexploitation</p>	<p>E2 302 CoA 1. Documenting resistance: the #EndSARS movement in Nigeria, and freedom in the Middle East</p> <p>Godswill Ezeonyeka New forms of extraction? Analyzing the surplus value in the agrarian sector of India</p> <p>Truls Lie The Significance of Freedom (7 shorts – Middle East)</p>

E2 231A Agrarian Change 2. Land, tenancy, farming and labour

Ful Prosper Loh Who gets (to farm) the land? A comparative case study on “failed” large-scale land deals in Ghana

Rajanya Bose Staggered dispossession, Precarity of Work, and Class: Linking labour and land struggles in the Indian Coal Belt

Bhaskar Yempelli Institutionalization of Social Movements: Emergence of New Landlords in Telangana Region of India

Ayse Obali Agrarian Neoliberalism and the Enduring Legacy of Landholding Inequality in Turkey

Henry Bernstein ‘Old-new’ questions in the political economy of agrarian change

E2 301 Work 2. Social identity and labour relations

Ambarish Karamchedu The illness, death and labour of caste and manual scavenging in India

Ayse Arslan Complex intra-class and intra-gender relationships under the neoliberal, patriarchal labour regime: Garment workers in Turkey

Helena Perez Nino Changing dynamics of women’s work: women working in greenhouse in Turkey and Colombia

Zeynep Ceren Eren Benlisoy Changing dynamics of women’s work: women working in greenhouse in Turkey and Colombia

E2 303 Africa 1: Climate Crisis and Green Imperialism in Africa

Kennedy Manduna The violent interregnum, (un)just energy transition and accumulation by decarbonization: Decoupling/dissecting South Africa’s Just Energy Transition Implementation Plan, 2023–2027

Ben Radley Renewable Energy Expansion in Africa: Pathway to Transformation or Deepening Dependency? (for joint stream with the Commodity Studies Working Group)

Kristina Dietz Climate crises and green imperialism - the political economy of green hydrogen production in Africa and Latin America

Grasian Mkodzongi

E2 110 Geoeconomic and Geopolitical Transformations of the World Economy

Maria Gavris Capitalism’s Multiple and Interconnected Crises: Political Economy Perspectives and Interdisciplinarity

Sergio Cámara Izquierdo Is China breaking with the neoliberal dynamics? An inquiry into China’s quest for hegemony

Arturo Guillén

<p>E2 221 China 2. Capital Market in China</p> <p>Zhenyu Zhang “China and financialization: the performance, the causes, and the consequences”</p> <p>Alicia Girón</p> <p>Jie Meng Understanding the Industrial Policy Regime with Chinese Characteristics: An Investigation of the relevant Intermediary Institutions in the perspective of Political Economy</p>	<p>E3 101 MBC 1. Beyond contemporary capitalism: knowledge, technology, and Noonomy</p> <p>Sergey Bodrunov Beyond the modern capitalism: knowledge, technologies, noonomy</p> <p>James Galbraith Inequality and Industrial Change: Noonomy Perspective</p> <p>Radhika Desai What Noonomy Needs from Finance?</p> <p>Alan Freeman Noöonomy in context: what the West should learn from Russia</p> <p>Svetlana Bodrunova</p>
<p>E2 103 Financialisation 2. Resistance to financialisation and debts (I)</p> <p>Philip Mader Debt resistance across the globe: a new form of social conflict? (Panel on Resistance)</p> <p>Quentin Ravelli Debt resistance across the globe: a new form of social conflict? (Panel on Resistance)</p> <p>Rita Silva The struggle against the financialisation of housing in Portugal (Panel on Resistance)</p> <p>Jessica Sklair “I’m not an entrepreneur, I’m a get by-er”: Everyday strategies for contesting debt and financialisation in North and Northeast Brazil (Panel on Resistance)</p> <p>Catarina Morawska (Panel on Resistance) “I’m not an entrepreneur, I’m a get by-er”: Everyday strategies for contesting debt and financialisation in North and Northeast Brazil</p> <p>Maíra Vale (Panel on Resistance) “I’m not an entrepreneur, I’m a get by-er”: Everyday strategies for contesting debt and financialisation in North and Northeast Brazil</p>	<p>E2 203 Social reproduction 2. Accumulation, exploitation and social reproduction</p> <p>Clare Hawkes Unpacking Issues for labour with children working in Dhaka’s leather safety gloves industry</p> <p>Paula Rodriguez-Modroño Digital intermediaries in reproductive activities</p> <p>Alessandra Mezzadri Value theories in motion: Circular labour migration, unfinished land dispossession and reproductive struggles across the urban–rural divide</p> <p>Tiantian Liu The Spatiality of Social Reproduction Crisis: Real Estate and a Breakdown of China’s Urban-Rural Divide</p>

<p>E3 201 Neoliberalism 2. Neoliberalism, Policy and Crisis</p> <p>Cesar Duarte Rivera The adoption of the New Monetary Policy Consensus in Mexico</p> <p>Pinar Donmez Austerity anew in the midst of post-pandemic inflation, cost of living and debt crises</p> <p>Paul Cammack A New Foundation for Global Political Economy</p>	<p>E2 102 Varieties of socialism 2. For a political economy-oriented anthropology of socialist (de)valuations</p> <p>Luisa Steur Of devaluation and racialization: Workers of Havana’s garbage collection services in changing political-economic context</p> <p>Nidhish Sundar</p> <p>Aaron Kappeler Neo-Structuralist Socialism: Venezuela’s Alternative to Neoliberalization</p>
<p>E2 213B Social Capital 1.</p> <p>Patricia López Rodríguez The Effect of Social Capital on Environment Caring</p> <p>Panagiotis Gkagkatsis The protection of social capital through an increase access to natural resources: The example of the San people</p> <p>Asimina Christoforou Citizen engagement in economic policies: an appraisal of civil society institutions in governance structures of the European Union (authors: Asimina Christoforou & Fikret Adaman)</p>	<p>E2 302 CoA 2. Experimental documentaries and lecture-performances on elite masculinity, military violence and activism as witnessing</p> <p>Nathaniel Sullivan Hand of God</p> <p>Kirsten Adkins How We Have the World is a Matter of the Shape We Impose on it.</p> <p>Manuela Johanna Covini</p>

14:45-16:30 | SESSION 3

E2 231A Agrarian Change 3. The State, agriculture, agribusiness and class politics

Xinyuan Zhang The Role of State-owned Agribusiness in the International Food Regime: A Case Study of COFCO

Tomaz Fares

Elif Karacimen The Role of Finance Capital in the Agricultural Restructuring: the EBRD's Influence in Turkey"

Elena Alvarez Perverse Confluences: Extractive and Illicit Economies as Drivers of Deforestation of the Amazon Forest. A Peruvian Case Study

Leandro Vergara-Camus Agrobusiness, the Brazilian Right and the State (2006 to 2022): From Pragmatism to Extremism and Back?

Eda Cakmakci Contracted Skills: Financialization of Tomato production in Antalya

E2 301 Work 3. Unions and labour organising

Miriş Kurtulmuş Capitalism, migration and trade unions

Jon Las Heras Union Strategies configuring the Political Economy of a Country: the Basque Case

Natsuka Tokumaru, Tetsuya Tamura, Takahiko Hashimoto Who represents whose interests? : the changing roles of labor unions and governments on inequality in the era of globalization

E2 303 Africa 2: Africa, Dependency and the Developmental State

Guido Maschhaupt What makes social policies endure amidst ideological and material contestations? Exploring path dependency in the cases of agricultural input subsidies and social cash transfers in Malawi and Zambia

Frederick Laker

Robin Jaspert Which Role for Monetary Policies in Neocolonialism – (Post-) Pandemic Interest Rate Hikes and Transmission Mechanisms to West- & Central Africa

Armin Höpfner De-Risking of Dependency. A Political-economic analysis of the Hyphen-Hydrogen-Project in Namibia.

Fabio Banet De-Risking of Dependency. A Political-economic analysis of the Hyphen-Hydrogen-Project in Namibia

E2 110 World Economy 3. International Division of Labor, Development and Social Movements

Andrea Ricci The Political Implications of Unequal Exchange: Towards a Common Agenda for Global Social Movements

Aditi Dixit Raw Cotton Markets, Industrial Strategies, And Trade Organisation in India and Japan, Ca. 1850-1940

Helena Morais

<p>E2 221 PEID 1. The Politics of Contemporary Industrial Policy</p> <p>Nicolai Schulz Transforming Tanzanite: The Transnational Politics of Processing Promotion and Value Chain Control</p> <p>Alexandre Gomes Hirschman in China: voice, exit and state-business relations in China’s industrial policy making</p> <p>Olerato Ogotseng The role of the state and power dynamics shaping upgrading trajectories in Botswana diamond value chain</p>	<p>E3 101 MBC 2. Noonomy and values of human development</p> <p>Vladimir Kvint Political Economy Strategizing of Social Transformations</p> <p>Leo Gabriel Challenges for a multicultural world: noonomy solutions</p> <p>Ercan Uygur</p> <p>Fabio Sousa Mendonça de Castro</p>
<p>E2 103 Financialisation 3. Resistance to financialisation and debts (II)</p> <p>Simon Bittmann Resisting Wage Liens: “Loan Sharks” and Black Borrowers in the U.S. Industrial South, 1900-1920_Panel on resistance</p> <p>Havva Ezgi Dogru Resistance to Student Loans in Turkey: KYK Debtor’s Movement</p> <p>Jenny Preunkert and Prof. Dr. Barabara Brandl Varieties of consumer credit and resistance</p> <p>Ia Eradze Crypto Currencies and Development Modes in Flux: unfolding Bitcoin meaning in Georgia</p>	<p>E2 203 Social reproduction 3. Extending the conceptualisations of social reproduction</p> <p>Melissa Johnston Patriarchal Accumulation Regimes</p> <p>Katharine Isabella Onursal Home-based working: a site of reproduction or a site of resistance? New theoretical perspectives for social reproduction theory</p> <p>Ari Parra Social Reproduction Theory, the Care Economy, and the Specter of Disability: A Critical Approach</p>

<p>E3 201 Neoliberalism 3. Neoliberalism, Conflict and Geopolitics</p> <p>Akif Avci The War Between Russia and Ukraine: Rethinking Imperialism, the Crisis of Hegemony, and the NATO</p> <p>Elliot Dolan-Evans Making War Safe for Capitalism: The World Bank, IMF and the Future of Peacebuilding</p> <p>Nilgün Öner Tangör Statehood Struggle Within the Context of a Protracted Conflict; The Neoliberal Transformation of the Cyprus Problem</p> <p>Errol Babacan and Ismail Karatepe A class-theoretical approach to the “cultural” within political economy</p>	<p>E2 102 Environment 2. Political economy of decarbonization</p> <p>Murat Arsel Three theses on renewables capitalism</p> <p>Rocío Hiraldo Questioning imperialist racial decarbonization? Whiteness and the making of international solidarity in the Spanish energy transition</p> <p>Martí Orta-Martínez Compensation for rights holders of unextractable fossil fuels</p> <p>Lorenzo Pellegrini Imagining the end of fossil capitalism: Supply-side climate policies and the fight to leave fossil fuels under the soil</p>
<p>E2 213B Social Capital 2.</p> <p>Giulia Slater The Trust Paradox</p> <p>Anneli Kaasa What Is the Recipe for High or Low General Trust?</p> <p>Elena Midler THE INFLUENCE OF SPATIAL DISPROPORTIONS ON THE FORMATION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL: THE GLOBAL NORTH AND THE GLOBAL SOUTH</p> <p>Ioannis Alexandrou Bridging Critical Institutionalism and Social Capital Theory: Navigating the Spectrum between "Bridging" and "Bonding" Social Capital</p>	<p>E2 302 CoA 3. Critical media perspectives: conflict in Kashmir, UK miners' strike and eco-disaster films</p> <p>Mehvish Rather Chasing Absences: Re-watching Friday Protest in Kashmir</p> <p>David Etherington 40 Years on: The legacy of the 1984/85 Miners Strike and the role of the Media</p> <p>Emma Piper-Burket</p>

17:00-18:30 | PLENARY 1. | **E3 - 101**

The Changing World Economy

Prabhat Patnaik

The Crisis of Neo-liberal Capitalism. Prabhat Patnaik, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India

Trevor Ngwane

The Fourth Industrial Revolution, Perspectives from the Global South. Trevor Ngwane, University of Johannesburg, South Africa

Chair:

September 06, Friday

09:00-10:45 SESSION 1	
<p>E2 231A Agrarian Change 4. Social Stratification, Labour Exploitation, Class and Racial Relations in India</p> <p>Navpreet Kaur Inequality in Tenancy Contracts: A Case Study of Rural Punjab (India)</p> <p>Prachi Bansal Examining Occupational Shifts in Rural India: Insights from a Primary Survey of Four Villages in Haryana</p> <p>Shruti Nagbhushan Gubbi Production relations and social reproduction among upwardly mobile small farmers: Case study of a village in Maharashtra, India</p> <p>Gopikrishnan Govindarajan New forms of extraction? Analyzing the surplus value in the agrarian sector of India</p> <p>Jens Lerche Caste from field to factory in North India. A critique of racialised agrarian political economy</p>	<p>E2 301 Urban and Regional 1. Neoliberal Transformation in the Cities I: Social Change, Migration and Right to the City</p> <p>Fatin Jamalolail The Roles and Potential of Malaysian Hawker Organisations in Claiming Their Right to the City</p> <p>Emirhan Demirel Memories of Rapid Transformation</p> <p>Louise Jezierski A. The role of social capital in managing pandemic precarity in immigrant communities in Detroit, Michigan, USA.</p> <p>Melih Yeşilbağ The Housing Crisis in Contemporary Turkey</p>

<p>E2 303 Africa 3: Accumulation, Dispossession and Violence in Africa</p> <p>Pablo Idahosa (a) African forms of Dispossession and Displacement: Towards differential understandings of accumulation by dispossession (ABD)</p> <p>Carla Coburger</p>	<p>E2 110 World Economy 4. Money and Inflation</p> <p>João Alcobia OPTIMUM CURRENCY AREA CRITERIA: EVALUATING A POLICY DECISION NOT TO ADOPT THE EURO</p> <p>Nicolás Águila How a commodity became world money: Silver production, coinage, and circulation in colonial South America</p> <p>Deepak Kumar The Sraffa-Phillips Curve: prelude to a surplus approach to inflation</p>
<p>E2 221 PEID 2. Green Industrial Policy and the Energy Transition</p> <p>Matthew Tyce Navigating the global energy transition and industrial decarbonisation agendas under conditions of dependency: Ghana's latest struggles in developing an integrated bauxite-to-aluminium industry</p> <p>Ricardo Noronha From Petromodernity to the Green transition: a Global History of the Sines Project (1971-2023)</p> <p>Sandra Jazmin Barragan Contreras The Political Economy of Green Energy Disruptions in Global Value Chains</p> <p>Pritish Behuria The Politics of Industrial Policy within The Green Division of Labour: Against Degrowth Pessimism and Green Industrial Policy Hysteria</p>	<p>E3 101 Marxist PE 2. Marxist PE Panel 2: Postponing a crisis and bearing it, the feudal-capitalist transition, the peculiarities of capitalism in the periphery</p> <p>Thomas Lambert Horses, Serfs, Slaves, Investment and Transitions Debates: An Exploratory Analysis</p> <p>Ozan Mutlu How state intervention postponed the overaccumulation crisis? Observations from Turkish Economy</p> <p>Ekin Değirmenci How state intervention postponed the overaccumulation crisis? Observations from Turkish Economy</p> <p>Fabiana Oliveira Money in literary works Memórias póstumas de Brás Cubas e Quincas Borba, by Machado de Assis: the peculiarities of Capitalism in a peripheral country - Brazil.</p> <p>Zeynep Ağdemir</p>

<p>E3 103 Financialisation 4. Crises and processes of financialisation</p> <p>Derya Başarangil The Crisis Management Roles of Central Banks</p> <p>Christian Koutny Financialisation as a Process</p> <p>Cinthia De Souza</p> <p>Maria Dafnomili</p>	<p>E2 203 Social reproduction & CoA : Crisis, unmet needs and care work</p> <p>Manuel Garcia Dellacasa The Structure of Abandonment</p> <p>Tine Hanrieder Repair work in raced welfare capitalism: community health workers in the United States</p> <p>Hitesh Potdar Charting the Landscape of Paid Domestic Labour: A Methodological Synthesis of Social Reproduction and Conjunctural Analysis</p> <p>Nilüfer Dilara Ar Mutlu No Need to Say (Malumun İlamı)</p>
<p>E3 201 Neoliberalism 4. Neoliberalism in the Digital Age</p> <p>Sinan Haskan Artificial Intelligence Strategies of Global South Countries in the Context of Rising Protectionist Policies and Technological Gap: Comparative Analysis of China, India and Indonesia</p> <p>Çağdaş Yalçınkaya Unicorn to Kraken: The Concentration and Centralization of Capital in the Era of Big Tech</p> <p>Bonn Juego Labour and Technology in the Digital Age: Limits of Policy, Scope for Worker Agency</p> <p>Ramiro Blanco Hate Speech and The Attack On Popular Governments In Latin America</p> <p>Yedda Alves de Oliveira Caggiano</p>	<p>E2 102 Environment 3: Capitalism and nature</p> <p>Pedro M Rey-Araujo The temporalities of the capitalist social metabolism</p> <p>Christiane Heisse Economics imperialism in times of environmental crisis – the case of natural capital</p> <p>Yorgos Pisinis Towards a Third Wave of Ecosocialism: Integrating the Theory of Metabolic Rift with Ecological Economics</p> <p>Paraskevi Tsinaslanidou</p>

<p>E2 213B Political Economy and Law</p> <p>Claire Debucquois Green Bonds and Green Slices: Legal and Epistemological Insights into Sustainable Finance in Brazil</p> <p>Todd Davies Competition Law and the Regulatory Dialectic</p> <p>Kutay Kutlu Turkey's Proposed Climate Law as a Case of Neoliberal Governmentality</p> <p>Mnqobi Ngubane</p>	<p>E2 302 Holding the World Bank and IMF to account for driving the financialisation of development</p> <p>Robert Bain</p>
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<p>11:15-13:00 SESSION 2</p>	
<p>E2 231A Agrarian Change 5. Discourses, promises and contradictions in agricultural modernisations</p> <p>Orven Mallari Progress is a Grain of Rice: The Agrarian Response to Scientific Nationalism in the Postcolonial Philippines</p> <p>Kees Jansen The Pesticide Business and its Propaganda: Making Paraquat Safe</p> <p>Liza Steultjens Negotiating agroecology futures: the dynamics of discourse contestation in Burkina Faso and Senegal</p> <p>Ayça Çavdar Çetin The Neoliberal Transformation of Agricultural Policies in Turkey and Their Manifestation in The Hazelnut Sector</p> <p>Andres Suarez Unveiling the causal mechanism of Avo-extractivism in Colombia: A Critical Realism perspective</p>	<p>E2 301 Commodity Studies 1. Commodity Prices</p> <p>Robert Fig Why is it that resource rich developing countries fail to manage their risks through hedging?</p> <p>Josef Baum Marketing and Advertisement Revisited – Their Underestimated Significance from Childhood on</p> <p>Carmen Elsayad The Limits of Differentiation: Quality Discourse and Coffee Production since 1989</p> <p>Aleksandra Wojewska Making prices - contested price-determination and -transmission in global production networks. The case of cobalt from DRC.</p>

<p>E2 303 Health and Healthcare. Crises and Challenges</p> <p>Joyce Souza Maldonado Digitalization of the healthcare sector and the deepening of neoliberalism in technologically dependent countries: the case of Brazilian healthcare</p> <p>Linda Sayed Social Networks, Health, and Well-Being</p> <p>Rosa Marques Universal health and neoliberalism in Brazil</p> <p>Aquilas Nogueira Mendes The State, the Polycrisis and the limits of resource allocation in primary health care in Brazil: contributions from the critique of political economy</p>	<p>E2 110 World Economy 5. Imperialism during Late Neoliberalism</p> <p>George Liodakis OPTIMUM CURRENCY AREA CRITERIA: EVALUATING A POLICY DECISION NOT TO ADOPT THE EURO</p> <p>Rubens R Sawaya How a commodity became world money: Silver production, coinage, and circulation in colonial South America</p> <p>Abelardo Marina The Sraffa-Phillips Curve: prelude to a surplus approach to inflation</p>
<p>E2 221 PEID 3. Examining Contemporary Structural Transformation and Industrial Policy Debates</p> <p>Sahil Mehra Re-examining the Narrative of Structural Transformation: Insights from India’s Development Experience</p> <p>Hamish Evans Mainstream Industrial Policy: Old Wine in New Bottles?</p> <p>Lorena Lombardozi unpacking the sector - led development</p> <p>Damon Aitken Structuralist Linkages Between Macroeconomic Policy and Green Industrial Policy</p> <p>Sebastiano Cattaruzzo VENICE IN TRANSITION: a political economy approach to Venetian structural change</p>	<p>E3 101 MBC 3. Labor, the social sphere, and the state in a transition beyond capitalism</p> <p>Thabo Huntgeburth Is there a Democratic Labour Regime? Exploring the Limits and Potentials of Labour Regime Analysis for Transformative Economics</p> <p>Natalia Yakovleva Education at the Stage of Late Capitalism: the View of the Post-Soviet School of Critical Marxism</p> <p>Gala Lucia Gonzalez Barrios</p> <p>Ricardo Dello Buono Toward an “All-embracing” Social Metabolic Alternative: Mészáros on the Role of the State</p>

<p>E3 103 Financialisation 5. Financial Institutions</p> <p>Ingrid Nascimento Aguiar Schlindwein World Bank: development agency or typical bank?</p> <p>Bruno Bonizzi Enhancing Local Currency Lending by Multilateral Development Banks: A Critical Reform Agenda</p> <p>Daphnae Picoli A Critical Analysis of Primary Dealer System Implementation on Brazilian Public Debt Markets</p> <p>Alexandre Yassu</p>	<p>E2 203 Social reproduction 6. Politics and policies for social and ecological reproduction</p> <p>Serap Saritas A Social Reproduction Theory Framework for Eco-social Policies and Pensions</p> <p>Cosku Celik A Social Reproduction Perspective on Living Wage as a Feminist Struggle: An alternative political agenda to respond to Turkey’s overlapping crises</p> <p>Deniz Ay A Social Reproduction Perspective on Living Wage as a Feminist Struggle: An alternative political agenda to respond to Turkey’s overlapping crises</p> <p>Susanne Kozak The transformative potential of a social reproduction perspective for climate change policy</p> <p>Jerome De Henau Macro-fiscal effects of closing the childcare policy gap in Latin America and Europe using the ILO Global Care Policy investment simulator</p>
<p>E3 201 Neoliberalism 8. Varieties of Neoliberalism 1</p> <p>Adam Aboobaker Labour supply constraints and capital accumulation</p> <p>Fernando Junior 30 years of the Real plan: the roots of financialized neoliberalism in Brazil</p> <p>Ozgun Sarimehmet Duman Commitment to Competitiveness in Europe: A Comparative Analysis</p> <p>Sheba Tejani Corporate Majoritarianism in India</p>	<p>E2 102 China 3. China in World Capitalism</p> <p>Chiara Pollio Post shock resilience in China in times of international instability</p> <p>Sam-Kee Cheng The geopolitics of Belt and Road Initiative in the crisis of neoliberalism with a focus on Southeast Asia</p> <p>Salam Alahareef BRICS plus and de-dollarization in West Asia</p> <p>Dic Lo “China, the United States, and the Global South: Political Economy of Late Development”</p>

<p>E2 213B HETEMCoM 1. Critiquing the mainstream: theory and practice</p> <p>Cristina Re The contribution of Alberto Alesina to the history of economic thought and to the political and economic transformations of his time.</p> <p>Pavlos Roufos Central bank independence and low inflation: is there any (updated) shred of evidence?</p> <p>Cristiane Mancini Data, the main instrument on a changing world economy.</p> <p>Ziya Can An Alternative Openness Index Trial for Developing Countries</p>	<p>E2 302 CoA 5. Reframing histories: queer lives in Belfast, 1948 and Israel, and the loss of Yugoslavia</p> <p>Elsbeth Vischer (C) Reimagining archive and situating 'queerness' in Belfast's conflicted past. A screening of short film 'New Threads' and discussion of the political resonances in today's society.</p> <p>Jill Daniels What we knew</p> <p>Ivana Mancic Monument of Revolution</p>
<p>E6 102 Agrarian Change 8. Myths and Realities about small-scale producers</p> <p>Sarah Lena Graf Look at the production system, not the individual! Field-level analyses of agrarian change at the forest frontier</p> <p>Carlo John Arceo</p> <p>Caroline Hambloch Labor control in agricultural cooperatives: contract farming in the Philippines</p> <p>Helena Perez Nino Changing dynamics of women's work: women working in greenhouse in Turkey and Colombia</p> <p>Murali D A Evolving Production Structure in India: A study of four states.</p> <p>Vijay R Evolving Production Structure in India: A study of four states.</p> <p>Gaurav Bansal Political economy of the agrarian crisis in Indian Punjab: an exploration of the role of accumulation and the non-farm sector</p>	

14:15-15:45 | PLENARY 2. | **E3 - 101**

Today's Imperialism

Trevor Ngwane

BRICS, today and tomorrow. Trevor Ngwane, University of Johannesburg, South Africa

Utsa Patnaik

The New Imperialism, and its creation of a New World of Hunger. Utsa Patnaik, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India

Chair:

September 07, Saturday

09:30-11:15 SESSION 1	
<p>E2 231A Agrarian Change 6. Climate change, environmental degradation, conflicts over territories and peasantries</p> <p>Felix Mantz Land Grabbing through Unliveability: Necrosapes and Slow Violence in the Expansion of Conservation Regimes in Tanzania</p> <p>Ranjini Basu Fraught with Contestations: Paddy Varieties, Agrarian Change and Farmers' Mobilisations in Indian Punjab</p> <p>Noelia Parajuá Carpintero Towards a crisis of reproduction of capitalism? An exploration on smallholder agriculture in Spain (1980-2021)</p>	<p>E2 301 Environment 4: Environmental politics</p> <p>Ferda Donmez Atbasi Climate Change as an Emerging Discourse in Turkish Far-Right Politics</p> <p>Ozkan Agtas Climate Change as an Emerging Discourse in Turkish Far-Right Politics</p> <p>Xinwen Zhang Green Transition and Inclusive Growth - The Case of Alxa League</p> <p>Oriol Vallès Codina "Environmentalism without class struggle is just gardening": An Ecological Interpretation of the Ricardian Growth Model</p>

<p>E2 303 Commodity Studies 2. Colonial Roots of Commodity</p> <p>Sophie van Huellen The origins of commodity dependence: Legacies of empire in Lusophone Africa</p> <p>Alexis Wearmouth Financialisation and the jute value chain in India, 1870-1921</p> <p>Reda Mokhtar El Ftouh Commodity dependence as a by-product of colonial economic exploitation</p>	<p>E2 110 Neoliberalism 9. Varieties of Neoliberalism 2</p> <p>Andriana Vlachou The EU ETS and energy transition under the influence of the European Green Deal (EGD), proposal for an individual paper</p> <p>Aleksei Pobedonostsev Does the wealth of natural resources reinforce neoliberalism? A comparative study of post-Soviet Russia and Kazakhstan.</p> <p>Altat Hussain Political Economy of Neo-Liberal Development: A Case study of Gujjar and Bakarwal Tribes of Jammu and Kashmir, India</p> <p>Hilmiye Yasemin Özüğurlu Public Finance Crisis And Solution Possibilities: An Evaluation From Türkiye's Perspective</p>
<p>E2 221 PEID 4. Skills and Technological Capabilities</p> <p>Jenan AlShowaikh Understanding Skill Formation and Knowledge Transfer in Foreign Direct Investment Firms: Insights from Oman's Industrial Secto</p> <p>Rex Asiana Technology-based industrialization amid balance-of-payment constraints: Evidence from Morocco and Tunisia</p> <p>Jing Zhang Learning to Industrialise- Idea, Power and Institution in Scaling up Industrial Parks in Ethiopia</p> <p>Anthony Tolika Sibiya Sustainable Industrialization and Skills nexus: Insights from the South African automotive manufacturing sector</p> <p>Tina Schivatcheva Transformations in Pan-European Innovation Policy: A Comparative Analysis of Horizon 2020 and Horizon Europe Policy Perspectives</p>	<p>E3 101 Marxist PE 3. Capital: its dynamics, its turnover, and measuring it</p> <p>Ilia Farahani Political economy versus political Economy: bringing back classical political economy into geographic research</p> <p>Takashi Satoh A General Formulation of the Circuit and Turnover of Capital from a Marxian Perspective: Integrating Sraffian and Wicksellian Capital Theories</p> <p>Victor Kasper A comparison of approaches to estimating the rate of surplus value, rate of profit, and the net operating rate of profit: The issue of capital.</p>

<p>E3 103 Financialisation 6. International financial subordination</p> <p>Raven Hart Financial Subordination in Global Production Networks: A case study on the Indian pharmaceutical sector</p> <p>Iyad El-Khalil Subordinate and Dependent Financialization; Unraveling Lebanon's Financial Crisis</p> <p>Stefan Zylinski International financial subordination & the climate crisis: how are the positions of Kenya and Bolivia in the international monetary system shaping the green transition?</p> <p>Felix Maile Corporate financialization and inequality along global value chains – the cases of apparel, automotive, copper and cocoa/coffee/cotton</p>	<p>E2 203 Social reproduction 5. Violence, struggle and social reproduction</p> <p>Mayada Hassanain Endurance and Struggle: Social Reproduction Amidst Violence and Crisis in South Africa and Sudan</p> <p>Lucy Rebecca Cannon “We are women, we are strong!” Women’s involvement in the Miners’ Strike of 1984–85. Exploring the impact and relationship between gender, social reproduction, and the strike through the framework of feminist political economy.</p> <p>Xianan Jin Land Dispossession as Continuum of Violence: Women’s Political Agency in Post-genocide Rwanda</p> <p>Seraf Sidig The cost of mining, the miner and militarization in Balqwa, Sudan.</p>
<p>E3 201 Neoliberalism 6: Neoliberalism in Latin America 1</p> <p>Flavia Julius Operation Car Wash, labour exploitation and race relations in Brazil</p> <p>Rodrigo Santaella Goncalves FORGING COUNTER-HEGEMONY: LESSONS FROM BOLIVIA IN THE 2000s</p> <p>John Paul Belk Analyzing Puerto Rico's Early Neoliberal Takeover: A Laboratory of Reaganomics in a US Colony Puerto Rico's Ideological Takeover : Neoliberalism and US Public Intellectuals in a US Colony</p>	<p>E2 102 China 4. Chinese Capitalism or Socialism?</p> <p>Ling Gao “Knowledge and Power in China’s Economics Education: Looking into the Anomaly”</p> <p>Niemeyer Almeida Filho The transcendent importance of Chinese development for Western bourgeois democracies</p> <p>Zhun Xu China as a socialist inter-national project and the limits of capitalism</p>

<p>E2 213B HETEMCoM 2. Decolonizing Economics</p> <p>Surbhi Kesar Euro-centrism in economics</p> <p>Ingrid Harvold Kvangraven Implications of a decolonization agenda</p> <p>Devika Dutt Decolonizing Economics: The potential and limits of Heterodox Economics</p> <p>Carolina Alves Heterodoxy as a Path to Decolonising Economics: Assessing Viability and Limitations</p>	<p>E2 302 Documentaries on urban guerillas in the US and mutual aid in the UK</p> <p>Alexander Johnston Cozy Cuddly, Armed and Dangerous: The Long Struggle of the George Jackson Brigade</p> <p>Matthias Kispert The Social Life of Food: Movements for Justice and Local Resilience</p>
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<p>11:45-13:30 SESSION 2</p>	
<p>E2 231A Agrarian Change 7. War, displacement, migration, agrarian question and oppression in MENA</p> <p>Giuliano Martiniello, Fadia Panosetti From Palestine land to the global market: export-oriented agriculture under settler colonialism (Panel organized by Giuliano Martiniello)</p> <p>Julia Kassem</p> <p>Sinem Kavak Political ecology of agri-labor migration systems in Turkey: Syrian Refugees and Migrant Workers in Perspective</p>	<p>E2 301 Work 4. Digitization, gig work, and precarity</p> <p>Ezgi Akçalı Türker The Rise of Digital Platform Economy and Reconfiguration of Labor: A Critical Analysis of the Future of Work in the Digital Age</p> <p>Beatriz Marinho REGULATION AND DEREGULATION OF THE “UBERIZATION” (GIG) OF WORK IN BRAZILIAN LEGISLATION</p> <p>Yelda Yucel Exploring Work Quality and Wellbeing among Blue Collar Employees in Türkiye: Navigating Competing Discourses</p>

<p>E2 303 Urban and Regional 2. Neoliberal Transformation in the Cities II: Crisis, Tourism and Housing</p> <p>Kostas Gourzis The expansion of touristification across the EU amid successive crises: Comparative insights from an index-based analysis</p> <p>Hüseyin Emre Almaz Taxless Finance for Local Governments of Turkey: Corrupt but Competent</p> <p>Özlem Bülbül Positioning the Neoliberal State along with the Changing Dynamics of Housing Policy in Turkey</p>	<p>E2 110 Neoliberalism 10. Book Discussion</p> <p>Ilias Alami Book Discussion “Authors Meet readers/critics”: The Specter of State Capitalism</p>
<p>E2 103 Financialisation 7. New frontiers of financialisation</p> <p>Lina Olsson Greening Urban Development with Debt: The Emergence of Green Financialised Urban Entrepreneurialism in Sweden</p> <p>Tobias Boos Infrastructure, nation-state and digital finance: Plugging-in the Salvadorian Crypto-experiment.</p> <p>Pauline Gleadle Financialization, risk and the English university: an exploratory study</p>	<p>E2 203 MBC 4. Technology, Technological Change, the Fourth Industrial Revolution, and Degrowth</p> <p>Emrah Irzik Open Technoscience Today as Polanyian Socialism</p> <p>Themistoklis Tzimas “AI-in-capitalism”: Objectification and ontological inequalities</p> <p>Gleb Maslov The Post-Soviet School of Critical Marxism is in Search of Responds to the Challenges of the Fourth Industrial Revolution</p> <p>Joe Davidson Towards a degrowth transition: Bringing interests back in</p> <p>Violeta Guitart</p>

<p>E3 101 Marxist PE 4. Money and the State in Capitalism</p> <p>Karen Helveg Petersen The active role of money and finance in the reproduction and expansion of the capitalist system</p> <p>Nikos Pontis The Political Economy of MMT. A Critical Assesment from a Marxist Perspective</p> <p>Xiaoyu Mei The Formation of the People's Democratic Dictatorship Theory</p> <p>Pinar Bedirhanoglu In Search for a Marxist Theory of State in the Era of 'De-democratisation'</p>	<p>E3 201 Neoliberalism 7. Neoliberalism in Latin America 2</p> <p>Pedro Rossi Brazil under neoliberal shock (2015-2022)</p> <p>Viviana Patroni A libertarian turn in Argentina: anarcho-capitalism or chaos as power</p> <p>Emine Tahsin Latin American decade and emerging varieties in response to neoliberal reforms</p> <p>Manuela Mahecha Alzate Characterizing the Dominant Social Bloc in Colombia: A Political Economy Analysis from 2002 to 2010</p>
<p>E2 213B HETEMCoM 3. Theory, methodology and history</p> <p>Dennis Badeen Internal Relations Marxism and the Analysis of Open Systems: A Metatheoretical Approach</p> <p>Oğuz Güreerk Making use of tensions through Adorno's lens: the role of reification in theoretical and social disjunctions</p> <p>Mariam Khawar Decoloniality and Islamic Economics</p>	<p>E2 302 CoA 7 and Environment. Outgrow the system: documentary on transitioning to a sustainable economic system</p> <p>Cecilia Paulsson Outgrow the system, Documentary film screening</p>

<p>E2 102 China 5. Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in Tween Years and Beyond</p> <p>Qizhen Wang State empowerment and Chinese SOEs at the forefront: the Belt and Road offers state-led pathways to bridge the global gap in Panama</p> <p>Zhengli Huang BRI Agencies and Intentional Flexibility: A Case Study of Railway Projects in Africa</p> <p>Yangguang Chen Resisting Neoliberalisation in Global Knowledge Capitalism – How should China’s Outward-oriented Higher Education (OHE) via the Belt and Road progress?</p> <p>Yue Zhou (Joe) Lin BRI’s Strategic Recalibration Towards Delinking: Identifying and Confronting Global Extractivism</p> <p>Javier Vadell</p> <p>Samuel Spellmann</p>	
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<p>14:45-16:30 SESSION 3</p>	
<p>E2 303 Agrarian Change 9. State policies, food production and national objectives under neoliberal globalisation</p> <p>Mark Vicol Contract farming as developmentalism: A political economy analysis of national policy contexts</p> <p>Yolanda Massieu Agrarian change in Mexico concerning government’s programmes</p> <p>Jarvis Fisher Labor Regimes of Rice Production in Senegal</p> <p>Yahaya Adadu Agrarian Change and Food Crisis in Nasarawa State, North-Central Nigeria</p>	<p>E2 221 PEID 6. Structural Change and Trade</p> <p>Barzin Jafartash Amiri Effects of Economic Sanctions on Iran’s Manufacturing Sector: A Case Study on Iran’s Apparel and Home Appliances Industries</p> <p>Melike Dover Gains from regional trade integration? An analysis of SADC’s value chain integration in the transport equipment sector</p> <p>David Karas A Regulationist Perspective on European Industrial Policy in Electric Batteries</p>

<p>E2 301 Work 5. Informalisation and labour</p> <p>Asli Tasdemir Marketization of Public Employment Services in Turkey: Regulatory Challenges and Policy Responses</p> <p>Lucile Franchet Flexibilisation Policies and Labour Market Structures in France</p> <p>Emile Pierre Motanda The Informal Economy in the Democratic Republic of Congo: An Investigation of Enterprises' Informality Levels and Productive Efficiency.</p>	<p>E2 103 Financialisation 8. Financialisation and the State</p> <p>Aylin Soydan The Role of the State in Financialisation: Recent Policy Measures and the Banking Sector in the Turkish Economy</p> <p>Pinar Kahya Austerity anew in the midst of post-pandemic inflation, cost of living and debt crises</p> <p>Daphibiang K Thangkhiew Financialisation and the role of embeddedness: the case of shadow banking in India and China</p> <p>Irmak Özer Bridging financialization and local government service provision: Bringing the Municipally Owned Corporations (MOCs) in</p>
<p>E3 101 Marxist PE 5. Dependency and Imperialism</p> <p>Gizem Simsek Imperialism: Debt Spiral-Financial Dependency and Industrial Capital (An Inquiry Through Türkiye)</p> <p>Fabio Maldonado Imperialism and value transfer: an initial approach to the problem from the 1970s debate</p> <p>Raphael Porcherot Exchange rate determination, dependency and super-exploitation of labour. Looking for connections through unequal exchange</p> <p>Christopher Coolbeth (paper) J.P. Morgan is the White Race: Dependency Theory and Dimitrov's Definition of Fascism</p>	<p>E3 201 Neoliberalism 5. Neoliberalism and Globalisation</p> <p>Yatan Sharma Modi's Atma-Nirbhar Bharat: De-globalization or Re-Globalization?</p> <p>Ekin Onsan MIGRATION FROM THE MENA REGION: "De-Globalization" in the Capitalist World Order</p> <p>Roberto De Vogli Neoliberal globalization and the (mis)management, outbreak and spread of new pandemics such as COVID-19</p> <p>Oxana Karnaukhova European Development Aid Policy and Thirdworldism: is Strategic Autonomy Possible?</p>

<p>E2 203 MBC 5: Equality, coopertion, and sociaization</p> <p>Rafael Abdulov Prospects for the formation of a post-capitalist society in the context of deglobalization</p> <p>Grigoriy Sergeev Post-Imperialist World Order: Visions and Models of International Cooperation</p> <p>Satoshi Matsui Is equality the most fundamental principle in Marxism?</p>	<p>E2 302 CoA 8 and Environment. Participatory documentary on Indigenous resistance in Brazil</p> <p>Cahal McLaughlin Documentary film.</p>
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<p>17:00-18:30 PLENARY 3. E3 - 101</p>
<p>Perspectives on the Political Economy of Turkey in the Context of the Poly-Crises</p> <p>Alp Erinç Yeldan Turkey's Experience with the Poly-Crises of the Global Economy</p> <p>Galip Yalman The Neoliberal Conundrum of the Crisis Management: The Turkish Experience</p> <p>Ayşe Buğra Social Policy in Turkey between Two Economic Crises: From 2002 to 2024</p> <p>Can Cemgil The geopolitical economy of Turkey's militarisation and the poly-crisis of the global order</p> <p>Chair:</p>

Abstracts

September 05, Tuesday

09:30-11:15 | SESSION 1

E2 231A Agrarian Change 1. Commercial Crops, Agrarian Transformations and Labour

Pedro Méndez-Guardado Changes in crop types in Jalisco, México from 2003 to 2022 and some socio-environmental repercussions. The case of raspberries in Jocotepec

The accelerated increase in emerging crops in some regions of the state of Jalisco, México, has displaced (in terms of area and production volume), some products considered basic for Mexicans consumption. Such is the case of beans and corn, in the case of beans and according to data from the SIACON (Agri-Food Information Consultation System), in the state of Jalisco it went from being cultivated on 37,899 hectares in 2000, to only 12,875 in 2020. Something similar happens to corn for human consumption, decreasing in the same period by 267,306 hectares. The opposite case is the agave, avocado and raspberry crops among others, which greatly increase their surface area, with great changes in rural areas. This situation occurs in some municipalities like “Jocotepec”, especially with the cultivation of raspberries that had completely changing the rural landscape. As an example of this crops, in 2003, 130 hectares were cultivated with raspberry, but to the year 2020 the surface increase to 1,900. This work exemplifies the changes that have occurred not only the surface and volume produced but the changes present in the productive dynamics and the socio-environmental repercussions from the perspective of Localized Agri-Food Systems (SIAL).

Joaquín Cardeillac Land Grabbing Processes in The Uruguayan Wine Sector

Since the beginning of the 21st century, Uruguay has been witnessing processes of land and capital monopolization and concentration in agriculture, either through the internationalization of the capital involved in the production processes, or on the basis of domestic concentration processes. The processes of land grabbing in the wine sector in Uruguay correspond to a model that combines the participation of national, regional and international capital, and has resulted in the progressive disappearance of the family production that has characterized the sector for decades.

The objective of this paper is to analyze the process of monopolization in the wine sector and in Uruguay's wine regions from 1990 to the present. The methodological approach is mixed. We start with the analysis of data from the last three available general agricultural censuses (1990, 2000 and 2011) and from the National Institute of Viticulture. We also analyzed information from interviews conducted between 2021 and 2023 with family and corporate producers, wineries and industry representatives.

The results show a concentration process at the level of farms and wineries, with a concomitant increase in productivity per hectare and per employee.

The analysis based on qualitative data confirms the trend of the census data and provides elements to analyze the impact on the rural population and social life, markets and working conditions. In the discussion, we address questions about the future of the sector, pointing to the increase in non-productive use of rural land, the growth of a tourist market for vineyards and luxury wineries, and the processes of commodification and appropriation of rural landscapes.

Mina Kozluca Informal labour regimes and multiple modes of (re)production among migrant labour families in hazelnut picking in Turkey

This paper examines the mechanisms reproducing precarity and exploitation at the bottom of the hazelnut supply chain in Turkey. It is based on 11 months of primary multi-sited fieldwork. Despite being an export commodity and increased firm-led pressure for “supply chain traceability”, key facets of hazelnut production remain extremely informal and variegated. I will focus on seasonal migrant workers who seek informal and precarious employment in the hazelnut harvest. Since hazelnuts have a single harvest period each year, the urgency of production combined with the dissolution of family farming among producers creates a labour shortage. This is addressed by internal migrant workers who work and dwell temporarily in hazelnut producing regions. I will argue that in this context, hazelnut

picking is an insufficient source of income for workers, since it is unable to cover their year-round reproduction. This results in significant heterogeneity within the class composition of this labour force, creating obstacles in mass organisation or resistance. It also forces the workers to mobilise disparate networks such as kinship ties, the household, and government funded aid schemes as mechanisms for survival. These seemingly extra-economic mechanisms, in turn, co-constitute both the informal labour regime at the bottom of global supply chains, as well as making, remaking, and maintaining a supply of cheap labour for globalised circuits of production.

Lucilla Salvia Racial oppression and class relations in Italian Agricultural Value Chains: Punjabi Migrant Workers in the horticultural district in Central Italy

This article explores the centrality of racial oppression in the exploitation and disciplining of gang workers in contemporary dynamics of Italian agrarian change. Gangmastering is often portrayed as an individual relationship of coercion imposed to vulnerable workers, and gang workers represented as passive victims to be rescued. As a result, the approach to the problem is fundamentally paternalistic. Drawing on GVC literature, labour process theory and analyses of racism and class relations, this article examines the relationship between capital accumulation, class and racial oppression in the agricultural district in the Southern Lazio region, an area of Central Italy where horticultural production, integrated in GVCs, is structurally based on a labour force which is primarily migrant, coming mainly from Punjab, India, deeply informalised, low-paid, hyper-flexible, and for the most part ganged by informal contractors. By focusing on the specific racial construction of Punjabi migrant workers as “good workers”, in opposition to the “dangerous” part of migrant workers, this article explores race-making processes in the Italian agricultural context at play in making and disciplining gang workers, and their implications for labour struggles.

China Sajadian Reproductive Binds: The Gendered Economy of Debt in a Syrian Refugee Farmworker Camp

Based on eighteen months of ethnographic fieldwork at the Lebanese-Syrian border, this article analyzes the gendered economy of debt among Syrian farmworkers in shawish camps, which have for decades supplied the largest and lowest paid seasonal labour force within Lebanon’s food system. In turn, it traces how debt relations in these camps expanded as hundreds of thousands of Syrians sought long-term refuge in Lebanon throughout the war in Syria (2011-present). Revisiting classic and contemporary agrarian questions of debt from a feminist social reproduction perspective, the article charts how this debt system ultimately deepened the burdens of feminized work in the fields and in the home. Emblematic of debt’s “reproductive binds,” these camps offer broader insights into how debt reconfigures gendered and generational divisions of labour within displaced agricultural families – and how these conditions are negotiated, contested, and reproduced in daily life.

E2 303 Teaching Political Economy

Ariane Agunsoye Equity, Diversity and Inclusion – A New Buzzword or A chance to Create an Inclusive Education

In recent years, a new buzzword has come to dominate discourses and measures introduced by universities. One does not need to search for long before finding a reference to equity, diversity, and inclusion (EDI) measures on a university website. Yet, too often the focus lies on finding quick solutions within the existing system. In line with a neoliberal university, metrics and measurements are developed which are taken as key guides on the improvement of EDI and awards are given which certify their treatment of women, people from minority ethnic groups as well as people identifying as LGBTQ+. Yet, the underlying systemic issues which have contributed to the creation of an unequal system are often not questioned. Whilst being critical of the current approach, the widespread discussion of EDI could be exploited to decolonise and diversify the curriculum and pedagogy. Developing a holistic approach to introducing EDI measures in education is key in advancing a truly inclusive environment within the university. This paper will discuss insights from surveys conducted with students at universities in the UK and the US and conduct a comparative analysis of perceptions of curriculum, pedagogy and the educational environment. This analysis will provide insights into elements which have been discussed to be essential for developing a decolonial and diversified education and how students perceive their importance.

Michelle Meixieira Groenewald Centring African scholarship in the teaching of Political Economy

The enduring relevance of the Rethinking Economics movement has shown the appetite for economics curriculum reform. In the South African context, successful initiatives such as Rethinking Economics for Africa (REFA) yearly festival is in its 6th year, with the student movement exhibiting a vibrant history of pushing for meaningful change, including the anti-apartheid movement and the more recent Fees Must Fall movement (Kulube, 2023). The 2015 and 2016 Fees Must Fall movements in South Africa, demanded not only free education but also “wholesale decolonisation of the universities” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2020).

Echoing the contribution of Appleton (2019), it is essential to show some restraint in using the word “Decolonizing” so that we do not make claims of having decolonized a curriculum for example, when in reality we are actually only diversifying content or decentering certain hierarchies.

In that light, this article assesses the opportunities for centring African scholarship in the teaching of political economy. Part of what is put forward in this article, is the pedagogical approaches of first presenting the work of African scholarship to students, and then critically contrasting it with mainstream and/or heterodox contributions. This provides students and lecturers with the opportunity to critically engage with the problem that a “Eurocentric canon is a canon that attributes truth only to the Western way of knowledge production” (Mbembe, 2015).

Whilst certainly not an exhaustive list, this article will focus on the contributions of 3 African scholars and how this can be centred in the teaching of political economy. Firstly, the work of Thandika Mkandawire (2001) will be analysed in relation to their contribution on ‘developmental states’ in an African context with an emphasis on Mkandawire’s contribution that the misreading of economic history has been associated with the ‘impossibility’ of African developmental strategies. Secondly, Lyn Ossome’s (2014) work on the challenges of securing women’s rights to land in Africa, by revisiting the tensions between culture and land commercialization, is a vital contribution in the teaching of political economy. Finally, Samir Amin’s scholarship on Eurocentrism (2009[1998]), delinking (1990) and modern imperialism (2018) are crucial foundations upon which to teach political economy generally and in the African context specifically.

Ross Cathcart Teaching Economics for the 21st Century: discussion on Rethinking Economics report into UK economics curriculum, and opportunities for expansion

In June 2024, Rethinking Economics will publish a report into the state of economics education at 20 universities across the United Kingdom. The report will assess the economics education at individual universities in relation to: real-world application; the diversity of the methods and thought that they teach; and the level of engagement with sustainability, decolonial thought and the climate crisis. Our preliminary results suggest a number of findings across undergraduate programmes: the continued dominance of marginal microneconomics and new-keynesian and neoclassical macroneconomics; an absence of environmental issues beyond the externalities framework; and a refusal to meaningfully engage with the political economy of race, colonialism and empire. At the IIPPE Conference, we would like to convene a roundtable discussion where two members of our team - Ross Cathcart and Paddy Nelson - will present the research and engage in discussion with attendees on how the report can be used to argue for further reforms to the teaching and learning within the economics discipline. Rethinking Economics is an international network of young economics students organising to create fresh economic narratives to enrich the discipline. We aim to educate ourselves and other students in an economics that reflects the global challenges of the 21st Century; and to change the way that economics is taught and understood in the university.

E2 301 Work 1. Labour processes and changing world of work

Pedro Henrique Evangelista Duarte Superexploitation of the labour force: a methodological proposal for analysis

This essay lends itself to an attempt to carry out a quantitative analysis of the superexploitation of the labor force, especially through the mechanisms that allow linking the intensification of the exploitation of the labor force to the structural process of transferring value from the periphery to the center. More specifically, our purpose is to outline brief methodological notes that, to some extent, contribute to the incipient efforts of quantitative analysis of superexploitation, moving forward in relation to them, above all because our starting point is located precisely in a recognition of the limits of these efforts.

Chandni Dwarkasing Towards Ecological Microeconomics: Working Conditions and Carbon Footprints

This paper departs from a microeconomic and theoretical formalization of Marx's metabolic rift theory. A key novelty introduced in this formalization is the metabolic parameter: an abstract construct that relates ecological integrity to working conditions. This relationship is based on an interpretation of Marx's labour process theory which distinguishes between material metabolism (worker wages) and purpose realisation (labour intensity as a measure of workplace alienation). The hypotheses resulting out of this formalization are two-fold: first, a quadratic relation exists between the metabolic parameter and worker wages. This means that improvements in worker wages are able to accommodate increases in ecological integrity up to a certain turning point. Beyond this turning point, further improvements in worker wages decrease the metabolic parameter and therefore ecological integrity. The second hypothesis posits a negative relation between the metabolic parameter and labour intensity and finds that labour intensity plays a mediating role when it comes to either the positive or negative relation between ecological integrity and worker wages. An extrapolation of these hypotheses to the issue of climate change suggests that the carbon intensity of consumption is a function of a) income and b) labour intensity/workplace alienation. The main contribution of this paper is an exploratory empirical analysis of the second hypothesis in high-income countries. This is because empirical literature suggests a significant and strictly positive relation between income and the carbon intensity of consumption. Conversely, empirical literature on the relation between workplace alienation and consumption patterns, let alone the carbon intensity of consumption patterns, is relatively sparse. To proceed with an analysis of the second hypothesis, the paper presents a review of existing and theoretical literature on the labour process, working conditions and workplace alienation. Alongside data from the European Working Conditions Survey present preliminary results are presented on the impact of working conditions on the carbon intensity of consumption nexus. In this way, the paper contributes to the development of Ecological Microeconomics: an area of inquiry that focuses on the relationship between the labour process and socio-ecological reproduction through the assessment of income, carbon footprints and workplace alienation.

Riccardo Rinaldi Is the green transition segmenting labour? Evidence on migrant workers

Amidst the global shift towards a green economy, a crucial aspect to consider is its impact on the labor market. The concept of 'green jobs' has gained prominence since 2013, offering environmentally friendly employment opportunities and community benefits. However, recent literature suggests that this transition may lead to polarization in the labor market, creating both 'good jobs' (e.g., specialized metalworkers in the electrical automotive industry) and potentially 'bad jobs' (e.g., workers in waste management), taking into account factors such as the quality of work, contract types, and wages. Of particular concern is the observation that immigrant workers often occupy lower-quality segments of the labor market. Thus, there is a need to investigate the role of immigrant workers in green jobs.

We hypothesize that the green transition will necessitate an increasing number of 'bad jobs' that native workers may be unwilling to accept, potentially leading to a reliance on immigrant workers. This raises concerns about the social sustainability of the process, as it may exacerbate segmentation within the labor market, widening the gap between high-quality and precarious employment. By examining administrative data from the manufacturing sector in the Emilia-Romagna region, we aim to explore the relationship between the demand for green jobs and the quality of work for immigrants, focusing on contract types. Are immigrant workers disproportionately engaged in fixed-term or agency contracts within green jobs? Does this exacerbate labor market segmentation? Furthermore, if these jobs are crucial for the green transition, is there a push to improve working conditions, starting with contract types?

By posing these questions and investigating the interplay between green job growth, labor market segmentation, and the experiences of immigrant workers, this paper contributes to the ongoing debate. Understanding the potential disparities and challenges faced by immigrant workers during the green transition is essential for informing inclusive policies and practices in evolving labor markets.

E2 110 World Economy 1. Imperialist Wars

Ximena de la Barra War, Power Struggle, Financial Trail and the Territory: the Palestinian case

The war against Palestinian people benefits the usual suspects such as the Industrial Military Complex in the United States; the AI weapons and surveillance transnational companies, of which the Palestinian territory has become their testing ground; multinationals operating in Industrial Zones in occupied land; the exacerbation of the theft of Palestinian oil and gas reserves, as well as many less well known transnational capitalist interests. Among others: accessing new maritime trading routes; geopolitical military domination; or permanent regional destabilization impeding alternative regional integration or development which would place current global hegemony under threat; new military infrastructure to make all this possible. And then, not least, hand in hand with the destruction industry, the scene is made ripe for the future reconstruction industry though not for its original owners.

The territory plays a crucial role in what may come. Dominating the territory, and even better, flattening and emptying the territory of its current population, is a key factor enabling the projected businesses. From dispossession of land and property to the fragmentation of Palestinian territory, they all make the One State or the Two State solutions equally irrelevant if the issue of the territory is not solved. The international community knows this but chooses to ignore it, insisting on solutions that will enable the deepening of the colonization process. Palestinian lives and preservation of the environment have become irrelevant. Too many economic and geopolitical interests makes justice difficult to achieve. A world dominated by a handful of nations, some of which hold huge stakes in current and expected financial and political gains, makes it next to impossible.

Jacob Mundy Why has the 'Everywhere War' Been Mostly in the Middle East?: Structures and Conjunctures in the (Un)Making of American Hegemony

The precipitous US withdrawal from Afghanistan in August 2021 appeared to bookend 20 years of intensive American military expeditions in the wider Middle East, prompting much speculation as to whether the global war on terror had come to an end, alongside the general exhaustion of American supremacy and North Atlantic neoliberal hegemony. But with the 2023 eruption of unprecedented levels of Palestinian resistance, US-supported Israeli repression, and the prospects of a wider regional war, it seem as if reports of the 'forever' war's demise were indeed premature. Since 2001, the global war on terror was often said to represent a new kind of 'everywhere war', one waged by unseen drones and mass digital surveillance that created an effect of omnipresence. Critics of US military engagement frequently pointed to maps showing the presence of US forces all around the world, ostensibly fighting terrorism. Upon closer inspection, however, this 'everywhere' war was mostly waged in the Middle East and North Africa, whether considering the lives lost, funds expended, or American troops deployed. Moreover, it exacerbated dynamics within global capitalism clearly set in motion in the 1970s at the dawn of neoliberalism. How can we then understand the reasons for these histories and geographies of intervention, militarization, and accumulation? Eschewing structural accounts of imperialism globally and in the Middle East specifically, this paper will instead propose a conjunctural approach to understand the contingencies and pathologies of accumulation, militarization, and intervention that have increasingly devastated and subordinated the wider Middle East, and continue to do so into the present.

Sarai Godo Luque Policy interventions under domestic political constraints

Policy interventions, characterized by the strategic use of sanction threats and/or rewards by a sender country to secure specific concessions from a target country, have emerged as the foremost foreign policy tool since World War II. Despite the frequent simultaneous use of sanction threats and rewards, existing game-theoretical models typically focus solely on one or the other. This paper aims to bridge this gap by proposing a novel model of the bargaining process between the sender and the target country when the policymaker in the sender country faces domestic electoral constraints. Through a sequential game of incomplete information around the relative costs for the sender country to impose sanctions on the target one, the study examines how electoral concerns influence policymakers' decisions regarding the simultaneous use of sanctions and rewards. Without electoral constraints, incomplete information and the resulting signalling process prevent both countries from reaching an agreement under all states. However, when electoral constraints are introduced and the policymaker in the sender country behaves under mixed motives, both countries can reach an agreement with rewards if this represents a Pareto-improvement to the outcome of implementing sanctions. This is possible thanks to the role of office- and rent-seeking; it is the self-interest of the policymaker in the sender country that makes it possible to produce efficient outcomes for the game.

Adem Açar Spatial Contradictions of Imperialism: From Unipolarity to Multipolarity?

How should we define the last stage of capitalism on a world scale? Are the analyses concerning the expressions of imperialism and hegemonic state still valid? These current and significant questions need to be answered again under new conditions. It is a known reality that capitalism develops spatially unevenly on the world scale. However, I think that this reality, on the one hand, causes new spatial contradictions to emerge in the historical stages of imperialism, and on the other hand, imperialism changes the expression of a unipolar hegemonic state on a world scale. In this context, the study aims to discuss imperialism in today's changing conditions, but more importantly, the concept of a unipolar hegemonic state.

In this context, China's Silk Road Project, its investments in Africa and the new economic/spatial cooperation as BRICS appear as a new spatial alternative to Western-oriented imperialism. On the other hand, the USA's attempts to control the energy corridor to maintain its spatial superiority in the Middle East come to the fore. However, the Russian-Ukrainian and Israeli-Palestinian occupations point to concrete manifestations of deepening spatial contradictions because of the crisis tendencies revealed by the capitalist world economy and the increase in competition between capitals. Based on these concrete views, the study aims to focus on the transformation of the uneven spatial development from a unipolar hegemonic state to a multipolar distribution of power and to discuss today's imperialism at a factual and conceptual level.

E2 221 China 1. China's Development Strategy

Fanqi Lin Is China a Developmental State? A Case Study of China's NEV Industry

As the global economy increasingly emphasizes sustainability, the automotive sector has responded by advancing the design and production of New Energy Vehicles (NEVs). In this transition, China has emerged as a leader, leveraging its industrial policies to nurture its NEV sector. This study adopts a developmental state framework characterized by coherent horizontal and vertical industrial policy and state-business alliances to examine China's NEV industry. It investigates the collaborative dynamics between central and local governments and their coherence in policymaking. Moreover, the study will analyze the range of state-business alliances at the local level arising from this complex interplay of institutional logic. This study employs a mixed-methods approach, utilizing policy documents, semi-structured interviews, and questionnaires to gather data from levels of government in Shanghai, Hangzhou, and Shenzhen and leading NEV firms such as NIO, BYD and GEELY. The findings aim to elucidate the impact of a multi-layered institution on industrial policy and the state-business alliances that facilitate China's NEV industry development.

Tomás Costa de Azevedo Marques FDI IN CHINA DURING XI JINPING'S ERA (2013-2023)

In the early 2010s, the Western economies were afraid of Xi Jinping's rise as the Chinese president. Some academics predicted a more hostile position for China in the world economy, closing itself to foreign nations. After 2018, the anti-China political-ideological position led by the United States and NATO allies assumed a more radical measure, as a trade war escalated to tariff protections, trade sanctions, and restricting commercial relations with Chinese companies. On the other hand, China has claimed to be more open to foreign trade and investment. From a political economy perspective, the centre of the debate is the rise of Chinese companies in strategic and advanced technological sectors, which might risk the market oligopoly controlled by the hegemonic capitalist nations. This paper takes a closer look at the foreign direct investment policy adopted by the Chinese government and the pattern of investment flow. We aim to understand if there is a shift in the investment trend during Xi Jinping's government. Besides Western hostility, we hypothesise that China is becoming more open to the world economy and foreign nations, and the foreign direct investment policy and pattern helps explain the economic and structural changes.

Zhenzhen Zhang What kind of industrial policy does China need to develop new pillar industries for an uncertain future?expansion

After the 16th Executive Meeting of the State Council of the People's Republic of China proposed the national industrial policy of "actively revitalizing pillar industries" on March 25, 1994, "pillar industries" frequently appeared in the industrial policies of the central and local governments. In the past 30 years, China's industrial policy choices have continued the path of Japan and South Korea. A typical example is that when Zhu Rongji became prime minister,

he implemented strategic adjustments to the layout of state-owned enterprises. Specifically, state-owned enterprises withdraw from competitive industries and focus on developing industries with natural monopoly tendencies. Another interpretation is that state-owned enterprises withdraw from labour-intensive industries and continue to grow bigger and stronger in capital-intensive industries. Since state-owned enterprises can obtain cheaper credit, this advantage in capital costs is also a disguised interest rate subsidy. Most of the remaining state-owned enterprises are located in the upstream industry, similar to the subsidies provided to the upstream industry by Japan and South Korea. After the rise of township enterprises driven by rural reforms in the 1980s, most areas in China have solved the problem of insufficient supply of consumer goods, ended the long-standing shortage of goods, and solved the problem of food and clothing. Under this situation, China still relies heavily on imports for some industrial products, which cannot meet market demand. To adapt to industrial structure transformation and upgrading needs, revitalising pillar industries was discussed when formulating the ninth “Five-Year Plan”. Pillar industries constitute the main body of the national industrial system and provide most of the national income. Their technological level determines the stage in which the industrial structure is evolving. In the 1990s, mechatronics, petrochemicals, automobile manufacturing and construction were defined as China’s first pillar industries.

With the rapid development of China’s economy, although pillar industries such as construction and petrochemicals play an important role in the national economy, the concept of “pillar industries” has gradually faded out of policy horizons. “Pillar industries” are still common in local economic policies, but it is rarely mentioned in central government policies. This situation will not change until 2023. After years of silence, “pillar industries” have once again appeared in the central government’s policy. The Political Bureau meeting of the CPC Central Committee held on July 24, 2023, proposed that we should vigorously promote the construction of a modern industrial system, accelerate the cultivation and expansion of strategic emerging industries, and create more pillar industries. Since then, the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology has frequently mentioned “pillar industries” in many documents and meetings. It is obvious that China’s rapid economic growth over the past three decades, driven by urbanization and the rise of the middle class, has ended. This model of relying on high debt is bound to be unsustainable. Standing in a new historical stage, industrial policies can still promote the transformation and upgrading of China’s economy. Old industries are facing growth challenges, and new industries still need further development. After more than 40 years of development, China’s industrial upgrading is facing new tasks, and the cultivation of emerging pillar industries is also on the horizon. We will ask one question, what kind of new industrial policy does China need? There have been some debates about industrial policy in the past few decades. Many scholars believe that industrial policy is a controversial topic. The good news is that there is much to be learned from the variety of industrial policies around the world. A considerable literature has developed in recent years providing rigorous evidence on how industrial policy works and how it shapes economic activity. The recent crop of papers offers in general a more positive take on industrial policy. More importantly, it provides a much more nuanced and contextual understanding of industrial policy.

In light of this, this proposal will mainly discuss the following four sections: Redefinition of Pillar Industries in China, The Role of The State in Industrial Outcomes, Transformation and Development of Pillar Industry: A Case Study of China’s Automotive Industry and Reshaping the Industrial Policy of China in An Uncertain Economic Context.

E2 103 Financialisation 1. Citizens and labour under financialisation

Ewa Karwowski Financialisation and taxation: Undermining democratic cohesion in South Africa

There is an emergent literature on the adverse impact that financialisation has on democratic processes. This paper focuses on the consequences of financialisation for taxation and public finances. We bring together literature on the political economy of tax and state financialisation, arguing that financialisation exacerbates trends in modern capitalism which undermine democratic cohesion by delegitimizing taxation and tax collection. South Africa serves as our illustrative case study. The country is one of the most severely financialised societies among its emerging economies (EEs) peers. In line with broader neoliberal trends, company tax has declined severely as a source of tax revenue for the state which increasingly has to rely on personal income tax for revenue generation. As a consequence of financialisation, the labour market has transformed fundamentally over the past 20 years in the country. The vast majority of jobs is created by the tertiary sector and mainly finance and government employment, while many manufacturing jobs have been lost. This results in income polarization which means that the bulk of the personal

income tax take is raised through taxing finance professionals and government employees. These professional groups often opt out of social provision, relying on private health care and pay-for infrastructure, more broadly. As a consequence, there is a growing resentment amongst these groups towards taxation, which undermines the ability of the state to provide inclusive social provision.

Anamika Sen, Esra Ugurlu How did financial liberalisation policies affect household credit dynamics?

In recent decades, global banking systems have shifted away from their textbook role of providing working capital and investment funds to businesses toward household lending. This shift carries significant implications for economic growth and macro-financial stability. In this paper, we analyse the impact of financial liberalisation policies on the allocation of credit to households in a sample of 23 advanced and 12 developing countries from 1973-2015. Our dataset combines sectoral lending trends obtained from the Global Credit Project with the IMF's Financial Reform database. We study four distinct measures of financial liberalisation: removal of credit controls, relaxation of restrictions on foreign bank entry, removal of financial account restrictions, and privatisation of state-owned banks. We exploit the cross-country variation in liberalisation scores to estimate their causal impact on the household credit share using the staggered difference-in-differences estimator proposed by Callaway and Sant'Anna (2021). Our initial results indicate that the removal of credit controls leads to a notable increase in the share of bank credit allocated to households. This result remains robust after controlling for demand-driven determinants of household credit expansions, such as changes in income distribution often emphasized in the post-Keynesian literature. Conversely, the relaxation of restrictions on foreign bank entry does not have a significant effect on credit dynamics.

Ricardo Barradas Why Are (Financialised) Workers Becoming More Resigned and Conformist and Less Claimants? Empirical Evidence for Portugal

The deregulation and flexibilisation of labour relations has been on the active neoliberal agenda of policymakers all over the world, including in Portugal. Against this backdrop, labour conditions have been worsening since the 1970s and 1980s, and workers have progressively lost some labour rights, which is noticeable in stagnant (or falling) wages, the rise of personal income inequalities, the proliferation of atypical work, the increase of precariousness, the surge of emotional abuses in the workplace, the deterioration of work-life balance and the spread of informal work. Nonetheless, workers have evidenced higher resignation and conformism and lesser claimant behaviour in order to demand higher wages and better labour conditions, which is visible in the strong reduction in strike activity in the last four decades. Our argument asserts that workers' financialisation and indebtedness levels restrain their demands for higher wages and better labour conditions due to the fear of decreasing their income and losing their jobs and the consequent risks of default. This paper aims to assess the relationship between workers' financialisation and indebtedness levels and their strike activity by performing a time-series econometric analysis focused on Portugal during the period of 1979 to 2021. We conclude that workers' financialisation and indebtedness levels have a negative effect on strike activity in Portugal, both in the short term and in the long term, especially on strike volume and strike duration. We also conclude that workers' financialisation and indebtedness levels have been one of the main drivers behind the decline of strike activity in Portugal in the last four decades.

Hwanhee Bae Financialisation of housing in South Korea: State-sanctioned popular speculation on houses

The South Korean economy has rapidly been financialising since the 2000s. The housing market is the primary channel through which this shift takes place. This paper sheds light on the widespread speculation on housing by households across income strata. Households join the rat race for short-term capital gain from ever-growing asset bubble in the housing market, using easy access to loans. It has been not only allowed, but actively encouraged by the state. There are two peculiar aspects of the Korean housing market not found elsewhere: pre-sale of apartments en masse and deposit-only rental agreement. This paper will show the mechanisms of the two schemes and the way they meet the needs/desires of all parties involved. For households, they effectively function as a device to enable extremely high-leverage investment. The state underpins the operation of both schemes with direct and indirect involvement.

This paper aims to contribute to the growing literature of financialisation of housing by examining the socio-economic relations between major agents in the Korean housing market from Marxist political economy perspective. It argues

that the developmental state model that led the country's industrialisation has not dissipated. Rather, it merely changed its form and continues to underpin Korea's capitalist accumulation under financialised capitalism.

E3 101 Marxist PE 1. Marx's Theory of Value

Simon Mohun Mobility and the Theory of Value

Perfect mobility of workers equalizes the rate of exploitation and perfect mobility of capital equalizes the rate of profit. Equalizing the rate of exploitation is independent of any particular price structure, but the prices underpinning the equalization of profit rates are 'natural prices' or 'prices of production'. These are generally not proportional to the prices that reflect labour values, so that first, the labour theory of value has only a macroeconomic purchase, and second, microeconomic unequal exchange characterizes firms' participation in product markets. Value therefore appears in locations different from where it is produced. It follows that a firm's profit is a form of surplus-value that depends upon the exploitation of the world's working class, and not upon the exploitation of its own workforce.

Saratchand Chandrasekharan Value, Money and the Reserve Army of Labour

Every mode of production involves a specific process through which labour power that expends heterogeneous concrete labour is socially allocated. In non-capitalist modes of production, this social allocation of labour power is often effected directly without the mediation of money. In the capitalist mode of production, this social allocation of labour power, which is value, is effected through a spontaneous process necessarily mediated by money. The unfolding of this spontaneous process involves capitalists seeking to make anarchic decisions about accumulation (recapitalisation of surplus value) involving the homogeneous measure of expected profit rates. This homogeneous measure, that spans both labour power (the source of living labour) and means of production (dead labour) presupposes the existence of money which ipso facto involves the reduction of expended heterogeneous concrete labour along socially necessary lines to a common denominator. This common denominator namely abstract labour emerges in the conjunction of the processes of production and circulation of commodities. Money is the necessary measure of value (whose social substance is abstract labour). But money as a hoard enables the existence of a reserve army of labour which in turn validates the existence of the hoard of money. Value is therefore a spontaneous social allocation process, mediated by money, of labour power and dead labour among various branches of production and the reserve army of labour.

Kamir Gemal Non-Value as Capital's Frontier: A Scheme Proposition for the Dialectic Triad with Value and Anti-Value

This paper delves in the notion of non-value as a negation to value, as opposing that which mediates individual and social labour times dually expressed in the material form of commodities. It departs from Harvey's (2017) indistinction between his proposed category of anti-value and such notion of non-value (unexplored by him). Most likely it was the omission of the term non-value and other negative notions in the three books of Capital that contributed to this inaccuracy. There is an argument to be made that Marx might have foreseen such framework of confrontation between those categories, but only did not explore it further in his framework of thought. Thus, this paper's objective is to establish the basis for coherent and consistent employment and articulation of the notion of non-value along that of value – and, perhaps, better illuminate the path for building up and amending a notion of anti-value as both may constitute with value a dialectic triad of interest to marxist studies. The last section is also dedicated to address Brazilian colonial past and late industrial (and urban) development as capital struggles to overcome that which was not-(yet-)capital by employing these categories of value and non-value. It is hoped that these discussions posed here contribute to the analysis of contemporary dynamics of capital, both as theoretical critic and path for building a praxis oriented to social justice.

Heesang Jeon The Dual Character of the Reality - The Matrix Trilogy and Marx's Value Theory

This presentation explores the similarities between the Matrix trilogy and Marx's value theory. A central theme shared by both is the dual nature of reality. In the Matrix, on one hand, humans are slaves to machines, their energy sources. On the other hand, they inhabit a computer-generated dream world, oblivious to the harsh reality that they are nothing more than batteries. These two worlds are mutually exclusive because, in the Matrix, the sole purpose of human

existence is to generate energy for machines as mere objects, whereas humans are autonomous in the real world. Structured this way, domination takes an inverted form. Despite lacking freedom, humans perceive themselves as having free will. These two worlds are also mutually dependent. Individuals live a dream life in the Matrix because they are mere energy sources in the real world. The Matrix was necessary to conceal the unacceptable truth that humans exist to serve the needs of machines. Conversely, the Matrix cannot exist without the real world, as it relies on humans being plugged in. This interdependence is evident in the fact that if one dies in the Matrix they also perish in the real world, and vice versa. This dual nature of reality means deception is an inherent and essential element of the totality. It is not something that can be removed without dismantling the entire system. Just as Marx highlighted the dual character of capitalist society, the trilogy illustrates how deception is ingrained in the reality.

E2 203 Social Reproduction 1. Financialisation, indebtedness and social reproduction

Kate Meagher COVID-19 and The Will to Protect: African Informal Economies and the Financialization of Social Reproduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has shone a new light on informality and social protection, particularly in the African context. A focus on the essential labour and extreme vulnerability of African informal workers has framed a crisis of social reproduction in the COVID-19 context, turbo-charging a financialized neo-liberal social protection agenda. Noting the resilience of Africa's informalized societies to the pandemic, this paper will focus in on two paradoxical aspects of the crisis of social reproduction narrative. First, the reframing of African informal workers from 'surplus labour' to 'essential workers' under the COVID gaze will be examined in terms of the changing role of social protection and social reproduction in contemporary capitalism. The analysis will trace the role of social protection in the shift from a productivist to a financialized incorporation of informal workers in contemporary circuits of accumulation. Secondly, the appropriateness of digital cash transfer systems to the needs of African informal workers will be examined, given the poor infrastructure and digital capacity challenges faced by informal workers. Questions will be raised about whose needs are served by the rush to digital cash transfer systems during the pandemic, focusing on the tension between the social welfare case and the business case for digital social protection, and the limited benefits and lethal consequences of digital social protection models for African precarious workers.

Susan Himmelweit Social reproduction in the age of finance capital

"Walking round Wall Street . . . , one gets the impression that the world's affairs have been settled once and for all, that the age of work is finally over and that humanity has moved on to its next stage." Hernan Diaz, 2022, Trust: 285

Particular capitals do not depend on the reproduction of any particular set of workers. This historically led to living conditions that threatened the social reproduction of the working class. However in many countries, capital and labour managed to organise themselves to recognise their shared collective interests and, through the state, establish conditions for sustained social reproduction. Nevertheless, those conditions are easily undermined by a weakening of the recognition of that shared interest or by individually powerful capitals finding their interests are best served elsewhere or by other means. However the dominance of finance capital, and the power of those who get rich through it, takes this to a different level in that:

- i) the connection between labour and capital accumulation goes through many more stages obscuring the dependence of capital on the reproduction of labour power
- ii) many powerful capitals can no longer connect their existence to the reproduction of any particular set of workers or any particular working class
- iii) finance is international and there is no international analogy to the state with the power to control capital and labour in their own collective best interests.

My paper will explore these issues.

Lena Gempke Reproducing Debt: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Household Debt in South Africa and Beyond

Debt's re-politicization is escalating, with jubilee movements in the Global South gaining momentum. Feminist and decolonial discourses have historically highlighted imperialist origins and gendered impacts of debt. However, historical and current debates prioritize national debt, sidelining the causes, experiences, and impacts of household debt. Focusing on South Africa, this paper positions household debt as a crucial feminist and imperial issue, while conceptually drawing from and extending emerging debates around the social reproduction of households.

More concretely, this paper presents an interdisciplinary literature review, clustering existing debates around the issue of household debt in South Africa and beyond across political economy, anthropology and broader feminist scholarship. This review suggests that economic research often conceptualizes household debt as a rigid and generalizable economic phenomenon experienced by households in the Global South, sidelining social meaning and reproduction of debt illustrated by a rich body of anthropological scholarship. However, such more contextual debates overlook the structural causes of financialization that distinctively shape economic and financial structures, causing both fields to apply oversimplified concepts to complex real-world experiences. Following this review, the paper provides a framework for how an engagement with social reproduction approaches offers a way out of this conceptual dilemma.

Veronica Serafini Social reproduction and financialisation in Latin America

The costs of social reproduction in Latin America are mainly borne by women, given the low levels of contributory social security coverage and low tax burden. In this context, neither capital makes contributions nor the state can finance policies to redistribute the responsibilities of social reproduction, with clear consequences for the labor market.

The absence or scarce coverage of public provision of public services due to low fiscal priority, as well as tax systems that include tax deductions that benefit both private service providers, promote private provision of services, and fragment the quality of services, benefiting higher-income sectors.

This architecture of social protection and care organisation not only fails to reduce inequalities, but also sets the stage for the financialisation of social reproduction. The return of debt and the priority given to capital in its sustainability is another possible driver of financialisation, benefiting the accumulation of capital.

In Latin America this process has already begun through the installation of public-private partnerships in health, the so-called financial inclusion in social assistance programmes and, earlier, the privatisation of pension funds. The article explores the risks and the various ways in which the financialisation of social reproduction may deepen in the region, exacerbating pre-existing gaps and impeding advances in women's economic autonomy throughout their lives.

E3 201 Neoliberalism 1. Neoliberalism, State and Crisis

Diogo Mazon The impacts of the government spending ceiling on the role of the state in redistribution policies and reduction of inequalities in Brazil

Brazil is still a country with several problems regarding its economic and social characteristics, even with recent development and improvement in social and economic indicators and well-being conditions for the general population since the re-democratization in 1988. According to Campello et al. (2018), Brazil experienced an unprecedented and systematic fall in inequality in recent times but continues to occupy the position of one of the most unequal countries in the world.

However, income and wealth inequalities are still very high in the country due not only to historic and structural facts but also due to contemporary decisions, including political choices that privilege dominant classes based on neoliberal influences. Langoni (1973), in his classic work, argues that historically, the causes of income inequalities in Brazil are due to a range of factors related to the Brazilian labour market, such as disparities in the level of education, age, gender, sector of activity, and the worker's place of residence. Still, the most important aspect among those listed above, according to the author, is linked to disparities in the level of education. Differences in the level of education have aggravated and made income inequality a persistent phenomenon in Brazil over the decades.

To highlight the relationship between income inequality and education level in Brazil, Barros (1995) shows that in the second half of the 20th century, a one-year increase in education led to a 15% increase in salary. This figure had probably fallen by the 21st century due to an expansion of education level in Brazil, which de Oliveira Barbosa classifies as a "result of political will to expand and democratize access that resulted in a greater capacity for public supply" of higher education, but also due to an increase in informality in the labour market, which, as Krein & Colombi say, "is a result of neoliberal ideology dominance in the contemporary world".

Dynamics of economic trajectory, political decisions, and social policies can help create a sustainable path to reduce income inequalities. So, this project intends to analyze not only the historical characteristics and reasons for high inequalities in Brazil but also their path after re-democratization with the establishment of the new constitution launched in 1988, considered a "watershed moment in Brazil in terms of social rights" (Lavinias, 2017, p. 110). The 1988 Constitution focused on giving universal access to public services to the whole population. As Lavinias (2017) claims, "The Constitution guaranteed the right to a public and universal healthcare system, inspired on paper at least by the British National Health Service; support for the least fortunate and most excluded". (p. 6), and it is called The Citizen Constitution. However, since its implementation, due to several political and economic reasons, it has not been fully implemented. As Rossi, Dweck, and de Oliveira argue, "The 1988 constitution provides for several mechanisms that should act in this sense, but many of the approved measures have not yet come to fruition or have not been fully implemented. That project, including the promotion of a fairer society, is getting further and further away." (p. 7).

Furthermore, in the last decade, Brazil faced very dramatic political turbulence that changed its political orientation and culminated in a series of recent austerity measures based on neoliberal ideas. This research aims to analyze the impact of those austerity measures in terms of an increase in inequalities, as different indicators that will be shown and explained in the project can attest to. More specifically, the research will carefully analyze the impact on inequalities of the freezing of government spending after 2016 due to a shift in political orientation after the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff and the implementation of Constitutional Amendment 95/2016 and its consequences on public social policies like health, education and cash transfer programs. The Constitutional Amendment can be considered as setting a limit to the role and action of the State, as Rossi, Dweck, and de Oliveira put it more empathically: it ensured that austerity "assumed protagonism from 2015 as a short-term adjustment plan for the Brazilian economy, but in 2016, the principles of austerity began to guide the public sector structurally" (p. 7).

Against this background, the project intends to analyze the impacts of a specific aspect of neoliberal capitalism forced by austerity measures, namely the spending ceiling. This will be analyzed in the broader context of the financialization of the economy, with a focus on the financialization of public service provision as one of the consequences and means of implementation of austerity measures, designed to "reduce the scope of rights and entitlements" (Lavinias 2017, p. 5). The financialization of public services, its relation to the high levels of inequalities, and how this affects Brazilian society will be analyzed and explained. To do so, a historical perspective is essential to understand the behaviour and functioning of Brazilian society, but it is also important to understand the development and consolidation of neoliberalism and its political and economic influence in Brazil.

The main purpose of the research is to contribute to the debate on the impacts of neoliberal policy conduct in the provision of public services and how the changes that happened in Brazil in the last few years affected the population in terms of worsening socioeconomic inequalities. The impact on the general population could have worsened income inequalities due to the need to increase private spending on public services like health and education after the adoption of Constitutional Amendment 95/2016, as there is still little research on the impacts of a government spending freeze.

Before looking specifically at the impacts of this change in fiscal policy based on austerity rules on income inequalities in Brazil, the first section of the project will briefly contextualize the historical origins of neoliberalism's ideology. By doing that, it will be possible to show the roots, reasons, and motivations of theories' development and how neoliberalism started to influence the economic and politically dominant class in the 1970s. More importantly and specifically, the build-up of the argument will focus on the spectrum shift in the conduct of social and economic policies under governments with neoliberal characteristics, especially the role and size of the state in generating well-being in societies. Finalizing the first section, an analysis will be made of the impacts and consequences of austerity

measures, ascertaining the increasing inequalities in several countries since the 1970s and the relationship between the imposition of austerity measures and the financialization of public services.

The second part of the project will summarize the dynamics of inequalities in Brazil since the period of Portuguese colonization and the formation of institutions to determine the influence of the past on the current social and economic situation. To highlight the strong and persistent influence of a small dominant elite class that designed and conducted the institutions in Brazil to keep power and privilege on the generation of wealth and income even with the increase of distributive policies in the 21st century based on the implementation of public social policies that had the guidelines defined in the new constitution of 1988. This understanding is vital to appreciate the political and economic moves and forces that drove Dilma Rousseff's impeachment in 2015 and the ascendance of a more neoliberal ideology under Temer's administration when the Constitutional Amendment 95/2016 was put in place.

After the historical overview of neoliberalism of the discussion around the characteristics and historical reasons for inequalities in Brazil, which provide the background that lead to the implementation of the spending ceiling in 2016, the research will look specifically into the Constitutional Amendment 95/2016, and its direct and indirect impacts on living conditions in Brazil. As Dweck, Silveira, and Rossi (2018) argue, fiscal policy has a central role in explaining inequalities. Furthermore, the research will discuss the interests behind the changes in fiscal policy, who benefited from those changes, the motivations and arguments behind those changes, and how public opinion was forged by huge media outlets and economic conglomerates.

Concretely, the research will contribute to the discussion of the impacts and effectiveness, or lack thereof, of the spending ceiling, which in Brazil is well-known as "teto de gastos". In particular, the research will also examine whether the "teto de gastos" was used only as a political narrative that helped to change the political landscape forces in Brazil or whether it has been fully implemented and respected since its creation. Finally, a systematic and in-depth analysis of the spending ceiling's impact on public spending, public debt, and social expenditures will be made to ascertain to what extent austerity measures reached their goals, i.e. to concentrate public spending only on what is considered "essential". Then, indeed, it can be said if the prohibition for 20 years of any real increase in government expenditures and its effects on public health and education, cash transfer programs, and other income redistribution policies and development in general benefits the whole population or only the dominant political and economic elite. We will also look at whether these expenditure restrictions led to an increase in the financialization of the economy and public services in Brazil as a specific channel for the intensification of inequality.

Duygu Öztürk Kırışık Macpherson's Property Thesis: An Attempt at Analysis in a Global and National Context

Macpherson criticizes the conceptualization of liberal property of the 20th century, emphasizing the necessity of a transformation within the liberal paradigm. The definition of liberal property excludes forms of ownership other than private property, such as common ownership and state ownership, and reduces ownership to things, legitimizing ownership based on whether labor is involved, shaped according to the needs of market capitalism. This conceptualization of property does not align with the claims of liberal democracy. Liberal democracy considers private property as a natural right necessary for a humane life. However, the liberal democratic understanding of the same period advocates principles of private property acquisition that would hinder humane living, exclude others, and rely on labor contributions. The way to overcome this contradiction is to broaden this narrow definition of property. Discussions regarding state ownership and private property continue today, with the concept of property being used synonymously with private property, and state ownership being made invisible. The emergence of multinational corporations due to neoliberal globalization, privatizations, and financialization have resulted in the near elimination of state ownership. Consequently, state ownership is made even more invisible. The neoliberal paradigm advocating the narrowing of state ownership also demands transformation, sometimes calling for the state to enter the market as a redistributor and play an active role. This study aims to analyze contemporary capitalism in global and national contexts based on Macpherson's thesis and property categorization.

Galip Yalman Crises of Capitalism in the Era of "Interregnum"

Since 2008 global financial crisis capitalist societies have struggled to cope with the repercussions of economic, social and humanitarian crises. This has, in turn, stirred a series of theoretical responses to come to terms with the political

and social outcomes which ensued. From ‘authoritarian neoliberalism’ to ‘post-fascism’, these responses aimed to provide an understanding of the transformations in the state-class relations, as the era concerned is tended to be portrayed as the de-coupling of liberal democracy and neoliberalism. As the contemporary authoritarian turn has been experienced with or without a ‘regime change’, it becomes imperative to focus on the modalities of changes in the forms of state in both senses that Poulantzas had alluded. At the same time, there were debates ensuing about the nature of the crises and their implications for the global economic order on the one hand, and historically specific contexts on the other. It is pertinent in this regard to consider Gramsci’s conceptualisation of the crisis as a process rather than an event, and ponder whether ‘the crisis is now organic and no longer conjunctural’, as the process of neoliberal transformation is driven forward by a series of crises as exemplified in the Global South in particular. This paper will attempt to contribute to the debate on the transformation of state in historically specific contexts by exploring the reorganisation of social forces and reallocation of state power with a focus on crisis management strategies pursued as several ‘emerging market’ economies encounter the pitfalls of finance-dominated model of capital accumulation.

E2 213B Environment 1: Political Economy of Water

Felipe Coimbra Moretti A Prologue to Failure: Unbuilt Infrastructure in the Ceará Hinterlands, 1919-1925

This article explores the nature of capitalist territorial formation in the early twentieth-century, using as a case study the ultimately unsuccessful construction of a small dam in Northeast Brazil. Infrastructure and transportation networks played a significant part in the Brazilian government’s efforts in the early 1920s to ‘provide’ drought aid to this impoverished region. Delving into the economic context of the Epitácio Pessoa presidency (1919-1922), I explore the historical complexities that led impoverished peasants in the Northeast sertão to public construction sites in the region. Using archival sources, I explore the overlapping implications of infrastructure construction, unwaged labor, and the bold plans to change the local landscapes for these local men and women. I also situate these ambitious projects in the context of Brazil’s subservient participation in the global economy during this period as a commodities exporter, and one where foreign capital was particularly salient in the composition of such construction works. Through this interlocking exposition of labor and capital patterns, I wish to provide an insight into the broader forces that shaped new logistical complexes in the semiarid sertão. Finally, I suggest that high transportation costs and a limited logistical network configured one of the main chokeholds on development that Brazil’s federal drought aid agency sought to overcome.

Luis Andueza Notes on Climate, Late Neoliberalism, and the Hydropolitics of Crisis in Chile

The unfolding climate crisis introduces an element of disruption of such all-encompassing scale that it can only unfold through the highly mediated forms of a generalised crisis of the conditions of reproduction of capitalist social relations; that is, it takes on the form of, and articulates with, what Gramsci called an organic crisis. This paper examines the case of Chile, and how the dual crises of climate and neoliberalism converge in the production of an hydropolitics of scarcity. Since the outbreak of nation-wide riots in 2019, the country, once celebrated as an exemplary case of neoliberal development, has been mired in its deepest sociopolitical crisis in half a century. To many observers this marks an end point for the neoliberal settlement established during the Augusto Pinochet dictatorship and consolidated under the transition governments that followed. At the same time, over the past decade most of the country’s landmass has gone through an extreme drought, unprecedented in both its geographical and temporal extent. The paper explores the specific ways in which neoliberalism as a political-economic project took root in the country’s hydrosocial cycle, in order to account for climate disruption as mediated through deep crises in metabolic and hydrosocial conditions of neoliberal hegemony. For this I consider the question of water in its historical constitution as a political problem, which is, I argue, inherent to the political ecology of neoliberalism in Chile and the development of its particular social and ecological contradictions.

Natalia Buier From agricultural work to the labour of conservation: reflecting on the integration of social and environmental justice through the case of groundwater overexploitation

Drawing on my research on groundwater depletion and agriculture-conservation conflicts in SW Andalusia, my presentation will focus on the ways in which the anthropology of class (and the political economy perspectives that

traverse it) can contribute to advancing debates in critical conservation studies. Since the fall of 2021 I have been tracing the unfolding of struggles connected to groundwater overexploitation in the region of Doñana, a wetland area officially enjoying the highest degree of national and international protection. In this presentation I draw on the deep genealogies of the conflict in order to reflect on the integration of social and environmental justice. In order to do so, I will trace the ways in which emic and etic conceptions of “local community” have reinforced structural inequalities in ecological distribution conflicts and discuss the ways in which these are traversed by hegemonic understandings of agricultural labour.

E2 102 Varieties of socialism 1. Socialism and development since the 1970s

Goran Musić Workers’ Self-Management and African Humanism: Tracing Yugoslav-Zambian Exchanges on Labor, 1970-1991

Faced with the hostile neighboring countries, growing political opposition, differing regional interests, and industrial action after independence the Zambian ruling party UNIP, and its leader Kenneth Kaunda, decided to ban the oppositional political parties and introduce single party rule in the early 1970s. The new political orientation was based on the principles of ‘Zambian humanism’– Kenneth Kaunda’s brand of African socialism which envisioned participatory democracy from below as an alternative to the multiparty system. The new ruling ideology borrowed from socialism, Christianity, local traditions and included the idea of workplace participation. As one of Zambia’s main foreign partners through the Non-Aligned Movement and the advocate of workers’ self-management, Yugoslavia served as an inspiration for UNIP’s new state policies. This paper discusses mutual visits of state delegations between Zambia and Yugoslavia and their exchanges on labor and development. Based on the archival records from both countries the article will highlight transfers of knowledge about state-building, labor policies and governing and the ways in which Zambia tried to apply the Yugoslav solutions to its local conditions.

Alina-Sandra Cucu Deregulation anxiety: Debates on planning mechanisms in the Romanian 1970s

Finally moving beyond the “evident” Cold War bloc logic and the myth of autarky in the Soviet bloc, recent literature has paid increasing attention to how different degrees of global integration pushed socialist economies through successive waves of reorganization. The paper focuses on one of these moments: Romania’s turn towards high value-added, export-oriented production after mid-1960s, and the debates it sparked within technocratic circles. Carried in the pages of the most visible journals of the time, these conversations usually started from the effort of finding practical solutions to concrete problems by learning from how things were done in the capitalist core.

Almost all of them were couched in the antinomic language of “laissez-faire and coordination”, which translated into complex inquiries about planning mechanisms. Romanian technocrats – independently and together with their Western counterparts – were confronted with questions about what to plan, when to plan, how to plan, and at what scale. The paper analyses how the regulation/deregulation contradiction played out in these debates and how it shaped the tenets of a critique of political economy coming from an Eastern European corner. What can we learn about the regulation/deregulation tension through the lenses of critique produced by the socialist planners and economists in the 1970s? And how was the critique of socialist technocrats different from the analyses articulated by the Western left at the time?

James Nealy Soviet Women, Soviet Industry, and the Soviet Welfare State in the 1970s

By the 1970s, the capitalist world had embarked upon the transition to what critics call “neoliberalism” – a political economy centered on austerity measures, a market “encased” from the impetuosity of democracy, and the elimination of price controls. A central element of neoliberalism wherever it has spread, the dismantling of the welfare state – no matter how comprehensive or narrow – has had a disastrous effect on vulnerable women. This article argues that Soviet socialism insulated Soviet female workers from the ravages of neoliberal capitalism even as it failed to fulfill the loftiest of the Soviet state’s aspirations. Through a focused study of female workers in Soviet industry – in particular the chemical industry – this article shows that at the precise moment that Western nations abandoned their respective welfare states, the Soviet Union expanded its own.

Anna Calori Cultivating development? Agricultural industrialisation, self-reliance and interdependency in the non-aligned world

Agricultural production and its mechanisation was an important pillar of industrialisation projects throughout the 20th century. For developing countries, a rapid growth of agricultural output and commercialisation was a crucial element in the quest to gain economic independence and counter trade imbalances with industrialised countries. Rethinking the production and trade of fundamental food commodities in view of achieving economic self-reliance was the main driving parameter for this transformation.

The historiography on this topic has so far looked at agricultural development in the second half of the twentieth century with a strong Cold War lens, focusing on the history of economic transfers between the developing world and either the Euro-Atlantic or the Soviet Bloc. Yet, as this paper illustrates, several exchanges existed between non-aligned countries (such as Yugoslavia and Zambia) as well as “less-aligned” or “never-aligned” ones (Romania, China).

Rather than protectionism of laissez-faire market integration, it was self-reliance – the paper argues – that functioned as a guiding principle of newly independent developing countries in the Global South. What these socialist states had in common was a commitment to finding collectively self-reliant paths to economic development that would simultaneously work as mechanisms for domestic social engineering. China’s ever-growing influence in sub-Saharan Africa, the paper proposes, ought to be understood in light of this historical trajectory, one that highlights how varieties of socialism actually incurred into different forms of (neo)imperialist dependency.

E2 302 CoA 1. Documenting resistance: the #EndSARS movement in Nigeria, and freedom in the Middle East

Godswill Ezeonyeka New forms of extraction? Analyzing the surplus value in the agrarian sector of India

Truls Lie The Significance of Freedom (7 shorts – Middle East)

I have a work-in-progress of 7 short documentary film essays, all from Middle East. They will be titled Gaza, Oslo, Ramallah, Jerusalem, Beirut, Cairo, Tehran, of 10 minutes each. They are 'essays', more reflective or philosophical on the suppression of Palestinians, and citizens in Cairo and Tehran. The focus is mostly what women think about freedom, and a criticism of the powers that may be. The material shot is more than 200 hours from these places. The Oslo film, is a large conference on the Oslo Accords, and some others has partly a following the Norwegian Foreign Minister. The film has a radical/anarchistic touch, also using female philosophers like Hannah Arendt with comments. The aesthetics involved a lot of movements from dance etc, and interviews are cut in a fragmentary way (not talking heads films).

11:45-13:30 | SESSION 2

E2 231A Agrarian Change 2. Land, tenancy, farming and labour

Ful Prosper Loh Who gets (to farm) the land? A comparative case study on “failed” large-scale land deals in Ghana

Large-scale land deals in Africa have profound impacts in many rural communities altering socio-economic and institutional frameworks and livelihoods even if they are non-operational or fail. Ghana is a case in point where according to the Land Matrix, more than 400,000 hectares were acquired for bioenergy crops, at the height of the “land grab” period. More than a decade later, many of the companies grow other crops, are only partially or non-operational, or were given up completely.

“Failed” deals have rarely been studied, therefore, it is unclear what happens to the land and former users. We aim to provide an in-depth account of such “failed” deals, especially of differentiated experiences of affected community members, such as landowners, migrant sharecroppers, and women.

Two cases, subject to an earlier study by one author, are selected. We use a mixed-method comparative case study research design and did two-month fieldwork in 2023. The revised Sustainable Livelihoods Framework is combined with Agrarian Political Economy to interpret our findings. Preliminary results show rather different outcomes at the two sites depending on the nature of the initial lease agreement. Case 1 is ongoing on a small scale. Some land has been redistributed to previous owners and company workers gained access to the land, for the company to maintain control over it. In case 2 the company left, and mostly women sharecroppers were allowed to farm the land under the auspices of the subchief.

Rajanya Bose Staggered dispossession, Precarity of Work, and Class: Linking labour and land struggles in the Indian Coal Belt

Privatisation and deregulation of the coal sector, allowing for commercial profits through mining, have generated a rush for land and increased extractivism in the last two decades in mineral belts of India. This paper places Birampalli, an Adivasi and Dalit village in coal belts of Central India inhabited by marginalized social groups, within a continuum of displacement and its impacts, contextualised within mining-instigated agrarian changes and rural industrialisation. Birampalli had lost parts of its cultivable land through a state-led acquisition on behalf of private capital in 2006, and now faces an impending complete displacement due to mine expansion by another company. This paper will show three things. One, that mining related dispossession might be experienced in stages, within the life cycle of a single or two generations but their political struggles may vary between these stages of land grabs.

Two, that the fragmentation of reproduction between land/labour and agrarian/nonagrarian, resulting from such loss, can create possibilities of connecting political struggles straddling these binaries, strengthening emancipatory politics. The men who received compensatory jobs in lieu of lost land in the first phase of the acquisition in Birampalli, lost these jobs to regulatory and business complications shutting down the mine after 2013. The expulsion of the dispossessed from the mining jobs pushed these workers in long drawn negotiations with multiple and shifting stakeholders for regaining employment and lost payments. They have also continued to experience increasing precarity of work in agrarian and non-agrarian sectors due to casualisation in the industrial sector, falling agricultural income and depletion of minor forest produce. Both the collective memory of the past dispossession and the labour rights movement ensuing from precarious work now form the basis of a broad-based agrarian movement in defence of land rights against the impending displacement in Birampalli.

Three, the labour rights mobilisation of erstwhile land losers as well as the current anti displacement struggles are rooted in existing agrarian inequalities, both of which foreground interests of landed capital.

The paper is important for two reasons. One, it draws out the class dynamics within and between Adivasis and Dalits, two most marginalised social groups in India, building up on scholarship that often focuses on their marginalisation viv-a-vis upper caste groups, thereby discussing its relevance to understanding agrarian change and extractivism. Two, it challenges binaries between land and labour mobilisations amidst such agrarian change, not making apriori assumptions of either as inherently progressive. Rather linking the two movements as constituted by same complex processes of agrarian change, the progressive potential are debated for both land and labour mobilisations, through investigation of class character of such demand-making.

Bhaskar Yempelli Institutionalization of Social Movements: Emergence of New Landlords in Telangana Region of India

Telangana, in India, is recognized for its long history of agrarian movements. Starting from Komaram Bheem's struggle for rights on Jal, Jungle, and Jameen to the great 'Telangana Peasant Armed Rebellion' in the 1940s, 'Godavari Valley' armed rebellions under the leadership of Chandra Pulla Reddy and finally CPI (ML) 'Peoples War' movement, now recognized as the CPI (Maoist). The widespread poverty and exploitation by the rich resulted in movements by agricultural labourers and poor peasants (Sharma, 2005). After the 1991 economic reforms Indian economy shifted from state-controlled economic policies to neoliberal development policies. At the same time, there is a massive rise in agrarian movements in the Indian countryside (Lerche, Shaw, & White, 2013).

At the time of The Telangana peasant armed struggle, under the leadership of Sanghams' (village communes) land of landlords were distributed to the people. Police Action led by the Indian government in 1947 determined to occupy the Nizam state, also entered villages, suppressed the armed struggle and made a way back for the landlords into the villages. Later, the Communist Party of India's (CPI) withdrawal from the 'Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle' and the decision to participate in the electoral politics institutionalised the armed struggle and made an easy way for the feudal agrarian relations to continue in the village.

There was an influx of migrant farmers from Coastal Andhra districts as well as from plain areas of Telangana. Naxalites treated these migrated landlords as allies to the movement and did not touch their power and domination in villages. In a short period, these migrant farmers could get hold of the domination of villages and establish traditional feudal land relations. The Naxalite movement in the 1980s targeted and attacked only the traditional landlords of the villages. However, they had not concentrated and underestimated the migrated peasants who became the villages' feudal force due to their social positions. Due to the prevalence of the Naxalite movement, landlords sold their lands at cheaper prices and left their lands in the village and fled to the cities. However, the migrant farmers replaced these landlords by purchasing and leasing-in the lands of the traditional landlords.

This paper examines the Telangana agrarian relations through the lens of "agrarian conflict" theory, which views agrarian conflict and its resolution as a key to agrarian transformation (Shin, 1998)." This paper explores how agrarian conflict influenced agrarian relations and land reforms in the Telangana region of India. Agrarian conflict theory greatly enhances the current understanding of Telangana agrarian relations by analysing more than just the political economy of development.

Ayse Obali Agrarian Neoliberalism and the Enduring Legacy of Landholding Inequality in Turkey

While Turkey is the 9th agricultural producer globally, it has recently experienced some of the highest food inflation in the world. To understand this conundrum, this paper analyzes the impact of agrarian policies adopted under the IMF's guidance after 2001 and observes three main outcomes. First, Turkish agriculture has become aggressively export-oriented to help reduce Turkey's current account deficit. Second, the lack of soil and water regulation has caused environmental issues that have lowered agricultural productivity. Third, the lack of incentives for small farmers has increased land concentration and reduced competition. By applying a cross-regional analysis, the paper argues that these outcomes have been stronger in provinces with historically high landholding inequality. The enduring legacy of landholding inequality in these provinces has contributed to a dependence on poverty relief and an absence of resistance against the effects of neoliberal agrarian policies. The paper ends with a discussion on its potential implications for several Latin American countries that have historically been marked by land inequalities and have faced similar market liberalization processes.

Henry Bernstein 'Old-New' Questions in the Political Economy of Agrarian Change

The 'old-new question' highlighted is that of class differentiation of ('small') farmers, to whom I apply the concept of petty commodity producers and the notion of 'classes of labour'. Lurking within the conception of 'classes of labour' as applied to those of rural residence and provenance who are 'too poor to farm' (or enough for their reproduction), is a theoretical stance: that it is possible, and indeed important, to explain how capitalist social relations and their dynamics are established, function and change *without* those relations necessarily being manifested in phenomenally evident 'classes', that is, classes unified by common experiences, identities, 'consciousness' and action. This has a general relevance but is no doubt of special relevance to rural 'classes of labour' who typically occupy a wide and highly diverse range of social forms and reproductive activities. Indeed such an understanding is the pervasive substratum of all hopes, experiences and defeats of progressive class politics (including its 'melancholia'). These propositions both draw on previous work and present some new formulations and angles on them.

E2 303 Africa 1: Climate Crisis and Green Imperialism in Africa

Kennedy Manduna The violent interregnum, (un)just energy transition and accumulation by decarbonization: Decoupling/dissecting South Africa's Just Energy Transition Implementation Plan, 2023–2027

As we face an existential climate crisis in which we are confronted with a moral crisis of having the least emitters of greenhouse gases being the hardest hit by the debilitating effects of climate change, calls and echoes for transitioning from fossil fuel-based energy systems to clean energy-based systems correspondingly ramp up. That said, South Africa's Just Energy Transition Implementation Plan (JET IP), 2023–2027, is just but a policy document to operationalize the country's calls for a just energy transition. However, while on the global arms race for the JET, South Africa is undergoing what I am theorizing here as the violent interregnum- a poly-crisis situation in which multiple crises collide, intersect and escalate simultaneously. The interregnum, unfortunately, has direct and profound implications for adding new layers and stripes of complexities, entanglements and dynamics to the JET pathway. Apparent are promising results of an unjust energy transition characterized by energy colonialism/coloniality where, on the one pole, there is 'accumulation by decarbonization', and on the other pole, increased energy poverty, energy insecurity and general loss of livelihoods by many due to increased rates of poverty, unemployment and inequality. Consequently, the knock-on effects of the JET IP on the following are phenomenal: energy democracy, security, access and poverty; the raging global geopolitical earthquakes; and (re)structuring the ownership, control and management of both the means and factors of energy production, financing, distribution, generation, transmission and consumption. Therefore, drawing upon Gramsci's notions of interregnum, hegemony and power, this paper aims to articulate notions of unjust energy transition and energy colonialism embedded within the JET IP in the context of the country's polycrisis across divides.

Ben Radley Renewable Energy Expansion in Africa: Pathway to Transformation or Deepening Dependency? (for joint stream with the Commodity Studies Working Group)

For around a decade or so now, African governments have been seeking to become active participants in global renewable energy value chains. Their broad range of interventions reflect the desire to reconfigure the global organisation of renewable energy production and leverage the hoped-for global energy transition as an opportunity to drive much-needed structural transformation in commodity dependent economies. This paper advances a preliminary appraisal of these efforts, drawing on a wide range of secondary data on the global distribution of renewable energy research, design, and manufacturing capacity and employment, alongside case study material on the solar sector in Rwanda and the DR Congo collected in 2022 and 2023, including primary survey and interview data.

Based on the data presented, it is argued that the continent is providing domestic markets for the entry of Northern and East Asian renewable energy finance and technology – under the civilising banner of 'lighting the dark continent' – while gaining little by way of domestic capital formation or structural transformation. On the contrary, renewable energy expansion in Africa as currently configured appears to signify a deepening of the continent's historic dependent insertion into the global economy as a peripheral exporter of primary commodities and an importer of foreign manufactured goods emanating from global centres of wealth and power.

Kristina Dietz Climate crises and green imperialism - the political economy of green hydrogen production in Africa and Latin America

In the context of decarbonization efforts, the focus of geopolitical competition is shifting from energy inputs to materials and energy carriers, including green hydrogen, its production, exportation and infrastructure capacity. These shifts are not just the results of market dynamics but are driven by the resurgence of (green) industrial policy, EU Green Deal policies and a strong focus on supply security. Embedded in this shifting geopolitical context, countries in the global South with high solar radiation, high wind potentials and seemingly free land and labour are increasingly becoming the focus of what can be called "energy or green imperialism". The latter refers to an imperialism that extracts renewable energies in the global South to decarbonize production and consumption patterns in the global North. Comparing green hydrogen policies and production in one country in Africa (Namibia or South Africa) and one country in Latin America (Colombia), my contribution explores how this 'green' imperialism is taking shape in different national contexts of the global South and along contested hydrogen production networks, transnational constellations of actors and alliances, and conflicts over energy transition pathways. Beyond state and non-state actors I take into account the role of international actors and organizations in shaping the hydrogen production networks, such as development agencies, international and regional development banks.

Grasian Mkodzongi

E2 301 Work 2. Social identity and labour relations

Ambarish Karamchedu The illness, death and labour of caste and manual scavenging in India

This paper foregrounds caste and labour to understand the everyday violence towards manual scavenging Dalits in India. The lowest sub-caste within Dalits, their sole role is to clean and transport faeces for a living by hand. A continuous practise since 600AD, an estimated 1.2-1.7 million manual scavengers still exist in India today. Drawing on secondary literature from human rights reports, articles and newspaper archives, I analyse manual scavenging through the concept of “cheap” embodied labour.

I argue that the indignity of manual scavenging is internalised through disease or early death from their daily labour. The more they scavenge, the more it justifies the religiously sacralised polluted worth given to them in Indian society by other castes, including sub-caste Dalits. The active enactment of caste oppression operates through physical violence and denial of credit for businesses in preventing manual scavengers from leaving their caste role via migration or education.

A key driver of manual scavenging is the mass employment by the Indian government at the national, state, municipal and village level in urban and rural India. The imbrication of caste oppression via manual scavenging is seen as a “cheaper” way by the government to temporarily mask their institutional failures in India’s sanitation infrastructure and open defecation crisis.

This paper contributes to understanding the centrality of labour as the embodiment of caste violence, hoping to understand the struggle for caste abolition and giving manual scavengers some semblance of their humanity and dignity back.

I argue that the indignity of manual scavenging is internalised through disease or early death from their daily environmental labour. The more they scavenge, the more it justifies the religiously sacralised polluted worth given to them in Indian society by other castes, including sub-caste Dalits. The active enactment of caste oppression operates through physical violence and denial of credit for businesses in preventing manual scavengers from leaving their caste role via migration or education.

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This paper contributes to understanding the centrality of environment and labour as the embodiment of caste violence, hoping to understand the struggle for caste abolition and giving manual scavengers some semblance of their humanity and dignity back.

Ayse Arslan Complex intra-class and intra-gender relationships under the neoliberal, patriarchal labour regime: Garment workers in Turkey

Intra-class relationships are shaped by the economic, political and cultural formations in a certain spatial and geographical context, and also shape them. Based on E.P. Thompson’s experiential class understanding and a feminist political economy perspective, this paper explores the specific ways in which garment workers experience and understand their class condition and the ways in which neoliberal and patriarchal norms and practices shape social relationships on the shop floor. The paper answers these questions by focusing on the Turkish garment industry and using the data gathered from an ethnographic extended case study. It shows that the neoliberal garment labour regime, which is characterised by low wages, job insecurity, strict labour control and the lack of organised class power, significantly deteriorates intra-class relationships among workers. Moreover, patriarchal ideologies further deteriorate women workers’ intra-gender relationships by constructing and constituting women as rivals of each other. However, despite manifesting strong competitive and individualistic characteristics in the lack of collective class and feminist struggle, the intra-class relationships of garment workers in general and intra-gender relationships of women garment

workers in particular also include certain levels of solidarity and support. The paper uses rich ethnographic data to show how competition and solidarity manifest in workers' relationships with each other on the shop floor.

Helena Perez Nino Changing dynamics of women's work: women working in greenhouse in Turkey and Colombia

Many labour-intensive sectors in productive clusters of the global south, especially export-oriented or associated with logistical corridors, clusters and hubs, are notable for their intense mobilization of a female workforce. It has been proposed that the pressures of seasonality, profitability and shifting demand in international markets often result in employers, brokers and contractors passing down costs and risks to women workers in agricultural, agro-industrial, agro-processing, packaging and logistics jobs. But these processes take different shapes in different settings and express the variety and contingency of the outcomes of the encounter between capital and households, kinship structures, gender politics and forms of social organization in different geographic contexts. This paper compares how these forms of exploitation in the workplace and the household combine with gender norms, gender power relations, women's (im)mobility, sexuality, conjugality and fertility among women working in greenhouses in the Colombian flower sector and in green houses in Turkey. We examine under which circumstances does the combination of work and reproduction pressures sustains the mobilising and disciplining of workers and which forms of resistance and agency emerge. The paper is based on the dialogue that emerges from contrasting ethnographic work conducted in and around zones of intense labour mobilization and distinctive (but contrastive) experiences of women in the workforce.

Zeynep Ceren Eren Benlisoy Changing dynamics of women's work: women working in greenhouse in Turkey and Colombia

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E2 110 Geoeconomic and Geopolitical Transformations of the World Economy

Maria Gavris Capitalism's Multiple and Interconnected Crises: Political Economy Perspectives and Interdisciplinarity

Economic historian Adam Tooze popularised the term 'polycrisis' in 2022 to describe the multiple intersecting challenges the world is facing today: an economic crisis, an ecological crisis, a crisis of distribution/cost of living crisis, a post-Covid health crisis, against a backdrop of intensified regional conflicts and crises of international relations.

This paper argues that, in order to understand the polycrisis, we need to turn to political economy perspectives. The strength of political economy is that, in contradistinction to mainstream economics, it recognises that the economy is a subsystem of the environment and at the same time embedded in society. The paper will examine how the polycrisis has been interpreted across different political economy traditions (Keynesian economics, ecological Marxism, feminist political economy, Polanyian institutionalism). At the same time, the paper will argue that, while the term 'polycrisis' is relatively recent, interlocking crises are not a new phenomenon. For this reason, it will also explore the question of what (if anything) makes the current polycrisis distinctive. Finally, the paper will argue that, at its core, the polycrisis is about how we manage our shared resources and our relationships to the earth system and each other and that,

therefore, it would be fruitful for political economy to engage in interdisciplinary dialogue with other social sciences as well as ‘hard’ sciences to find ways to tackle the multiple intersecting challenges facing the world today.

Sergio Cámara Izquierdo Is China breaking with the neoliberal dynamics? An inquiry into China’s quest for hegemony

The U.S. hegemony has reigned the world economy since WWII. It was successfully renovated and reinforced during the neoliberal restructuring that ensued the 1970s structural crisis of profitability. However, the U.S. world hegemony is currently under siege as a consequence of the new structural crisis of the neoliberal regime of capital accumulation, of a financial type now, that sparked since the 2000-2001 dot-com crisis, received its foremost slump in the 2007-2009 Great Recession, and was renewed with the advent of the covid-19 pandemic in 2020, the consequent mild recovery, and other varied malaises affecting the U.S and world economy.

It is argued that the world economy is in need and at the brink of a major restructuring. It is also argued that the US economy evidences a deeply-rooted weakness that seriously jeopardizes its ability to retain or renovate its world hegemony; the main explanation for this weakness is the absence of a productive restructuring of its economy. Finally, it is argued that this situation is twinned by the rise of China as a competing power. First, it is argued that the rise of China has been strongly dependent on and related to the neoliberal structural configuration of the world economy under the U.S. hegemony. Then, it is argued that China could only tackle the U.S. world hegemony by breaking with the neoliberal structural dynamics and leading a world productive restructuring, based on its economic might and productive capabilities, precisely the cause of the U.S. weakness. In doing so, it must build a new economic area of influence, based on the China-Russia axis and the BRICS, that displaces the dominant western axis under the U.S. world hegemony. The main contribution of this paper is a thorough empirical evaluation of this endeavor.

Arturo Guillén

E2 221 China 2. Capital Market in China

Zhenyu Zhang “China and financialization: the performance, the causes, and the consequences”

Financialization has significantly impacted the Chinese economy since the turn of the century. This presentation seeks to outline the actual characteristics of financialization, and to clarify its causes and consequences. It performs a range of econometric analyses of both firm-level and aggregate-level developments, with a view of building up a systematic exposition on financialization in China. The analytical findings indicate that productive investment is at the heart of developments.

Alicia Girón

Jie Meng Understanding the Industrial Policy Regime with Chinese Characteristics: An Investigation of the relevant Intermediary Institutions in the perspective of Political Economy

The formulation and implementation of industrial policies is an important part of state’s economic governance in the socialist market economy, and plays a vital role in fulfilling the purpose of socialist production, overcoming market failures and promoting high-quality economic development. The industrial policy system is combined with specific institutions to form an industrial policy system. On the basis of the CPC’s leadership and the basic economic system in the initial stage of socialism, a system of intermediary institutions has been formed which specifically defines the characteristics of the industrial policy system with Chinese characteristics. This paper examines four types of intermediary institutions: constructive markets, intra-governmental competition, competition among local governments, and socialist capital markets with Chinese characteristics. These institutions are interconnected, with constructive markets at the core. They are the materialized forms of the basic economic system in China’s strategic and foundational sectors. The examination of the system of intermediary institutions helps us to understand why the Chinese-styled industrial policy system can be developed into a new whole-nation system that is predicated on giving full play to the decisive role of the market.

E2 103 Financialisation 2. Resistance to financialisation and debts (I)

Philip Mader Debt resistance across the globe: a new form of social conflict? (Panel on Resistance)

Protests and movements that challenge debt have become more prominent since the 2008 economic crisis, involving different social groups, including students, farmers, small entrepreneurs, and homeowners. These apparently new forms of financialized conflict show that many kinds of debt, previously seen as “fair”, are increasingly contested. Under what conditions does the legitimacy of debt relationships begin to collapse? For what reasons do the moral dispositions of debtors change in critical moments, when personal debt becomes a public problem? From a theoretical perspective, our goal is to link the growing literature on social studies of financialization and debt to social movement studies. Much attention has been paid to the contestation of austerity politics and debt in the global economic system. But there is still a need for a clearer picture regarding personal debts as factors in social change.

To address these issues, the first part of this contribution proposes a brief overview of debt contestations in several countries – Chile, France, India, Morocco, Poland, South Africa, UK, USA – where four financial mechanisms fueled debt contention: mortgages, giving rise to anti-eviction movements; microcredit, triggering mass protests and repayment strikes; farmers’ debts, contested by peasant movements; student loans, which recently engendered successful debt cancellations. The second part examines two case studies. In Spain, the Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca, created in 2009, managed to stop thousands of evictions, extend social housing, and radically change the dominant narrative concerning responsibility for debt. It was also an important driving force in the initial left-wing swing of Spanish politics following the crisis. In India, in 2010, outrage over suicides among microfinance borrowers precipitated protests in Andhra Pradesh, leading to government intervention and writing-off of over US\$ 1bn of microloans. These events shifted the narrative around microfinance from developmental panacea to instrument of exploitation.

Quentin Ravelli Debt resistance across the globe: a new form of social conflict? (Panel on Resistance)

Protests and movements that challenge debt have become more prominent since the 2008 economic crisis, involving different social groups, including students, farmers, small entrepreneurs, homeowners. These apparently new forms of financialized conflict show that many kinds of debt, seen as “fair” in the past, are increasingly contested. Under what conditions does the legitimacy of debt relationships begin to collapse? For what reasons do the moral dispositions of debtors change in critical moments, when personal debt becomes a public problem? From a theoretical perspective, our goal is to link the growing literature on social studies of financialization and debt to social movement studies. Much attention has been paid to the contestation of austerity politics and debt in the global economic system. But there is still a need for a clearer picture regarding personal debts as factors in social change. To address these issues, the first part of this contribution proposes a brief overview of debt contestations in several countries – Chile, France, India, Morocco, Poland, South Africa, UK, USA – where four financial mechanisms fueled debt contention: mortgages, giving rise to anti-eviction movements; microcredit, triggering mass protests and repayment strikes; farmers’ debts, contested by peasant movements; student loans, which recently engendered successful debt cancellations.

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Rita Silva The struggle against the financialisation of housing in Portugal (Panel on Resistance)

The financialisation of housing goes beyond the indebted subjects, impacting in different ways on access to housing. The article explores the dynamics of the financialisation of housing in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area and the role housing movements play in challenging it. The struggle for the right to housing in Portugal, against evictions placed financialisation at the core of its critique and through the process of organisation and mobilisation impacted countering ongoing financialisation processes.

The proposed article is based on the analysis of two historical moments of the housing struggle in Portugal facing financialisation, one that goes from 2005 to 2018 (which takes elements from the authors' joint article, Saaila & Silva, 2023) and a new phase, starting in 2023, where new strategies emerge, bringing new elements to the struggle against the financialisation of housing, challenges and achievements.

The study reconstructs the processes of concrete struggles that, over several years, have built up a relationship of forces, promoted mobilisations and a combination of tactics, that achieved real victories in countering specific processes of financialization in Portugal, even though they have not managed to structurally change the ongoing dynamics. Based on qualitative empirical work, through ethnographic and militant research, this article discusses actions, strategies, contexts and victories over housing financialisation processes.

Jessica Sklair “I’m not an entrepreneur, I’m a get by-er”: Everyday strategies for contesting debt and financialisation in North and Northeast Brazil (Panel on Resistance)

This paper draws on two participatory workshops, held with women’s social movements in a rural and urban region of Northeast Brazil. These workshops were designed to initiate collaborative development of a broader project, to explore gendered experiences of debt and financialisation and form strategies for Brazilian women to better contest these processes. We begin with a brief historical contextualisation of political mobilisation across these two regions. We show how even though debt has always been central to the experience of these communities, it has not been at the core of their *luta* (political struggle), which has been focused instead on territorial rights and access to public services. Recently, however, the deepening financialisation of Brazilian economic and social policy has led to shifts in women’s experience of debt, and our workshops identified a growing critical awareness of financialisation and its drivers. Workshop participants recognised debt and financialisation as politico-legal issues and shared small, everyday acts of resistance and contestation, grounding their resistance in local notions of human rights. This contestation included refusal to accept the state-sponsored rhetoric of individual responsibility for financial management, which compels Brazilians on the periphery of capitalism to cast themselves as ‘financial entrepreneurs’. Participants refused the label of entrepreneur, casting themselves instead as ‘seviroides’ (‘get by-ers’) in a subversive move that recognised the precarity of their economic situation while refusing to endorse the political forces keeping them in debt. In parallel, participants recounted small acts of noncompliance (refusal to pay), and alternative economic strategies (creation of a community vegetable garden, local community lending schemes, etc) developed in defiance of the debt-based economy. We explore the potential of these diverse forms of resistance to debt and financialisation in the Brazilian context, and possible avenues for their strengthening through community-based strategies.

Catarina Morawska (Panel on Resistance) “I’m not an entrepreneur, I’m a get by-er”: Everyday strategies for contesting debt and financialisation in North and Northeast Brazil

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E3 101 MBC 1. Beyond contemporary capitalism: knowledge, technology, and Noonomy

Sergey Bodrunov Beyond the modern capitalism: knowledge, technologies, noonomy

It is evident that today modern capitalist system has been confronting with difficulties of an increasingly complicated nature. Financial instability, increasing property inequality, falling economic growth, disturbing environmental challenges, sharp contradictions in international economic relations are the symptoms of maladies. At the same time, the last three hundred years were marked by the consistent change of predominating technological orders that led to enhancement of labor productivity and satisfaction of the population demands. Nevertheless, regardless of the significant reduction of industry specific weight and of material production as a whole they remain to be the technological core of the modern economy. However, the essence of industrial production has changed by turning into knowledge-intensive material production as its progress is based on the growing importance of knowledge.

Still this progress has not allowed to overcome challenges stated above as the existing system of production activity economic criteria results both in economic interests clashes and natural resources unrestrained consumption. These contradictions may be resolved by transition from economic criteria of rationality to the criteria set by the human mind, in other words transfer from economy to noonomy.

James Galbraith Inequality and Industrial Change: Noonomy Perspective

Radhika Desai What Noonomy Needs from Finance?

Noonomy involves an industrial transition and there is a considerable literature on the role of finance in industrial transitions. In this paper, I take one of the best-known, that proposed by Giovanni Arrighi in *The Long Twentieth Century* on the basis of the work of Fernand Braudel, to argue that, notwithstanding the great erudition of these scholars, these understandings of the role of finance are faulty. I show that the chief reason for their defect is an eternalization of their understanding of the relation of finance to production. If, instead, we understand this relation historically, we arrive at a very different understanding of the role of finance in production and in the organization of industrial transition. This historical understanding forms the basis of a radically different understanding of the financial structures that will best serve a successful industrial transition envisaged by Noonomy.

Alan Freeman Noönomy in context: what the West should learn from Russia

Heterodox political economy in Russia is evolving rapidly, generating vibrant new thinking which Western thinkers are largely unaware of. The paper will give my take on Noönomy, one of the most interesting new ideas to emerge from the chaos of Shock Therapy, by setting it in the historical context of Russian development.

The Soviet experience has long been treated in the West – by both Left and Right – as an exemplar of ‘what not to do’. I will argue that such reactions ignore the specificity of Russian and indeed Eurasian capitalism, attempting to treat the Soviet model as something to be transplanted out of Russia into the rest of the world. In fact, for Russian economists in particular, the Soviet experience constitutes a great laboratory, in which all manner of solutions to the huge problems its many and varied countries experienced we tried out and analysed.

It is for this reason that Russian economic thinking has exercised enormous influence in Western economics: Slutsky, Leontiev, Kondratiev, Kuznets, Gershenkron, Lyapunov are only a few of the best-known scholars to whom the economics is both taught and highly regarded in Western institutions including those dedicated to neoliberal ideas. Contemporary economic thinking in Russia is going through a new and vibrant stage of evolution, and Western economics has much to learn from it. Noönomy, I will argue, is a case in point.

Svetlana Bodrunova

E2 203 Social reproduction 2. Accumulation, exploitation and social reproduction

Clare Hawkes Unpacking Issues for labour with children working in Dhaka’s leather safety gloves industry

Mainstream approaches to child labour treat it as an aberration of capitalism. Children are denied the political status of labour (Howard, 2017). Development programming individualizes children, fixing all childhoods in a set of social relations unrepresentative of lived realities for many (Hart, 2008). Alternative approaches engage deeply in specific contexts for historically and spatially specific studies with working children and argue that the integration of PE into Childhood Studies could lead to lasting, transformational change for children. Critical scholars advocate for less emphasis on the socio-cultural in CS and more on PE (Hart and Boyden, 2019). The paper asks how PE analysis using the enhanced Marxist categories of SR feminism (Stevano, 2023) could frame a study with children in Dhaka's leather safety gloves industry. It considers how children's activities could be reproducing life; how interconnecting forms of exploitation might influence children's engagement in work; how the 3 Marxian methodological tropes found by Mezzadri (2021) to be relevant in Indian garments are relevant in Bangladeshi leather goods manufacture. Drawing on ethnography from a Dhaka slum, the paper is informed by children's experience and opinions of work in leather and at the fictitious boundary between production and reproduction (ibid.). Bringing Childhood Studies and SR feminism into conversation could take debates in novel directions, towards lasting transformational change.

Paula Rodriguez-Modroño Digital intermediaries in reproductive activities

Digital platforms are playing an important role in shaping today's economies and societies, as they reorganize markets, business practices and work arrangements, and transform the production landscape, which affects competition and challenges regulatory models (Kenney and Zysman, 2016; Srnicek, 2016). One of the industries where digital platforms have entered more extensively is that of personal and home care services, both in European Union countries and in other societies currently experiencing a significant aging process (Trojansky, 2020). Drawing on an analysis of digital care platforms in Spain, this research work examines from a critical point of view the business models and competitive strategies of these new platforms. The study aims to contribute to a better understanding of how the platform economy intervenes in, changes, and reconfigures the organization of social reproduction by focusing on how these platforms operate and adapt to a specific industry and institutional setting, while creating and capturing value.

Alessandra Mezzadri Value theories in motion: Circular labour migration, unfinished land dispossession and reproductive struggles across the urban-rural divide

Drawing from a recently published paper, this analysis theorises the central role of the urban-rural divide in the making of value relations and exploitation in contemporary labour regimes. Inspired by insights contained in Diane Elson's 'value theory of labour' and informed by evidence on labour circulation in India's 'Sweatshop Regime', the article combines Early Social Reproduction Analyses (ESRA) and debates on 'forms of exploitation' to illustrate the integrated nature of the circuits incorporating production and reproduction, use and exchange value across the urban-rural divide. It represents these circuits as a concrete instantiation of 'value in motion'. In this schema, the countryside emerges as central to the regeneration of the urban labour regime; as key provider of labouring bodies; and as absorber of reproductive costs, also performing the function of 'global housework' for contemporary capitalism. The narrative is particularly attentive to post-industrial work trajectories, which further explain how partial land dispossession and informal work interplay to sustain the dynamic nature of value relations as well as workers' livelihoods beyond factory labour. The conclusions stress the political implications of reproductive readings of value for labour struggles and pro-labour policy.

Tiantian Liu The Spatiality of Social Reproduction Crisis: Real Estate and a Breakdown of China's Urban-Rural Divide

Drawing on national-level statistics, 19 months of comparative ethnography, and more than 70 interviews with peasant-migrant households, this article examines the social, political mechanisms that support real estate's rapid expansion across rural China during the past decade. It finds that developers and local states have systematically conditioned key social reproductive tasks, especially access to basic education and marriage, upon the purchase of apartments in rural counties. Accompanied by the impacts of imbalanced sex ratios under China's (past) one-child policy, these dynamics have created structural compulsions among rural households to participate in the housing market. While fueling rural real-estate booms across regions and creating a reproduction-driven mode of capital accumulation, the increasing commodification of reproductive activities has put tremendous—and unsustainable—economic pressure on peasant-migrant households. They are forced to relocate unpaid female care labor away from the village and become heavily indebted. These outcomes have led to a chain reaction that has put two other

reproductive institutions in crisis: First, a breakdown in intergenerational financial and care support for the elderly, and second: a sudden, sharp decline in rural birthrate. The Chinese countryside as a social space, where cheap rural labor used to be produced in a less-commodified manner, has disappeared. So has China's enduring rural-urban divide.

E3 201 Neoliberalism 2. Neoliberalism, Policy and Crisis

Cesar Duarte Rivera The adoption of the New Monetary Policy Consensus in Mexico

During the 1980s, Mexico began its transition towards neoliberalism. Regarding monetary policy, this process was formalized in 1993 when the constitutional mandate to control inflation and establish central bank independence was approved. This paper aims to analyze this transition to neoliberal monetary policy, focusing on the transformations that occurred during the 1980s. While it can be argued that the adoption of new strategies was imposed from outside influences, resembling similar measures adopted in other middle-income economies, it is also essential to emphasize the liberalization of financial markets and the new international context as explaining factors in this transformation.

Most of the literature suggests that the adoption of neoliberal reforms was a consequence of the ideological shift of the political elite and pressure from international organizations, which imposed a series of reforms in response to the debt crisis of 1982. However, this paper argues that, although these factors were important in explaining the adoption of the New Monetary Policy Consensus, the material conditions of the international economy also played a significant role in shaping the changes in the Central Bank. In this regard, policymakers had to adapt to the new conditions of the financial system, which rendered traditional policies unviable.

Pinar Donmez Austerity anew in the midst of post-pandemic inflation, cost of living and debt crises

The developments following the Covid-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine have (re)delivered the world into conditions of persistent high inflation and cost of living crises while igniting a renewed debate on austerity. While the everyday lives and livelihoods of populations and economies in the peripheries of global capitalism have been impacted significantly by these dynamics, the existent scholarly debates on austerity have largely retained their focus on the post-2008 GFC context and the Northern experiences. In the core, the early pandemic period witnessed the discursive relegation of austerity to the past as an undesirable tool to achieve the post-pandemic recovery. Yet, stabilisation programmes were already under way across the Global South prior to, during and after the pandemic. They have also been proposed or adopted by several pandemic-hit, indebted countries across Africa and others such as Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Argentina more recently. This paper aims to critically engage with these hegemonic narratives and narrow conceptualisations of austerity to assess what changes and what, and for whom, remains the same in the current crisis of capitalism in order to foster a more holistic approach in geographical, temporal and epistemic terms. To achieve the latter, it is argued that the recognition of the enduring legacy of pre- and post-2008 GFC austerity policies on the current post-pandemic predicament of the peripheral capitalist societies is vital.

Paul Cammack A New Foundation for Global Political Economy

IIPPE seeks to address the nature of contemporary capitalism from positions that at least engage seriously with Marxist political economy, and promotes constructive engagement across theoretical, empirical and practical issues. It has been in the forefront in developing a critique of key elements of an image of the world that is now obsolete: male breadwinner/family wage, full-time work, nuclear family, welfare state, and the centrality of the 'West'. But we have yet to move away from comprehensive critique to a systematic reset. Three excellent recent books point the way forward – Søren Mau, *Mute Compulsion* (Verso, 2023), Gabriella Alberti and Devi Sacchetto, *The Politics of Migrant Labour* (Bristol University Press, 2024) and Marnie Holborow, *Homes in Crisis Capitalism* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2024). The first explores the mechanisms inherent in the capitalist mode of production that turn people into workers, and reproduce them as workers. The second recentres mobility as 'a foundational aspect of society rather than as the exception'; the third shifts focus from the 'family' to the home, recognising the diversity of households in which people live. Taking these texts and previous work in IIPPE as a starting point, I attempt a new synthesis aimed at overthrowing the lingering influence of the composite image of 'Western' centrality, the 'standard employment contract', the family wage, the 'nuclear family' and the welfare state, and placing political economy on a new footing.

E2 213B Social Capital 1.

Patricia López Rodríguez The Effect of Social Capital on Environment Caring

This study analyses the relationship between social capital and the use of sustainable housing materials. Social capital refers to the relationships and social networks that a community or group of people possesses or belongs to and that influence their actions and decision-making (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1990; Putnam 1993, Knack and Keefer 1997, Narayan and Pritchett 1999, Portes 1998, Robison and Siles 1994, Grootaert 1998). A high level of social capital can facilitate the dissemination of information and knowledge about practices for the use of materials in housing to care for the environment (Barbarin and Khomov 1997), such as the use of energy-saving light bulbs, solar panels, rainwater collectors, solar water heater, and sanitation services with biogas. This estimated the effect of social networks on the use of sustainable housing materials, using the national household income and expenditure survey in Mexico for 2022 (INEGI, 2022) and a multinomial regression analysis. The evidence shows that households with more social capital use sustainable housing materials compared to the rest of the homes with less social capital. The evidence emphasizes the role and importance of social capital for environmental conservation. This is consistent with the literature that provides empirical evidence that higher levels of social capital can positively affect the behaviour of individuals toward caring for the environment (Selman 2001, Soumya et al. 2017, Roseland 2000, Keen, Brown, Dyhall eds. 2005, Theodoraki, Messeghem and Rice 2018, Adger 2003). This can lead to awareness of the importance of using sustainable materials in homes. Additionally, this shows that social and community networks can promote the use of materials in housing in a sustainable way. If the community values the environment, and there is a social norm that supports the choice of materials to care for the environment, individuals are more likely to choose them.

Panagiotis Gkagkatsis The protection of social capital through an increase access to natural resources: The example of the San people

One of the key components of social capital in communities is their ability to have sovereignty over the natural resources of their place. The right of Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources (PSNR) is closely linked with the right to self-determination. This effort was spearheaded by ex-colonized countries inside the UN to achieve their full decolonization (not only political, but also economic). Weak social capital in these communities might lead to the attenuation of that collective right to access and use natural resources. The specific paper will discuss whether strengthening the legal, collective right to PSNR can effectively reinforce the social capital of areas in the Global South, such as areas in Africa. More specifically, the paper will focus on the massive displacement of agrarian communities in Africa (such as the San people) and measure whether by strengthening their right to PSNR within the UN could also effectively protect their social capital. By looking at the rate of displacement before and after the establishment of the right to PSNR the paper will attempt to understand whether there has been effective protection of social capital through that collective right. Lastly, the hypothesis that this paper will make is that by looking at the reasons for their displacement (such as development projects, conservation policies etc.) the right to PSNR could include a list of provisions which would allow for the strengthening of social capital (collective resource management, community-based conservation initiatives etc.) to afford greater protection from displacement.

Asimina Christoforou Citizen engagement in economic policies: an appraisal of civil society institutions in governance structures of the European Union (authors: Asimina Christoforou & Fikret Adaman)

The civil society generally includes non-governmental, not-for-profit self-governing organisations, voluntary associations, and informal groupings and networks, which express and shape collective interests, values, and goals. Its importance lies in its potential to function as a source of economic and social transformation by gathering diverse worldviews, engaging in democratic dialogue, and collectively determining the principles and practices of social and environmental protection.

Despite the critical role these institutions play in the economy and public policy, they are understudied in economics. In our paper, we focus on the role of civil society institutions in governance structures of the European Union (EU). Most institutional, neo-Gramscian, and Polanyian approaches of civil society in the EU point to the obstacles posed by the predominance of neoliberal policies, which restrict civil society to a rather passive and advisory role in economic and policy deliberations and decisions at the supranational level. We conduct an appraisal of civil society institutions

in EU governance structures not only to unfold the obstacles, but also to explore their potential in ensuring citizens' active participation in economic and policy decisions and outcomes. We focus on several institutions in which the imperative for cooperation and participation of civil society has been acknowledged in EU policy reports, albeit somewhat partially: the EU budget, including the economic recovery package NextGeneration EU; the community-led local development models in common regional and agricultural policy; the Economic and Monetary Union and the exclusive competence of supranational bodies in monetary policy; the social and solidarity economy within and across Member States; and the EU Green Deal.

We conduct a politico-institutional analysis of these cases by applying the social planning framework proposed by Fikret Adaman and Pat Devine. The framework is based on certain principles, such as procedural rationality; economic and political democracy; values of ecological sustainability and social justice; the functioning of eco-social enterprises and development councils to collectively deliberate on economic investment and public policy; and the principle of subsidiarity in forming a multi-layered political process of deliberation and governance at the local, regional, national, and supranational levels. We assess the role of civil society within the aforementioned EU institutions in relation to these principles. The aim of this framework is to unravel and unleash civil society's potential to re-embed the economy within a post-growth eco-socialist world which is founded on self-governing societies and is committed to the flourishing of all living beings on the planet.

E2 102 Varieties of socialism 2. For a political economy-oriented anthropology of socialist (de)valuations

Luisa Steur Of devaluation and racialization: Workers of Havana's garbage collection services in changing political-economic context

I would like to explore for this working seminar what my ethnographic fieldwork material on the working lives of workers at the municipal garbage collection services (Los Comunales) in Havana (Cuba) allows me in terms of analytically commenting on dynamics of race and class in socialist Cuba's changing political economy. By focusing attention on the experiences of those laboring to keep Havana's streets clean I want to look beyond the rather polemical bone of contention between dissidents and the Cuban Socialist authorities that is the garbage piling up in Havana's streets and instead analyse more serious but hidden problems affecting Cuban society. I ask whether with the return of "pockets of capitalism" – besides the enduring capitalist global context – we can also speak of racial capitalism returning to Cuba – or not. Are workers in non-productive state enterprises such as that of Los Comunales starting to function as providing a kind of social-reproductive "background condition" for surplus value to accumulate privately elsewhere? And could these workers' devaluation – and racialization – be the outcome not so much of a universal (Mary Douglas-type) stigmatization of those working with dirt but rather of the changing political economic context in which their work takes place?

Nidhish Sundar

Aaron Kappeler Neo-Structuralist Socialism: Venezuela's Alternative to Neoliberalization

The last twenty-five years have witnessed incisive debates about the place of Latin America in global histories of neoliberalization and the extent to which local iterations of neoliberal discourse—and the backlash against it—reflect universal trends. Scholarly debates in economic anthropology and closely related fields have centred on the degree to which the regimes of 'flexible accumulation' in the region can be assigned exogenous origins and if such policies are better attributed to the abstract precepts of neoclassical economics or the exigencies of local governmentality. Scholars have also sought to relativize neoliberalism's broad-sweeping doctrinal formulations with empirical evidence illustrating the inevitable gap between what market utopias promise versus what they actually deliver. While insightful, studies focused on the discursive construction or genealogy of this universal program tend to ignore its social content and the class will-to-power embedded in the institutions that enforce it. In this paper, I explore socialist policies conceived to challenge the rule of Venezuela's rentier elites and to reconcile world-market exports with expansion of production for the home market. This program of endogenous development adapted from neo-structuralist economics was conceived as the road to greater equality and use of local resources for sustainable growth. But I argue it proved incapable of reconciling the tensions of a peripheral capitalist economy in transition.

E2 302 CoA 2. Experimental documentaries and lecture-performances on elite masculinity, military violence and activism as witnessing

Nathaniel Sullivan Hand of God

Hand of God is an experimental documentary video that explores the legacy of colonialism and its impact on the development of capitalism. The video uses the hand as a potent visual symbol to thread together several thematic and visual narratives: Diego Maradona's infamous hand of god goal, Adam Smith's invisible hand theory, the Red Hand of Ulster, and the role of the hand in a tactile, fetishistic relationship to consumer goods. The video will be a mixture of footage shot on location and found footage, rhythmically edited into a sound/image collage.

The video is a work in progress and I am proposing to present an approximately 10 minute version at the IIPPE conference this year.

Kirsten Adkins How We Have the World is a Matter of the Shape We Impose on it.

Manuela Johanna Covini

14:45-16:30 | SESSION 3

E2 231A Agrarian Change 3. The State, agriculture, agribusiness and class politics

Xinyuan Zhang The Role of State-owned Agribusiness in the International Food Regime: A Case Study of COFCO

According to the food regime literature, the way agri-food production sustains global hegemonic power relations has changed significantly since the 1970s. Whereas state interventionist agendas in central capitalist economies built modern food complexes and provided foreign aid in the Cold War context, private-led and financialized agribusinesses have prevailed and grown under free-market imperatives. However, the recent rise of state-owned Chinese conglomerates has instigated new discussions on the current nature of the international food regime, pointing out a return of state interventionism in both core and peripheral economies.

The purpose of this paper is to delve into the role of state-owned agribusiness by examining the growth trajectory of the Chinese conglomerate COFCO. We suggest that COFCO has historically developed contrasting functionalities.

On the one hand, COFCO emerged from state trading agencies created in the 1950s. From 1960 to 1998, COFCO acted as an agent for the Chinese government, importing a significant amount of wheat from overseas to China, which accounted for 9.5% of the world's import volume, while exporting large amounts of rice and corn from China. COFCO's representative offices abroad were traditionally a springboard for unprecedented global expansion. This has allowed the company to associate with foreign agribusiness and financial entities, which attributed to COFCO's growth after 2000s. Despite recent pushes for corporate reforms and profit-oriented business diversification, the company still carries a developmental agenda under the government's guidance as a state-owned trader.

On the other hand, from 1998 to present, COFCO's significant growth was mainly attributed to its internal management reforms and the expansion of its agricultural processing and food manufacturing sectors within China. During this phase, the degree of state intervention on COFCO's business strategy was relatively low, and at times, the decisions made by COFCO's management board did not fully align with policy targets implemented by the central government. Throughout this process, leveraging its high creditworthiness as a state-owned enterprise, COFCO actively utilized financialized operation methods, actively sought overseas capital and technology, and transitioned from a trading company to a conglomerate.

In conclusion, we assert that COFCO's dual trajectory moves away from simple developmentalism with territorial hegemonic endeavors – often portrayed as a neomercantilist strategy. While representing the return of state

interventionism, COFCO's expansion differs substantially from the pre-neoliberal food regime. State ownership, in this case, secures a favorable integration into financial markets, mimicking the strategies of North Atlantic competitors. Therefore, the return of the state carries the continuity of current forms of accumulation, now promoted by players with unique expansion trajectories and adapted to a highly competitive business environment.

Tomaz Fares

Elif Karacimen The Role of Finance Capital in the Agricultural Restructuring: the EBRD's Influence in Turkey"

Over the past two decades, the agri-food sector has witnessed a significant socio-economic transformation with the growing integration of finance capital, particularly in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis. This phenomenon is exemplified by financial entities such as private equity and hedge funds, which increasingly perceive the agri-food sector and agricultural land in the Global South as lucrative investment opportunities. This study centres its focus on Development Finance Institutions, notably the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), and its pivotal role in channeling finance capital into the agribusiness landscape of Turkey. To comprehend the EBRD's influence on the evolution of Turkish agriculture, this research delves into the allocation of loans to various agribusinesses engaged in diverse agricultural productions. Our investigation uncovered a noteworthy pattern, wherein a substantial portion of these loans was directed towards oilseed companies, encompassing six distinct entities. Notably, among these beneficiaries were four MNCs primarily engaged in the production of sunflower oil, a product highly consumed in Turkey. These findings illuminate the EBRD's instrumental role in integrating Turkey into global value chains, consequently leading to a heightened dependency on external actors. This transformation has contributed to Turkey's agricultural structure and product patterns, particularly affecting small-scale producers.

Elena Alvarez Perverse Confluences: Extractive and Illicit Economies as Drivers of Deforestation of the Amazon Forest. A Peruvian Case Study

In the last decade, and while the Peruvian Government made commitments in international forums to fight against the climate crisis, territorial pressures persist in indigenous territories, and the loss of forest cover has reached alarming levels as shown by Global Forest Watch. Peru's forests are among the most deforested in the world. Between 2001 and 2022, Peru lost 3.86 million hectares of tree cover (or 4.9%) to deforestation, resulting in 2.44Gt of CO₂ emissions.

Even though the literature has generally tied the advance of deforestation to the advance of illicit economies (illicit logging and mining as well as drug trafficking), it leaves aside discussions of a perverse dynamic whereby Peru's laws are playing a determining role in advancing deforestation. To demonstrate this correlation, this research presents specific cases of regulations and approved infrastructure projects that effectively allow "legal" occupation of the territory and its deforestation, because they facilitate the entry or settlement of third parties into indigenous territories. Although these entities have followed the required procedure to be given approval, they have backgrounds and influences that may be tied to organized crime networks, with a vocation for permanence. Thus, there is a thin divide between what is legal and illegal. That should alarm us because it presents a tendency of expansion into cross-border spaces between the countries of Peru, Colombia, and Brazil.

Leandro Vergara-Camus Agrobusiness, the Brazilian Right and the State (2006 to 2022): From Pragmatism to Extremism and Back?

This paper will analyse the political strategies and alliances of the Brazilian Right from its alliance with Lula's PT party in 2005 to its backing of Jair Bolsonaro in 2018, and its current ambivalence towards him since Lula won the presidency. It will place these political strategies and alliances within a conceptualisation of Latin American state as peculiar rentier states. The paper will explore how the state has been conceptualised in agrarian studies and has been moving from structuralist theorisations to more agent-centered approaches. It will then propose a conceptualisation of the state as a space for accumulation where fractions of the ruling class deploy rentier strategies. Empirically, the paper will seek to illustrate how right-wing politicians from states with powerful agribusiness sectors have navigated the ebbs and flows of Brazilian politics to defend their economic interests and remained powerful throughout these changing conjunctures. The paper will place particular attention on the intersection of national and state-level politics

to try to identify the political-economic groups that manage to reproduce their power and see it translate into specific agrarian policies that gave them access to land, property and financial resources.

Eda Cakmakci Contracted Skills: Financialization of Tomato production in Antalya

In Turkish mainstream media, tomatoes as flamboyant actors with fluctuating prices, became the means of portraying the harm done by neoliberal policies on agriculture. My ethnography in the off-season fresh tomato producing region of Antalya, a major agricultural hub on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey, sheds light on the financialization of agricultural production by paying particular attention to the role of wholesale-market middleman as creditors to tomato producers and borrowers from the banks. Consequently, my paper aims to contribute to the literature on contract farming by offering ethnographic insights on informal debt-credit relations in this agro-food supply chain. While the financialization on the ground, at the producers' end of the debt chain, animates an array of social relations, agribusiness deploys gendered idioms of kin to represent the labour growing tomatoes; thus, it devalues family labour subsuming women's agricultural skills. Sceptical of these representations, producers use their acquired agricultural skills as negotiating power in their informal contract schemes.

E2 303 Africa 2: Africa, Dependency and the Developmental State

Guido Maschhaupt What makes social policies endure amidst ideological and material contestations? Exploring path dependency in the cases of agricultural input subsidies and social cash transfers in Malawi and Zambia

Social protection in Sub-Saharan Africa has been of major interest in policy and research circles. The literature has produced divergent political economy accounts regarding who drives their expansion. Some argue it is largely domestically driven as part of regime survival strategies (Hickey et al., 2020), while others emphasize the coercive role of donors (Fischer, 2018; Adesina, 2020). However, most existing research focuses on moments of expansion and their drivers. This paper examines longer term processes of contestation over ideology and material interests between actors, to reveal a more dialectical relationship and to explore what makes social policies endure.

The paper compares agricultural input subsidies (AIS) and social cash transfers (SCT) in Malawi and Zambia. AIS have long been a fundamental part of both countries' political economies, while SCT were introduced by the international aid sector in the mid-2000s. Drawing from the path dependency literature (Campbell 2012; Weible & Sabatier, 2018), this paper finds that policy durability depends on the mobilisation capacity of its recipients, which is low for SCT and high for AIS. Moreover, the financial/political power of policy advocates is crucial but fragile, as demonstrated by a recent shift in favour of donor-driven SCTs due to the countries' growing debt crises.

This paper is based on four months of in-situ qualitative interviews with government officials, parliamentarians, donor officials, and NGOs.

Frederick Laker

Robin Jaspert Which Role for Monetary Policies in Neocolonialism – (Post-) Pandemic Interest Rate Hikes and Transmission Mechanisms to West- & Central Africa

Neocolonialism is perhaps the most crucial framework to understand the interlinkages between the Global South and the Global North in Global Capitalism since formal decolonization. A wide variety of economic and political mechanisms have been shown to follow a pattern entrenching and reinforcing material inequities between former colonies and colonisers. Surprisingly, given the central role monetary policies already played in unleashing the Latin American debt crises of the 1980s, the neocolonial patterns of monetary policies in the capitalist centres of the Global North are a mostly underestimated or overlooked part in most analyses of the Global Economy.

We show that within the current constitution of the sovereign debt system the interest rate hikes performed by the central banks of capitalist centres since the onset of the COVID-19 Pandemic are a crucial tool for externalising the costs of the economic downswing from the centres to the peripheries. By providing an empirical analysis of the intertwined development of interest rates, bond yields, bond spreads, exchange rates, FX-reserves, inflation-rates,

sovereign debt levels as well as state expenditures from 2018 until 2023 for six West- & Central-African cases, we demonstrate the transmission mechanisms of monetary policies in the Global North to Neocolonies. We argue that this example is indicative of a broader pattern of what we propose to call Neocolonial Monetary Policies.

Armin Höpfner De-Risking of Dependency. A Political-economic analysis of the Hyphen-Hydrogen-Project in Namibia.

The current German federal government, through its National Hydrogen Strategy, prioritizes import-partnerships with Global South countries, with Namibia standing out due to its favorable characteristics for cost-effective hydrogen production. However, realizing this potential requires significant investments in production infrastructure.

A prevailing approach appears to be the securing and incentivizing of private investments through public guarantees, summarized under the concept of "De-risking." In our research project, we analyze the political economy of financing a new energy infrastructure in Namibia. Theoretical embedding in the international political theory of dependency theory and its current developments aims to sharpen the focus on continuities and ruptures in the colonial-influenced relations between Namibia and Germany.

Methodologically, we conduct guided expert interviews with politicians, activists, and scholars. The insights from these interviews will be combined with a detailed political-economic analysis of Namibia's economy and society, framed within the categories of state, non-state actors, finance, and spatiotemporal dynamics.

We seek to comprehend the continuities and ruptures in the partnership arising from hydrogen production in Namibia, as well as the potentials and risks for Namibia and its position in the global system.

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E2 301 Work 3. Unions and labour organising

Miriş Kurtuluş Capitalism, migration and trade unions

This study aims to investigate the relationship between capitalism, migration, and trade unions, with a particular focus on the role of immigrant labour within capitalist production relations. Historically, immigrants have played a crucial part in the formation of the working class and have functioned as a reserve army of labour, contributing to competition among workers but also to the efforts to eliminate this competition through collective action.

The research begins by critically examining existing literature to evaluate the policies, strategies, and practices related to migrant workers developed by trade unions worldwide. It then shifts its focus to Turkey, analyzing trade unions' reactions, policies, strategies, and practices toward migrant workers within that context.

Finally, it explores the contemporary possibilities for trade unions to effectively organize and represent migrant workers within the framework of capitalism and current migration patterns. Through this analysis, the study aims to shed light on the complex dynamics between capitalism, immigration, and labour unions, offering insights into the challenges and opportunities for organizing and advocating for the rights of migrant workers in today's in today's historical context.

Jon Las Heras Union Strategies configuring the Political Economy of a Country: the Basque Case

This study examines the political economy of labor in Spain with a specific focus on the Basque Country. Employing a Gramscian multi-scalar approach to state formation, it emphasizes the contradictory nature of state institutions shaped by class strategies, utilizing a labor-centered framework. Analyzing various empirical dimensions such as corporatist dynamics, cross-sectoral agreements, collective bargaining coverage, strikes, union affiliation rates, and collective bargaining content, the study unveils divergent trends challenging the perception of a homogeneous Spanish state. Spain faces issues like a two-tier workforce and hollowed-out collective bargaining, while the Basque Country exhibits unique union strategies, rejecting vacuous sector-level agreements and forming strategic alliances with social movements. This research contributes to the understanding of sub-national processes within comparative and uneven capitalisms, depicting the Basque Case as a distinctive configuration where unions' counter-power strategies challenge Spanish corporatist tendencies, shaping a unique landscape of capital-labor relations within a seemingly uniform legal framework.

Natsuka Tokumaru, Tetsuya Tamura, Takahiko Hashimoto Who represents whose interests? : the changing roles of labor unions and governments on inequality in the era of globalization

Several studies suggest that labor unions have had an overall effect of reducing inequality, by raising the labor share and their spillover effects on institutions and policies. However, it is also shown that globalization has had the effect of reducing the labor share of unskilled workers through offshoring, while increasing the profit share and the labor share of high-skilled workers. In this paper, we aim to delineate the changes in the norms and roles of labor unions and governments in inequality under globalization. For the aim, we have conducted a long-term empirical analysis on factor shares, union membership and government expenditure in developed countries from the 1990s to the 2010s. We also estimated the changes in people's norms about labor unions and government based on the World and European Value Survey. Our study shows that the role of labor unions has changed in a direction that does not necessarily reduce inequality, as they tend to represent high-skilled workers more than unskilled workers under globalization. Accordingly, the role of governments in reducing inequality is becoming relatively more important, and people's norms about labor unions and government are also changing.

E2 110 World Economy 3. International Division of Labor, Development and Social Movements

Andrea Ricci The Political Implications of Unequal Exchange: Towards a Common Agenda for Global Social Movements

Unequal exchange is at the root of the global social and ecological crisis of our time, intersecting all the major contradictions of the world capitalist economy: the class contradiction between capital and labor, the spatial contradiction of uneven and combined development, and the environmental contradiction between capitalist production and nature. It promotes the new international division of labor based on corporate global value chains, weakening the workers movement in both the global North and South. By diverting resources from poor to rich countries, it deepens global social inequalities. It allows Northern capital to manage its negative production and consumption externalities through environmental load displacement to the Global South. Countering unequal exchange can provide the basis for a broad global social coalition around a common agenda, where global social justice meets global environmental justice, demanding a new international economic and ecological order.

The objective conditions are provided by the common ground of concrete interests that binds together various political and social actors in the global South and North who are harmed by corporate neoliberal globalization. The struggle against unequal exchange can unite the demands of social and ecological movements on a common platform: geographically, within and between the global South and the global North; socially, between workers, small peasants and indigenous communities; and politically, between alternative red and green movements. The action of global social movements can encourage the governments of developing countries to adopt common positions in international economic and climate negotiations in defence of the strategic interests of the peoples of the global South, moving away from a bilateral logic that only benefits the major powers. Building the subjective conditions, however, requires overcoming theoretical reductionisms and political sectarianisms that contribute to the fragmentation of social struggles.

Aditi Dixit Raw Cotton Markets, Industrial Strategies, And Trade Organisation in India and Japan, Ca. 1850-1940

This paper examines differences in access to raw cotton markets between India and Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It argues that this differential access shaped production strategies of their domestic textile industries, which, in turn, contributed to divergent outcomes in the long-run development of their textile industries. In the period under study, raw cotton comprised between 75 to 85 per cent of the total costs of production of yarn and 20 to 40 per cent of the total costs of finished textiles. The significance of access to appropriate quality of raw cotton—expressed by its length, grade, and character—had more substantive implications than value shares suggest. Longer stapled varieties of cotton were priced higher in global markets but would have compensated for these costs with gains in productivity and affecting the choice of longer-run technological adoption. These factors meant that textile industries with stable and cost-effective access to appropriate quality raw cotton were better equipped to deal with the vagaries and dynamism of competition that had by the end of the nineteenth century become entrenched in the global textile market. As different regions of the world specialised in the production of different cotton varieties, cotton manufacturing rested on a trade and commercial web that linked agrarian hinterlands with industrial centres of production. Ultimately, industrial textile production was reliant on the form and strength of the trade organisation. I thus argue that this inter-relation between raw cotton markets, industrial strategies, and trade organisation was a significant factor in the differences in long-run development of the textile industries in India and Japan.

Helena Morais

E2 221 PEID 1. The Politics of Contemporary Industrial Policy

Nicolai Schulz Transforming Tanzanite: The Transnational Politics of Processing Promotion and Value Chain Control

Resource-rich low-income countries have increasingly used restrictions on commodity exports to promote domestic processing industries in recent years. Little is known, however, about the political dynamics that drive the promulgation and implementation of such policies. Who are the proponents and opponents of such policies? And (how) do they influence the policy process to protect their interests? Addressing these questions can provide important insights to better understand the motivations, performance, and consequences of current policies to promote commodity processing. To this end, this study examines the promulgation and implementation of the Tanzanian government's 2010 export ban on uncut tanzanite gemstones aimed at developing a domestic lapidary industry. It traces the process that led to the imposition of the ban and its subsequent (non-)implementation. It maps the interests and roles of various interest groups, including small and large-scale miners, local traders, policymakers, and foreign exporters, processors, and retailers. The analyses show that the actor-interest constellations are highly complex and deviate from expected patterns. They are strongly shaped by transnational political economies, with international non-state actors operating across three continents playing a significant role. They not only promoted the introduction of the ban, but also actively circumvented it in order to increase their control over the commodity and the sector.

Alexandre Gomes Hirschman in China: voice, exit and state-business relations in China's industrial policy making

Employing Hirschman's exit, voice and loyalty framework, this study sheds new light on the role of state-business relations in the context of industrial policy making in contemporary China. We do this by examining state-business relations in the electric vehicle industry, a typical case of one of China's high-tech strategic industries, particularly

relevant in the context of current industrial upgrading and indigenous innovation efforts. We find that the recent rise of industrial policy to promote new industries has been accompanied by a parallel rise of consultative mechanisms for information exchange between bureaucrats and businesses. The latter can be apprehended using Hirschman's concept of voice. At the same time, we argue that market mechanisms – epitomized by the exit option in Hirschman's framework – have not been eliminated, meaning that they coexist with close state-business ties and business interest articulation. Market and non-market mechanisms are combined in a complementary way which addresses problems related to technological uncertainties and advances the development of new industries in the country. Our findings thereby cast doubt on market fundamentalist approaches applied to China, in particular those rooted in mainstream concepts such as predation or state encroachment, emanating from new institutional economics.

Olerato Ogotseng The role of the state and power dynamics shaping upgrading trajectories in Botswana diamond value chain

For many developing countries, the role of the state in Global Value Chains (GVCs) is instrumental in capturing opportunities, overcoming challenges, and ensuring redistributive outcomes from value chains. The main challenge is that participation in GVCs does not automatically result in upgrading along the value chain, especially for developing countries, which tend to experience low value capture. The paper examines the role of the state as facilitator, regulator, producer, and consumer in shaping development outcomes. The emerging questions are: what is the role of the state in creating & shaping upgrading activities? What are the main drivers and obstacles of state action in GVCs? What are the bargaining and power relations between the state and Multinational Corporations (MNCs) in GVCs, and how do they influence upgrading processes? Through an in-depth study of Botswana's diamond value chain, the paper highlights state strategies for upgrading in value chains and the centrality of power dynamics between the state and MNCs in shaping the scope and extent of upgrading along value chains. The paper argues that the redistribution of ownership structures along Botswana's diamond industry reflects the complexity of power dynamics between resource-rich countries and MNCs regarding the creation and addition of value to natural resources. In doing so, the paper emphasizes the proactive role of the state to strategically negotiate the terms and conditions of upgrading along value chains. It contributes to literature on how national policymaking critically conditions the prospects for global value chain development, particularly in African resource-rich countries.

E2 103 Financialisation 3. Resistance to financialisation and debts (II)

Simon Bittmann Resisting Wage Liens: “Loan Sharks” and Black Borrowers in the U.S. Industrial South, 1900-1920_Panel on resistance

In the early twentieth century, large fractions of the U.S. working-class started accessing credit not through property but bodily labor; especially those for whom the “word [was] not enough” (Olney 1991). In contracting wage loans, borrowers exposed themselves to court-ordered garnishments, used by lenders to collect unpaid debt. This study focuses on southern industrial cities, where strings of white-owned firms made profits out of small loans to workers in segregated Black neighborhoods. It studies how debtors occasionally fought back against “loan sharks”, their collectors, as well as court clerks and bailiffs, through “credit riots” often described through racist tropes within local news. Pushing back against this narrative, we show how debt relationships gave rise to collective movements within segregated neighborhoods; with repertoires articulating issues of work, justice, and segregation. To do so, we collected a large set of archival material, through lower court dockets, the accounts of private “loan shark” lenders and debt collectors, as well as local news outlets.

Credit generates specific types of “political claims making”, often rooted in ownership, especially for mortgages (Krippner 2017). Through wage loans, however, claims about property become intertwined with labor realities, a feature which has been overlooked by many recent historical accounts of U.S. consumer credit (Thurston 2018; Taylor 2019; Quinn 2019). Fighting “loan sharks” implied more than contesting high interest rates: credit exploitation operated through an unequal court system and employers who complacently authorized wage garnishments, or laid off indebted workers. In these collection routines, debtors were often kept at bay, with no real recourse other than chasing away lenders and officials from their streets. In studying financial resistance through the intersection between race, class, and gender, this paper contributes to a burgeoning socio-economic literature dedicated to consumer finance (Robinson III 2020; Hirschman and Garbes 2021; Wherry and Chakrabarti 2022

Havva Ezgi Dogru Resistance to Student Loans in Turkey: KYK Debtor's Movement

The massification and diversification of higher education in Turkey, marked by the establishment of 42 public universities in less developed cities between 2006 and 2008, coincided with the expansion of state-led student loan schemes after 2004, resulting in a surge in the number of indebted students, reaching 16 million by 2022. This figure represents a 24-fold increase compared to the number of students in debt in 2003. Turkish state is an aggressively active monopoly actor, where the General Directorate of Credit and Dormitory Agency (KYK) is the only institution authorized to provide student loans for each applicant. Currently, 3 million students have defaulted on their loans, and almost half of them are undergoing the state-run seizure process. Debt, viewed in this research as a class relation, imposes constraints on job opportunities and dictates the intensity of surplus labor extraction. Typically resulting in a trap, indebted youth often find themselves taking up low-paid and insecure jobs merely to survive. This predicament underscores that long-term student credits are not only a social force that authoritatively shapes time and space for the youth but also a risky gamble with the future lives of students. Against the individualizing power of the debt relation, the KYK Debtor's Movement in Turkey emerged collectively in 2020 as a social media campaign advocating for the abolition of student loans. This research paper aims to explore how we can comprehend the student debt movement as a bridge that connects the individual and the structural, empowering indebted students to reclaim their future by fostering a collective identity against the individualizing power of loan money. To address this question, the research relies on fifteen in-depth and semi-structured interviews conducted with students and graduates who are members of the movement, spanning a two-year period from 2021 to 2022.

Jenny Preunkert and Barabara Brandl Varieties of consumer credit and resistance

Over the past decade, social scientists have shown that the democratization of financial markets, i.e. the lowering of legal barriers to entry, has enabled more people and households to access financial markets and thus to borrow. This has led to an increase in both mortgage markets and consumer credit. However, different forms of credit unfold different dynamics in terms of social inequality. While forms of credit tied to property, such as mortgages, are typically used by high-income individuals seeking to increase their wealth, consumer credit on the other hand is mainly used by low-income individuals for the needs of their daily lives. However, as these loans tend to have very poor terms, they aggravate the already precarious situation of the borrower.

The destructive dynamics associated with consumer credit have been studied primarily in the Anglo-American context. Although consumer credit is widespread in Europe, there is very little research on the social inequality dynamics associated with consumer credit. One reason for this may be that the financial products that contribute most to social inequality dynamics, such as subprime credit cards, are not available in most European countries. The aim of our contribution is twofold. On the one hand, we seek to explore the impact of consumer credit on social inequality in European societies. On the other hand, we aim to understand the regulatory and institutional background that prohibits financial products with extremely poor conditions. An in-depth analysis of the institutions of coordinated societies with regard to consumer credit could help to better understand the institutional conditions that have built up resistance to the financialization of debt.

Ia Eradze Crypto Currencies and Development Modes in Flux: unfolding Bitcoin mining in Georgia

Georgia is among top ten bitcoin friendliest countries in the world. Cheap energy, absence of regulations, low taxes, free industrial zones made the country an attractive place for mining and home to such big companies as Bitfury (in 2014). The central bank of Georgia has been reluctant to initiate regulations on the crypto market, and the Georgian government has been actively trying to attract foreign investors in this sector, downplaying the risks of flourishing crypto mining - financial instability, capital flight and weakened value of the national currency, money laundry, and socio-political unrest. Bitcoin mining in Georgia fits well in the existing financialized development mode. It profits from the deregulated legal framework, taxation, flexible labor market and most importantly from free industrial zones. Moreover, while commercial banks have profited from greenhouse conditions of the government throughout the last decades, now it seems to be the crypto industry. Thus, crypto mining has become one of the important channels of wealth accumulation on different levels, and the Georgian government speaks about the idea of developing a digital hub in Georgia. Therefore, the paper aims to understand how and why government facilitated crypto mining fits into

the existing FDI-led economic development model and financialized accumulation regime, and how it changes power relations among the government, banks, and the central bank.

E3 101 MBC 2. Noonomy and values of human development

Vladimir Kvint Political Economy Strategizing of Social Transformations

Leo Gabriel Challenges for a multicultural world: noonomy solutions

Ercan Uygur

Fabio Sousa Mendonça de Castro

E2 203 Social reproduction 3. Extending the conceptualisations of social reproduction

Melissa Johnston Patriarchal Accumulation Regimes

An empirical puzzle that prompts a reconsideration of social reproduction analysis that use a unitary framework of “capitalist-patriarchy”. In Timor-Leste, aunts and sisters of the groom pay a large portion of their nephews’ and brothers’ brideprice, which ranges from USD \$2000 to \$70,000. Uncles of the bride receive most of the brideprice, resulting in a net flow of goods and cash from women to men. The paper suggests that brideprice, while coupled to the Timorese class system (Johnston 2020), is part of a commodity circuit that is motivated by men’s interests, rather than capitalism alone. The empirical example of appropriation of women’s productive and social reproductive labour by groups of men is used to develop the concept of “patriarchal accumulation” – whereby labour and goods are appropriated not via the logic of capital accumulation, but via the logic of collectives of men maintaining their superordination over women. It is possible that unitary theories of capitalist-patriarchy dominant in social reproduction approaches insufficiently address situations where men have institutionalised the direct appropriation of women’s labour and commodities for themselves. Patriarchal accumulation could be a useful tool for those using SR approaches to understand and analyse drivers of resource distribution

Katharine Isabella Onursal Home-based working: a site of reproduction or a site of resistance? New theoretical perspectives for social reproduction theory

Literature within the feminist economics scholarship mostly focuses on home-based work – particularly when it is informal – as a tool in which capitalism utilises unpaid labour as a source of further profit to squeeze from, usually contracted, workers. This is absolutely true in many cases, and much home-based work is poorly paid and labour intensive. It is also usually agreed that gender norms, unequal domestic & care allocations, and labour market inequalities are socially reproduced very efficiently through home-based work, thanks to the nature of much of the work and its lack of challenge to gender roles and arguably power dynamics.

However, this paper will consider the ways in which home-based work can allow workers to subvert certain social norms and expectations, and explore the way in which home-based work can be a negotiating force for women grappling with an inflexible labour market, resistant gender norms around unpaid work and lack of social provisions. Focusing on the dialectic nature of social reproduction, change and development can be understood by observing social disruption of some norms at the expense of social reproduction of other norms. Drawing on fieldwork data from Istanbul, the paper expands on Kandiyoti’s ‘bargaining with the patriarchy’ concept. The exact trade-off of the ‘bargaining with the patriarchal & capitalism’ that home-based work necessitates and facilitates can be decided at a collective or individual level.

Ari Parra Social Reproduction Theory, the Care Economy, and the Specter of Disability: A Critical Approach

A specter is haunting social reproduction theory—the specter of disability. While the recent explosion of literature on social reproduction and caring has shed light on the gendered and racialized work that often goes unpaid and unrecognized in capitalist society, it has failed to engage with the non-working, non-productive disabled people

receiving such 'care.' Relying on theoretical contributions from Disability Studies, Marxist political economy, and Autonomist and Marxist-Feminist traditions, I argue that re-examining the care economy from the position of the non-productive, non-working disabled offers an alternative explanation for the devaluation of care work and the "crisis of care." Through a case study of the U.S. nursing home industry, I conclude that care work of the disabled is devalued not only because it has historically been performed by women and is feminized, but also because it reproduces neither labor-power, nor productive workers.

E3 201 Neoliberalism 3. Neoliberalism, Conflict and Geopolitics

Akif Avci The War Between Russia and Ukraine: Rethinking Imperialism, the Crisis of Hegemony, and the NATO

Elliot Dolan-Evans Making War Safe for Capitalism: The World Bank, IMF and the Future of Peacebuilding

Nilgün Öner Tangör Statehood Struggle Within the Context of a Protracted Conflict; The Neoliberal Transformation of the Cyprus Problem

The Cyprus problem has long been under the scrutiny of the international relations discipline as a "protracted social conflict" which had limited explanatory power to grasp the undergoing drivers of change that occurred in the last decade by the hydrocarbon discoveries around the island. This paper regards the Cyprus problem not merely as an intercommunal social/political conflict triggered by ethnic/religious cleavages, but pertinently as a statehood struggle, conditioned by the uneven and combined development of capitalism (UCDC) on a global level and conserved by the contradictions of capitalism on a regional scale. Adopting a critical political economy perspective, it will be argued that the above mentioned "grand" theoretical debates retain their explanatory power for analysing the neoliberal transformation of the state of affairs in a condensed, micro-scale framework, where the transformation is veiled by clashing nationalisms in specific conjunctures. It will be argued that the particular statehood strategies developed in a dynamic "mutual dependence" relationship with Turkey, and the changing modalities of this relationship had a critical impact on the trajectory of the neoliberal transformation of the Cyprus problem.

Errol Babacan and Ismail Karatepe A class-theoretical approach to the "cultural" within political economy

This paper explores the economic dimension of contemporary conflicts manifesting themselves in the cultural field. The discussion adopts a class-theoretical perspective, positing that the reproduction of capitalist societies is steered by class conflicts that encompass both the spheres of production and circulation. In this framework, the cultural sphere is not merely a battlefield of 'words' within hegemonic strategies. It is also intricately linked to the distribution of surplus value. Reevaluating such a class-theoretical approach has the potential to enhance our understanding of concepts like progressive versus regressive neoliberalism, identity politics, or culture war.

E2 213B Social Capital 2.

Giulia Slater The Trust Paradox

Are economic growth and trust related over time? Previous research found that trust is higher in countries where GDP is higher. Does this mean that GDP growth is associated to growing trust over time? We review the literature addressing this question, and provide updated empirical evidence on the effects of economic growth on trust over time, a well-established measure of social capital, widely considered in economic studies. We use country panel data from the Penn World Tables and information on people trusting others from the Survey Data Recycling (SDR) v.2.0 database. Results confirm the well-established positive cross-sectional relation between trust and GDP. However, we find evidence that over time GDP growth decreases trust. A number of robustness checks and a test of causality support this conclusion.

The negative relationship between economic growth and trust over time is a disease of unequal, rich countries. This is possible because inequalities hamper cooperation and cohesiveness, and increase social comparisons and competition. This suggests that the quality of growth matters: in rich countries interpersonal trust decreases when economic growth is accompanied by income inequalities.

Anneli Kaasa What Is the Recipe for High or Low General Trust?

This presentation investigates the determinants of general trust in a society. Next to regression analysis, a novel method is applied: fuzzy set Qualitative Comparative Analysis (fsQCA). The latter methodology is consistent with the assumption that the recipe for high or low trust implies a combination of several conditions, and there can be different combinations that all produce the same outcome. It also relaxes the assumption of symmetry: conditions associated with low trust need not mirror conditions associated with high trust, with opposite signs. Thus, fsQCA enables the analyse of different combinations that would lead to low or high general trust. The results show that for general trust in a society, the Anna Karenina principle seems to apply: all high-trust societies are alike, but for low trust levels, there are many recipes.

Elena Midler THE INFLUENCE OF SPATIAL DISPROPORTIONS ON THE FORMATION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL: THE GLOBAL NORTH AND THE GLOBAL SOUTH

Social capital is considered as a concept that allows us to identify the strength of social interactions at various levels through the capitalization of these connections. Social capital is also presented as a resource for collective action at different levels. This study presents a spatial level.

The purpose of this study is to determine the impact of spatial imbalances on the formation of social capital. The regions of the Global North (a sample of developed countries) and the Global South (a sample of developing countries) were selected as the object of study.

In this paper, we explored the regional nature of social interactions. Factors such as the heterogeneity of society, income inequality, the degree of urbanization of territories, the concentration of financial capital, etc. were taken into account.

First of all, statistical data on the identified spatial associations were used. The social capital index was chosen as an indicator of social capital, based on people's participation in social activities, trust and civic engagement, for example, membership in civil and public associations, the number of non-profit organizations per capita. Then an attempt was made to calculate local indicators. Spatial clustering was used to quantify the degree of significance. Based on the data obtained, a model was built that opens up prospects for developing strategies for local spatial modeling and studying global relations.

Ioannis Alexandrou Bridging Critical Institutionalism and Social Capital Theory: Navigating the Spectrum between "Bridging" and "Bonding" Social Capital

Defining "social capital" has proven challenging for economists and sociologists alike. Nonetheless, scholars have identified two distinct dimensions: "bonding" social capital, representing ties within homogenous groups, and "bridging" social capital, representing ties across diverse, heterogeneous groups. This paper delves into a detailed analysis of these dimensions by drawing on the literature of critical institutionalism. This perspective allows us to explore the "hidden powers" within the spectrum between "bridging" and "bonding" social capital.

The primary focus of this paper is on the intricate social identities that give rise to complex social interactions, considering their historical and cultural roots and the ensuing power dynamics. Additionally, we investigate how shared rules of trust, norms, and values influence the dynamics among diverse actors.

To accomplish this, a series of semi-structured interviews will be conducted in the National Marine Park of Zakynthos. The selection of a marine protected area (MPA) as the research site serves to establish geographical and institutional boundaries. To analyze the interactions among diverse actors, common denominators are necessary, such as

understanding how these actors navigate the restrictions imposed by the MPA. Ultimately, our aim is to contribute to both social capital theory and MPA theory.

E2 102 Environment 2. Political economy of decarbonization

Murat Arsel Three theses on renewables capitalism

It is becoming increasingly clear that the fundamental tension between contemporary capitalism and climate change might not bring about – at least in the very near term – ‘system change’. However, there are a number of very concrete changes that can be observed in capitalism’s relationship with renewable energy generation and consumption. It is worth reflecting on the possibility of ‘fossil capitalism’ being replaced by ‘renewables capitalism’. First, ‘renewables capitalism’ is not only possible but also emergent; second, it requires strong nation-states with clear industrial strategies; third, even if ‘renewables capitalism’ were to be sufficient to stabilize the climate, it cannot resolve (and might exacerbate) existing tensions between developing and developed countries in relation to natural resource use and management.

Rocío Hiraldo Questioning imperialist racial decarbonization? Whiteness and the making of international solidarity in the Spanish energy transition

In recent years, scholarly critiques of the imperialist and neo-colonial character of ecological and climate “transitions” have multiplied. Simultaneously, academic interest in activists’ discourses of just transitions and, more broadly, their integration of labour, environmental and climate goals, has grown rapidly. Despite recognition that labour environmentalism should take consideration of existing racial, colonial and sexual divisions of labour, scant attention has been paid to the incorporation of anti-imperialist and antiracist critiques of ecological and climate transitions by activists in the Global North. This paper explores this question through a focus on wind energy development in the Spanish region of Galicia. Drawing on fieldwork in wind turbine factories and fishing communities affected by wind farms, and interviews with migrant workers and activists mobilizing in this context, it discusses the role of whiteness in the emergence of critical action against racialized migrant workers’ vulnerabilities and imperialist extractivist processes sustaining renewable energy development in Spain.

Martí Orta-Martínez Compensation for rights holders of unextractable fossil fuels

To limit the increase in global mean temperature to 1.5°C, CO₂ emissions should be capped at 250 gigatons. To achieve this, most of existing coal, gas and oil reserves need to remain unburned. This implies an economic cost for fossil fuel rights owners, and any successful climate policy will rely on resolving the distributional challenge of how to allocate the right to use the remaining burnable reserves. Previous research suggest that full compensation of fossil fuel right holders might be implausible and a non-cost-effective solution due to the vast amounts required. Climate policies and action and the development of clean energy sources might result in leaving in the ground those FF reserves with a higher production cost even in the absence of compensation. However, compensating owners of those specific fossil fuel reserves that overlap with highly biodiverse regions and/or coincide with outstanding socioenvironmental values might be instrumental to protecting the world’s most sensitive areas from imminent threat, guiding divestment strategies to maximize the collateral benefits of climate policies. In here, we discuss the possibility of compensating rights holders of oil and gas reserves from the most socio-environmental sensitive areas of the world, producing the first estimates of the financial resources needed to secure full compensation of these reserves for governments, corporations and local communities.

Lorenzo Pellegrini Imagining the end of fossil capitalism: Supply-side climate policies and the fight to leave fossil fuels under the soil

The challenge is to think beyond fossil capitalism. The focus is on supply-side climate policies that directly reduce the extraction of fossil fuels, as opposed to the overwhelming majority of existing climate policies whose objective is to cut the consumption of fossil fuels. Demand- and supply-side policies can be complementary and synergic. The introduction of policies to keep fossil fuels in the ground can also have galvanizing effects on environmental justice

organizations. Ethics and feasibility intersect to determine the rights to (partial) compensation for the right holders over unburnable fossil fuel reserves.

The enactment of effective policies to leave fossil fuels in the ground seems currently unfeasible, and fossil fuel realism discourages us from thinking and articulating alternatives to fossil fuel capitalism. Apart from the need to develop elements of socially and environmentally just alternatives, academics have an opportunity to engage with social movements struggling to keep fossil fuels in the ground.

E2 302 CoA 3. Critical media perspectives: conflict in Kashmir, UK miners' strike and eco-disaster films

Mehvish Rather Chasing Absences: Re-watching Friday Protest in Kashmir

The political conflict in Kashmir has been one of the core topics/themes of documentaries and reportage emerging from the region. Independent documentary in Kashmir is particularly critical in countering the (Indian) state propaganda against the civilian freedom movement in the territory and is a tool for resistance against the rewriting and erasure of history by the state. While my current PhD research focusses on the independent and solidarity documentary representation in Kashmir, within this video essay I focus on the other side - one of the reportage/documentaries from the Indian mainland (by an Indian digital channel ScoopWhoop) on Kashmir and deconstruct how certain absences from narratives about Kashmiri conflict skews subject representation.

The original documentary/reportage (Chase: Inside a Friday Protest) is about the stone-pelting movement of 2016 in Kashmir and the series of political unrest in the region at the time. This video-essay is then a retrospective deconstruction of the documentary/reportage from a Kashmiri's perspective – giving a detailed look into the absences within the film.

The video essay is inspired conceptually from Lisa Lowe's book *Intimacies of the Four Continents* (2015), where she evaluates how decolonization process demands that the deliberate absences within history and literature about the artifacts and impact of colonization need to be made present in the evaluation of the texts (whether historical or literary) from that age. These absences play a crucial role in formulating colonial narratives and fetishizing the associated trauma and struggles without any means for tangible change. This video essay then attempts to make visible the absences being created within media narratives about Kashmir which is currently an Indian neo-colonial project in South Asia.

The video essay is visually inspired by Laura Mulvey's *Riddles of the Sphinx* (1977) – the film was a meditation on de-fetishizing the female body and taking the power of gaze away from men who tend to dictate what the visual will constitute and also hold the 'power on the said image'. The footage of the video, outside of the original production of ScoopWhoop, is a collection of footage where the fetishized images of conflict and violence perpetuated by the Indian state with respect to Kashmir are attempted to be neutralized by the visuals of everyday life lived in the streets of Kashmir.

The footage of the video-essay which stands counter to the documentary/reportage belongs to the researcher as well as the voice-over.

David Etherington 40 Years on: The legacy of the 1984/85 Miners Strike and the role of the Media

Emma Piper-Burket

17:00-18:30 | PLENARY 1. | **E3 – 101**

Chair: Al Campbell

The Changing World Economy

Prabhat Patnaik The Crisis of Neo-liberal Capitalism. Prabhat Patnaik, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India

Trevor Ngwane The Fourth Industrial Revolution, Perspectives from the Global South. Trevor Ngwane, University of Johannesburg, South Africa

September 06, Friday

09:00-10:45 | SESSION 1

E2 231A Agrarian Change 4. Social Stratification, Labour Exploitation, Class and Racial Relations in India

Navpreet Kaur Inequality in Tenancy Contracts: A Case Study of Rural Punjab (India)

Agricultural tenancy in rural India has been predominantly characterised by unregistered contracts. These are often exploitative and have an element of explicit unfreedom built into them. The nature of these tenancy contracts have changed significantly over the years. However with the failure of redistributive land reforms, agricultural tenancy is prevalent among small farmers and landless households despite a rise in the cost of cultivation. For the purpose of the study, a stratified random sample survey was carried out in 30 per cent of the households in a village in Faridkot district in Punjab. Drawing on this primary survey, the paper examines the inequality in agricultural tenancy in rural Punjab by analysing the emerging trends in tenancy contracts. Tenancy contracts not only vary between various social groups and classes but also have large variation within these social categories. Therefore the paper will examine the inequality and differentiation in this regard both between and within these groups and classes. With the limited availability of employment in non-agricultural sector (encompassing both the public and private sectors) landless households are either compelled to sell their labour power in agriculture at wages which do not exceed the level of subsistence or enter into exploitative land contracts. The paper concludes with a brief examination of the role of the state in the transformation of the agrarian political economy of Punjab.

Prachi Bansal Examining Occupational Shifts in Rural India: Insights from a Primary Survey of Four Villages in Haryana

Haryana's economy has undergone massive structural changes in the recent decades. The share of agriculture in the Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) has fallen sharply, from 42.2 per cent in 1993–94 to 17.15 per cent in 2019–20, while the share of industry and services has seen a rise. The share of industry has risen from 26.4 per cent in 1993–94 to 31.6 per cent in 2019–20. The share of service sector has increased from 31.3 per cent in 1993–94 to 51.1 per cent in 2019–20. The GSDP of Haryana has seen a high year-on-year growth in the last

decade, recording a growth rate of 7.5 per cent in 2018–19. While there has been high growth of total output and a structural change in the composition of output, the state has not recorded a commensurate rise in employment.

This study is based on a primary survey of 300 households conducted in 2017-18 across four villages of rural Haryana, a state with developed agriculture, in India. The paper shows, with the help of primary and secondary data, the levels and patterns of farm and non-farm employment on rural Haryana. This paper shows how the present day labour relations in rural Haryana are fettered with inequality, precarious employment bondage and caste-class inequalities. The author finds the co-existence of various forms of labour contracts: casual wage labour to bonded labour. These villages were earlier surveyed during the 1930s and 1950s. The paper compares labour relations persisting in the present day rural Haryana to those observed historically in the previous surveys.

The extent of unemployment in Haryana is extremely high. The survey data and the official NSS data shows that a large proportion of working-age men and women did not find work in 2017–18. Women, in particular, faced acute levels of underemployment in the study villages. They mainly found work as agricultural labourers. Their work, however, was limited to a few tasks in agriculture and mostly low-paid. Women were also engaged in unpaid work in livestock rearing.

The primary data from the four villages of Haryana shows an overwhelming dependence of households on the non-farm occupations as a source of employment and income. These occupations ranged from casual wage employment (construction labour/loading-unloading labour/ rickshaw pullers, and other casual work), salaried jobs in private and government sector, petty shopkeepers in the village to self-employed households in manual and non-manual businesses (ranging from street vendors, sweet shop owners, barbers, plumbers to commission agents, agricultural input dealers, factory owners). The forms of contract of employment were also highly diverse. Men worked in diverse occupation in the non-farm economy ranging from manual work as hired labourers, to self-employment in petty business, and in salaried jobs. Women had very little work in the non-farm sector. The comparison with previous survey reports of the study villages shows that the levels of farm and non-farm employment has fallen over time, the non-farm employment has become more precarious in nature, the traditional artisanal occupations have become virtually non-existent in the non-farm sector, and dependence of households on multiple sources of income has risen.

Shruti Nagbhusan Gubbi Production relations and social reproduction among upwardly mobile small farmers: Case study of a village in Maharashtra, India

This paper explores the centrality of the role of female labour – mainly wage labour by Dalit women and unwaged family labour – in the social reproduction and relative socio-economic mobility of small farmers in rural Maharashtra, India.

Primary data from an agrarian village shows that there has been dramatic intensification and extensification in vegetable cultivation between 2006 (when the previous survey was conducted) and 2021 (field survey by the author). While, the extent of land under vegetables is significantly smaller than soyabean or wheat, it seems to be more predominant as a livelihood diversification strategy among small and marginal farmers since it depends on self-exploitation by majority working members of the household. Nevertheless, vegetable cultivation in this context may be regarded as an important source of small but steady surplus for marginal, small farmers and contributed significantly to their relative upward mobility in the region. This surplus is generated on the backs of landless Dalit women (who provide regular and cheap labour) and unpaid female family labour. In addition, the reproductive labour of the women small farmers helps in maintaining and improving their social and economic position. Labour and Self-exploitation among this class of women was valorised and thus vegetable farms were the sites of heightened contradictions, as well as expressed solidarities. This paper is based on year-long fieldwork among women small-farmers and landless agricultural labourers. It explores the labour relations and the gendered social and economic relations between landless Dalit households and small farming households, touching on questions of identity and class consciousness.

Gopikrishnan Govindarajan New forms of extraction? Analyzing the surplus value in the agrarian sector of India

In India's agrarian sector, a significant surge in peasant movements has unfolded amidst escalating repression under the BJP-led government since 2014. This socio-political landscape underscores a deeper structural conflict exacerbated by the interplay of right-wing ideologies and capitalist interests. The recent labor codes were a perfect example of the incumbent government's eagerness towards freedom for agri-businesses to purchase and corporatize peasant agriculture. Considering the government reports the contribution of the agriculture workforce to the Gross Domestic Product has been in decline for a couple of years, with 20.3 percent in 2020-21 and 18.3 percent in 2022-23. Disenchanted by the perpetuated marginalization of the subsistence economy, peasants are mobilizing masse to reclaim their livelihoods through organized resistance. As the different peasant groups joined in the recent marches, the nuances of the class character of mobilization are still yet to be explored. At this critical juncture arises the need to encode the character of class struggles in the contemporary context by studying underlying material conditions of surplus extraction and appropriation.

Jens Lerche Caste from field to factory in North India. A critique of racialised agrarian political economy

'Racialised capitalism' continues to create heated debate. However, within agrarian political economy it is the absence of such a debate that stands out, and that is problematic. I will argue that by ignoring the constant creation of difference by capitalism and the central position of racialised relations herein (together with gender) (Post 2023), this amounts to a tacit approval of potentially oppressive racialised agrarian political economy approaches. Agrarian

political economy in relation to India is a case in point. This paper aims to set out certain core aspects of an agrarian political economy that includes the analysis of racialisation processes in relation to India. Here, racialisation means oppression and exploitation of Dalits, Adivasis and religious minorities. While by now there is some work on oppression and exploitation of Dalits and how this is changing (eg Lerche and Shah 2020), little is done on how this has been part of the continued development of a specific, racialised, capitalism where racialisation has furthered the accumulation by the rural exploiting and oppressing classes (and classes beyond 'the rural'). For example, the profoundly caste specific outcomes of the 1950s land reforms are rarely acknowledged even though they still directly impact rural accumulation and rural caste-class relations: most rural Caste Hindu groups gained land while Dalits were excluded and continued as a rural, landless agrarian underclass, working for the landed caste groups as capitalist agriculture took root. This paper sets out the basic elements an agrarian political economy analysis that includes a focus on how caste-class relations have formed part of agrarian capitalism (and beyond), how present-day landowning caste groups have benefitted from historical and on-going oppression and exploitation of rural Dalits, and how the caste-class relations have changed under capitalism. While the analysis draws on 30 years of field visits to two villages in North India (UP), the aim is to draw wider analytical and theoretical conclusions regarding racialised agrarian political economy in India and beyond.

E2 301 Urban and Regional 1. Neoliberal Transformation in the Cities I: Social Change, Migration and Right to the City

Fatin Jamalolail The Roles and Potential of Malaysian Hawker Organisations in Claiming Their Right to the City

This article examines informal workers' right to the city, focusing on the collective agency of street hawkers within the context of an eroded union culture in Malaysia. As informal workers, street hawkers tend to rely on the social capital of their collective agency to care for one another and ease the process of doing business. This was more apparent during the COVID-19 lockdowns which had negatively impacted both street hawkers' livelihoods and those who depended on them for quick and affordable food and goods, due to restricted access to public space. Drawing upon data collected from semi-structured interviews, we found that hawker organisations are proficient at addressing the more immediate concerns of hawkers such as organising access to space and territorial management, thus relieving this duty from the state, but play a minimal role at addressing long term welfare concerns which contribute to the precarity of hawkers and the sustainability of hawking as a livelihood. This impacts the ability of these informal workers to participate in the production of space, thus diminishing their right to the city. While the discourse on hawkers' right to the city has mostly focused on the struggle to access urban spaces for work, hawker organisations could advocate for a stronger right to the city by urging the state to provide meaningful social protection for street hawkers, ensuring their ability to participate in the production of space. This article contributes to the debate on the collective agency potentials of precarious informal workers in the Global South.

Emirhan Demirel Memories of Rapid Transformation

In this study, I delve into the socio-political and cultural divisions arising from the government's urban transformation of Ankara, Turkey's Güvenevler neighbourhood. Leveraging Lefebvre's 'The Production of Space' and Harvey's 'Right to City,' I analyze the interplay between urban transformations and political expression and how photography intersects with these concepts. Lefebvre's framework provides insight into the ongoing urban transformation and the spatial concentration of the ruling party's ideology, which is palpable in cities as a physical manifestation of this ideology. Employing a qualitative approach, I conduct on-site observations, photographic documentation, a literature review, and a case study to unravel the effects of urban transformation. Drawing on Lefebvre and Harvey's ideas, the case study aims to demonstrate how the hegemon imposes its ideology through a certain type of city. The study suggests that the conflicts arising from the clash between modernism and tradition, secularism and Islam, and democracy and repression are evident in the architectural style that government institutions advocate and in their preference to modify the neighbourhood's structure, further increasing the societal divide. Furthermore, besides analyzing urban development's social, cultural, and political effects, this study will also further consider the environmental impact of urban transformation.

Louise Jeziarski A. The role of social capital in managing pandemic precarity in immigrant communities in Detroit, Michigan, USA.

Our qualitative research in multi-level community ecology and uneven development in Detroit ,Michigan, USA, provides a case study of how social capital is forged by bridging public and private, formal and informal social service organizations and networks in local and regional economies. The COVID-19 pandemic exposed differential policy effects at the federal, state and regional, and neighborhood levels, and revealed the importance of grassroots-based social networks and brokerage institutions that provided the resiliency to address community issues of health and well-being in Bangla, Arab-American, and African-American communities in Detroit. The roles of ethnically based community and business organizations, social service agencies, and religious organizations were crucial in sustaining people as schools and businesses closed during the COVID-19 pandemic, but also in creating innovative community-building practices . The context of neoliberal local political economies in the US case are part of a larger global experience of austerity policies in health and human services as well as informal economies important in marginalized northern social relations. The study has implications for social relations in informal economies in a comparative-global context.

Melih Yeşilbağ The Housing Crisis in Contemporary Turkey

This paper examines the ongoing housing crisis in Turkey since 2021 by situating it into a canvas that combines global and national dynamics. In the last two decades, Turkish housing markets have witnessed major transformations with respect to the regulatory structure, the role of the state, integration with global circuits of capital along with financialization. These transformation have led to a massive housing production volume along with an increasing significance of exchange values with respect to housing that resulted in rampant rises in house prices as well as rents. Housing production began to stagnate in 2017 due to macroeconomic bottlenecks such as the exchange rate shock and interest rate volatility. This situation coupled with the abrupt rise in housing demand after the end of the lockdown of the pandemic era has generated a scene with astronomic housing price and rental inflation, specifically in big cities. The various interventions of the state to the housing crisis, on the other hand, have drastically failed. This paper analyzes the current trends in housing ownership rate along with housing and rental prices in Turkey in comparison with global trends. Turkey comes to the fore as an interesting case that exhibits a coupling of hyper building activity and declining home ownership rates.

E2 303 Africa 3: Accumulation, Dispossession and Violence in Africa

Pablo Idahosa (a) African forms of Dispossession and Displacement: Towards differential understandings of accumulation by dispossession (ABD)

Harvey's global north's neo-liberal moment was fundamentally about restoring and reinforcing capitalist class power through liberalizing trade and investment opportunities for capitalist enterprises, while coevally its ideological project was to expand into all areas of economic, political and social life the promoting of economic "freedoms" to unleash economic growth. A corresponding globalizing process to free market fundamentalism lies in the imperialist re-enforcement of constant ABD.

For Africa, I will suggest it's more appropriate to speak of regimes of accumulation for different classes (Levien 2017, Das, 2017), and of how they fit into the circuits of capital globally and locally. Especial focus will be given to examples of invisibility of those expropriated in many parts of Africa—whether through historical projects of national development-induced displacement; the various forms of land expropriation of urban households and livelihoods; or through or more recent zones of extraction (Adunbi 2022), amongst others. I will suggest each must both be temporalized into their time and layered into place, and in so doing ensure greater visibility be brought to understanding not only the intersecting lines of structural class expropriation and violence (Roy, et al 2021) that produce dispossession and displacement (e.g. migration) but the differential ways in which in Africa displacement produces forms of ABD across different classes locally and globally.

Carla Coburger

E2 221 PEID 2. Green Industrial Policy and the Energy Transition

Matthew Tyce Navigating the global energy transition and industrial decarbonisation agendas under conditions of dependency: Ghana's latest struggles in developing an integrated bauxite-to-aluminium industry

Recent literature has argued that emerging energy transition and industrial decarbonisation agendas may pose an 'existential threat' to the industrialisation agendas of African countries. To date, though, there have been few detailed empirical examinations of how particular countries are actually trying to navigate these twin agendas in the pursuit of industrial policy. We respond to this lacuna by examining Ghana's latest plans for, and challenges with, developing an integrated bauxite-to-aluminium industry (IBAI), which successive Ghanaian political administrations have struggled to realise since independence in the 1950s. Utilising an analytical approach informed by dependency theory that also assigns significance to domestic political economy dynamics, we argue that Ghana's long-standing challenges in developing an IBAI stem significantly from the mode of its insertion – or subordination – within the global capitalist economy. Like other late-developing countries located in the global economic periphery, Ghana is struggling to access the latest 'green' technologies or devise a strategy for powering an IBAI because of uncertainties and reversals in 'green' taxonomies imposed by core economies and blocs in the Global North. Domestically, meanwhile, tentative plans to feed Ghana's IBAI with relatively 'green' hydropower (also Ghana's cheapest electricity source) are provoking pushback because of trade-offs involved, while other 'green' contestations are emerging around expanding bauxite mining into Ghana's last evergreen forest reserves. Collectively, these political economy challenges may frustrate Ghana's ambitions once more, even though an IBAI could generate significant economic benefits

Ricardo Noronha From Petromodernity to the Green transition: a Global History of the Sines Project (1971-2023)

The Sines Port project was conceived in the early 1970s, under the inspiration of Growth Pole Theory, when the Suez Canal was closed, and oil prices were at a historically low level. It consisted of a deep water harbor, specifically designed for super oil tankers, connected to a large oil refinery and a petrochemical industrial complex. The 'Oil shock' of 1973, and the re-opening of the Suez Canal, in 1975, along with the revolutionary crisis that followed the military coup of 25 April 1974, all had a profound impact over the project's viability. However, with many investments already made and the engineering work underway, government authorities decided to keep on with the project, which would be successively altered until its failure was finally admitted, in the late-1980s. In 1999, existing port facilities were leased to the PSA, a transnational logistics company based in Singapore, and the harbor was expanded, now as major logistical hub for shipping containers. Fifty years on, Sines remains a site where ambitious modernization schemes and large investment plans with a global scope are continuously projected, from renewable hydrogen and lithium refineries, to submarine cables and data centers. Its deep water harbor has also become the subject of geopolitical rivalry, emerging both as an obvious node of the Chinese Road and Belt Initiative and as a possible gateway for US Liquid Natural Gas supply to the EU. This paper offers a Historical political economy assessment of the projects elaborated since the the 1970s until the present.

Sandra Jazmin Barragan Contreras The Political Economy of Green Energy Disruptions in Global Value Chains

As nations worldwide navigate the imperative to transition towards sustainable energy sources, profound shifts ripple through GVCs, shaped by "green" industrial policies, production, and trade changes. While dominant narratives often highlight "global disruptions" such as supply chain issues leading to cost-of-living crisis and inflation primarily in the Global North, the experiences of the Global South remain underemphasized.

For the majority world living in the Global South, the effects of disrupted supply chains were not as clear. The Ukraine War, for instance, did not necessarily disrupt supply chains for all countries but also created new opportunities for some, with Russia lobbying for new partnerships in the Global South.

Drawing upon insights from political economy, this paper investigates how the adoption of green energy technologies and industrial policy impact across GVCs, influencing power dynamics, distribution of benefits, and structural inequalities between countries and actors within the chain.

Results from a green energy transitions systematic literature review show how the literature is skewed in relation to analysing the Global North experiences rather than the varied experiences across the Global South. Though often presenting certain disruptions as 'global', Western commentators and academics inevitably turn attention to how they

experience the world rather than the lived experiences of those in the Global South. Ultimately, who gets to define what disruptions matter.

Pritish Behuria The Politics of Industrial Policy within The Green Division of Labour: Against Degrowth Pessimism and Green Industrial Policy Hysteria

The last decade has seen a surge in renewable energy investments and generation worldwide. Amid the exuberance around future energy transitions, both heterodox and mainstream scholarship have written optimistically about the industrial policy opportunities that will inevitably arise. At the other end of the spectrum, many degrowth proponents urge countries – even within those within the Global South – to reduce or alter consumption and see very little space for industrial policy in the urgent need to address climate change.

This paper focuses on the example of rising renewable energy investments by showing this has led to a ‘green division of labour’, with North American, European and some East Asian countries gaining most profits from renewable energy investments because of their control of technologies and manufactured products. While there are opportunities within this for some industrial policy (often into lower-segments of value chains), there are few examples of promising developments. Through examples in India and East Africa, this paper shows that even where there is promise, the major constraints are not purely technical or as a result of trade agreements but because of political constraints related to the power of comprador capitalists or over-reliance on lead firms in global value chains.

E2 110 World Economy 4. Money and Inflation

João Alcobia OPTIMUM CURRENCY AREA CRITERIA: EVALUATING A POLICY DECISION NOT TO ADOPT THE EURO

This article investigates whether Euro Area periphery member states (Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, and France) would have been wealthier in 2010 had they not adopted the euro, as implied by the predictions of the optimum currency area literature and by the MacDougall 1977 report prepared for the European Commission by a panel of independent experts. It finds, using a synthetic control method, that the periphery member states’ net international investment position would be, on average, 27% of GDP higher, the equivalent to a combined 1410 billions of 2010 euros. The econometric results are robust to all standard synthetic control method sensitivity tests.

Nicolás Águila How a commodity became world money: Silver production, coinage, and circulation in colonial South America

Theories of money have not paid enough attention to the actual process through which commodity world money was produced and circulated. From the very beginning, the production of silver in the mines of Potosí was carried out on a capitalist basis, requiring large-scale advancements of capital by Spanish industrial capitalists, who exploited both native free-waged workers and forced mitayo workers. After extracting and refining, these capitalists sold silver pineapples to commercial capitalists who took them to the Caja Real, where the Crown appropriated ground rent via taxes, and silver was assayed and melted into stamped bars. Commercial capitalists then took the bars to the mint, where capitalists exploiting mostly enslaved people coined them into Spanish pesos (pieces of eight). Commercial capitalists later used the coins to buy commodities produced in Europe brought by Spanish traders. The latter took the pesos to Spain or Manila where pesos were redistributed to other European, Ottoman, or Persian commercial capitalists. In turn, they took pesos to India and China to purchase commodities or gold that merchants carried to Europe or traded for enslaved people and gold in Africa. In this way, Spanish pesos became the first true form of world money being accepted not only in the Spanish empire but also in many places where it was accepted and circulated despite not being legal tender. This historical analysis allows us to rethink key problems of monetary theory, highlighting the global and commodity character of money, the role of colonialism in the production of money, and the limits that the integration of South America into the world market as a producer of world money imposed on capitalist development in the region.

Deepak Kumar The Sraffa-Phillips Curve: prelude to a surplus approach to inflation

This paper proposes and empirically models the structural relationship between income redistribution and inflation based on the surplus approach, termed here the Sraffa-Phillips curve. It makes use of an augmented Sraffian model with global input-output databases to simulate the contemporary relationship between redistribution of net income between capital and labour and its effects on aggregate prices across 46 countries and 64 economic sectors. These simulations explore the effects on price formation originating from the structural differences in production systems across the Global North and the Global South and their interlinkages. In doing so, it explores a pivotal structural aspect underlying the economic logic of imperialism in the contemporary world. This paper theoretically and empirically substantiates from the surplus approach the view of inflation as a distributive phenomena, as opposed to the orthodox New-Keynesian Philips curve with its prejudiced focus on 'unnatural' unemployment as inflation's structural *causa sine qua non*.

E3 101 Marxist PE 2. Marxist PE Panel 2: Postponing a crisis and bearing it, the feudal-capitalist transition, the peculiarities of capitalism in the periphery

Thomas Lambert Horses, Serfs, Slaves, Investment and Transitions Debates: An Exploratory Analysis

This paper examines several factors that have been mentioned and debated as determinants of how Britain moves from feudalism to mercantilism and then capitalism through agricultural and industrial innovations and how it arrives at the cusp of the industrial revolution. Of special interest are somewhat recent conjectures of macroeconomic data and investment estimates of and/or deployment data on horses, serfs, and slaves of previous centuries that perhaps can better contribute to and add some clarification to the debates. The estimates and analyses in this paper partially support the Brenner theses or concept of the transition from feudalism to capitalism and also support the notion that the proceeds of slave sales and slave production provide a substantive portion of British investment amounts leading up to the industrial revolution of the 18th Century. The mainstream economic notions of property rights, thrift, free markets, and free trade are only part of the picture of how Britain achieves economic prominence in the 19th Century. Exploitation of people and animals play a very significant role that has been ignored in most history and economic history accounts.

Ozan Mutlu How state intervention postponed the overaccumulation crisis? Observations from Turkish Economy

This paper analyzes the relationship between the rate of profit and the real mass of profit based on data for the aggregate capitalist sectors in Turkey over the period 1998-2023. The data clearly shows a downward trend in the rate of profit, which became apparent after 2005, and stagnation in the real mass of profit beginning in the second half of the 2010s, leading to a stagnant mass of real investment. These symptoms indicate an absolute overaccumulation leading to an economic collapse or a prolonged stagnation.

Economic policies may conceal these signs of stagnation and serve as counter mechanisms. It seems that in the case of Turkey, low interest rates, credit expansion, the lowering of wages below the value of labor in small firms, and a dramatic increase in the rate of surplus value, especially in export-oriented industries, have been successful in preventing a large-scale collapse of the economy. However it should be noted that these mechanisms do not necessarily imply a full restoration of profitability. Our study therefore raises the question of how far these counter-mechanisms can succeed in postponing the accumulation crisis, and our findings suggest that they have not.

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Fabiana Oliveira Money in literary works *Memórias póstumas de Brás Cubas e Quincas Borba*, by Machado de Assis: the peculiarities of Capitalism in a peripheral country - Brazil.

This article aims to verify how the Category of money in Brazil is illustrated through the daily actions of Machado's characters in relation to the processes of commodification and objectification of social relations. The specificity of the money category, as well as its determinations (measure of value, means of exchange, hoarding, means of payment and world money) as proposed by Marx (2013), in the capitalist mode of production, can be understood in many ways, one of them is to show its social power and its impacts and consequences within capitalist relations. In this sense, through literary criticism, Machado de Assis, considered by many analysts to be the greatest writer in Brazilian literature, effectively explained in his works the particularities of Brazilian capitalist reality at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. In his books, the characters embodied "the Capitalist Spirit of the time", that is, greed and unscrupulous pettiness. The "money god" starts to control everything and everyone with his power. Thus, particularly, the works *Memórias póstumas de Brás Cubas* and *Quincas Borba* explain the power to buy "everything" with money, such as the love of a human being, in the first work, and in the second, a substantive inheritance elevates the poor individual and socially excluded, frequenting the circles of the "rich" in the capital period of Brazil – Rio de Janeiro. In this sense, in these works, we can consider that money appears in its fullness, in addition to subordinating social relations in capitalism, transforming all human beings into merchandise "things" as they claim (Marx, 2013, Mészáros, 2015, Rubin, 1987).

Zeynep Ağdemir

E3 103 Financialisation 4. Crises and processes of financialisation

Derya Başarangil The Crisis Management Roles of Central Banks

From the first day of their establishment, central banks have occupied a privileged position in key power relations between the state and capital in terms of the state-finance nexus. Historically, as the role attributed to the states has changed in line with the responses given to crises of capitalism, the role of the central banks has been transformed by reflecting the ideological expression of the changing forms of state intervention in the economy. Moreover, with their organic link with the financial sector, central banks have emerged as key public institutions in the financialization process, where the financial sector has become increasingly expanded and more complex within itself with a series of transformations since the early 1970s. Hence, inflation-targeter independent central banks with their narrowed goal of price stability emerged as a form of neoliberal central banking practices that accelerated the financialization process under the reform packages of neoliberalism. However, the neoliberal paradigm that has dominated the field of central banking since the 1980s has been shaken by the 2008 financial crisis as the goal of price stability failed to deliver financial stability. By assuming new roles and tools rather than merely focusing on inflation-fighting with the 2008 financial and then covid-related crises, central banks have become the focus of increasing interest in their crisis management roles in the face of social and economic crises faced by global capitalism. However, due to a series of financial innovations from the 1970s onwards, the financial markets have become more segmented and market-based, central banks' interventions in credit markets to provide liquidity went beyond conventional lender-of-last-resort operations to market-maker-of-last-resort by including non-bank financial entities of the so-called shadow banking system. Central banks, whose regulatory and supervisory roles have been diminished in line with their narrowed focus on the goal of price stability, have remained operating as a hegemonic apparatus of financial capital since their interventions in the crisis times reinforced the main characteristic of the financialization process. Just as the financialization debate inherently would bring the state to the fore, the crisis management role of central banks has increasingly begun to point to the need to increase the capacities of the state, including central banks. To the extent that social, financial, and ecological crises put the state in trouble and shake the financial hegemony, central banks would be called to embark on new crisis mechanisms. However, to the extent that the financial hegemony reigns, the recent calls for central bank interventions in financial, social, and ecological crises would not be opening to contest to

shake financial dominance. By arguing that central banks provide an adequate institutional and spatio-temporal fix for financialization since they have an organic link with financial markets from their inception, this paper attempts to initiate a debate on the roles of central banks in the midst of the polycrisis environment.

Christian Koutny Financialisation as a Process

We propose a novel context for financialisation and argue, that financialisation can be understood as a general process within the totality of capital, exhibiting specific structural forms. To address this, we propose a systematic approach that employs Marx's 'moments of capital' - production, realisation, consumption, and distribution - and define financialisation as a general tendency of capital. Marx's moments of capital stress the notion that capital is a process that perpetually expands through continuous accumulation, but keeps its constituent elements in the form of a metabolic totality. We show with this approach that each individual moment of capital exhibits financialisation, defined as growing importance of financial deals over material expansion.

With this framework, we can demonstrate that the contemporary structural form of financialisation is governed by its function to absorb social surplus, which continuously rises due to laws of monopoly capital. Because of this, the management of incomes takes on central significance in explaining economic stability. In other words, the perpetuation of the specific structural form of the process of financialisation, rests on the successful management of surplus. In this paper we show how financialisation arises from each moment of capital individually, integrated in a metabolic whole. This framework substantially changes the interpretation of much of the empirical literature on financialisation.

Cinthia De Souza

Maria Dafnomili

E3 201 Neoliberalism 4. Neoliberalism in the Digital Age

Sinan Haskan Artificial Intelligence Strategies of Global South Countries in the Context of Rising Protectionist Policies and Technological Gap: Comparative Analysis of China, India and Indonesia

In the past decade, neoliberal globalization has shown signs of slowing down, with a rise in political isolationism and economic protectionism. This trend has led to increased investment in key industries by Global North countries, such as the US's CHIPS Act and Germany's focus on renewable energy. Contrary to neoliberal expectations, globalization has not reduced inequality but has widened the gap between the Global North and South. The rise in protectionist policies create an advantageous environment in favor of the Global North with their advanced technological infrastructure, exacerbating technological disparities and inequality. However, some Global South countries have made strides in strategic sectors to bridge this gap. Notably, China's "Made in China 2025" and AI Development Plan, India's "Make in India" and AI Strategy, and Indonesia's "Indonesia 4.0" and AI Strategy are significant efforts in this direction. This paper aims to compare the approaches of China, India, and Indonesia toward Artificial Intelligence (AI) in the face of increasing protectionism. It examines their investments and progress in AI, using process tracing and an inductive approach to analyze policy decisions and outcomes. The study provides insights into how the technological divide between the Global North and South is shaped in AI area in the context of rising protectionist policies and technological advancement. It discusses which strategies has helped close this gap in the Global South.

Çağdaş Yalçınkaya Unicorn to Kraken: The Concentration and Centralization of Capital in the Era of Big Tech

In recent years, social science literature has increasingly indicated concerns about capitalism undergoing dramatic changes due to globalization, financialization, digitalization, and platformization. While research on digitalization and platformization is growing, it is still evolving theoretically and categorizing economic activities. However, there is still debate about whether so-called perfect competition or monopolies are the main drivers of capitalist development. In the current capitalist epoch, a stark transformation is visible in the ascendance from 'unicorns'—the once-celebrated beacons of innovation and success—to 'krakens,' whose monopolistic sprawl embodies the Marxian prognosis centralization and concentration of capital. Digital conglomerates are now considered continuations of the large

transnational corporations of the past. Just like the monopolies of the Gilded Age, current big tech companies extract data instead of oil. Creativity and innovation are necessary in this new economic sector, but there is debate about whether the growth of these 'creative' industries through monopoly power is not truly creative but certainly destructive. Monopoly capitalism theory contends that power and control should be understood in market relationships and how they shape global production and affect societies worldwide. In the context of "platform-technology" capitalism, I propose investigating how big-tech companies strengthen their control over the creative process, specifically innovation, and patents, through mergers and so-called 'killer' acquisitions. Additionally, by examining the range of industries in which they operate—such as computers, hardware, telecommunications, and content—this analysis aims to reveal how their monopolistic power across these industries creates substantial challenges for new entrants by reducing market competition. This study examines the Refinitiv M&A data and United States Securities and Exchange Commission 10-K filings to explore how mergers and acquisitions have reinforced the monopoly power of Google, Amazon, Facebook, Apple, and Microsoft (GAFAM) in their respective industries through the lens of a Marxist analytical approach.

Bonn Juego Labour and Technology in the Digital Age: Limits of Policy, Scope for Worker Agency

As the imperatives of global capitalist competition drive the technologies of digitalization, workplaces and labour relations are being restructured worldwide. This paper will delve into the complex interplay between technology and work in the digital age, with a specific focus on the impact of the proliferation of algorithmic management techniques – from the platform economy to traditional industries – on workers' fundamental rights, dignity, and overall well-being. It will underscore the limitations of existing policies and institutions in addressing the incessant technological revolutions, including artificial intelligence, and reflect on the scope of worker agency and trade union power in the innovation process. The analysis will also contend that socio-institutional frameworks are essential for steering a pro-labour, fair, democratic, and humane digital transition.

Ramiro Blanco Hate Speech and The Attack On Popular Governments In Latin America

With the crisis of neoliberal models in the 90s in Latin America, and the increase in commodity prices, a succession of popular governments was created in the subcontinent that had in common the fight against social inequality, support for industrialization processes and the development of foreign policies that promoted the autonomy of countries, regional integration and the promotion of south-south relations. In this context, and taking advantage of the importance of social networks in shaping public opinion, hate speech was created against national leaders and/or the political spaces to which they belong. Thus, the hate speech promoted by them is felt in various social sectors, bringing extreme, antagonistic and skewed positions in relation to political, economic and social circles. The influence of this type of discourse led to the destabilization of the economic and political life of nations, as occurred during the administrations of the governments of Dilma Rousseff (Brazil) and Cristina Kirchner (Argentina). In view of this, the present work aims to show how the expressions of hatred contained in the announcements made in demonstrations against the government of Cristina Kirchner and Dilma Rousseff, known as "cacerolazos" (2013-2014) and "panelaços" (2015-2016), represent and extreme this process. The corpus of the work consists of statements from posters and spontaneous statements from participants in both demonstrations. Through comparisons of statements, we will point out the thematic, discursive and semiotic regularities in the respective political events, such as attacks on the honor of former representatives -and members of the governing parties-, on their morals and sexuality, the thanatic desire for annihilation, etc. how exacerbated hatred constituted an argumentative "plus" that goes beyond the categories of discourtesy once it reached the level of desire for the physical extinction of the opponent, or his annulment as a political subject, interdicting any possibilities for dialogue and democratic reflection.

E2 203 Social reproduction & CoA : Crisis, unmet needs and care work

Manuel Garcia Dellacasa The Structure of Abandonment

The rapid demographic transition unfolding in much of the developed and developing world has coincided with a surge in functional dependency rates among adults. Unfortunately, early indications on this issue reveal that higher dependency rates have been accompanied by even higher rates of abandonment—a situation where dependents do not

receive the necessary care to perform their daily activities. This phenomenon is a matter of grave economic concern, as inadequate care also strains public funds and the overall operation of the healthcare system.

In this paper, I argue that abandonment has a structural root and is an expression of a broader crisis in the structure of social reproduction. The reliance on patriarchal structures to provide unpaid care work is evolving into a Malthusian trap that pits necessary processes of family reproduction against the provision of care. Moreover, care penalties, arising from the patriarchal structure and compounded by urban processes that marginalize functional dependents and caregivers, become insurmountable in the context of family nuclearization processes. In the current context, the family space no longer provides enough room for a division of labour that sustains caregiving.

By understanding the structure of abandonment, we can envision ways out of this Malthusian trap. Technological development and building community infrastructure are discussed as potential policy implications.

Tine Hanrieder Repair work in raced welfare capitalism: community health workers in the United States

In modern capitalism, the costs of social reproduction are widely externalised to women in households, but also to (women in) community organisations. This article centres on communities as sites of devalued but necessary social reproductive labour. I focus on community medicine as an integral part of welfare capitalism in the United States, where racialised communities face a discriminatory economy and welfare state. Community self-help organisations and community health workers (CHWs) are a vital but devalued source of social reproductive labour in this context, which is repair work given that it sustains individuals and communities facing the harms of raced welfare capitalism. I reconstruct three forms of repair work performed by CHWs: Safety net plugging is the often-invisible work of addressing unmet community needs; bridging is the work of intermediating between (punitive) state authorities and oppressed communities; and transforming lived experience is the devalued personal work of turning discrimination and struggle into care and flourishing. The article is based on documents and fieldwork in the US with a focus on California. It argues that insights from critical health offer new lessons about social reproduction, repair, and merit in raced welfare capitalism.

Hitesh Potdar Charting the Landscape of Paid Domestic Labour: A Methodological Synthesis of Social Reproduction and Conjunctural Analysis

Paid domestic work is a site where social and economic inequalities are not only starkly visible, but continuously reinforced and reproduced. The conditions of work in this sector act as an ‘additional’ subsidy to capitalist accumulation. Due to the link between paid domestic work and realms of social reproduction, any efforts at valuing their work require broader changes (Neetha, 2020) than just improving wages and working conditions, requiring a historical-structural understanding. The paper seeks to synthesise insights from frameworks such as ESRA, conjunctural analysis (Hart, 2023), ‘the concrete as method’ (Ekers and Loftus, 2020), ‘diversified labour processes’ and ‘forms of exploitations’ (Mezzadri, 2021 & 2024; and Banaji 2003) to propose a new method to grasp the ‘entirety of life-work’ through the prism of social reproduction. The paper attempts to introduce an analytical proposition to demonstrate the influence of conjunctures on shaping the spatial landscapes of precarity for paid domestic workers in India. It applies ‘conjunctural analysis’ to understand these historical processes which defined their current forms of exploitation and oppression. The paper considers the complex intersections of various social categories (caste, gender, and class, along with regional variations) within the deregulated Indian economy and rise of the Modi-led BJP government. By bringing this synthesis, the proposed method intends to add to the social reproduction analyses.

Nilüfer Dilara Ar Mutlu No Need to Say (Malumun İlamı)

<https://vimeo.com/476284740?share=copy>

E2 102 Environment 3: Capitalism and nature

Pedro M Rey-Araujo The temporalities of the capitalist social metabolism

The collective mediation of the social metabolism [SM] between human bodies and their environment is a transhistorical condition of human existence. While research on the social metabolism has been prominently focused on its spatial dimensions, this communication foregrounds its inherently temporal nature. In this regard, it starts by considering the two poles of the SM as having rhythmic conditions of existence. From the regular provision of food, hydration, or sleep, to the healing processes, giving birth, or ageing itself, human bodies are fundamentally rhythmical entities. Analogously, the daily and yearly variation in terms of temperature and visibility imprint a rhythmic character to all non-human life. From agrarian regenerative cycles to cattle raising and bird migration patterns, all biophysical display irreducibly complex rhythmic patterns. The social relations mediating SM, while forced to respect the rhythmic reproductive condition of the SM's two poles, introduce a historically variant element within the SM's overall temporalities.

The 'capitalist form' of mediating the SM, namely, as myriad uncoordinated acts of production mediated by the circulation of value along its different forms, introduces a discordance between human bodies' and nature's time, on the one hand, and those imposed by capital on social relations. Rather than the rhythms of social relations being subordinated to the reproduction of the SM's two poles, a real inversion occurs in capitalism, and the opposite holds. The concrete temporalities of the latter are not erased, but rather fragmented, displaced, accelerated, to make them comply with capital's reproductive requirements, to the point of risking their own non-reproduction.

Analogously to the 'metabolic rift' highlighted in critical appraisals of the capitalist social metabolism, the term 'temporal rift' is here introduced to refer to the discordance of times between, on the one hand, human bodies and natural processes' rhythmic conditions of regeneration, and those implied by capital's own reproductive requirements. This contribution examines how human and natural temporalities are estranged due to their mediation by the value-form.

Christiane Heisse Economics imperialism in times of environmental crisis – the case of natural capital

Mainstream economics is ill-equipped to deal with systemic crises such as climate change and biodiversity breakdown. Yet there is no shortage of approaches that extend neoclassical principles to nature-economy relations. This paper adopts the theoretical perspective of economics imperialism to study natural capital, a term coined in the late 1980s to integrate the environment into economic analysis within a production function framework. Drawing on academic and grey literature on natural capital, I argue that two contradictory dynamics are at play. On the one hand, the concept never took hold in mainstream economics despite its neoclassical origins. On the other hand, it has come to underpin neoliberal nature conservation discourses at the World Bank and in the development finance arena. These points to the poor ability of mainstream economics to deal with systemic environmental, while at the same time feeding into environmentally and socially harmful discourses under financialised capitalism.

Yorgos Pisinis Towards a Third Wave of Ecosocialism: Integrating the Theory of Metabolic Rift with Ecological Economics

This paper explores the evolution of ecosocialist thought, focusing on the theory of metabolic rift (TMR), a key concept that emerged with the second wave of ecosocialism and has since gained significant attention in contemporary political ecology. We argue that TMR holds considerable promise for advancing a third wave of ecosocialist theory, particularly through its potential integration with the Ecological Economics (EE) school of thought. Despite the historical lack of interaction between these two schools, we propose that there are theoretical commonalities between TMR and EE, especially in terms of their approaches to political economy.

By engaging with existing literature, we identify three distinct levels/forms of TMR: the simple form, the general form, and the developing form. Our analysis of these forms provides a comprehensive assessment of TMR's theoretical underpinnings and its applicability to current ecological and economic challenges.

Furthermore, we delve into the technical and methodological aspects of human-nature analysis, demonstrating how a TMR model can adopt the methodologies of Material Flow Analysis (MFA) and Substance Flow Analysis (SFA), which are commonly used in EE.

In conclusion, our paper presents a compelling case for merging TMR and EE, offering a solid methodological foundation for a model that not only bridges two critical schools of thought but also enhances the analytical tools available for ecosocialist research and practice.

Paraskevi Tsinaslanidou

E2 213B Political Economy and Law

Claire Debuquois Green Bonds and Green Slices: Legal and Epistemological Insights into Sustainable Finance in Brazil

Green finance pledges abound. They are politically considered a cornerstone of a low-carbon future. Nevertheless, these financial instruments may fail to meet their sustainability goals, and may even undermine them. One example is Brazil's Ferrogrão, a railway line connecting the grain-producing state of Mato Grosso with the port of Miritituba in the state of Pará. The line was green-lighted by the Climate Bonds Initiative, based on its promise to decrease road transport, and supported by EU and US institutional investors. However, the railway would i) boost soybean and maize exports by agribusinesses with a record of deforestation; ii) cross indigenous land and protected areas in the Amazon, of utmost importance for biodiversity, water cycles, and the climate; and iii) contravene key provisions of domestic and international law.

I map the relevant legal regimes and analyse the epistemic and normative power of the various actors involved. I examine how law creates new forms of property and establishes conditions for their exchange; how it recognises and protects certain costs, benefits, rights and interests above others; and how it co-constitutes value through regulatory structures.

The case study highlights the legal framing of green finance and energy value chains, and their effects on the ground. By de-centering the European perspective, it helps illuminate the extraterritorial impact of green finance and climate policy, in an effort towards a just ecological transition.

Todd Davies Competition Law and the Regulatory Dialectic

Maintaining the process of competition is an important goal of competition law and policy. Yet decades of scholarship focused on the outcomes of competition, rather than the process itself, have relegated it to an under-theorised buzzword in the field. This study argues that the theoretical and methodological frameworks of contemporary competition law are ill-equipped to adequately analyse competition as a process. Seeking to address this issue, it introduces a political-economic theory that frames the interaction between competition law and the competitive process as a 'regulatory dialectic'. This dialectic unfolds between firms attempting to avoid market competition and competition authorities seeking to promote it, seen as either adversarial or co-constructive based on negotiations over market ordering. The study first describes the theory, then validates it by analysing the historical evolution of US antitrust and EU competition law. Finally, it advocates for new analytical tools that can contextualise individual cases within a broader regulatory dialectic.

Kutay Kutlu Turkey's Proposed Climate Law as a Case of Neoliberal Governmentality

Critical scholarship on climate change governance highlights the paradox in the dominant approaches to climate change characterized by neoliberal governmentality. On the one hand, climate change is framed as a crisis that should be a primary political concern, while on the other, the policies to address it are isolated from political debate through emphasis on market-based techno-managerial fixes. This paper will argue that Turkey's proposed Climate Law constitutes yet another case of neoliberal governmentality, oriented around alignment with global market-based policies on climate change without addressing the structural causes and implications of the phenomenon. Firstly, the paper will briefly summarize the influence of international development institutions on Turkey's earlier renewable energy legislation and the environmental injustices associated with 'green' energy projects in Turkey. Secondly, it will elaborate on the preparation of Turkey's draft Climate Law and the role of World Bank within this process through its Partnership for Market Readiness program. In this context, will also emphasize the impact of European Union's Green

Deal strategy and Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism on Turkey's proposed Climate Law. Thirdly, it will analyze the draft text of Climate Law, highlighting that it entails a market-based rationality oriented around the establishment of an Emissions Trading System, while largely ignoring the ecological and social dimensions of climate change.

Mnqobi Ngubane

E2 302 Holding the World Bank and IMF to account for driving the financialisation of development

Robert Bain

11:15-13:00 | SESSION 2

E2 231A Agrarian Change 5. Discourses, promises and contradictions in agricultural modernisations

Orven Mallari Progress is a Grain of Rice: The Agrarian Response to Scientific Nationalism in the Postcolonial Philippines

The founding of the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) in 1960 has been historicized as a convergence of 1) Ford and Rockefeller Foundation interests in agrarian solutions to the Cold War domino effect and 2) the opportunism of the Philippine government in search for a national identity. This project expands on the role of American-trained Filipino scientists in articulating the conditions that would make this event possible, especially around that of a charismatic plant breeder-turned-science advocate, Dioscoro L. Umali. Their reputational and discursive inputs were essential in the mechanisms that would accelerate the Green Revolution model of intensive agriculture. This article proposes that following the discourses in engaged science in the decades after Philippine 'independence' trouble the geographies of core and peripheries taken for granted in both world-systems theory and diaspora studies. It also analyzes a nascent articulation of an agrarian movement at the end of the 1980s that further admonished those nationalist scientists in the wake of an unprecedented authoritarian rule by Ferdinand Marcos, Sr. We see from their articulation of agrarian struggle that this group of scientists served as a pedagogical base from which the telos of modernity were dressed with nationalist platitudes.

Kees Jansen The Pesticide Business and its Propaganda: Making Paraquat Safe

Agrarian change is not only about changing control over land and labour in relation to capital. In this paper it is about control over knowledge, in particular the conceptualizations of pesticide risks and the strategies of capital to shape those. To address this topic, I present a history of paraquat, once the most used herbicide (weed-killer) in the world and one of the most strongly contested pesticides. I will

focus on strategies of corporate business to keep this chemical on the market despite efforts to ban it in many different countries. One business strategy is

propaganda, for example through websites as paraquat.com. The older terms propaganda and ideology (in the sense of thought that distorts and disguises the real status quo) may have analytically and politically more revealing power than concepts currently in vogue to approach discursive expressions, such as discourse, agnotology, ignorance, undone science, and so on, notwithstanding sound critiques on the former and relevant insights provided by the latter. Regarding the particular case, I argue against the idea that farmers use herbicides because they have been misled by the industry's advertisement as this idea neglects the materiality of farming. Rather than conceiving of propaganda as a particular discourse with its own outcome, namely increased sales or greenwashing, or as a bundle of words that represent or distort the truth, it is better seen as an effect within the larger context of modernization of agriculture through science-based innovations, interweaving with the material conditions of phytotoxicity (the effective killing of weeds) and the drive for higher yields with lower costs. In that context it is a response to critiques by ecological and health scientists, suffering people, and advocacy groups. The business interest to keep their products on the market

interacting with the contestation of this by social movements are the social conditions for the production of this propaganda.

Liza Steultjens Negotiating agroecology futures: the dynamics of discourse contestation in Burkina Faso and Senegal

This study delves into the negotiation dynamics among activists, researchers and policymakers who are currently shaping the National Agroecology Strategies of Burkina Faso and Senegal. Through the lens of ‘frictional interfaces’ from a Foucauldian poststructuralist perspective, the research employs the method of Discourse Network Analysis on interview and document data to unpack how different actors navigate clashes in policy ambitions through ambiguous concepts such as ‘sustainability’, ‘resilience’ and ‘coherence’ and by making certain tradeoffs. Firstly, as these agroecology negotiations bring together a range of multi-level actors with vastly diverging problem understandings, economic and security interests, power positions and resources, an analysis of these interactions can contribute to a better understanding of how hegemonic actors deal with demands for system change in a north-south context. Secondly, the study aims at a better understanding of the relationship between discourse contestation and policy change/stability. Thirdly, the study explores the possibility of adequately integrating power relations and political economy into a network study based on a ‘flat’ ontology. Fourthly, the project aims to repoliticize the concept of ‘policy coherence for sustainable development’ by showing how consensus-building for a comprehensive approach inevitably results in prioritizations and trade-offs amongst stakeholders with conflicting interests and unequal power positions.

Ayça Çavdar Çetin The Neoliberal Transformation of Agricultural Policies in Turkey and Their Manifestation in The Hazelnut Sector

This paper analyzes the factors driving the transformation in the Turkish hazelnut sector in the context of contemporary global neoliberal agrarian change. Driven from the Third Food Regime theory (TFR), we posit that, unless the impositions of the international institutions are taken into consideration, it is not possible to understand the exact nature of such transformation which has led to the liberalization of the hazelnuts market, primarily benefiting the transnational corporations (TNCs). To support our hypothesis, we utilized secondary data and also conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with farmers in key hazelnut cities of Northern Turkey. Our findings demonstrate that, while the international agents initially influenced the hazelnut sector’s neoliberal transformation, they have not achieved the intended reduction in hazelnut cultivated areas and the state progressively increased its control over the sector. Our analysis illustrates that the TFR theory accurately foresaw the growing dominance of TNCs and the concentration within the hazelnut market, resulting in deteriorating conditions for hazelnut farmers amid the process of liberalization. However, the theory falls short in elucidating the persistent role of the state in the hazelnut sector and the farmers’ steadfast commitment to hazelnut cultivation.

Andres Suarez Unveiling the causal mechanism of Avo-extractivism in Colombia: A Critical Realism perspective

The pressure exerted by the Global North is driving transformative changes in traditional land use practices in Salamina, Colombia. The rapid expansion of Hass avocado plantations (HAP) is emblematic of this shift. Analyzed through a critical realist lens, two interrelated mechanisms support this change. First, internal contradictions within agro-capitalism lead to institutional ambivalence, portraying extractive practices as sustainable within specific narratives. Second, local priorities shift as HAP is embraced as a remedy for economic and social challenges. This expansion introduces challenges in land ownership and labor dynamics, catering to the demand for Hass avocados from Global North consumers. Amidst these complexities, the dominance of HAP emerges as a defining agricultural strategy, situating Salamina within the context of agroextractivism. The intricate interplay between profit-driven interests, environmental limits, and local agency underscores the nuanced dynamics shaping Salamina’s evolving agricultural landscape.

E2 301 Commodity Studies 1. Commodity Prices

Robert Fig Why is it that resource rich developing countries fail to manage their risks through hedging?

My work focusses on the experience of three resource rich developing countries, Chile, DRC and Zambia, all major copper producers, all run by state owned enterprises. I adopt a political settlement approach as to why these countries

move from boom to bust within commodity cycles and fail to protect themselves against market volatility or to set aside gains from the good years towards providing for lean years. Past examples of hedging in both Zambia and Chile (and many other developing countries) have either ended in failure or encouraged criminal or negative rent seeking behaviour and have since been abandoned.

Why is it that nearly all the major mining companies which partner with their SOE's hedge while the SOEs don't?

Why is it that the Good Governance approach, which seeks to impose conditionality on these countries receiving aid, fail to have any impact on advancing these economies? Part of this lies in their external imposition rather than relying on internal pressures of local actors to force governments to act in their interests to ensure the profitability of these SOEs are based on sound business practices such as hedging through a sovereign wealth fund or the like which cannot be raided for non-developmental purposes as we have seen occur in many jurisdictions. Past good governance approaches challenge the efficacy of hedging claiming it is ineffective in reducing risk this despite it being used widely in the commercial world to very good effect. their argument that financialisation and the participation of the buy side or speculative traders has meant that exchange prices have become less reflective of market fundamentals such as supply and demand. My thesis argues that if this was the case then industrial and mining companies would not use these markets as they would not see convergence between their prices and those that are paid for in the real world. It is believed that one of the outcomes of a properly run risk management discipline is that it would be made wholly transparent and accountable to the population.

Part of the problem and potential solution is that unless resource rich developing countries hedge they will never be able to sell their commodities at a fair market price. An intricate knowledge of how these markets work will protect these economies against poor pricing by International mining and trading companies and protect them against transfer pricing.

Josef Baum Marketing and Advertisement Revisited – Their Underestimated Significance from Childhood on

Terms like “consumer terror” or “consumer idiots” were widespread in the 1968 movement. Although this also meant elitist contempt for the less well-off, the structure of the rapidly developing consumption was questioned basically. Since then, the dimension of consumption for the sake of profit, has multiplied. In contrast it seems, the criticism of it has been weakened; but added are the problems of resources, waste and climate. Although in Marx's time the quantitative and qualitative dimension of the world of commodities was only a small fraction of what it is today, Marx began his analysis of "Capital" with "commodity fetishism".

Capitalism in its first stage functioned without very significant advertising. “Advertising” has to be broadened today, also product placing, sponsoring, promotion, influencers have become more important. The boundaries between different marketing measures are not always easy to draw exactly. In any case, a broad concept of advertising in the sense of marketing is appropriate.

The neoclassical theory assumes that the consumers are sovereign and ultimately control the economy by their preferences. So consumers could change everything. Why then there are legions of advertising psychologists and other marketing professionals are engaged how to trigger the grip to specific consumer items?

Advertising is a consequence and driver of concentration - see "monopolistic competition" (Robinson, Chamberlin in the 1930s). From a traditional point of view, it is about “reducing the elasticity of demand” or strengthening consumer desires via brand loyalty; and it is about the effects of an oligopolistic restriction of competition. This is remarkable because “competition” is one of the most sacred mantras of mainstream economics. It is well known that in this context the differences via product differentiation often are minimal, and therefore so much advertisement is necessary.

Advertising is dominated by big corporations, and is a factor in crowding out local and regional economies: Advertising is caused by oligopolisation and reinforces oligopolisation

An also well known important implication is that funds are used for variations and marketing and not for basic innovations eg for greening. And beyond that by the concrete formation of needs we see a lock-in in resource-intensive, climate-damaging, unsustainable or unhealthy lifestyles, or production and consumption modes.

In the age of digitalization online advertising has become by far the fastest growing advertising segment, and within this again personalized advertising is the driving force. This "game changer" developed from the 00s and with force in the last decade as a business model for large digital corporations. While the majority of advertisements or television advertising ultimately fizzles out due to the broad surface, the "accuracy" of personalized advertising is increased by dimensions. From the point of view of capital accumulation oligopoly profits are triggered.

The large digital corporations have also managed to largely evade regulations.

The logic of the advertising business model in new media is becoming clearer to the public: in order to obtain the appropriate user data for advertisers, the first thing to do is to attract attention, almost no matter how. This leads to a viral amplification of fake news and irrational "discourses" on an unprecedented scale - with fundamental political implications

And there are very fundamental questions: Jerry Mander, who comes from the advertising industry, asks the simple question: is advertising legal? Advertising can certainly be viewed as an uninvited invasion of privacy. Advertising is about getting someone to do something they wouldn't otherwise do without being asked.

The "privatization of consciousness" is to be seen in the larger context in the sense of a comprehensive imprinting of the individual, beginning with children. Advertising is only one factor in the "commercialization of childhood", but by no means an insignificant one: according to Mander, children watched around three hours of television a day in the USA at least 10 years ago, of which around a third were advertising, the length of meaningful communication with her parents was just three and a half minutes; during the week!

What is enforced by this is clear: "I buy, therefore I am". With this shaping of individuals through advertising, starting in childhood, the possibilities of authentic personal development are in any case impaired.

From the point of view of a socio-ecological transformation, all areas of advertising are of no small importance as a barrier: Regardless of the question of whether and how commercial advertising can be completely abolished (or can be converted into positive functions), the task at least for the time being is how commercial advertising can first be regulated e.g. by taxes, limited and suppressed.

Carmen Elsayad The Limits of Differentiation: Quality Discourse and Coffee Production since 1989

Since the deregulation of coffee prices in 1989, producers around the world have faced historically low prices for their crop, often operating below the cost of production. During the same period, importing countries have experienced the exponential growth of specialty and certified coffee markets, also known as differentiated coffee. This paper traces the emergence of differentiation in the coffee Global Value Chain (GVC) and how it was used to frame advice to coffee producers since 1989. Using qualitative content analysis, it compares communications released by the International Coffee Organization (ICO), historically representing the interests of producers, to those created by the Specialty Coffee Association (SCA), which represented the interests of new specialty roasters and traders. Within a span of thirty years, initiatives based on the new quality discourse helped to transform global coffee production into a highly differentiated buyers' market with coffee profiles as diverse and complex as the wine industry's. Yet this was accomplished without raising prices overall. While stories of successful roaster-producer partnerships abound, few studies have considered what differentiation has done to coffee production in general. Most notably, it has changed the conversation from a problem of low prices to one about quality, thereby shifting the onus of raising prices to individual producers rather than buyers, sidelining broader distributional questions.

Aleksandra Wojewska Making prices - contested price-determination and -transmission in global production networks. The case of cobalt from DRC.

Cobalt prices have become increasingly volatile. This is problematic as the majority of global cobalt supply originates from DRC, where an estimated 15-30% of cobalt is produced by artisanal and small-scale miners (ASM), who are directly exposed to price changes. Substantial literature exists analysing governance in the cobalt global production network (GPN) and the local production system in DRC, but with only limited focus on the interactions between physical and financial markets, including price-making processes. I draw on extractive GPNs, price-determination and -transmission and financial infrastructures literatures to analyse price-making processes at different price points – from derivatives markets to mining sites – and their outcomes along the GPN. I examine how and to what ends actors in the GPN struggle to influence price-making and its infrastructures, and how this underpins the trajectories and limits of financialisation. I argue that, in the face of ‘green transformations’, price-making practices in the cobalt GPN have been altered, becoming increasingly disconnected from the ‘material realities’ of cobalt extraction and processing, but also moving towards shorter-term oriented arrangements, underscoring the volatility of cobalt prices and contributing to uneven outcomes in the GPN. Methodologically, the paper is based on semi-structured interviews conducted in the UK, Switzerland and DRC between 2021 and 2024 as well as document and financial data analysis.

E2 303 Health and Healthcare. Crises and Challenges

Joyce Souza Maldonado Digitalization of the healthcare sector and the deepening of neoliberalism in technologically dependent countries: the case of Brazilian healthcare

Since the beginning of the 21st century, global organizations, and institutions, such as the World Health Organization (WHO), have been publishing reports with premises and guidelines aimed at the development of a global digital health. Among the arguments presented are assertions about the importance of using digital technologies in the healthcare sector to expand improvements in care and universal access to healthcare.

However, the digitalization of the healthcare sector in technologically dependent countries has presented evidence contrary to the ideal of universal access. In this sense, this paper aims to present a case study on the Brazilian Unified Health System (SUS), considered the largest public healthcare system in the world, which, as it enters digitization, has tended to deepen neoliberal structures in the sector, such as privatization.

The Brazilian state, after decades of disinvestment in national infrastructure and technologies, has developed digital healthcare through the hiring of infrastructures, services, and digital technologies from international capital, privatizing areas considered central to the development of medical science and the sector as a whole, such as the infrastructures responsible for collecting, storing, and processing health data.

Through a bibliographic review of theories about neoliberalism, the financialization of the healthcare sector, and interviews conducted with public agents from the Ministry of Health in Brazil and private actors from health insurance companies, the paper will present how the scenario of healthcare digitization is deepening neoliberalism in developing countries.

Linda Sayed Social Networks, Health, and Well-Being

The importance of social networks has shown to have a positive impact on health and care (Pescosolido, 2006). Socialization restrictions during the COVID-19 pandemic posed new challenges for families and the support structures they can rely on. Immigrant and minoritized groups, in particular report more contact frequency with their networks than their Black and White counterparts (Arjouch & Antonucci, 2018). As a result of socialization restrictions during the pandemic, these support structures and interactions became limited and nearly nonexistent. This study aimed to understand how families in the greater Detroit area have been coping with the aftermath of the Covid-19 health crisis with a particular focus on immigrant and minoritized communities. The study interviewed local organizations, community representatives, and non-profits to assess the challenges faced. Initial findings of this study have revealed that participants faced pressing mental health concerns due to financial pressures and loss of social networks. Participants disclosed the ways that these local organizations were able to pivot and used social media to provide resources and promote well-being. By using social media, these local organizations reproduced community to address the mental health concerns of their constituents. Online platforms were used to provide wellness and care tools for struggling mothers, workout and yoga sessions, educational resources for children, and art programming.

Rosa Marques Universal health and neoliberalism in Brazil

It has been 36 years since Brazil wrote in its Constitution that health is a right for everyone and a duty of the State. The moment was the country's democratization and the 1988 Constitution expressed, at the same time, its peak and the commitment of different and contradictory political forces to establish new bases for the period that followed the end of the military dictatorship.

By introducing universal access, consistent with the principle of citizenship, it directly broke with the organizing and guaranteeing basis of social protection in health matters, that is, with the principle of meritocracy, which required prior contribution and which excluded the vast majority of Brazilian population. Despite the progress this meant, giving rise to the Unified Health System (SUS), Brazilian public health faces all kinds of problems, especially in relation to access.

The fact that it lived with a situation of underfunding or insufficient resources during its first 29 years contributed greatly to this, which was followed by a situation of defunding in the following 6 years. In the last year, in 2023, exactly the first of the third Lula government, the trajectory of underfinancing was resumed. From the point of view of economic policy, during all these years, despite the progressive governments headed by Luiz Inácio da Silva and Dilma Roussef and the Lula's return in a Broad Front in 2023, the main principles or objectives of neoliberalism were always maintained and the imposition of the interests of the so-called "market", agribusiness and mining was overwhelming.

This article seeks to discuss a) the contradiction between the need for adequate resources to guarantee universal health and the imposition of cutting public spending and the primacy of public debt creditors; b) advances in the area in building linkages of resources for health; c) the "resolution of the contradiction" through the introduction of the zero deficit objective; d) the dominance of the market in defining the budget and its results even when, from a political point of view, there was a departure from those who explicitly defended the most radical forms of neoliberalism in State management.

Aquilas Nogueira Mendes The State, the Polycrisis and the limits of resource allocation in primary health care in Brazil: contributions from the critique of political economy

The article analyzes some theoretical elements that can shed light on the understanding of the nature of the State, the category "State-form", seeking to identify in the 'value-form' the element that unifies the economic and political moments of capitalist society, warning that in the 'polycrisis' of capital there is an intensification of the State, to respond to the untimely rhythm of capital in its dynamics of accumulation, with the growth of private capital participation, particularly recognized by the way in which resources are allocated in primary health care (PHC) in Brazil. Three parts constitute the entire article. The first presents the characteristics of the dimensions that make up the polycrisis, with the intention of making clear its relationship with the capitalist State -'State-form'-, which encourages the increase of private capital in health. The second part deals with the understanding of the State in the capitalist production process, based on the triad "value-form", "State-form" and "Empire-form". The third part presents criticisms of the implementation process of the new model for federal resources allocation within the scope of the Unified Health System (SUS) in Brazil, implemented from 2020 onwards. To this end, the methodological path was to monitor the program implementation process, with a view to discussing the evolution of resource distribution parameters and their financial and operational effects on municipal basic health networks. The research results demonstrated that the practices that instrumentalized the institutional processes of the SUS were expanded, especially in its interfederative relations, under the prioritization of operational arrangements that valued the managerial triad, so that the program distanced, to a greater extent, the practices of care and management of PHC from the original concept of primary health care, expanding the regulatory frameworks that favor the expansion of private capital in public health policies, towards an "Operational SUS". The financial results of the program, consolidated for all 5,570 Brazilian municipalities, also demonstrated that there was a deviation from the ideal equitable distribution of resources and losses to a representative group of municipalities, and, for this reason, the principle of universality of the system was curtailed.

E2 221 PEID 3. Examining Contemporary Structural Transformation and Industrial Policy Debates

Sahil Mehra Re-examining the Narrative of Structural Transformation: Insights from India's Development Experience

The narrative of structural transformation, based on the experience of developed economies, posits gradual 'modernisation' of the overall structure of the economy, where the traditional/low-productivity sectors give way and support the modern/high-productivity sectors, leading to overall economic well-being. However, much of the economies across the global South have not been able to experience the expected path of structural transformation as a significant proportion of the workforce is still engaged in the agriculture sector, and in the non-agriculture informal sector. We argue that the theorised process of structural transformation does not take into account the socio-economic and ecological context under which global North undertook such a process, particularly the role of colonialism. Thus, bringing in the contemporary nature of capitalism might imply different kinds of tendencies that may either advance or hamper the process in the global South. Further, the narrative is insufficient to explain the current trajectories of and the reasons thereof for the particular nature and kind of labour movement across different sectors in global South. In this regard, insights from India's development experience bring forth the complexity and heterogeneity, and highlight that the process, rather than being driven by improvement in productivity leading to overall economic well-being, is driven by economic distress in the agricultural sector.

Hamish Evans Mainstream Industrial Policy: Old Wine in New Bottles?

Industrial policy has long been a *bête noire* for neoclassical economics. Its practitioners, ranging from Becker to Krugman, have typically seen industrial policy as at best unnecessary, and, at worst, dampening growth and fostering rentiers. Since the mid-2000s, however, a shift has occurred as industrial policy has been partly embraced. But this is not the *volte-face* it might first appear to be. This paper shows that, due to its continued insistence on comparative advantage, neoclassical-inspired industrial policy is tightly constrained and runs counter to historical practice. More recent "dynamic" comparative advantage (DCA) accounts of industrial policy do not fare much better. While DCA was a term first used by heterodox scholars to stress the centrality of innovation and dynamic gains to economic development, its mainstream equivalent is less radical. It has little to say either about the characteristics of industrial production or the political economy of upgrading, limited by a narrow market failure paradigm. The paper concludes by asking what the mainstreaming of industrial policy says about the current state of neoclassical economics and, given the presence of unprecedentedly concentrated intellectual monopoly firms in the core, whether broadly heterodox recommendations for industrial development are still relevant today.

Lorena Lombardo unpacking the sector - led development

Policy experts and scholars have identified the role of the state in shaping the complex process of development as crucial. However, these same experts disagree on some key issues, namely which sector of the economy should drive such state-led development: while some argue that automation and labour-saving technologies have made the role of the manufacturing sector less important and point to services as crucial, others still see manufacturing as the main driver of development. Goal 9 of the UN Sustainable Development Goals indeed states that development is not possible without inclusive and sustainable industrialisation processes. The paper will unpack such underexplored debate by investigating and systematizing the following dimensions: First, the state has a crucial and distinctive role in each economic sector. Second, state-led inter-sectorial linkages and coordination are key to enabling sustainable and inclusive development.

Damon Aitken Structuralist Linkages Between Macroeconomic Policy and Green Industrial Policy

This paper examines the potential success of green industrial policy through the lens of Latin American Structuralism which emphasizes structural asymmetries between core and periphery economies in technology, production capabilities, and macroeconomic policy space. It builds a theoretical framework of these core and periphery relations that places importance on macroeconomic policy that helps develop productive capabilities to rebalance these structural asymmetries and guard against external vulnerabilities. Current trends in macroeconomic asymmetries and macroeconomic policy space imposed by global structural conditions and policy institutions are brought into this discussion to illustrate the specific structural challenges faced by periphery economies when attempting to conduct green industrial policy. A supportive horizontal macroeconomic policy through directed public investment, capital flow management, and exchange rate management is required to facilitate successful vertical green industrial policy.

This developed theoretical framework is then applied to the renewable energy industries and asymmetries in productive capabilities are linked to an economy's position in the global industrial and macroeconomic hierarchies. Potential solutions based on greater recognition of the role of macroeconomic policy in industrial development are discussed to aid periphery economies in developing green productive capabilities through cohesive industrial policy.

Sebastiano Cattaruzzo VENICE IN TRANSITION: a political economy approach to Venetian structural change

co-authored with E. Barbieri, S. De Santis, M. Schenkel

This comprehensive study investigates the multifaceted interplay between urban structural changes in Venice, the dynamics of political economy, and the influence of specific power structures. The city's pursuit of industrial development and tourism-driven revenue generation has given rise to complex challenges, sparking debates on the delicate equilibrium between economic growth and sustainable development. The absence of clear economic and political direction has led to the emergence of a touristic monoculture, exacerbated by local governance structures that have played a crucial role in prolonging the absence of clear strategic directions.

The economic transformation of Venice during this period is attributed to several key mechanisms, each contributing to the evolving landscape of the city. The impact of global tourism and the platform economy has been profound, reshaping not only the city's economic structure but also altering its cultural and demographic fabric. The proliferation of online platforms has transformed residential spaces into vacation rentals, creating a shift in the housing market and impacting the social composition of the local community.

Simultaneously, economic shifts have manifested in changes in employment patterns. Traditional industries, such as chemistry, shipbuilding, and glassmaking, have declined, while service-oriented sectors, including tourism-related services and creative industries, have experienced growth. These shifts in employment opportunities have influenced migration patterns, contributing not only to changes in the demographic makeup of Venice but also to the emergence of a complex power structure extending beyond standard local boundaries.

The relationship between the city and the national government has significant implications for urban policy. Political power struggles between local authorities, regional administrations, and national policymakers have added complexity to the decision-making process. The allocation of resources, taxation policies, and regulatory frameworks have influenced the city's ability to effectively manage its urban challenges.

This study makes several significant contributions to the existing literature. Firstly, it conducts one of the first empirical studies of structural change and deindustrialization at the urban level, employing a decomposition approach to characterize Venetian manufacturing decline and contextualizing it at the national level. Secondly, the study integrates considerations from urban studies, political economy, and development economics, providing a holistic understanding of the object of analysis. Finally, the research contributes to a broader discussion by dissecting the relationship between manufacturing's decline and the rise of tourism, offering insights that extend beyond Venice's borders.

Following the exploratory analysis of sectoral shares and their dynamics, the core quantitative exercise reveals that the main culprit of the Venetian deindustrialization phenomenon is the fall in labor intensity. This fall may be attributed to exogenous increases in labor productivity due to improved skills and technologies or labor-displacing capital intensification. When associated with the decrease in the share of GDP produced by the manufacturing sector, this decline raises concerns for the long-term growth prospects of the city. Venice faces challenges, given the reallocation of employment, GDP, and profits toward sectors characterized by low dynamism, low value-added, and significant capital rents.

The objective of the analysis extends to understanding the extent to which the specific deindustrialization process in Venice is peculiar. Italian industrial decline is a widespread phenomenon in the country, affecting various territories. The historical and cultural heritage of Italian areas often prompts the development of touristic-centric economic systems as an easy response to manufacturing decline. However, this study aims to uncover the unique features of

Venice's experience and contribute to a broader understanding of the implications of deindustrialization on urban development.

Building on Cardinale & Landesmann, M. (2022), the study explores the economic interdependencies at play, emphasizing the emergence of a strong systemic interest, primarily of cultural nature. Potential conflicts between the survival of the Laguna and the survival of Venice are discussed, highlighting the need for a comprehensive approach to address these challenges. The study identifies strong inequality concerns associated with the touristic monoculture, revealing the concentration of property ownership among a few entities and the uneven impact of platform economies on different stakeholders.

The patterns outlined in the earlier sections, encompassing tangible and socio-economic shifts within the city, might be construed as a new phase in its development trajectory. This emerging phase is closely linked to the accelerated pace introduced by the structural modifications of the contemporary globalized economy and strategies for extracting rent, which have instigated amplified urban dynamics on a global scale. This particularly involves transnational gentrification and the restructuring of the real estate market.

Moreover, the study underscores the critical role played by the absence of effective political action and strategic planning in bringing about the current urban conundrum. The lack of clear political decisions and economic direction has allowed the touristic monoculture to flourish, exacerbating tensions between industrial development, tourism, and the preservation of cultural and environmental integrity. This dearth of governance has not only hindered the effective mediation of conflicts but has also perpetuated the absence of coherent strategic directions, leaving Venice vulnerable to the profound shifts in its economic landscape. Additionally, a discernible trend emerges, indicating the advent of a "new gentrification" within the city. This phenomenon, characterized by the concentration of economic gains and property ownership among a select few, mirrors broader global patterns of urban restructuring. As Venice grapples with this intricate interplay of economic forces, cultural preservation, and political inertia, understanding the dynamics of this emerging gentrification becomes pivotal for devising inclusive and sustainable strategies for the city's future development.

As we project possible future developments, there is a need for further research focusing on studying structural change from an urban perspective. This involves improving the theoretical background, extending the area of analysis, and connecting to other bodies of literature such as value creation, innovation, and the evolving nature of global economies. By doing so, we aim to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the complexities surrounding urban development in the face of global economic shifts.

E2 110 World Economy 5. Imperialism during Late Neoliberalism

George Liidakis OPTIMUM CURRENCY AREA CRITERIA: EVALUATING A POLICY DECISION NOT TO ADOPT THE EURO

This paper starts from a brief outline of the continuing crisis of capitalism and its explanation, as well as an analysis of the structural characteristics of contemporary totalitarian imperialism. This term is meant to indicate a partial dialectical supersession of classical imperialism and focus on new characteristics which may be crucial for the unfolding geopolitical conflicts and the struggle for socialism. Subsequently, we will refer and briefly analyze the emerging divide and conflict within world capitalism, between western NATO forces (US, EU, et al.), on the one hand, and the rising block of the BRICS countries, on the other. In this regard, there are several (left-wing) social currents, internationally, which consider this conflict as a typical inter-imperialist rivalry and argue for the need of taking an equal distance from the opposite poles of this rising confrontation. As will be argued, though the revolutionary forces struggling for socialism worldwide should not, by any means, identify with the BRICS alliance, the equal-distance approach should be criticized on the ground that a multi-polar world would be a more favorable condition for a communist perspective. What is more essentially argued is that, independently from the emerging two poles of geopolitical confrontation, there is an urgent need for a transnational class struggle (from below) towards communism, and that the fundamental capital-labor contradiction and the social question should be prioritized as against any national (or capitalist blocks) contradictions or national liberation struggles. As historical experience has asserted, the opposite prioritization will always work against social emancipation and the prospect of communism.

Rubens R Sawaya How a commodity became world money: Silver production, coinage, and circulation in colonial South America

New institutionalism (NI) has taken over the debate on economic development theory as a "new theory of development". Institutional reforms have served as a basis for transforming the structure of the state, reforms that have ended up complementing neoliberalism. The NI has the function of putting the state at the service of the interests of big transnational capital - guaranteeing contracts, property, governance, etc. The result was that, instead of attracting foreign direct investment as promised by increasing "confidence" in the functioning of the "markets" and reducing "market failures", it ended up destroying not only the productive structure of the peripheral economies, but above all the capacity of the state to take an active role in building development strategies.

Abelardo Marina The Sraffa-Phillips Curve: prelude to a surplus approach to inflation

Neoliberalism is about to start its sixth decade. In the past fifty years, the structure and dynamics of the world market have changed dramatically. The worldwide productive overaccumulation crisis of the late 60s and 70s, that led to the end of the Bretton-Woods System, was the beginning of the unfolding of Neoliberalism with its general attributes: globalizing, privatizing, anti-labor, pro-financial. The pro-market reforms of China since the 80s and the fall of the Soviet Union and the European Eastern block at the beginning of the 90s were a long-run inflection point that transformed the structure of international relations among capitals and nations. This paper analyzes the changes in the international flows of capital, in growth dynamics, and in the main structural characteristics of the world market in the past fifty years as a necessary element to understand the specificities of the inter-imperialist long-run hegemonic dispute between the US and China that has been building up in the last years and that is defining the present contradictions of capitalism worldwide and will define its future perspectives.

E3 101 MBC 3. Labor, the social sphere, and the state in a transition beyond capitalism

Thabo Huntgeburth Is there a Democratic Labour Regime? Exploring the Limits and Potentials of Labour Regime Analysis for Transformative Economics

Though the global inter-imperial conflicts caused an implosion of social structures in Syria, it also created head space for alternative systems. Parts of the territory became host to an alternative political economy that diverges crucially from capitalism: production is socialised through worker-managed cooperatives, political institutions are tied to grassroots democratic decision-making, which constrain capital accumulation in the market. How should such a non-capitalist system be analysed? This paper takes the view that Labour Regime Analysis (LRA) is a suitable analytical framework. Such a choice is novel and potentially contentious: first, LRA has not yet been employed to study non-capitalist alternatives, or cooperatives respectively; second, the Marxist fundamentals of LRA potentially constrain it to the analysis of capitalist production. This paper argues that LRA is both appropriate and desirable. This is because LRA is Marxist in its core analytical concepts but not its scope, i.e. it is not constrained to the study of capital accumulation. Moreover, the social relations of production are a central dimension in capitalism, which is why it requires analytical scrutiny in the sphere of production to establish whether a system is actually non-capitalist. In Syria, the backdrop of inter-imperialist conflict is not pre-empting, but enabling non-capitalist production. This is argued in contrast to Burawoy's analysis of the Soviet-style economy.

Natalia Yakovleva Education at the Stage of Late Capitalism: the View of the Post-Soviet School of Critical Marxism

The report conducts a political-economy study of the social sphere (on the example of the field of education) of the economy of late capitalism on the basis of the dialectical method. The author define late capitalism as a special stage in the development of the capitalist system, at which its functioning becomes possible only if post-capitalist transitional relations exist. It is concluded that due to the progress of technology and the increasing role of creative work, human, on the one hand, becomes the main factor in the progress of production, and on the other hand, the objectively demanded highest value of progress. In these conditions, the social sphere, including education, health and culture, becomes the main sphere of human potential development. Its dynamics in the modern economy are characterized by a contradiction. On the one hand, the dominance of commodity production and capital relations determines the expansion of the processes of marketization, commercialization and financialization of this sphere. On

the other hand, the progress of post-capitalist relations contributes to the socialization of this sector. The report highlights the main features of the processes of marketization and socialization of this sector. These include, for example, the development of the accessibility of the benefits of the social sphere, the orientation of its development towards the progress of human qualities, egalitarianism, and democracy. The author concludes that the progress of socialization of the social sphere can become the basis for the development of post-capitalist relations in society and socio-economic progress in general.

Gala Lucia Gonzalez Barrios

Ricardo Dello Buono Toward an “All-embracing” Social Metabolic Alternative: Mészáros on the Role of the State

The Hungarian Marxist István Mészáros disputed both Western Marxist and Stalinist views with his dialectical conceptualization of the modern state as a social command structure intimately and inextricably linked to the metabolic reproduction of capital. This analysis updated and breathed new life into the Marxist Leninist vision of a necessary withering of the state in the consolidation of socialism. Mészáros argued that the definitive transcendence of capital requires the eradication of the state as we know it in favor of constructing a substantively different mode of political and social organization that can accompany a radically different metabolic system of socialist reproduction. This paper explores the polemical views of Mészáros on the state and points to historical examples that test specific aspects of his analysis.

E3 103 Financialisation 5. Financial Institutions

Ingrid Nascimento Aguiar Schlindwein World Bank: development agency or typical bank?

The World Bank has provided an array of financial products and technical assistance to help countries invest in development projects with the potential to boost economic growth, reduce poverty and bolster resilience to climate shocks and natural disasters. The economic scenario post 2008 crisis has posed challenges for the World Bank in terms of its business volume and how its work is received. The changing power dynamics has reduced emerging economies' dependence on the institution and has cast doubts upon the Bank's relevance in today's world, even with persisting demands for development assistance. The article analyses how the World Bank needs to operate as a typical bank to be financially viable and the unique role of major emerging countries in this regard, as the Bank's most profitable clients. Drawing from historical and sociological institutionalism and by assessing the institutional design of its leading institutions, IBRD and IDA, the article discusses how the institutional design of the World Bank constrains its functioning as a typical bank instead of a development agency, and provides the institution with financial autonomy that stems from its self-sustaining business model.

Bruno Bonizzi Enhancing Local Currency Lending by Multilateral Development Banks: A Critical Reform Agenda

While recent policy discussions have emphasised increasing the lending capacity of development finance institutions, including MDBs, this alone may not guarantee sustainable lending practices. It is essential to offer financing that aligns with the recipients' absorptive capacity and minimises the transfer of excessive risk, which could otherwise precipitate debt and exchange rate crises. Thus, the focus must extend beyond the volume of finance to include the nature of MDB lending.

A core aspect of this is the currency denomination of loans, which has garnered attention in initiatives like the Bridgetown policy discussions. Despite a growing consensus on the need to increase LCL by MDBs, there remains a significant gap in systematic analysis and understanding of these practices and their limitations.

This study seeks to bridge this gap by assessing current MDB lending practices. It explores the reasons behind MDBs' reluctance or inability to lend in local currencies, the advantages of such lending, and analyses the actual risks of LCL compared to foreign currency lending.

The central premise is that the risks associated with LCL are often overestimated, leading to inadequate lending. This overestimation is mainly due to perceived risks in DECs, resulting in heightened costs for risk management strategies. Moreover, LCL could reveal untapped opportunities and benefits for MDBs.

The study offers recommendations for the G20 by calling for a re-evaluation of the risks associated with LCL and advocating for its expansion as a vital tool for sustainable development finance. This strategy aims to strengthen economic capacities in DECs, mitigate foreign exchange risks, and foster inclusive development and climate action.

Daphnae Picoli A Critical Analysis of Primary Dealer System Implementation on Brazilian Public Debt Markets

The public debt markets, within the context of financialization and liberalization, hold a central role for both private markets and macroeconomics policies. They are key elements for analyzing the integration of peripheral countries into financial globalization. In many countries, public debt markets are carried out through the primary dealer system. This market structure is recommended and promoted by multilateral institutions as the most appropriate, especially for peripheral countries, as it is believed to ensure the development of public debt markets liquidity and depth. However, the Brazilian experience contradicts this notion. This paper examines the implementation of the primary dealer system in Brazil. The institutional transformations between 2000 and 2016 are analyzed, demonstrating that Brazil fully complied with the recommendations of multilateral organizations. However, this experience reveals several issues: firstly, a tendency to grant dealer institutions more privileges than obligations; secondly, a limited development of secondary markets for public bonds; and thirdly, the fact that the achieved liquidity did not translate into greater stability. It is believed that the Brazilian experience can provide insight into the analysis of other peripheral economies.

Alexandre Yassu

E3 201 Neoliberalism 8. Varieties of Neoliberalism 1

Adam Aboobaker Labour supply constraints and capital accumulation

In this paper, we conduct an empirical investigation on the effects of labour market tightness on capital accumulation using state-level panel and time series data from the United States and European Union. Using both conventional and underutilised measures of labour market tightness, and controlling for measures of demand conditions and profitability, we seek to analyse the extent to which capital accumulation is influenced by demographic factors (such as slowing population growth rates), shocks to the labour supply decision, and restrictions on immigration. These empirical tests are relevant to conversations about 'secular stagnation', quantity adjustment in the face of aggregate demand shocks, appropriate assumptions about the determination of investment in short- and long-run theories of the determination of output levels and growth rates, but also conversations about the importance of the care sector, and harmful implications of restrictive immigration policies. Specifically, the empirical tests look to answer questions about the extent to which the degree of labour market slack is a binding constraint on investment decisions; a topical issue in the aftermath of the 'Great Resignation' in the United States, where the labour supply decision was plausibly altered by pandemic-linked variations on the valuation of work. In this paper, we aim to bring contemporary discussions about appropriate measures of labour market tightness/slack to the larger conversation about interactions between labour and goods markets in theories of growth and distribution -- particularly those related neo-Marxian or Goodwinian approaches.

Fernando Junior 30 years of the Real plan: the roots of financialized neoliberalism in Brazil

Between the years 1993-1994 in Brazil, under the regency of the Government of Itamar Franco, they implemented the real plan, an economic plan that, in addition to the justification of combating the deep, long and chronic inflationary process that had been plaguing the country for several decades, meant much more than a macroeconomic stabilization plan. In fact, the real plan definitively placed Brazil in the trap of financialization through the adoption of neoliberal economic policies. In these 30 years of the real plan, the country, under different governments with different political spectrums, was unable to break with the neoliberal model, on the contrary, there was continuity, which in turn occurred at slower or more aggressive paces depending on the government of the time. In these three decades of the real plan, an aggressive privatization policy has been recorded that has substantially vilified public assets in strategic sectors for

any country that has a social development project of national sovereignty. Still during this period, the Brazilian state, through financial flexibility and deregulation, effectively transformed the country into a true platform for financial valuation.

Furthermore, there is profound subservience to international organizations such as the IMF and World Bank. In short, on this 30th anniversary of the real plan, it appears that Brazil has not become an effectively free and sovereign nation, on the contrary, it has deepened its degree of international dependence and subordination.

Ozgun Sarimehmet Duman Commitment to Competitiveness in Europe: A Comparative Analysis

In the capitalist market economy, a well-functioning economic structure is reliant on its ability to compete with other economies. Market competitiveness, in this regard, is mainly dependent on the cost of production with all its components such as the prices of labour power, raw materials, energy, and technology. On decreasing the cost of production to turn markets more competitive in the international sphere, it would be plausible to introduce absolute competitiveness strategies and relative competitiveness strategies. In absolute terms, attaining labour power, raw materials, energy and/or technology for lower prices results in a downward effect on the total production cost. These strategies can also be called as 'internal devaluation' mechanisms. There stands a strong relationship between export growth and unit labour cost as unit labour cost plays a significant role in the competitiveness of an economy. On the other hand, capitalist economies also hold the right to implement relative competitiveness strategies to make their economies more competitive within the international sphere. This mainly includes 'currency devaluation', which secures price advantage among other economies with stronger currencies. The European economies, however, are bounded by varieties of limitations in terms of their use of absolute and relative competitiveness strategies. Within this framework, this paper aims to offer a comparative analysis of these divergences among the European economies.

Sheba Tejani Corporate Majoritarianism in India

This paper argues that Modi's welfarist 'pro-poor' pivot has gone alongside three concurrent processes that are critical in understanding the character of India's current political-economic regime. These are the degradation of labour rights through the new labour code, a deepening of the oligarchic capitalist structure that has a symbiotic relationship with the state and the mainstreaming of a violent anti-minority practice and ethos. The paper discusses how the labour codes weaken associational rights, downgrade minimum wage protections and facilitate increasing precarity. It analyses the techniques by which the state has enabled the consolidation of an oligarchy—such as awarding contracts through irregular practices, making beneficial regulatory policy changes and using state-owned enterprises to shore up private capital investment—and contributed to the unprecedented political and economic concentration evident in India. These processes together are establishing a Hindu majoritarian state in India funded by big business, hostile to labour rights and violent towards minorities, which I term corporate majoritarianism.

E2 203 Social reproduction 6. Politics and policies for social and ecological reproduction

Serap Saritas A Social Reproduction Theory Framework for Eco-social Policies and Pensions

This proposal suggests a theoretical framework for social reproduction theory (SRT) that extends its coverage of empirical analysis with a focus on pensions in the face of climate change. SRT analyses interrelations between production and social reproduction processes through emphasising the centrality of reproduction of labour power and markets. Moreover, broader social reproduction literature sheds light on the family, the state and civil society through patriarchal and racial relations in their association with social reproduction. Some novel contributions to this literature have also the advantage of pointing at the nature as a social reproductive element. Here these approaches are combined with the application of pensions as a case that demonstrates biological and generational reproduction circuits entangled with nature as a social reproduction force. Accordingly, pension as a sum of living standards during the old age refers to the combination of reproduction of labour power, biological reproduction and generational reproduction circuits; and market, family, state, civil society and nature as forces of social reproduction. This theoretical approach can be benefited from to illuminate eco-social policies that aim for an ecological transformation which would decrease inequalities across elderly.

Cosku Celik A Social Reproduction Perspective on Living Wage as a Feminist Struggle: An alternative political agenda to respond to Turkey's overlapping crises

Social reproduction feminism is an interdisciplinary perspective to understand the dependencies between life-making and profit-making. In other words, the labour produces commodities, which are exchanged in the so-called productive economy, while the processes of social reproduction enable the production of the surplus value by maintaining the labour force. We use the social reproduction perspective to bring the political demands of labour and feminist movements together, and we formulate the potential of substantiating "living wage" as a unifying agenda for the emancipation of labour within or outside the paid work. We start with discussing the limitations of labour's demand for increasing the minimum wage and a critique of universal basic income as a (neo)liberal agenda overlooking the means of capitalist exploitation of nature and human that attacks the reproduction of life while implicitly essentialising commodification of basic needs and services. Using Turkey as a point of departure for demonstrating the potential of "living wage" as a unifying framework and as a pathway for decommodification of essential means for social reproduction, we aim to contribute to the (scholarly and political) debates on the overlapping/multiple crises of food, housing, and care.

Deniz Ay A Social Reproduction Perspective on Living Wage as a Feminist Struggle: An alternative political agenda to respond to Turkey's overlapping crises

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Susanne Kozak The transformative potential of a social reproduction perspective for climate change policy

Climate change policies have long been criticised by feminist researchers and activists for having a strong natural science focus, and for not taking intersectional inequalities into consideration, including gendered ones. However, the global 'care crisis' accentuated by the Covid-19 pandemic seems to have promoted a shift in consciousness regarding social inequalities, in particular with regards to the gender division of labour and social norms around care labour. In this article, I argue that in order to leverage this potential shift, the concept of social reproduction and the related concept of care ethics can provide a relevant vantage point to align climate change policies with gender transformative goals. I do so by describing how social reproduction as a concept allows us to understand how structures and norms interact and manifest at both the macro and micro levels. By applying a social reproduction lens in the context of Zimbabwe where multiple crises have been unfolding over the past decades, the paper aims to demonstrate how the feminist understanding of social reproduction can provide a more comprehensive analysis of climate change which can sustain the shift in consciousness and promote decolonial and intersectional policy responses.

Jerome De Henau Macro-fiscal effects of closing the childcare policy gap in Latin America and Europe using the ILO Global Care Policy investment simulator

Investing in high-quality early childhood education and care as well as parental leave to close the childcare policy gap (ILO 2022) is a crucial factor in sustaining social reproduction systems across various political economy regimes. The childcare policy gap is understood as the gap between the period at the end of a well-paid maternity leave and the start of compulsory (and free) access to school education. Yet despite numerous attempts to frame care as infrastructure

and spending on it as investment, governments remain reluctant to consider deficit spending, especially in the aftermath of the increased public spending mobilised to tackle the recent COVID-19 pandemic.

Using the ILO global care policy investment simulator, we estimate investment requirements of high-quality provision that are not contingent on available finance. On the funding side, I exploit the findings by Kleven et al. (2018, 2019) that countries with better childcare provision have lower child-induced penalties in life-time earnings compared to countries with less generous provision. I simulate different mothers' lifetime earnings gains and related tax revenue increases, stemming from closing the childcare policy gap and compare them to the total public investment required for their children to see the extent to which the investment is self-funding over time. I use a sample of Latin American and Eastern European countries characterised by a large gender earnings gap between parents.

E2 102 China 3. China in World Capitalism

Chiara Pollio Post shock resilience in China in times of international instability

The international contest of world capitalism is currently characterized by a progressive acceleration of inter-imperialistic competition, that generates global instability, with repeated sequential shocks and conflicts with potential – intended or unintended - spill overs on the development trajectories of countries representing an emerging point of reference in the Global South such as China. In this framework, collecting information and being able to analyse the extent to which territories and sectors in China are able to cope with external shocks and recover from them can become crucial. In this framework, the aim of this preliminary work is to apply a methodological framework already developed by the authors elsewhere (Di Tommaso et al., 2023) to measure postshock resilience at the sectoral and provincial level in China, using 2008 data as a case study. Resilience will be measured with different dimensions (employment, output, foreign-related investments). Findings will show to what extent Chinese domestic industries have reacted heterogeneously to the shock and how such responses are entwined with the local industrial mix. Results can be informative on the behaviour of similar local industrial mix facing future shocks.

Sam-Kee Cheng The geopolitics of Belt and Road Initiative in the crisis of neoliberalism with a focus on Southeast Asia

This paper will discuss the impact of Belt and Road Initiative on Southeast Asia at a time when neoliberalism is weakened at its edges but regrouping at its core. To maintain global hegemony amid its economic decline, the US pushes for neoliberal globalisation while maintaining a military-industrial complex unmatched by any competitors. However, some Southeast Asian countries have experienced the disastrous consequences of neoliberalisation during the 1997/8 Asian financial crisis and are sceptical to the neoliberal doctrine. The rise of China and the infrastructural investment brought by the Belt and Road Initiative seem to be a practical and suitable alternative to the US model. However, given the heavy US influence and the ingrained anti-communism ideology in many of the Southeast Asian states, to what extent their relations with China could work?

Salam Alahareef BRICS plus and de-dollarization in West Asia

The first wave of the BRICS Plus includes four out of six West Asian countries, whose economic weights vary but contribute significantly to the historical process of de-dollarization, primarily due to their influence in the energy markets. This chapter intends to provide a survey of the use of national currencies among Saudi Arabia, Iran, Egypt, and the UAE in conjunction with other BRICS countries. It analyzes the extent to which economic interdependencies in trade permit the expansion of this currency use. The chapter then explores the transformation of the petrodollar regime, considering the spatial restructuring of international economic relations among the region's oil-producing countries. It investigates the emergence of the petroyuan regime based on China-West Asia's oil producers' relations and the maturation of certain financial foundations facilitating the increased use of the renminbi in regional oil trade. The recent recurrent use of the RMB by Egypt serves as an example of the rise of Chinese currency swaps as a new component of the international financial stability net amidst the exacerbating neoliberal crisis of balance of payments.

Dic Lo "China, the United States, and the Global South: Political Economy of Late Development"

The rise of China seems threatening to disrupt the existing political-economic orders of the world. For the advanced capitalist countries, especially the United States, this is at any rate subversive. It implies fundamentally undermining their position of extracting monopoly and hegemonic rents from the rest of the world. From the standpoint of the Global South, it broadens the scope for them to pursue independent development by serving as an important countervailing force against neoliberal globalisation of the world. Whether independent development for the Global South can materialise however, depends not only its interaction with China but also China's interaction with the advanced capitalist countries.

E2 213B HETEMCoM 1. Critiquing the mainstream: theory and practice

Cristina Re The contribution of Alberto Alesina to the history of economic thought and to the political and economic transformations of his time.

This paper aims to examine Alberto Alesina's economic thought through an interdisciplinary perspective, identifying his main theoretical contributions and scrutinising his role in shaping policies and ideologies over the past three decades. Methodologically, our research adopts a mixed-methods strategy, integrating quantitative and qualitative techniques. On the quantitative front, we construct a co-authorship network to discern Alesina's closest collaborators and scan his most influential papers in academic discourse. Complementing this, qualitative exploration involves examining key historical junctures through his newspaper articles, books, and conference proceedings.

The work is inspired by a dual objective. On one hand, it intends to fill a gap in the scientific literature regarding the influence that Alesina's economic thought had from the late 1990s to the early 2010s in both academic and political debates. On the other hand – by providing, four years after the economist's death, an initial historicization of his theoretical doctrine – it aims to offer an original scientific lens on the decades that witnessed the contested rise of neoliberal policies in Europe.

An interconnected analysis of his economic ideas, the collaborative networks he traversed, and the reverberations of his work in policy circles enables a holistic understanding of Alesina's enduring legacy in academia and public discourse.

Pavlos Roufos Central bank independence and low inflation: is there any (updated) shred of evidence?

While CBI became a widely adopted institutional set up for central banking and monetary policy making after the 1970s, in the aftermath of the collapse of the Bretton Woods regime, its conceptual inauguration can be traced to the collapse of the gold standard in the interwar period. Ever since that time, one of the central and most consistent arguments in its favour relates to the purported correlation between CBI and low inflation. Although critical approaches to this correlation have existed since the early days of CBI promotion, they remain profoundly ignored by mainstream economists and central banking practitioners. The emergence of double digit inflation in 2021 offers a unique opportunity to revisit this correlation and interrogate its actual effectiveness. This paper will show that the suggested CBI/low inflation correlation continues to lack substantive empirical evidence, a position further strengthened by the increasing doubts about whether the 2023 decline in inflation rates can in fact be attributed to central banks' policies. Approaching CBI from the perspective of a state theory (rather than an optimal monetary policy structure) the paper will argue that instead of a guarantee of low inflation, CBI actually represents a legitimising mechanism for depoliticising adverse distributional costs.

Cristiane Mancini Data, the main instrument on a changing world economy.

In a world with dramatic, rapid, and inconstant scenarios and economic performances, the usage of new methodologies and techniques to analyze the economy constrain to a non-traditional decision making of the capitalism. Potential labor generation, maintenance and substitution, capital accumulation, the environmental, social, and governmental issues, more competitors, and more demanding consumers brought today's world economy back on radical research agenda of "urgent issues" in where data is part of this changing.

Seven sectors alone (education, transportation, consumer products, electricity, oil and gas, health care, and consumer finance) could generate more than \$3 trillion a year in additional value because of open data, which is already providing rise to a plenty of entrepreneurial businesses and established companies (small, medium and large size) to segment markets, define new products and services, and improve the efficiency and effectiveness of operations, improve the customer satisfaction and to uncover anomalies and needless variations. That can lead to leaner, more reliable processes.

With data as an instrument is possible to see a clear potential to unlock significant economic value by applying advanced analytics to both open and proprietary knowledge. Also, a tool for breaking down information gaps across industries, segments, allowing companies to share benchmarks and spread best practices consequently promoting productivity growth.

When we specify proprietary data sets production, it can generate innovation, differentiators and help organizations/companies replace traditional and intuitive decision-making approaches with data-driven ones, being more professional and analytical (no-operational work).

However, investments in technology, skills and responsibility are required to use the data effectively. And there is much work from governments, companies, and consumers to craft policies that protect privacy and intellectual property, as well as establish standards to speed the flow of data that is not only open (free of charge) or paid but also “liquid.” That questions on moral and conduct must be moved to an “obligation” and a “duty” category (Adam Smith, 1723-1790,1999, 2002).

The objective of this article is to bring all the process of new data analysis technique on a changing world economy including the data compliance involved in this chain of service. With data compliance is possible to guarantee the efficiency, best practices, significant economic value, and competitive advantage.

Ziya Can An Alternative Openness Index Trial for Developing Countries

Views that consider the key to growth as increasing exports advocate openness, as the increase in imports will be inevitable in order to supply the necessary raw materials and intermediate goods. Despite claims that this process, accompanied by increased foreign investments, an export-oriented growth strategy may have adverse effects, especially for developing countries. While this strategy provides countries with the advantage of creating effective demand, it also makes them more vulnerable.

The openness index used in studies demonstrating a positive relationship between openness and growth is far from being explanatory. This value, calculated by dividing a country's trade by its GDP, merely indicates the size of its foreign trade volume. In this form, studies continue to be conducted that overlook all chronic problems in the balance of payments of developing countries. While data reflecting a country's trade relations with the outside world should indeed be included in academic studies, the chosen index must align with the purpose of the research. Nowadays, openness has evolved beyond being merely a descriptive statistic for development. What matters is how a country is opening up to the outside world and how this will be measured.

This study aims to create an index that accurately encompasses the opportunities and risks created by openness for the development of countries, particularly focusing on developing countries.

E6 102 Agrarian Change 8. Myths and Realities about small-scale producers

Sarah Lena Graf Look at the production system, not the individual! Field-level analyses of agrarian change at the forest frontier

Forest frontiers experience massive forest conversion into tree crop plantations linked to dynamics of accumulation. Using data from 2 mixed-methods village studies based on 9 months of fieldwork in Ghana and Nigeria, we assess how farming practices and class relations regarding different Field Types drive these dynamics. A Field Type is characterised

by a mix of crops, cropping method, and successive stages of plantation development. To embed this existing concept in a Political Economy approach we add class relations at field level.

We show how a Field Type's inner logic creates dynamics of change. For instance, the logic of Ghanaian cocoa farms is directly tied to forest conversion, as: (1) once the canopy closes, farmers seek new land for food crops (2) after tree planting, capital and labour are again freed up; (3) proceeds from tree crops are reinvested in wages to plant new tree crops; and (4) landowners enforce tree planting to maximize land rent. Land rent, labour relations and levels of surplus depend on field type and stage of plantation development.

Our research challenges 2 myths about forest loss: Firstly, agricultural expansion and intensification are not substitutes; intensification does not impair expansion. Secondly, forests are not cleared out of desperation; instead, plantations are investments. Field types manifest interrelated class relations and farming practices that create the social and forest conversion dynamics characteristic of the forest frontier.

Carlo John Arceo

Caroline Hambloch Labor control in agricultural cooperatives: contract farming in the Philippines

(in collaboration with Helena Pérez Niño) This paper interrogates dynamics of labor control, disciplining of workers, and self-exploitation exerted by cooperatives in farming contracts between direct producers and merchant and agro-processing capital. International organizations, such as the FAO and the World Bank, consider cooperatives to be crucial for integrating small agricultural producers into global production circuits, empowering producers, and facilitating their collective action. Furthermore, cooperatives are thought to assist in consolidating crop production and improving productivity by providing extension services to members, ultimately enhancing livelihood outcomes. Integrating cooperatives into agricultural global value chains through contract farming schemes has become a key policy recommendation. However, recent research has highlighted significant issues with this approach. By bringing together the literature on cooperatives, the political economy of contract farming, and labor process theory, we problematize the presumed beneficial role of cooperatives in contract farming relations. In the context of increasing export market pressures and precarious working conditions, we examine how cooperatives are to some degree compelled to utilize various labor control practices to exploit and discipline their members. Based on primary and secondary data on banana and oil palm cooperatives and contract farming in the Philippines, we find how the progressive tradition of cooperativism and farmers association can become entangled in the complex political economy of existing markets and be instrumentalized by the interests of agribusiness and merchant capital.

Helena Perez Nino Changing dynamics of women's work: women working in greenhouse in Turkey and Colombia

Many labour-intensive sectors in productive clusters of the global south, especially export-oriented or associated with logistical corridors, clusters and hubs, are notable for their intense mobilization of a female workforce. It has been proposed that the pressures of seasonality, profitability and shifting demand in international markets often result in employers, brokers and contractors passing down costs and risks to women workers in agricultural, agro-industrial, agro-processing, packaging and logistics jobs. But these processes take different shapes in different settings and express the variety and contingency of the outcomes of the encounter between capital and households, kinship structures, gender politics and forms of social organization in different geographic contexts. This paper compares how these forms of exploitation in the workplace and the household combine with gender norms, gender power relations, women's (im)mobility, sexuality, conjugality and fertility among women working in greenhouses in the Colombian flower sector and in green houses in Turkey. We examine under which circumstances does the combination of work and reproduction pressures sustains the mobilising and disciplining of workers and which forms of resistance and agency emerge. The paper is based on the dialogue that emerges from contrasting ethnographic work conducted in and around zones of intense labour mobilization and distinctive (but contrastive) experiences of women in the workforce.

Murali D A Evolving Production Structure in India: A study of four states.

Studies on Indian agriculture analyse the phases of agrarian growth, nature and functioning of rural input-output markets and nature of State intervention to address farmers' distress. But in these studies, the question of how production is organised in relation to land has not been emphasized but the size of the unit of production is analysed. By size, one means extent of land operated by households - importance of small and marginal farmers. Two reasons for the above could be, one assume similarity in the production structure of different states in Indian economy, two how production is organised does not influence performance. In this paper three different methods to organise production are identified. One, households who own land and also self-cultivate their land (pure cultivators - PC), households who do not own land but cultivate the land (pure tenant - PT) and third, households those who own some land and also lease-in for scale advantage (mixed cultivators -MT). Other things remaining constant, one would assume a pure cultivator households has the highest incentive to invest and the lowest is by pure tenant. In case of pure tenants, lack of ownership and insecure tenure discourages them from making long-term investment (Besley and Ghatak 2010, Ghatak and Roy 2007, Feder and Feeny, 1991). We would be presenting trends in the relative importance of these households, the share of land owned by them and land operated by these households. The production system for the state would depend on the relative proportions of the different households in the different groups and their control over land. At one extreme one could have a state with only pure cultivators and at the other level one can have only pure tenants. If other things remain constant, the incentive to invest would be highest in case of economy which has only pure cultivators when compared to one where there are only pure tenants.

Vijay R Evolving Production Structure in India: A study of four states.

Studies on Indian agriculture analyze the phases of agrarian growth, the nature and functioning of rural input-output markets, and the nature of State intervention to address farmers' distress. But in these studies, the question of how production is organized in relation to land has not been emphasized but the size of the unit of production is analysed. By size, one means extent of land operated by households - importance of small and marginal farmers. Two reasons for the above could be, one assume similarity in the production structure of different states in Indian economy, two how production is organised does not influence performance. In this paper three different methods to organise production are identified. One, households who own land and also self-cultivate their land (pure cultivators - PC), households who do not own land but cultivate the land (pure tenant - PT) and third, households those who own some land and also lease-in for scale advantage (mixed cultivators -MT). Other things remaining constant, one would assume a pure cultivator households has the highest incentive to invest and the lowest is by pure tenant. In case of pure tenants, lack of ownership and insecure tenure discourages them from making long-term investment (Besley and Ghatak 2010, Ghatak and Roy 2007, Feder and Feeny, 1991). We would be presenting trends in the relative importance of these households, the share of land owned by them and land operated by these households. The production system for the state would depend on the relative proportions of the different households in the different groups and their control over land. At one extreme one could have a state with only pure cultivators and at the other level one can have only pure tenants. If other things remain constant, the incentive to invest would be highest in the case of the economy which has only pure cultivators when compared to one where there are only pure tenants.

Gaurav Bansal Political economy of the agrarian crisis in Indian Punjab: an exploration of the role of accumulation and the non-farm sector

The Indian state of Punjab is undergoing a prolonged agrarian distress manifesting most notably in farmer suicides, depeasantisation and a severe lack of employment resulting in massive youth emigration to foreign lands. The existing literature has identified the depleting agro-environmental conditions and the increasingly neoliberal nature of the state as the main culprits and the rural-agrarian population as its main victims. However, there are two shortcomings of this narrative—it fails to discuss the accumulation in agriculture, which has continued despite the crisis; and it rarely accounts for the evolving political economy of the non-farm sector and the links between the farm and non-farm sector in discussing the agrarian crisis. This paper attempts to address this gap by drawing evidence from a comparative study of two sites in Punjab, one in Majha (where non-farm sector is much more accessible for the small and marginal farmers to enter as labourer or as businessmen), and other in Malwa (where non-farm sector continues to be shut to those from agrarian origins). Based on this evidence, it argues that dynamics of accumulation in the rural areas and towns as well as socio-spatial unevenness are central to a nuanced understanding of the differentiated nature of crisis felt by the small and marginal farmers in these two contrasting regions of Punjab. The data was collected through surveys and interviews with farmers, labourers and businessmen in the two regions.

E2 302 CoA 5. Reframing histories: queer lives in Belfast, 1948 and Israel, and the loss of Yugoslavia

Elsbeth Vischer (C) Reimagining archive and situating 'queerness' in Belfast's conflicted past. A screening of short film 'New Threads' and discussion of the political resonances in today's society.

This screening and activist presentation will address voices of conflict and hidden lives in Northern Ireland through an examination of a short film and comparative discussion.

Depictions of the effect of militarisation on female and queer bodies and the restrictions of movement through the city spaces of Belfast in the 1970s and 1980s are rare on screen. Operation Banner (1969 – 2007) in Northern Ireland was the longest continuous deployment of British Armed forces in an area in British military history and meant thousands of soldiers and military barricades across Belfast. Many of these soldiers were male and posed a physical threat to young women trying to navigate this space. Some of these British military personnel were female, and the physical proximity of them to young queer women exploring their sexuality for the first time, may have been a cause for both danger and excitement.

New Threads is an experimental documentary that makes visible the invisible and situates queer female experience on screen. It was a criminal offence to be gay in Northern Ireland until 1983 and the law change, brought about by Jeff Dudgeon and others in the European Court of Human Rights, only provided legislative protection for what was commonly understood then as 'male queerness'. Queer women at this time were often unaccounted for, unlegislated for and therefore unprotected. There are parallels between this and instances of queer and feminist activism in Northern Ireland around the 2019 law change to decriminalise abortion and legalise same sex marriage. With Northern Ireland's elected assembly in recurrent periods of stalemate since the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, many aspects of bodily autonomy and civil rights deemed 'women's issues' or 'gay issues' are dismissed and not given political attention. Ruling party politicians instead remain fixated on sectarian agendas.

New Threads uses a BBC Archive clip of a shopping trip in 1976 between two women and narrative accounts from a book of published stories about lesbian life in Northern Ireland in the 1970s and 1980s entitled 'Threads' (Morris, Moya, 2013) to imagine what those invisible queer women were experiencing as they moved around the militarised space of Belfast.

The methodology of this paper will be that of a case study analysis in the form of a short film screening and additional presentation and discussion of the key themes raised.

The implications of this approach are to proffer new knowledge around the little discussed feminist filmmaking strategies that explore female and queer lives on screen and situate this within the militarised space of Belfast's past conflict.

There is a gap in research about feminist filmmaking methodologies that specifically use militarisation and soldiers in Belfast to discuss the lives of young women and queer people traversing the city centre in the 1970s and 1980s. Using a visual showcase as case study, this paper will provide new knowledge on this topic with direct reference to the film text, 'New Threads' and surrounding research into archives, oral histories and 'queerness' on screen as an activist agenda.

Jill Daniels What we knew

Ivana Mancic Monument of Revolution

Photomicroscopy focuses on collaboration between art and technology and in its simplest form is a high magnification photography, which in practice involves the use of a microscope, alongside a camera for image capture. A microscope is traditionally used for scientific purposes, but in this research, it is used to depict otherwise unidentifiable aspects of human experience and through a series of microscope images, alongside autoethnographic storytelling, to present the narrative of what used to be Yugoslavia. Microscope photographs correspond with the idea of emotion becoming visible and provide the viewer with the informed hidden aspects of human experience. Therefore, they reveal otherwise

invisible phenomena, and provide an additional information on them, thus depicting the world unknown to the human eye. The challenge was to visually present the emotional atmosphere of war and a response to loss related to what Yugoslavia once was. The connection between what we can and cannot see, is presented through the tiny samples gathered in nature, sites and from objects used during Yugoslavia. The research examines different political circumstances surrounding the Monument of Revolution, in Ruma, Serbia, dedicated to the battle against fascism in the Second World War, during the communist Yugoslavia and its clash, through the NATO bombing of Serbia in 1999 and the revival of nationalist values in Serbia after the Yugoslav Civil War. Through microscope, autoethnographic and archival photography, dominant political systems are questioned, in different time frames, surrounding this symbol of past battle for freedom. Aside from this, emotional visual response to these changes was presented.

Video link: <https://www.dropbox.com/s/88uyojl83htr4z4/Monument%20of%20Revolution-3%20%28online-video-cutter.com%29-2.mp4?dl=0>

Also available on website ivanapuskas.com, section Videos

14:15-15:45 | PLENARY 2. | **E3 – 101**

Chair: Al Campbell

Today's Imperialism

Trevor Ngwane BRICS, today and tomorrow. Trevor Ngwane, University of Johannesburg, South Africa

Utsa Patnaik The New Imperialism, and its creation of a New World of Hunger. Utsa Patnaik, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India

September 07, Saturday

09:30-11:15 | SESSION 1

E2 231A Agrarian Change 6. Climate change, environmental degradation, conflicts over territories and peasantries

Felix Mantz Land Grabbing through Unliveability: Necrosapes and Slow Violence in the Expansion of Conservation Regimes in Tanzania

Land grabbing is a persistent and highly dynamic global phenomenon whereby people's power over lands are alienated through multiple and ever-changing strategies. This paper examines these shape-shifting strategies and mechanisms that continue to deprive people of land, livelihoods, and autonomy. It draws on 62 interviews, archival research, and document analysis to study land grabbing for conservation purposes in Tanzania. The paper focuses on the ongoing case of the Maasai expulsion from Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) which is firmly embedded in Tanzania's "green economy." Drawing on slow violence and necropolitics, this paper argues that land grabbing in NCA works significantly through mechanisms and tactics that make environments hostile and landscapes unliveable for inhabitants. These include, among others, the denial of social service, prohibition of specific livelihood strategies, preventing market access, exposure to dangerous wildlife, and climate change. Complementing more overt and direct forms of violence through eviction and police force, these mechanisms constitute strategies of land grabbing that are indirect, covert, structural, and slow but no less devastating in their impact. Scholars interested in land, coloniality, and autonomy, as well as allied activists and organizations must work to carefully identify and trace these hydra-headed tactics to support and defend projects of rural decolonization, land back, and resource sovereignty.

Ranjini Basu Fraught with Contestations: Paddy Varieties, Agrarian Change and Farmers' Mobilisations in Indian Punjab

World over there is a raging debate over farm subsidies and ecological transitions, with farmers across Europe holding protests to contest the transition costs pushed onto them. In Indian Punjab, this debate has a much longer history in the policies towards crop diversification, starting from the 1980s onwards. Paddy, initially an alien crop in Punjab, has now become the main kharif or summer crop, covering more than 70 percent of the State's net sown area. The Punjab farmer finds himself at the center of one of the most heated sites of ecological contestations as paddy has come to be associated with the State's fast depleting water-table and with stubble burning induced pollution in more recent times. Since adoption of alternative crops has largely failed, the focus of the ecological diversification project has shifted towards promotion of paddy varieties which have a shorter cycle and are in-turn water saving. With in-depth household survey data among paddy farmers in Ludhiana district, and qualitative interviews conducted with different stakeholders across the paddy supply chain, this talk tries to break down the drivers behind the adoption of the newer paddy varieties. The field data shows that apart from its actual intention, adoption of the shorter paddy varieties showcase a trend of further agricultural intensification driven by an escalating cost of land rent and overall cost of cultivation. This has implications for greater concentration of land and squeezing out of the less resourceful, smaller peasantry. Further, this agrarian-change view with the paddy varieties at its center provide us an entry point into understanding the different articulations of ecological transitions among the Punjab's farmer unions, who have appeared as the most vocal and organized political mobilizations in recent times.

Noelia Parajuá Carpintero Towards a crisis of reproduction of capitalism? An exploration on smallholder agriculture in Spain (1980-2021)

In this paper we explore the evolution of farms in Spain between 1980 and 2021 looking at their main characteristics, including their number, size, nature of labour—family based or employee based—and age of smallholders. We also address the evolution of the agrarian income—including their components and the index of prices received/paid by farmers—since it is considered a key determinant in farmer's decisions on continuing or abandoning their agricultural activities. Small farmers, being part of agroecosystems, play a critical role in the provision of agroecosystem services, which go beyond food production. These include regulation services—climate and water quality regulation, flood and disease control—or supporting services—soil formation and nutrient cycling—which are essential for life supporting systems. We argue that the reduction of small family farmers represents a crises of reproduction of agroecosystems, which jeopardize the provision of agroecosystem services on which capitalism relies on for food production and beyond, being an outcome analogous to the rise of 'negative surplus' of Jason Moore, and ultimately fostering the crises of capitalism.

E2 301 Environment 4: Environmental politics

Ferda Donmez Atbasi Climate Change as an Emerging Discourse in Turkish Far-Right Politics

The scientific community has largely settled the debate over the urgency of climate change. Through modeling of different scenarios, scientists have demonstrated that global warming will significantly alter the planet's climate if no action is taken. However, the debate seems to have shifted to the political arena due to the need to reduce carbon emissions increasing pressure on economies and lifestyles. Policies aimed at altering production and consumption patterns have made this issue a significant domestic political concern. It is reasonable to expect that concerns about vital issues such as resource distribution, migration waves, and food crises resulting from the climate crisis may lead to an increase in support for authoritarian and far-right discourses. Although Turkey has taken a different approach to responding to climate change compared to Western countries, it is likely to face similar right-wing responses when the issue becomes more pressing. This study analyses the discourses of Turkish far-right politics, ranging from ultranationalist to ultraconservative versions, on climate change. The aim is to provide an interpretation of the political economy of the reactions to climate change in Turkey.

Ozkan Agtas Climate Change as an Emerging Discourse in Turkish Far-Right Politics

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Xinwen Zhang Green Transition and Inclusive Growth - The Case of Alxa League

This paper investigates how Alxa, a League in Inner Mongolia, China, achieved the three goals of growth, environmental protection, and more equitable distributional outcome by pursuing a green growth pattern. On the one hand, Alxa has rich reserves of coal and raw salt; therefore, it would be natural to follow a resource-dependent growth pattern, and indeed the mining sector is the biggest contributor to the GDP of Alxa. On the other hand, the natural conditions of Alxa are harsh: drought and little rain, where evaporation exceeds precipitation. It features a unique desert landscape composed of one-third desert, one-third Gobi, and one-third arid grassland. Such a configuration of abundant resource endowment and fragile ecosystems may lead to polarised income distribution, but through green transition Alxa has remarkably improved people's income as well as the natural environment. The state has implemented environmental protection projects and poverty reduction policies, and invested in infrastructure and human capital. Resource revenues create the fiscal space for conducting these social projects. Moreover, developing sustainable agriculture, that is, planting *Haloxylon ammodendron* to fix sand and control desertification, and grafting *Cistanche deserticola*, a plant with high commercial value, enables herders and peasants to increase income.

Oriol Vallès Codina "Environmentalism without class struggle is just gardening": An Ecological Interpretation of the Ricardian Growth Model

This paper discusses an ecological interpretation of the earliest model of economic growth in the history of economic thought, developed by David Ricardo two hundred years ago, which shows how, in a world of limited natural resources, the economy will inevitably evolve towards a steady state of no growth. This paper follows this model to argue that the fundamental problem of anthropogenic climate change is not economic growth per se, as de-growth will occur no matter what, but the distribution of income among workers, capitalists, and landlords, the latter of which are the private owners of the limited natural resources, an often neglected income class in macroeconomic models that in Ricardo's model eventually seize all the economic surplus. Under the simple assumption of a linear decrease in the productivity of labor (i.e. decreasing returns to scale), the dynamic model of economic growth becomes logistic, driven by a single parameter that is shown to be the rate of economic surplus or exploitation. In this sense, the Ricardian model illustrates the critical relevance of class conflict in determining different scenarios of economic decline, either in the form of a smooth convergence towards ecological equilibrium for low values of the rate of surplus or wildly chaotic, ungovernable oscillations in population and economic output for high values of the same parameter. Finally, the model is empirically calibrated with actual values of the rate of surplus computed for many different countries, which anticipates that the decline of the economic system may turn very unstable for most countries if the exploitation of workers remains at such high level.

E2 303 Commodity Studies 2. Colonial Roots of Commodity

Sophie van Huellen The origins of commodity dependence: Legacies of empire in Lusophone Africa

In a widely-used definition, dependence refers to the expansion of dominant countries as 'self-sustaining' while that of dependent countries is 'conditioned' (Dos Santos, 1970:231). Breaking with this dichotomy, Rodney (1972) argues that dependence is not only engendered and perpetuated by the bilateral relations between coloniser and colonised, but also through the nested hierarchies of empires, colonies, and the interplay between their different trajectories of

development. Commodity dependence in former Portuguese colonies in Africa illustrates this point, by showing how the international subordination of Portugal itself fostered the porous character of the capital infrastructure set up in the colonies. Building on Rodney's insights, this paper explores how different metropolises' ability and willingness to facilitate domestic capital accumulation in the colonies shaped the productive structures and social relations of production that were established during the colonial time and how these structures and relations are dynamically reproduced until today. By utilising a critical political economy framework grounded in global history and based on historical time-series data on trade and production as well as selected commodity case studies, continuities and ruptures in structures of production and exports are characterised for three former Portuguese colonies in Africa: Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. Focusing on the former Portuguese empire in Africa enables us to scrutinize how specific forms of colonialism created legacies that continue to condition contemporary structures of specialization and commodity dependence and the processes through which these structures are dynamically reproduced.

Alexis Wearmouth Financialisation and the jute value chain in India, 1870-1921

Jute fibre became the main material for packaging the expanding global trade in commodities during the era of the "first globalisation" of the late nineteenth century and was also an important material in wartime for basic products like sandbags and tarpaulins. Eastern Bengal had a monopoly in the cultivation of raw jute due to climactic conditions. Together, raw jute and jute manufactures, became the leading item in Indian exports to the rest of the world, permitting its British colonial master to finance its current account deficit and the "drain of wealth". By 1900, Calcutta jute manufacturing companies run by British "managing agencies" were displacing Dundee as the dominant global manufacturer.

Jute was the primary cash crop of colonial Bengal by the 1870s. Jairus Banaji has noted how jute was uniquely suited to the intensive application of peasant family labour throughout the year to reproduce the indebted petty commodity household with insecure land tenure. A complex supply chain based on debt leverage evolved on this material foundation – from village moneylenders in the mofussil to the British managing agency houses with a monopoly on foreign exchange competing with Marwaris in Calcutta. The agency houses' business model left them reliant on Marwaris and the use of hundis (rupee denominated bills of exchange) to finance their working capital requirements. Price formation was increasingly mediated by the growth of the futures market in Calcutta.

This paper considers archival material to reconstruct the exploitative dynamics of price formation in the jute value chain and its colonial-extractivist consequences, drawing on managing agency company records, contemporary newspapers and prosopographical research.

Reda Mokhtar El Ftouh Commodity dependence as a by-product of colonial economic exploitation

Commodity dependence has been amply studied as an inter-national social phenomenon. In the present paper, we try to decenter nations and states in our understanding of commodity dependence and to study the structural bases of commodity dependence inside, as well as, as when they transcend territories and social groups. We consider that commodity dependence is a world-system phenomenon and, thus, ought to be studied while taking the capitalist world-system is the proper unit of study.

Based on this approach, we consider that commodity dependence is a desired by-product of capitalist colonization; the main objective being the economic exploitation of colonized spaces and societies. This exploitation is usually commanded by and for the higher strata of the colonizer's social hierarchy and aims to use colonies as a subservient, but still, an integral part of the colonizer's own processes and agents of capital accumulation. This is achieved through an action on colonies with the aim of molding their internal social and structures. This re-structuring covers spatial and material elements through the establishment of roads, ports, airports, and the sectioning of territories materially through roads. It also covers social elements through the transposition of the colonizer's legal regimes of urban and rural design. More importantly, these elements are re-built following a new socio-spatial hierarchy that is meant to constitute a subservient extension of the colonizer's own hierarchies in a way that better serves its social elite.

We structure the paper following two sections. In a first section, we use secondary sources to synthetically go over different colonial experiences from the Capitalist World-System, e.g. 18th century United States and 20th century Morocco and Pakistan. By comparing them, we try to deduce their shared traits and characteristics. In a second section, we focus on both how the re-structuring and the subsequent resistance to delinking from said dependencies happen.

E2 221 PEID 4. Skills and Technological Capabilities

Jenan AlShowaikh Understanding Skill Formation and Knowledge Transfer in Foreign Direct Investment Firms: Insights from Oman's Industrial Sector

Industrial policy has reemerged as a vital global tool for fostering economic development and resilience. Many developing nations recognize the potential benefits of foreign direct investment (FDI), including capital infusion, technology transfer, and skill development, all crucial for advancing industrialization. A debated aspect of FDI spillover effects involves labor mobility from foreign firms to local ones. This research aims to understand the knowledge cultivated within local employees, crucial for impacting local firm productivity, as it often hinges on exposure to training and new technologies at foreign-owned firms. Departing from the predominant focus in neoclassical literature on education investment as the sole driver of productivity, the study delves into the intricate processes of skill formation. Drawing upon a diverse array of theoretical frameworks, including Khan's (2018) model of Skills and Organizational Capabilities for Structural Transformation, Lazonick's (1991) seminal work on Competitive Advantage on the Shop Floor, and Lall's framework concerning technological capabilities linked to shop floor dynamics, the aim is to unravel the nuanced complexities within FDI firms. Utilizing confidential ministry data on industrial firms in Oman, the study meticulously examines workforce composition across management and skill levels, distinguishing between Omani and non-Omani employees. In-depth interviews with government stakeholders and representatives from 12 firms operating in the aluminum, steel, and iron sectors provide comprehensive insights into job localization policies, training programs, challenges, and alignment with governmental policies and university initiatives. Additionally, these interviews shed light on shop floor dynamics and labor relations in production operations. Observational insights from site visits to production operations further enrich the analysis, offering a firsthand understanding of shop floor dynamics. The findings emphasize the significant impact of foreign ownership characteristics, including investment motivations and localization strategies, on skill formation processes within FDI firms. Moreover, the study underscores the role of top management nationalities in shaping job localization and knowledge dissemination practices. Cultural factors, particularly the nationalities of foreign workers, emerge as critical determinants influencing learning processes and shop floor dynamics, significantly shaping the effectiveness of knowledge transfer to local labor and, consequently, the progress of local employees in acquiring and applying new skills for enhanced productivity outcomes.

Rex Asiana Technology-based industrialization amid balance-of-payment constraints: Evidence from Morocco and Tunisia

As African countries strive to catch up with their developed counterparts and integrate better into global production chains, technology adoption has become important because it contributes to sustainable growth despite existing balance-of-payment constraints. This paper examines Thirlwall's law using data on technology-and-resource-based exports and imports in two African countries Morocco and Tunisia. Due to challenges with data availability, not many studies test the BPC growth model for African countries using trade data that are disaggregated by the level of technology. This paper, therefore, contributes to fill this gap in the literature. Both the simple and the multi-sectoral versions of the BPC growth model are estimated in this paper.

While the simple version uses income elasticities of demand for aggregate exports and imports, the multi-sectoral version relies on sectoral income elasticities of demand for exports and imports. This provides more insight by showing how a country can raise its long-term growth rate based on the sectoral income elasticities of demand for exports and imports and the sectoral shares of trade. The policy implications derived from the BPC growth models, especially the multi-sectoral version, are further tweaked by making two additional considerations. These considerations include the potentially positive role played by intermediate imports and the potential of resource-based trade to support industrialization.

In light of these findings, key conclusions about the scope for structural change in Morocco and Tunisia are reached. Overall, the findings in this paper align broadly with the literature in favor of export-led growth, which is important for African countries seeking to industrialize and catch-up with their developed counterparts through global production chains.

However, upon further consideration of the results, we propose to extend the analysis by examining the influence of some political economy factors that may influence the balance-of-payment position in both countries, as both countries have experience several rounds of political reform which have implications for industrial policy and structural transformation in these leading African nations.

Jing Zhang Learning to Industrialise- Idea, Power and Institution in Scaling up Industrial Parks in Ethiopia

This paper is based on my PhD thesis, 'Investigating the Politics of Policy Learning: The Industrial Park Programme in Ethiopia and its Engagement with China'.

The past decade has seen a comeback of industrial policy as a key instrument for government in the African continent to promote structural transformation of the economy and pursue latecomer development in the society, driven in part by the successful experiences of East Asia's state-led transformation. The resurgence of industrial policy is taking place in parallel with increased attention to 'policy learning' and 'institutional building', given the recognition of government failure and market failure co-existing in many African countries. Despite this significantly growing emphasis on 'learning by doing' and 'learning by emulation' at the state level, the relevant literature in the area of development economics has mostly focused on what to learn, rather than how to learn. In some notable discussions, learning has invariably been advocated with strong, if often implicit, normative claims. That is, learning is equated to a policy good that can increase state capacity or support institutional building, despite scepticism about the extent to which it happens in practice and what shapes it.

By tracing the development of the industrial park programme in Ethiopia, from its formulation and the establishment of a flagship project, to the speedy construction of several industrial parks in Ethiopia's major regions and cities, and their ongoing operation, this paper seeks to go beyond a normative agenda of policy learning. Drawing upon a wider literature from political and policy science, it explores the role of underlying politics in shaping the dynamics of 'learning by emulation' and 'learning by doing'. Specifically, based on an adapted version of 'the political settlement framework (Lavers, 2018)', this paper incorporates ideational dimensions to investigate power relations and formal institutions, that set the most important institutional and political context for the dynamics of policy learning and policy implementation. The findings argue the importance of collective learning among domestic political elites, especially the significance of building the ideational coalition between the federal and local levels for institutional changes. It also reveals the constraints of facilitating such transformative changes from both institutional and cognitive aspects, indicating the challenges of African states to perform their development roles in pursuing late industrialization.

Anthony Tolika Sibiya Sustainable Industrialization and Skills nexus: Insights from the South African automotive manufacturing sector

This article reports on the empirical evidence from South African automotive manufacturing companies on the extent to which skills contribute to sustainable industrialisation. It argues that sustainable industrialization is important to address socioeconomic challenges of poverty, inequality, and unemployment, and its sustainability is predicated on critical factors, namely, industrial policy, and technology, exposure to domestic and global markets amongst other factors.

It is these factors that shape the skills system at a company level and the extent to which skills contribute to industrial growth. Although high skills are crucial for industrial operations and contribute to skills needs at the higher level such as the artisan/technician level to a lesser extent at the operator level in the production.

In-house training is crucial for companies in addressing skills gaps at an operator level, especially in the context of technological and work organization changes in the workplace.

Thus, the article argues that South Africa's skills policy and planning processes should be embedded in the processes that are developing industrial policies and strategies. In addition, TVET's skills policy should look at the complimentary relationships between various skills training programmes rather than focusing on individual or institutional types of training.

Such a holistic approach to skills training is crucial for the automotive industry especially since the next generation of vehicles globally will be energy cars, electric and hybrid types of vehicles; thus, re-orienting TVET skills policy to play a role in this regard seems to be crucial.

The research was conducted as part of the broader international skills for industry project, which took place in six developing countries, namely, Bangladesh, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Laos, Vietnam, and South Africa; to explore the impact of vocational training programs (VSD) on inclusive industrial growth and transformation across various manufacturing sectors with garment and textile industry common to all six countries, in addition to food and beverages, and automotive industry in the case of South Africa.

The research was undertaken to explore how and to what extent formal TVET training contributes to inclusive industrial growth and transformation in the automotive sector, given the prioritization of formal vocational skills training not only in South Africa but also in the continent. Although the research focused on five occupational levels namely general workers, operators, supervisors, artisans/technicians, and higher management, with the first two occupations grouped as mid-skilled employees and the last three referred to as higher-skilled employees; this article report on two occupations one mid-skill and one high-skill namely operator and artisan/technicians to give insights on factors that shape skills usage for industrialization.

Tina Schivatcheva Transformations in Pan-European Innovation Policy: A Comparative Analysis of Horizon 2020 and Horizon Europe Policy Perspectives

The policies of the European Union (EU) that specifically aim to govern innovation have undergone significant transformations, highlighting the need for a critical assessment of EU's articulation of pan-European innovation policy priorities and their effective implementation. This analysis focuses on two major recent European programs: Horizon 2020 (2014-2020) and Horizon Europe program, which was launched in 2021 and is projected to run until 2027. Key elements of Horizon 2020's policy focus were excellent science, industrial leadership and societal challenges. Horizon Europe has directed policy attention towards climate change, with the aim of supporting the impact of the European Green Deal and the achievement of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals, while simultaneously bolstering EU competitiveness. By closely examining the policy discourses of Horizon 2020 and Horizon Europe, this analysis seeks to illuminate the dynamics and complexities surrounding the ongoing evolution of pan-European innovation policy.

Moreover, recognizing the multi-faceted nature of European governance, this study argues for the importance of conducting a comparative analysis of the discourses employed by the European Commission and the European Parliament. By examining the policy perspectives taken by these influential political bodies in relation to both Horizon 2020 and Horizon Europe, a more comprehensive understanding of the evolving pan-European innovation policy can be achieved. Consequently, this analysis aims to provide insights into the dynamics and complexities of EU governance, shed light on the decision-making processes within the EU, and deepen the understanding of the evolution of EU's innovation policies and their role in shaping a pan-European innovation landscape.

E2 110 Neoliberalism 9. Varieties of Neoliberalism 2

Andriana Vlachou The EU ETS and energy transition under the influence of the European Green Deal (EGD), proposal for an individual paper

Continuing long-standing efforts, the European Green Deal (EGD) aims at transforming "the EU into a modern, resource-efficient and competitive economy". Climate neutrality by 2050 and economic growth decoupled from resource use (especially fossil fuels' use) are major goals of EGD. The EU ETS is perceived as the key tool for reducing greenhouse gas emissions cost-effectively. Accelerated transition to clean energy is also a central strategy towards climate neutrality and reducing energy dependency. This paper discusses and critically assesses the ongoing workings

of EU ETS and major strategies for energy transition (such as promoting investment in renewables, especially in electricity, research and innovation in driving transformative change, energy system integration, and others). Carbon trading and major energy policies epitomize neoliberal capitalism which has extended the use of markets at the expense of other types of state intervention to address climate and energy issues and development. In their effort to respond to serious sustainability problems of capitalism, these strategies exacerbate old contradictions or give rise to new ones. In particular, many people and many people are left behind in the process, contrary to EGD's promises. Ecological sustainability can be safely secured by a radical change along an eco-socialist path.

Aleksei Pobedonostsev Does the wealth of natural resources reinforce neoliberalism? A comparative study of post-Soviet Russia and Kazakhstan.

What is the role of natural resource wealth in forming the neoliberal economic order in some oil-producing countries? I consider this problem through a comparative study of Russia and Kazakhstan in my research paper. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the wealth of hydrocarbon resources seems to be a factor that stimulated market and neoliberal reforms (rather than undermined them) in these post-communist states. In both countries, the petroleum industry was one of the first sectors to be privatized in the 1990s, creating the class of wealthy people famously known as oligarchs. Later, in the 2000s, when oil prices significantly increased, the Russian and Kazakh governments used oil revenues to implement neoliberal policy measures without the radical boom of public expenditures. The governments of these countries adopted fiscally conservative budgetary policies restricting public spending because their financial authorities feared the increase in inflation. Forming a neoliberal economic model in some post-Soviet states seems only possible with the wealth of natural resources and the windfall revenues from oil and gas production. The general argument of my paper is that Russia's and Kazakhstan's dependence on hydrocarbon resources promotes the formation of a neoliberal economic order rather than hinders the implementation of neoliberal policy.

Altaf Hussain Political Economy of Neo-Liberal Development: A Case study of Gujjar and Bakarwal Tribes of Jammu and Kashmir, India

Using Levien's concept characterising neoliberal "regimes of dispossession" in the Indian context, this paper focuses on the structure and process of neoliberal onslaught on the pastoralist nomadic tribes of Gujjar and Bakarwal in Jammu and Kashmir. While there is a large literature on dispossession and displacement induced by neoliberal accumulation regimes in India, there is very little work on nomadic tribes in this regard in general and Jammu and Kashmir in particular. This paper is an attempt to fill this gap. Based on intensive field surveys, the paper provides a political economy account of the precarity of not only economic life but the very existence of the Gujjar and Bakarwal population in Jammu and Kashmir due to the evictions from their pastoral spaces and living habitat. The paper argues that this precarity induced by the accumulation regimes of dispossession combines conflict, militarisation and more familiar forms of extractive dispossession under neoliberalism.

Hilmiye Yasemin Özüğurlu Public Finance Crisis And Solution Possibilities: An Evaluation From Türkiye's Perspective

The dynamics of change in economic processes create political and social consequences that affect the conditions of existence of all social categories. As the fundamental element that necessitates change, economic crises form the basis of radical transformations in the economic and social structure. In this context, it also intensifies the struggle for redistribution of economic and natural resources. In this sense, the continuous crisis trend that started in 2008 is a tremendous increase in poverty rates at the international level, health system crisis, unemployment and idle capacity, ecological disasters and commodification of the environment, unmet needs and excessive accumulation, etc. It can be considered as the manifestation of contradictory processes. In this context, this study will evaluate the public finance crisis as the main area that reveals the manifestation and co-occurrence of accumulation and legitimacy crises on the one hand, based on the example of Turkey. In a way that will help to address the economic and political processes in integrity in the process we are going through; The relationship between alternative publicity, which can be seen as anti-crisis tendencies, planning approaches as a resource distribution mechanism, and democracy models as a mechanism for decision-making and participation in decisions, is tried to be discussed.

E3 101 Marxist PE 3. Capital: its dynamics, its turnover, and measuring it

Ilia Farahani Political economy versus political Economy: bringing back classical political economy into geographic research

Since the launch of radical geography, the questions of capital's spatial dynamics and the consequent socio-spatial relations, such as the evolving 'North-South' relation touched on in the conference call, have been central to the field. However, according to Kevin Cox (2013), already from the 1980s with the rise of critical realism as the dominant theory of science, classical (Marxist) PE theory has been marginalized in favor of a new institutionalist economic theory with analytical and explanatory implications: rather than a focus on economic structures and macro-dynamics of capital we find a focus on political structures, agency, institutions and ideological hegemonic structures—often apparently in void of any economic processes. In the current moment of dramatic transformations of the capitalist world economy, we contend that it is worth revisiting classical PE theory so as to examine whether and how it has something to offer geography today. Consequently, we in this article aim to present building blocks for a PE for human geographers inspired by classical PE and its crucial attention to economic structures and macro-dynamics of capital accumulation. In doing so, we draw upon empirical challenges and tensions that the dominant, institutionalist approach to PE in our neck of the woods in geography (namely the sub-fields of resource and urban geography) creates and counterpose them with superior explanatory power of classical PE that does not suffer from such tensions.

Takashi Satoh A General Formulation of the Circuit and Turnover of Capital from a Marxian Perspective: Integrating Sraffian and Wicksellian Capital Theories

This paper constructs a mathematical model elucidating Marx's theory on the circuit and turnover of capital, establishing that Sraffian and Wicksellian capital concepts are special cases within this broader framework. It firstly formulates the circuit of capital, highlighting the transformation from one form of capital to another in a cyclical process, determining the net flow generated per cycle. It describes all flow variables in this circuit and their magnitudes, while capital turnover provides an absolute stock level, derived from the product of the values of capital outflows and the turnover period. Contrary to the common assumption that the turnover period is unity across sectors, this model reveals it varies based on growth rates and a distribution function reflecting investment timing. Subsequently, the paper demonstrates how adding specific assumptions to this framework can derive Sraffian and Wicksellian theories. It shows that early Wicksell's model of circulating capital originates from point-input point-output under expanded reproduction, while his later notion of fixed capital, alongside Sraffa's fixed capital model, stems from straight-line depreciation assumptions in simple and expanded reproduction contexts, respectively. This framework positions the Marxian model as encompassing and extending beyond the scope of other heterodox capital theories, offering a unified and general framework for understanding capital's circuit and turnover.

Victor Kasper A comparison of approaches to estimating the rate of surplus value, rate of profit, and the net operating rate of profit: The issue of capital.

The calculation of the rate of profit has long been a matter of dispute. The estimations were based on assumptions that were never empirically checked. In previous conferences, we compared the approach of Shaikh and Basu (primarily an empirical approach) with that of Kasper (rooted in a simulation model). We concluded that Net Operating Surplus can be a good indicator of surplus value estimated with Kasper's approach at least for US data. This paper will focus on measures of advanced capital required to estimate the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit in the two approaches.

E3 103 Financialisation 6. International financial subordination

Raven Hart Financial Subordination in Global Production Networks: A case study on the Indian pharmaceutical sector

Global Production Networks (GPNs) are widely regarded as playing a significant role in the rapid expansion of international trade since the 1990s (World Bank, 2020, p.1). It is estimated that around 80 percent of global trade (as measured by in terms of gross exports) is linked to the production networks of multi-national enterprises (MNEs), either as intrafirm trade, non-equity modes of production (NEM e.g. licencing or franchising) or as arms-length transactions (UNCTAD, 2013, p. 16). Research papers from institutions such as the World Bank, OECD and UNCTAD have adopted GPN analysis to identify strategies for emerging markets or developing countries - collectively referred

to from this point on as the 'periphery'. By allowing periphery firms to specialise in an intermediate aspect of a commodity's overall production, GPNs are seen as a way to increase productivity at a faster rate than would otherwise be possible. Developing policy and institutions around the export of intermediaries ostensibly allows firms in the periphery to gain access to new technology and create jobs that facilitate knowledge transfer (Lamy, 2013).

The success of these strategies varies greatly and can be dependent upon factors outside of periphery state or firm control, such as geography and resource endowments (World Bank 2020, p. 36). There are some areas where states may have more agency, such as building institutions that facilitate international trade agreements. Even where these kinds of policies are possible power disparities between core state domiciled MNEs and integrating periphery firms lead to an inequitable distribution the total profits generated by the production process as a whole, while subjecting integrating firms and their states to a wide range of risks. Many aspects of these power dynamics have been explored, such as the uneven historical development of technology and the institutional mechanisms used to prevent the free dissemination of knowledge (for example see Rikap, 2022 on the use of intellectual property rights).

This research aims to investigate a less explored dimension of exploitation in GPNs - that is through the use of finance. A great deal has been written on the connection between finance and subordination at the state level (see Kaltenbrunner 2010, Bonnizzi Et al 2019). What is less well understood is how subordination at the state level, for example the hierarchical level of one fiat currency to another in world trade, translates into subordination and exploitation at the firm level in GPNs. Firstly paper aims to provide a historical overview of GPNs, rooted in an understanding of the nature of MNEs and the significance of their control over hoards of 'World Money' as a universal means of payment (Lapavistas, 2013, p.102). Secondly, it aims to demonstrate the necessity of the proliferation of international finance to facilitate the coordination of production and accumulation of capital across borders. Thirdly it seeks to illustrate the importance of the role of The State in creating the conditions for globalised production and finance.

Iyad El-Khalil Subordinate and Dependent Financialization; Unraveling Lebanon's Financial Crisis

This paper delves into the crucial role of subordinate and dependent financialization in precipitating one of Lebanon's most profound economic and financial crises. Functioning as a small open economy heavily reliant on foreign financial inflows and remittances, Lebanon's economic framework is characterized by relatively high interest rates to sustain capital inflows and a pegged exchange rate. This, coupled with neoliberal policies, has led to an inflated financial sector, reaching approximately three times the country's GDP.

A convergence of factors, including escalating oil prices in the Middle East, the 2008 global financial crisis, and subsequent recessions in developed economies, prompted a surge in private capital inflows to Lebanon. The resultant "Dutch disease" manifested in an overvalued real exchange rate, a consumption boom, an asset bubble, a substantial current account deficit, and a ballooning external debt, coinciding with a contraction of the industrial and manufacturing sectors. The financial sector exhibited vulnerabilities marked by currency and maturity mismatches, and the abrupt "sudden stop" and reversal of capital flows transformed the boom into a severe bust.

The paper contends that Lebanon's subordinate and dependent financialization, combined with its inability to secure long-term loans in its own currency from international capital markets, renders it vulnerable to financial and currency crises. An effective reform program necessitates a fundamental shift towards a new political economy that advocates an active state role in managing capital flows, directing them towards financing productive investments in the real economy and a modern infrastructure, while restraining financialization.

Stefan Zylinski International financial subordination & the climate crisis: how are the positions of Kenya and Bolivia in the international monetary system shaping the green transition?

The green transition is being shaped by the macro-financial architectures of global capitalism, reflecting the structural power of US-style market-based finance, oriented around the hegemonic dollar. Green transition policymaking and economic governance regimes are refracted through these market-financial logics; structuring institutions, constructing policymaking opportunities, distorting development pathways.

Although hegemonic, these processes are uneven and contradictory. This study explores how these processes, manifest in the form of international financial subordination (IFS) – limiting policy space, increasing costs and instability – operate in the Global South, shaping the green transition. Exploring how the financial structures of capitalism shape its productive processes, this study focuses on the cases of critical mineral mining in Bolivia and renewable energy development in Kenya. Situated in critical political economy, this study utilises novel analyses of (secondary) empirical data combined with primary data (elite interviews) gathered through fieldwork in Bolivia and Kenya.

Driven to improve understanding on the finance-green transition nexus, hoping to support a more just transition, this study explores themes including: the positionality of Global South countries/sectors in the green transition, the financial structures and governance frameworks shaping them, and the tensions between these dynamics of IFS, development efforts, and the global response to the climate crisis.

Felix Maile Corporate financialization and inequality along global value chains – the cases of apparel, automotive, copper and cocoa/coffee/cotton

This paper investigates how corporate financialization impacts uneven value capture along global value chains (GVCs). The corporate financialization literature stresses the role of globalization and related capacity to create cost-mark ups through outsourcing and offshoring in sustaining shareholder value. The GVC literature in turn acknowledges the role of financialization pressures in pushing supply chain rationalization and short termism down the chain, resulting in uneven value capture between lead and supplier firms. Yet, we know less about the degree and nature of financialization in different sectors and locations and the channels through which financialization processes translate into GVC governance and value capture outcomes. The paper begins with a systematic literature review of financialization patterns of lead firms and their impact on governance and inequality across industrial, agriculture and mineral GVCs. We then use the Capital IQ database to analyze financialization degrees and patterns (of objectives, investments, and operations), capital structures and supply chain indicators (sourcing costs, payment terms to suppliers, cash-conversion cycles) of the largest ten lead firms in four selected GVCs (apparel, automotive, copper, cocoa/coffee/cotton), covering the period 1993–2022. In a final step, we link potential variation in the database results to characteristics of the different GVCs, based on long-standing empirical research on these GVCs.

E3 201 Neoliberalism 6: Neoliberalism in Latin America 1

Flavia Julius Operation Car Wash, labour exploitation and race relations in Brazil

My PhD project asks: How has the ruling class utilized race relations in contemporary Brazil? I propose this question as well to the 2024 IIPPE's Annual Conference, because if the pillars of neoliberalism are currently being questioned in the Global North, this is not necessarily the case in Latin America.

Operation Car Wash, a corruption inquiry that took place in Brazil between 2014 and 2021, will be a landmark in this presentation. Far-right Jair Bolsonaro became President of Brazil in 2019, after winning a polarized election where leftist Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (Lula), who was leading in the polls, was illegally imprisoned and forbidden to compete (Antunes de Oliveira, 2019; Fernandes, 2019; Grigera & Webber, 2019). Under Bolsonaro, Brazil dived into environmental destruction, religious conservatism, subservience to the US and total denial of the pandemic (Singer, et al., 2022). This study suggests that an alliance between a sector of Brazil's dominant classes and US actors was formed, aiming to remove the Workers' Party from power, boost neoliberalism and weaken Brazil's position in the BRICS. The instrument used by this alliance of forces was Operation Car Wash (Lava Jato), which used corruption as a scapegoat, a strategy commonly used in lawfare (Kittrie, 2016; Martins, et al., 2019; Mier & Hunt, 2019; Souza, 2020).

The Workers' Party, led by Lula and his successor Dilma Rousseff, remained in power for fourteen years, governing with a foot on neoliberalism, and a foot on developmentalism (Bresser-Pereira, 2013; Singer, 2018). The implementation of social policies, which lifted 30 million people out of poverty (Saad-Filho, 2015; Singer, 2012), amongst other improvements, was largely disapproved by Brazil's dominant and middle classes, which saw it as a threat to their hegemony (Souza, 2019). On the other hand, the Workers' Party's role in the establishment of the BRICS, which had the potential to become a new hegemonic bloc, challenged US dominion in Latin America (Embassy Brasília, 2009). Although it is increasingly common sense that Lula's imprisonment was Lava Jato's main goal, the influence of

imperialism in the process is questioned. To what extent did it happen? A considerable amount of literature has been written on imperialism in Brazil (Bandeira, 1978; Bandeira, 2004; Fontes, 2010; Ianni, 1974). A Harvard Review of Latin America study published in 2005 indicates that between 1898 and 1994 the US interfered and provoked regime shift in the region forty-one times (Coatsworth, 2005). Given this context, the interference of imperialism through Car Wash cannot be ruled out. Further analysis of evidence in this paper reinforces this possibility (Embassy Brasília, 2008; Embassy Brasília, 2008; Embassy Brasília, 2009; Kanaan, 2019).

What were the consequences of this intervention? Lower classes were the biggest losers (Saad Filho, 2017). Currently, 56 per cent of the Brazilian population identifies as Black or Brown, but they are a minority in power relation terms. Poverty heavily affects them: 77 per cent of the poorest people in Brazil are Black or Brown and live in favelas (Schwarcz, 2019, pp. 126-132). They are paid 57.5 per cent less than white people; with Black women receiving only 44.4 per cent of what white men do, and Black men receiving 74.1 per cent of what white women do, while white women receive 75.8 per cent of what white men do (IBGE, 2019). Therefore, Black and Brown people are at the bottom of the pyramid, with Black women being the most oppressed of all. Black and Brown people still have the worst or lowest-paid jobs: domestic work (66.6 per cent), heavy labour in the construction sector (66.6 per cent); heavy labour in the agribusiness sector (62.7 per cent). In contrast, 68.6 per cent of the occupations in management are in charge of white people. Seventy-one per cent of the richest 10 per cent identify as white (Schwarcz, 2019, pp. 126-132). Brazilian billionaires are all white (Micheletti, 2021), with the wealthiest one per cent retaining 28 per cent of the national income. Most of these privileged people live in gated communities or are “protected” by security guards. Meanwhile, others live free to die: 70 per cent of the victims of violent deaths are young Black or Brown men (Schwarcz, 2019, pp. 126-132); if they are less than twenty-one years old, they have 147 per cent more chance of dying than their white counterpart (Sakamoto, 2021). Discrimination in Brazil is a Black and white picture with splashes of blood, “proudly” stamping a 0.7068 mark in the Gini index (FGV, 2023).

I bring race relations to the conversation and, at the same time, introduce Brazilian scholar Ruy Mauro Marini’s dialectics of dependency. The concept of labour super-exploitation was developed by Marini in the 1970s, when he applied Marx’s theory of value (Capital, 2022) to the Latin American context, claiming that the position that Latin America occupies in the international division of labour reproduces a dynamic of dependency on core countries that results in the over-extraction of surplus value, an extraordinary amount of it - meaning that Brazilian workers receive below their necessary needs, as part of the surplus value is kept domestically, while part is transferred to the Global North (Marini, 2000).

Although the Marxist Dependency Theory has been utilized by many scholars in Latin America (Fiori, 1995; Martins & Filgueiras, 2019; Martins & Valencia, 2009; Osorio, 2016), its use in the English language is still scarce, given Marini’s major work, *The Dialectics of Dependency* has only recently been translated (Marini, 2022). In Brazil, works applying Marxist Dependency Theory to race relations have started to appear (Fagundes, 2022; Souza, 2020), but the territory is still largely unexplored.

Given that Marini developed the idea of super-exploitation fifty years ago, is the concept of super-exploitation still potentially valid in Brazil, under the neoliberal paradigm? Marini himself discussed that towards the end of his life (Marini, 1996), and so have other scholars (Carcanholo & Amaral, 2008; Carcanholo, 2014; Katz, 2022; Martins, 2013; Martins, 2023; Paulani, 2022; Valencia, 2023). Has the precarisation of labour, provoked by neoliberalism’s destruction of labour rights, amongst other measurements, made workers worldwide just as super-exploited? In which case, are Latin American workers currently exploited even beyond super-exploitation? If neoliberalism is fading in the Global North, what are the material conditions in Brazil? And how is Global North imperialism functioning to subordinate these conditions? I aim to address these and other questions not only theoretically but also by listening to key people who live and resist the concrete reality of super-exploitation, dependency, dispossession, expropriation and oppression. In my fieldwork in Brazil in April 2024, I seek to interview key pillars of Brazilian resistance: top figures from organizations such as MST (Landless Workers’ Movement), union leaders, politicians and others. I also plan to talk to representatives of the status quo. What did these groups of people think of Operation Car Wash? (They might not answer this directly but elaborate on the effects of the 2016 coup, the implementation of neoliberal policies during Temer’s years, how much difference they felt during the Workers’ Party years, their perceptions on democracy and so on). Adding to that, and including here another of Marini’s concepts: what does Lula’s return have to say regarding

subimperialism (Marini, 1997)? Do they feel super-exploitation can be mitigated by progressive governments? Do they feel neoliberalism is fading, or this is not their material reality?

In conclusion, by the time the IIPPE Conference takes place, I will have finalized my fieldwork. I would love to present the results of that, inserted and/or in contrast with the background I have explained here.

Rodrigo Santaella Goncalves FORGING COUNTER-HEGEMONY: LESSONS FROM BOLIVIA IN THE 2000s

This article argues that a successful anti-neoliberal hegemony was forged in Bolivia in the first decade of the 21st century. This hegemony proved resilient enough to confront the radically neoliberal and authoritarian trends sweeping across South America, including defeating a coup d'état against former President Evo Morales, in 2019. This makes Bolivia a unique case in the region. This distinctiveness can be explained by the convergence between strong indigenous social movements and popular intellectual currents that successfully translated the indigenous agenda to the middle classes. This convergence laid the foundation for Evo Morales' rise to power in 2005, and it explains the resistance against the neoliberal coup. This paper defines and contextualises neoliberalism in South America from a political economy perspective framework; reviews the history of social mobilisations in Bolivia in the 2000s from the perspective of a group of intellectuals, called 'Comuna'; examines the role of Comuna in the construction of anti-neoliberal hegemony, and explains the relationship between popular mobilisations and the intellectual production of this group.

John Paul Belk Analyzing Puerto Rico's Early Neoliberal Takeover: A Laboratory of Reaganomics in a US Colony Puerto Rico's Ideological Takeover : Neoliberalism and US Public Intellectuals in a US Colony

During the 1970s, Puerto Rico, a US colony, faced economic challenges similar to those experienced globally during an extended period of economic decline. Constrained by its political circumstances, the island-nation had limited options for administering itself out of the crisis. Things escalated as the newcomer politician, Carlos Romero Barcelo, a pro-statehood (annexation) politician that wanted to appease U.S. sentiments, took the reins as head of government in 1976. What followed was the entry of an array of internationally acknowledged U.S. neoliberal figures who came to the island and guided the newly-initiated governor toward untested policy measures that predated much of the common understanding of neoliberalism's debut, arguably with the exception of Pinochet's Chile. Consistent with times prior, where Puerto Rico would be used as a laboratory for economic experiments, the colony became a testing ground for neoliberal policies before they reached the shores of the U.S. My paper exposes the various US intellectuals involved, the policies employed, the schemes they hatched, the rhetoric employed to the public, and how this worked as a precedent (and validation to some U.S. politicians) to Reaganomics.

E2 203 Social reproduction 5. Violence, struggle and social reproduction

Mayada Hassanain Endurance and Struggle: Social Reproduction Amidst Violence and Crisis in South Africa and Sudan

This paper delves into the nuanced dynamics of social reproduction during periods of overt violence and struggle, with a particular focus on the enduring role of the family unit as a site of welfare in the absence of adequate state protection. Using the Marikana massacre in South Africa and the conflict in Sudan as case studies, the paper examines how social reproduction persists amidst adversity, acting as both a site of resistance and struggle. Highlighting the family's pivotal role in accumulation and survival, the study underscores the immense pressure exerted on the family unit due to austerity, poverty, and extreme violence, as observed in the Sudanese conflict. The roles played by women during acute crises, such as making food for protestors, exemplify the resilience of social reproduction in the face of limited state and capital support. The paper critiques the progress, or lack thereof, made by women during supposedly peaceful periods, especially in care-related and economic justice areas, even under so-called progressive governments. The study also explores how social reproduction adjusts to accommodate capitalist demands during periods of austerity, with a historical perspective on the impact of structural adjustment policies. Examining the interplay between labour struggles and social reproduction, the paper discusses the impacts of falling real wages, increased demands on physical and emotional resources, and potential health and emotional deficits. It emphasises the consequences of neglecting social reproduction during periods of economic growth, as seen in the rise of "deaths of despair" and increased domestic

violence. Social reproductive work becomes not only a crucial component of the capitalist economy but also a locus for resistance and transformative action. The paper concludes with a call to politicise and collectivise social reproductive work, emphasising its role in both critiquing oppressive social relations and fostering revolutionary joy and desire.

Lucy Rebecca Cannon “We are women, we are strong!” Women’s involvement in the Miners’ Strike of 1984-85. Exploring the impact and relationship between gender, social reproduction, and the strike through the framework of feminist political economy.

This paper speaks to the experience of women’s involvement in the miners’ strike of 1984-85 through the intervention and framework of feminist political economy. It builds on the archives of women’s involvement in the miners’ strike (UCL, and University of Reading and National Coal Mining project 2018-2020) and with work done on a specific group named ‘Women against Pit closures.’ (Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, Thomlinson, 2018). I have noted an empirical gap in the literature in terms of analysing what the implications of the work women did. It is through the framework of social reproduction (Federici, 2012, Bhattacharya & Vogel, 2017) that my work takes the form in building its critique. This paper bridges the gap and attempts to analyse the significance of women’s work and labour. I do this through evaluating the ways women navigated the introduction to the picket line as a form of politicisation. The strike mobilised and introduced many women to the trade union movement for the first time. It also demonstrated both the shifting role of the gendered division of labour in a strike and in community organising and often the consolidation of the forms of work undertaken (cooking, cleaning, childcare- organisation) publicly but the retreat of expectations of these forms of social reproduction in the household. This work also seeks to go- beyond a binarized idea of the forms of work and action undertaken by women which can often valorise traditionally masculine forms of activism and neglect the significance of socially and necessary reproductive work.

Xianan Jin Land Dispossession as Continuum of Violence: Women’s Political Agency in Post-genocide Rwanda

The liberal feminist perspective fails to consider the continuum of violence against women from a class aspect in the aftermath of conflicts. Drawn on Rwandan women interlocutors from various professional and socio-economic backgrounds during a 10-month ethnographic fieldwork, this paper suggests using land as a method to understand dispossession as continuum of violence, in which social relations in the community, the market and the state are embedded for women’s political agency in post-conflict societies. With different gendered networks, while landless women’s political agency is limited to their individual struggles, landed elite women obtained opportunities to participate in collective activism in the aftermath of the genocide.

Seraf Sidig The cost of mining, the miner and militarization in Balqwa, Sudan.

Countless women have been working in gold mining in Sudan since ancient times. Women’s work continues today in mining in many high-risk environments but is overlooked given its incremental and unwaged nature. In reality, women’s participation in mining operations includes digging and collecting stones, grinding, and washing using mercury. Despite the increasing official and academic interest in the mining sector, women’s employment remains invisible. This paper focuses on the Balqwa area located in the Benishangul region, southeast Sudan in the Blue Nile State. Mining in the Benishangul region has a long history due to the abundance of resources. Its history of gendered slavery, class divisions, religious and ethnic governance, and resource and labor extraction have not been abandoned. These patterns of extraction appear in the present case study.

The impact of mining is often studied by isolating different factors (economic, environmental, trade, social, etc.), especially studies focusing on women miner. However, this study hypothesizes that these factors are interrelated. Therefore, this paper analyzes gender as an element of power relations whereby hierarchies within mining societies intersect with parallel forms of marginalization such as displacement, migration, poverty, illiteracy, slavery, religion, ethnicity, informality, and increasing militarization. Analyzing their interactions together offers an understanding of the displacement facing women miners and illuminates the process of social reproduction necessary for the continuation of the sector.

Once part of a gold producing family unit, the encroachment of new technologies, the proliferation of mining companies, the formalization of private property, and the regression of the state to be replaced by the military

apparatus has transformed mining production and the communities around mining markets. Alongside mining, women work to provide necessary needs for the household as well serve as the primary caregivers. The reproductive role of women has expanded to include the induction and training of children on mining operations. All the while this process has contributed to the deterioration of community health, and the substantive work on which it relies.

The research finds that administrative changes in the sector hold important significance, whereas a shift occurred with the control of local leaders from the Berta tribe over the management and distribution of lands, in contrast to the dominance of northern merchants and former colonial proxies. Military waste companies emerged as an alternative commercial intermediary to the merchant class, linking the local production areas to markets in the capitalist and the global market. In effect, placing the sector under control of the military created a two-tier system of hierarchical control where the tribe is assumed authority but stripped of any power.

Under this configuration women play a key role in sustaining this production model by providing cheap mining labor enough to sustain the market and the tribe at a high cost to their wellbeing. The transformation of the tribe as an input in the larger gold production machine has reinforced the hierarchical relationship between and within the tribe, the merchant class, the private companies and the military state. Women under this hierarchy fall at the bottom. Developments in the relationship between the tribe and the central authority following the December 2018 revolution brought hope especially for women. As the April 15 war rages on across tribal lines, the Berta women enter a new fight for survival.

E2 102 China 4. Chinese Capitalism or Socialism?

Ling Gao “Knowledge and Power in China’s Economics Education: Looking into the Anomaly”

China’s state leadership has repeatedly called for enhancing the development of Marxist political economy. Yet, the anomaly is that Marxist political economy has been marginalized in the academia ever since the beginning of the century. This article reviews the historical evolution of economics education in China in the past decades, in conjunction with an investigation into the experiences of a sample of 1206 university students that have undergone the relevant education. The focus of the investigation is on both the objective effects of the education and the subjective attitudes of the students. On this basis, the article arrives at some concluding remarks on the future directions of economics education in China centering on the quest for pluralism.

Niemeyer Almeida Filho The transcendent importance of Chinese development for Western bourgeois democracies

China has been the subject of geopolitical concerns and research into various dimensions of human knowledge. In International Relations and Economics, it is no exaggeration to say that the topic of China is the one that arouses the greatest academic interest. However, in general, concepts originating from the historical process of constitution and development of capitalism are used as support for reflection and evaluation.

An example of this is the discussion regarding the characterization of China as a capitalist economy, even though some specificity is recognized. Apparently, it is not considered that China, or Chinese development, could be of any other nature. Hence, the idea that it is transcendent for Western understanding. The type of development that does not fit into the taxonomy of development, almost all of which is directly or indirectly associated with the idea that the development of capitalism is an advanced stage of the human civilization process, needs to be explained.

This limitation in understanding what is happening in China in terms of social development lies in the overlap of dimensions that are not necessarily organic in the civilizing process. Of course, these dimensions are the result of the way we advance in understanding the complexity of the world, so it is difficult to isolate each of them. In Western thought, the association between cultural habits and economic advancement is common. However, specifically in this case, there are no elements other than those of the historical process that support the idea that the economic dimension does not determine the cultural dimension. In other words, there is no reason to consider that the advancement of capitalism, the expansion of capital to virtually all dimensions of human life, is necessary for civilizational advancement.

Contrary to this, the advancement of commercial logic to reach all dimensions of human life leads us to naturalize individual behavior, preventing the scope of politics from hierarchizing the collective dimension as the main one.

There is a rejection that Chinese society is moving towards being a more advanced reference of society than those that are a parameter in the West. The parameters are either small countries in terms of population and territory, such as Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, or large economies in terms of population, territory, and GDP size. In this case, the references are the USA, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom.

In this article, we intend to address the topic of social advancement by problematizing capitalist development, focusing on the State form. In the first section, we try to assess whether there is any limit to capitalist development, using the guidance given by Arrighi's contribution in his book *Adam Smith in Beijing*. In the second section, we discuss some of the contributions to the critique of Western democracies, showing that there is no progress in social inclusion, leading to recurrent dissatisfaction with their ability to respond to social aspirations. Finally, in the third section, we discuss the specificities of Chinese development, its advances, and its dilemmas without worrying about taking it as an advanced civilizational parameter. The main focus is on the analysis of the State form.

Zhun Xu China as a socialist inter-national project and the limits of capitalism

This research revisits China's historical and contemporary relationship with capitalism. I posit that China's pre-modern and modern international characteristics have clearly constrained the scope and potential of capitalism within the country. Socialist politics have played a significant role in preserving China's historical identity and laying the foundation for dramatic development since 1949. Despite the apparent allure of market capitalist relations, I argue that China's project fundamentally conflicts with the ideals of capitalism, and these contradictions are likely to play a role in the decline of capitalism in China and globally.

E2 213B HETEMCoM 2. Decolonizing Economics

Surbhi Kesar Euro-centrism in economics

This is one of the 4 themes explored in our book on 'decolonizing economics'. We begin by asking what is 'euro-centrism' and why it cannot simply be reduced to either the issue of lack of diversity in the discipline or to a geographical notion. We develop the idea of Euro-centrism with the respect to a metaphorical Europe that came to represent the 'essence of capitalism', and highlight how this idea is a locus of economic thinking. All the other phenomenon that do not mirror this essence is seen as a mere aberration that had to be corrected, while the common structural processes of colonialism, patriarchy, racialisation and other forms of structural oppressions that have been central in simultaneously creating both the metaphorical Europe and its contrasting 'other' are brushed under the carpet. We bring to light how this is an overarching framework in which economics operates and foreground some critical approaches that poke holes in this framework, thereby opening up ways to think productively about a non-Eurocentric lens to understand the economy.

Ingrid Harvold Kvangraven Implications of a decolonization agenda

A decolonization entails theorising from the vantage point of the periphery and unravelling the power structures that construct and maintain economic hierarchies, such as capitalist exploitation, empire, racialization, and patriarchy. In this section of our "Decolonizing Economics" book, we outline what such an agenda implies for our understanding of specific economic issues, such as trade, growth, labour, institutions, and rationality. We show how taking non-Eurocentric starting points reveals entirely different explanations and expectations for economic outcomes in the world, as the unevenness of capitalist and colonial processes create structures inconsistent with the economic models of mainstream economics. To illustrate this, we touch on dependency theory, the modes of production debates, insights on post-colonial capitalist development, and alternative ways of conceptualising institutions through the lens of hybridity.

Devika Dutt Decolonizing Economics: The potential and limits of Heterodox Economics

In our book, “Decolonizing Economics”, we discuss how the Economics discipline is Eurocentric and therefore does a poor job of understanding the world. But there are alternative traditions within economics that focus on theories and methods that can contribute towards a decolonization of Economics. Vast, dynamic, and thriving scholarship exists within heterodox economics – a tradition of economics that is largely ignored in the mainstream of the field. Heterodox economics has some key features that lend themselves well to a decolonization agenda, such as, the theoretical focus on social relations and structural power, the methodological implications of how it approaches the distinction between the economic and the non-economic and history, and the embeddedness of politics in heterodox scholarship. However, the most influential heterodox scholarship is also prone to some of the same Eurocentric biases as mainstream economics, specifically, its relative neglect of processes of social differentiation and structural oppression beyond class, such as colonialism, racialization, and patriarchy. We also discuss ways in which we can decolonize heterodox economics, which can help us better understand the structural relations of power that underpin all economic processes, which is the first step towards challenging the inequalities and injustices we see in the world.

Carolina Alves Heterodoxy as a Path to Decolonising Economics: Assessing Viability and Limitations

Having made the argument that economics discipline is Eurocentric theoretical and methodological foundations, this part of the discussion explores whether heterodox economics, a tradition of economics that is largely ignored in the mainstream of the field, may be more conducive to a decolonisation agenda. We identify three key features of heterodox economics conducive to the decolonisation agenda: its theoretical emphasis on social relations and structural power, its broad scope encompassing economic and non-economic realms, and its integration of politics into theory, policy recommendations and knowledge production. However, despite its alignment with decolonisation objectives, influential heterodox scholarship often perpetuates Eurocentric narratives of about how capitalism evolved and functions globally, and overlooks processes of social differentiation and structural oppression beyond class, such as colonialism, racialisation, and patriarchy. Consequently, while offering promise for decolonisation, heterodox economics remains entangled within Eurocentric frameworks akin to mainstream economics.

E2 302 Documentaries on urban guerillas in the US and mutual aid in the UK

Alexander Johnston Cozy Cuddly, Armed and Dangerous: The Long Struggle of the George Jackson Brigade

In this presentation, I will screen material from my collaborative work-in-progress film, Cozy Cuddly, Armed and Dangerous. The film is about the Seattle-based revolutionary Left wing “Urban Guerilla” group known as the George Jackson Brigade, who in the 1970s executed a series of politically-motivated bombings and robberies throughout the Pacific Northwest. While illuminating the genesis of the group in the post-Attica Prisoner’s Rights movement and chronicling its activities during its mid-1970s heyday, the film is grounded in a depiction of the contemporary lives of three Brigade members, representing their ongoing commitment to anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle, and to each other. In addition to the screening, I will explore the uniquely collaborative structure of the film’s production process, and articulate how this form of collaboration is grounded in practices of mutual care and movement building. (Proposed screening materials will feature edited scenes from the film, but unedited footage selects are available here: <https://vimeo.com/862949501/68812fedbf?share=copy>. More information about my work is available here: www.aljiers.net)

Matthias Kispert The Social Life of Food: Movements for Justice and Local Resilience

The Social Life of Food visits a number of grassroots initiatives that are involved in a range of areas of food production and distribution in London:

Sutton Community Farm works along agroecological principles, which include respect for the land and all its inhabitants, and concern for the social ecologies that the farm works within. The farm is operated as a community benefit society, funded by community shareholders who collectively own the farm.

Leytonstone Community Fridge distributes surplus food that would otherwise go to landfill to anyone who visits the fridge during its opening hours. The fridge is part of a countrywide network of similar initiatives, working to reduce food waste and filling a need coming from growing levels of food poverty.

The Gleaners is vegan, pay-what-you-can cafe and restaurant in Walthamstow that is run as a cooperative. Situated in the social ecology of The Hornbeam, a cooperatively run community hub, The Gleaners cook fresh meals from surplus food and are motivated by principles of mutual aid, care, intersectionality and economic justice.

30 minutes, link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7rD19hCrrXM&t=3s>

11:45-13:30 | SESSION 2

E2 231A Agrarian Change 7. War, displacement, migration, agrarian question and oppression in MENA

Giuliano Martiniello, Fadia Panosetti From Palestine land to the global market: export-oriented agriculture under settler colonialism (Panel organized by Giuliano Martiniello)

Over the past decade, the region of Qalqilya, located in the north of the West Bank, has witnessed a significant transformation of its agricultural landscape. Small-scale farmers have increasingly shifted away from traditional crops such as vegetables and citrus crops, opting instead for cultivating guavas and avocados for exports, particularly to the Arab world.

This shift towards high-value crops has been promoted by the Palestinian Authority (PA) that, with the support of various international organizations, presented it as an opportunity for reducing dependence on the Israeli economy and resisting settler colonial land dispossession.

Drawing on fieldwork conducted in summer 2023, this paper explores the dynamics of agrarian change in the highlands of Qalqilya in relation to the on-going settler colonial struggle for land, as well as the neoliberal model of development embraced by the PA.

Bringing insights from the fields of agrarian political economy, settler colonial and indigenous studies, it examines the factors driving the adoption of such model of agricultural development under settler colonialism and its consequences for Palestinian land and labor regimes.

The paper argues that the PA's emphasis on integration into global markets as means of achieving national liberation reflects a broader trend of addressing political and territorial problems through neoliberal-oriented solutions that generate uneven dynamics of diversification, accumulation, dispossession among Palestinian rural communities.

Julia Kassem

Sinem Kavak Political ecology of agri-labor migration systems in Turkey: Syrian Refugees and Migrant Workers in Perspective

This article examines the climate vulnerability of seasonal migrant farm workers in the context of both socio-economic vulnerability and migratory labour systems, which have been neglected in vulnerability and adaptation studies. Migrant farmworkers experience livelihood stress from multiple sources of socio-economic vulnerability such as class, poverty, gender, age, disability, and ethnicity. They may be undocumented migrants, slum dwellers, marginalised minorities, women, refugees, or children. Against this background, and focusing on the case of Turkey, in this article we present factors that contribute to the climate vulnerability of migrant farm workers and mechanisms through which it interacts with the already high social vulnerability of the group. We operationalise the impacts of climate change as (a) the increased likelihood and frequency of climate extremes, and (b) changing seasonal patterns of crop maturity, harvest, and yield, which alter both the demand for labour and its temporality. For analytical purposes, we zoom in on the 10-year period between 2013 and 2023 to capture both the critical occurrence of extremes and slower changes in the temporality of production phases. Through long-term qualitative research and using a critical political economy approach, we introduce the agrilabour systems approach as fragile equilibria. The adaptation literature and its critics only address site-specific extreme events, but we argue that impacts need to be analysed from the perspective of

agrilabour systems, arguing that migrant workers' livelihoods are multi-sited and seasonal migration occurs in an ad hoc systemic manner. Workers' experiences of climate change can only be understood by looking at migration routes, multiple commodities and locations, and the continuity of experiences with climate change rather than a single instance of exposure, loss and damage. Such a perspective allows us to integrate the internal differentiation of migrant farm workers into the analysis of mobility and immobility in climate change research

E2 301 Work 4. Digitization, gig work, and precarity

Ezgi Akçalı Türker The Rise of Digital Platform Economy and Reconfiguration of Labor: A Critical Analysis of the Future of Work in the Digital Age

Accelerated with Covid-19 pandemics, digital labor platforms have been reshaping the world of work by expanding across sectors ranging from hospitality, care to ride-hailing and to e-commerce. While the platform economy was intended to propose independence, flexibility, and freedom for workers, the rise of the digital platform economy poses some challenges and may consolidate precarity and social exclusion for global workers.

This paper aims to systematically contextualize the transformation of the world of work with the rise of digital platform economy and its outcomes from labor perspective. It appears that the expansion of platform work reconfigured the global division of labor and the world of work. I argue that even though the South is more likely to be deprived of this transformation, the precarious conditions of global workers are consolidated by the rise of the digital platform economy between and within digital platform workers on a global scale.

This research problematizes the consolidation of precarity and lack of agency of labor in the platform economy debates. Towards the end of this study, I conclude that the reconfiguration of labor under digital platform economy displays a more structural inquiry about the outcomes of the world of work in terms of platform labor. Along with this conclusion, I also seek to come up with proposals for alternative collective organization over the outcomes of digital platforms for platform workers.

Beatriz Marinho REGULATION AND DEREGULATION OF THE “UBERIZATION” (GIG) OF WORK IN BRAZILIAN LEGISLATION

The process of “uberization” of countless work activities (G.I.G) is the result of technological innovations triggered by the intense process of productive reorganization that began in the 1970s. The 2007-2008 crisis intensified informality, deregulation and flexibility at work, globally resulting in the massive closure of millions of jobs. In the neoliberal era, the precarious worker has become synonymous with prosperity through the emergence of the figure of the Microentrepreneur, in which this worker becomes the “boss of himself”, that is, he is no longer a formal worker (with a signed work permit) subordinated to a company, and thus ceases to have labor rights. Modern entrepreneurship through “uberization” (GIG) accentuates the exploitation of the work process through platforms that profit (part of the surplus value generated by the worker himself) at the expense of the worker's self-exploitation. These platforms dictate the rules and control the provision of services, which is an automated process (using algorithms). In Brazil, labor legislation does not effectively cover the new forms of work, leaving it up to the courts to decide on the employment relationship. This process, in our view, promotes the precariousness of work and workers' lives, a “modern servitude” dictated by megacorporations that control production processes through digital platforms in the GIG economy.

Yelda Yucel Exploring Work Quality and Wellbeing among Blue Collar Employees in Türkiye: Navigating Competing Discourses

The quality of work and the decency of working conditions have long been debated in academic and policy circles in multiple disciplines. Nevertheless, the multidimensionality of the area makes it hard to arrive at a generalized framework or method that applies to different contexts or country comparisons. Similarly, wellbeing is a multidimensional concept, which is expected to be conditioned by working conditions, in addition to other factors. The interaction between the work conditions in the firms and employee well-being is an understudied area in the quality of work studies because of the conceptual and methodological challenges combining the two broad areas.

The aim of this study is twofold: The first is to present a decent work framework, amidst competing discourses, that allows for the examination of work disparities at different dimensions and the second goal is to examine the relationship between the dimensions of work and employee well-being empirically. The decent work scale has been developed based on a survey conducted among 344 white-collar employees in the export-oriented firms in Türkiye, using exploratory (EFA) and confirmatory factor analyses (CFA). A face-to-face survey been conducted among 740 blue collar workers and a process analysis will be applied to the proposed decent work and wellbeing scales to reflect the interactions between the two. This study will contribute to the well-being research by exploring the connection between working conditions and the actualization of well-being. Through its holistic approach to work quality and well-being, it presents a novel conceptual and empirical framework in understanding complexities in workers' work and life experiences.

E2 303 Urban and Regional 2. Neoliberal Transformation in the Cities II: Crisis, Tourism and Housing

Kostas Gourzis The expansion of touristification across the EU amid successive crises: Comparative insights from an index-based analysis

Geographical Political Economy attributes the increasing importance of tourism in recent decades to several factors, including globalisation, i.e. the flexibilisation of tariffs and the deepening of cultural interdependence, and for about a decade now also to the rise of platform capitalism, i.e. online peer-to-peer platforms (mostly) for accommodation and transport. Against this backdrop, the term 'touristification' has been introduced to describe a profound reorientation of the economy towards tourism beyond the hotel and catering industry, encompassing a wide range of sectors and a mass conversion of housing into tourist accommodation. Despite the strong expansion of this phenomenon, its geographical spread has been uneven, reflecting a pre-existing "international division of leisure". Within the EU, the growth models of most Mediterranean countries underwent a profound restructuring after 2009, with first the island regions and then the metropolitan ones developing a strong dependence on tourism. While recent research has provided detailed qualitative insights into the touristification of specific places, it often does not clarify the extent of the phenomenon there or compare it with other contexts. In the study at hand, touristification will be analysed using an original composite index that incorporates variables related to the supply and demand of the tourism product and tourism expenditure, calculated and mapped for EU NUTS-2 regions from 2008 onwards.

Hüseyin Emre Almaz Taxless Finance for Local Governments of Turkey: Corrupt but Competent

Commercialization of urban land can benefit local government coffers via fees levied on construction activities especially during periods of rapid urbanization. Fees levied on such activities can increase local budgets without increasing taxes, i.e. taxless [public] finance. Allocation of valuable public land for development can be rife with corruption. Hence the seemingly contradictory character of local politics in periods of rapid urbanization: corrupt but competent administrators. Rapid urbanization in China in the last 40 years is considered the epitome of such practices. We contribute to literature by generating estimates for taxless finance for Turkey. In the empirical analysis, we estimate the share of such revenues within the local government budgets. We combine balance sheet data with building usage and license permit data for the period 2007-2022. First, we document a real increase in local revenues until 2018 and sharp downturn afterwards parallel to building usage trends. Then we estimate revenue shares from construction related activities: average share of land commercialization related revenues are in the range of 10-46% for Istanbul municipalities. Municipal revenues from land commercialization accounts for 16-46% of local government revenues in China in 2000s (Lin & Zhang, 2014). In both countries the share of revenues via land commercialization is substantial and replacing them with direct taxes (income or property) could be politically challenging.

Özlem Bülbül Positioning the Neoliberal State along with the Changing Dynamics of Housing Policy in Turkey

The aim of this study is to understand the changing character of the state under different neoliberal paths in Turkey, beginning through the neoliberalization attempts of 1980s and then evolving into deepening neoliberalisation of 2000s. In the neoliberal period, despite its withdrawal from several of its welfare duties, in fact the state has become active in line with its role for the regulation of the market. In this period, the state has been restructured as active state

and become the main actor for the functioning of the market economy. In other words, the neoliberalisation wave of 2000s has enabled 'the state back in', with a more active and authoritarian way. This has also affected the late capitalist countries such as Turkey. In the 2000s Turkey, the neoliberal state has become an active state with the economic and institutional restructuring that occurred immediately after the 2001 economic crisis. In this period, the housing sector in Turkey has gone through significant transformation with the restructuring of TOKI (Housing Development Administration of Turkey). As a result of the legal amendments made in 2003, TOKI has become the most powerful actor of housing sector in Turkey. Before, the main responsibility of the institution was only limited with housing finance. But now TOKI has gone beyond being a state financial institution for the housing sector and become the main institution for the production of housing in Turkey. Therefore this study is an attempt to understand the changing structure of the neoliberal state in Turkey, with a focus on the housing sector under the dominance of TOKI.

E2 103 Financialisation 7. New frontiers of financialisation

Lina Olsson Greening Urban Development with Debt: The Emergence of Green Financialised Urban Entrepreneurialism in Sweden

Funding the transition towards sustainable – so-called green – urban provision poses a major challenge for local and regional authorities worldwide. Shouldering this task, Swedish regions, municipalities, and municipal companies have taken a global front-runner position to expand the volume of green urban investments by accessing capital with Green Bonds. Today, 20 municipalities and regions are engaged in Green Bond financing amounting to a total debt of SEK 134 billion (€ 1.173 billion) (Kommuninvest, 2023). Notably, over 40% of the outstanding loans from the municipal-owned bank, Kommuninvest – the holder of 59% of Sweden's total municipal debt – comprise Green Bonds. Examining the green municipal indebtedness in Sweden through secondary document analysis of selected municipalities, this paper contributes to the emerging critical scholarship on green financialisation of urban environments and infrastructures at the local level. Drawing from three theoretical frameworks: capital switching, urbanisation of capital, and financialisation, it investigates the phenomenon of green municipal indebtedness in terms of:

- 1) how it furthers the penetration of finance capital into the production of urban space,
- 2) how the enabling conditions for the indebtedness are created by long-term neoliberal policy and austerity, including underinvestment in the municipal sector,
- 3) to what extent it creates new financial risks and pressures for the municipal sector, and
- 4) what are the possible sustainability outputs economically and socially.

By delving into these aspects, our argument posits that the green municipal indebtedness reflects the emergence of a form of green financialized urban entrepreneurialism.

Tobias Boos Infrastructure, nation-state and digital finance: Plugging-in the Salvadorian Crypto-experiment.

Cryptocurrencies and blockchain technologies have garnered significant attention from the media. However, only recently have IPE scholars started to examine these phenomena with more scrutiny digging into what could be called a crypto roll out in the Global South. One frequent claim in this context is that Cryptocurrencies could be used for cross-border payments, particularly private remittances.

Cheapening the cost of private remittances was also one of the core justifications for the crypto-experiments in El Salvador, where Bitcoin became legal tender in 2021. Despite the considerable controversy surrounding President Nayib Bukele's surprising move, most literature discusses two incompatible levels of abstraction: generalities about cryptocurrencies and their shortcomings, and short-term specificities of El Salvador. This paper argues that an infrastructural approach can provide a foundation for assessing the potentials and shortcoming. It is argued that many claims about cryptocurrencies as alternative channels of digital finance, escaping existing intermediaries and national

regulators, are difficult to uphold. Contrary to these assumptions, cryptocurrencies rely on the existing infrastructure of digital finance and have to be ‘plugged in’ to it. The paper examines the use of remittances in El Salvador, analysing the four infrastructure points: on-ramps, off-ramps, cryptocurrency exchanges, and network transactions. It explores how these points depend on existing infrastructure and how they link back to the scale of the nation-state.

Pauline Gleadle Financialization, risk and the English university: an exploratory study

Financialization as a term is widely used but with contested definitions (Lapavistas, 2011; Sawyer, 2014; Van der Zwan, 2014). For our purposes, we adopt Chiapello’s (2020, p. 83) definition of this as ‘...(a process of) transforming the language and instruments that organize it (an organization) and importing practices and ways of thinking that come from the financial world.(Italics those of the current authors). Importantly from our perspective, this transformation may remain superficial, as weak financialization or else relate to the world of private finance, as strong financialization.’ (Chiapello, 2020, p. 83).A key danger faced by organizations following such a financialized strategy, involves the risk posed by volatility in financial markets (Sawyer, 2014). Our focus is on such risks faced by English universities, given that Benner and Holmqvist (2023) comment as to the dearth of any systematic in-depth studies of how the financialization/marketization of HEIs is taking place with the corporatization of universities.

E2 110 Neoliberalism 10. Book Discussion

Ilias Alami Book Discussion “Authors Meet readers/critics”: The Specter of State Capitalism

The state is back, and it means business. Since the turn of the 21st century, state-owned enterprises, sovereign funds, and policy banks have vastly expanded their control over assets and markets. Concurrently, governments have experimented with increasingly assertive modalities of statism, from techno-industrial policies and spatial development strategies to economic nationalism and trade and investment restrictions. This book argues that we are currently witnessing a historic arc in the trajectories of state intervention, characterized by a drastic reconfiguration of the state’s role as promoter, supervisor, shareholder-investor, and direct owner of capital across the world economy. It offers a comprehensive analysis of this “new state capitalism”, as commentators increasingly refer to it. It maps out its key empirical manifestations across a range of geographies, cases, and issue areas. The book shows that the new state capitalism is rooted in deep geopolitical economic and financial processes pertaining to the secular development of global capitalism, as much as it is the product of the geoeconomic agency of states and the global corporate strategies of leading firms. The book demonstrates that the proliferation of muscular modalities of statist interventionism and the increasing concentration of capital in the hands of states, indicate foundational shifts in global capitalism. This includes a growing fusion of private and state capital, and the development of flexible and liquid forms of property that collapse the distinction between state and private ownership, control, and management. This has fundamental implications for the nature and operations of global capitalism and world politics.

The proposed “book discussion” session would consist of a short presentation of the book (which is forthcoming in June 2024 with Oxford University Press and will be open access), as well as critical engagements by four panellists, followed by a general discussion with the audience on the changing roles of the state in contemporary capitalism.

E2 203 MBC 4. Technology, Technological Change, the Fourth Industrial Revolution, and Degrowth

Emrah Irzik Open Technoscience Today as Polanyian Socialism

We argue that when Polanyi’s scattered yet insightful remarks about science and technology are read in light of his liberal socialist vision and critique of the self-regulating market economy utopia, they become quite relevant to understanding the post-1980 regime of commercialized science and science-driven technologies in knowledge economies today. Focusing on the case of the USA, we describe the nature of this regime, how it came about, and illustrate its dysfunction with reference to its handling of global Covid vaccine production and distribution.

To reduce Polanyi to a mere critic of unregulated market capitalism (implicitly rendering him an avatar of Keynes, as is often done) however, would be one-sided and unjust. Polanyi had his own positive model of socialism distinct from both regulated market capitalisms of the 1945-1975 era in the first world and central planning-based state socialisms prior to 1991 in the second world. In pursuit of elements of this vision, we discuss the example of the Cuban biopharma sector and draw attention to its successes and limitations.

Finally, we argue that the ideal of open technoscience as expressed by activist scientists/technologists and certain UN bodies supports the values of voluntary enterprise and free cooperation that Polanyi championed, and also furthers his two economic concerns of social justice and technical productivity simultaneously.

Themistoklis Tzimas “AI-in-capitalism”: Objectification and ontological inequalities

Artificial Intelligence (AI) stands at the epicenter of techno-utopian promises and techno-dystopian threats simultaneously. In order however to conceive AI social impact we must approach AI, as "AI-in-capitalism." "AI-in-capitalism" describes a fundamentally social phenomenon – akin to what Marcuse referred to as "technology" – in which preexisting inequalities are exponentially magnified and qualitatively transformed. AI does not develop in a social and economic vacuum. It is not merely ontology or "technique." It is intricately embedded within the capitalist system and evolves in alignment with it. In light of the above, the governance of AI's evolution becomes a decisive factor in social struggle. It transcends both class relations and the institutional superstructure. This article examines AI governance precisely as such: as a link in the chain of social struggle.

Gleb Maslov The Post-Soviet School of Critical Marxism is in Search of Responds to the Challenges of the Fourth Industrial Revolution

Modern technological and economic transformations are exacerbating global international competition, which, among other things, contribute to the spread of imperialist tendencies. Leading countries seek to occupy a privileged position in the new world order by controlling new markets of high-tech production. In this regard, the potential of the scientific and technological revolution, the fourth industrial revolution becomes a very topical issue.

The post-Soviet school of critical Marxism is also considering this issue within the framework of the heterodox economic tradition. Representatives of this trend absorb the legacy of Soviet economic thought, which paid special attention to the socio-economic consequences of the scientific and technological revolution. The leaders of the post-Soviet school of critical Marxism, A.Buzgalin, A.Kolganov, single out the creative revolution as the germs of the "realm of freedom" and one of the main "catalyst" of modern socialization of capitalism.

There is a growing attention to political economy in Russian economic science. It can be explained by the search for an alternative to the modern Russian model of capitalism, global socio-economic transformations that mark the crisis of neoliberalism. At these historical stages, fundamental theories that critically rethink the logic of market development, which include Marxism, are becoming more demanded.

Joe Davidson Towards a degrowth transition: Bringing interests back in

Degrowth has become particularly important in the environmental movement in recent years. However, there is no consensus on how to achieve the shift from a capitalist, growth-oriented society to a postcapitalist, degrowth-oriented society. I suggest that a productive means of addressing this issue is by turning to debates concerning processes of institutional change and sustainability transitions. This approach has two key implications. On the one hand, it highlights that proponents of degrowth are already implicitly using institutional theory to imagine the conditions for systemic change. For instance, some, in common with historical institutionalism, emphasise the path dependencies of existing growth-oriented institutions while others, in common with discursive institutionalism, highlight the role of ideas in facilitating the creation of a degrowth-oriented society. On the other hand, there are serious limitations to these theories of institutional change. From the perspective of Marxist political economy, they fail to situate institutions in the broader context of capitalist power dynamics and thus do not engage with social interests. On this basis, I argue that

degrowth needs to address the question “who wants degrowth?”, or how its demands advance the interests of the working class, with its different intersections, in the contemporary moment.

Violeta Guitart

E3 101 Marxist PE 4. Money and the State in Capitalism

Karen Helveg Petersen The active role of money and finance in the reproduction and expansion of the capitalist system

The paper aims to establish a better, Marxist-based understanding of the role of money and finance in today’s capitalist economy. It questions, inter alia, the lament that ‘financialization’ diverts funding from ‘real’ investments to empty financial assets.

The paper sees investments as an integral part of finance, which also mediates all transactions in economic life, commerce, transport, property etc. through credit and financial instruments whose complications far exceed mainstream economics’ simple equality between savings and investments.

Marx’s Volume II of Capital concerns the three circuits of money, productive and commodity capital, as well as the reproduction and accumulation of means of production and consumption. There is, continually, a dynamic disequilibrium between the two departments producing consumer goods and means of production. In which way does this carry over into market pricing, further considering the ‘transformation’ of values to production prices analyzed in Volume III?

In a (still) globalized world a large part of the goods and services consumed in the global north are produced in the global south. This means that investments, trade and transport are crossing the world, intertwined with money and financial markets. Through all of this weaves a constant crisis threat, magnified by geopolitical upheavals.

This view of money and finance as integrated in all economic flows points to the transformative role of money and finance in the capitalist system.

Nikos Pontis The Political Economy of MMT. A Critical Assesment from a Marxist Perspective

Modern Monetary Theory (MMT) refers to the origins of money, the financing of the state and the policies of full employment (Palley, 2020). The key idea is that a sovereign state can never run out of funding. It can always print-away the warranted full employment level, without even the negative repercussions of deficits and public debt. The state should be the guarantor of full employment whenever aggregate demand is insufficient. Whenever states do not do this, it signifies either policy impotence or misconception of how money and state financing work. There are several lines of critique on MMT, both from the Neoclassical scope, and mainly from heterodox approaches such as post-Keynesian and Marxist ones. We make an extensive literature review of all the polemic works against the MMT. Finally, we add some further arguments of our own against the MMT from a Marxist perspective, namely: (i)the important distinction between money as an endogenous necessity of the economic process and currency as a state validation; (ii) the importance of grounding the theory of money on the Labor Theory of Value; (iii) the importance of the analytical category of capital and the concept of money-capital; (iv) the practical infeasibility of a zero-interest rate policy rule with the long-run viability of the capitalism system. For point (iv) we develop a computational model in which the control variable is the policy interest rate, and the viability of the system is described by the movement of the average rate of profit.

Xiaoyu Mei The Formation of the People’s Democratic Dictatorship Theory

The People’s Democratic Dictatorship is the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. It was founded in the New-Democratic Revolution which the Communist Party of China led. This theory is the highest summary of the experience of the Chinese Revolution and became the theoretical foundation of the People’s Republic of China. It is an important achievement in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context. This article sorted out the main content of this theory,

focused on its development process in the four stages of the Great Revolution, the Agrarian Revolutionary War, the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression and the War of Liberation, and analysed the main literature underpinning this theory at various periods of its development. It also discussed the problems in English-language research literature on the formation of this theory.

Pinar Bedirhanoglu In Search for a Marxist Theory of State in the Era of 'De-democratisation'

While various chapters of *Capital* discuss the role states play in capital accumulation, Marx did not leave behind a focused theory of state. Marxists' attempts to fill this gap intensified in the 1970s due to their divergent views on the compatibility of capitalist state with liberal democracy and welfarism. This debate which questioned the relational class base of the capitalist state within capitalist relations of production gave way after the 1980s -and resembling to the discussions in *Capital*- to analyses on the role of capitalist states in neoliberal transformation. Today, the rise of neo-fascist and/or authoritarian tendencies worldwide seem to revive once again an interest on the capitalist state per se and its class limits. After overviewing the main arguments developed by Marxists regarding these tendencies of our times, this paper will focus on the major conceptions of Simon Clarke, Ellen Meiksins Wood and Heide Gerstenberger, such as the capitalist state, separation of the political and economic, and the bourgeois state respectively, to compare their differing proposals in search for a Marxist theory of state. It will highlight, following Clarke, the significant methodological differences on the levels of abstraction between these authors regarding their analyses of state and class, and propose some analytical conceptions that would help problematize current political tendencies as both the object and product of class struggles at the global level.

E2 213B HETEMCoM 3. Theory, methodology and history

Dennis Badeen Internal Relations Marxism and the Analysis of Open Systems: A Metatheoretical Approach

Open systems have been negatively characterized as those systems within which event regularities, i.e., constant conjunction of events, seldom if ever occur (Lawson, 1997). Methodological coherence requires that the research methods used for economic investigation be adequate for phenomena that exist within open systems. While this issue has been addressed by several approaches to heterodox economics, most notably by those inspired by Critical Realist critiques, fruitful engagements by Marxists regarding similar methodological issues are less common. By drawing on Bertell Ollman's *Internal Relations Marxism* (1993, 2003), this presentation addresses the methodological requirements for analyzing phenomena that occur within open social systems. Ollman famously articulated Marx's methodology by way of Marx's process of abstraction and its three moments – abstraction of extension, level of generality, and vantage point, all of which are associated with a dialectical methodology, which, it will be argued, is appropriate for analysis of phenomena that occur in open systems.

Oğuz Gürerk Making use of tensions through Adorno's lens: the role of reification in theoretical and social disjunctions

The conventional notion of theory, deeply rooted in scientific pursuits and organized around a particular stage of the division of labor, correlates with academic efforts (particularly within the social sciences) that, while running in parallel, seem not to directly intersect with broader societal functions. For instance, in mainstream economics, the term "theory" is often claimed by those dedicated to predominantly asocial and ahistorical mathematical modeling, where one essentially overlooks the dynamic and historical interrelations between the subject and the object; knowledge and its substance, and between theory and practice. This ideological stance adopts a mathematical approach akin to natural sciences, blending empirical verification with a mathematized grammar, assigning meanings univocally to signs. Therefore, the more emphasis on such methodological considerations is put, the more likely for one to (mis)believe that methodological ideals indeed yield a propositional guide to scientific practice, resulting in – and motivated by– the self-assured belief that knowledge of the object is preconceived and thereby justified by the soundness of the method (a phenomenon intrinsically tied to the nature of the commodity). The present abstract proposes to explore (in the essay form) the tension between the concept and being, with the help of Adorno's version of reification, as well as the implications for Adorno's idea of "conceptuality prevailing in the object itself."

Mariam Khawar Decoloniality and Islamic Economics

Islamic economics emerges from the ontological grounding of Islam. The economy is considered an integral part of the spiritual expression of human consciousness in the mortal world. Hence, behaviour in the economy and its functioning has gained much attention in Islamic studies. The recent rise of interest in heterodox economic thinking and political economy has provided a renewed interest in Islamic economics. Much of this interest is in the field of Islamic banking and finance. Islamic economics, as a modern discipline, is related to the anti-colonial movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Scholars of the time envisioned an economic system different from that of the colonising powers and found the epistemological foundations for one in the Islamic tradition. Although Islamic banking has come far from its inception, Islamic economic philosophy has become a niche categorisation in the larger global economic order. Discourses in Islamic economics have been constructed in contrast to neoliberal economics, within the ontology and epistemology of modernity. A large cause of this predicament is the Islamisation of knowledge project, which has utilised a singular reliance on fiqh to halal wash orthodox neoliberal economic institutions, products, and relations to assimilate them into Islamic economics. In a superficial 'Islamic' dressing of neoliberal economic paradigms. This paper argues for a decolonial stance in Islamic economics and a focus on epistemologies indigenous to Islamic discourse can eliminate this issue. However, decoloniality in Islamic economics will have to counter not just the traditional dominance of European episteme but also the financial interest in capitalist economics within the Islamic world. This dual challenge to decoloniality is offered by the financial ambitions of Saudi Arabia, its position as a strong norm-setting entity in the Islamic world and its significant role in global Islamic economic enterprise.

E3 201 Neoliberalism 7. Neoliberalism in Latin America 2

Pedro Rossi Brazil under neoliberal shock (2015-2022)

This paper provides an interpretation of the recent Brazilian economic history with an emphasis on the description and critical evaluation of the radical neoliberal agenda implemented from 2016 onwards. It argues that this agenda was a response to the economics of the Lula governments and the first Dilma government, which intensified the distributive conflicts.

In Dilma's second term, occurs the first response to the distributive agenda with the turn in economic policy towards austerity that arbitrates the class conflict in favor of the capitalists. The shock treatment plunges the Brazilian economy into a crisis with a huge impact on workers' bargaining power. This same crisis creates the conditions for the 2016 political coup marking the transition to a neoliberal reform agenda. Thus, at a time of economic crisis and political instability, a neoliberal agenda was imposed seeking to modify the social contract of the 1988 Constitution and solely transform the principles and nature of the Brazilian State's actions.

The paper also argues that, with regard to the economic agenda, Bolsonaro is a continuation of the Temer government and an unfolding of the 2016 coup's economic agenda. These governments managed to deliver a series of economic reforms but, despite the promises, the Brazilian neoliberal experience failed to deliver economic dynamism.

Viviana Patroni A libertarian turn in Argentina: anarcho-capitalism or chaos as power

While Argentina is no stranger to political and economic crises, the hardships most Argentines have confronted following the COVID-19 pandemic have been especially taxing. The government of self-proclaimed anarcho-capitalist Javier Milei (2023-2027) has added to the complexity of the situation by proposing a corrective plan based on a mega devaluation of the Argentinean peso, the elimination of most economic regulations and controls, and the dismantling of key public programs that are central for the life of the poor and precarious workers. The acceleration of the already high inflation unleashed by these reforms has further reduced the purchasing power of a large majority of the population. Moreover, his own branding of politics, based on a mix of authoritarianism and very limited political

competence, has managed to set the country in the course for a major political crisis almost from the day of his inauguration.

In our paper we will endeavour to account for the growing appeal radical right ideas have gained in the country and, with them, Milei's meteoric rise to power in the wake of the weakening of the "progressive" political consensus during the period known as the Pink Tide. Three points seem to us essential for the task. The first is the deepening economic crisis the country has experienced over the last decade. Secondly, we will account also for the increasing appeal of a discourse framing the crisis not just in economic terms, but rather as the result of a corrupt political class and more generally as a crisis associated with the excessive presence of the state in the economy and social life. Finally, we will examine the shortcomings of the forms of working class organizing and mobilization and speculate about the challenges the current political and economic scenarios pose for them.

Emine Tahsin Latin American decade and emerging varieties in response to neoliberal reforms

In the post-2003 period, Latin American countries have had significantly different growth trends from the previous 20 years, and this period has been accompanied by shifts in the political leadership. The period between 2003 and 2014, which is also defined as the decade of Latin America, also differed with the emergence of different alternatives against neoliberal reforms. Besides in the post-2014 period, with the rise of right-wing governments in the countries of the region, debates on the successes and constraints of Latin America's decade have gained importance. The emergence of different experiences across countries regarding neoliberal reforms has contributed to the evolution of the literature on the conceptualization of approaches to "varieties". Varieties of developmentalism, varieties of neoliberalism, and varieties of capitalism are the most concrete titles of this conceptualization process. Based on these facts, this paper aims to discuss the scope of these experiences and the alternatives to neoliberal reforms in general. It intends to focus on how the alternatives to neoliberal reforms are linked to the dynamics of contemporary capitalism. In particular, the paper aims to contribute to the debate on the capacity and constraints of the policies implemented in Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. The market and state relations, the basis of the industrial and re-distribution policies are the main themes to be analysed.

Manuela Mahecha Alzate Characterizing the Dominant Social Bloc in Colombia: A Political Economy Analysis from 2002 to 2010

Between 2002 and 2010, the government of Álvaro Uribe Vélez in Colombia aimed to deepen an accumulation regime initiated in 1990, focusing on market liberalization and the expansion of extraction and trade in energy commodities. This can be understood as a political strategy designed to meet the expectations of a Dominant Social Bloc (DSB). The DSB, as defined by the neorealist approach of institutional change of Bruno Amable and Stefano Palombarini, represents an alliance among social groups benefiting from specific institutions and public policies, providing political support in return. Consequently, the objective of this work is to characterize the DSB in Colombia between 2002 and 2010.

The first part examines the accumulation dynamics between 2002 and 2010, as well as their relationship with specific Colombian factors such as the armed conflict and drug trafficking. This analysis reveals the social groups that benefited from these dynamics. In the second part, each of these groups is scrutinized, emphasizing their expectations and the type of political influence exerted. This work concludes that Álvaro Uribe's government strategy, between 2002 and 2010, to deepen integration into the international economy and manage internal armed conflict, successfully formed a DSB composed of economic conglomerates, multinational corporations, landowners, drug traffickers, and paramilitary groups.

E2 302 CoA 7 and Environment. Outgrow the system: documentary on transitioning to a sustainable economic system

Cecilia Paulsson Outgrow the system, Documentary film screening

A DOCUMENTARY ABOUT TRANSITIONING TO A SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

"Change the system, not the climate" is a common demand in the climate movement. But what kind of system do we actually want? In the midst of humanity's worst crisis, the pioneers stand ready. Meet the new economic perspectives that have the potential to change the world at its core.

Read more about the film and watch the trailer here:

<https://rafilm.se/outgrow-the-system>

E2 102 China 5. Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in Tween Years and Beyond

Qizhen Wang State empowerment and Chinese SOEs at the forefront: the Belt and Road offers state-led pathways to bridge the global gap in Panama

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has played an active role in defending the socialist foundation of the Chinese state and ensuring that the Chinese state is a 'responsible global power'. Nevertheless, the BRI must deal with the conflict between 'state capital' and 'transnational private capital'. A significant number of BRI projects managed by Chinese state-owned enterprises (SOEs) are not exclusively profit-oriented but are guided by development priorities – social welfare and equality under the banner of 'common prosperity'. This makes the BRI 'unorthodox' and distinct from the way traditional multinationals operate in the West. In this sense, the BRI may not fully serve the interests of the dominant advanced capitalist economies, but rather offer the Global South the opportunity to envision a non-capitalist future. Wang argues that the chance lies in seeing the state's ability to manage capital as a key condition for steering social(ist) development and global infrastructure partnerships out of a neoliberal architecture.

Zhengli Huang BRI Agencies and Intentional Flexibility: A Case Study of Railway Projects in Africa

A decade into the execution of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), Chinese stakeholders, comprising State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) and private entities, have significantly penetrated Africa's infrastructure sector. Among the notable projects are the Ethiopia-Djibouti Railway and the Nairobi-Mombasa Railway in Kenya, both characterized by their substantial scale and economic implications. Despite their similarities, these endeavors are conceived and executed by distinct authorities and SOEs from China, resulting in varied management frameworks and maintenance standards. These cases serve as exemplars of the diverse agencies operating within the BRI framework and underscore the non-monolithic nature of its implementation, as elucidated in prior scholarly investigations. The involvement of different SOEs reflects their individual motivations to participate in large-scale infrastructure ventures within remote regions of China, characterized by emerging markets fraught with risks and challenges.

Another notable aspect evident in the development of these projects is the concept of "intentional flexibility" or what could be termed as "functional tandem" within the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) as a policy framework. This manifests in the absence of strategic pathways delineating how and where developmental schemes under the BRI are to be implemented, thus providing considerable latitude for adept State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) to navigate. Furthermore, there is a dearth of geopolitical vision, particularly concerning certain regions such as Africa. Despite an implicit acknowledgment of infrastructure deficits hindering development, the mechanism through which addressing these gaps translates into tangible developmental outcomes remains ambiguous. Beyond the prevalent narrative of debt crises, these projects often face criticism for their perceived detachment from local development visions, their exclusivity at multiple levels, and their perceived centralization of state power through state-led schemes.

Utilizing existing analyses and drawing from case studies in Africa, particularly focusing on railway projects undertaken by Chinese State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) in Ethiopia and Kenya, this paper posits that the deliberate flexibility within the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) policy framework has resulted in the empowerment of an infrastructure export regime. However, this flexibility has also precipitated a series of crises, encompassing project management challenges and damage to corporate reputations, sometimes straining bilateral relations. Additionally, there is an observable shift from government-to-government (G2G) to public-private partnerships (PPP) in the BRI financing landscape of infrastructure projects across African nations. This shift, largely driven by crises within the

current financial model, will nonetheless engender new crises if there lacks a clear geographical vision guiding these endeavors.

Yangguang Chen Resisting Neoliberalisation in Global Knowledge Capitalism – How should China’s Outward-oriented Higher Education (OHE) via the Belt and Road progress?

Ten years ago, the Chinese government launched the Belt and Road Initiatives (BRI) in an effort to continue maintaining and expanding China’s economic partnerships with a wide array of countries and jointly promote economic integration, mutual political trust, and cultural reciprocity. Today, the BRI, as a transcontinental strategy for cooperative development, also provides the largest platform for China’s outward-oriented higher education (COHE) against the backdrop of global knowledge capitalism. China’s current OHE consists of three major pathways: (1) founding the Confucius Institutes (CI), a cultural diplomacy programme based on international collaboration; (2) giving international aid in higher education towards Global South countries by establishing branch campuses; and (3) increasing the intake of international student to universities in China. This paper seeks to identify COHE’s salient features and ascertain through the World Systems lens whether COHE has deviated from the win-win principle; whether it has sustained the neoliberal trajectory that dependency theory defines; and whether COHE can steer a de-neoliberalisation process in response to the perpetuating neoliberal globalisation of education in global knowledge capitalism. To this end, the paper explores (1) the ‘inward-oriented’ process of learning from higher education models and norms in advanced and Western countries and (2) the ‘outward-oriented’ process of introducing to the world Chinese knowledge & culture and higher education models and norms. The investigation is qualitatively based, with the employment of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and reflexive case studies to review the official documents and empirical studies and to analyse discrepancies between China’s strategic goals and the reality, which is evident in its mixed receptions worldwide. The paper attempts to put forward the discussion of how China should head and progress in the spirit of de-neoliberalisation, delinking, and collective and coordinated resistance to global knowledge capitalism.

Yue Zhou (Joe) Lin BRI’s Strategic Recalibration Towards Delinking: Identifying and Confronting Global Extractivism

On August 2023, the BRI gathered 155 countries, representing 75% of the world’s population (over half of the world’s GDP). That itself is unprecedented in human history. Yet, the BRI has, to date, encountered speculations around the foci – motivations, goals, and ramifications from attentive observers worldwide. Some of our left accuse the BRI of cementing global capitalism while perpetuating neo-imperialism. Other comrades consider the BRI a giant spanner in the works of global capitalism. Taking a ‘soberly optimistic’ view, the paper sees BRI’s potential to become an alternative. However, the potential rests upon social forces and states under the BRI having zero tolerance towards any form of extractivist tendencies. Thus, the paper is devoted to assessing whether the BRI is guilty of extractivist tendencies within a framework that combines maldevelopment (Amin, 1985) and global extractivism (Chagnon et al., 2022). To this end, the paper suggests that Chinese authorities and relevant actors must welcome supervision from associations in local societies of the resource curse and high-debt countries, as well as those prone to extractivism. This strategic re-calibration elicits further research and steers the BRI towards delinking, urging China to transform itself from a mere leader to an interlocutor.

Javier Vadell

Samuel Spellmann

14:45-16:30 | SESSION 3

E2 303 Agrarian Change 9. State policies, food production and national objectives under neoliberal globalisation

Mark Vicol Contract farming as developmentalism: A political economy analysis of national policy contexts

Contract farming has long been the subject of ideological debate over its meaning and significance for rural development and agrarian change. On the one hand, agrarian political economy has emphasized the uneven class dynamics of contract farming. On the other, neoclassical economics has framed contract farming as an institutional solution to market failures in agriculture. Today, contract farming is attracting renewed interest from policy makers across the Global South in a third guise - as a preferred pathway to 'market-led' agricultural development. In this paper we argue this represents a new form of contract farming developmentalism. Yet the way that contract farming is interpreted in a developmentalist sense may differ between national context, with important implications for the outcomes for those farming under contract. In this paper we therefore analyze how contract farming is positioned within different rural development policy and discourse. We focus on four national contexts where contract farming has attracted significant attention as a rural development policy: India, Tanzania, Colombia, and the Philippines. We use these cases to simultaneously illuminate commonalities and the highly varied national developmentalist interpretations of contract farming. We apply this analysis to make some broader arguments about the political economy of contemporary agricultural development and contract farming in the Global South.

Yolanda Massieu Agrarian change in Mexico concerning government's programmes

Present global context about agrarian change, food production and land appropriation places important challenges to researchers and analysts. These issues are related to a complex background that includes both COVID pandemic's effects and present wars in Ukraine and Gaza. These two wars are having relevant impacts in agriculture, world commerce, environment and food. Latin America is feeling these effects, and presents a wide variety of different government policies concerning land, food and agriculture.

In this context Mexico expresses important changes, with a government that has a different idea about agriculture compared with previous political regimes. It is important to mention that Mexico, due to an agrarian revolution that happened in the early 20th century, has got half of its territory with small peasant producers property, called ejidos. For many decades governments saw ejido's production as non efficient and stimulated big agrobusiness producers, who produce with commercial seeds, irrigation, machinery and agrochemicals. Present government is trying to make a difference and promotes both agroecology and small peasants' producers production. In the paper I analyze this kind of government programmes, considering their virtues and problems.

Jarvis Fisher Labor Regimes of Rice Production in Senegal

This paper analyzes the development of two labor regimes of rice production in Senegal, situated with the context of the state's response to shifting patterns of global capital accumulation. Pursuing autonomy from the global food system, the Senegalese state has long aimed to reduce the nation's dependence on rice imports. Lately, the state is encouraging two contradictory agrarian transformations, each targeting different regions of the country. Responding to international donor concerns, the state has begun to promote agroecological production systems in the Senegal River Valley, a region long dominated by intensive, irrigated rice production. By contrast, in the Casamance, where agroecological systems of rice production have a rich history, the state promotes intensification and aims to transition communities towards producing a surplus for commercial markets. In each region, I will examine and compare how capitalist social relations articulate with variegated systems of social reproduction and extra-economic compulsion. In doing so, I will explore how inter-weaving classes of labor adapt their reproduction strategies and transform local agroecosystems, in the process upsetting the accumulation strategies that lie at the heart of state strategies for attaining national rice self-sufficiency. Such a comparative analysis will provide insight into the unstable boundaries of rural labor regimes and the factors that contribute to their regional and historic variability.

Yahaya Adadu Agrarian Change and Food Crisis in Nasarawa State, North-Central Nigeria

Before the discovery of oil in commercial quantity in Nigeria, agriculture has been the mainstay of its economy. Peasant farmers were at the centre of food production in the country including production for exports. In the past years, governing regimes in the country had turned attention to oil as major source of revenue and the main export for the economy. However, high cost of food imports coupled with balance of payment deficits have compelled the recent regimes to embark upon serious agrarian transformation and change with the aim of increasing the number of

population taking into agriculture in terms of quantity and quality. The intention of government was to ensure that the country becomes food sufficient. The government of Nasarawa State in Nigeria's federal system also keyed into this. Despite these efforts, food is still very much the issue for the average Nigerian and Nasarawa State indigene. Food bills in the state has increased over the years and is already threatening the calorie intake of households. This research is an investigation into the root cause of the food crisis in the face of expected massive food production in Nasarawa State. The research proposes to embark on mixed survey research with quantitative and qualitative data as method of investigation. Samples will be drawn from amongst farming communities and households across the six (6) out of the thirteen (13) local government areas of the state. The selection of the six local government areas will be drawn from the three senatorial districts of the state for the purpose of adequate representation of the state. Clear findings and appropriate recommendations shall be provided for the guidance of the policy.

E2 221 PEID 6. Structural Change and Trade

Barzin Jafartash Amiri Effects of Economic Sanctions on Iran's Manufacturing Sector: A Case Study on Iran's Apparel and Home Appliances Industries

Harsh economic sanctions imposed by the US since 2018 have caused rampant domestic currency depreciation in Iran and forced the Iranian government to impose restrictions on imports of consumer goods to counter the financial hit. This has resulted in Iranian-made products becoming more competitively priced at home, and domestic demand for them has grown accordingly. Based on this situation and official data, some researchers have argued that the manufacturing sector in Iran showed considerable resilience in the face of unprecedented economic sanctions. Some have gone as far as to say that Iran's manufacturing sector has gained from this situation.

However, economic sanctions have also limited domestic firms' access to foreign markets and technology due to banning technology transfers, restricting Iranian access to the international banking system, and causing currency depreciation. Therefore, to understand the full effects of economic sanctions on manufacturing, one needs to go beyond official data and investigate firm-level developments within specific Iranian manufacturing sectors to assess the dimensions of foreign sanctions' impact on Iranian manufacturing.

Finally, different industries within the manufacturing sector have likely responded differently to the shock of foreign sanctions due to their differing sectoral characteristics (e.g., reliance on imported technology, availability of local consumer market and upstream inputs, and existing production capabilities). In other words, a robust assessment of Iranian manufacturing resilience must examine not only aggregate data but also cross-sectoral variations in economic resilience within the broader scope of Iranian manufacturing.

Considering these factors, this study aims to break down our aggregate understanding of the manufacturing sector by gathering and analyzing sectoral data on two key Iranian manufacturing sub-sectors: apparel and home appliances. These two manufacturing industries were selected because they account for a considerable share of Iranian industrial output and labor demand. To understand their post-sanction developments, this research will incorporate secondary data from local research institutions (think tanks, industry associations, industrial agencies) with a field study on firms' technological capabilities and transformations in recent years. The research methodology for our field study is similar to the AFRICAP project.

Inspired by Sanjay Lall's work, the AFRICAP project developed a sector-specific, firm-level technological capability matrix that assesses the capabilities required in investment, production process, product, supply chain, and marketing. This research framework will allow us to understand better firm-level developments driven by the new situation under sanctions, leading to a more comprehensive and detailed analysis of the effects of economic sanctions on Iran's manufacturing industry.

In recent months, I have carried out firm-level surveys of 17 apparel factories in Iran and interviewed many industry practitioners. Therefore, I already have compiled a robust set of primary source data on Iran's apparel industry. Moreover, my part-time research with Iran's Institute for Trade Studies and Research has gotten me access to a range

of Iranian home-appliances professionals and their industry associations. I will use this grant to build a similar firm-level primary source data set for Iran's home appliances industry to the one I have already compiled on Iran's apparel industry, which will allow for a cross-sectoral analysis of two major Iranian manufacturing sub-sectors and their respective responses to foreign economic sanctions since 2018.

In summary, my research will consist of three integrated levels of analysis: sectoral data, institutional environment, and firm-level characteristics. Firm-level efforts to build technological capabilities are mainly shaped by firm-specific characteristics, national institutional and political contexts, and the industry and global value chain context.

Melike Dover Gains from regional trade integration? An analysis of SADC's value chain integration in the transport equipment sector

Global value chain participation is crucial for economic development, yet African economies predominantly contribute unprocessed commodities to other nations' processed exports. This research, utilizing Eora data and Borin and Mancini's (2020) methodology, examines trade linkages in the Southern African Development Community's (SADC) transport equipment sector from 1998 to 2018. It addresses two main questions: the impact of international value chain integration on SADC economies' value-added exports in this sector, and whether these linkages are primarily regional or extra-regional. The findings highlight the critical role of global value chain integration in boosting SADC's sectoral value-added exports, showing a strong correlation between value-added and GVC-related exports. Backward integration in GVCs significantly outperforms other sectors. Additionally, the regional automotive space, excluding South Africa, plays a significant role, with an increasing share of regional exports targeting OEM headquarter countries like Japan or Korea. Foreign value-added imports primarily come from South Africa, OEM headquarters, and other extra-regional partners. Smaller SADC economies exhibit stronger regional focus or integration with OEM headquarters, with Mozambique notably integrated with South Africa. South Africa maintains robust outward linkages, with regional exports increasingly re-exported from other SADC economies. Linkages with other African economies are virtually non-existent.

David Karas A Regulationist Perspective on European Industrial Policy in Electric Batteries

I argue that EU sectoral industrial policies in e-batteries reveal an ongoing restructuring of the EU's mode of regulation as an attempt to maintain, rather than abandon, Europe's dominant, export-led regime of accumulation in the context of US-China geopolitical pressures which threaten European export-led growth (Lavery & Schmid, 2021). I show how a regulationist perspective allows to rethink European industrial policy as a field, defined by the interactions of different and geographically situated state-capital hybrids (Alami & Dixon, 2022): I identify three such nodes of distinct state-capital hybridity throughout the EU, encompassing different actors, rationalities, policy- and financial instruments: a first node is clustered around the Commission's attempt to cement its own economic statecraft via sectoral derisking and PPP industrial networks. A second node is the product of Franco-German intergovernmental cooperation on the one hand, and the adaptation strategies of French and German legacy car OEMs. A third node is the product of Hungary's entirely Asian (South Korean, Chinese and Japanese) FDI-based sectoral strategy, which brought into the EU a ready-made ecosystem of Asian e-battery manufacturers together with their own suppliers. European industrial policy therefore represents a fragmented, contradictory, and conflict-ridden field in which European and Asian manufacturing firms attempt to renegotiate their position in the context of intensifying US-China rivalry.

E2 301 Work 5. Informalisation and labour

Asli Tasdemir Marketization of Public Employment Services in Turkey: Regulatory Challenges and Policy Responses

The pressures for liberalization and deregulation of labour markets in the last three decades have been accompanied by related policy processes of marketization and privatization of public employment services (PES). Policy discourses on efficiency, quality and cost-containment through market mechanisms, merits of competitive tendering, minimizing bureaucratization have constituted the basis of the reorganization of public employment organizations (PEO) and

services. This study takes the case of Turkey. Turkey has been a latecomer with respect to PES reforms. Starting with the early 2000's the existing PEO has been reorganized along lines new public management principles and marketization. Although the Turkish PEO continues to provide most employment services there is a quasi-market for vocational training services offered by both private and public actors through a tendering process. Moreover, the monopoly of public sector in the provision of employment services ended in 2004 through a new law permitting the establishment of private employment agencies. Within this framework, this study aims at analysing both the ways in which the market for employment services were introduced in Turkey and the nature of regulatory policy responses to manage potential problems observed in marketized services related to, such as, quality of services, costs, service outcomes and operational issues.

Lucile Franchet Flexibilisation Policies and Labour Market Structures in France

This work is part of my doctoral research on labour market structures in France. This project critically examines labour market flexibilisation policies in France, challenging the mainstream narrative that links flexibilisation with economic growth and reduced unemployment. Adopting a class relational perspective, it redefines labour market flexibilisation as a transformation in the social relations of production, facilitating the increasing rate of exploitation in many countries. This study analyses these policies as a manifestation of a concrete capitalist class struggle to (re)produce an exploitable labour force, influenced by neoliberalism and the 1970s profitability crisis. Focusing on France, this research uniquely combines a socio-historical analysis of the French labour market, quantitative macro-economic data, and a mixed-methods case study of France Télécom. This approach reveals the nuanced forms of flexibilisation in France, particularly in the context of diminishing union density and evolving collective bargaining. The thesis aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the power dynamics between capital and labour, offering insights into the covert strategies of French capitalism in response to economic challenges since the 1970s.

Emile Pierre Motanda The Informal Economy in the Democratic Republic of Congo: An Investigation of Enterprises' Informality Levels and Productive Efficiency.

Emerging in new guises globally and representing a substantial share of economic activities, the informal economy is no longer a mere marginal phenomenon but an essential politico-economic process affecting many societies. Informal labour and informal enterprises represent a substantial share of global economic activities. More than six workers among 10 and 4 enterprises among 5 in the world operate in the informal economy (ILO, 2023). However, the economic impacts of the Informal Economy have not been calculated and quantified so far.

The Informal Economy is a complex field of study. As more people engage in it, they operate at various informality levels, carrying out heterogeneous economic activities. In the last couple of decades, scholars across scientific disciplines have been increasingly interested in assessing the nature of this complex socio-economic phenomenon and the fundamental factors motivating economic actors' decisions to operate at various informality levels. Several schools of thought, including Modernism, dualism, marxism, neoliberalism, political economy, institutionalism, etc., suggest perspectives and explanations of why people operate in the informal economy. However, like in the ancient Asian tale of ' the three blind men and the elephant, ' none of those theories seems to adequately and entirely capture the complexity of the informal economy, raising the need for systematic analysis and a more evidence-based approach.

Informality has been associated with myriad economic, political and social factors and is among the most crucial issues confronting advanced and developing economies today. This research intends to assess the dynamics and drivers of informality and its impacts on the productivity of enterprises in the specific context of the Democratic Republic of Congo, a country with a dominant and persistent informal economy. The paper investigates why entrepreneurs operate informally and how and by which mechanisms working in the informal economy can impact their productivity efficiency. To achieve this overall objective, the paper first explores the factors influencing entrepreneurs' decision to operate in the informal economy and how informality is associated with entrepreneurs' socioeconomic characteristics. Second, it assesses informal enterprises' productive efficiency and investigates the causal link between informality and lower productivity.

Using mixed methods, the paper applies an augmented probability weighing model and draws valuable insights from qualitative research methods. It is based on the general census of enterprises in DR Congo, the author's qualitative survey, and face-to-face semi-structured interviews with informal workers, tax officials, and labour policymakers in the DRC.

This research contributes to knowledge by linking the institutional theory on the informal economy to empirical estimations. To our knowledge, no study has empirically examined informal enterprises' productivity in Sub-Saharan Africa using causal inference. The paper provides robust empirical evidence and a causal conclusion that informality causes lower productive efficiency. However, this impact is low in the DRC context.

E3 101 Marxist PE 5. Dependency and Imperialism

Gizem Simsek Imperialism: Debt Spiral-Financial Dependency and Industrial Capital (An Inquiry Through Türkiye)

The concept of imperialism has recently been analyzed through financial dependency. International financial relations and the financial amounts revealed by these relations justify such analyses. However, it is necessary to consider financial dependency and more concretely, the debt spiral, included in these analyses that are correct for a specific conjuncture, together with the capital accumulation process operating on a world scale. Based on this idea, the concept of imperialism considered uneven and one-dimensional, can be analyzed more accurately if the relationship between the dynamics of industrial capital accumulation and the international movement of money capital, especially in late capitalistization countries, is brought to the agenda.

In other words, the changes pointed out by these concepts will gain meaning when the internationalization of capital and the articulation relationship of late capitalistization countries with world capitalism are considered together. The main basis for thinking will be sectors based on Department I and Department II, which have not been considered lately. When we look at the formation of industrial capital in late capitalistization countries through the relations between Department I and Department II, we see that imperialism cannot be defined with a static expression. On the contrary, the capital accumulation processes of early and late capitalistization countries mutually operate in an uneven and changing mechanism over time.

The structural limits imposed by late capitalistization and the specific historical conditions of the level of capital accumulation cause the manufacturing industry production structure in these countries to continue depending on Department I imports. Accordingly, the uneven articulation relationship established with world capitalism manifests itself with the emergence of a chronic capital need in the form of foreign currency. I think that the capital need in the form of foreign currency does not only mean a debt spiral or financial dependency. The debt spiral, or financial dependence, is associated with the continued accumulation of industrial capital in late capitalistizing countries. This relationship itself shows the new, historically differentiating face of imperialism. With this new face, today's imperialism also means a "debt spiral" due to the increase in the need for debt capital in the form of foreign currency. At the same time, it makes this problem a characteristic feature of late capitalistizing countries such as Türkiye.

Therefore, the study aims to show how today's imperialism stands in terms of late capitalistizing countries, based on the specificity of Türkiye. In this context, the production-based contradictions that emerge as the disconnection between Department I and Department II in the manufacturing industry in Türkiye will be operationalized through the need for capital in the form of foreign currency. In addition, the study will draw attention to the internal connections of the crises, especially those that emerged after 2001 and are described as "financial crises", with the field of production.

Fabio Maldonado Imperialism and value transfer: an initial approach to the problem from the 1970s debate

The present paper has as its broader proposal to initiate a reflection on a theme that we consider essential for the comprehension of the contemporary world capitalist economy, that is to explain theoretically how imperialist domination continually reproduces itself through the labor process and how this is expressed in the domination of the world economy. In this sense, the proposal presented here is just the beginning of this larger reflection, based on the

resumption of the critical dialogue that took place during the 1970s around the theme of value transfer, the extraction of surplus value from dependent countries by imperialist countries or the expropriation/appropriation of value – depending on the interpretation used. The purpose of the text is to make a critical assessment of that debate that involved, on the one hand, authors who, despite not having belonged to the same current of thought, sought to understand the world capitalist economy in an integrated way, linking development and underdevelopment in the same process of world capitalist expansion and, on the other hand, authors, especially from Western countries, who criticized the results of that effort, initiating a fruitful and, in our view, important debate to advance in the understanding of the continuous reproduction of imperialism.

Thus, this critical balance addresses the debate that took place between Robert Brenner, on the one hand, and Paul Sweezy and André Gunder Frank, on the other (lightly addressing the extent of Brenner's criticism of the Immanuel Wallerstein's work) – to which Ben Fine also makes a punctual but important intervention; the debate between John Weeks and Elizabeth Dore, on one hand, and Samir Amin, on the other hand; as well as the debate that took place from the critical dialogue between Arghiri Emmanuel and Charles Bettelheim. We think that the critical rescue of these debates consists of an excellent starting point to advance in a larger study plan on the continuous reproduction of imperialism.

Raphael Porcherot Exchange rate determination, dependency and super-exploitation of labour. Looking for connections through unequal exchange

Capitalism sustains itself by establishing uneven connections between core and dependent territories. The foundation of this dependency lies in the interplay between the unequal exchange of value and the heightened exploitation of labour and nature. This dynamic is evident through national value spaces, interconnected by value relations operating through exchange rates of national currencies, essentially functioning as a form of value.

Although various Marxian perspectives exist on determining exchange rates, none of them has been consistently integrated into Dependency debates, particularly within the context of Latin American Marxian Dependency Theory.

This article aims to propose a potential connection between the perpetuation of dependency, unequal exchange, and the determination of exchange rates. It dwelves into the fundamental principles of Marxian Dependency Theory, along with relevant Marxian approaches to exchange rate determination, focusing on proposals by Shaikh, Carchedi, and Astarita. Armed with this knowledge, the article explores how exchange rates could be integral to the flow of unequal exchange and the formation of value. The discussion sheds light on the mediation of unequal exchange through exchange rate determination and its role in understanding the reproduction of dependency through the super-exploitation of labour.

Christopher Coolbeth (paper) J.P. Morgan is the White Race: Dependency Theory and Dimitrov's Definition of Fascism

This paper seeks to indirectly explore five characteristics of fascism accepted in general scholarship: (i) terrorism; (ii) xenophobia; (iii) militarism; (iv) populism; and (v) nationalism, and attempts to conceptualize why these characteristics appear in fascism, what political-economy produces these characteristics, why and how they have adapted/evolved since twentieth-century fascist projects, and where the trajectory of fascist politics may lead in the future. This is done by augmenting Georgi Dimitrov's famous interpretation, along with other Third Period notions of class topology, with contemporary understandings of dependency theory. The paper concludes that fascism is ultimately a chiral phenomenon whose character is contingent upon its occupancy in, and relation to, the core or periphery of the economic world-system, and that the conditions of its defeat may be more complex than ostensibly thought. In a final discussion, the paper briefly visits how a dependency-theory framework of fascism may provide insight into related political topics such as: how a progressive political actor ought to engage with trade unionism, whether theocratic fascism is a legitimate conception (and under what circumstances one may properly speak of it), and whether the pan-national fascism of groups such as Identity Evropa is a quagmire or expected trend.

E2 103 Financialisation 8. Financialisation and the State

Aylin Soydan The Role of the State in Financialisation: Recent Policy Measures and the Banking Sector in the Turkish Economy

In the past few years of the Turkish economy, the government was criticised by economic and political circles at home and abroad, more particularly pointing to the monetary policy stance. While the government took steps prioritising economic growth, exports and employment, largely due to political concerns, the banking sector was at the centre of policy implementation. With the change in the economic management after the elections held in May 2023, some policy measures were put into effect, mainly with a sharp turn in the monetary policy, again, having serious implications for the banking system.

The state has a more critical role in the financialisation of peripheral economies, where the banking sector often dominates the financial system. Turkey has been going through financialisation over the last few decades, and the banking sector has had a key position in this transformation along with the role of the state. This paper more particularly focuses on the implications of the recent economic policy practices for the banking system in Turkey and asks whether the taken measures have been undermining the financialisation process, as they have seemed to be hard on banks at times. By doing this, it aims to contribute to the analysis of the nature of the state and banking sector relationship during the financialisation of peripheral economies.

Pinar Kahya Austerity anew in the midst of post-pandemic inflation, cost of living and debt crises

Amidst the dynamic landscape of India's political economy in the 2010s, this study addresses a notable research gap by examining the financialization of the state, a relatively nascent sub-research agenda. While existing literature explores recent transformations in India from various perspectives, this research uniquely emphasizes that these changes transcend mere political-ideological shifts or economic growth indicators. Instead, it argues for a deeper understanding of the transformation of the Indian state itself.

Focusing on the "private turn" within the financialization epoch, it is significant to analyse the changing role of Development Financial Institutions (DFIs) and the evolving landscape of development finance in India. By doing so, this research not only contributes to the understanding of India's unique trajectory but also fills a theoretical gap in the broader debate on the financialization of the state.

The study aims to provide insights into the intricacies of the financialization process, offering a nuanced perspective on the domestic experience of India and shedding light on the transformations within the operations of development finance. The elaboration of these dynamics is crucial for comprehending the contemporary political-economic fabric of India and has broader implications for the global understanding of financialization.

Daphiang K Thangkhiew Financialisation and the role of embeddedness: the case of shadow banking in India and China

Shadow banks' assets in India and China have proliferated in the past few years. Contemporaneously, the rise of shadow banking is often considered to be an indicator of financialisation, motivated chiefly by neoliberal policies. Despite the contrasting economic integration strategies adopted by India and China, the study finds similarity in the patterns for the drivers of shadow banking, which mainly stem from the state's overdependency on the banking sector, fiscal conservatism, failure of state-initiated micro-lending projects and growing external pressures imposed by globalisation. In recent times, financial globalisation has played a bigger hand in expanding and deepening the shadow banking market, which has led to the transformation of shadow lending from development financing to more market-influenced financing. Comparative studies on financial regulation recognise the role of the embeddedness of the economic actors in the successful implementation of regulation. The study finds that contributors to the shadow banking system are both state and non-state entities which participate in attaining their own vested economic objectives. Accordingly, the study will use institutional analysis to discuss the dynamics of financial regulation that

influence the growth of shadow banking in India and China. The study also aims to highlight the degree of regulatory independence from the perspective of developing economies in a globalised financial setting.

Irmak Özer Bridging financialization and local government service provision: Bringing the Municipally Owned Corporations (MOCs) in

MOCs are corporate bodies established or bought out by municipalities to facilitate local goods and services provision (Özer, Tan, Razin & Hazan, 2023). These corporations, which have become a popular way for municipalities to overcome financial constraints in providing local government services and reduce bureaucratic procedures in public administration, constitute a significant part of public employment and investments in many countries (Voorn, 2012). Financialization literature has been slow to problematize the relationship between financial investors, municipalities, and local service delivery. Critically reviewing the available literature on MOCs and local service delivery, the research identifies the pathways of financialization in local service delivery. Using a political economy approach, it argues that financialization, i.e., growing reliance by MOCs and municipal governments in Turkey on debt financing of local infrastructural services, has transformative effects on power relations between the local and central government and sustainability of local service delivery. By employing systematic review as a method and synthesizing the literature, this research points out how MOCs contribute to our understanding of the relationship between financialization and local service delivery. The findings inform policymakers, researchers, and practitioners about the nuances and implications of MOCs within the broader context of financialized local governance.

E3 201 Neoliberalism 5. Neoliberalism and Globalisation

Yatan Sharma Modi's Atma-Nirbhar Bharat: De-globalization or Re-Globalization?

In the contemporary globalized era, where countries are intrinsically woven into the complex web of interdependence (both economic and political), it has been assumed that the concept of 'self-reliance', which is often seen in the light of policies like protectionism and import substitution, is a thing of the past. India, being no exception, has been working persistently for more than two and a half decades to integrate its local economy with the global economy in order to reap the benefits of globalization. Surprisingly, the Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, launched the Atma-Nirbhar Bharat (self-reliant) initiative in the year 2020, during a time when the world was battling with the COVID-19 crisis and its cascading economic implications. What is even more astonishing for the rest of the world is the unconventional trajectory adopted by the Modi government, which includes measures like inviting foreign direct investments (FDIs) and foreign institutional investments (FIIs) selectively through disinvestments, privatization, and integrating the domestic economy further with the global economy to make the country Atma-Nirbhar. Thus, the paper attempts to find an answer to two questions. First, does the unconventional trajectory adopted by the Modi government to make the country self-reliant align with the core values of the concept of self-reliance? And second, is this initiative propelling India towards the path of de-globalization or is the focus on re-globalizing the world, i.e., from East to West? Process tracing and archival research are the primary research methods employed to carry out this research. This study investigates the Atma-Nirbhar Bharat initiative through the dual lens of traditional self-reliance and the political and economic circumstances of its launch. It seeks to illuminate both the motivations behind the initiative and the ongoing relevance of self-reliance in the globalized world. The initial findings of the paper suggest that Atma-Nirbhar Bharat is in accordance with the primary objectives and values of self-reliance, which are to maintain a fine balance between economic interdependence and political independence; and to ensure effective and efficient employment of locally available factors of production. Furthermore, the paper also finds that the initiative doesn't aim to push the country towards de-globalization; rather, the aim is to re-globalize the world, which entails shifting from an economically-centered globalization model to a human-centric globalization on the basis of 'meaningful' partnerships. Thus, the study of self-reliance from this new perspective will not only be a value addition to the concept that was considered dead but will also open up several avenues to study this approach through the lenses of Open Economy Politics (OEP). The nexus between the economic policy of self-reliance and the political interests of the government makes an interesting case for studying the impact/use of the former on the domestic politics of the country. Therefore, although it seems that the study is focused exclusively on India, it has wider political and economic

implications. In the conclusion of the paper, I will discuss how this study resonates with the existing OEP notions and will therefore add value to the existing theory.

Ekin Onsan Migration from the MENA Region: “De-Globalization” in the Capitalist World Order

As the Capitalist world economy has been going under a phase of rapid global transformation, one of the main factors influencing this transformation is “migration”. Inspired by my Master’s thesis, “A Study On Migration in the Middle East and North Africa” in METU, Ankara (TR)/ 2011, this study aims to explore the effect of EU and other international legislations on the phenomenon of migration in the MENA region especially after the Arab Spring beginning with 2010s. In recent decades, the most enigmatic aspect to this process is the connection between the labor market, its use in the imperialist world order as a global source of human capital; yet, at the same time, being bounded with EU and other international legislations. These legislations serve to preserve migrants on the borders or rather expelling them back to their homelands under severe conditions as to keep them as the possible labor force in developed countries. Hence, the crucial aspect of this study is examining if the legislations and the global economic market needs contradict each other at the intersection point of migration along with creating institutional and economic setbacks on the impacted countries such as Turkey. The qualitative and quantitative findings of this study will do a service on behalf of developing a political economic perspective to “de-globalizing” world order within the framework of migration phenomenon, labor markets and the needs of imperialism at the ultimate stance.

Roberto De Vogli Neoliberal globalization and the (mis)management, outbreak and spread of new pandemics such as COVID-19

What is the role of neoliberal globalization in the (mis)management, outbreak and spread of emerging pandemics such as COVID-19?

(Mis)management

There are at least three plausible pathways connecting global neoliberalism to the (mis)management of COVID-19. First, the neoliberal ideology contributed to the “laissez-faire the virus” approach or a set of governmental policies that neglected public health in the pursuit of herd immunity through mass infection. A second link concerns the privatization of health care and government budget cuts (austerity) with the consequent de-financing of health assistance, public health systems and prevention interventions. A third mechanism regards the effects on neoliberal policies on inequality and socioeconomic conditions leading to higher vulnerability to COVID-related outcomes among disadvantaged populations.

Outbreak

Neoliberal globalization played a role in facilitating conditions leading to the outbreak of new pandemics such as COVID-19 in at least three ways. The first path regards the associations between trade liberalization policies and two major predisposing factors for spillovers: deforestation and (animal) agricultural intensification, Neoliberal policies also showed to represent key obstacles for the adoption of strong environmental regulations that can reduce deforestation and climate change, both risk factors for new pandemics.

Spread

Neoliberalism may also have inadvertently contributed to pandemics such as COVID-19 through the global deregulation of finance and the labor market creating unprecedented opportunities for new pathogens to spread globally. Paradoxically, “free” trade agreements that enforce intellectual property rights have also limited immunization coverage against COVID-19 in the developing world (“vaccine apartheid”) contributing to the spread of the virus and the risk of new variants of concern.

To prevent new pandemics, a new socioeconomic system that prioritizes public health and wellbeing in lieu of infinite economic growth, self-regulating markets, and private profit is urgent and necessary.

Oxana Karnaukhova European Development Aid Policy and Thirdworldism: is Strategic Autonomy Possible?

The paper questions the thesis of a linear development of the global community from decolonisation to a post-colonial condition and an inevitable transition to a post-post state, overcoming both the negative experience of coloniality and the lived trauma of persistent inequality. Referring to the European Union's projects of assistance to the Third World in the name of sustainable development, the author proposes the hypothesis of the repetitive dwelling of decolonisation as a process that prevents overcoming the condition of dependence, the establishment of sovereignty, and supports the idea of metropolitan supremacy over the subaltern in the form of patronage. It intends to demonstrate that the European Development Aid policy secures the Westernised perspective on sustainability and upholds the geopolitical rationale behind the SDG.

E2 203 **MBC 5: Equality, coopertion, and sociaization**

Rafael Abdulov Prospects for the formation of a post-capitalist society in the context of deglobalization

In the context of the growing contradictions of capitalism caused by the crisis of neoliberalism and deglobalization, the popularity of reactionary, far-right, fascist ideas is growing in the world. Along with these trends, processes of socialization of capitalism and the formation of a post-capitalist society are observed. This will be expressed in an increase in the share of social expenditures in budgets, in an increase in the share of national income in favor of workers, in resolving environmental problems under public pressure, etc. The process of socialization correlates with long-term and medium-term cycles of globalization, where the former are based on the systemic cycles of capital accumulation by G. Arrighi, and the latter are based on a change in technological structures. The need for socialization increases during periods of deglobalization and decreases during periods of globalization. At the same time, long-term and medium-term waves of globalization can overlap each other, strengthening or weakening socialization trends. The needs for socialization of the economies of the countries of the center and periphery of the capitalist world system are considered. The former are forced to develop creative work and introduce socialist elements into the economy, since it is necessary to master high-tech production, while the periphery, exploiting cheap labor, is able to suppress socialization and follow the path of regression. In general, the history of the development of production relations of capitalism shows their high viability and adaptability, primarily due to socialization

Grigoriy Sergeev Post-Imperialist World Order: Visions and Models of International Cooperation

Marx and Engels considered the elimination of national isolation as the first task in the field of restructuring international relations. This process begins in the capitalist society and takes its most developed form in globalization. In the event of the victory of the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism in one country and then in other countries, a number of new questions would arise.

First, interaction between socialist states: how to reconcile the national peculiarities and interests of independent states with the international interests of world socialism, considering difference between individual socialist countries in terms of level of productive forces and production relations, social structure, forms of political organization, customs and traditions, etc.

Second, interaction between socialist states and imperialist centers: how to resist the policy of imperialism, which will exert constant pressure on the socialist countries, counting on the rebirth or collapse of socialism, on the disintegration of the international socialist system in order to throw it "into the dustbin of history".

Third, interaction between socialist states and developing countries: what forms of specialization and cooperation should be introduced in the sphere of production relations in order to include developing countries in the international socialist division of labor and to raise the socio-economic level of these countries to the level of the most developed socialist states.

Satoshi Matsui Is equality the most fundamental principle in Marxism?

My presentation delineates the position of equality in Marxism by comparing Marxist concept of equality with that of egalitarian liberalism. First, in a communist society, productive assets and means of consumption are not equally owned by individuals but are placed under social ownership. Second, communist society prioritizes equality of conditions over equality of opportunity. The reason for choosing equality of conditions is not rooted in egalitarianism but communism. Third, radical egalitarianism encourages individualism and does not solve the problem of alienation. Fourth, as individuals in a communist society find their highest self-realization in contributing to society even if their condition is lowered from the average, inequality of conditions might occur; however, correcting inequality is unnecessary. Thus, Marxism supports egalitarianism as far as it contributes to communism but prioritizes communism in situations where egalitarianism and communism conflict with each other. Marxism is nonegalitarian in this sense.

E2 302 CoA 8 and Environment. Participatory documentary on Indigenous resistance in Brazil

Cahal McLaughlin Documentary film.

People of the Forest: Quilombola and Ka'apor (62", 2023)

Directors – Cahal McLaughlin and Siobhán Wills

Quilombo and Indigenous Ka'apor communities in the Amazonian state of Maranhão, Brazil, are facing multiple forms of ecoviolence, from cattle and soya farmers taking over their lands to structural and political violence with the police and state government systems working in favour of landowners.

This documentary film follows the lives of two communities who are resisting such violence and attempting to retain their traditional, and more sustainable, life systems. The Quilombola community - descendants of escaped slaves - in Boa Hora/Manorama have been living and off the land for generations. A recently arrived cattle farmer has encroached on their land, using armed hitmen as back up, forcing the community to move further into the forest. The Ka'apor Indigenous community have been resisting settler violence since the beginning of colonisation and recently have been reorganising to adapt to landgrabbing tactics in their area. Despite Federal legal commitments to their status, at a local state level they face ongoing ecoviolence in the form of assassinations of their leaders and landgrabbing by local farmers.

The filmmakers used participatory practices to prepare, record, edit, and agree on exhibition. The film is currently at the final stage of sound post-production; here is a six-minute version for consideration: <https://vimeo.com/866268643/d3e8c02fa7?share=copy>.

17:00-18:30 | PLENARY 3. | E3 – 101

Perspectives on the Political Economy of Turkey in the Context of the Poly-Crises

Chair: Coşku Çelik

Alp Erinç Yeldan Turkey's Experience with the Poly-Crises of the Global Economy

Galip Yalman The Neoliberal Conundrum of the Crisis Management: The Turkish Experience

Ayşe Buğra Social Policy in Turkey between Two Economic Crises: From 2002 to 2024

Can Cemgil The geopolitical economy of Turkey's militarisation and the poly-crisis of the global order

Presenters

(in alphabetical order)

Aaron Kappeler, University of Edinburgh
Abelardo Marina, UAM-Azcapotzalco, Mexico
Adam Aboobaker, University of Manchester
Adem Açar, Siirt University
Aditi Dixit, Wageningen University
Akif Avcı, Osmaniye Korkut Ata University
Alan Freeman, University of Manitoba
Aleksandra Wojewska, University of Vienna
Aleksei Pobedonostsev, National Research University - Higher School of Economics
Alessandra Mezzadri, SOAS University of London
Alexander Johnston, Seattle University
Alexandre Gomes, Anglia Ruskin University
Alexandre Yassu
Alexis Wearmouth, Queen Mary University of London
Alicia Girón
Alina-Sandra Cucu, ICI Berlin
Altaf Hussain, Jawaharlal Nehru University
Ambarish Karamchedu, King's College London
Anamika Sen, Bates College
Andrea Ricci, University of Urbino
Andres Suarez, Justus Liebig University
Andriana Vlachou, Athens University of Economics and Business
Anna Calori, University of Glasgow
Anneli Kaasa, University of Tartu
Anthony Tolika Sibiya, University of The Witswatersrand
Aquilas Nogueira Mendes, Pontificia Universidade Católica and Universidade De Sao Paulo

Arielle Concilio Parra, Universidad Complutense De Madrid
Ariane Agunsoye, University of London
Armin Höpfner, Universität Hamburg
Arturo Guillén
Asimina Christoforou, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences
Asli Tasdemir, Kocaeli University
Ayça Çavdar Çetin
Aylin Soydan, Istanbul Okan University
Ayse Obali, CUNY
Ayşe Arslan, Hacettepe University
Barzin Jafartash Amiri,
Beatriz Marinho, UFVJM
Ben Radley, University of Bath
Bhaskar Yempelli, Rishihood University
Bonn Juego, University of Jyväskylä
Bruno Bonizzi, University of Hertfordshire
Çağdaş Yalçinkaya, Kadir Has University
Cahal McLaughlin, Queen's University Belfast
Carla Coburger
Carlo John Arceo
Carolina Cristina Alves
Caroline Hambloch, Humboldt-Universität Zu Berlin
Catarina Morawska, Federal University of São Carlos
Cecilia Paulsson
Cesar Duarte Rivera, Institute for Economic Research, UNAM
Chandni Dwarkasing, SOAS University of London

Chiara Pollio, University of Ferrara and Cimet
China Sajadian, Vassar College
Christian Koutny, Goldsmiths University
Christiane Heisse, SOAS University of London
Christopher Coolbeth, University of Connecticut
Cinthia De Souza,
Claire Debucquois,
Clare Hawkes, University of Bath
Cosku Celik, Kadir Has University, Istanbul
Cristiane Mancini
Cristina Re, University of Parma
Damon Aitken, SOAS University of London
Daphibiang K Thangkhiew, Indian Institute of Technology
Daphnae Picoli, University of Campinas
David Etherington, Staffordshire University
David Fasenfest, Wayne State University
David Karas, Central European University Democracy Institute
Deepak Kumar, Reserve Bank of India
Deniz Ay, University of Bern
Dennis Badeen, University of Hertfordshire
Derya Başarangil, Middle East Technical University
Devika Dutt, King's College London
Dic Lo, Sun Yat-Sen University and SOAS University of London
Diogo Mazon, Universidade De Lisboa
Duygu Öztürk Kırışık Mersin University
Eda Cakmakci, Harvard University

Ekin Değirmenci, Ankara University
Ekin Onsan, Middle East Technical University
Elena Alvarez, Ciencia Andina
Elena Midler, St Petersburg University
Elias Jabbour
Elif Karacimen, Recep Tayyip Erdogan University
Elliot Dolan-Evans, Monash University
Elspeth Vischer
Emile Pierre Motanda, SOAS University of London
Emine Tahsin, Istanbul University
Emirhan Demirel, University of South Wales
Emma Piper-Burket
Emrah Irzik, Babeş-Bolyai University Sociology Dept.
Ercan Uygur
Errol Babacan, Universität Münster
Esra Ugurlu, University of Leeds
Ewa Karwowski, King's College London
Ezgi Akçalı Türker, Corvinus University of Budapest
Fabiana Oliveira, Universidade Federal De Minas Gerais (UFMG)
Fabio Banet, Universität Hamburg
Fabio Castro
Fabio Maldonado
Fadia Panosetti, University of Cambridge
Fanqi Lin, SOAS University of London
Fatin Jamalolail, University of Chicago
Felipe Coimbra Moretti, University of Michigan

Felix Maile, University of Vienna

Felix Mantz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

Ferda Donmez Atbasi, Ankara University

Fernando Junior, Universidade Federal Dos Vales Do Jequitinhonha E Mucuri

Flavia Julius, Macquarie University

Frederick Laker

Gala Lucia Gonzalez Barrios, Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero

Galip Yalman, Middle East Technical University (Retired)

Gaurav Bansal, University of East Anglia

George Liodakis, Technical University of Crete, Greece

Giulia Slater, STATEC Research

Giuliano Martiniello, Sciences Po Rabat

Gizem Şimşek, Siirt University

Gleb Maslov, Institute Of Economics Of The Russian Academy Of Sciences

Godswill Ezeonyeka, Coventry University

Gonenc Uysal, Lancaster University

Gopikrishnan Govindarajan

Goran Musić, University Of Vienna

Grasian Mkodzongi, University of Cape Town

Grigoriy Sergeev, Lomonosov Moscow State University

Guido Maschhaupt, Erasmus University Rotterdam

Hamish Evans, King's College London

Havva Ezgi Dogru, Anadolu University

Heesang Jeon

Helena Morais

Helena Perez Nino, ISS Netherlands

Henry Bernstein, SOAS (Emeritus)
Hilmiye Yasemin Özüğurlu, Mersin University
Hitesh Potdar, King's College London
Hüseyin Emre Almaz, Kadir Has University
Hwanhee Bae, SOAS University of London
Ia Eradze, Georgian Institute of Public Affairs
Ilia Farahani, Lund University
Ilias Alami, University of Cambridge
Ingrid Harvold Kvangraven, King's College, London
Ingrid Nascimento Aguiar Schindwein, SOAS University of London
Ioannis Alexandrou, SOAS University of London
Irina Novikova Lomonosov, Moscow State University
Irmak Özer, Middle East Technical University
Ismail Karatepe, University of Kassel
Ivana Mancic, Nottingham Trent University
Jacob Mundy, Colgate University
James Galbraith, University of Texas at Austin
James Nealy, Harvard University
Jarvis Fisher, Cornell University
Javier Vadell
Jenan ALshowaikh, Rome Tre University
Jenny Preunkert, University of Kassel
Jens Lerche, SOAS University of London
Jerome De Henau, The Open University
Jessica Sklair, Queen Mary University of London
Jie Meng, Fudan University

Jill Daniels, Univeristy of East London
Jing Zhang, SOAS University of London
João Alcobia,
Joaquín Cardeillac,Universidad De La República
Joe Davidson, University of Warwick
John Paul Belk, Goldsmiths University of London
Jon Las Heras, University of The Basque Country
Josef Baum, University of Venna
Joyce Souza Maldonado, Federal University of ABC
Julia Kassem,
Kamir Gemal, Faculdade De Arquitetura Da Universidade De São Paulo
Karen Helveg Petersen
Kate Meagher, London School of Economics
Katharine Isabella Onursal, SOAS University of London
Kees Jansen, Wageningen University
Kennedy Manduna, Wits University
Kevin Deane
Kirsten Adkinds,Univeristy of Glasgow
Kostas Gourzis, University of The Aegean, Greece
Kristina Dietz, University of Kassel
Kutay Kutlu, York University
Leandro Vergara-Camus, Université De l'Ontario Français
Lena Gempke, SOAS University of London
Leo Gabriel, University of Vienna
Linda Sayed, Michigan State University
Ling Gao, Xiamen University and Sun Yat-Sen University

Liza Steultjens, Radboud Universit
Lorena Lombardozi, The Open University
Lorenzo Pellegrini, Erasmus University Rotterdam
Louise Jezierski, Michigan State University
Lucile Franchet, SOAS University of London
Lucilla Salvia
Lucy Rebecca Cannon, University of Warwick
Luis Andueza, King's College London
Luisa Steur, University of Amsterdam
Maíra Vale, Federal University of North Tocantins
Manuel Garcia Dellacasa, SOAS University of London
Manuela Mahecha Alzate, University of Geneva
Manuela Johanna Covini
Maria Cariola
Maria Dafnomili
Maria Gavris, University of Warwick
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Yorgos Pisinis, University of Patras

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Zeynep Ağdemir, Ahi Erivan University

Zeynep Ceren Eren Benlisoy, ISS Erasmus University Rotterdam

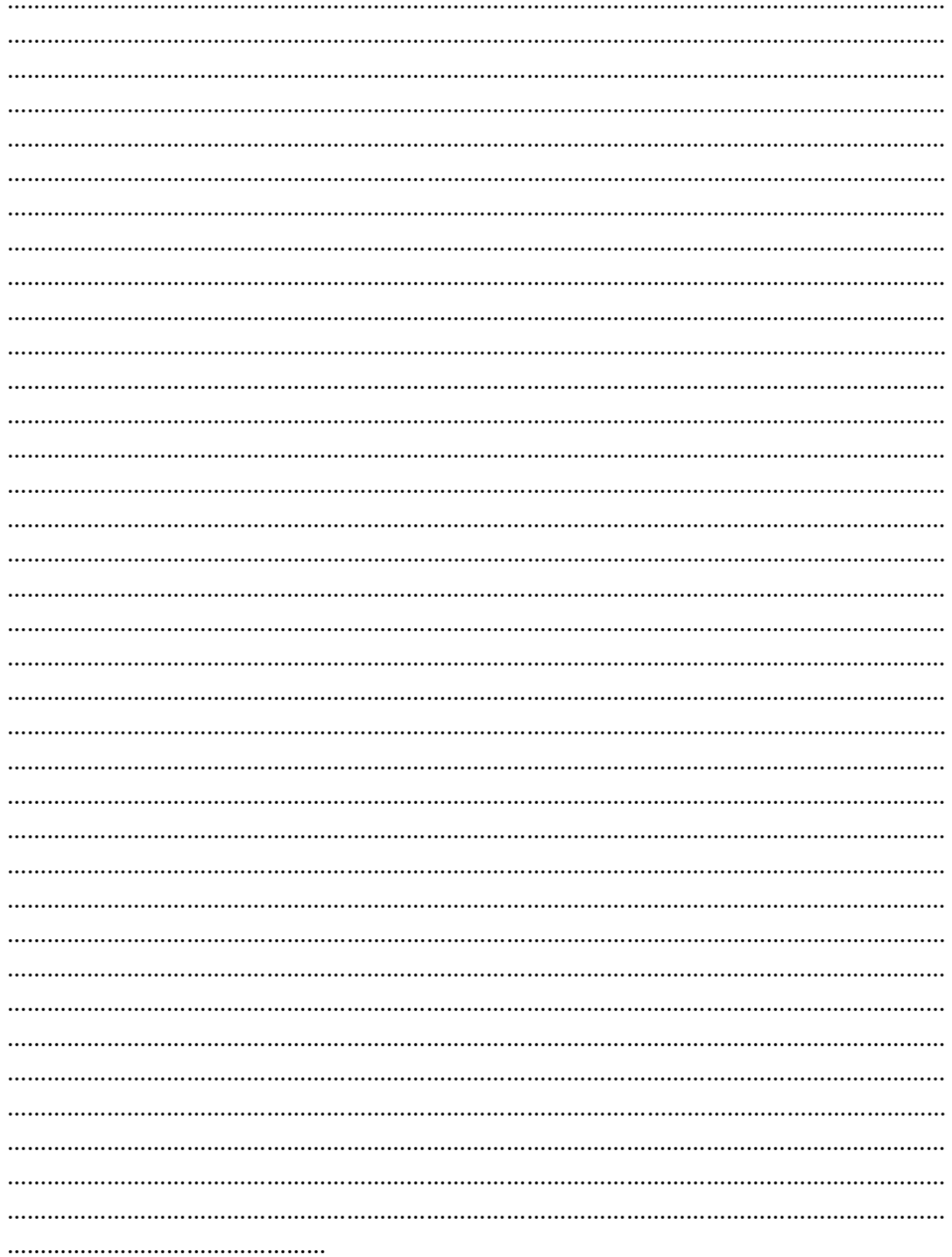
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