



International Initiative
for Promoting
Political Economy

2025 IIPPE ANNUAL CONFERENCE 17 – 20 September 2025, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

Call for Papers and Activist Proposals

For a quite a number of years now the mainstream mass media has run a constantly increasing number of stories on the world immigration crisis. Nearly all of them are either part of some aspect of the mainstream's political agenda, such as immigration from Venezuela or the Ukraine (and the minimal coverage of the refugees from devastated Palestine), or as part of its pervasive 'at least your social problems are not this bad' coverage of real human tragedies. The plenary presentations at this conference to the contrary will discuss this crisis simultaneously from three perspectives: the (unnecessary) massive human tragedy that it is, the component *of* world capitalism's current polycrisis that it is, and the crisis it constitutes *for* world capitalism.

This is the first time in IIPPE's 15-year history of conferences in political economy that we have had immigration as the theme. The nature of this crisis in capitalism indicates that it will not be the last time that we will address it. Absent any major restructuring of the world social order, this crisis can only continually deepen over the years and decades ahead to hard-to-even-imagine dimensions.

IIPPE calls for submissions to its 2025 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.

2025 IIPPE ANNUAL CONFERENCE
17 – 20 September 2025, Middle East Technical
University, Ankara, Turkey



International Initiative for
Promoting Political Economy



**Immigration: Crisis *of* the World
Capitalist System, Crisis *for* the
World Capitalist System**

17 September 2025 DAY 1 – Workshops

Conference Location: Middle East Technical University (METU) Ankara. Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences – B (New) Building at METU.

<https://g.co/kgs/zRujD2k>

Crisis of Neoliberalism in the Balkans

Roundtable. Organised by IIPPE.

9:00 – 11:30 Crisis of Neoliberalism in the Balkans in Room G102

11:30-12:00 Coffee Break

Basics and Foundations of Marx's Value Theory

IIPPE's Topics in Political Economy Workshop (TIPE)

12:00 – 14:45 Alfredo Saad-Fihno and Al Campbell in Room G102

Why China is Not Imperialist.

Organised by Political Economy of China's Development Working Group

13:00 – 14:45 Moderator Sam-Kee Cheng in Room G104

14:45-15:15 Coffee Break

Palestine

Roundtable. Organised by IIPPE.

15:15 – 16:45 in Room G102

Plenary 1: Internal Borders: The Asylum Industrial-Complex and the Politics of Precarity

Organised by Activism, Film & Media Working Group

17:15 – 18:45 Helen Brewer, Goldsmiths University in Room G104

Meet and Greet Reception

18:50 – 19:30 at the campus for everyone attending the first day!

18 September 2025 DAY 2

Thursday 18

9:00 – 9:15 Opening Greetings

9:30 – 11:15 SESSION 1

11:15 – 11:45 COFFEE BREAK

11:45 – 13:30 SESSION 2

13:30 – 14:30 LUNCH

14:45 – 16:30 SESSION 3

16:30 – 17:00 COFFEE BREAK

17:00 – 18:30 **PLENARY 2: Migration, internationalism, and class.**
Hannah Cross, University of Westminster
Migration, internationalism, and class in the time of late imperialist migration control.

Conference lunches and coffees are all served at the University Campus. Plenaries 2, 3 and 4 as well as the AGM will take place in Room G110.

19 September 2025 DAY 3

Friday 19

9:30 – 11:15 SESSION 4

11:15 – 11:45 COFFEE BREAK

11:45 – 13:30 SESSION 5

13:30 – 14:30 LUNCH

14:45 – 16:15 **Plenary 3: Displacement and the Right to Home(land)**
Cenk Saraçoğlu, Ankara University
Displacement and the Right to Home(land):
Reimagining Republican Citizenship in an Era of
Counter-Revolution.

16:30 – 17:30 IIPPE Annual General Meeting

17:30 – 18:30 Meet and greet reception

WHERE TBC

20 September 2025 DAY 4

Saturday 20

9:30 – 11:15 SESSION 6

11:15 – 11:45 COFFEE BREAK

11:45 – 13:30 SESSION 7

13:30 – 14:30 LUNCH

14:45 – 16:15 **Plenary 4: Closing Plenary**
Speakers:
Aylin Topal, Middle East Technical University
Pınar Bedirhanođlu, Middle East Technical University,
Ebru Voyvoda, Middle East Technical University,
Moderated by Galip Yalman, Middle East Technical
University

Agrarian Change 1: Agrarian and rural class relations and struggles in G102

Social Programmes and Class Struggle: A comparative political economy to studying processes of rural transformation. Deepa Kurup; Evolving Dynamics of Sharecropping: Urban Elites, Caste, and the Politics of Land Leasing. Komal Chauhan

Financialisation 1. Finance and Development: Contemporary debates and Global South Perspectives in G107

The Role of Financial Literacy as a Catalyst for Dynamic Financial Inclusion: Focus on MENA Region. Mehdi Bouchetara; Financialization and the Restructuring of Turkey's Sunflower Oil Sector: The Role of Development Finance Institutions. Elif Karacimen; Financialization: Development Finance and Municipal Infrastructure Projects in Turkey. Irmak Özer; Financialisation and the Socio-Spatial Impact of São Paulo's Water Crisis. Tamara Zambiasi

Political Economy of Industrial Development 1. in G101

Lack of Productive Employment: Colonial Legacy and Post-imperialist Practices. Christoph Scherrer; How power dimensions explain Southern African agricultural regional value chain development. Lotta Takala-Greenish

Neoliberalism 1. Neoliberalism, Migration and Refugee Crisis in G106

Limits of migration-energy nexus: The case of Italy. Edoardo Lavezzo; Barış Çelik; Neoliberal Globalization and Brain Drain in Turkey: Unpacking the exodus from Turkey to Netherlands. Özgün Tursun; Exploring the Migration-Inequality Nexus in Southeast Europe. Georgia Paglavla; Beyond the Refugee Crisis: The Political Economy Behind the Fall of Syria's Ba'ath Party. Akif Avcı; Migration Policies of Germany, Italy and Hungary After 2015: Core-Periphery Division within the EU And Their Transformational Impacts on Labor Markets. Sinan Haskan

Social reproduction 1. From theory to politics of social reproduction in G108

Crisis of Social Reproduction in Rural Turkey: Precarious Conditions of Food Production, Farmer Indebtedness, and the Politics of Dispossession. Cosku Celik; Beyond Symbolic Gains: Brahmanical-Capitalist Patriarchy and Neoliberal Progressivism in India. Arati Kade; The new Global Economic Governance and its implications for the Gender Debate in the field of International Development. Natalia Sant Anna Tores; Social Reproduction-Access and Exclusion: Migrant Artists and Istanbul's Cultural Industry. Eren Altuntaş

Moving Beyond Capitalism in G109

Attempt of Integrated Analysis for a Complex World: Developing Frameworks for Modern Political Economy. Oleksandr Pidchosa; Volume of Transactions and Potential Monetary Base: understanding post-capitalist monetary development. Grigoris Zarotiadis; Nonprofit food advocacy organisations: moving beyond capitalism or shoring up neoliberal hegemony?. Jake Richardson; The Great Systemic Clash: Anti-Imperialist Environmentalism Amid the Crises of the Earth System and Capitalist World-System. Alejandro Pedregal

Activism, Film & Media 1: Migration, war, capitalism and documentary in G104

War, Trauma, and the Political Economy of Palestinian Documentary Cinema. Tuğçe Kutlu; Migration and the Crisis of Capitalism in Iran. Shahriar Khonsari; Homeward Bound: exploring refugees' experiences with housing through interactive documentary. Matthias KispertRm Istra

Agrarian Change 2: Beyond classic agrarian class analysis in G102

The materiality of Identity: W.E.B Dubois and B.R. Ambedkar as agrarian sociologists. Muhammad Ali Jan; Agrarian and rural analyses over time: three prevailing classic perspectives and three analytical challengers. Jens Lerche; Agrarian Change and Coastal Agricultural Workers: Livelihood Vulnerabilities in South India from a Qualitative Study. Pratheepa CM; The ties that bind: Agricultural labour in hazelnut picking and state-led regimes of informality in Turkey. Mina Kozluca

Financialisation 2. Financialised Governance and Institutions: Theories and case studies in G107

The Institutional Embodiment of Socialization of Financial Risk: Asset Management Companies in Turkey. Özgürcan Alkan; Household Debt in Turkey: Causes, Dynamics and Consequences. Berkay Ayhan; Theorising financialisation in the twenty-first century: views from the South. Mihika Chatterjee; Pro-Poor Populism or Financialized Governance? The Politics of PMJDY and PMMY in India. Pinar Kahya

Political Economy of Industrial Development 2. in G101

Varieties of African Capitalisms: The Political Constraints to Contemporary Structural Transformation. Pritish Behuria; Forging a Developmental State: Bureaucratic Autonomy and Industrial Transformation in Mauritius. Hamza Delbar; Emerging Auto Industries in a World of GVCs: Goals, Policy Strategies and Development Trade-Offs. Lorenza Monaco; Adaptation of industrial policy practices in Türkiye to 'new' industrial policies: constraints and opportunities. Emine Tahsin

Neoliberalism 2. Neoliberalism, Land, Industry and Ecology in G106

The Limits of Differentiation: Quality Discourse and Coffee Production since 1989. Carmen Elsayad; The Political Economy of Global Climate Policy-Making. Ebru Voyvoda ; The Evolution of Economic Structures and Sustainability: A Political Economy Perspective. Mattia Tassinari

Teaching Political Economy in G108

TEACHING MIGRATION ANALYSIS. Cristiane Mancini; A didactic proposal for teaching heterodox economics and confronting the dominant orthodoxy. Sergio Camara Izquierdo; Teaching Political Economy in Turkey. Aylin Topal

Social Reproduction 2 and Activism, Film & Media 2: Forms and Spheres of Social Reproductive Labour in G104

Dependency theories and social reproductive labour: A case study of Philippine migrant domestic workers in Singapore. Kevin Tan; Dispossessed Hinterlands, Accumulating Shores. Social Reproduction, Migrant Labour and Capital Accumulation across North India and the Gulf. Marek Fenners; Nurseries in times of economic crisis: When young women have to fix everything. Thomas Haines-Doran; This is essential work 2: visual examinations of the value of social reproductive labour (Activism, Film and Media). Susan Newman

Agrarian Change 3: Value chains, meat, capital and livelihoods in G102

From rural capitalists to poultry companies: shifting configurations of value extraction from smallholder commercial chicken farming in Bangladesh. Ivo Syndicus; Who produces and who owns broiler chickens? Interrogating the financial structures of industrial broiler chicken production in LMICs. Ambarish Karamchedu; Gender disparities in consumption: Exploring women's poultry consumption amidst commercialisation and religion and caste-based food norms in Urban India. Lavinia Scudiero; Power and price formation in agricultural commodity chains. Sarah Graf

Health and health care. The political economy of health in contemporary capitalism: global problems and challenges in G107

Unequal Health Systems and the Migration of Healthcare Professionals: A Case Study of Turkey and Germany. Eren Karaca; Upholding Markets and Organizing Consent: A Critical Political Economy of Regulation during the COVID-19 Global Crisis. Ipek Eren Vural; What survives from Bolsonaro's Previne Brasil in the new resource allocation model for PHC of the Lula 3 government? A study in the State of São Paulo, Brasil. Leonardo Carnut; The State-Form in Contemporary Capitalism in Crisis and the Growth of Violence in Brazilian Public Health. Aquilas Mendes

China 1. The Emergence and Implications of China's New Quality Productive Forces in G101

Divergent Governance Paths: Exploring Local Industrial Strategies in China's NEV Development. Fanqi Lin; The Political Logic of Economic Transformation: How Did "Shenzhen Miracle(s)" Really Happen?. Guanlin Wu; China and Electric Vehicles: Towards a Renewable Energy Transition. Alicia Girón; China within/beyond Renewables Capitalism. Dic Lo

Neoliberalism 3. Neoliberalism, Conflict and Geopolitics in G106

The Role of Social Assistance Programs in Addressing Income Inequality in Brazil. Nilay Onbaşı; Localization Between Paternalism and Politicization: Humanitarian Aid in Dominica and Turkey. Bilge Sahin; The Anatomy of High Inflation Episodes in Developing Economies: Lessons from Turkey's Exchange Rate Shocks and Seller's Inflation (2018–2024). Hasan Comert; Is UK's neoliberal state losing in its Whac-A-Mole Game? The Twin Crises of Marketised Higher Education and Xenophobic Immigration. Joe Lin; Yangguang Chen

Commodity Studies in G108

State Capitalism vs. Market Capitalism: How China's State-driven Economy Dominates the Critical Minerals Race Against America's Market Economy. Fatemah Naghdabadi; Buyer-driven? Apparel industry determinants from a structural perspective: The case of Turkey. Ezgi Unsal; Varieties of pricing and variations in accumulation. Susan Newman

Activism, Film & Media 3: Creative workshop: exploring migration through collage in G104

Unconventional View on Migration. Cristiane Mancini

Agrarian Change 4. Agroecology and beyond in G102

The Geopolitics of Disease: toxic mechanisms of accumulation and dispossession. Jonas Adriaensens; Critiquing green sedentarism: examining the marginalization of pastoralism in agroecology discourses in the Sahel. Liza Steultjens; Towards a crisis of reproduction? Exploring family farming and food expenditure in Spain (1980-2021). Noelia Parajuá

Labour 1. in G107

Labour Process in Logistics Service Network: A case Study of Amazon's Sortation Centre in South India. Manikantha Nataraj; Intellectual Treatments of Labour in Ancient Greece: Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle. Spiros Kritsotakis; Temporality and Monopoly Capital: Ethnographic perspective on the labour process of gig platforms.. Vageesh Vishnoi; Industrial Scale Data Farming: User-Generated Content at Crossroads of Value and Profit. Konstantinos Nikolaros

China 2 and Varieties of Socialism 1 in G101

China in Contemporary Capitalism. Esther Majerowicz; The Political Economy of Brazil-China Relations: Reprimarisation or Development Opportunities. Sam-Kee Cheng; China and the International Order: Revisionist Power or Reformist Actor?. Zeynab Fahardi

Neoliberalism 4. Neoliberalism and Fascism in G106

Authoritarianism in the era of Financialisation. Galip Yalman; Rethinking Neoliberalism, Crisis, and State Transformation in Long Durée. Pinar Bedirhoğlu; A Blue Kind of Control: Policing the Protests in Ciudad de México. Taşkın Toprak İpek

World Economy 1. The Peripheries in the New Global Order in G108

Underreported capital flows from China to Venezuela between 2001 and 2021: the emerging of a dual economy. Leonardo Segura Moraes; The Political Economy of Energy Transition: A critical analysis of FDI in Brazil and the value chain of renewable energy. Tomás Marques; Unequal Exchange and the place of Russia in Global Economy. Oleg Komolov; The Political Economy of Energy Transition: A critical analysis of FDI in Brazil and the value chain of renewable energy. Johannes Jäger

Marxist PE 1. Money and Rent in G109

Formation and appropriation of ground-rent in the Brazilian economy between 2010 and 2023. Raquel Azevedo; On the Hoard of Money. C Saratchand; World money and national currencies. Nicolás Aguila; A new wave of debates on the nature and ontology of money: Cryptocurrencies, MMT, The Money View, and Social Positioning. A Marxist critique. Nikos Pontis

Activism, Film & Media 4. Creative approaches to algorithmic surveillance, neoliberalism and climate change in G104

Dead Glitch. Maja Funke; While the Nation Went Bankrupt. Nathaniel Sullivan; Dance of the Seasons. Garrabost Jayalakshmi

Labour 2. in G107

Unseen and Unprotected: Labour Laws and Migrant Workers in Indian. Md Shamshe Alam; Migrant Labour and the Green Economy. Recomposing workforces in the industrial transition in the Lusatia region (East Germany).. Stephan Liebscher; Home-Based Craft Production and Rural Political Economy in Contemporary Balochistan. Hammal Aslam; Turkey's Migrant Labor Policies and Its Role as a Buffer State in Global Capitalism. Hatice Hande Orhon Ozdag

China 3. China's Going Out in G101

China's Evolving Foreign Policy in An Era of Geopolitical Competition. Xinwen Zhang; China's Path to Sustainable Development through Going Global Strategy. Francesco Macheda; The Impact of Talent Migration on Hong Kong's Economy and Its Role in the BRI during the Crisis of the World Capitalist System. Natalia Chaplynska

Neoliberalism 5. Sanctions: Theory and Practice in G106

United States Economic Sanctions on Japan prior to WWII: A Practice Theory Approach. Mona Izadi; Industrial Policy Under Economic Sanctions: A Conceptual Exploration. Barzin Jafartash Amiri; International Sanctions and Internal Conflict: The Case of Iran. Mohammad Reza Farzanegan; The Impact of Economic Sanctions on the Paradigm Shift from "Student Mobility" to "Student Migration": A Case Study of Iran. Bahram Salavati Sarcheshmeh

World Economy 2. How to Confront Contemporary Imperialism in G108

Debt, Austerity, and Structural Violence: Challenging IMF Governance and Reimagining Global Financial Sovereignty. Rea Maci; Crisis of neoliberal capitalism and relative overpopulation. Rubens Sawaya; Money, currency and Imperialism: The New Development Bank as a mean of overcoming the US dollar hegemony. Sofia Manzano; Reckoning with Empire: The Imperial Foundations of the Global Polycrisis and the Case for Truth-Telling. Asha Herten-Crabb

Marxist PE 2. Value, knowledge-intensive commodities, Financialization, and Crises in G109

Wear and tear', 'moral depreciation', and the value-determinations of knowledge-intensive commodities: Recovering Marx's original ideas. Luis Arboledas-Lérida; Marx Versus Keynes: A Value-Oriented Analysis of the Crises of the 21st Century. Adem Açar; Financialization and the Rise of Intangible Capital: Rethinking the Theory of Value. Tansel Güçlü

Activism, Film & Media 5: Reenacting historic labour struggles in Spain in G104

11 Underground. Arturo Delgado Pereira

Agrarian Change 5. Extractivism, politics and agrarian change under neoliberalism in G102

Accumulation, extractivism and dispossession in contemporary Zimbabwe. Mbuso Moyo; Subjectivity, extraction, and indigeniety: territory, temporalities, and the Amazonian oil complex in Peru. Luis Andueza; State, Capital, and Land: Transformations in Agricultural Policies and Class Relations under Neoliberalism in the Global South. Özge Demirel

Labour 3. in G107

Lack of Productive Employment: Colonial Legacy and Post-imperialist Practices. Christoph Scherrer; Invisibilized work: Gendered labor in south India's home-based care industry. Sreerekha Sathi; Collective labour organisation in the Turkish garment industry: neoliberal labour regimes, patriarchal ideologies and (women) workers' experiences. Ayşe Arslan

Urban and Regional. in G101

Urban Agriculture as Resistance: A Case of Community Gardening. Oyku Safak-Cubukcu; State Production Farms as Production of Nature. Onur Lami Yalman; Rental Housing in Crisis: Financialization, Affordability, and State Policy in Turkey. Havva Ezgi Dogru; A radical / geographical political economy analysis of capital flows in construction and tourism: the case of the Eu-Mediterranean South. George Sykas; Analyzing the Neoliberal Housing Policy in Turkey: TOKI and the Making of the Indebted. Özlem Bülbül

Environment 1. Reflections on Ecological Marxism, Climate Justice and Imperialism in G106

Mobilising against the ecological costs of imperialism and war. Feyzi Ismail; Plurality and theoretical heterogeneity of ecological Marxism. William Sacher ; Paul Cooney

World Economy 3. Trumps Policies and the Transformation of the Imperial Order in G108

THE ECONOMIC STRATEGY OF THE TRUMP SECOND ADMINISTRATION AND ITS IMPACT ON NORTH AMERICA. Juan Arturo Guillen Romo; Competing hegemonic projects in the current global conjuncture. Morten Ougaard; Initial effects of the Trump administration on the global economic situation and prospects. Abelardo Mariña-Flores; Late Neo-Liberalism and Black Migration through Mexico. Murrell Brooks; WHY NOT TO SOLVE THE MIGRATION ISSUE IN THE MENA REGION?. Ekin Onsan

Marxist PE 3. The rate of profit, and connected variables in G109

Tracing the Intermediate Steps of the Process: The Continuous Crisis of Capitalism and the Current Account Deficit in Turkey. Gizem Şimşek; Analysis of the Tendency of Profit Rate to Fall and Counter Tendencies: Evidence from Turkish Manufacturing Sector, 1988-2020. Ekin Değirmenci; Rethinking Financialization Through the Actuality of the Law to the Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall. Mert Miraç Dündar; Connections among, rate of profit, surplus value and the sector composition of the labor force; comparing two approaches to estimating surplus value. Victor Kasper

Activism, Film & Media 6: US – radioactive fallout and white male right-wing culture in G104

What Travelers Are Saying About Jornada del Muerto. Hope Tucker; Land Hacks (Red vs. Blue-State Culture War Profiting). John Caldwell

Agrarian Change 6: State, capital and farmers: food and farm policy in G102

Alliances of Convenience: The Political Economy of Ultra-Processed Food Supply Chains in Ghana. Fiorella Picchioni; Hashash; Cereal production and state control: elite farmers' push for reform in Algeria's agrarian system. Rym Talhouk; The political economy of large-scale agricultural investments in Ethiopia: A comparative study of foreign and domestic capital. Christine Bosch

Environment 2. Ecological transition and justice in practice in G106

PUBLIC LAND GRABBING IN TURKEY: THE CASE OF GREEN ROAD PROJECT. Melek Mutioglu Ozkesen; Revisiting the EU-China Collaboration-Competition Nexus: Between Economy, Geopolitics, and Nature. Sirma Altun; Producing the Mobility Transition: Industrial Conversion at the Steyr Automotive Plant. Lukas Cserjan G101

World Economy 4. Human rights, fascism and migration in G108

Crisis, State, and Authoritarianism and Fascism: In Search of Marxist Approaches. Gonenc Uysal; Class Fractions, Power Bloc and Confrontation of the Brazilian Dictatorial State. Milton Pinheiro; Brazilian Modernization, Class Interest and State - Foreign Capital in the Transition of the Bourgeois-Military Dictatorship. Leonardo Silva Andrada

Marxist PE 4. in G109

Poverty and its reproduction in the capitalist state form: Non-contributory transfers in Argentina in 2010-2023. Firat Duruşan; Advancing a political economy of culture within a class-theoretical approach. Ismail Doga Karatepe; Evaluating the Differences Within the Working class in the Context of the Reproduction of Labour Power. Ali Özkesen; A Feudal Regression? A Review of the Technofeudal Hypothesis in the Context of the Transition Debate. Karl Patrick Norberg

Activism, Film & Media 7: Chinese feminist art and refugee lives in Türkiye in G104

China in the context of the global capitalist system: Self-identity in female art. Lin Cheng; Journey of Hope. Tolga Gürocak

Agrarian Change 1: Agrarian and Rural Class Relations and Struggles

An Everyday Political Economy of Food Insecurity in Myanmar's Central Dry Zone.

Mark Vicol

Food insecurity is often highly differentiated within village contexts of the Global South. This paper argues that an everyday political economy approach provides a useful framework to account for such differentiation. We apply this approach in a rural village in Myanmar's Central Dry Zone, utilizing a mixed-methods approach that incorporates (1) food security and dietary diversity indexes, (2) household interviews and (3) qualitative wealth rankings. Our analysis shows that patterns of food insecurity and diet emerge out of the conjuncture of everyday livelihood activities and political-economic relations between individuals and between social groups. Those who control the land of the village continue to enjoy better food security and diet quality above landless or smaller landowning households. However, the centrality of land ownership as an indicator of household food and nutrition security status is becoming blurred because of the increasing availability of non-farm livelihood activities. Differentiated opportunities for households to grasp non-farm livelihoods can sometimes challenge but more often reproduce unequal patterns of wealth and hunger. The everyday political economy approach brings into focus the lived experiences behind these processes of change, making visible the complexities of village life that are not able to be revealed in analyses dependent on socio-economic variables alone.

Social Programmes and Class Struggle: A Comparative Political Economy to Studying Processes of Rural Transformation

Deepa Kurup

This paper utilises a comparative political economy approach to studying the implementation of social programmes, its outcomes and transformative impacts. It embeds the implementation of the social programme in the social relations of production; by doing so, the study of the social programme offers a window into processes of transformation in rural India.

The research compares the implementation of India's flagship National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS) in four villages. The villages are located in two socio-politically and historically distinct regions of Karnataka, a south Indian state, and represent variations in local political economies including the distribution of productive assets, agro-ecology and integration with the wider economy. The empirical material draws on household-level village surveys and qualitative interviews conducted in 2018 and 2019.

The paper finds that the outcomes and transformative impacts of the NREGS varied from one location to the other. The comparative case demonstrated how the outcomes of the social programme are structured by the social relations of production, even as its implementation could potentially transform (or have transformative impacts on) these relations. These transformative impacts were found to be differentiated in space and time. The analysis focussed on iterative processes of struggle between competing sets of class interests, thereby identifying the social programme as a site of class struggle. The research found transformation (or transformative impacts) to be contingent on a dynamic and dialectical interaction between class struggles in the capital-labour relation and in the relations that structure the distribution of public resources.

The comparative picture also found that the potential and limits of transformation were defined in dynamic ways by the interaction of the socio-economic structure of the village and its integration with the wider economy. Thus, the paper contributes to the literature on rural transformation by delving into the underlying processes constitutive of transformation, and by identifying its contours or limits.

Evolving Dynamics of Sharecropping: Urban Elites, Caste, and the Politics of Land Leasing
Komal Chauhan

This paper examines the evolving dynamics of land leasing in a village in central Uttar Pradesh, India, where tenants lease land from absentee landowners, primarily retired or soon-to-retire white-collar professionals. Over the past decade, urban elites have increasingly acquired agricultural land near the village, driven by agrarian nostalgia and rural aspirations, often subscribing to the trope of growing one's own food as part of a lifestyle shift toward self-sufficiency and organic consumption. However, rather than cultivating the land themselves, they lease it out under share rent arrangements, prioritizing agricultural produce over monetary rent to sustain an affective connection to agrarian life. These lease arrangements are structured by caste, as upper-caste absentee landowners selectively lease land to particular tenant groups, reinforcing agrarian hierarchies. Tenant households, engaged in diverse occupations, enter sharecropping primarily for food security, ensuring a stable grain supply rather than market-driven production. Leasing from absentee landlords provides greater autonomy in agricultural decision-making and political affiliations compared to local landowners, who impose social and economic constraints. Based on household surveys, qualitative interviews, and ethnographic fieldwork in Central Uttar Pradesh (January–June 2024), this paper situates land leasing within affective economies and challenges models of sharecropping that prioritize efficiency and profit motives. It argues that land leasing is shaped not just by economic rationality but by deeply embedded social structures, affective investments in agrarian belonging, and emergent urban elite desires for engagement with the rural.

Financialisation 1. Finance and Development: Contemporary Debates and Global South Perspectives

The Role of Financial Literacy as a Catalyst for Dynamic Financial Inclusion: Focus on MENA Region
Mehdi Bouchetara

This paper explores the pivotal role of financial literacy in fostering dynamic financial inclusion within the MENA region. Despite significant advancements in financial services, the region faces persistent challenges in bridging the financial inclusion gap, particularly among marginalized populations, including women and youth. By examining the interplay between financial education, accessibility, and the adoption of digital financial technologies, this study highlights how tailored financial literacy initiatives can empower individuals to make informed financial decisions, enhance economic participation, and reduce inequalities. The research emphasizes the need for region-specific strategies that address cultural, social, and economic barriers, leveraging the rapid digital transformation in the MENA region to promote sustainable and inclusive growth. Findings aim to inform policymakers, financial institutions, and development agencies on designing effective frameworks that integrate financial education into broader financial inclusion strategies, ensuring equitable access to financial resources and opportunities.

Financialization and the Restructuring of Turkey's Sunflower Oil Sector: The Role of Development Finance Institutions
Elif Karacimen

The financialization of agriculture has intensified over the past decade, reshaping agribusiness structures through finance capital's growing influence. While extensively studied, the role of DFIs in this process remains underexplored. This paper sheds light on DFIs' role in the agribusiness sector of the Global South by examining their lending patterns and financing instruments, drawing specifically on the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)'s operations in Turkey. The analysis of loan distributions reveals a focus on agribusiness corporations across the value chain—from seed production to branding—rather than 'risky' primary agriculture. Beyond loan allocation, this study examines the financial instruments the EBRD employs to mobilize private capital for agribusiness. A detailed analysis of the sunflower oil sector, a major EBRD funding recipient, shows funds predominantly channelled to MNCs due to their strong risk profiles. These corporations have leveraged DFI financing for operational improvements, strategic initiatives, and mergers and acquisitions, furthering the internationalisation and consolidation of the sector. This reflects the increasing penetration of global finance into agribusiness and its role in agri-food sector restructuring. By situating Turkey's experience within broader financialization debates, this study offers insights into how financial capital shapes sectoral transformations, contributing to shifting dependencies and new vulnerabilities in globalized agricultural sectors.

Financialization: Development Finance and Municipal Infrastructure Projects in Turkey **Irmak Özer**

In recent years, Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs) have increasingly financed municipal infrastructure projects in developing countries. Several locally variegated reasons for municipal borrowing from MDBs include population increase, climate change, and financial constraints. Globally, MDBs support these projects as part of their agenda for the financialization of development lending through securitization under the World Bank's Maximizing Finance for Development (MFD) initiative. Concurrently, Turkish metropolitan municipalities have increasingly sought MDB financing for long-term infrastructure projects, particularly in transportation, making Turkey an interesting case for examining the relationship between financialization and MDBs. This research asks what type of macro-financial order MDBs provide municipalities with infrastructure investments through the Turkish case. This study utilizes semi-structured interviews with municipal bureaucrats and MDB officials, document analysis on regulations and project documents, and financial analyses of municipal finances. Through a political economy approach, this research aims to unearth MDBs' role in securitization processes within MFD and assess MDB influence in Turkey regarding de-risking strategies, securitization processes, and guarantee demands. The findings inform municipal bureaucrats and researchers on MDBs' role in creating new asset classes through new mechanisms of financialization of international development.

Financialisation and the Socio-Spatial Impact of São Paulo's Water Crisis **Tamara Zambiasi**

This paper contextualizes the 2014/2015 water crisis in São Paulo, Brazil, within the framework of financialization, focusing on how the state-owned utility, Sabesp, responded to the crisis. The research problem centers on the tension between Sabesp's financial obligations to shareholders and its public duty to provide equitable and sustainable water services during a period of severe drought. This study explores how financial imperatives, particularly market-driven governance strategies, contributed to water management decisions that disproportionately impacted marginalized populations in São Paulo. Methodologically, this study relies on qualitative data collected through fieldwork, including interviews with former Sabesp executives, engineers, and decision makers, as well as a comprehensive documentary analysis of reports and policies from Brazilian water management agencies. Milton Santos' spatial theory serves as the theoretical lens to analyze the intersection of financialization, governance, and space production. The results highlight how Sabesp's financial strategies, such as reducing investments in critical infrastructure and prioritizing short-term financial returns, exacerbated social inequalities. The company's management decisions during the crisis, such as manipulating water pressure, disproportionately affected vulnerable communities, revealing the broader implications of financialization on public service provision.

PEID 1

How Power Dimensions Explain Southern African Agricultural Regional Value Chain Development. **Lotta Takala-Greenish**

The commodity price increases and growth in consumer demand for higher value added agricultural / food products in the 2000-2015 period generated an increase in production, processing and agro-industrial policy activity in Southern Africa. These supply shifts were supported by investments into processing capacity, incentives for farmers to expand the agricultural output, and policies to develop regional collaboration to leverage different national strengths in food value chains. Developing the regional value chain proved challenging despite common goals and policy input. This paper explores the agro-industry developments across South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe through the lens of regional value chain development and the underlying power contestations between stakeholders. Building on the work of Barrientos (2023), Pasquali et al (2021) focusing on the challenges of developing regional value chains as distinct from global value chains provides new insights to explaining the limited entry by Global South firms into global value chains. To understand these patterns, the study applies a modified framework of power distribution between stakeholders which draws on key contributions from Dallas et al (2019), Kapeller et al (2024) and Horner and Alford (2019). The framework categorises power by exploring the different roles and types of interaction between stakeholders. Combining the power analysis with global value chain policy typologies from Pietrobelli et al (2021) highlights key gaps and offers reasons behind the limited development and deepening of regional agricultural value chains in Southern Africa.

Interest Coalitions in EU Renewable Energy Politics: Building the Hydrogen Fairytale

Laura Porak

Recently, hydrogen has become a focal point of the EU's renewable energy agenda, featuring prominently, for example, in the REPowerEU Plan (2022). Before 2018, however, hydrogen had not been considered as an important lever to realize the EU renewable energy transition. This new hydrogen focus ignores the widespread debate regarding its capacity and scalability, as well as its continued fossil fuel reliance.

This sudden shift in EU renewable energy politics gives rise to the question how it was enabled. To this end, we employ Cultural Political Economy (Sum and Jessop 2013, Jessop 2016) which accounts for power struggles between capital fractions and the production of hegemony in policymaking processes. More precisely, we assess the positions of EU bodies and other key interest groups on renewable energy. These are juxtaposed using a Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) (Leitfeld 2020) of policy papers and interest groups statements to modifications in the field of EU renewable energy politics. DNA exhibits the links between interest groups and traces shifts in coalitions over time. Due to the prominence of climate neutrality after the Paris Agreement, we treat the time between 2015 and 2024. In doing so, the paper explains how the belief in hydrogen as a 'magic fix' for the energy transition became so prominent despite its highly contested capacities, and aims to sketch the power struggles and dynamics that shape the EU renewable energy transition.

Neoliberalism 1. Neoliberalism, Migration and Refugee Crisis

Limits of Migration-Energy Nexus: The Case of Italy

Edoardo Lavezzo, Barış Çelik

Migration is increasingly seen through a geopolitical framework, with stricter border controls and securitisation of immigrants becoming increasingly wide-scale globally. One area that has drawn relatively less attention in the literature is the link between migration and energy policy. A number of countries have recently seen their energy policies increasingly intertwined with migration. In the European Union, for example, countries reliant on energy imports have been seeking to secure stable supply chains through agreements that also address migration from North Africa. In this paper, we focus on Italy, a prominent case of energy-migration nexus. We ask how recent Italian governments have combined migration debates with energy policy, with a particular focus on Italy's relations with the states in North Africa. We show that energy diplomacy has been one of the key ways through which Italian policymakers have sought to reduce migration to Europe. However, we also argue that Italy's rather geopolitical approach to immigration has overlooked the complex humanitarian and human rights dimensions of migration. This has led to policies that prioritised border control and deterrence over protection and integration of migrants, whilst also failing to address the root causes of migration, such as conflict, poverty, and climate change.

Neoliberal Globalization and Brain Drain in Turkey: Unpacking the Exodus from Turkey to Netherlands.

Özgün Tursun

The processes of human mobility should be conceptualised as an integral part of neoliberal globalisation rather than a mere result of it. As Castles (2015) argues, local, national and global dimensions are connected in complex ways in analyzing globalization. The concept of Brain Drain in this respect is often analyzed through a singular approach focusing either predominantly on the national or international either from push or pull factors but not both at the same time. Earlier studies on the brain drain in Turkey focuses on the immigration of highly skilled workers from Turkey to developed countries from a 'transnational managerial class formation' perspective and the increasing influence of Transnational Corporations in Turkey. This study on the other hand aims to explore and connect the impact of growing authoritarian neoliberalism in Turkey to the broader context of neoliberal globalisation in human mobility. This study aims to shed light on the relationship between human mobility, neoliberal globalization, and authoritarian neoliberalism through a qualitative analysis based on the results of 30 in-depth interviews conducted with engineers who have migrated to the Netherlands from Turkey in the past five years and those who have started working in the defense industry in Ankara within the same period. The purpose of this sample selection is to understand the steady increase of engineer immigration working in Turkey's defense industry to the Netherlands. As of the end of 2024, the number of Turkish engineers working at a single company in the Netherlands has reached 1,300. The primary focus of the interviews conducted with individuals in this sample will be their views on education, healthcare, economy, and authoritarianism, as well as the impact of these views on their migration decisions.

Beyond the Refugee Crisis: The Political Economy Behind the Fall of Syria's Ba'ath Party **Akif Avci**

This study examines the ongoing genocide in Gaza, the West Bank, and Lebanon as a catalyst for the restructuring of political and economic hegemonies, culminating in regime change in Syria. It situates this transformation within the broader historical trajectory of state formation in the Middle East, analyzing the interplay between imperialism, Zionism, and pan-Arabism during the Ba'athist era in Syria. Additionally, it interrogates the global capitalist crisis as a determining force in the fall of the Ba'ath Party, contextualizing it within the dynamics of occupation, oppression, and colonial domination in Gaza. This restructuring of hegemony carries both historical and contemporary significance, extending beyond the Middle East to shape the trajectory of global capitalism in regions such as Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, and South China. The study contends that contemporary conflicts are manifestations of a deeper crisis of hegemony, in which state and non-state actors—including armed groups, fractions of transnational capital, and international institutions—vie for influence within an evolving world order. While acknowledging the humanitarian dimensions of mass displacement and the refugee crisis, the study cautions against an exclusive focus on these aspects, as it risks obscuring the structural forces at play. Instead, it critically examines both domestic and international factors that mediate the relationship between Syrian regime change and the broader transformations in the global political economy. Employing a Neo-Gramscian approach, the study conceptualizes regime change in Syria through the lens of historical materialism, emphasizing the role of global capital accumulation in shifting the locus of economic and political power from the North Atlantic to the Pacific. It further explores how dominant state actors, transnational capital, and international organizations—such as NATO and the EU—engage in the production and reproduction of hegemony, contesting and reshaping the prevailing world order.

Migration Policies of Germany, Italy and Hungary After 2015: Core-Periphery Division within the EU And Their Transformational Impacts on Labor Markets **Sinan Haskan**

The European Union (EU) has encountered significant policy changes after 2015 due to the global migration waves and refugee crises. During these years, the countries of the Union have developed different migration policies in line with their national interests and political positions on the North-South and East-West axes. This study analyzes the impact of migration policies on inter-state balances and transformations in labor markets within the European Union (EU) using a comparative critical political economy perspective and the process-tracing method by focusing on Germany, Italy, and Hungary after the 2015 refugee crisis.

Accordingly, Germany accepted more than 1 million refugees in 2015, while externalizing migration with the 2016 EU-Turkey Agreement. Despite tightening policies after 2018, it adopted flexible regulations based on migrant labor in certain sectors. This situation created tensions, especially with Hungary and Poland. While Eastern European countries directly opposed Germany's approach, Southern European countries such as Greece and Italy demanded a more equitable sharing of the migration burden. At this point, disagreements with the EU increased tensions. In this sense, Italy, where the rate of migrants was approaching 10%, defined the process as a crisis. Even in 2018, Matteo Salvini tightened coast guard policies to close ports against irregular migration flows from the Mediterranean. However, unregistered migrant labor became widespread in the agricultural and service sectors. In 2018, 24.2% of workers were unregistered in the agriculture sector. Besides, around 150,000 undocumented immigrants work as agricultural workers. Hungary has emerged as one of the countries with the harshest anti-immigration policies, opposing the mandatory quota system and adopting a discourse emphasizing national sovereignty. Contradictorily, at the beginning of the Ukrainian War, it faced the dilemma of the influx of over 600,000 immigrants into the country and the need for low-cost labor. Both cases reveal the inconsistency between official policies and discourses and market and labor needs.

In conclusion, this study shows that migration is not only a humanitarian crisis but also a dynamic at the center of the struggle for hegemony between states within the EU, capital accumulation processes, and the flexibility of labor markets. The migration policies of Germany, Italy, and Hungary have deepened the center-periphery relations within the EU, made it difficult to establish a common migration policy, and have become a factor that weakens European integration. At this point, EU policy, with the expanding powers of Frontex, manages migration flows as a securitized crisis within the military-industrial complex, suppressing migrant mobility while freeing capital movements. In this context, the study reveals how different national strategies, class divisions, and economic restructuring processes within the EU are reflected in migration policies.

Social Reproduction 1. From Theory to Politics of Social Reproduction

Crisis of Social Reproduction in Rural Turkey: Precarious Conditions of Food Production, Farmer Indebtedness, and the Politics of Dispossession **Cosku Celik**

In the 2020s, the number of worldwide facing acute food insecurity and the threat of hunger has increased significantly. According to data from the FAO, approximately 193 million people in 53 countries experienced acute food insecurity in 2021. In 2020, around 3.1 billion people globally did not have access to adequate and healthy nutrition. By the end of 2022, 258 million people in 58 countries were facing food insecurity and the threat of hunger; this trend persisted throughout 2023. According to World Bank data, Turkey has the highest food inflation among OECD countries and ranks fourth globally in terms of food inflation. Between 2004-2024, average food inflation was 18.99%, but it soared to 102.55% in November 2022. Although food inflation dropped to 70.14% in May 2024, it remains well above the thirty-year average. The primary driver of food inflation is the increase in production costs. Dependence on imported agricultural inputs and fluctuations in exchange rates have increased both production costs and food prices.

This paper argues that the food crises of the 21st century, beyond a short-term price increase, are expressions of the structural crisis of social reproduction experienced by the classes of labor in the Global South. Therefore, its analysis necessitates attention to the continuity between the precarious conditions of food production and consumption. In this context, this study aims to examine the precarious conditions of food-producing households in Western Anatolia, Turkey, by focusing on three interrelated factors: (i) the impact of rising input prices on small-scale family farming and labour processes, (ii) farmer indebtedness, and (iii) the relationship between rising production costs and property regimes.

Beyond Symbolic Gains: Brahmanical-Capitalist Patriarchy and Neoliberal Progressivism in India **Arati Kade**

This paper examines the post-liberalization economic and political transformations in India, focusing on the Dhangar caste in Maharashtra and the gendered dimensions of these shifts, particularly the intensification of women's labour exploitation. Drawing from Marxist-Phule-Ambedkarite-feminist theory, I argue that these transformations deepen caste-based, capitalist, and patriarchal exploitation, especially for middle and lower-caste women.

By exploring the Dhangar caste's transition from agro-pastoralism to agriculture and their cooperative efforts during the late Nehruvian socialist era, this paper traces cycles of debt, dispossession, and marginalization. These processes are analyzed within the context of neoliberalism, state capitalism, and identity politics. I propose that neoliberal reforms reproduce caste-patriarchal structures, where identity movements, while providing symbolic recognition, fail to challenge systemic inequalities.

This paper critiques identity politics within the caste-class framework. Although such politics offer symbolic gains, they fail to dismantle the underlying caste-patriarchal system. This is reflected in the growing demands for women's reproductive labour without addressing their subordination. Drawing on Marxist insights into class and labour, I argue that these identity politics, driven by middle-class male leadership, mainly serve the interests of the economic elite, further exploiting women. By analyzing the intersection of caste, class, and patriarchy, this paper contributes to a feminist understanding of how caste-capitalism perpetuates gendered labour exploitation and critiques the illusion of progress created by neoliberal identity politics. Ultimately, it calls for dismantling the caste-capitalist mode of production, de-essentializing caste culture and the promotion of a broader anti-caste cultural shift.

Social Reproduction-Access and Exclusion: Migrant Artists and Istanbul's Cultural Industry **Eren Altuntaş**

This study will examine the systemic barriers to being able to find work in Istanbul's cultural industry faced by migrant artists, with a focus on Russian-Ukrainian and Arabic-speaking communities. It will analyze how restricted access to venues and networks, reproduces structural inequalities and precarious labor conditions, limiting cultural participation, and compare and contrast experiences from migrant artists of different backgrounds. Drawing on social reproduction theory and qualitative methods, the research will explore how exclusionary industry mechanisms shape migrant artist communities. At the same time, it will examine independent art spaces and grassroots initiatives as alternative platforms that challenge these exclusions shaped by xenophobia and economic precarity. By centering migrant experiences, this study will highlight the contradictions within Istanbul's cultural sector, where multiculturalism is celebrated yet access being able to work remains deeply unequal. Ultimately, it will call for a reassessment of cultural policies to create a more inclusive and equitable ecosystem for such creative work.

MBC 1.

Attempt of Integrated Analysis for a Complex World: Developing Frameworks for Modern Political Economy

Oleksandr Pidchosa

In recent years, we have observed a mixed picture in which there is both a return to relics and an attempt to make a breakthrough into the future. For example, discussions about the restoration of empires in one form or another, the search for sacred foundations of power, or the re-evaluation of old technologies such as balloons but using modern materials and control systems. There is also a return to barter in international trade, etc. On the other hand, we see the development of artificial intelligence technology, autonomous systems, space exploration, nature-like technologies, nuclear fusion, and the development of new materials, among others.

War and the real application of military capabilities, which had been delegitimized for a considerable period as tools of real politics, are returning in their original form, but with the emergence of new domains – informational, cyber, space, cognitive, and others. In this context, the concept of the inviolability of borders is also significantly challenged.

Particular importance (as always in the context of deglobalization) is given to transport corridors and trade routes, which must be safe and efficient, ensuring connectivity in the face of growing fragmentation.

The issue of food security, closely linked to water and energy security (including through fertilizers), is coming to the forefront due to climate change, changes in supply chains, and issues of biosecurity, etc. In a related context, other natural resources can also be considered, with a special emphasis on critical materials (including rare earth metals), which are the basic raw materials for existing and prospective technologies.

The issue of energy supply (both primary and secondary) has also become particularly acute for most large and growing economies in the context of a sharp increase in energy costs in the data processing industry, robotics and automation of processes, greater availability of electric vehicles and electrical devices in the consumer sector, as well as in the face of climate change and the need to respond to it (cooling/heating).

Alongside the aforementioned changes, on the one hand, there is a divergence of physical and virtual reality (for example, competition between physical assets like gold and virtual ones like Bitcoin; or the choice between developing marketplaces in the metaverse and traditional physical points of sale), and on the other hand, their hybridization through hybrid production systems, hybrid marketing, augmented reality, digital twins, etc.

Alongside traditional finance, financial instruments, and infrastructures, the crypto-finance sector is actively developing with cryptocurrencies, stablecoins, and other crypto assets.

All of the above indicates the need to develop and adjust certain research approaches and frameworks that would allow for an integrated approach to comprehensive political-economic analysis in modern conditions.

Volume of Transactions and Potential Monetary Base: Understanding Post-Capitalist Monetary Development

Grigoris Zarotiadis

In the first part we present the evolution of the volume of transactions, as a result of the continued intensification of the division of labor, as well as the sectoral and the spatial expansion of capitalist relations (internationalization). The contribution of financialization and the expansion of speculative capital portfolio movements is highlighted, especially in the late period of our days. Next, we proceed with the definition of the "potential monetary base". In the second part, we use the pre-defined terms in order to justify the evolution of money over three main phases - commodity money, tangible and intangible (digital) fiat-money. Moreover, the combined analysis of the two – volume of transactions and potential monetary base – is matched with international economic and political development. Finally, using the above theoretical framework, we evaluate the prospects of the new phase of monetary expansion (cryptocurrencies), given the technological possibilities of the virtual economy, and formulate the basic questions of institutional, economic and social nature.

The Great Systemic Clash: Anti-Imperialist Environmentalism Amid the Crises of the Earth System and Capitalist World-System

Alejandro Pedregal

This presentation examines the convergence of Earth system and world-system crises and explores the transformative potential of anti-systemic movements in addressing this critical juncture. The Earth system is undergoing profound destabilisation, with most planetary boundaries surpassed or critically threatened, while the capitalist world-system faces an existential crisis driven by the growing influence of semi-peripheries and peripheries in reshaping global socio-economic dynamics.

The interaction of these crises follows an intertwined logic: the relentless competitiveness of the capitalist world-system accelerates environmental degradation through its insatiable demand for resources, hastening the collapse of the Earth system. Simultaneously, worsening climate conditions and dwindling access to key materials essential for economic activity erode profit rates, fuelling widespread political, economic, and military conflict. This multi-systemic clash reveals global capitalism as a system that perpetuates inequality by externalising socio-ecological costs onto the periphery—ultimately threatening the planet’s survival.

In the face of this systemic collision, different anti-systemic movements, both environmental and anti-imperialist, confront an unprecedented challenge and emerge as a critical force, advocating for a reimagined climate justice rooted in radical redistribution, cooperative action within biophysical limits, and the defence of sovereignty. This vision calls for dismantling the hierarchies of the world-system and promoting the South’s delinking from mechanisms of dependence. Central to this effort is the resistance against “green” imperialism, which, under the guise of corporate sustainability, perpetuates global capitalist accumulation and deepens the crises that have brought the planet to this existential crossroads.

Activism, Film & Media 1: Migration, War, Capitalism and Documentary

War, Trauma, and the Political Economy of Palestinian Documentary Cinema

Tuğçe Kutlu

This study explores the intersection of war, trauma, and the political economy of Palestinian documentary cinema, analyzing how films navigate both global media structures and localized histories of displacement. Documentaries such as *Bye Bye Tiberias*, *Slingshot Hip Hop*, *Palestine Underground*, and *From Beneath the Earth* serve as counter-narratives to dominant capitalist frameworks that marginalize Palestinian refugee experiences while sustaining selective humanitarian discourses (Chamayou, 2015; Bishara, 2022). This research examines key cinematic themes—body, allegory, sound (silence), and *umwelt*—interrogating how international film funds, festivals, and production networks mediate access to global visibility while reinforcing neocolonial power dynamics (Elsaesser, 2005; Shohat & Stam, 2014). These films expose capitalism’s complicity in forced migration and settler-colonial violence (Mbembe, 2003; Foucault, 2008) while resisting erasure through aesthetic and political interventions. Situating Palestinian documentary cinema within the broader crisis of capitalism, this study contributes to debates on migration, media economies, and resistance, emphasizing how cultural production articulates both subjugation and defiance in an era of escalating global displacement.

Migration and the Crisis of Capitalism in Iran

Shahriar Khonsari

Migrations on a global scale are interconnected with the internal contradictions of the capitalist mode of production, especially with regard to the areas that suffer economic sanctions, political unrest, and environmental damage. Taking up the case of Iran, this paper shows the structural context through which migration is produced in the first place and then the exploitation that is secured through the labor of migrants.

This piece of work examines the allegory of economic sanctions imposed which it can be amplified by neoliberal policies. The paper shows how combined pressures from abroad and at the national level promote unemployment, inflation, and inequality, causing a big increase in the numbers of migrating Afghans. The host country of Iran has been turned into a trans-regional point of human migration where millions of Afghan migrants and worker refugees live. These migrant workers who are usually not registered are victims of exploitation under the racialized labor markets system and are not provided with proper rights and protection.

This article liberates the lives of Afghan migrants living in Iran through testimonials and striking visuals. Based on the role of capitalist crises—both global and local, the work deals with the process of migration as a new form of labor that intensifies the complexity that is already present and further perpetuates the problem of social injustice. The presentation, thus, opens the floor to a broader discourse on possible solutions such as migration policies, economic alternatives, and transnational solidarity to confront these challenges in Iran and beyond.

As a documentary photographer, I worked on Afghan refugees for many years. One of my last projects was about funeral of Fatemioon (Afghan mercenaries who fought in Syria) combatants in Iran.

Homeward Bound: Exploring Refugees' Experiences with Housing Through Interactive Documentary **Matthias Kispert**

Homeward Bound' is an interactive documentary on the housing experiences of refugees in the Yorkshire and Humber region in England, produced in collaboration with the University of Huddersfield and Migration Yorkshire. The virtual space that houses a series of interviews and other videos has been created from 3D scans of furniture from the homes we visited during the creation of this project.

Housing has always had a close association with refugees and the settlement of refugees is, at its core, a housing issue.

Refugees move from their home, perhaps through other places, to finally arrive in a nation-state which provides them with security of status and the promise of assistance to continue their lives. At the foundation of this promise of refuge is the provision of a safe and secure home. Yet refugees tend to experience the worst housing outcomes out of any migrant group.

THURSDAY 18 SEPTEMBER SESSION 2

Agrarian Change 2: Beyond Classic Agrarian Class Analysis

The Materiality of Identity: W.E.B Dubois and B.R. Ambedkar as Agrarian Sociologists **Muhammad Ali Jan**

W.E.B Dubois and B.R. Ambedkar are rightly viewed as key inspirations behind two of the most significant movements of the oppressed in the 20th century: African-Americans in the US and Dalits in India. Despite a growing body of literature comparing the thought of these two intellectual and political giants and the movements they inspired, one aspect of their oeuvre remains understudied: their agrarian sociology. This paper argues that the views of Dubois on race and Ambedkar on caste were decisively shaped by their understanding of the relationship between land ownership and labour deployment in the context of capitalist development. In other words, race and caste derive their materiality from their rootedness in unequal rural labour relations which are intensified by capitalist development and reproduced in variegated forms in urban and semi-urban contexts. The paper will also explore the complementarities and differences in their views on the tensions between middle-class and working class sections among oppressed groups, on the role of agriculture in industrialization, the pursuit of emancipation strategies based on land distribution versus strategies of migration off-farm and finally, the prospects of multiracial and multi-caste struggles for emancipation. In an era where "identity politics" threatens to become devoid of social content, revisiting the agrarian political economy of these thinkers can help understand the dialectic of identity and material relations.

Agrarian and Rural Analyses over Time: Three Prevailing Classic Perspectives and Three Analytical Challengers **Jens Lerche**

This paper maps changing landscapes of agrarian and rural political economy-related debates from the 1980s onwards. The realities of neoliberalism and ecological disaster have challenged old core beliefs, strategies and analyses, as have radical feminism and anti-racism. It identifies three distinctively different 'old' core positions that are central to today's agrarian-rural views and strategies. The first is that of structural transformation: the need for industrialisation, based on agrarian accumulation. This perspective is still alive and kicking. The two other old positions are distinguished by the issue of 'class'. Thus, the second core position rejects class relations as a central concern. This 'populist' position views 'the peasantry' as a single group with common interests against global agribusiness commodity chains, plantations, contract farming and land confiscation, all of which are often seen as expressions of a new phase of agrarian or land-focused imperialism. The third core position is a revamped class-based position, set against both the above views. This position argues that the populists are ignoring that communities are riven by class contradictions, exploitation and oppression. De-peasantisation and seasonal labour migration have led to a new class structure where erstwhile rural classes of labour are now exploited in all parts of society, by local, national and global forces, including by their old landed oppressors. In addition to dealing with today's capitalism per se, these three core positions also have to articulate with three, new and powerful analytical challengers: Radical feminism and social reproduction theories, Racial capitalism and Radical environmentalism. It is argued that some of the old positions do that better than others.

Agrarian Change and Coastal Agricultural Workers: Livelihood Vulnerabilities in South India from a Qualitative Study **Pratheepa CM**

This paper addresses the pressing issue of coastal soil salinization and its impact on agrarian livelihoods, with a specific focus on marginalized agricultural workers, particularly landless and smallholder women in the coastal delta region of Tamil Nadu, India. The study situates itself within the broader discourse of agrarian change, highlighting intersections with class, gender, and caste, while proposing ecosystem service enhancement as a viable approach to mitigate land degradation and improve rural livelihoods.

The research underscores that a significant proportion of the population in the study region comprises agricultural workers rather than cultivators, making them particularly vulnerable to the adverse effects of soil salinization and land degradation. The paper delves into these vulnerabilities, emphasizing how landlessness, limited access to resources, and socio-economic marginalization exacerbate the struggles of agricultural workers, especially women, in sustaining their livelihoods. By drawing on the ecosystem services framework and the sustainable livelihoods approach, the study advocates for enhancing ecosystem services as a critical strategy to rehabilitate degraded lands and revitalize agricultural productivity.

A key aspect of the study is its exploration of the drivers of vulnerability among agricultural workers. These drivers include significant changes in cropping patterns, such as the shift from paddy-dominated systems to less intensive cropping cycles, reducing from three crops per year to just one. Additionally, land use changes, including the conversion of cultivable land to aquaculture and increasing fallow lands due to salinity, have further diminished agricultural opportunities. The decline in livestock and homestead lands, coupled with increased mechanization, has also reduced the demand for agricultural labor, disproportionately affecting women and marginalized communities.

Through a gendered lens, the paper maps the cascading impacts of these agrarian changes on agricultural workers. It highlights growing gender disparities in employment types, wage gaps, and limited opportunities for diversification into non-farm sectors. The emergence of caste-centered non-farm employment further entrenches social hierarchies, while women continue to engage in low-economic-value farming activities, contributing little to the overall household income. This intersection of class, caste, and gender in the agrarian landscape underscores the need for targeted interventions to support vulnerable groups.

The study also explores potential pathways to enhance employment opportunities for agricultural workers by improving land productivity and conserving natural resources. It emphasizes the dual objectives of the restoration process: halting further land degradation and creating sustainable livelihood options. The paper advocates for community-based conservation efforts, such as soil and water conservation on public and private lands, to restore ecosystem services and agricultural viability.

Given the recent designation of the region as a special agricultural zone by the state government, the study gains additional significance. It highlights critical gaps in current policies and calls for concrete actions to operationalize the unique policy framework aimed at restoring farming and supporting agricultural workers. The paper argues for a comprehensive approach that integrates social, economic, political, and environmental considerations, particularly in the context of climate change, to ensure sustainable agrarian development and equitable livelihood opportunities for marginalized agricultural workers in coastal Tamil Nadu.

The Ties that Bind: Agricultural Labour in Hazelnut Picking and State-led Regimes of Informality in Turkey **Mina Kozluca**

This article explores the processes of livelihood differentiation among migrant labourers who pick hazelnuts in Turkey each year. Much literature has explored “seasonal agricultural labour” as occupying the lowest levels of the labour market in terms of wages and working conditions, in Turkey and beyond. However, this literature has implicitly conceptualised this labour force as an undifferentiated whole. Based on 11 months of on-site fieldwork in workers’ spaces of work and living in Turkey, I argue that unification bias has two reasons. One, is an overt engagement with the prevalent labour processes in agriculture. Despite being important, this article suggests a more wholistic “labour regime” understanding into the livelihood strategies of workers’ day-to-day and generational reproduction. Through a labour regime lens, we are able to account for the sector-specific developments that impacts the availability of precarious work both in the rural and urban sectors, workers’ access to formal and informal networks to navigate these opportunities, and the role of the state therein. Taking a labour regime perspective, I will contend that the supply of internal migrants as precarious labour to Turkish agriculture is achieved through (a) the politics of difference, (b) familial networks of solidarity, and (c) state-led regimes of informality.

Financialisation 2. Financialised Governance and Institutions: Theories and Case Studies

The Institutional Embodiment of Socialization of Financial Risk: Asset Management Companies in Turkey **Özgürçan Alkan**

The enormous development of global financial markets over the last decades led to a social landscape in which financial risks have expanded and varied on a spatial-temporal scale. The financialization process, which was exported to developing countries from developed countries under the guidance of the neoliberal form of regulation has brought over a struggling area that concerns managing financial risks. In this sense, asset management companies (AMCs) are drawing attention as an institutional tangibility of neoliberal financial risk management. These companies that buy non-performing loans from banks with high discount rates, restructure them, and strive to collect in a given time have been largely reduced to a technical risk liquidation instrument in mainstream studies. It is portrayed that growing risks in banks' balance sheets are liquidated before they turn into a systemic crisis; the reconsolidation of the financial markets with stimulation of credit mechanisms occurs in such a way. This new measurable, commodifiable, and exchangeable manifestation of financial risk isolates the finance-dominated accumulation regime from its exploitative class-based content. Thus, it intensifies a depoliticized comprehension of risk. In this context, this study argues that AMCs that engage in distressed debt exchange are a part of the process of socialization of risks in the sense of displacing the crisis conditions into the future. This socialization process does not necessitate a state with a limited capacity but a state equipping new apparatus by adapting itself to different market logics such as finance. The emergence and development of AMCs in Turkey epitomizes such a case.

Household Debt in Turkey: Causes, Dynamics and Consequences **Berkay Ayhan**

What are the causes, dynamics, and consequences of household debt in Turkey? We employ a mixed-methods research design including surveys, focus groups, and semi-structured elite interviews so as to uncover the overarching dynamics within the population as well as to identify causal pathways to borrowing and its consequences.

Growing household indebtedness has been an integral aspect of financialization process. Research on household debt has underlined factors such as conspicuous consumption (Christen & Morgan, 2005), welfare state retrenchment (Lapavistas 2009), house prices (Moore & Stockhammer, 2018). More recently, the literature has moved to problematize the nexus of welfare regime and credit availability (Annarelli, 2021; Wiedemann, 2021).

Our findings suggest that household debt is not a uniform phenomenon. Households in Turkey engage in various strategies of investment, purchasing assets, as well as mere survival. Household debt needs to be contextually situated in the broader macro-economic framework with factors such as financial inclusion, inflation, interest rates, and developments in housing.

Theorising Financialisation in the Twenty-first Century: Views from the South **Mihika Chatterjee**

Critical scholarship on land dispossession that centres dynamics of financialisation in explaining commodification of resources in the South can be delineated into two main strands based on dominant imperatives. One focuses on how the restructuring of food regime post-1980s involving the growing control of transnational agrifood corporations has spurred land expropriation for food, fibre, and biofuel (McMichael 2013 e.g.). This literature is capital-centric and privileges the nexus between (nation) states and global finance (corporations, banks, private equity etc.). A second strand draws out the logic of speculation in infrastructure-building and urbanisation (e.g. Levien 2018) and makes visible a dense network of actors across scales, and local strategies of accumulation and patterns of differentiation based on existing inequalities across social groups.

The purpose of this article is to provide critical reflections on financialisation by systematising insights from scholarship on dispossession in the South. It shows that (1) rent-seeking and speculation have intensified as a tendency in the interconnections between food and finance and (2) this expansion of rentierism is a dialectical expression of institutional changes to the financial sector in the North and contradictions of neoliberal accumulation in the South. Evidence from the 'periphery'/South dynamises a largely global capital-centric theorisation of financialisation.

Pro-Poor Populism or Financialized Governance? The Politics of PMJDY and PMMY in India

Pinar Kahya

This paper examines the intersection of financial inclusion, pro-poor populism, and financialized governance through an analysis of India's Pradhan Mantri Jan-Dhan Yojana (PMJDY) and Pradhan Mantri Mudra Yojana (PMMY). Launched as flagship schemes to expand financial access for the poor, these initiatives have been central to the Modi government's developmental discourse. While framed as instruments of economic empowerment, they simultaneously function as mechanisms of political control and market expansion. This article argues that PMJDY and PMMY exemplify a broader shift in pro-poor policies, where state-led welfare is increasingly mediated by financial markets, embedding marginalized populations into debt-driven economic structures. Through an analysis of policy documents, financial data, and secondary sources, the study highlights how these schemes serve both as tools of populist legitimacy and as vehicles for financialized governance. Rather than fostering economic security, they often expose the poor to new forms of financial precarity. By situating India's financial inclusion agenda within global debates on the financialization of development and authoritarian populism, this study sheds light on the evolving role of the state in shaping welfare and economic citizenship in the Global South.

PEID 2.

Varieties of African Capitalisms: The Political Constraints to Contemporary Structural Transformation

Pritish Behuria

Though the contemporary global political economy has changed significantly over the last several decades, the central challenge of sustaining 'catch up' development remains the same: achieving structural transformation. Structural transformation refers to a process where a national economy moves 'from a set of assets based on primary products, exploited by unskilled labor, to a set of assets based on knowledge, exploited by skilled labour' (Amsden, 2001, 2). Investing in knowledge-based assets requires governments and firms to develop reciprocal state-business relationships aimed at learning. Investing in learning in latecomer firms is difficult and often characterised by failure, always involving difficult political decisions.

This project is based on over a decade of research across 8 countries on state-business relations and structural transformation across Africa. The project shows that even in most countries where export diversification has been achieved, sustained structural transformation has been elusive because of the distrust between governments and domestic firms, as well as decades of market-led reforms in domestic economies. While the survival and growth strategies of African firms have been to invest in capturing domestic and regional markets, government policy has largely ignored the potential of these markets. But a more significant challenge has been the rising influence of services, as well as urban property prices, highlighting a major political challenge for most countries: to divert African wealth from rentier investments (such as urban property) into more productive investments aimed at structural transformation.

Forging a Developmental State: Bureaucratic Autonomy and Industrial Transformation in Mauritius

Hamza Delbar

This paper uncovers the nodal agency and the overall bureaucratic structure in the Mauritian Developmental State that facilitated the economic transformation in the postcolonial era. It highlights the critical role of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development (MEPD) as the nodal agency at the apex of the bureaucratic hierarchy through the publication of national plans. Moreover, the paper sheds novel insights about the dual-layered bureaucratic that assists the evolution of economic pillars in Mauritius. This paper provides unique empirical insights on the establishment of the DS paradigm in Mauritius and contributes theoretically to the literature on African developmental states by highlighting the significance of structural roles within the state apparatus. The research offers lessons for state-led policies, economic transformation and industrialisation in the context of postcolonial African states.

Emerging Auto Industries in a World of GVCs: Goals, Policy Strategies and Development Trade-Offs

Lorenza Monaco

Based on Monaco & Schroeder (2025, forthcoming volume) this presentation illustrates why industrialising via the development of an automotive industry is still an ambition for many late industrialisers/ developing countries, regardless of the substantial challenges faced by the global automotive industry. Despite the international competitive pressure, the unwritten future linked to the ongoing twin transition (ecological and digital) and the recent crisis of the EV market, the automotive industry remains an important employer, and a crucial source of inter-sectoral linkages and domestic spillovers. From a development perspective, and despite the inherent ecological trade-offs, it cannot be easily dismissed, and it will still be relevant for years to come.

More specifically, this presentation reflects on the experience of GVC-integration from the viewpoint of late auto industrialisers. Referring to Pavlinek's latest classification (2025, forthcoming), it firstly discusses different types of possible integration. It then reflects on opportunities, strategies and developmental trade-offs linked to such integration. It particularly draws on cases like Poland, Morocco, Thailand, South Africa and Vietnam, to illustrate different varieties of integration, or lack of it, and their developmental implications. Ultimately, the work presented here reflects on different industrial policy trajectories and available policy tools, on factors like geography and resource endowment in relation to productive specialisation, on developmental trade-offs, and on global reconfigurations we may expect in the world automotive industry in the near future.

Adaptation of Industrial Policy Practices in Türkiye to 'New' Industrial Policies: Constraints and Opportunities

Emine Tahsin

This paper focuses on the political economy-based analysis of the industrial policies implemented in the Turkish economy after 2001. Taking this scope into account, the approaches on 'new industrial' policies are taken as a basis, and it is aimed to discuss what kind of industrial policy trends may come to the fore in the future. For Türkiye, trade with the EU (Customs Union) and the reflections of foreign relations with the South in recent years on the field of production continue to be decisive in terms of future orientations. The transition to a green economy, the updating of the Customs Union with the EU, and the forms of articulation to global value chains are among the important discussion topics that will shape the future of industrialists in Türkiye. Besides, the coordination of the macroeconomic policies determines the formation of the industrial policies. In this context, the paper will try to discuss which sectoral dynamics and actors are the driving factors in the formation of industrial policies. Türkiye's structural change dynamics that emerged in the 2000s, employment conditions, and the forms of articulation with global value chains will be tried to be revealed. The presentation will be based on global value chains, world input-output tables, sectoral value-added and employment, and foreign trade data.

Neoliberalism 2. Neoliberalism, Land, Industry and Ecology

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

Carmen Elsayad

Since the neoliberal 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. Between 1962 and 1989, the International Coffee Organization (ICO) oversaw a global quota system that kept the commodity price of coffee relatively stable. In the aftermath of deregulation, the ICO transformed itself into a proponent of differentiation, strongly encouraging both certifications and cultivation strategies to grow better quality coffee as a path through which producers could upgrade their coffee to survive the price collapse.

This paper traces the emergence of "differentiation" in the coffee GVC and how it was used to frame advice to coffee producers through ICO reports, communications, and events since 1989. Within a span of thirty years, the ICO helped to transform global coffee production into a highly differentiated market with abundant coffee profiles as diverse and complex as the wine industry's. However, this was accomplished without buyers paying significantly higher prices overall. While stories of successful roaster/producer partnerships abound, few studies have considered what differentiation has done to coffee production in general. This paper argues, firstly, that 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 institutions of trade governance. Secondly, it has increased competition between individual producers and countries of origin, to the benefit of roasting monopolies in core economies. Finally, its emphasis on depoliticized upgrading has encouraged the abandonment of collective action on commodity prices.

The Political Economy of Global Climate Policy-Making

Ebru Voyvoda

This paper examines the political economy of international climate policy, arguing that it's characterized by a fundamental tension: the urgent need for collective action versus the entrenched interests of a financialized global economy. Despite scientific consensus on the climate crisis, current policy responses, including international agreements and green deals, are deeply embedded within existing power structures, giving rise to new forms like green finance. Increased climate finance is frequently called for, yet the reality is misrepresentation, uneven distribution, and continued fossil fuel investment.

Ambitious policy targets are set against a backdrop of financialized and fragile global economy marked by weak demand, sluggish investment, and concentrated wealth. Financialization is linked to concentrated power and oligopolies in global markets. Critically, market-based mechanisms, like carbon pricing and debt-driven infrastructure finance, exacerbate financial vulnerabilities, especially in the Global South. These dynamics undermine initiatives like a Global Green New Deal, further complicated by the North-South divide. Effective climate action requires a profound transformation of the global political economy, challenging financial dominance and prioritizing equity and sustainability over profit.

The Evolution of Economic Structures and Sustainability: A Political Economy Perspective

Mattia Tassinari

Structural change involves qualitative and quantitative transformations within economic sectors, driving development processes. Its sustainability depends on the ability to maintain social, economic, and environmental balance. However, these dimensions are not always aligned in modern economic systems. A proper assessment of sustainability requires a detailed analysis of a country's economic structure and the capacity of its industries to integrate these dimensions effectively. This study examines the evolution of the Italian economy through a new composite indicator, applied to 62 industries (at the 3-digit classification level) over the period 2008-2022. The findings reveal a general improvement in industries' ability to advance productivity, equity, and environmental sustainability simultaneously, though tensions among these dimensions persist. Finally, the research discusses the policy implications of the empirical analysis.

Teaching Political Economy

Teaching Migration Analysis

Cristiane Mancini

This article proposes discuss how obtain data on international immigration and asylum requests. Using Data Migra (current migration data platform released in Brazil) will be explored a cross-referencing of variables frequently required by many type of users/ analystis. The platform was developed to be dynamic and intuitive, designed to provide quick and simple access to administrative records on international migration and refugee applications from the following other databases such as General Coordination of Labor Immigration (CGIL), of the Ministry of Justice and Public Security; Employment and Social Security Card (CTPS), Annual Report of Social Information (RAIS), General Registry of Employed and Unemployed Persons (CAGED), of the Ministry of Economy; National Migration Registration System (SisMigra), International Traffic System (STI), Requests for Recognition of Refugee Status, among others. The pairing of databases and accurate data interpretation is the object of the Technical Cooperation Agreement between Federal Government agencies, seeking to contribute to improving information on the presence of migrants in the formal labor force, providing elements for the formulation of migration policies. This pairing of databases and analysis has a considerable gain in the study of the insertion of migrants in the formal labor market in Brazil, expanding to other countries both in relation to stock and movement.

A Didactic Proposal for Teaching Heterodox Economics and Confronting the Dominant Orthodoxy

Sergio Camara Izquierdo

The ideological domination of neoclassical economics is a fundamental pillar of capitalist reproduction and an obstacle to emancipatory struggles against capitalism. Despite its essential advances in the scientific explanation of economic reality, heterodox economic theory has not managed to carve out a relevant niche in academia or the collective consciousness. It continues to be a minority and excluded paradigm. This paper aims to present a didactic proposal for teaching critical economics, especially Marxist political economy, based on a vast teaching experience in a university institution that incorporates Marxist political economy in the basic curriculum of the undergraduate and graduate programs in economics. The proposal aims to open new ways in the permanent ideological war in economic science, even knowing the difficulty of piercing the ideological hegemony of neoclassical theory.

The proposal is based on a genetic-historical analysis of economic science, emphasizing a materialist interpretation of the origin of the different schools in the history of economic thought. The essential difference revealed in this analysis lies in the conceptualization of economic reality, while the theoretical construction, including the development of the diverse theories of value, results from the initial pre-conceptualization of social reality, which has clear-cut ideological content that permeates economic theories. We consider that the confrontation of the conceptualizations of economic and social reality is a more didactic starting point than the confrontation between theories of value; additionally, it is much more pedagogically useful for the teaching of critical economics since it unmasks in a more evident way the ideological content of neoclassical theory. Among other things, it becomes evident how neoclassical theory is an obstacle to the full realization of the free individual, paradoxically to its own ideas.

Teacing Political Economy in Turkey
Aylin Topal

This paper argues that teaching political economy requires the explicit inclusion of state theory to avoid reproducing implicit and often dominant assumptions about state-society relations. When courses in political economy omit theoretical discussions of the state, they risk leaning unknowingly on the prevailing state theory within their institutional or disciplinary context. In the case of Turkey, this dominant framework often manifests through the “strong state tradition” approach, which shapes how state-society relations are conceptualized and taught. The paper critically examines how this unacknowledged reliance on a singular theoretical framework limits students’ capacity to engage with alternative perspectives on the state and political economy.

Social Reproduction 2 and Activism, Film & Media 2: Forms and Spheres of Social Reproductive Labour
Dependency Theories and Social Reproductive Labour: A Case Study of Philippine Migrant Domestic Workers in Singapore
Kevin Tan

Through a case study of Philippine migrant domestic workers in Singapore, this research synthesises dependency and social reproduction theories to analyse the uneven reorganisation of social reproduction that has resulted from the continued expansion of capital accumulation. Core-periphery relations are unpacked via an interdisciplinary, mixed-methods approach at different analytical levels that connects state, firms, households and domestic workers to unravel the unequal exchange of migrant domestic workers and remittances as a feature of periphery underdevelopment that is conditioned by the development of the core. On the macro level, interview data is examined alongside the colonial and postcolonial histories of both countries that places their subsequent decision to import/export domestic workers within the context of their specific insertions into global capitalism. On the micro level, interview data is analysed along with administrative data sets to connect the reorganisation of social reproduction in both sites that enables the employers to undertake more productive activities while providing remittances to the domestic worker families that fund less productive investments. By bringing dependency and social reproduction theories into dialogue the micro-macro gap is bridged to bring forth a new understanding of the decisions behind migration, employment and household reorganisation within the context of differing material conditions under capitalism.

Dispossessed Hinterlands, Accumulating Shores, Social Reproduction, Migrant Labour and Capital Accumulation Across North India and the Gulf
Marek Fenner

Since the mid-20th century, the Gulf Arab states have become crucial nodes of global capitalism, underpinned by a labour regime of millions of migrant workers from South and Southeast Asia. The region has the world’s highest share of non-citizens, making up over half its population. This paper contributes to critical political economy scholarship on the Gulf by introducing a social reproduction (SR) lens.

This paper also adds to the rising engagement in migration studies with SR. While most literature focuses on how migrant labour contributes to the SR of people in Global North destination countries, we focus on the SR of migrant labour itself. Given the vast scale of migrant labour globally, particularly in and from the majority world, this absence underscores an urgent need for further inquiry.

Drawing on fieldwork with migrant households in rural eastern Uttar Pradesh (India), we show that Gulf capitalism is deeply reliant for the SR of migrant labour power on the labours of SR performed by wives and other household members staying in the sending countries. These include simple commodity production and subsistence agriculture, alongside domestic and care work. SR not only reproduces labour power but also shapes it in critical ways. The costs of SR are externalised by capital onto the families back home. The unique and transnational spatiality of SR contributes to the formation of a transient, precarious, and exploitable labour force.

Nurseries in Times of Economic Crisis: When Young Women Have to Fix Everything **Thomas Haines-Doran**

In Britain, alongside many other countries, the government is committing significant funding to allow an increase in nursery places. The fact that this is happening in the context in which investment in public and social services has been squeezed is very significant, suggesting that neoliberal governments have a high strategic commitment to this sector. This paper explores the reasons why government spending is increasing, and asks whether this strategy is likely to succeed. It finds that

governments are concerned about low labour force participation rates, especially since the outbreak of Covid-19, which they believe is contributing to high inflation levels and stagnant economic growth. Funding available for nursery places is on the condition that it allows parents to undertake paid work, and its target audience is easy to discern: working class, young women (men rarely mentioned in accompanying documentation), who are expected to fill the gap in the labour market caused by an increase in sickness in older generations. However, as multiple studies reveal, such a plan is already falling at the first hurdle: there is a considerable recruitment and retention crisis in the sector, driven by low pay and poor working conditions. The government and nursery providers are looking for ways to increase employment, but their efforts are focussed on the demographic which represents the majority of the existing workforce – young women – but without sufficient funding to create well paid jobs with good conditions and career progression prospects. In other words, young women are seen as both the problem and the solution to wider systemic economic failings. This paper seeks to understand this contradiction, with reference to social reproduction theory and debates in political economy regarding the nature of ‘economic value’.

This is Essential Work 2: Visual Examinations of the Value of Social Reproductive Labour **(Activism, Film and Media)** **Susan Newman**

The second edition of the online exhibition “this is essential work” seeks to visualise valuations of social reproductive labour in ways that might subvert capitalist logics of valuation that entrench inequalities and maintain structures of oppression. We invite artists to imagine a different type of society. One that is not capitalist and is not based on exploitation. In a new world, how can essential work be rendered? Are there alternative ways of valuing essential work that can subvert capitalist logics?

This session will include a discussion of some of the art that will be selected for the exhibition in June 2025. We will also explore our processes of collaboration as an artist and two academics (a political economist and an anthropologist) and our approach to arts-based and participatory research methods as well as the work that we are doing to develop networks for action between feminist artists around the world and groups in India campaigning against the commodification of human milk.

Visit: www.thisisessentialwork.com

IG: [this_is_essential_work](https://www.instagram.com/this_is_essential_work)

<https://www.indiatimes.com/explainers/news/why-commercialisation-of-mothers-milk-is-raising-ethical-questions-574550.html>

THURSDAY 18 SEPTEMBER SESSION 3

Agrarian Change 3: Value Chains, Meat, Capital and Livelihoods

From Rural Capitalists to Poultry Companies: Shifting Configurations of Value Extraction from Smallholder Commercial Chicken Farming in Bangladesh **Ivo Syndicus**

Global production of broiler chickens has now surpassed that of pork (FAO 2024). This is due to the industrial intensification of chicken production through economies of scale, especially in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs). Contract farming schemes by poultry companies for smallholder farmers are a major modality for this production increase in LMICs. While this is a common trend, the ways in which chicken commodity chains are configured and changing differ across countries, as does how farmers engage with them.

Bangladesh is no exception in terms of a smallholder-based expansion of commercial chicken production. Yet, company-driven contract farming had failed to take hold in Bangladesh until recently. Instead, industrial production inputs are predominantly channelled through rural capitalists (“feed dealers”). Over the last years, however, some companies have successfully established contract farming schemes.

Based on over 200 interviews with different actors in chicken commodity chains across Bangladesh and detailed economic data of chicken production cycles from 60 farms, in this paper we chart the conditions that made recruitment of farmers into contract farming a recent possibility, and discuss what this means for farmers, the configuration of commodity chains, and value extraction from chicken production in Bangladesh.

Who Produces and Who Owns Broiler Chickens? Interrogating the Financial Structures of Industrial Broiler Chicken Production in LMICs
Ambarish Karamchedu

The expansion of industrial chicken has planet altering implications for the environment, food security and labour. 70 billion broiler chickens are slaughtered each year globally – roughly 2200 per second, the most consumed form of animal protein on the planet. This growth is specifically being targeted by corporate agribusiness in fast growing (population and economy) LMICs such as India, Brazil, China and Mexico, targeted as “untapped” countries with huge profit opportunities to expand industrial poultry. This paper aims to aggregate USDA and private firm level market data to unpack the consolidation of agri-business over the last two decades more generally, and in particular highlight the modes by which meat production not only tends to drive meat consumption, but also profit-driven subsidiary resource extraction (i.e. that associated with other agri-business such as feed-crops, water and energy, transport, etc), all with significant planetary scale consequences. The paper unveils the contradictions and dynamics of how corporate industrial livestock power operates. We hope to use the research to ask if such a system is necessary at all – on grounds of ethics, market power inequalities, and scale of animal/human suffering.

Global Capital and Big Livestock
Mehroosh Tak

The flow of global capital administered by corporate regimes and international financial institutions has created asymmetries of power and increased corporate concentration, shifting the way animal-sourced foods are produced and consumed, giving rise to “meatification of diets”. The paper aims to demonstrate the linkages between global capital, industrial animal agriculture and diets. It first articulates the economic and financial structure of livestock system, which include increased intensification of production, high level of horizontal and vertical integration, corporate concentration and horizontal ownership. Next, the chapter analysis a unique dataset of investment portfolio of International Financial Institutions (IFIs) to evidence how public financing is contributing to intensification and corporate concentration. The paper argues that industrial livestock production systems are justified and propagated by both private and public sector stakeholders around two “do good” narratives, first of solving malnutrition and second of improving rural livelihoods. However, the gains from increased productivity per unit through industrial production practices are insufficient in addressing the stated “do good” objectives as externalised costs of labour exploitation, disease risk and food insecurity created from the industrialised production process, in turn disproportionately impacts the very populations facing malnutrition and livelihood insecurity.

Beef, Climate, and Livelihoods in South Africa: Expanding the Commons for a Just Transition?
Andrew Bennie

This paper analyses the economic, social and economic dynamics of the industrialised beef sector in South Africa. In response to economic pressures, the industry seeks to grow through exports and increased smallholder incorporation. However, beef production is considered to have the largest ecological footprint of all food types, and is the largest single contributor from the food system to the greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions causing climate change. These economic and growth processes have complex outcomes for sustainability and inclusion, including various barriers to entry for small-scale farmers and tensions with systems of social reproduction in communal areas. The paper therefore explores the potential of the commons for a more just and sustainable beef system in South Africa. Most smallholder cattle in South Africa are raised on rangeland commons, and the notion of the commons has gained prominence in relation to food sovereignty and just transitions. Using an agrarian political economy perspective, it argues that advancing a commons approach for a just transition in relation to cattle has to navigate at least three notable agrarian dynamics. Firstly, of inequality and class in the cattle economy, between smallholders and between smallholders and large commercial farmers. Secondly, the market-centred and commodified logic of agrarian reform and development programmes. And thirdly, the expansion and governance of the rangeland commons. The paper contributes to global debates about cattle, livelihoods and climate change through an agrarian political economy lens.

Power and Price Formation in Agricultural Commodity Chains

Sarah Graf

During 2022 food prices jumped markedly, bringing agricultural commodity prices back into political discussions. While farmers face rising production costs, new ecological requirements, and competitive pressure, an increasing share of consumers in high-income countries cannot afford sufficient and healthy food. This raises questions about the role and power of agri-processing and retail in price formation in agricultural commodity chains.

Neoclassical agricultural economics presently offers few tools to analyse commodity chains, as its models focus on horizontal market power exercised by changing supply or demand. To address this gap, we revisit key concepts of power in sociological theory, particularly domination (Weber), hegemony (Gramsci) and knowledge as power (Foucault) to analyse how these are linked to price formation in agricultural commodity chains. We then assess concepts, methodological approaches and evidence developed by authors following different disciplines e.g. economic geography and economic history - as well as different schools of thought in particular Food Regime Theory, World Systems, and Global Production Networks.

The contribution delineates what agricultural economists can learn from incorporating these diverse approaches on market power, and outlines implications for researchers and food system actors.

Health and Health Care. The Political Economy of Health in Contemporary Capitalism: Global Problems and Challenges

Unequal Health Systems and the Migration of Healthcare Professionals: A Case Study of Turkey and Germany.

Eren Karaca

This paper examines the migration of healthcare professionals from Turkey to Germany, situating it within the broader context of global healthcare inequalities and the international mobility of skilled workers. The increasing flow of healthcare professionals highlights stark disparities in health systems between lower- and higher-income countries. Germany, as a key receiving country, has issued persistent calls for foreign healthcare workers and introduced migration policies aimed at alleviating its workforce shortages. This dynamic underscores the inequities shaping the global health landscape, where high-income countries benefit from a transfer of talent from systems already struggling to provide adequate care.

Using a comparative analysis of migration trends and qualitative interviews with healthcare professionals and migration facilitators, this study investigates the structural factors driving the movement of Turkish healthcare professionals to Germany. It explores the interplay between policy frameworks in both the sending and receiving countries, shedding light on the disparities between political rhetoric and practical realities. Additionally, the research delves into the challenges healthcare workers face, from navigating regulatory systems to integrating into new healthcare environments. Finally, the study aims to examine the sustainability of this migration trend by contextualizing it within global and country-specific healthcare and labor conditions. By highlighting the complexities and consequences of this phenomenon, the paper contributes to discussions on skilled healthcare worker mobility and global health inequality.

Upholding Markets and Organizing Consent: A Critical Political Economy of Regulation during the COVID-19 Global Crisis

Ipek Eren Vural

Mainstream theories overlook the significance of regulatory strategies for upholding capitalism at national and global levels whilst organizing popular consent to market risks and uncertainties. This article investigates Canada's health product regulatory authority, Health Canada (HC), and other major national regulators' responses to COVID-19. Drawing on semi-structured interviews with HC officials and secondary data on the activities of other major regulators, we show that during COVID-19 product evaluations, HC and other regulatory authorities adopted a strategy of increased collaboration and competition with one another. We term this strategy a pattern of 'competitive interdependence'. Using a critical political economy (CPE) approach, we argue that regulatory authorities used the strategy to mediate increased structural tensions between capitalism and democracy engrained in health product regulation. In addition to helping us analyze the features and drivers of competitive interdependence, the CPE approach enriches our understanding of the dialectic nature of health product regulation and the regulators' role in creating and correcting markets while organizing popular consent through generating public trust in medicine's safety and efficacy.

**What Survives from Bolsonaro's Previne Brasil in the New Resource Allocation Model for PHC of the Lula 3 Government?
A study in the State of São Paulo, Brasil**
Leonardo Carnut

This study aimed to verify which characteristics of Previne Brasil were perpetuated in the new model of allocation of Primary Health Care (PHC) resources and which innovations were introduced by the new ordinance. It consisted of a financial analysis regarding the results of Ordinance No. 3,493/2024, in comparison with the old Previne Brasil program (Ordinance No. 2,979/2019) in the 645 municipalities of the State of São Paulo. A comparative analysis was carried out of the average monthly values of federal resources transferred in 2022 via Previne Brasil and the 2024 installments (competences: May to September). Of the 645 municipalities analyzed, 98.5% (635 municipalities) had a positive variation. The least vulnerable municipalities (Strategy 4) presented average losses close to those of the other strata, but the average gains per municipality significantly exceeded (5 times more) those of the most vulnerable municipalities (Strategies 2 and 3). Specifically, the loss of resources in the 'Guarani Aquifer' area may be directly related to the greater presence of Primary Care teams (eAPs) than Family Health teams (eSF). The new model of the Lula 3 government presents a combination of innovations that aim for greater coherence with the principles of the National Primary Care Policy (PNAB) and elements inherited from the Previne Brasil model that still reflect a managerialistic and market-oriented logic.

China 1. The Emergence and Implications of China's New Quality Productive Forces

Divergent Governance Paths: Exploring Local Industrial Strategies in China's NEV Development.

Fanqi Lin

In China's rapidly evolving new energy vehicle (NEV) industry, the relationship between the government and state-owned enterprises (SOEs) has undergone significant transformation. Initially, the government placed great expectations on SOEs to lead this industrial shift. However, when these entities struggled to keep pace with innovation, the government introduced private enterprise competition to accelerate marketization. This evolution reflects the broader dynamic of state-business relations during China's transition from traditional manufacturing to high-tech industries.

This paper argues that the development of emerging industries, like NEVs, is often constrained by the legacy of existing industries. Regions and enterprises with entrenched positions in older industries face significant burdens during the transition, while newer regions and enterprises—especially those without such legacies—find it easier to develop NEV sectors. Case studies from Guangzhou, Hainan, Shanghai, and Hefei illustrate these dynamics. Guangzhou, with its strong SOEs and a competitive market environment, focuses on international expansion. Hainan leverages its international green energy base with supportive policies despite its lack of an industrial base. Shanghai, despite its robust manufacturing foundation, struggles to foster independent brands due to government-led development. Meanwhile, Hefei's success in cultivating an NEV industry highlights the role of government-led firm introduction and comprehensive support.

Ultimately, this paper concludes that local government support, while important, is secondary to path dependency and local industrial foundations in determining the success of NEV development. In many cases, the introduction of external forces is critical to breaking traditional barriers.

The Political Logic of Economic Transformation: How Did "Shenzhen Miracle(s)" Really Happen?

Guanlin Wu

Despite being "the fastest-growing city the world has ever seen [,] Shenzhen has not received the scholarly attention it deserves" (Vogel, 2017). While some studies have usefully identified key factors enabling Shenzhen's phenomenal transformation, few have seriously delved into the actual process of such transformation. Primarily adopting the method of processing-tracing and synthesizing the literature on broadly defined state-market, central-local, and domestic-foreign relations, this multi-period comparative case study carefully unfolds the highly challenging yet recurring cycle of Shenzhen's sectoral transitions, in order to understand the city's largely unusual yet persistent ability to reinvent its growth models across different critical junctures of development. Carefully tracking the developmental trajectories of Shenzhen's first three major economic transformation between the late 1970s and the early 2000s, this project has discovered a consistent pattern of these transition cycles and developed an original political theory of economic changes to explain the cycles. Making a case for the political nature of Shenzhen's transitions and moreover the replicability of them, this project argues that the successful progression of the transitions is usually entails the satisfaction of four sequentially interdependent conditions, including "politicized economic crisis", "embedded intergovernmental division", "policy comparative advantage", and "restructured factor endowment".

China and Electric Vehicles: Towards a Renewable Energy Transition

Alicia Girón

Chinese electric cars have emerged as a key force in the transition to more sustainable mobility, standing out as a model to follow in the fight against climate change. China, as a global leader in the production and adoption of electric vehicles (EVs), has accelerated the phase-out of fossil-fuel-powered cars, driven by a state industrial policy based on technological innovation in batteries and propulsion systems. This theoretical shift is grounded in the need to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, improve urban air quality, and diversify energy sources to tackle the challenges of global warming. The transition to electric cars is presented not only as an economic strategy for China but also as a structural response to the global climate problem, contributing to the fulfillment of international agreements such as the Paris Agreement. As charging infrastructure and battery efficiency advances continue, the impact of Chinese electric cars could become a global benchmark in the fight for a cleaner, less fossil-fuel-dependent mobility future.

The objective of this paper is to demonstrate how, starting from the economic and financial reforms of the 1980s, the Chinese state adopted a strategy through a policy of "import substitution" and subsidies to foster Chinese companies, both public and private, in order to meet the demand for vehicles. On the one hand, while the creation of electric vehicles is driven by a state industrial policy through incentives and increasing investment in technology, resulting in global expansion today, it is part of the "decarbonization" process and aligns with the Paris Agreement and the 2030 Agenda. From the perspective of heterodox economics, Schumpeter's hypothesis of 'creative destruction' teaches us how a new product displaces an old one, but also how the strengthening of a Big Government and Big Bank can promote an economic policy that creates new jobs and supports sustainable development

China within/beyond Renewables Capitalism

Dic Lo

People concerned with the desirability and viability of coping with Climatic Change within the confine of capitalism – "renewables capitalism", in short – might want to see what lessons can be drawn from China. This is understandable, given the systemic importance of China in the Green Transition worldwide. The task is difficult. China's performance in the Green Transition is complex. The conceptualization of Chinese political economy in the lens of capitalism is controversial. Scholars are thus divided, reflecting not only diverse knowledge of China but also questionable understandings of capitalism in the real world. This presentation is purported to contribute to the unravelling of the complexities and the clarification of the understandings. This way, it is hoped that some insights can be gained for predicting China's future performance in the Green Transition as well as the prospects for renewables capitalism.

Neoliberalism 3. Neoliberalism, Conflict and Geopolitics

The Role of Social Assistance Programs in Addressing Income Inequality in Brazil

Nilay Onbaşı

Brazil is one of the states to develop gradually over the last decades and be expected to be a rich state in the future. On the other hand, for centuries, it has had huge individual and regional inequalities. With economic growth in the last decades, inequality in Brazil has started to decline. For this topic, Simon Kuznets who is one of the most famous economists argued that at the beginning, economic growth leads to inequality, but after reaching a certain welfare level, inequality starts to decline. In this point, I examined whether inequality in Brazil began to decrease with economic growth or not; because although the Brazilian economy started to grow many times, its inequality had never decreased. Instead of decreasing, its inequality had increased. In contrast, during the period of the Cardoso and Lula governments, inequality began to decrease in Brazil. It is true to say that in the last thirty years, especially both with Cardoso and Lula, Brazil changed its economic policies and started to use neoliberal policies. In addition, Brazil started to focus more on social assistance programs which are results of the Augmented Washington Consensus. So, I examined whether social assistance programs have any effect on the decrease of inequality or not.

Localization Between Paternalism and Politicization: Humanitarian Aid in Dominica and Turkey

Bilge Şahin

Despite significant funding allocated to humanitarian assistance, it frequently faces criticism for failing to effectively address the needs of disaster-affected communities, whether in the context of natural disasters or conflicts (Paffenholz et al., 2023). In response, the Grand Bargain platform, launched in 2016, committed donors to directly fund national and local institutions, promoting a more inclusive approach to aid delivery through "localization." However, scholarly debates remain sceptical about the effectiveness of localization and whether it genuinely achieves its intended goals (Howe & Stites, 2019). Existing literature largely focuses on localization through institutional structures such as government agencies and local NGOs, often neglecting the voices and agency of the affected populations (Khoury & Scott, 2024). Hence, it fails to critically examine who qualifies as "local." This paper argues that operating at the national or local level does not necessarily mean that an organization truly represents the perspectives and needs of affected communities. Despite an emphasis on local agency, localization efforts often sideline the very populations they aim to serve, stemming from a limited understanding of local contexts. This paper highlights how political and economic structures enable national and local actors to act as gatekeepers, excluding certain groups based on political affiliation or ethnicity. Power hierarchies can foster paternalistic dynamics, where local organizations assume they know best, mirroring the power imbalances seen in international aid structures. Through case studies of the Syrian refugee response in Turkey and the Hurricane Maria response in Dominica, this paper examines how localization is shaped by both the politicization and paternalism of aid delivery.

The Anatomy of High Inflation Episodes in Developing Economies: Lessons from Turkey's Exchange Rate Shocks and Seller's Inflation (2018–2024).

Hasan Cömert

This paper explores high inflation episodes in developing economies through an in-depth analysis of Türkiye's inflationary experience between 2018 and 2024. Focusing on the interaction between exchange rate volatility, market structures, and price-setting behavior, the study aims to draw broader insights for emerging markets facing similar macroeconomic pressures. Departing from traditional explanations centered on monetary expansion or fiscal dominance, this analysis emphasizes the central role of frequent and large exchange rate shocks. These shocks disrupted price stability and created fertile conditions for "seller's inflation," in which firms with significant market power capitalized on external disturbances to justify disproportionate price increases. As the Turkish case illustrates, such dynamics in developing economies closely mirror the post-pandemic supply-side shocks that fueled seller's inflation in advanced economies. The political instability and structural market conditions further legitimize this behavior, compounding inflationary pressures.

Our analysis shows that repetitive and high exchange rate shocks generate a fertile ground for high inflation in Turkey and similar countries through many channels. Given the heightened volatility of exchange rates in developing economies under neoliberal reforms since the 1980s, it is possible to interpret the persistent high inflation observed in Türkiye and comparable economies as the outcome of this broader political agenda as well.

Is UK's neoliberal state losing in its Whac-A-Mole Game? The Twin Crises of Marketised Higher Education and Xenophobic Immigration

Joe Lin, Yangguang Chen

The UK's neoliberal policies in the 1980s have turned its universities into the locomotive of what the political and business elites of global capitalism call the 'knowledge economy'. It packages new knowledge and ideas into commercial products and services as commodities, undermining the public character of higher education. In the name of making academic endeavour more 'socially' accessible and more impactfully linked to industry, academia is compelled to serve capitalists' labour markets while following market fundamentalist principles cloaked as 'employability and compatibility'. Universities train and provide the reservoir of the workforce (researchers and specialists) required for neoliberal states (UK included) with high concentration of banking and finance, business agencies, administration and bureaucracies, etc. On the other hand, neoliberal states must divert domestic attention away from their economic and political demise by tightening immigration rules, legitimised by a xenophobic narrative constructed to criminalise migrants. However, this is unsustainable for any neoliberal state. The article argues that the UK is a case in point, losing the Whack-A-Mole Game as it endures the pain of twin crises of all-level xenophobia and the saturation of luxury-brand marketing of universities.

Commodity Studies

Buyer-driven? Apparel industry determinants from a structural perspective: The case of Turkey

Ezgi Unsal

The global apparel value chain is considered to be highly volatile for producers due to rapid changes in demand as a labour-intensive industry. Shortening production cycles due to ever-changing volume and content of fashion demand has been studied extensively, characterising it as a traditionally "buyer-driven" industry (Gereffi and Frederick, 2010).

Although it is true that the easy entry and exit conditions together with high competition prevents the industry from moving towards more advanced production techniques; textiles manufacturing consists of not only the production of apparel as the final garment, but also agricultural production (such as cotton), spinning, weaving and dyeing industries with different levels of factor intensity. This paper investigates the Turkish textiles industry as a whole to find out how the interdependent nature of these intra-industries determines the overall success of the apparel industry in the international market, reflecting the underlying macroeconomic trajectories of the countries they operate in, as much as the expectations of global fashion demand cycles. Drawing upon this case study to establish the structural links, it argues that the volatile nature of global fashion demand can be considered a consequence of underlying productive structures of the textiles industry, rather than the primary determining factor for its operation.

Activism, Film & Media 3: Creative Workshop: Exploring Migration Through Collage

Unconventional View on Migration

Cristiane Mancini

Agrarian Change 4. Agroecology and Beyond

Becoming Peasants? Back-to-the-Land Migration and Alternative Farming Movements

Simon Popay

In the context of global capitalism driving social injustice and ecological collapse, agroecology and ‘peasant’ farming are increasingly presented as the basis for an alternative (e.g. McMichael, 2008). With over half of the world’s population living in urban areas and agrarian lifestyles more mechanised, commodified, and input-dependent than ever, the widespread adoption of a radical labour-intensive agroecology seems optimistic. One dynamic affecting this is an apparent global rise in ‘back-to-the-land’ migration, which is countering rural depopulation and has the potential to reinvigorate rural spaces with alternative farming paradigms, including in Turkey (Turkkan, 2025). This paper explores the practicalities and political ecology implications of going back-to-the-land, drawing on fieldwork in England and Italy as well as my own recent experience of starting a farm in Western Turkey. It focuses on the feasibility of emancipatory and ecologically sound farming practices and relations in contemporary capitalism, drawing on the anarchism of James C. Scott and today’s food sovereignty movement. I critically interrogate different stances and class relations of farmers, including our own position and journey so far, looking at how going back to the land may or may not reproduce or transform capitalist relations around food.

The Geopolitics of Disease: Toxic Mechanisms of Accumulation and Dispossession

Jonas Adriaensens

Agroecology has long resisted against the application of chemical pesticides and herbicides in agriculture. Most scholarship in the field of agroecology departs from a strictly agronomic view, arguing that agrochemical use disrupts biological flows of ecosystems and thus leads to decreasing biodiversity. These views have been complemented by research in the medical sciences demonstrating that impacts on biodiversity apply not only to non-human ecological processes, but that harmful chemicals in fact penetrate human bodies and have the potential to cause permanent neural and epigenetic alterations. What is missing from these analyses is the way in which pesticide use affects the capacity of communities to produce and reproduce themselves. Based on ethnographic fieldwork at the expanding agricultural frontier of soy in Santiago del Estero, Argentina, we argue that peasant and indigenous communities are affected by biological, economic, social and political constraints in their ability to sustain their livelihoods. We sustain that pesticide use is often weaponized not to turn adjacent smallholder production into sacrifice zones (as is often argued), but rather to dispossess these communities, incorporate their territories and turn them into spaces of accumulation.

Critiquing Green Sedentarism: Examining the Marginalization of Pastoralism in Agroecology discourses in the Sahel

Liza Steultjens

This paper critically examines dominant discourses on Sahelian drylands and transhumant pastoralism within agroecology movements in Burkina Faso and Senegal. Agroecology is widely promoted as a holistic and sustainable approach by actors including the EU, NGOs, farmer organizations, research institutes, and governments. Based on document analysis, observational research, and 2024 interviews with agroecology advocates, researchers, and pastoralist organizations, this paper offers a critical discourse analysis of narratives on drylands and transhumance. While agroecology promotes agriculture-livestock integration, key actors often prioritize farming, marginalizing mobile livestock systems. Pastoral drylands are framed as degraded and pastoralism as inefficient, with sedentarization proposed as an agroecological solution. A minority challenges this “green sedentarism” by advocating for pastoralism’s role in agroecological systems, yet remains silenced. I argue that agroecology movements reproduce colonial narratives of aridness and nomadism, reinforcing dryland marginalization in funding, research, and projects.

Towards a Crisis of Reproduction? Exploring Family Farming and Food Expenditure in Spain (1980-2021)

Noelia Parajuá

This article addresses the evolution of food systems within capitalism and focuses particularly on its reproduction side, exploring two main phenomena: first, the evolution of agricultural holdings and agricultural labour; and second, the evolution of food expenditure in household budgets. While the first issue is critical for the generational reproduction of agricultural labour, which is intrinsically tied to the reproduction of agroecosystems on which food production depends, the latter shows a critical cost—food—for the daily social reproduction on which the production of labour power depends. We explore both issues for the case of Spain between 1980 and 2021. We draw on an agrarian political economy framework, engaging with the agrarian question(s)—particularly, the ‘agrarian question of labour’. We also make use of Social Reproduction Theory, and more broadly, we draw on food regimes and world-ecology conceptualizations. Our results show that the failure of Spanish family farms to reproduce threatens the continuity of biocultural heritage, thereby endangering the sustainability of agroecosystems and, by extension, food production itself. Furthermore, results show that the weight of food expenditure in Spanish household budgets has stopped decreasing, suggesting a change in the trend regarding the cost of food for social reproduction.

Labour 1.

Labour Process in Logistics Service Network: A Case Study of Amazon’s Sortation Centre in South India

Manikantha Nataraj

The expansion of e-commerce and associated logistic services, comprising warehousing, transportation and delivery, has created what might be termed a Logistic Service Network (LSN). Conceptually, LSNs can be considered a variant of the Global Production Network genus (Henderson. et al, 2002, Cumbers. et al, 2008; Selwyn, 2011), itself related to, though differing in important respects from, the Global Value Chain iteration (Gereffi. et al, 2005; Ponte and Sturgeon, 2014). A key element in this literature has been the governance of, and the relationships between, lead firms and their chain, or network partners, including subcontracted or third-party entities. In the GVC/GPN framework, labour has been considered either as passive recipient to the outcomes of the value distribution, or as an active agent in shaping their share of value in the production network. There is a scope to argue that production networks are equally a network of embodied labour, where labour participate in not only value distribution, but value generation as well (Taylor, 2010). This calls for a renewed attempt to reconnect workplace labour process and employment relations in the broader capitalist circuit of value creation and distribution (Taylor. et al, 2013; Newsome. et al, 2015).

This paper’s subject is an Amazon e-commerce LSN in South India, acknowledging that it spans the interconnected nodes, or sites, of warehousing (fulfilment centres), sortation centres and delivery hubs, the latter responsible for last mile of distribution to customers. Having examined the essential functional differentiation and divisions of labour between these nodes, the paper focuses specifically on one of these, a sortation centre located in Ernakulam, in Kerala, operated by Mahindra, a strategic third-party partner of Amazon. Analysis of the labour process (or processes), as customer orders progress through successive stages of this sortation centre, explicates how management strives to overcome labour indeterminacy and to maximise surplus extraction through multiple forms of control. A pertinent line of inquiry is the extent to which governance mechanisms, operationalised through Amazon’s digital architecture (notably the Amazon Warehouse Management System) and its on-site technologies shape, if not wholly determine, the forms of control at the centre, mindful of the contributory effects of direct, technical, bureaucratic, supervisory, and cultural/normative controls (Edwards, 1979; Burawoy, 1979; Barley and Kunda, 1992). Accordingly, the paper critically engages with the salience of the concept of ‘algorithmic control’.

This investigation of management control and labour process is concretely embedded in the network of inter-firm relationships, in which Amazon and Mahindra express a dialectical relation of conflict and unity of capital. Evidence is then evaluated of workers’ material conditions of work and their experiences, concerns, and grievances, identifying the forms that resistance take, formal and informal, however limited they might be given managerial constraints. Finally, the paper considers how worker vulnerabilities are exacerbated by strategies to recruit through agencies, segmenting the workforce by nature of contract and the use of migrant labour, which capitalise on workers’ labour market precariousness.

The data derives from a three-month study of this Amazon-Mahindra sortation centre. Between April and June 2023, thirty-eight semi-structured interviews were conducted with line managers, HR representatives, recruitment agents and, principally, workers. An outcome of the first systematic study of work and labour process of Amazon’s logistics network in India, the paper contributes to the broader literature on work and employment in Amazon (Delfanti, 2019; 2021; Sturna and Reese, 2020; Massimo, 2020) and to the nascent work on e-commerce warehousing in the Global South (Kenny and Atzeni, 2022; Atzeni, 2023).

Intellectual Treatments of Labour in Ancient Greece: Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle **Spiros Kritsotakis**

The concept of labour has long occupied a central position in philosophical, economic, and ethical discourses. This study looks at Ancient Greek intellectual conceptions of labour through the works of Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle. Contextualising them in the broader socio-economic realities of their times, it looks at how labour was conceived in a slavery-based society with a rigid social hierarchy. The apologetic intention and the defending of the slave regime are commonplace among these thinkers. Their common providing justification is the difference in the natural characteristics of individuals which makes slavery a natural consequence. Furthermore, as part of the leisure class, they focus on the importance of leisure for the proper performance of political duties, and since labour deducts time from leisure, they view it as an inadequate preoccupation for free citizens and suitable only for those who should not have civic rights. The view of these early Greek thinkers gives expression to the profound interrelations obtained between labour, citizenship, and political life in Ancient Greece. Though these are early, scattered reflections on labour and mainly prejudicial, they set the scene for debates that are to follow over the subsequent development of economic thought.

Temporality and Monopoly Capital: Ethnographic Perspective on the Labour Process of Gig Platforms **Vageesh Vishnoi**

Gig Economy has experienced an astronomical rise in India especially in the last decade. Against the backdrop of jobless growth that Indian economy experienced after liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation policies of 1991 – gig economy is hailed not only as hope for providing jobs but also as an instrument of formalisation of largely informal economy (NITI Aayog, 2022). Debates in academic literature have hovered around the question of precarity versus flexibility which are characteristic of the employment in gig work (Surie, 2018). But a little has been explored on the organisation of labour process of gig work especially in context of India. Further, although there is emerging strand of labour process literature from European countries yet the link of labour process with monopoly capital remains to be explicitly explored (Gandini, 2019). Taking cognisance of these gaps in literature, the paper argues that a relationship between the labour process of gig platforms and monopoly capital could be uncovered through engaging in ethnography of labour and exploring the temporal change gig workers experienced owing to the dynamics of monopoly capital under fourth industrial revolution.

This paper aims to contribute to three interconnected dimensions. Firstly, it documents the narratives of the food delivery workers and juxtaposes it with their experiences of working in previous non-platform informal work arrangements. Secondly, it also sheds light on the changes in the working conditions of the food delivery platform themselves through labour process analysis. It could also allow to comment on the process of novel ways surplus generation within the labour process of the platform while also documenting how it changes over time. These two aspects are explored in order to comment on the temporal dynamics monopoly capital funds like Tiger, Sequoia capital and Vanguard which are reshaping the informal economy in India. Thirdly, by centering the ethnographic subjects in the analysis the paper aims to make a methodological contribution to the emerging literature in political economy and labour process analysis. Paper argues that owing to the fast paced changes in the labour process of the digital platform it is perhaps possible to analyze the dynamics of monopoly capital and its imperatives through foregrounding the working life stories of gig workers who have been at the receiving end of the diktats of gig platforms operating in India. Thereby, establishing a relationship between different phases of investments in gig platforms by the venture funds and the corresponding manifestation they produce in the labour process of these platforms.

For the purpose of Data collection, ethnographic method was utilized and author worked as a food delivery worker at Zomato – one of the largest food delivery platforms in India. It served twofold purpose – Firstly to bypass the opacity of the labour process of the platform which remains inaccessible to the outside observer and secondly as an epistemological device to uncover the questions and issues which are experienced while engaging in the labour process of the platform. These questions were then carried over to the gig worker employed by food delivery platforms like Zomato and Swiggy operating in New Delhi, India. Data is collected through 67 in depth interviews of the gig workers by visiting them at ‘Hotspot’ areas designated by the platforms. These areas are found next to the popular restaurants and cloud kitchens. Workers are not only directed to assemble here and wait for the orders here but also they utilise these spaces for socialising amongst themselves and navigate through the labour process of the platforms while relying on each other’s knowledge of novel work realities of these platforms. Narratives of the workers along with the ethnographic insights of the author were analysed through Marxian perspective and findings were situated in broader labour process literature.

Industrial Scale Data Farming: User-Generated Content at Crossroads of Value and Profit **Konstantinos Nikolaros**

This research explores the economic role of User-Generated Content (UGC) in the social media industry, focusing on Social Networking Sites (SNS) like Facebook and it traverses thematically on the periphery of the ontology of labour in late capitalism. While UGC has been widely analyzed in communication, business, and computer science, we examine its economic significance and the debate on whether users act as digital laborers or contributors to commodity production. The increasing digital mediation of social life has transformed social interactions into commercialized transactions. We analyze the infrastructural conditions that enable the monetization of user data and the reliance of SNS on advertising-driven business models. Our research first defines key concepts in UGC research and examines Facebook's business model. We explore the theoretical precursors of digital labor theories, before focusing particularly on its Marxian perspectives and the critiques of free digital labor theory. We finally propose directions for future research, particularly in the context of AI-driven data exploitation.

By addressing UGC's economic implications, this research contributes to debates on digital labor, data commodification, and platform power dynamics of platform capitalism.

China 2 and Varieties of Socialism 1

China in Contemporary Capitalism **Esther Majerowicz**

There has been an overwhelming focus on the geopolitical aspect of China's ascension in the academic debate. Often, there is a neglect of social class interests in shaping state policies and the role of class struggle. We propose an interpretation of China's recent economic development and ascension through a critical political economy perspective. China's transition to capitalism under the aegis of a developmentalist state was a central piece in materially sustaining the neoliberal globalized form of capitalism, as both domestic and foreign capitalists benefited from the vast pool of low-wage labor. As class struggle intensified in China in the mid-2000s, the state adjusted its capital accumulation strategy and its relationship with domestic and foreign capitalists, giving primacy to domestic technological development and to mitigate the social costs provoked by capitalist development. This strategy's success and contradictions have propelled China's expansion abroad, while undermining the material basis of the country's "amiable competition" with the US, which now deems China as its main contender. As China breaks away from the peripheral condition, heightening inter-capitalist and interstate competition, i) it reproduces the central-peripheral junction, by reproducing the mechanisms that sustain this junction, and ii) provokes a convergence to non-neoliberal practices among advanced countries in the direction of the instruments explored in China's recent experience.

Neoliberalism 4. Neoliberalism and Fascism

Authoritarianism in the era of Financialisation **Galip Yalman**

As reflected in response to the political and economic crises experienced since 2008 global financial crisis, there would emerge authoritarian majoritarian tendencies in the countries of the Global North as well as of the Global South that would in turn produce differential accounts under the rubrics of 'late' - 'neo' - 'post' - fascism and/or right-wing populism etc. This reflects a quest to develop the most apposite concepts so as to establish analogies and differences across different geographical locations and historical time periods. As these conceptual categories tend to function as tools of periodization, there arises the need to problematize them so as to assess their saliency to account for their characterisation in terms of both continuity and difference. These analyses 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. Yet it is also debateable whether it is plausible to talk in terms of a crisis of hegemony, since there is hardly a working-class challenge to the hegemony of the dominant classes and/or power blocs in the present time.

This paper will attempt to contribute to the debate on the transformation of state by exploring the reorganisation of social forces and reallocation of state power with a particular focus on crisis management strategies pursued as several 'emerging market' economies encounter the pitfalls of finance-dominated model of capital accumulation.

Rethinking Neoliberalism, Crisis, and State Transformation in Long Durée **Pınar Bedirhanoğlu**

The current crisis of democracy worldwide is mostly associated with the capitalist states' inability to manage the deepened social inequalities precipitated by 40-year-long neoliberal policies. States, no more capable of implementing welfare policies, resort to coercive and oppressive policies in order to reproduce themselves within the financialized global capitalist accumulation processes. Such an interpretation tends to make sense of the current political crisis, i.e. the crisis of democracy, as an epiphenomenon of the global overaccumulation crisis tendency in contemporary capitalism, problematized mainly in economic terms. This paper will argue that the current global political crisis, defined as the rise of authoritarian neoliberalism, neo-fascism, and/or the far right by various critical perspectives, needs to be understood as an outcome of a long-term and global transformation in the balance of power in capital-labour relations rather than the short-term direct outcome of the 2008 global capitalist crisis. Underlining hence the need to historicize the development as well as the crises of economic and political forms in world capitalism in their own specificities in a non-synchronic way, it will suggest that the current global crisis of democracy is better discussed as the crisis of the modern republicanism, which had been constituted by social and political struggles after the late 18th century as an inherently unstable modern political form.

A Blue Kind of Control: Policing the Protests in Ciudad de México **Taşkın Toprak İpek**

Social movements are the essence of alternative politics, regardless of time and place. The crowds' demands are generally expressed without getting stuck in any canal in the protests. Even though the states' reflection towards these protests can change with time and conditions, the coercive power of the government (police) is always a fundamental institution. The police do not merely stop the protests; they also produce their countermovement. Internal and international dynamics influence the changes and reforms of the police institutions. As it experienced significant political and social turbulence throughout the late 1990s and 2000s, as well as regional and international crises, Mexico deserves special attention in this regard. Therefore, this study unpacks the reforms that affected the strategies and structure of the police along with the reflections of the protesters. The study focuses on Ciudad de Mexico between the 1990s and 2000s as the immense amount of police units and protests took place in the capital. It also relies upon economic-based protests. Official documents, newspaper archives, and semi-structured interviews are benefited from the data collection methods. The study claims that both internal and international dynamics played significant roles in protest control in Mexico.

World Economy 1. The Peripheries in the New Global Order

Underreported Capital Flows from China to Venezuela between 2001 and 2021: The Emerging of a Dual Economy **Leonardo Segura Moraes**

This research aims to develop a methodology for calculating ground-rent based on Marx's economic theory. To estimate the amount of ground-rent appropriated in the Brazilian economy by companies linked to the branches of agriculture, mining, hydrocarbons, pulp and paper, and sugar-energy, between 2010 and 2023, this research uses the Marxist Study of Added Values database (EMVA, in Portuguese), which translates the items of the Value Added Statement (VAS) and the Balance Sheet of a sample of companies listed on B3 into Marxist economic theory. This methodology allows the empirical formulation of concepts such as cost-price, average rate of profit and price of production.

Based on the methodology proposed by Marx in Chapter 38 of Volume III of Capital, ground-rent is obtained by the difference between the general social price of production and the individual price of production. The calculation of surplus-profit and its transformation into ground-rent uses accounting information from a sample of 54 companies. Of these, 8 appropriate ground-rent throughout the period (ENEVA, KLABIN, PETROBRAS, VALE, CSNMINERACAO, SAO MARTINHO, SLC AGRICOLA, and SUZANO HOLD), one appropriate ground-rent in some years (PETRORIO), and 6 never appropriate ground-rent, that is, considering each company's participation in the totality of capitals, their individual price of production is higher than the social general price of production (BRASKEM, BRF SA, JBS, MARFRIG, MINERVA and RAIZEN).

The Political Economy of Energy Transition: A Critical Analysis of FDI in Brazil and the Value Chain of Renewable Energy

Tomás Marques

Although most of the electricity generated in Brazil comes from hydroelectric power, a less polluting source, the national potential has been declining while demand has been steadily increasing. This led the government to promote policies to expand other sources, accelerating the adoption of rooftop photovoltaic systems and wind energy, resulting in a significant increase in both, which represented 15% of the national electricity supply in 2022. However, the expansion of less polluting sources does not necessarily lead to wider access and affordable energy; in fact, there are signs that the opposite is happening. Therefore, this paper seeks to analyse Brazil's political economy of energy. As the issue of energy transition has become increasingly important in the global economy, it is crucial to understand the distribution of benefits and the financial implications for national economies. The study examines how foreign direct investment shapes the dynamics of the energy sector, the role of multinationals in controlling key assets, and the extent to which domestic actors benefit or are marginalised in the transition process. By mapping ownership structures, investment flows and policy incentives, the paper assesses whether the energy transition promotes national economic development or reinforces global corporate dominance. The findings contribute to debates on sustainable development, economic sovereignty and the geopolitical implications of the energy transition.

Unequal Exchange and the place of Russia in Global Economy

Oleg Komolov

The paper examines the phenomenon of unequal exchange in international trade, particularly its impact on economic development and structural imbalances between countries. It critically analyzes orthodox and heterodox theories, including comparative advantage and labor value theories, to understand trade disparities. The study highlights the historical and theoretical foundations of unequal exchange, drawing from K. Marx, A. Emmanuel, and S. Amin, and applies an empirical analysis to Russia's global trade position. Using labor terms of trade indicators, the paper evaluates Russia's role as a semi-peripheral economy, demonstrating its dual function as a labor donor to developed nations while benefiting from exchanges with less developed countries. Findings reveal persistent economic asymmetries, reinforcing the necessity for industrial modernization and strategic policy shifts to mitigate dependency and economic disadvantage.

The EU CSDDD as a step towards binding international standards: Putting People over Profit?

Johannes Jäger

Binding international regulations instead of voluntary measures are an essential step forward to promote human rights and to protect the environment. The recently proposed EU supply chain legislation (Corporate Sustainability Due Diligence Directive - CSDDD) potentially represents a paradigmatic change in international economic governance structures. Reforming international economic relations by establishing binding standards is thus taking shape. However, the specific configuration of these international regulations is crucial for its effects. Although the directive is supposed to protect basic human rights such as the right for unionisation and demands a 'living wage' being paid, it remains to be seen what this means on the ground. Based on a broader critical political economy framework and by using critical approaches to GVC analysis as well as the power resources approach, the paper critically assesses the European supply chain legislation. The emancipatory potential but also possible downsides are evaluated. Hence, it is asked, to what degree these new developments indeed can be characterised as progressive and strengthen workers globally, or in which way they tend to legitimise and therefore stabilise neoliberal patterns of the global economy. The paper analyses possible entry points for progressive struggles based on the EU CSDDD by focusing on the potential of international civil society cooperation. In so doing it provides a conceptual framework. These entry points can be found at different scales and in different temporalities. Firstly, the paper lays out the potential and the limits of the directive in terms of strategies to bringing companies to court in the European Union. Secondly, the paper focusses on the transposition phase, i.e. the currently ongoing national implementation of the directive. It thereby analyses how cooperative strategies could contribute to create national laws and national supervisory institutions to ensure that they are susceptible to the demands of workers and civil society in the global periphery. Thirdly, the paper addresses how the threat of potentially being sued can be increased due to effective international cooperation so that a higher degree of 'voluntary' compliance by companies is achieved. Fourthly, it is analysed how based on the EU CSDDD as a first step, international cooperative strategies can potentially lead to more advanced binding international standards and protect and empower workers and civil society more effectively in the medium and long term. The paper concludes that the EU CSDDD potentially provides a new opportunity to strengthen workers rights. However, it will be determined by specific struggles in the four areas outlined above whether the EU CSDDD will turn out to be a Pyrrhic victory and reaffirm neoliberal governance or whether it will represent an effective entry point for progressive struggles and contribute to substantially reforming capitalism.

Marxist PE 1. Money and Rent

Formation and Appropriation of Ground-Rent in the Brazilian Economy Between 2010 and 2023

Raquel Azevedo

This research aims to develop a methodology for calculating ground-rent based on Marx's economic theory. To estimate the amount of ground-rent appropriated in the Brazilian economy by companies linked to the branches of agriculture, mining, hydrocarbons, pulp and paper, and sugar-energy, between 2010 and 2023, this research uses the Marxist Study of Added Values database (EMVA, in Portuguese), which translates the items of the Value Added Statement (VAS) and the Balance Sheet of a sample of companies listed on B3 into Marxist economic theory. This methodology allows the empirical formulation of concepts such as cost-price, average rate of profit and price of production.

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On the Hoard of Money

C Saratchand

Most expositions of Marx's critique of political economy do not accord due importance to the hoard of money. Marx had argued that money, which is a commodity, is both the measure of value and the standard of price besides being the medium of circulation of commodities. All this within and across countries. However, Marx also argued that money was hoarded. Since decisions about accumulation are made in an anarchic manner in the context of antagonism between workers and capitalists, it is not possible for all capitalists to make profits on the entirety of their proposed enterprise accumulation. The social hoard of money (which is the aggregate of the individual hoards of money) arises because some capitalists are impelled towards hoarding money, while operating within the ambit of accumulation and diffusion of capital, since they expect to profit more (or make less losses) this way rather than engage in enterprise accumulation. Some capitalists can legitimately expect to profit from hoarding only if the trend of market prices in terms of money do not rise monotonically. Non-monotonic changes in the trend of market prices in terms of money are possible due to three factors: first, the magnitude of value of the money commodity vis-a-vis non-money commodities does not fall excessively due to technical change i.e. the output of the money commodity cannot be increased monotonically; second, the existence of the reserve army of labour (across countries); third, supply to the capitalist metropolis of primary commodities (objects of labour) from the periphery at non-monotonically increasing supply prices. In other words, the reserve army of labour and the social hoard of money are organically interrelated. In other words, the existence of the social hoard of money results in the possibility of generalised overproduction of non-money commodities.

World Money and National Currencies

Nicolás Aguila

Scholars in the nominalist tradition explain the origins of money as arising from the imposition of a unit of account by the state. This school provides two different views on ontological character and thus the logical genesis of monetary units of account: one position states that the unit of account is a historical concept while the other argues that it is an abstract standard. In both cases, there is no money other than national money. This tradition has been criticized for ontologically denying the existence of world money and failing to see the constraints that the international monetary system imposes upon monetary policy, especially for countries that issue currencies at the bottom of the global hierarchy. In contrast, the Marxist tradition offers an analysis of world money and its forms. However, the theoretical relationship between world money and national currencies is not fully developed. Building on the Marxist approach, this paper argues that national currencies should be conceptualized as fractional units of world money. In this way, creating a national unit of account involves arbitrarily choosing a name that describes an arbitrary amount of world money.

A New Wave of Debates on the Nature and Ontology of Money: Cryptocurrencies, MMT, The Money View, and Social Positioning. A Marxist critique.
Nikos Pontis

The ontology of money has recently become a topic of renewed debate. Advocates of cryptocurrencies argue in favor of the metallic approach (Goodhart, 1998), positioning cryptocurrencies as embodying the private money-market regulated financial system championed by the Austrian School. Modern Monetary Theory (MMT), representing a Neo-Chartalist approach, contends that money's ontology presupposes the prior development of the state, viewing money primarily as a reflection of state power. Social positioning theory, meanwhile, argues that money's essence is fundamentally rooted in its social positioning, transcending both commodity and credit forms while emphasizing money's role in shaping social relations. The Money View, similarly, claiming to transcend traditional dichotomies, introduces a hierarchical conceptualization where money and credit exist on a spectrum determined by institutional credibility. This paper critically examines these four dominant perspectives and proposes a Marxist alternative. Our argument rests on three key pillars: 1) The importance of the Labor Theory of Value as a necessary complement to the theory of money and credit, 2) The centrality of the function of money as capital, and 3) The necessity of examining money within its historically specific mode of production rather than as a transhistorical category. These points underscore the fundamental distinction between the capitalist mode of production and other economic systems, challenging both transhistorical and ahistorical conceptualizations of money. We contend that a robust theory of money must be grounded both logically and historically within the capitalist mode of production, a criterion that all four aforementioned approaches fail to meet. The paper demonstrates how these approaches either lack proper logical foundations or historical specificity, resulting in either mechanistic or tautological explanations of money's nature and functions.

Activism, Film & Media 4. Creative Approaches to Algorithmic Surveillance, Neoliberalism and Climate Change

Dead Glitch
Maja Funke

»Dead Glitch« is a research project exploring the control of the public space through biometric surveillance algorithms. Focused on the legalization of algorithmic video surveillance during the Paris 2024 Olympics, it highlights the wider implications for privacy and AI governance in Europe. The project examines the normalization and banalization of AI systems in public and conflict zones. Currently presented as a video installation and performance, »Dead Glitch« critiques the shifting responsibility from human oversight to autonomous AI in surveillance practices in these expanding, extrastatecraft visions.

During its production »Dead Glitch« is actively contributing to social justice and individual autonomy in the age of surveillance. It acknowledges surveillance images as actants emphasizing that their imaginary sphere of phantasms, superstructures, and ulterior worlds exerts a tangible, worldmaking effect on the real.

Preferably, »Dead Glitch« will be presented as a live spoken-word performance.

The spoken word is dadaistically extended, repeated and distorted. The script contains excerpts and comments on the European AI Act, advertising for 'intelligent' warfare, surveillance strategies in science fiction, statements by religious figures and lobbyists, the poetry of bots in commentary columns and rule-based collages of legal texts.

Alternatively, a video-performance will be exclusively produced for IIPPE.

While the Nation Went Bankrupt
Nathaniel Sullivan

While The Nation Went Bankrupt is comprised of a series of short narrative videos based on the semi fictional love letters of JP Morgan Chase CEO Jamie Dimon. In the decade following the financial crisis of 2008, status-quo capitalism persists. Dimon spirals into a spiritual crisis as trillions are flushed into the financial system. As the poster boy for the banking class he weathers flash crashes, attempts at regulation, increasing complexity, and the wrenching pivots demanded of corporate aesthetics to keep up with the demands of culture. By the end of the decade, the Dimons are billionaires, but Dimon wrestles with the hollow meaning of success in the "too big to fail" era. But Dimon, above all, is a survivor.

<https://www.nathanielsullivan.net/the-nation-is-bankrupt>

Dance of the Seasons **Garrabost Jayalakshmi**

Dance of the Seasons (2023) – a lyrical, evocative dance-documentary film – guides audiences through India’s six seasons of yester-year, provoking them to experience climate change. Deploying Bharatanatyam, India’s oldest classical dance form, it demands that we respect our earth and climate. The film’s narrative intercuts with R S Pandit’s 1942 English translation, created as he lies in prison, fighting for Indian independence.

Based on Ritu Samhara (The March of the Seasons), an epic Sanskrit poem by Kalidasa (circa 400AD), the award-winning dancer, Padmini Upadhya, communes with nature, becoming one with it. This contrasts strongly with today’s experiences, where seasons are destroyed and humans displaced.

Dance of the Seasons explores socio-political questions surrounding climate change. In India, Bharatanatyam and film have both been used as political tools for nation building and nation branding¹. The British banned the dance in 1910, rendering it part of an underground cultural movement. Similarly, film has been used to unite India with its myriad cultures. If these art forms have been used as soft-power² before, how can we deploy them in a culturally sensitive way to understand our collective climate responsibility?

1. Bhabha, Homi K ed. (1990), *Nation and Narration*. London, Routledge.

2. Thussu, D. K. ed. (2013), “Culture as soft power – Bollywood and beyond”, in Thussu, D. K ed. (2013), *Communicating India’s soft power*. London, Palgrave Macmillan, pp.127-153.

FRIDAY 19 SEPTEMBER SESSION 5

Labour 2.

Unseen and Unprotected: Labour Laws and Migrant Workers in India **Md Shamshe Alam**

This study examines the working conditions and social protection of interstate migrant workers in Ludhiana and Faridabad, two industrial cities in north-western India. Based on field research of 150 workers (75 from each city), it critically evaluates the effectiveness of existing labour laws and social security mechanisms. It is striking that industries in both cities heavily depend on interstate migrant workers, mainly from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh - India’s poorest states. Most of the workers belonged to marginalised communities, including Muslims, highlighting the intersectionality of economic and social vulnerabilities. These workers are trapped in precarious employment, characterised by low wages, long working hours, and limited access to social protections. Over 85 per cent of workers reported working 9 to 11 hours daily, six days a week, without adequate overtime compensation, while only 29 per cent held Employee State Insurance (ESI) cards, leaving the majority unprotected from economic shocks or health emergencies.

Moreover, half of the migrant workers belonged to second-generation migrant households – either the father is/was a migrant, or the son(s) is a migrant. Nevertheless, occupational mobility – from low-skilled to high-skilled work – has been limited across generations. At the same time, there has been mobility in most cases, where the second-generation migrants have managed to find better jobs with relatively higher educational levels or technical education. The study highlights critical issues, including weak enforcement of labour laws, wage exploitation, and the enduring informality in urban labour markets.

Migrant Labour and the Green Economy. Recomposing workforces in the industrial transition in the Lusatia Region (East Germany) **Stephan Liebscher**

The paper argues that conflicts around migration are a key battleground for the green industrial transition in Germany. The example of Lusatia, a rural area one hour south of Berlin, is a case in point: In an ambitious project to becoming the EU’s first model region for renewable energies, the Net Zero Valley, stakeholders from politics, state administration and industry seek to replace fossil-based sources of energy with renewable ones (e.g. wind and solar). Workers in the Lusatian coal industry are afraid of losing their jobs and the material security that comes with it. Channelling these concerns into anti-migrant sentiments, the German right-wing party, AfD, became the leading political force in several constituencies in the Lusatia region. Green industry proponents and political parties on different levels sideline the concerns of the coal workers as ‘backward attitudes’ and instead resort to fill the significant labour shortages in the solar and wind industries with labourers from abroad through labour migration legislation and programmes. Against this backdrop, the paper presents a perspective of political economy of migrant labour. Accordingly, I assume that labour migration policies not only fill labour shortages, but they also serve as an instrument to sustain divisions within the international working class for the benefit of capital interests (Cross 2021: 2). To illustrate this perspective, I rely on a literature review, desk research and field explorations to the Lusatian region.

Home-Based Craft Production and Rural Political Economy in Contemporary Balochistan **Hammal Aslam**

This paper examines the transformation of traditional needlework and embroidery practices in Balochistan from subsistence-based cultural activities to market-oriented home-based small-scale industries. While historically serving both socio-cultural and economic functions, these crafts, particularly in the production of female dresses, have emerged as key cultural signifiers and potential sources of income for women from lower-income households. Therefore, the study places this transformation in the broader changes in the rural political economy of contemporary Balochistan. The study analyzes how this transition, while offering economic opportunities, simultaneously also reinforces existing gender inequalities and traditional patriarchal ideologies. Drawing on Fraser's bi-focal framework of recognition and redistribution, the research reveals how the informal nature of this work, combined with deeply embedded gender ideologies, leads to the undervaluation of women's labor and limits their economic autonomy.

Turkey's Migrant Labor Policies and Its Role as a Buffer State in Global Capitalism **Hatice Hande Orhon Ozdag**

This study examines how Turkey uses migration management to navigate its economic crisis and position itself as a buffer state within global capitalism. As the neoliberal growth model faces crises, migrant labor has become a flexible, low-cost workforce in Turkey's domestic economy and a bargaining tool in EU negotiations. The study first explores the crisis of neoliberal policies and the increasing reliance on migrant labor in construction, agriculture, and services. This labor reduces costs for capital while intensifying competition and precaritization. Next, it analyzes Turkey's role as a buffer state in EU migration policies, focusing on the EU-Turkey Readmission Agreement. The EU funds Turkey's border control mechanisms, externalizing migration management, while Turkey leverages this role diplomatically and economically. Finally, the paper examines how border policies function as economic mechanisms, commodifying migration control and shaping capital accumulation. This study argues that Turkey's migration management serves both its neoliberal economic model and its function as a buffer state in the global migration regime.

China 3. China's Going Out

China's Evolving Foreign Policy in An Era of Geopolitical Competition **Xinwen Zhang**

This research examines the evolution of China's foreign policy in recent decades, with a particular focus on its responses to US-China geopolitical competition. Deng Xiaoping's foreign policy focused on maintaining a stable international environment for China's development. In recent decade, China's growing economic power has led to shifts in its foreign policy while retaining core principles such as preventing "Peaceful Evolution" and potential regime change. Key developments include managing Western influence, using Nationalism as a source of legitimacy, adopting a more aggressive diplomacy, and proactively expanding its global influence.

The US-China rivalry has driven strategic adjustments in China's foreign and industrial policies, including moving towards a more strategic and calculated diplomacy. Key strategies include : (1) Strengthening economic interdependence through activities like Belt and Road to prevent decoupling. (2) Unilateral market opening: Reducing trade war escalation to attract foreign investment and enhance economic adaptability. (3) Expanding influence in international organizations. (4) Pursuing economic self-sufficiency

Future outlook: An influential argument in international politics asserts that China's economic rise makes its challenge to the U.S. inevitable, rooted in economic determinism. However, this research suggests that China's ideology and institutions impose inherent constraints that limit its capability to challenge US-led order. Instead of seeking outright dominance, China's strategy appears to focus on reshaping the existing international system to better reflect its interests while avoiding direct confrontation.

China's Path to Sustainable Development through Going Global Strategy

Francesco Macheda

This study examines the impact of reverse technology spillovers from China's OFDI on carbon emission intensity in the country. We argue that the effectiveness of reverse spillovers in promoting energy efficiency and clean technologies depends on the strength of the home country's absorptive capacity, which includes factors that facilitate the identification, adoption, and diffusion of foreign technologies within the domestic context. Furthermore, the mediating role of absorptive capacity is influenced by the degree of economic alignment between the home country and its OFDI destination countries, insofar as foreign technologies that are better suited to the domestic capabilities can be more easily exploited by domestic producers. Using provincial data from 2004 to 2022, our findings reveal a significant and negative indirect effect of reverse technology spillovers on carbon intensity through absorptive capacity. Additionally, the study finds that OFDI from countries more economically aligned with China's development status enhances the effectiveness of absorptive capacity in mediating the impact of reverse technology spillovers on reducing carbon intensity. This suggests that policies aimed at improving China's absorptive capacity, coupled with investments targeted to countries aligned with its evolving capabilities, are effective strategies to maximize the potential for China's global integration to support sustainable development.

Neoliberalism 5. Sanctions: Theory and Practice

United States Economic Sanctions on Japan prior to WWII: A Practice Theory Approach

Mona Izadi

In 1937, then US president Franklin D. Roosevelt made his "quarantine speech" in which he famously declared that "war is a contagion" and framed the nations that were "piling armament" as diseased patients that had to be quarantined for "the health of the community against the spread of the disease". Although there was no direct mention of Japan in his speech, the following years saw a gradual build up of US economic pressure against this rising Asian power. Starting from import restrictions of Japanese silk, it stretched to a full financial freeze in 1941 that ultimately made Japanese assets illiquid. In Edward S. Miller's words, this was the equivalent of going bankrupt if the Japanese nation was a company. A precedent of such economic measures could be found in the British blockade of Germany during the first world war. But for the US with a lasting tradition of isolationism and non-interference, the imposition of sanctions on Japan was a novelty, that was soon to take deep roots in US foreign policy establishment.

In recent years, states and multilateral organizations such as the UN have increasingly utilized economic coercion in form of threatened or imposed sanctions against target states, to force their compliance with specific demands. This increased relevance has stimulated research and an expansive body of literature investigating various aspects of sanction policies. A considerable amount of debate has revolved around the research question of success or effectiveness of sanctions. In one of the earliest works of sanctions scholarship, Galtung (1967) argued for the futility of sanctions as a policy choice and how it backfires by uniting the target nation. In another foundational work, Hufbauer et al. (1990, 3rd edition 2007) conducted a statistical analysis of 174 cases in a period between 1915 and 2000. Defining success of sanctions in terms of "changes in the target country's policies, behavior, or regime", they reported a 35% rate of success. More skeptical authors have defined success in stricter terms as the full capitulation of the target country to the sanctioner's demand, and reported success rates as low as 5% (Drezner 2003:645). More rigorous statistical works have also been conducted and large datasets are compiled. One of the most comprehensive ones is The Threat and Imposition of Sanctions (TIES) dataset, last updated in 2014 which documents "1,412 cases in which one or more states threatened and/or imposed economic sanctions on a single target during the 1945-2005 period". One major limitation of pioneering statistical and empirical works is the narrow focus on "imposed" sanctions. This was addressed by a variety of theoretical approaches utilizing rational choice and game theoretical models. In these works, sanctions are conceptualized as elements of coercive diplomacy, and informational signals in a bargaining game (Dorussen 2001). Concepts like signal of resolve are used here to develop abstract models of bargaining and a myriad of assumptions, including perfect or imperfect information, divisible or indivisible demands and expectations of future conflict have been considered to obtain various equilibrium outcomes (Drezner 2003).

Mathematical models have also been used to formulate political or economic impacts of sanctions. For example using an offer curve, which shows the hypothetical trade preferences of a country at varying export and import prices vis a vis the world as its aggregate trade partner, the economic effects of a trade sanctions regime can be examined theoretically in terms of reduced trade offer by the rest of the world (Kaempfer 2007). These models are ideal types, and although they can guide reflection on real life scenarios, much like statistical studies, their insight too is limited to the question of effectiveness. The question of effectiveness illuminates in important ways, why sanctions are expected to work or not work. However, it does not address some other important puzzles. For example, as Peksen (2019) points out, the utility of sanctions relative to other policy choices remains unclear. It also remains confusing how despite the deep contestations over the issue of effectiveness, sanctions continue to be employed increasingly and in more pervasive forms such as "secondary sanctions". A historically informed analysis can contribute to clearing up some of the confusion.

This study argues that the US foreign policy toward Japan in 1930s was constitutive of a practice of economic sanctions, which has persisted ever since and is now imperative for US global power projection. The analysis is located within the tradition of "international practice theory". Borrowing from the literature of Actor Network Theory, the constitution of a practice of sanctions will be traced within an evolving web of relations connecting multiple social and material actors.

Examples of the former include the US bureaucracies or Japanese banks and trading companies. An example of the latter is the material asymmetry between the two states. In two instances in 1765-70 and in 1812-14 the American colonies had used trade embargos to resist unfair treatment by the British colonial power. But against Japan for the first time, the US used economic pressure in a reverse asymmetry, pressuring a weaker state into compliance. The study will consist of two parts. The first part deals with the US policy of economic coercion against Japan in the two decades leading to the pearl harbor attack. Using historical qualitative data, it will show how trial and error by US political establishment in pursuing economic pressure on Japan, eventually crystallized into a distinct practice of multi-faceted sanctions. The second part is a comparative analysis between the US sanctions practiced on Japan and Iran, in 1930s and 2010s respectively. The comparative analysis takes a most-different cases approach in order to highlight how the foreign policy practice was reproduced and inherited over decades. The two cases not only differ in terms of the historical context, with mercantilism prevailing in the former and neo-liberal free trade in the latter, but also the two particular sanction targets have too little in common to produce similar incentives triggering sanctions as a purely rational choice. Finally, this approach has a methodological advantage in that it can integrate various case studies without running the risk of faulty generalizations. For example, consumer boycotts as anti-colonial struggles are included in the list by Hufbauer et al. of historical sanctions. First instances of sanctions employed by the US are of this nature, against the UK as a colonizing power. The lack of distinction between such consumer boycotts and the recent sanction regimes, including sophisticated “smart” sanctions or secondary sanctions, poses a significant shortcoming in statistical approaches such as the one in Hufbauer et al. However, when focusing on the developments of economic coercion as a practice, it is not only acceptable but even required to investigate these dramatic historical developments within the context of a single country, namely the US. It is only by embedding the contemporary sanctions regime in its spatio-temporal context that the economic sanctions can be viewed as a practice, contingently and continuously reproduced over an extended period.

Industrial Policy Under Economic Sanctions: A Conceptual Exploration **Barzin Jafartash Amiri**

This paper explores the complex interplay between economic sanctions and industrial policy, focusing on how nations adapt their development strategies under external restrictions. While sanctions undeniably impose significant economic hardships, including trade disruptions, currency crises, and technological limitations, they also create paradoxical incentives for domestic innovation, self-reliance, and regional cooperation. Drawing on case studies from Iran and Russia, the analysis highlights the dual nature of sanctions: they hinder economic growth by restricting access to global markets, resources, and technology, yet simultaneously compel nations to re-evaluate and reformulate their industrial policies. By unpacking this duality, the study provides a nuanced understanding of how industrial policy can serve as a tool for adaptation and resilience in the face of sanctions, offering insights into the broader implications for international relations and development economics.

International Sanctions and Internal Conflict: The Case of Iran **Mohammad Reza Farzanegan**

This study investigates the case of Iran to evaluate how changes in the intensity of international sanctions affect internal conflict in the target country. Estimating a vector autoregressive model for the period between 2001q2 and 2020q3 with quarterly data on internal conflict and its three subcomponents (civil disorder, terrorism, and civil war) as well as a sanction intensity index, we find that an unexpected increase in sanction intensity causes an increase in both civil disorder and terrorism risk. In contrast, the risk of civil war declines after an increase in sanction intensity. These findings for Iran indicate that higher intensity sanctions may allow sender country governments to put pressure on target country political regimes without risking an outbreak of major violent conflicts. Therefore, more intensive sanctions, may also not be helpful in inducing violent regime change.

**The Impact of Economic Sanctions on the Paradigm Shift from "Student Mobility" to "Student Migration":
A Case Study of Iran**
Bahram Salavati Sarcheshmeh

Economic sanctions have profoundly altered Iran's student migration patterns, accelerating a shift from temporary student mobility to long-term migration. This paper examines how sanctions, combined with economic instability, political uncertainty, and limited career prospects, act as push factors, reducing Iranian students' willingness to return home after studying abroad. By integrating Push-Pull theory, Human Capital theory, and Network theory, this study explores how host countries' favorable immigration policies and job opportunities reinforce this trend. The findings indicate a sharp increase in Iranian students studying abroad and a decline in return migration, raising concerns over Iran's human capital loss. The sustained brain drain threatens economic growth, innovation, and national development. This study contributes to migration literature by highlighting the role of sanctions in student migration and offers policy recommendations to mitigate its long-term effects through brain circulation and international cooperation.

Keywords: Economic Sanctions, Student Mobility, Student Migration, Push-Pull Theory, Brain Drain, Iran

World Economy 2. How to Confront Contemporary Imperialism

**Debt, Austerity, and Structural Violence: Challenging IMF Governance and Reimagining Global
Financial Sovereignty**
Rea Maci

For over four decades, fiscal austerity as a political, economic, and social project has reshaped the realities of the Global South. This paper interrogates the political economy of austerity, focusing on debt policies enforced by the International Monetary Fund. It theorizes austerity as structural violence that displaces the costs of neoliberal regimes onto marginalized populations, rendering them "shock absorbers" of fiscal consolidation. Through historical and contemporary case studies—from structural adjustment programs to recent austerity policies—the analysis demonstrates how IMF conditionalities, like public spending cuts, privatization, and regressive taxation, dismantle public systems and exacerbate precarity.

Situating these patterns within global economic hierarchies, the paper critiques the role of international financial institutions (IFIs) in consolidating the geoeconomic dominance of Northern states. It highlights the disjuncture between IFI rhetoric on poverty reduction and the material realities of social fragmentation, inequality, and underdevelopment. In doing so, it contributes to ongoing debates about the role of IFIs and the pursuit of alternative economic paradigms that prioritize equity, and developmental sovereignty in the Global South.

Further, this paper explores alternatives to austerity, including the BRICS New Development Bank (NDB) and proposals by Progressive International advocating for debt cancellation, global wealth taxation, and IFI democratization. Central to these efforts is the liberation of nations from illegitimate financial burdens and the redefinition of sovereign debt terms based on equity and historical accountability. By integrating systemic critique with transformative alternatives, this paper advances debates on austerity, IFI-led debt governance, and alternative financial architectures that prioritize economic justice and sovereignty in the Global South.

Crisis of Neoliberal Capitalism and Relative Overpopulation
Rubens Sawaya

The world economy is undergoing major transformations. The dominance of big transnational capital, which had transformed the global structure of production, the structure of global value chains, under the aegis of neoliberalism, a process that deindustrialised part of the periphery as well as some central countries, and which made work precarious in general in these countries, is under threat. Both the migratory flow from the periphery to the central countries and the enormous reaction of the extreme right in these countries, strengthened by the precariousness and unemployment generated by neoliberal globalisation, call into question the direction of the process of global capital accumulation.

Money, Currency and Imperialism: The New Development Bank as a Mean of Overcoming the US Dollar Hegemony
Sofia Manzano

Imperialism as an analytical category of a specific mode of capitalist exploitation has been replaced by terms such as “geopolitics” and “hegemony” in studies of power relations and the use of military force among nation states. Imperialism has been almost confined to the militant jargon as American imperialism. However, the theoretical formulation presented by Lenin allows for a deeper understanding of the processes by which the production, circulation and accumulation of value develop in the world. Lenin’s formulation allows us to deepen the knowledge of the processes of production, circulation and accumulation of value in the world. Money and the consolidation of the U.S. dollar as a “strong” currency throughout the 20th century constituted a powerful mechanism of imperialist action and can be questioned with the emergence of the New Development Bank. This study aims to verify the role of money, currencies and the possible replacement of the U.S. dollar in the process of capital accumulation in the context of imperialism. The first part of this investigation presents the theorization about money and currency under imperialism. The second part deals with monetary flows, the accumulation of foreign exchange reserves, and the interdependence generated by the relationship between the international flow of dollars and the twin deficits in the USA. Finally, it presents the possibilities of replacing the U.S. dollar as the preferred currency in international currency flows.

Reckoning with Empire: The Imperial Foundations of the Global Polycrisis and the Case for Truth-Telling
Asha Herten-Crabb

The contemporary global polycrisis - manifesting as climate change, economic inequality, migration crises, et al. - reveals the fragility of the liberal international order and the persistence of structural hierarchies rooted in imperialism. This paper argues that British imperialism, as a foundational force in shaping the modern international system, underpins these interconnected crises through entrenched systems of exploitation and inequality. Yet, the discipline of International Relations (IR) has largely failed to critically engage with these imperial legacies, often naturalising the hierarchies it seeks to study. This paper advocates for a Truth-Telling Commission on British Imperialism as a vital intervention in both IR and global governance. Employing a historical-materialist methodology, the paper integrates insights from critical IR, postcolonial studies, and transitional justice to develop a framework for addressing the systemic injustices that fuel the polycrisis. Using semi-structured interviews and document analysis, I draw comparative lessons from truth-telling mechanisms in Australia and Canada, examining how such a Commission could address the structural injustices embedded in global hierarchies, challenge the power dynamics perpetuating inequality, and provide a foundation for systemic reform. Truth-telling is conceptualised not only as a process of uncovering historical facts but as a transformative tool to connect past exploitation with present inequities and to reimagine governance structures. By foregrounding the role of historical accountability, the paper bridges a significant gap in IR, challenging the discipline’s methodological nationalism and its neglect of empire’s foundational role in global hierarchies. This paper makes three key contributions: it incorporates truth-telling into IR’s analyses of power and hierarchy, presents a novel comparative analysis of the Australian and Canadian truth-telling mechanisms, and offers a practical framework for implementing a Truth-Telling Commission on British Imperialism. The findings highlight the transformative potential of truth-telling for rethinking international governance and addressing the structural inequities that perpetuate global crises.

Marxist PE 2. Value, knowledge-intense commodities, Financialization, and Crises

'Wear and Tear', 'moral depreciation', and the Value-Determinations of Knowledge-Intensive Commodities: Recovering Marx's Original Ideas
Luis Arboledas-Lérida

This paper aims to develop a critical discussion of how the Marxian notions of 'moral depreciation' and 'wear and tear' have been utilised in the contemporary debate on the political economy of science and the value-determinations of knowledge-intensive commodities (KICs). It will be demonstrated that these two concepts have been subjected to highly idiosyncratic interpretations that bear little resemblance with Marx's original ideas, and which lead to an inaccurate, misleading, and highly unrealistic representation of the contemporary dynamics of capital accumulation in knowledge-intensive sectors of the economy. By doing so, and through the recovery and restatement of the validity of Marx's insights into the value-determinations involved in 'moral depreciation' and 'wear and tear', light will be shed on some of the most pressing issues concerning the economic conceptualisation of KICs, including the extent to which software does not depreciate because it is not 'physical'; the infinitely elastic production function that applies to purely digital KICs; or the appropriateness of the metaphor of the 'mould' to represent the relationship between the original unit and the subsequent copies. This conference paper aims to contribute to the burgeoning strand of Marxist scholarship that is addressing the realities of the so-called 'cognitive capitalism' by deepening Marx's and Engels' Critique of Political Economy.

Marx Versus Keynes: A Value- Oriented Analysis of the Crises of the 21st Century

Adem Açar

The deepening crisis on a global scale in the 21st century and its devastating effects have been manifesting themselves in many areas of daily life. One of the main areas of discussion in the face of this current situation is formed on the axis of political economy, and Keynes' analysis and its quests for policy are still seen as a way out in the face of the crisis of capitalism in the 21st century. At this point, discussing Keynes' analysis in the context of value theory will, on the one hand, provide a critical perspective on the significant place that Keynes holds in both liberal and critical analyses, and will allow us to show that the only alternative path against capitalism and its constant crises is not to reproduce Keynes-oriented solutions.

While Keynes is defined as a liberal economist in one sense, he is also considered (in some critical analyses) as a non-Marxist socialist in another sense. At this point, beyond the discussion of value theory, Keynes reduces fundamental contradictions of capitalism to the restructuring feature of the state. In this context, it is critical to present an alternative theoretical approach to Keynesian analyses that emphasizes state intervention against the crisis and tries to manage the crisis by establishing a language between process and intervention. In this context, the study proposes to develop a perspective that considers Keynes outside of an approach that takes state intervention as a reference in times of crisis and addresses it in the context of value theory. In this context, a starting point that emphasizes Marx versus Keynes will, on the one hand, allow for deciphering the causal mechanisms that reveal the crisis of capitalism. However, saying Marx versus Keynes will not only enable us to overcome the consequences of the crisis of the 21st century but also to think about alternatives aimed at overcoming the system that produces the crisis. In this context, the study wants to open a conceptual framework for discussion that progresses from the perspective of capital accumulation and develops through alternatives that transcend capitalism, beyond the Keynes-oriented policies that restore capitalism against the deepening crisis of world capitalism in the 21st century.

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Financialization and the Rise of Intangible Capital: Rethinking the Theory of Value

Tansel Güçlü

Since the mid-1970s, financialization and intangible capital have transformed capital accumulation and corporate structures. Beyond industrial capital, the liquidity and intangible expressions of capital have gained importance, and the organisation of companies and the processes of capital accumulation have been reshaped. Following the collapse of Bretton Woods, large-scale corporations became institutions characterised by, or at best driven by, financial value creation rather than "production", and began to accumulate capital through financial instruments and intangible assets.

The increased volatility of financial markets has had a profound impact on valuation processes, leading to the replacement of traditional approaches based on production costs (and average labour time) with risk-based and speculative valuation methods. These valuation mechanisms have not only facilitated capital mobility but have also actively shaped the processes of capital accumulation, reinforcing their role in directing investment flows and labour processes. Tools developed for risk management have further solidified these mechanisms, leading to a redefinition of valuation.

The advent of financial markets has precipitated a profound metamorphosis in the realm of corporate structures, rendering capital more malleable and dynamic. This transformation has precipitated the substitution of conventional corporate structures with increasingly intricate, networked, and perpetually restructured corporate forms. Concurrently, this transition has engendered the fragmentation of labour processes, giving rise to new forms of labour and work. This shift necessitates a reconsideration of the theory of value to encompass financial derivatives, intangible assets, and emergent forms of labour as pivotal constituents. As Elson (1979) emphasises, Marx's theory of value is not a proof of exploitation or a formula for explaining prices; it is a social relation that shapes the organisation, division and transformation of labour processes. The processes of financialization and intangible capital reconstruct the link between value and labour, so the theory must be rethought in these respects. Thus, financialization can be positioned not as a deviation from productive capital, but as an advanced stage of capitalism.

Activism, Film & Media 5: Reenacting Historic Labour Struggles in Spain

11 Underground

Arturo Delgado Pereira

SATURDAY 20 SEPTEMBER SESSION 6

Agrarian Change 5. Extractivism, Politics and Agrarian Change under Neoliberalism Accumulation, extractivism and dispossession in contemporary Zimbabwe

Mbuso Moyo

This work is located in the broad theme of agrarian change and extractivism. My work engages with the debates on the rethinking of neo-liberalism, class composition and capitalist modernity. It examines the intersection of foreign direct investment, enclosure, local resistance, and the character of labour struggles, and of labour under extractivism. Bringing together traditional labour studies, studies of foreign investment, and peasant studies, it directly engages with the theory on capitalist political economy and the meaning of 'labour' in labour struggles today. In looking at contested mining operations, and at popular struggles that span the traditional divide between workplace and community and locating these within the context of both neo-liberalism and enclosure, my work engages directly with the key concerns in rethinking neo-liberalism, class composition and capitalist modernity. My research deploys a comparative method to study the emergence of new forms of land usage (mining) and control by traditional elites and ruling political elites in Zimbabwe. This method is beneficial as a means of disaggregating variables and understanding larger patterns, to develop more effective descriptive and explanatory concepts and models of extractivism and popular responses to it in various locales. The variables include livelihood vulnerability caused by mining operations; and the strategies used by people to socially organise themselves against the persistently negative impact of mining. The aim is to promote a focus on sustainable mining that strengthens rather than negate rural livelihoods.

I focus on Zimbabwe where rural communities are contending with the crisis of land dispossession and agrarian change occasioned by lithium and coal mining operations. My research shines a spotlight on the ubiquitous presence of Chinese capital which forms part of China's expanding footprint in Africa. This footprint is characterised by China's fierce appetite for Africa's natural resources, in competition with other powers in the northern hemisphere. China has signalled its intentions about Zimbabwe through supporting an 'infrastructural revolution' as part of that country's Belt, Road Initiative (BRI). The BRI has seen President Xi Jinping's government construct and refurbish over 200 public buildings in Africa, including Zimbabwe's recently completed parliamentary complex, in Mount Hamden outside Harare, to the tune of between US\$79 million and US\$200 million. Chinese capital has been equally aggressive in natural resource extraction. In this domain, it has had a chequered record of violent extractivism, unfair labour practices, and environmental degradation, due to crude open cast mining methods, the deposition of toxins into rivers, desecration of graves, and a general disinterest towards social justice and corporate social responsibility. These have become perennial and stubborn stains on its investment ledger.

This research focuses on Hwange, Zimbabwe's coal mining hub, and Bikita, where the controversial record of Chinese mining operations in Zimbabwe is epitomised by the conduct of the lithium mining company, Sinomine in Bikita, and Beifa Investments (Pvt) Limited in its exploratory work in the Dinde community of Hwange. In Dinde, mining explorations by Beifa began in February 2019, engendering community resistance organised under the auspices of the Dinde Development Association (DDS). For almost three years, the DDS has been organising protests to coal mining. It has, through various channels, petitioned the Zimbabwean Parliament to stop coal mining in this area. Yet, Beifa Investments continues to forge ahead. In this, it is aided by local traditional leaders and government officials who continue to push back against those resisting the project investors. Concerns raised by The Centre for Natural Resource Governance (CNRG), which include that the expropriation of vast swathes of coalfields in the area will exacerbate the already dire situation of climate change, damage the environment, lead to water and air pollution, violate local communities' cultural rights, and elevate the incidents of coal seam fires, inter alia, have equally been ignored.

Indeed, in Hwange and Bikita, peasants and workers have seen their conditions of social reproduction deteriorate, giving way to a desperate search for economic and political alternatives. While the leading analysts of agrarian change have played down the political potential of the countryside, either by dismissing progressive rural agency, or peculiarizing it after 'the end of land reform', or fitting it into the welfarist 'access to land' and 'poverty alleviation' framework of the World Bank, the rural poor have been striking back in a progressive way, in a significant number of cases to assert their rights to the land and to articulate their claims to it as a primary mode of livelihood. Meanwhile, the conduct of Chinese mining capital, aided by Zimbabwe's ruling elite, is heralding displacement, and the continuation of 'accumulation by dispossession' or a new form of 21st century 'extractivist imperialism'. Land dependent modes of production are being sharply curtailed by land dispossession engendering a crisis of social reproduction for the rural working class. Climate change-induced water scarcity is compounding the situation. Yet, less research focus is being accorded to the impact of mining on community livelihoods, and how communities are pushing back in the face of extractivist onslaught.

My research argues that when we engage on the debate on the development potentials of extractive industries in Zimbabwe as embodied, in the present instance, by lithium and coal mining, we need to transcend the conventional concerns over the capturing and managing of revenues and sustainable extractivism to a radical transformation of the countryside from predominantly agrarian societies to capitalist ones. This transformation is heralded by the imposition of a collectivist capitalist mode of production which undermines existing modes of livelihood and indigenous people's food security, and the ecology. My research will seek to show: 1. the ways in which extraction is affecting land based modes of livelihoods; 2. The various means by which communities in Bikita and Hwange (Dinde) have mobilised themselves against the ecologically destructive impact of lithium and coal mining; and how they seek to gain and retain rights of access, control, intergenerational transfer, trade/exchange within and outside families, beneficiation, and improvements on their land; and 3. the range of value chain activities that have been developed by people in lithium and coal mining host communities and which are umbilically connected to these extractive mono-economies.

Subjectivity, Extraction, and Indigeniety: Territory, Temporalities, and the Amazonian Oil Complex in Peru

Luis Andueza

This paper examines the relationships between extractive infrastructure, changing territorial strategies, and indigenous temporalities among the Urarina, an indigenous people in the Peruvian Amazon. The paper first examines the uneven and combined character of oil extraction in the Loreto region in north-eastern Peru, and how its racialised spatial contradictions are expressed in the combination between changes in agrarian political economy and new forms of political subjectivity structured around the question of indigeniety. It then analyses the case of the Urarina community of Nueva Union in the Chambira river basin and contemporary processes of subject formation, which combine radical transformations in the role of money, territorial strategies and changes in political structure in non-linear ways. The paper closes by examining how the case of the community of Nueva Union sheds light on broader dynamics of subject formation, localised relations to the environment, and extraction as they play out in contemporary indigenous Amazonia, as well as how oil extraction must be understood as embedded in converging and clashing forms of temporality and vernacular historical consciousness.

State, Capital, and Land: Transformations in Agricultural Policies and Class Relations under Neoliberalism in the Global South

Özge Demirel

Two critical developments—the strengthening of finance capital and the internationalization of capital—have radically transformed neoliberal capitalism, with profound impacts on agricultural production, land ownership, and the composition of the transnational capitalist class (TCC). These changes, marked by the commodification of land, the introduction of new financial instruments, and shifting farming practices, have elevated the influence of agribusiness corporations. Historically, class relations in agriculture have been complicated by laws enacted under the pressure of agricultural capitalists, which led to the dispossession of peasants and migration in the Global South. Analyzing these developments up to the present is essential to understanding contemporary production relations in countries where large segments of the rural workforce have not been fully separated from the land but continue to sell their labor power in various ways.

This paper explores how these transformations have reshaped the capitalist class in agriculture, particularly in the Global South, and the role of neoliberalism and evolving power relations in shaping agricultural policies. A key focus of this analysis is the role of the state, which actively supports the capitalist class through state apparatuses organized to protect and maintain capitalist relations. This study highlights the state's dual function in transforming domestic agriculture to serve international capital while maintaining legitimacy among rural agricultural workers through various policies. Furthermore, the TCC's connections to national capital circuits and state-capital nexuses underscore the complexities of capitalist class dynamics.

Small producers no longer pose a significant challenge to the alliances between domestic and transnational capitalist classes. As a result, the labor dimension of the contemporary agricultural problem is shaped by national class structures and policy choices, while the production side is governed by global market dynamics. Although the literature has explored alliances of workers' and popular movements against capitalist practices, fewer studies have examined the internal transformation of capitalist classes, both at national and transnational levels. This paper addresses this gap by analyzing intra-class conflicts and the fluidity of relations within the capitalist class, as well as the critical junctures and impacts of these transformations.

Labour 3.

Lack of Productive Employment: Colonial Legacy and Post-imperialist Practices Christoph Scherrer

There is a lack of productive, formal employment; more than half of the global working population is only precariously employed. In view of the success of the early industrialized countries and a few economically catching-up countries (especially the PR China), the question arises as to the exact economic, social and political reasons why the productive absorption of the working-age population is insufficient in the rather heterogeneous mass of the capitalist periphery compared to these successful countries. What specifically distinguishes the countries of the capitalist periphery from those that previously achieved a high level of formal employment?

To answer this question, I use a historical-materialist approach that takes into account the respective geopolitical contexts and the state of the productive forces of early industrialization and later industrialization efforts. My theses are therefore that (1) the colonial period casts a long shadow into the present, that (2) the significantly greater productivity gap between industry and agriculture compared to the early phase of industrialization inhibits the absorption of labor from the countryside into industry, that (3) the considerably faster growth of the working population (medical progress and a narrower migration valve) exceeds the productive employment opportunities and that (4) the early capitalist centers have enforced global economic rules that make industrial catch-up more difficult.

Collective Labour Organisation in the Turkish Garment Industry: Neoliberal Labour Regimes, Patriarchal Ideologies and (Women) Workers' Experiences Ayşe Arslan

This research aims to analyse how the relationship between class and gender affect and are affected by the processes of labour organisation and collective struggle in the Turkish garment industry through an in-depth examination of these relations across the productive and reproductive realms. It applies a feminist approach to political economy and historical materialism, which understands class and gender as reciprocal social relations, and in constant dialogue with other social relations such as ethnicity, religion and age. This research explores the ways in which economic, political and cultural formations shape (women) garment workers' experiences of collective struggles. It investigates the processes of collective labour resistance, the barriers to women's and men's labour organisation in the workplace and the transformative effects of these processes on workers and their socio-material conditions. More generally, it is attentive to the complexity and heterogeneity of the social in its historical and spatial context. In line with this perspective, this research is built on an ethnographic case study, which started in March 2024 and is still going on at the time of writing this abstract and combines participant observation and in-depth interviews.

Urban and Regional

Urban Agriculture as Resistance: A Case of Community Gardening Oyku Safak-Cubukcu

Capitalist agricultural production, ecological crisis, and concerns about food security and sustainability have created various responses. Urban agriculture is among the responses to the metabolic rift, to the extent that engaging in farming and gardening in urban contexts challenges both the rural-urban divide and the alienation of human from nature. In addition, the practices of urban agriculture are not limited to ensuring access to food or pursuing more environment-friendly but still market-oriented farming methods; but also involve radical forms like reclaiming the commons, establishing solidarity among the community, collective labouring followed by collective consumption, seed sharing, restoring the use value of the products, breaking the commodity chains, and ensuring responsiveness to the local dynamics, thereby contributing also to bottom-up resistance mechanisms.

Neoliberalism deepens the impact of capitalist production on environment in the Global South, due to the pace of changing social relations. As consequences of neoliberal transformation of agriculture and enormous investments in the construction sector, rapid and unplanned urbanization affect the current images of cities in Turkey. Under these processes, Batikent, a district of the capital Ankara, once designed as a project against negative results of unplanned urbanization with its emphasis on urban cooperativism and green spaces, ironically turned into a concrete jungle, with green increasingly locked in the mushrooming gated communities.

As opposite to this image, there is Ilkyerlesim Neighbourhood Garden, an example of urban agriculture initiatives. By focusing on the experiences of people involved in this case, this paper questions the relationship between urban agriculture practices and metabolic rift, neoliberalism, and a possible alternative for market relations. The data has been collected through participant observation and in-depth interviews during the farming season of 2024.

State Production Farms as Production of Nature **Onur Lami Yalman**

Modernity as a phenomenon is a complex process entailing social, cultural, economic and political breaks with traditions and the conception of traditional past. This break with the past is disruptive especially for the preexisting hegemonic relations. It is possible to trace these processes and relations through production, and spaces of production. In reorganizing the said relations, spaces are transformed in accordance with modernity. In the case of Turkish modernization, Zirai Kombinalar (later to be named Devlet Üretme Çiftlikleri) embody such an experience. Ceylanpınar Devlet Üretme Çiftliği, known as Rasulayn Çiftlik-i Hümayunu in the Ottoman era, while still being a state farm, its transition signifies a paradigm shift in terms of how nature is treated, and how the urban fabric transforms/emerges as a result of this transition. While the boundary between urban and rural become bleaker, different separations and conflicts are manufactured. Hence, it can be claimed that the ideology of nature promoted by the leading cadres of the early republic is coherent with the urban theses, and production of nature and production of urban space complements each other on the wider scale.

Rental Housing in Crisis: Financialization, Affordability, and State Policy in Turkey **Havva Ezgi Dogru**

Turkey's rental housing crisis has intensified over the past decade, reflecting a broader global trend of housing affordability and accessibility issues. While homeownership has historically been the primary form of tenure promoted by state policies, rising housing prices and declining real wages have made property ownership increasingly unattainable for many. At the same time, the rental market has failed to provide secure and affordable housing, exposing deep structural inefficiencies. This paper investigates the political economy of Turkey's rental housing crisis, asking: To what extent has the state's housing policy, driven by financialization and speculative real estate investment, contributed to the worsening conditions for renters? Additionally, how does the rental housing crisis manifest differently for lower-income groups? To address the first research question, a macro-level data analysis will be conducted. The Housing Price Index (HPI), published monthly by the Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey (CBRT), provides data dating back to 2010, covering both national and sub-regional levels. This study will examine fluctuations in housing price indices across Turkey, with a particular focus on Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir, to assess the economic impact of the crisis in these major cities compared to national trends. To answer the second research question, microdata from TÜİK's Income and Living Conditions Survey (2006–2023) will be analyzed to understand how the rental housing crisis affects different socio-economic groups. The study will explore key indicators related to household composition, housing conditions, rental costs, affordability challenges, and financial strain on tenants. The analysis will focus on Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir to identify regional variations in rental market dynamics and their impact on vulnerable households. By integrating macro and micro-level analyses, this study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of Turkey's rental housing crisis, highlighting both broad economic trends and their differentiated impacts on lower-income households.

A Radical / Geographical Political Economy Analysis of Capital Flows in Construction and Tourism: The Case of the EU-Mediterranean South **George Sykas**

Strong flows of over-accumulated capital into the building environment played a catalytic role in the real estate bubbles that accompanied the global crisis in the southern EU Mediterranean countries. The recovery in construction activity in the years following the crisis relied heavily on the short-term rental market and the high profits resulting from the exploitation of rental gaps.

This paper analyses the relationship between construction and tourism in the EU-Mediterranean countries EU (Portugal, Spain, Malta, Italy, Greece, Cyprus) in the years following the crisis (2015-2024). To this end, it draws on approaches from geographical political economy and data have been extracted from Eurostat.

Our analysis first examines the capital flows from the primary (production of goods) to the secondary (building environment) circuit using a Building Share Index. Subsequently, the building permits for the respective years are analysed using a concentration index by size (m²) and use (residential, office, other use) as well as the number of companies in the constructions and tourism (number of employees, turnover and employment) using a composite index.

The ever-increasing dynamism of tourism is closely linked to construction activity in the Mediterranean EU countries. In this way, the dependence of the European Mediterranean economies on the construction industry before the crisis was transformed into a dependence on tourism, potentially exacerbate inequalities within the EU countries

Analyzing the Neoliberal Housing Policy in Turkey: TOKI and the Making of the Indebted. **Özlem Bülbül**

Turkey has been going through extensive neoliberalization in the 2000s. In this period, a new phase of neoliberalization has arisen and neoliberal financialization has become hegemonic for the restructuring of capital. This implies the integration of the working classes into the financial system. Housing of the poor has also been affected by the rise of finance-led capitalism. So deepening financialization has made these sections of the society more dependent on the market system and so vulnerable to economic fluctuations. At the same time, increasing household debt has created a debt society which strengthened the integration and commitment of low-income households to the system in general. Especially the 2008 Finance Crisis has accelerated this process. The responsibility of the crisis has been undertaken by the individual, who is trapped in an ever-growing debt spiral, and by the state, as the guarantor of the financialization process. In Turkey, the state is also the guarantor of financialization in the housing sector. As a state agent, the Housing Development Administration (TOKI) enables poor sections of the society that are unlikely to own a house under normal conditions to become homeowners, and in this respect, it creates a significant welfare effect. In this sense, debt is not just an economic tool, but also a political tool used by the state to strengthen people's support for the government. Thus, while this process appeals to the desires of the poor by providing an increase in welfare, it also reinforces their loyalty and dependence on the neoliberal market system and the Justice and Development Party (JDP) government, the representative of this system in Turkey. Considering all these, this study aims to analyze the neoliberal housing policy in Turkey by focusing on the housing-finance complex created by TOKI.

Environment 1. Reflections on Ecological Marxism, Climate Justice and Imperialism

Mobilising Against the Ecological Costs of Imperialism and War **Feyzi Ismail**

Warfare, including investment in and maintenance of military infrastructure, are crucial drivers of global carbon emissions and environmental destruction. The escalation of the threat of war in the Middle East, starting with the ongoing destruction of Palestine, the proxy war with Ukraine and the ramping up of military mobilisation against China, means potential increases in emissions on a massive scale. Yet the ecological costs of imperialism are underemphasised. Military budgets and national security are seemingly beyond scrutiny. In the UK, defence spending will increase to 2.6% of GDP by 2027 and 3% by 2030 – at the expense of overseas aid – and, beyond national security, are justified on the spurious grounds of job creation. But weapons manufacturing is estimated to employ a mere 135,000 people directly. Most workers are supportive of transitioning out of the defence industry if it means good jobs, fair wages and retraining opportunities. Yet the general approach of union bureaucracies has been to prioritise immediate economic concerns over serious discussion of either the military-industrial complex or the climate crisis. This paper considers the ecological dimensions of imperialist war, assesses the ecological damage of these wars and suggests what a just transition in the defence industry might involve. Ultimately, if addressing the climate crisis is impossible without demilitarisation, then a just transition requires not only the participation and mobilisation of workers in the industry but also the building of anti-imperialist movements.

Plurality and Theoretical Heterogeneity of Ecological Marxism **William Sacher** **Paul Cooney**

The tradition of ecological thought largely developed in opposition to Marxism and tended to consider it as an adversary of ecology, with exaggerated emphasis on the "productive forces". Dogmatic Marxists have remained indifferent and skeptical to environmentalism, accusing it of neo-Malthusianism, romanticism, and distracting from the problem of class struggle. Since the 1970s though, with the material evidence of environmental destruction and the political success of environmentalism, a series of Marxist thinkers (e.g., Elmar Altvater, James O'Connor, Ariel Salleh, John Bellamy Foster, Paul Burkett, Jason Moore, and more recently Kohei Saito) have acknowledged the deficiencies of Marxist theory in this realm. They have tried to lay down the theoretical basis of an "ecologically sensitive marxism", an "eco-Marxism", by integrating ecology and Marxist political economy in the analysis of the complex relationships between socio-environmental destructions, technological developments and the productive forces. However, we want to show here that these authors come from different trends of marxist thought and adopted distinct methodological approaches and marxist categories in their theoretical building process. This is reflected in the plurality and heterogeneity of eco-marxist theories that emerged from their efforts. Hopefully, this range of theoretical developments can contribute towards a red-green convergence, but that potential remains to be determined.

World Economy 3. Trumps Policies and the Transformation of the Imperial Order

The Economic Strategy of the Trump Second Administration and its Impact on North America

Juan Arturo Guillen Romo

The objective of this paper is to examine the main elements of the economic strategy of the new Donald Trump administration and its impact on the economies of North America. Although it is obviously too early to be able to evaluate this strategy and its effects in depth, various measures have already been taken that outline its direction. This strategy is part of the already long process of decline of the hegemony of US imperialism and it seeks to confront China by virtue of the rising economic leadership of this power, with an aggressive expansionist policy, which supposedly would return unipolar dominance. From an economic point of view, the axis of its strategy seems to be the use of tariff policy, combined with the reduction of public spending and deregulation. This would allow, according to its view, to reduce the bulging public deficit registered by the declining hegemon. In North America, it is intended to relocate investments in the United States territory to comply with the "American first" vision, which plays a central role in the imagination of its ultra-nationalist and xenophobic political base. It would also allow him to carry out the promised tax cuts for the richest.

Competing Hegemonic Projects in the Current Global Conjuncture

Morten Ougaard

The conjuncture is marked by the two competing US domestic and global hegemonic projects, the quasi-fascist project pursued by Trump, having the upper hand at the time of writing, and the opposing democratic project pursued by the opposition, a more or less modified continuation of the Biden project. The outcome will depend on Trumpism's ability to overcome its internal inconsistencies, and on the opposition it meets domestically and internationally.

The two projects have important differences in terms of the interests pursued – democracy, human rights, rule of law, economic priorities, and most importantly, green transition. They also differ in the use of military, economic and diplomatic instruments and on how they are deployed. But they have important similarities.

Based on statements from and actions by the Biden and Trump administrations, I argue that both projects, in a situation of secular weakening hegemony, seek to maintain a leading role for the US in an open global political economy. The core economic interests are i) to control the commanding heights of the world economy such as central high-tech technologies, ii) to ensure access to critical raw materials, and iii) to control major trade routes.

Theoretically the argument is based on elements from historical materialist theory, inter alia that geoeconomics and geopolitics are two relatively autonomous spheres, the global economy being the material basis for geopolitics.

Initial Effects of the Trump Administration on the Global Economic Situation and Prospects

Abelardo Mariña-Flores

After the contradictory recovery in 2021 from the COVID19 2020 lockdown, the world economy has shown an underwhelming trajectory, with large regional disparities and with policies oscillating between growth promotion and inflation control. GDP growth prospects for 2025 and 2026 were already modest at the end of 2024. With the inauguration of Trump's second administration, drastically tilted to the right in all issues, these prospects could very well deteriorate. Firstly, because of Trump's government domestic reforms on a broad set of institutional arrangements and policies. Secondly, because of his political and economic international agenda. Uncertainty will be a common feature worldwide. The continuous monitoring and analysis of the effects of Trump's administration measures is going to be a central task for all governments and, especially, for workers all over the world, in order to organize a response to the rise of neo-fascism in the US, still the world's hegemonic power.

This paper will analyze the principal domestic and international policy measures taken by the Trump administration in its first months and their impact on the most important economic indicators putting emphasis in its differentiated effects among social segments and geoeconomic regions.

Late Neo-Liberalism and Black Migration Through Mexico **Murrell Brooks**

This article posits an analysis of late neo-liberal development and the crisis of US hegemony, and its impact on African Migration through Mexico to the United States. It is written from a unique and long overdue theoretical position that synthesizes Latin American critical thought and the black radical tradition. This framework is informed by Latin American dependency theory of Mauro Marini and the writings of neocolonialism and under development by thinkers such as CLR James, Walter Rodney. Drawing upon case studies from the Mexico, Central America, Africa and structural analysis argues that while 'middle neo-liberalism (1990-2020) was an immediate post-cold war era phenomenon driven by the need to liberalize and spread capital across the under the banner of democracy, late 'neo-liberalism (2020-present) features the extreme concentration of capital and hegemonic decline in the west. However, as the United States' hegemony weakened and the EU began enforcing migration interdictions, the need for cheap labor in the West and poverty in Africa forced migrants from Africa shifted to Mexico as opposed to the traditional migration route of Europe, with wide-ranging implications for questions of citizenship. The main argument is that the last 40 years of US led neoliberal development models and security strategies have generated the very conditions for its own migration problem at its southern border. We further argue that the crisis of US hegemony in Africa and Latin America could not be separated from the social, political, and ultimately civilizational crisis within the United States caused by 40 years of neoliberal restructuring.

Why not to Solve the Migration Issue in the MENA Region? **Ekin Onsan**

This study aims to explore the transitional dynamics behind the migration phenomenon in the MENA region from imperial period to post-imperial capitalist system and why migration had been an everlasting issue in history rather than being temporal in time.

It has been an ongoing debate for decades that the Middle East and North Africa region is under a continuous multidimensional transformation. In order to understand the dynamics of these changes, it is important to examine what transformed in the region and what are the triggering mechanisms. The initiator of these transformations seems to be the World economic order. The important thing to sort out is why such an economic system is so significant in the region changing the sociological patterns let alone political institutions. Or, would we rather find out the main motive behind unresolvable migration?

Whether intuitively pinpointing or scientifically putting it forward, the main motive behind manipulating migration occurs to be hegemony imposition upon the vulnerable countries by developed ones. Developed countries adopt impertinent views on this issue and reduce migration into numbers. It is cleansed from its political and sociological essence. Where migration is handled neglecting the humanely dimensions, to solve the migrant problem, we have to challenge the structural fallacies sustaining it. In brief we have to turn the capitalist economic system inside out.

Marxist PE 3. The Rate of Profit and Connected Variables

Tracing the Intermediate Steps of the Process: The Continuous Crisis of Capitalism and the Current

Account Deficit in Turkey

Gizem Şimşek

Marx warned us about something while analysing the commodity: “The intermediate steps of the process vanish in the result and leave no trace behind.” When this justified warning of Marx is considered together with the crisis-producing structure of the capitalist system based on a tremendous accumulation of commodities, it provides an understanding of an important truth: The results that emerge as indicators of the crisis are a product of the process; however, the results are often thought of as the process itself and prevent us from seeing the main reasons (i.e. the holistic functioning) that cause the crisis.

As one of these results, the current account deficit problem is one of the most important structural problems of late capitalist countries like Turkey. The main factor that causes the current account deficit is the constant capital need in the form of foreign currency due to the dependence of production on imported inputs and, accordingly, the foreign trade deficit gaining a structural character. The increasing import input dependency in the manufacturing industry, technology and energy fields within the capital accumulation process intensifies the late industrialization and the articulation relationship of the nation-state with the capital accumulation operating on a global scale; however, the continuation of this relationship together with the ongoing current account deficit problem has led to the strengthening of crisis tendencies. In recent years, the inadequacy of foreign exchange resources in the face of the increasing import input dependency, especially in the intermediate and investment goods categories, has led to the emergence of policies aiming to become exporters in sectors that produce high value-added production. These policies have pointed to a significant gap between discourse and reality in terms of recent practices, especially in the last twenty years of the capital accumulation process in Turkey. This gap, which has widened with the increase in foreign exchange borrowing instead of high value-added production and exports in the manufacturing industry, is also the fundamental characteristic of this period. However, the current account deficit problem is often addressed only through facts and is considered as a result revealed by the crisis without establishing a connection with conceptual mechanisms. In this respect, the dominance of the results over the causal mechanisms that produce crises in the process leads to the formation of analyses in which the intermediate steps of the process disappear. Making visible the intermediate steps of the process is only possible when the current account deficit problem is considered through the holistic functioning of the capitalist system that produces the crisis, together with the structural limits of production relations. Therefore, the reasons that reveal the crises that differ within the historical continuity (structural limits based on manufacturing industry production) and the results that emerge with the crisis (the ongoing current account deficit problem) need to be addressed together.

Based on this framework, the study aims to show the intermediate steps of the process through the structural reasons that reveal the current account deficit resulting from the ongoing crisis that Turkey's capitalism has experienced over the last twenty years. In this direction, analysing the current account deficit phenomenon through the changing internal connections between late capital accumulation, late industrialization and national policies, considering capital accumulation on a world scale, constitutes an important threshold for this study.

Analysis of the Tendency of Profit Rate to Fall and Counter Tendencies: Evidence from Turkish Manufacturing Sector, 1988-2020

Ekin Değirmenci

The law of tendency of the profit rate to fall (LTRPF) has been a highly debated area of research within Marxian Political Economy, as it highlights both to the capabilities and inherent limitations of the capitalist system. Although there is a substantial literature focused on the behavior of the profit rate at both global and national levels, research on the dynamic relationship between the tendency of the profit rate to fall and the counter tendencies remains underdeveloped (with Basu and Manolacos (2012) and Maniatis and Passas (2015) being exceptions). This study evaluates the trend of profit rate in the Turkish manufacturing sector, spanning the period between 1988-2020, replicating the methodology introduced by Basu and Manolacos (2012). While the 2000s witnessed a significant decline in the profit rate, the evidence presented in the study reveals a weak rising trend in the general rate of profit over the entire period, which is mainly attributed to the reduction of real wages below the value of labor power and the rise in the intensification of exploitation, which can be referred as the increase in absolute surplus value. Considering that the LTRPF appears in the long run, the study seeks to identify the underlying factors cause profit rate rising temporarily.

Rethinking Financialization Through the Actuality of the Law to the Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall
Mert Miraç Dündar

This presentation aims to explain financialization through the perspective of the law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall to understand the recent transformation in the relationship between production and finance, moving beyond approaches that view financialization merely as an epiphenomenon of stagnating tendencies in the sphere of production or as a signifier of a new epoch. Contrary to the common perception of Marx's law as an external economic law, this presentation will propose a methodological approach to law grounded in the intra- and inter-class struggle which explains not only the capitalist crises but also transformations occurring in the 'normal' course of accumulation. To this end, it is argued that different conceptualizations of competition function as building blocks for different theories of crisis while simultaneously influencing the set of premises underlying the different approaches of financialization. Therefore, the need to distinguish between different levels of abstraction in conceptualizing competition is highlighted. By investigating the transformation in the relationship between production and finance, it is concluded that a closer relationship between real accumulation and fictitious accumulation has been established, while different forms of capital have become more interconnected, resulting in an intensification of competition. As a result, this paper argues that financialization, rather than a spontaneous phenomenon arising as a result of external economic laws, needs to be understood as a deliberate capital accumulation strategy and a state project, conceptualized as a mobilization of the countertendencies against the fall in the rates of profit.

Connections among Rate of Profit, Surplus Value and the Sector Composition of the Labor Force; Comparing Two Approaches to Estimating Surplus Value
Victor Kasper

Last year we focused on measures of advance capital required to estimate the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit based on a novel approach by Kasper and the Approach of Shaikh and Basu. The approach of Kasper offers a conceptual link to productive labor time and the industry composition of an economy. Both approaches estimate the rate of profit and have similar outcomes but the approach by Kasper provides more transparent link to socially abstract labor time. In this paper, we will explore these differences and implications. The US economy is used as an example.

Activism, Film & Media 6: US – Radioactive Fallout and White Male Right-Wing Culture

What Travelers Are Saying About Jornada del Muerto
Hope Tucker

Land Hacks (Red vs. Blue-State Culture War Profiting)
John Caldwell

In his latest experimental ethnography, Caldwell's parallel production studies and theoretical research collide together in a rush. The film interrogates conservative Red-State Kern County, California, as a Trump-era backdrop for Hollywood's deeper representations of poor rural communities — from John Ford's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940) to Zach Galifianakis' *Baskets* (2016–2019). Caldwell carries out a deep dive into the actual history of labor struggle, racial tensions and environmental destruction that has marked the area's actual residents. The film is a heady mix of critical theory, ethnographic fieldwork and media archaeology that frames mining, industrial agriculture and film production as a single integrated economy of extraction that yields, alongside vast profits, a culture of white masculine victimization and an ever-expanding rural-urban divide. Color, in English and Spanish with English subtitles, 50 min. Director: John T. Caldwell.

Agrarian Change 6: State, Capital and Farmers: Food and Farm Policy

Alliances of Convenience: The Political Economy of Ultra-Processed Food Supply Chains in Ghana
Fiorella Picchioni

Food fortification interventions are typically framed within nutrition literature, emphasizing technical and biomedical aspects. This paper adopts a political economy of agrarian change lens to examine the global economic, social, and political forces shaping fortification strategies (Bernstein, 2017). Situating food fortification within agrarian transitions to capitalism, we assess its effectiveness and scalability. We argue that neglecting political economy factors—market architecture, regulatory frameworks, policy coordination, and power asymmetries—may undermine public health benefits. Applying Bernstein’s (2017) four key questions—Who owns what? Who does what? Who gets what? What do they do with it? - to initial data from interviews with actors involved in food fortification strategies in India and Rwanda, we begin to analyse production relations, labour divisions, and agricultural output distribution. This challenges the notion of malnutrition as solely a technical issue and instead scrutinizes how fortified foods are produced, distributed, and their societal impact. Additionally, we highlight the dominance of private sector interests in shaping fortification policies. By integrating a political economy perspective, this paper extends nutrition and food security policy literature (Baker et al., 2018; Resnick et al., 2018) to examine macroeconomic contexts, food system linkages, and nutrition commodification. We contribute to debates on the corporate food regime and its alignment with neoliberal capitalism.

Cereal Production and State Control: Elite Farmers’ Push for reform in Algeria’s Agrarian System
Rym Talhouk

Algeria’s state interventionism and extensive subsidies stem from its postcolonial social state model, established during the liberation war to redistribute resources and support an impoverished population. These transfers solidified the state-society contract, fostering dependence on state provisions. In agriculture, this model took shape through land nationalization and self-managed collective farms (autogestion) after independence. The 1971 agrarian revolution under Boumédiène deepened state control by creating agricultural cooperatives and turning farmers into state employees, further entrenching their reliance on state institutions.

The dissolution of the agrarian revolution in the late 1980s, followed by the IMF-led structural adjustment program in 1994, marked a shift toward liberalization. Yet, state intervention persists in the cereal value chain, with the Ministry of Agriculture and its OAIC playing a central role. The OAIC regulates the wheat market, controls wheat and seed imports, distributes subsidized inputs, and purchases local crops. Elite wheat farmers and landowners are advocating for less intervention, decentralized management, and greater autonomy, such as flexible land access, credit support, and modernization investments, but face significant obstacles.

How do Algerian elite farmers leverage the state’s prioritization of cereals for food security to push for reforms granting them more autonomy and control over inputs?

The Political Economy of Large-Scale Agricultural Investments in Ethiopia: A Comparative Study of Foreign and Domestic Capital
Christine Bosch

Despite the widespread failure of large-scale agricultural land investments to deliver on their promises and the mixed evidence of their social and economic outcomes, governments globally continue to promote such projects as a cornerstone of development strategies. Ethiopia exemplifies this trend, utilizing both foreign (often linked to Indian investors) and domestic capital to advance its goals of economic growth, employment creation, food security, and the extension of state authority over rural areas. These large farms produce export crops alongside crops for the domestic market. To interrogate the political economy underpinning these investments, we conducted fieldwork on six farms in Western Ethiopia in 2016 - three operated by Indian investors and three by Ethiopian investors. Interviews with company managers, employees, community members, and representatives of (non-)governmental organizations helped to understand investment processes, interaction with the state, outcomes for diverse community members, and wage and labour issues. Nine years later, we follow up on the same cases and actors, using administrative data and qualitative methods. We situate large-scale farms within the historical legacies of agrarian change in Ethiopia, examining interests of, and strategies used by investors, incorporate local people, generate resistance, and redistribute costs and benefits.

Environment 2. Ecological Transition and Justice in Practice

Public Land Grabbing in Turkey: The Case of Green Road Project. Melek Mutioglu Özkesen

This study explores the contemporary dynamics of primitive accumulation in Turkey through the case study of the Green Road Project in the Eastern Black Sea region. It investigates the evolving processes of land acquisition, focusing on how public land is repurposed and commodified under state-led development projects. Drawing on theoretical discussions of land grabbing and extensive fieldwork, the study examines the legal frameworks, mechanisms of land reclassification, and public-private partnerships (PPPs) employed to legitimize the transformation of public lands into commercial assets. The research identifies three central arguments: (1) the commercialization of public lands, enabled by legislative reforms such as the 2/B Law and the Pasture Law, underpins capital accumulation strategies while eroding local livelihoods; (2) the state facilitates land commodification through covert mechanisms like reclassification and PPPs, creating rent-driven economies dominated by private interests; and (3) the framing of megaprojects as serving the "public interest" obscures processes of dispossession and weakens collective resistance. This study suggests the concept of "public land grabbing" to characterize the appropriation of public lands under the guise of development, revealing the interplay between state authority, class dynamics, and environmental degradation. By highlighting the socio-economic and ecological impacts of these practices, it seeks to contribute to critical debates on land commodification and inspire resistance movements against dispossession.

Green Narratives to Legitimize Extractivism in Africa Bettina Engels

Manifold conflicts related to resource extraction, as well as civil society pressure, have led to extractivism being increasingly framed as 'sustainable'. In the context of the climate crises, the expansion of copper, lithium, or cobalt mining is increasingly justified with the prospect of green modernization and adaptation to climate change. In such 'green extractivism', the extraction of raw materials becomes a means to an end, which is why it appears to be compatible with sustainable development goals.

Strikingly, the literature on green extractivism refers almost exclusively to Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula. Even if we can rightly ask to what extent the academic literature reflects the reality of the struggles in various arenas, it is striking that the African continent has (so far) played virtually no role in this debate - though African countries have significant deposits of critical raw material, for example manganese (85 % of the world's deposits), cobalt (47 %) and graphite (21 %). Still, in most African contexts the typical narrative to legitimize mining seems to be the storyline of "mining brings macroeconomic growth, technological development and jobs".

This paper discusses the extent to which there is actually a fundamental difference between the world regions with regard to the legitimisation narrative of 'sustainable' mining: Does the 'green' narrative not (yet) exist in the African context? How is the extraction of critical raw materials negotiated and justified? What links are made to 'green' modernisation and the climate crisis? What idea of 'sustainability' is (re)produced?

Revisiting the EU-China Collaboration-Competition Nexus: Between Economy, Geopolitics, and Nature Sirma Altun

The authors previously argued that the EU-China green relations develop through a dynamic collaboration-competition nexus, exhibiting moments of both consensus and contention. In the context of the economic crisis triggered by the pandemic and regional wars, the new EU administration demonstrates a noticeable shift towards global competitiveness through re-industrialization and energy security. This shift also reflects the possible challenges of the Trump 2.0 era for the European political economy in parallel to a growing focus on ensuring that the EU's green transition aligns with its economic interests, even at the expense of normative goals of the climate agenda. This new era also witnesses the internationalization of China's green transition as a means of promoting economic engagement abroad and leveraging soft power through South-South green cooperation. Hence, the EU-China collaboration-competition nexus has been transformed along with the green growth paradigm it is situated within. This proposal aims to examine the transformation of the EU-China competition-collaboration nexus by looking at renewable energy and the extraction and processing of critical raw materials, two frontiers of the global economy. This way, present study explores the ways in which EU-China green relations are shaped in between economy, geopolitics and nature.

Producing the Mobility Transition: Industrial Conversion at the Steyr Automotive Plant

Lukas Cserjan

In the socio-ecological transition, calls to insource globalized production to sustain local jobs and reduce GHG emissions often conflict with the firm's export orientation. This is illustrated by the Steyr automotive case: When the plant, producing combustion engine trucks, got economic problems in 2020, E-bus production with state participation for local needs was attempted. Yet, the project failed and a new investor decided to produce E-trucks for the world market. Against this background, we analyze which forms of state intervention are effective in which moments to support the conversion from an export-led to local-needs-led production. Additionally, we assess the factors influencing ecological and socio-economic outcomes in industrial conversion.

To answer these questions, we conduct a case study of the Steyr plant, emphasizing two aspects: We examine the political economic context including geo-political/economic struggles that shape the conversion of the plant. And we conduct focus groups with stake holders of the case: union representatives, policymakers in the Austrian transportation sector and experts on industrial conversion. We find that dominant interest coalitions oppose needs-led production which contributed to the current outcome. Besides, we claim that for end products directly demanded for public services (as for instance, E-Busses), public support is a win-win-win situation for jobs, security of provision and the socio-ecological transformation.

World Economy 4. Human Rights, Fascism and Migration

Crisis, State, and Authoritarianism and Fascism: In Search of Marxist Approaches

Gonenc Uysal

The unprecedented levels of migration and the migrant crisis across the globe has been combined with the rising authoritarian and fascist tendencies and exceptional measures of capitalist states in the Global South as well as the Global North. This has arguably revealed certain features of the nature of the capitalist state. These include the exception becoming a rule to maintain capital accumulation; the state's resort to authoritarian measures to curb the organisation and mobilisation of subordinate classes; and the complex relationship between underdevelopment/uneven development and forms of authoritarianism and fascism in the peripheries of world capitalism. This paper explores a variety of Marxist approaches to the state, and authoritarianism and fascism; including Marx and Engels, Gramsci, and Poulantzas, in order to understand the recent transformation of the state as a response to the global migration crisis. It particularly focuses on the reorganisation of the state in the Global South to discuss to the role of underdevelopment/uneven development in the rise of authoritarianism and fascism.

Class Fractions, Power Bloc and Confrontation of the Brazilian Dictatorial State

Milton Pinheiro

This work seeks to examine, in the long period between the post-Second World War and the consolidation of the bourgeois-military dictatorship in Brazil, the operations of class fractions, the changes in the power bloc and the role of the communist left in confronting the dictatorial State of 1964. This investigation delves into the political scene of that moment based on historical-political assumptions by using the construction of categories that can reveal the nature of the 1964 Brazilian coup d'état, the role of bourgeois factions, the relationship between imperialism and the internal bourgeoisie, the interests and meanings of the Armed Forces as a State bureaucracy in the so-called democratic interval until the institutional consolidation of the 1964 coup. These marches and counter-marches in Brazilian political history enabled political confrontations that marked Brazilian reality in the sense of redesigning dependent capitalism, modifying the institutional logic of political parties, establishing different forms of political action for the "New" unionism, contributing to the emergence of other popular organizations fighting for land in the countryside and in the cities – for housing and urban mobility –, and also opened horizons of combat against the sociability that fed the system of oppression in Brazil. All this in a historical period marked by dictatorial violence, the logic of political exception and State terrorism.

Brazilian Modernization, Class Interest and State – Foreign Capital in the Transition of the Bourgeois-Military Dictatorship
Leonardo Silva Andrada

This paper is focused on analyzing the class composition of a power bloc in a determined historical moment, and how the change in the correlation of forces within it impacted the dynamics of the political transition in the second half of the dictatorial regime in Brazil. The bourgeoisie fractions sought to inaugurate a new phase of conservative modernization, integrating Brazil in a subordinate way into the international cycle of monopoly and finance capital. To carry out the reforms that would provide the necessary institutional support for this operation, an autocratic government was necessary, which removed the national-developmental coalition that operated industrialization. The first dictatorial cycle fulfilled the tactical movements required for this task. Representatives of the reformist bloc, that controlled the unions and popular movements, formed a government with key elements of the group that later would develop the political and economic program of the coup. The purpose of this work is to discuss the motivations for the change in political strategy of the power bloc, and its option for distention (Distenção) and later openness (Abertura). The analysis of this dynamic offers an opportunity to evaluate the composition of interests in the Power Bloc and the change in political tactics to guarantee accumulation margins, with emphasis on representatives of external capital.

Marxist PE 4.

Poverty and Its Reproduction in the Capitalist State Form: Non-Contributory Transfers in Argentina in 2010-2023
Firat Duruşan

The paper will present the findings of a research project in comparative political economy of social policies in Argentina and Turkey in the period 2010-2023. Specifically, the research aims to show how social assistance policies (non-contributory cash transfers [NCTs] to the poor), which ostensibly have the aim of reducing poverty, can be explained by relating them to the role the capitalist state plays in subordinating the social reproduction of classes of labor to capital. The historical materialist approach the research project has developed examines social policies as part and parcel of the tendencies of capital that in its own expanded reproduction, destroys the conditions in which classes of labor reproduce themselves, creating an ever-growing relative surplus population (RSP). Segments of RSP differ in terms of the shape of their exclusion from socially dominant capitalist processes of social reproduction. This differentiation is determined by the labor absorption and repulsion tendencies of capitalist development that dispossess and/or expel classes of labor. Although the working poor, the dispossessed small producers, the unemployed, the sick, and share common conditions of poverty, their varying relation to capitalist production, which hinges on their potential and/or prospective employability, changes their conditions of reproduction. The capitalist state, as the political form of capitalist social relations, addresses the social reproduction of classes of labor in a similarly variegated fashion where classes of labor are encompassed in social policies in contributory social insurance or non-contributory programs depending on their relation to capitalist production. The presentation will focus on the NCT programs in Argentina. It will lay out which segments of the RSP are targeted, their role in the reproduction of the poor, and how they reproduce the capitalist social class differentiation in the form of the capitalist state. The analysis will be built upon a social class mapping of Argentine capitalism derived from the official household income and living condition statistics.

Advancing a Political Economy of Culture within a Class-Theoretical Approach
Ismail Doga Karatepe

How can we develop a critical understanding of the global rise of the right? We will argue that the surge in right-wing advance is based upon two elementary dynamics of class-based societies that enforce each other. Our starting point is the argument that the reproduction of capitalist societies is steered by conflicts that encompass both the spheres of production and circulation. Whereas the concept of authoritarian neoliberalism adequately grasps conflicts deriving from the relations of production, critical approaches within political economy tend to neglect the circulation sphere. Consequently, conflict dynamics which evolve around the distribution of surplus value remain underdefined. We will argue that these dynamics also advance through the cultural. This means, that the cultural is intricately linked to the economic which in return shapes the cultural and feeds certain forms of politics like culture war or identity politics. Therefore, advancing a political economy of culture has the potential to complement our understanding of the conflict dynamics of authoritarian neoliberalism.

**Evaluating the Differences Within the Working class in the Context
of the Reproduction of Labour Power**
Ali Özkesen

With the neoliberal phase of the capitalist mode of production, significant transformations have been observed in both the employment and working conditions of the working class, as well as in their daily lives and consumption patterns. Mainstream approaches fail to recognize the traditional typology of the working class as a distinct subject with existence and consciousness in society, thereby concluding that the working class has dissolved. As a result, the focus of social science research has shifted from production relations to consumption patterns, causing the relationality between classes to disappear and shifting the analytical focus from relations of exploitation to lifestyles. This study aims to understand the observed differences within the working class in the context of the reproduction of labour power. According to Marx, the value of labour power can be considered as the value of a certain amount of means of subsistence. This study argues that the means of subsistence necessary for the reproduction of labour power are not fixed but rather vary according to the production process, depending on the type of labour power required by capital. It asserts that despite the differentiation within the working class, all segments of the class converge in the suppression of the necessary means of subsistence.

A Feudal Regression? A Review of the Technofeudal Hypothesis in the Context of the Transition Debate
Karl Patrick Norberg

The term technofeudalism has abruptly but widely entered the lexicon of Marxist political economists and beyond. The “techno-feudal hypothesis” (Durand, 2022) which theorises the existence of a novel digitally powered feudalism belongs to a general theoretical current which seeks to capture the nuances of the contemporary economy. However, the claims of technofeudalists go beyond the plethora of hyphenated capitalisms (e.g. rentier, platform, and vulture capitalism) that have cropped up over the recent years by proposing the death of capitalism. This paper surveys the works of the three most notable proponents of the technofeudal hypothesis – Cedric Durand (2024), Yanis Varoufakis (2023), and McKenzie Wark (2019) – to provide a critical overview of the theories of transition that they rely on. By tying these accounts of technofeudalism into the Marxist transition debates of the 20th century – specifically, Brenner (1976), Sweezy (1950), and Cohen (1978) – I demonstrate both how their historical narratives of transition and the concepts of the mode of production itself are theoretically inconsistent. My analysis as a whole is premised on rigorously grounding the debate over technofeudalism in Marxist categories and avoiding the dangers of ‘technological fetishism’ (Harvey, 2003) which lead to the overestimation of novelty at the cost of recognising continuity. My claim is that technofeudalism as a concept is both theoretically incorrect and politically unhelpful.

Activism, Film & Media 7: Chinese Feminist Art and Refugee Lives in Türkiye

China in the Context of the Global Capitalist System: Self-Identity in Female Art
Lin Cheng

In 1995, the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women was held in Beijing, focusing on discussing and presenting women's issues in China and the international community. 20 years have passed, and feminism is undergoing regional changes in China and the world, and it has penetrated into different cultural systems. Chinese women's art has developed rapidly in the past one or two hundred years. Its modern enlightenment can be said to be the government's recognition of the system of women's school education in the late Qing Dynasty and the beginning of women's international acceptance of different educational concepts. At present, Chinese women's art is still facing challenges from different social systems, self-identity, and gender issues. Therefore, the author hopes to reflect on the social issues contained in Chinese women's art in the context of the world system through the analysis of her original video artworks and contemporary Chinese women's art.

Journey of Hope

Tolga Gürocak

This documentary film, 'Journey of Hope', is a journey that reveals the hopes, dreams, expectations, and realities faced by refugees who fled war, poverty, and oppression and sought refuge in Türkiye. By shedding light on the lives of refugees, the documentary aims to show that they are not just 'migrants' but people with individual identities, feelings, dreams, and expectations. Although forced migration is often associated with tragic events such as war, poverty, and political oppression, this documentary emphasizes that migrants are not just about their past; on the contrary, they have hopes, aspirations, and ideals for the future. Through intimate interviews, the film conveys what they expected when they came to Türkiye, what kind of life they found here, and how they feel now as they leave their homes, loved ones, and past behind and step into the unknown. At the same time, it tries to shed light on issues such as the processes experienced by refugees, mostly from Muslim geographies, who seek refuge in Türkiye and try to build a new life here, the difficulties they face, and the successes they have achieved, the obstacles in the integration process and their efforts to build a new identity. The happiness, disappointments, adaptation processes, and future dreams of refugees are described. The documentary aims to explore the thin line between hope and disappointment through the eyes of refugees by telling in detail the tragedies, hopes, and disappointments of refugees through real stories presented through interviews. How big is the difference between what they imagined when they came to Türkiye and the reality they faced? Have their expectations of building a new life come true, or do they regret their arrival? All these questions are answered through the testimonies of people trying to build their lives from scratch. It also endeavors to understand the phenomenon of refugeeism as a crisis or a statistic and through individual human stories. The documentary aims to shape society's perspective on refugees, increase empathy, and raise awareness about solutions. In this way, viewers will realize that refugees are people in difficult situations and individuals who struggle and do not lose hope and dream of the future. The documentary film will be shown to the audience as a screening.