# INFORMATION REQUIRED FOR PROJECT PROGRESS REPORTS

## Overview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project title:</th>
<th>Great Transformation: A Cultural Political Economy of Crisis Management</th>
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<tr>
<td>Award No:</td>
<td>RES-051-27-0303</td>
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<tr>
<td>Award Holder(s):</td>
<td>Professor Bob Jessop</td>
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<td>Institution (s):</td>
<td>Lancaster University</td>
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<td>Award start date:</td>
<td>1st April 2010</td>
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<td>Award end date:</td>
<td>31st March 2013 (ESRC studentship until 30th Sept 2013)</td>
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<td>Total amount of award</td>
<td>£485,000</td>
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<td>from ESRC:</td>
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<td>Total co-funding from</td>
<td>£3000 (this period, from COST IS0902)</td>
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<td>outside ESRC:</td>
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AIMS AND METHODS

The overall aim is to refine, operationalize and test cultural political economy as a post-disciplinary theoretical and methodological approach and assess its strengths/weaknesses with other approaches to the same topic(s). It will contribute to economic, political, and social research theoretically and methodologically and, by studying a “big issue”, establish its policy relevance. The substantive field is the global financial crisis, its repercussions across different sites and scales, and the problems it has posed through crises of crisis-management. Four main objectives are: (1) identify the mechanisms of variation, selection, and retention that shape which of many accounts are selected in crisis-management; (2) evaluate ‘variegated capitalism’ as perspective on the global economy relative to varieties of capitalism and world systems theory; (3) assess arguments about governance and governance failure via the idea of meta-governance in the shadow of post-national statehood; and (4) explore the links between theoretical and policy paradigms and the problems facing researchers and policy-makers in turning the former into practical policy solutions. The research involves mixed methods, ranging from abstract theoretical and meta-theoretical critique through institutional analysis and governmentality studies to critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics.

CONFIRMATION STATEMENT

I confirm as PI that the research follows the principal aims and objectives specified in the bid – these were not subject to renegotiation. There was some discussion of the budget but this has not impacted the conduct of the research. The ESRC notes that Professorial Fellowships are riskier than other types of award and the current research has been modified in the light of theoretical and methodological challenges (and changing facts!) but there has been no change in the central focus and the criteria by which I asked for research progress and outcomes to be evaluated.

CHANGES TO THE ORIGINAL AWARD

There was a delay in starting the research due to problems in recruiting a well-qualified research officer. Eventually an Anglophone researcher was appointed for 6 months on an 80 per cent contract so that the research could begin as agreed with the ESRC on 1 April 2010; an experienced multi-lingual researcher with better corpus linguistic experience as well as political economy training began on 1 August 2010, with an overlap of 2 months (enabled financially by the 80 per cent contract for the first researcher). The ESRC research studentship was even harder to fill and the ESRC agreed that the position could be re-advertised and commence on 01.10.2010. The best qualified candidate was German and ineligible for an ESRC maintenance grant. Alternative funding arrangements were made.

DETAILED PROGRESS

The start of the research was delayed by negotiations with the ESRC over the budget, changes in recruitment arrangements in Lancaster University, and problems in finding multi-lingual researchers with appropriate theoretical interests and research skills. This prevented the real time acquisition of empirical research in a key period for the study (compensated by retrieval from diverse archives, including YouTube); and meant that one extended research visit to the Max Planck Institute for Research on Societies occurred before the Professorial Fellowship began (saving on the ESRC budget). Closure of Lancaster’s Institute of Advanced Studies, an important infrastructural and intellectual support for the research as written into the bid, and drastically cut
funding for the Cultural Political Research Centre, have reduced anticipated input from Lancaster University. These hiccups have not disrupted the progress of the research once it began.

In addition to the initial recruitment difficulties, data acquisition has been harder than anticipated for the corpus linguistic dimension of the research. This is due to the specific methodological requirements of a stratified sample of crisis-related texts organized in terms of a theoretically- and empirically-grounded periodization (rather than resorting to a simple sample of defined calendar periods) and the numerous problems of cleaning the corpus before useful analysis could begin. It was decided to downsize the corpus so that meaningful results could be produced in the envisaged time scale so that the critical discourse stage could begin on schedule. We now have a basic corpus that is suited for comparative corpus- and discourse-analytical investigation (including statements on the crisis by various UK-based actors, international organizations, and the financial press in UK, the US, and Germany); it can be extended for more specific research questions later on.

Experts in corpus linguistics have praised our methodology as innovative and highly informative; we plan to write a methodology note as well as to publish the substantive findings. This will be one of the research highlights for the first year. Regarding preparation for the second year, we plan to use YouTube (and equivalent) archives to access contemporary interviews with key players as the basis for elite interpretations and attitudes. This would replace face-to-face elite interviews, eliminating problems of elite access, saving on time, travel, and other costs, and provide a much larger database. Trial analysis will guide our final decision in the next reporting period. There have been no other difficulties related to the research design or more basic theoretical problems. The overall research objectives remain the same and the timetable in terms of outputs remains on target. Indeed, we have disseminated and published more than originally envisaged due to the interest expressed in our research by a wide range of scholars and potential users (see below).

The research has progressed in relation to the early stage key research questions in the proposal:

1. Identify the main accounts of the crisis: the PI has prepared critical overviews of alternative accounts, synthesized several heterodox alternatives to the widely acknowledged failures of mainstream economics, and integrated this with questions of state crisis (beginning work on the sovereign debt crisis and fisco-financial crisis). The preliminary corpus and discourse analysis are contributing significantly here (see next reporting section).

2. Establish whether some varieties of capitalism were less prone to crisis and/or vulnerable to its global repercussions: a refined account of variegated capitalism and its implications for crisis dynamics, including contagion effects, has been developed. As hypothesized, the initial corpus and discourse analysis reveals key differences in crisis interpretation and also shows the expected links between crisis-tendencies and crisis forms and different types of neo-liberalism.

3. Explore how market, state, network, and collective failure contributed to the crisis and how key actors and laypersons responded to it. This is reflected in the periodization developed in regard to the sequencing of crisis-tendencies, especially from sub-prime through liquidity and solvency crises to problems in the real economy, fiscal crisis, and sovereign debt crisis. The Eurozone crisis has acquired greater significance in the research (see presentations and publications). Policy learning has also demanded more attention than anticipated (see below).

Both researchers contributed significantly to this progress through their contributions to theoretical elaboration and, especially, to constructing and analysing the crisis-text corpus. Their corpus and discourse analyses to date (the research continues) demonstrate change in the focus and agenda of crisis debate that fit the crisis periodization; reveal actor-specific accounts of the crisis and learning efforts; and show how dominant economic imaginaries frame crisis perceptions. In the next reporting period we will address popular as well as elite accounts of the crisis.
RESEARCH HIGHLIGHTS

The research is pre-disciplinary in inspiration, trans-disciplinary in practice, and post-disciplinary in aspiration; it also aims to produce a mix of theoretical, empirical, and policy-relevant findings. At this stage, the project is accessible to the public via the CPERC webpage which is cross-linked to other projects, university webpages, events etc. (http://www.lancs.ac.uk/cperc), where the project has its own “display window”. The biggest impact in the preparatory period (prior to the official ‘start’ of the research) and the first year of research has been theoretical – which reflects the challenges of building the text base for the corpus linguistic and critical discourse analyses.

On the theoretical front, there has been an excellent reception of the overall cultural political economy approach (see the many presentations listed below, most of which were invited), of the notion of economic imaginaries and its relevance to the interpretation of ‘the crisis’ and its manifestations (this has led to, inter alia, an invitation to join the COST IS0902 research action on the financial crisis, where I have already delivered two keynote lectures and will give another in May 2011), and the importance of power relations in blocking policy learning from the crisis (this insight has been refined through our engagement with leading scholars of policy learning and preparation for an ECPR workshop in St Gallen in April 2011). Further indications of the theoretical impact are evidenced in the growing interest in: (a) the concept of ‘variegated capitalism’ (reflected in invitations to lecture on this and to get involved in a Swedish Research Council bid on social solidarities as well as an EU FP7 bid on resilience in the face of the triple crisis – financial, economic, and environmental); and (b) the importance of multi-scalar governance in efforts to resolve the crisis of crisis-management (also related to the EU FP7 bid, which is directly concerned with resilience in the face of crises).

Methodologically, we have been gratified to see interest in our approach to constructing a stratified sample of texts for corpus linguistic and critical discourse analysis. Leading scholars in corpus linguistics (e.g., Professor Geoff Leach, Dr Costas Gabrielatos) consider it innovative and we have benefitted from discussions with Lancaster specialists in Computer-Based Corpus Linguistics for Critical Discourse Analysis. A key feature of our methodology is the use of a theoretically-generated periodization reflecting the differential duration of different stages of crisis and their sequencing in different varieties of capitalism as well as reflecting different discursive agents, genres, and scales of crisis discourse (e.g., parties, interest associations, regulatory agencies, public intellectuals, economic ministries, national, European, international agencies, etc). Michael Farely has already published a paper with a linguist on crisis discourses in the British press based on early findings from the UK corpus. This will be developed as other corpora are built and analysed.

Empirically, corpus linguistic analysis has already confirmed the importance of periodization for crisis discourse, shown that crisis discourse varies across varieties of capitalism (demonstrated for the German and UK case, the US material is still to be analysed), and that there are important differences in discourse and genre across different kinds of economic and political actor. Results are still at a preliminary stage and will be refined in the next reporting period. Among interesting results are that the over- and under-use of words shows how different stages of the crisis displace some economic imaginaries and lead to others gaining primacy. Public intellectuals seem to track prevailing vocabulary (reflecting the event-led nature of their interventions) but they resort strongly to a narrative genre, drawing important policy lessons from the events discussed. Blame discourses vary strongly, as expected, across political parties as well as different economic sectors.

Linking theory and empirical research is a new theoretical model to explain the variation, selection, and retention of alternative frames and readings of crisis according to which the relative
importance of semiotic and extra-semiotic factors varies across the three analytically distinct (but empirically partially overlapping) phases of variation, selection, and retention. The frames and readings that proliferate in the initial period of disorientation induced by crisis vary in resonance; only some get selected as the basis for crisis-management and policy learning; and only some of those that get translated into action and policy measures are then retained/institutionalized as the basis for future policy and policy transfer. This model provides a means to transcend the constructivist-realist divide (or its equivalents) in political science, political economy, and sociology and enables important links to be made with different theoretical traditions.

ENGAGEMENT WITH USERS/SHARING RESEARCH OUTCOMES

The collaboration with UNRISD (United Nations Research Institute in Social Development) was established before the grant began and has been consolidated through conference participation and a publication (see below). A further conference paper has been invited for a meeting on Green Recovery in Autumn 2011. This collaboration has added a key “South” perspective to the research, partly through intellectual challenge, partly through dialogue with conference participants.

Lancaster University acquired the Work Foundation in 2010 and the PI and researchers have used this opportunity to discuss the nature of the research and its relevance to the programme of the Work Foundation, both at a formal two-day workshop at Lancaster and an informal meeting at the Work Foundation in London. We have agreed to share research findings in progress, to participate as appropriate in Work Foundation seminars and conferences, and to look for opportunities for joint research applications with the typical Work Foundation focus on policy relevance. Will Hutton, its former director, is one of the ‘public intellectuals’ whose journalism we are studying.

The PI has maintained regular contact with Capital Economics, one of the largest private economic research consultancies, with an international clientele. This has given important insights into crisis interpretation from the viewpoint of non-academic economic researchers and into their use of print media compared to live datastreams, commercial TV channels such as Bloombergs and CNBC, and regular contacts with key business people. It reveals that economic analysts pay little attention to the print media in developing their interpretation and prognoses of crises and crisis-tendencies.

Through contacts at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Vienna, the PI has discussed the research with the Austrian representative on the European Central Bank, the director of a top Austrian bank, and trade unionists. This gave insights into the national and EU-level politics of the financial crisis, its impact in the Eurozone, and in Austria as a small open economy. This has shaped our approach to the Eurozone crisis and is reflected in forthcoming publications on variegated capitalism in the EU.

In addition, when the award of the Fellowship was announced, it attracted interest from four sets of users: Transform (the European trade union and left political forum); the World Bank (Europe) research and policy unit; Eurregio (Warsaw office); and the Karl Renner Institute (Vienna).

The PI has given presentations drawn from the preparatory and early stages of the research at a Transform forum (attended by political and trade union representatives and lay participants) in Vienna; a meeting co-sponsored by the World Bank, Eurregio, and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest (leading to publication of an invited research paper); and a lecture at the Karl Renner Institute to an audience of academics, trade union officials, and political activists.
An invitation to lecture on the crisis at the Central Bank of Bolivia was cancelled because of the volcanic ash disruption to international flights but the lecture will be published this year in Spanish.

These and other dissemination activities have led to invitations to contribute to further meetings of the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (co-organized with the European Social Forum), the Commission for a Social Sustainable Malmö (Sweden), and the Krakow Circle (an intellectual and political forum). The organizer of the Krakow Circle, who serves on the Polish Monetary Policy Committee will facilitate research on Poland (Amelie Kutter, the project researcher, is fluent in Polish).

**IMPACT – RESEARCH LINKS ESTABLISHED**

(1) Project "Constructions of Crisis" funded by the German Research Council (DFG) as part of the network "Language and Knowledge - problems in public and professional communication" Directed by Prof Martin Wengeler and Dr Alexander Ziem (German linguistics, Düsseldorf University), Dr Ronny Scholz is a research associate (Lancaster Contact: Amelie Kutter)

http://www2.gs.uni-heidelberg.de/sprache02/network/dom_hispolsoc.html
Description in English on Alexander Ziem's page (also linked to the Great Transformations project page): [http://www.phil-fak.uni-duesseldorf.de/en/ziem/research/](http://www.phil-fak.uni-duesseldorf.de/en/ziem/research/)

(2) Project "Calculation in economics. The semiosis of calculative reality in the financial sector" (Ökonomisches Rechnen. Die Erzeugung kalkulativer Wirklichkeiten in der Finanzwirtschaft) funded by DFG; directed by Dr. Jens Maeße (Sociology, Mainz University)

http://www.soziologie.uni-mainz.de/FB02/kalthoff/221.php (Lancaster Contact: Amelie Kutter)

(3) Amelie Kutter is also involved in fundamental discussion of methods, participating in the editorial meetings of the textbook on interdisciplinary discourse analysis ("Kompendium Methoden der Diskursanalyse") and in writing entries for the "Dictionary of Discourse Analysis" ("Wörterbuch der interdisziplinären Diskursforschung"). The project is described here: [http://www.diskursanalyse.net/wiki.php?wiki=DFG-MeMeDa::DFG-MeMeDa&](http://www.diskursanalyse.net/wiki.php?wiki=DFG-MeMeDa::DFG-MeMeDa&)

(4) Forschungsinstitut für die Gesamtanalyse der Wirtschaft (Johannes Kepler Universität, Linz, Austria (Director A-Univ. Prof. Dr Walter Oetsch) This Institute is pursuing research that overlaps with the cultural political economy approach deployed in our project. It has led to important publications on economic imaginaries (Lancaster Contact: Bob Jessop)

http://www.icae.at/wp/

(5) Efter Krisen (After the Crisis Research Project), Pufendorf Institute, Lund University (Sweden) (Director Prof. Mats Benner). This research programme examines the origins of economic crises, how they are understood and managed, and how crisis management influences the design of new economic policies. The interest in economic crises is a starting-point for understanding how stable economic governance models emerge, how they are established and transformed, and how they are articulated with other policy spheres, such as welfare, family, employment, international relations, environment policy, etc (Lancaster Contact: Bob Jessop)

http://www.pi.lu.se/o.o.i.s/26583
(6) European Cooperation in Scientific and Technical Research [COST] COST-Action IS0902: Systemic Risks, Financial Crises and Credit - the roots, dynamics and consequences of the Subprime Crisis (Based at Bielefeld University, Germany, under the Directorship of Prof Dr Oliver Kessler) (Lancaster Contact: Bob Jessop) http://www.worldfinancialcrisis.eu/

FURTHER RESEARCH BIDS GENERATED

(1) EU FP7-SSH-2011-1 Collaborative projects (large scale integrating research projects). A multi-university international consortium bid co-ordinated from Lund University with the acronym: RESCUE (Resilience Resilience to Challenges and Uncertainties in Europe). Submitted January 2011, outcome due to be announced in June 2011. Lancaster is a lead partner.

(2) Changing forms of social solidarities, bid coordinated from Lund University, submitted to Swedish Research Council, March 2011, outcome due to be announced in June 2011

(3) Crises of Crisis-Management: South Korea and the UK Compared, bid submitted by Dr Joo-Hyoung JI to the Korean Social Science Research Council, March 2011 (with Bob Jessop and Ngai-Ling Sum, Lancaster, as co-applicants).

OUTPUTS - PUBLISHED OR IN PRESS

Bob Jessop (PI)


Michael Farelly


OUTPUTS – PLANNED (IN PROGRESS)

2011 ‘State of the Art: Varieties of Capitalism or Variegated Capitalism?’, Draft based on presentation to Max Planck Institute for Study of Societies Conference on the Commonalities of Capitalism, planned submission to Socio-Economic Review (likely submission July 2011)
2011 ‘Research Note: The Use of Corpus Linguistics in Researching Crisis Discourse’ (co-authored with M. Farelly and A. Kutter), in preparation for Critical Discourse Studies

INVITED KEYNOTES AND PRESENTATIONS, YEAR 1

Bob Jessop (PI)

2011 ‘Finance-Dominated Accumulation, the Knowledge-Based Economy, and the Green New Deal: a Cultural Political Economy of Crisis-Management’, Open University, 9 March
2011 ‘Cultural Political Economy: the Dialectic of Discursive and Material Logics (with examples from the Green New Deal)’, Cultural and Critical Political Economy: Problematising the ‘Triple Crises’, Centre for Theoretical Studies, Essex University, 24 February
2011 ‘Is the Eurozone a compossible or incompossible regime (and how would we know)?’ Conference on the Eurozone in Crisis: Challenges and Controversies, Frankfurt, 19 February
2010 ‘The Global Financial Crisis: a Minsky moment and/or a Marx moment?’ COST Financial Crisis Workshop, Bielefeld, Germany, 4 December

2010  ‘Analysing Growth Regimes, Modes of Regulation, Institutional and Spatio-Temporal Fixes and their Crises’, Workshop on Growth Regimes in Crisis, Paris, 27 October


2010  ‘Varieties of capitalism in crisis or crises of variegated capitalism?’, Plenary Lecture, German Sociological Association Annual Conference, Frankfurt, 13 October


2010  ‘Beyond the Crisis: A Cultural Political Economy of Crisis-Management’, Institut für Höhere Studien, Vienna, 6 June

2010  ‘A Cultural Political Economy of Crisis Recovery: the Role of States in Re-Imagining Post-Crisis, Post-Neoliberal Futures’, Workshop on Cultural Political Economy, Swansea University Business School, 4 June

2010  ‘Rivalry or Complementarity? Putting Different Approaches to Discourse Analysis in their Place’, Text Mining in the Digital Humanities: The Interface between Conceptual History, Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics, International Conference, Lancaster University, 12-13 May


2010  ‘Narratives of Crisis and Crisis Response’, Financialisation in Crisis, CRESC, Manchester, 12 March


2010  ‘A Crisis of or in Neoliberalism?’ Aston Business School, 3 March


Michael Farelly (Researcher)


2010  ‘CPE and the Financial Crisis: Using Corpus Tools in Analysing Discourses of Crisis Management’ (co-presented with Bob Jessop), Triple Crisis Workshop, de Montfort University, Leicester, 29 September
2010 ‘CPE and the Financial Crisis: Analysing Discourses of Crisis Management’ (co-presented with Bob Jessop), Language, Ideology, Power Group, Lancaster University, 29 November

Amelie Kutter (Researcher)

2011 ‘Selectivities in crisis perceptions: the example of the German financial press’, Triple Crisis Workshop, Centre for Theoretical Studies, University of Essex, 24 February

2011 ‘A cultural political economy of the financial crisis’ (co-presented with Bob Jessop), Project meeting of the Leverhulme Trust International Network on Uneven Local Responses of Recession, Leeds, 4 February

2010 ‘How to get rid of the noise in the corpus: cleansing large samples of digital newspaper texts’ (co-presented with Cathleen Kantner), JMCE/RECON Berlin Workshop on computer-aided methods of textual analysis, Berlin, 27-28 May

2010 ‘Semantic fields and conceptual categories: exploring the synergy of corpus and content analysis’ (co-presented with Cathleen Kantner), JMCE/RECON Berlin Workshop on computer-aided methods of textual analysis, Berlin, 27-28 May