

# Geographies of Globalizations (GoG)

Programme leader: Prof. dr. Robert Kloosterman

## 1 Research area and mission

Since the mid-1970s the world is experiencing a second wave of globalization (Held et al., 1999; Frieden, 2006) resulting in unpredictable but radical redistributions of human activities over different spatial scales. Although at first sight a replay of the earlier wave of globalization of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Hirst and Thompson, 1999), there are catching differences, technologically, economically, politically, socially as well as culturally. Building forth upon – as well as slightly amending – Neil Brenner's seminal concept of 'variegated neoliberalization' (Brenner et al., 2007), the research programme of this thematic group starts from the empirical observation that what we are confronted with is a set of differentiated articulations of globalization at multiple scales, that are best seen as the unintended effect of the strategic engagements of many different agents, motivated by different goals, interests and preferences.

In this sense, the research programme presented here clearly seeks to distance itself thematically from the more ideological uses of the globalization concept. In these approaches, globalization tends to be presented as a unilinear causal process (modelled on 1950s modernization theory) resulting in the gradual erosion of local and national characteristics, moving toward the much heralded 'end of geography' (O'Brien, 1992) and 'death of distance' (Cairncross, 1998), and inciting apodictic pronouncements of the 'end of the nation state' (Ohmea, 1995; Strange, 1996) and 'institutional convergence' (Crouch and Streeck, 1997). In fact, using a more sober empirical perspective on the real worlds of globalization presents us with a process of change that is much more messy, ambivalent, halting, contradictory, and very important, open than is usually portrayed by its main cheerleaders.

Given our strong empirical inclination, it stands to reason that the emphasis in our research is on the role of agents in bringing about these partly unexpected, unintended, and contingent structural changes. A first characteristic of our research then is what could be called a *critical empirical deconstruction of grand theoretical claims* that is clearly rooted in the tradition of (critical) realism (Sayer, 1992; 2000). A second hallmark of our approach is its multi-scalar orientation. While much comparative research in the social sciences implicitly or explicitly privileges one scale or the other – be it the local, the national, the regional or the global – our aim is to investigate which scalar level harbours most of the geographical causality, without privileging one over the other. A third characteristic of our approach is the explicit recognition that history and institutions matter. Despite our focus on agents, we are highly cognizant of the fact that agents act within a social, cultural, economic and political context that is not of their own making. Finally, we explicitly endorse interdisciplinary research. Given the often bewildering complexity of our research object – the variegated multi-scalar manifestations of cultural, political and economic globalization – we have to use

all academic resources available – in terms of data sources, analytical techniques as well as theoretical perspectives – and hence have to combine the spatial, the social and the historical sciences.

In short: this new research group emerging from the merger of two disciplinary defined theme groups (the first centred on economic geography the second on political and cultural geography) investigates how economic, political and cultural actors engage strategically with globalizations. It does so with a special attention for the geographical dimensions of such engagements, dealing explicitly with the geographically differentiated impact of globalization processes, with geographically mediated opportunities and constraints (distance/proximity, boundary making through inclusion/exclusion, location, cluster, institutional context, etc) shaping the actors' (perceptions of) risks and resources, and the employment of geographically differentiated strategies (territoriality, network governance, scale jumping etc).

Three research themes form the core of the programme, each operating within distinct but increasingly overlapping fields of multidisciplinary study:

**a) Cultural Political Geographies of Globalizations**

Core questions:

Which new political institutions are constructed through the strategic engagements with globalizations of political, cultural and economic actors organized in different places and at different scales in various trans-local and multilevel networks?

What is the changing role of territorial political institutions (states) in these multi-scalar strategic coalitions?

How do they sustain and transform existing local, and national cultural, and political communities, and shape new ones?

**b) Changing Geographies of Urban Economies**

Core questions:

How can are urban economies inserted in regional, national and global networks? Which opportunities for new businesses arise in urban economies?

How is competitiveness reproduced within urban economies?

How can we explain local cultures of consumption and how are they related to spatial patterns of production?

**c) Comparative Financial Geography**

Core questions:

What are the spatial causes and effects of the ongoing geographical and functional reallocation and redistribution of financial markets, banks and products?

How do these reallocations and redistributions articulate themselves in the hierarchical linkages between different financial centres?

How does this fit within wider geopolitical transformations?

## **Mission**

The new research group aims to contribute to the academic and public debates about globalization, its causes and consequences, especially to contribute to:

- The development of geographical approaches to globalizations and the refinement of their spatio-social vocabulary (distance, place, territory, scale, network, region, etc.) and methodological perspectives.
- The academic debates in social science and humanities about the current phase of globalization and its impacts in different localities.
- The integration of historical-sociological and political institutional concepts in geographic approaches to explain drivers and impacts of processes of globalization on sub-state levels.
- The dissemination of academic knowledge about globalizations among the general public and decision makers.
- The public debate about strategies to address specific dynamics linked to globalizations (both policymaking and activism).

## **2 Strategy and policy**

### *2.1 Positioning in international and national debates and organizational frameworks*

Central in our approach is the problematic of the relationship between the different layers and the interaction between actors and structures. This problematic steers our selection of relevant literature. Given our broad disciplinary orientation, it is no surprise that the theme group has been inspired by wide array of contributions on the geographical perspectives on globalization. Our sensitivity to both spatial and historical layers and orientation towards actors and structures in social reality connects us with the work of not only geographers, but also political scientists, historians, sociologists, economists, and anthropologists. We will name only a few landmarks here. Allen Scott's work on agglomeration economies, urban regions, and cultural industries; Saskia Sassen's work on global cities and on new territorial assemblages; Neil Brenner's work on re-scaling; John Agnew on the territorial trap; and Jacques Lévy with the explorations of the many dimensions of the globe as society and body politic (*L'invention du monde*); and Samuel Huntington, John Gray, Kishore Mahbubani, Arjun Appadurai, Kwame Appiah, Benjamin Barber, and Biku Parek on geopolitical shifts, migration and cosmopolitanism.

Below we list a number of key publications that serve as internationally recognized landmarks in the fields of study for the three subthemes:

- Appadurai, A. (1990) Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 7 (2/3): 295-310.
- Barber (1995) *Jihad versus McWorld. How Globalism and Tribalism are reshaping the World*. New York: Ballantine Books.

- Peck, J. & N. Theodore (2007) Variegated Capitalism. *Progress in Human Geography*, 31 (6): 731-772
- Clark, G.L. (2003) *European Pensions and Global Finance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hall, P. & D. Soskice (2001) *Varieties of Capitalism. The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lévy, J. (2008) *L'invention du monde*. Paris: Presses de la fondation nationale des sciences politiques.
- Sassen, S. (2001) *The Global City. New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Scott, A.J. (2000) *The Cultural Economy of Cities; Essays on the Geography of Image-Producing Industries*. London/ New Delhi: Thousand Oaks/ Sage.
- Strange, S. (1996) *The retreat of the state: the diffusion of power in the world economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## 2.2 Summary of highlights in 2004-2008

The research group Geographies of Globalizations has been founded after the research assessment 2000-2006 and started officially on January 2009 as a merger of the former research groups Space and Economy and Territories, Identities and Representations. The merger of the relatively small groups was evidently partly born out of a pragmatic concern about the viability of Space and Economy and, more in particular, Territories, Identities and Representations within a context of very limited financial possibilities, but it is also leap forward to bring the research on processes of globalization to a higher level. Bringing different approaches – cultural, economic, and political – to globalization together in one group is quite innovative and internationally relatively unique. By building on the already accumulated strengths of the constituting groups, *Geographies of Globalizations* can fulfill its potential and indeed become a major player in the debates on processes of globalization. *Journal of Political Economy*. The work of the team has received wide international and national recognition.

In 2007, the Dutch Scientific Council (NWO) awarded Robert Kloosterman a four-year research project *Places and their culture: the Evolution of Dutch Cultural Industries from an International Perspective, 1600-2000*. The aim of the project is to assess the role and position of the visual arts, architecture and publishing from an international comparative perspective by looking at the patterns of their evolution in selected cities. This is a joint research programme of AMIDSt and Professor Maarten Prak of the Onderzoeksinstituut voor Geschiedenis en Cultuur History (OGC), Utrecht University. The project includes one post-doc and two PhDs, one at AMIDSt and one at OGC.

In 2008, Manuel Aalbers received a prestigious VENI grant from the Dutch Science Council (NWO). His three-year project will investigate the links between mortgage provision and wholesale financial markets in the US and the Netherlands. Given the current credit crisis, this is a topical research project indeed.

Dr Aalbers is working closely together with Ewald Engelen and his team. In fact there are a number of coproduced papers are planned for the near future.

The changing world order and shifting identities after the end of the Cold War and particularly after 9/11 has increased interest in 'geopolitics'. Gertjan Dijkink's

groundbreaking study on 'National identity and geopolitical visions' (1996) turns out to be a continuous source of inspiration for new generations of political geographers (57 ISI citations of which 23 between 2004 and 2008). The section on 'Geopolitics' at the Pan-European conference on International Relations 'Constructing World Orders' (The Hague 2004), organized by Gertjan Dijkink and Virginie Mamadouh, was an amazing success in bringing together political scientists and geographers who hitherto not acquainted with each other's work. This resulted in 2006 in special issues of the journals *TESG* and *Geopolitics* (guest editors Virginie Mamadouh and Gertjan Dijkink).

Hans Knippenberg (who has now retired but retains an affiliation to the group) initiated a pan-European network on state/religion relations and edited a volume (Knippenberg, 2005) and a special issue of *Geojournal* (2006). In addition, Herman van der Wusten (also now retired but also affiliated to the group) was conferred the first Mattei Dogan Foundation Prize in Human Geography at the 2008 International Geographical Congress in Tunis for his scholarly achievements in international human geography.

One can now state that the work by Robert Kloosterman and his collaborators on ethnic entrepreneurship and polycentric urban configurations has made an impact on the international debate. Contributions in these fields are widely cited (two article on Mixed Embeddedness have been cited respectively 44 and 21 times, the edited volume on migrant entrepreneurship which came out in 2003 has been cited 31 times; whereas two articles on polycentricity has been cited respectively, 37 and 15 times). These contributions are especially valued for their theoretical and methodical points of view. Work in both fields continues and in 2008 a special issue of *Regional Studies* (guest editors Michael Hoyler, Robert Kloosterman, and Martin Sokol) came out. The work of the group on cultural industries is clearly becoming more important, but it takes time to build a position in the field.

We can also point to the increasing number of invitations for members to hold (keynote) speeches and participate in international networks. In addition, Robert Kloosterman was invited by Allen Scott as a visiting scholar at the Department of Geography, UCLA in April 2007 and he was granted a Fellowship at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study (NIAS), Wassenaar (September 2008 – April 2009).

### **Completed dissertations**

Frans Schrijver (30 June 2006) Regionalism after regionalisation. Spain, France and the United Kingdom.

Bart Lambregts (10 March 2009) The Polycentric Metropolis Unpacked, Concepts, Trends and Policy in the Randstad Holland (approved).

### **Key publications**

Aalbers, M.B. (2004) Creative destruction through the Anglo-American hegemony: A non-Anglo-American view on publications, referees and language. *Area*, 36 (3): 319-322.

Beerepoot, N. (2008) The benefits of learning in clusters: analysing upward mobility for skilled workers in the Cebu furniture cluster. *Environment and Planning A*, 40 (10): 2435-2452.

Engelen, E.R. (2003) The logic of funding European pension restructuring and the dangers of financialisation. *Environment and Planning A*, 35 (8): 1357-1372.

- Falah, G.-W., C. Flint & V. Mamadouh (2006) Just war and extraterritoriality: The popular geopolitics of the United States' war on Iraq as reflected in newspapers of the Arab World. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 96 (1): 142-164.
- Kloosterman, R.C. (2008) Walls and bridges: Knowledge spillover between “superdutch” architectural practices. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 8 (4): 545-563.
- Mansvelt Beck, J. (2005) *Territory and Terror: Conflicting Nationalisms in the Basque Country*. London: Routledge.

### 2.3 Objective and scope for the next five years

In the next five years, we want to move to a more central position in the international debates on globalization. We are now entering new phase in the internationalization of our research group. After making the step to the international arenas and international networks, we want to come up with more comprehensive accounts of geographies of globalizations that go beyond mere case studies and which are based on an approach which acknowledges different layers of social reality when it comes to places as well as when dealing with actors and using various methods to uncover these layers and their interrelationships. By offering a more general picture of processes of globalization with a sensitivity for diverging patterns and their roots in local historical legacies, we aim at broadening and deepening the theoretical framework for understanding processes of globalization. These accounts of globalization can cover each of the separate fields of the group, but we also want to present a more meta-narrative combining the different strands of research of the group from coherent but open perspective on globalization.

#### a) Cultural Political Geographies of Globalizations

The territorial state and the modern state system have widely dominated the (geo)political imaginations of the past century. Such frames have shaped the understanding of what is politically realistic of possible, how politics is organized, how society is regulated, how people are mobilized and how (potential) conflicts are negotiated. Among other thing this geopolitical imagination produces a sharp divide between domestic and international politics.

During the past two decades however, “globalization” has been deployed as a potentially powerful narrative both to justify a wide arrays of neoliberal policies and to underline the inescapable character of certain economic, political and cultural transformations. The end of the state was predicted, as was the end of geography. Although such predictions witness a poor understanding of both phenomena, they demonstrate the anxieties that accompany the evident inadequacy of the dominant geopolitical imaginations. As a consequence, both political actors and observers like academics actively engage in the articulation of new geopolitical imaginations to performatively explain the world in which we live and provide guidance for political action.

The main focus of the subgroup pertains to the way processes of globalization and geopolitics affect state territoriality, sovereignty, national identities, ethno-territorial conflicts and governance arrangements, and conversely how territorial (national, supra-national and sub-national) institutions handle new opportunities and constraints to mobilize individuals and groups and shape new or changing identities and the creation of new identities.

This programme aims at contributing to the theoretical debates about political geographical impact of the unbundling of state territoriality and the changing role of territorial states.

These processes of de-territorialization and re-territorialization also directly affect the dynamics of regional and local cohesion and identity. The resulting geographical patterns of power relations are less hierarchical, with the blurring of the sharp demarcation between domestic and foreign affairs, and the emergence of supranational arenas, transnational loyalties, and transnational and multi-scalar policy networks. The familiar notions of sovereignty and territoriality fade away as formerly exclusive functions of the territorial state are now shared with institutions at lower or higher scales, although the states remain key to global governance.

The subprogramme investigates the institutionalization of new (geo)political imaginations. This institutionalization includes both new hegemonic and dissident discourses and the emerging, established or eroding practices and institutions that they justify. Communication processes are at the centre of our preoccupations. This constitutes the cultural lens of our political geographies. The framing of politics and identities makes the constitution of a political community and the working of politics possible and largely shape political agendas and outputs. With the move from territorial state to new multi-scalar articulations of political institutions, our attention also shift from the mass media whose ascendance was contingent to that of the territorial nation state to the use of the new media for political communication, representation, negotiation and conflict prevention and resolution.

Actors of interest are those who participate strategically to the multi-scalar reconfiguration of politics. They could be political actors institutionalized territorially at different scales (states, national, supranational, regional, metropolitan, or local) as well as non-territorial political actors, such as political and social movements (especially movements with territorial claims) and NGOs, academics, educational institutions, opinion leaders and influential individuals, cultural movements, corporations and other economic agents.

The subprogramme is organized around three main questions:

1. Which multi-scalar strategies do political actors deploy? How are new configurations of political and cultural frameworks institutionalized?
2. How are the main dimensions of democracy (legitimacy, representation, identification, accountability) affected by changing configurations of political institutions?
3. Which localities emerge as important nodes in new configurations of governance? How do information and communication technologies affect existing and emerging networks of political nodes (such as capital cities and)?

## **b) The Changing Geographies of Urban Economies**

Throughout history, cities have benefited from their internal agglomeration economies - based on the classic urban triad of proximity, diversity and (critical) mass – as well as from their external linkages which enabled them to specialize in certain forms of production. Technological change and shifts in external linkages have continuously transformed configurations of economic activities in urban environments. The most recent wave of structural changes has occurred in the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the introduction of digital technologies in conjunction with a rapidly expanding (global) network of external linkages due to a nearly global wave of liberalization of trade has fundamentally reshaped the economy of many cities. Digitalization and globalization made cities return, according to the French historian Jacques Le Goff (1997), to their essential functions of “l'échange, l'information, la vie culturelle et le pouvoir” after an industrial intermezzo of about two centuries. More precisely, advanced consumer and producer services (l'échange,

l'information), co-ordination of spatially disparate tasks in the private and the public sector (le pouvoir) and cultural industries (la vie culturelle) have lead the way in creating vibrant urban economies once again. This apparent return to age-old urban functions involves, however, more than just a changing of the guards. With the advent of a new production paradigm, not just dominant sectors change, but, moreover, the way production takes place and what is produced alter. Any attempt to describe and interpret these fundamental changes will, inevitably, fall short of the complex reality offered by contemporary cities. To come to grips with this multifaceted phenomenon, we have decided to focus on three distinct strategic windows, namely (i) cultural industries, (ii) the global and local economic networks and their spatial articulation; and (iii) consumption.

(i) Cultural industries; building forth upon research projects that were granted in 2002 and 2006, we aim to broaden our territorial by strengthening the international comparative component of our research. Doing so will involve analyzing the cross-border division of labour between nodal cities regarding the cultural industries. Such an approach will entail a merging of the approaches developed in our research on polycentric urban configurations and the international networks of producer services with those we use to analyze cultural industries. A leading question is how important more general agglomeration economies are regarding internationally competitive cultural industries and to what extent more specific agglomeration economies play a role.

(ii) Global and local economic networks and their spatial articulation; In the past years various researches were carried out on spatial clustering, learning in networks of firms, and the embedding of firms in international value chains and national varieties of capitalism. The research group will further focus on international reconfiguration of value chains and focus on the nodes within value chains and, more in particular on the economic dynamics of gateway cities and city-regions. Gateway economies such as Hong Kong, Singapore, Dubai and the Netherlands, are characterized by very high re-exports, and are trade- and distribution nodes in these value chains. The dynamics of gateways as physical nodes and the possible interactions with information-intensive and control functions are yet hardly investigated and understood. Moreover, there still are gaps between mesolevel geographical perspectives on urban economic dynamics and microlevel economic and administrative perspectives on international business strategy and organization. Multinational enterprises are increasingly complex network organizations with their own internal power dynamics which intertwine with geographically localized assets. Understanding developments in global value chains in conjunction with the in- and external organization of production networks sheds light on the conditions to sustain gateway economies. Moreover, there still are gaps between mesolevel geographical perspectives on urban economic dynamics and microlevel economic and administrative perspectives on international business strategy and organization. Multinational enterprises are increasingly complex

Contemporary globalization is increasingly referred to as hierarchical integration in the new international division of labour. Contemporary globalization makes the world more interconnected but this interconnected world is being segmented in new ways. At different levels in both developed and developing countries winners and losers arise from international reconfiguration of value chains and from new forms of task outsourcing associated with international off-shoring of service activities. There is increasing evidence that some low-wage countries are beginning to feel the pinch as production expands into even poorer countries. The intensifying production and export prowess of China appears to be having negative effects on the employment prospects of many less developed countries. The well-established story of job loss in the North now has entered a new and tragic chapter of large-scale job losses in regions of the South. International off-shoring of service activities



would (in the North) expose new segments of the labour market to increased international competition. English-language skills form a major segmentation criterion for which developing countries can benefit and, hence, this may sharpen the divide between developing countries and within countries.

(iii) The geography of consumption and tourism is another aspect of post industrial urban economies that we aim to cover. Our earlier research has confronted us with a rather large black box, namely that of consumer markets. Most research in economic geography starts from the production side and deals only in a more oblique way with consumer behaviour. The customer is indeed “the neglected king”. We want to plug this gap by exploring the geography of consumption and assess how processes of globalization have affected consumer markets and consumer cultures and how this, in their turn has affected geographies of production. Questions at stake are: Are we witnessing processes of convergence and homogenization of consumer culture(s) between countries, while, at the same time, processes of differentiation along socio-cultural lines within countries take place? Which products are “portable” and, hence, can be exported across national (and cultural) borders and which products are too “sticky” as they require a distinct set of cultural resources to interpret them? We also want to look at how local consumer cultures are (re)produced and what their impact is on local production systems. Are we still observing processes of co-evolution on a local or regional scale or are processes of rescaling taking place? Although substantial work has been done on a specific aspect of consumption, namely tourism, this part of the research programme is still very much *in statu nascendi*, and will be further developed in the next few years.

### **c) Comparative Financial Geography**

While finance is a well-established research topic in economics, it is only fairly recently that the other social sciences have shifted their focus to financial markets. Each of these disciplines has something to add to the overall academic picture. *Financial economics* starts from a perspective where real-life financial data are being contrasted with model-based outcomes in order to explain the irrationalities of economic agents and the imperfections of real existing markets. *Comparative and International Political Economy* stress the importance of institutions and deregulatory measures to understand the rise of finance. The latest morphing of the sociology of science, the *social studies of finance*, instead zooms in on the micro-sociological as well technological networks that are the building blocks of contemporary financial markets.

This is where geography becomes relevant. The very essence of modern geography is to study the spatial repercussions of changing social practices as well as its reverse: to analyze how spatial physical structures frame the dynamics of social practices. The money world is what geographers call a space of flows, partly real, partly virtual flows, which directly and indirectly mould the spaces of places. Money flows, their institutions and organizations have strong connections with the spatial organization of production and consumption. Like the industrial revolution changed the landscapes and townscapes of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, the money and banking revolution of the 1980's and 1990's changed the physical landscapes of capitals and metropolitan regions all over the world. New economic rankings of cities emerged as well as changing relationship and competitive location decision factors.

While space is of course the medium wherein the objects of these research traditions are located, the causal properties of space as such are not investigated. It is this key aspect of social reality that is at the centre of *Comparative Financial Geography*. To be more specific, space enters the picture in two ways. First as means of entrance into the ‘relational’ global

networks and their nodes that serve as the channels, tubes, sluices and reservoirs of the capital that is sloshing around the globe. The second understanding of space relates to an older trope within geography, namely that of the industrial district. Financial centres - which dot the globe, and determine size, speed and direction of financial flows - consist of spatially concentrated and densely connected, cooperating as well as competing financial firms that cover a broad array of different but related financial activities. *Comparative Financial Geography* opens the black box of how financial relations and space are interrelated – on a global and a local scale.

Implicated as finance increasingly is in the current transformations of the welfare state, the allocation of capital at a supranational scale as well with a large number of highly urgent geopolitical issues that will determine social life in the next few decades – energy and commodity scarcities, global warming, the rise of the Eastern Hemisphere – *Comparative Financial Geography* is increasingly turning into a self standing but transdisciplinary field of study that is crucial for understanding complex processes of globalization and their local impacts and as such has obvious insights to offer for local and national policy makers.

*Comparative Financial Geography* covers both ‘old’ and ‘new’ research questions, such as: how and why do international financial centres reproduce themselves over time? To what extent can we explain the continuing existence of these nodes in financial networks by means of the traditional focus of economic geography on proximity? What kind of proximity is at stake here? How does it articulate itself? What is its functionality? Other questions it addresses are: what are the connections between ‘high finance’ and households? How is the daily life of people affected by financialization? What is the spatial articulation of pension and mortgages markets and how do they mediate between households and international financial markets? And finally, what are the geopolitical consequences of the increasing connectedness of East and West as well as of the rise of new financial centres in the Middle East and Asia? Obviously, this cries out for interregional comparisons between East and West. In the next 5 to 10 years we will do our utmost to set up an international comparative research project which encompasses both the traditional European financial centres as well as the fledgling new financial centres in the Middle East (Dubai) and the more established financial centres in Asia (Hong Kong, Shanghai, Singapore).

## 2.4 Methodology

The ontological recognition of a layered social reality with on the one hand, rich places and rich actors, and on the other, significant underlying structures, implies an epistemological position which aims at constructing middle-range theories which are bound by time and place constraints. Our interpretation of social reality and, more in particular, of the contingency and openness of processes of globalization forestall any attempt to formulate anything approaching a grand theory. We want, however, to proceed beyond mere descriptions and identify more general mechanisms which connect places and actors at different spatial scales. To sift the general from the idiosyncratic, we need more comprehensive frameworks which make sense of the mechanisms in more abstract terms. Identifying the crucial mechanisms empirically implies exploring different layers and facets and each of them may involve a different approach with its own methodology. Some aspects can be explored by quantitative methods; others are more suited to qualitative approaches. The building blocks of these different approaches can be partly derived from other social sciences. Our approach is, then, driven by the problematic of the research question and not by the methods or by the data.

The research projects in the subprogramme on cultural political geographies of globalization combine a wide array of methodologies, combining policy analysis and analysis of political processes, with content analysis of texts and visuals, with discourse analysis, with fieldwork, archival research and interviews, and with the statistical analysis of quantitative data (when available for example electoral support and policy outputs).

The same is true for the projects undertaken under the rubric of comparative financial geography. Recognizing the multicausal nature of the phenomena at hand, results in a multitheory approach, using multiple data sources (quantitative, qualitative, formal, informal) that are analyzed with the help of multiple methodologies (regression analysis, discourse analyses, framing theory).

## **2.5**     *Where in the world*

The subprogramme will expand the geographical scope of its empirical focus. The former programme of Territories, Identities and Representations has worked on Europe, widely defined. This macroregion provided the group with contrasting experiences of state institutionalization, conceptions of nationalisms, and geopolitical positions. The group will continue to focus on Europe but will engage more specifically into multiscalar strategies articulating interventions from the metropolitan to the global arena. It will use the Dutch and the Amsterdam experiences more often as illustrations to improve contacts with direct stakeholders.

As the reunification of Europe partly erases the contrast between Western and Eastern Europe, the group aims at engaging more often in comparative studies with other parts of the world to widen the diversity of the experiences of state territoriality, geopolitics, and globalizations under study. It could be particularly interesting to consider the experience of the African Union, that combines the ambition to emulate the European Union as a new system of governance, with member states that qualify as very weak and even failed states. But another attractive direction is to zoom in on the new East-West dimensions in global (geo)politics: how the European Union engages with the US (e.g. fluctuating transatlantic relations within the West) on the one hand and the relations of the European Union with its many Eastern “others”: Russia, the Middle East, India and Asia on the other hand, as well as with its ‘neighbours’ to the South, across the Mediterranean.

Comparative financial geographies is currently very much focused on making comparisons between well established financial centres in Europe and North America, comparing developments in Amsterdam with those of other financial centres in those areas. Attempts to extend the scope of investigation to Eastern Europe under the umbrella of the EU Framework 7 programme have failed so far, despite considerable effort to set up a Europe-wide network. The failure was mainly due to the lack of a professorship for the leader of that part of the program, a problem that is in the process of being solved. Once that is done, a second attempt to encompass developments in Eastern Europe will be undertaken. Of course, the credit crisis of 2007/8 and the geopolitical shift it implies cry out for comparisons with developments in Southeast-Asian Financial Centers. The aim is to set up collaborative relations with geographers working in that area as a first step towards settings up a full blown comparison between Europe and Asia.

## 2.6 Outreach

The research group Geographies of Globalizations has to strengthen existing and find new linkages with the outside world. First, because the research ambitions formulated in this programme are costly to realize and primary university funding is meeting severe budget constraints. It is, therefore, self-evident that part of the funding will have to come from extra-academic sources. Luckily, the group has strong experiences with attracting external funding, primarily because of the topical nature of its research objects. Comparative financial geography for instance has proven to be of extreme interest to national and local policy makers. Opportunities for cooperation as well as co-funding are currently being discussed. The project on gateways, in addition, is directly connected with and part of the extensive research and innovation programme of the new national Topinstituut Logistiek (top-level Institute for Logistical Research and Development) in The Netherlands and participates in the Research Network for International Economics, Logistics, and Technology *RELATE* (includes the Ministries of Economic Affairs, Transport, and Spatial Planning (EZ, V&W, VROM). Notwithstanding this mundane need to establish links with the outside world, the approach taken to outreach is that it should serve the self-standing research ambitions of the group not the other way around. That means that chances for external funding are accepted only if they fit existing research ambitions. We very much want to stress our academic independence.

A second reason for reaching out to actors outside the academic world is to disseminate our research findings and our views to a larger audience. We want to participate in public debates by publishing in non-academic outlets. There are, however, limits to this. The focus on academic publications, teaching and looking for funding does not leave much time for other activities. Given the fact that we have moved to a different phase with continuous flow of academic publications, we would have somewhat more time to cater to this audience as well. Time constraints remain, however, very severe.

## 3 Long term ambitions

The long term aim of the research programme is to become a point of reference in the international debates in these fields itself. To do so the ambition is to publish the results of the current research projects in the form of excellent monographs by high standing international publishing houses (OUP, CUP, etc.). While this should not entail less international journal publications, we do want to stress that in this field of study monographs are still the publication formats that have the widest academic impact.

A second aim of the programme is to broaden the basis of all three subthemes in terms of international linkages as well as staff time. This requires a serious effort to surpass the earlier successes in gaining external grants. Especially gaining access to international grants (EU) seems to warrant a coordinated effort by the senior staff affiliated to this program.

## Appendix:

### Composition of the research staff of Geographies of Globalizations as per 1 January 2010

<b>Name and present title</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>e-mail address</b>
<b>Full professors</b>		
Robert Kloosterman	0,40	R.C.Kloosterman@uva.nl
James Sidaway	0,50	J.D.Sidaway@uva.nl
Pieter Tordoir	0,11	P.P.Tordoir@uva.nl
<b>Associate professors</b>		
Gertjan Dijkink	0,38	G.J.W.Dijkink@uva.nl
Ewald Engelen	0,75	E.R.Engelen@uva.nl
Virginie Mamadouh	0,45	V.D.Mamadouh@uva.nl
Valentina Mazzucato	0,50	V.Mazzucato@uva.nl
<b>Assistant professors</b>		
Niels Beerepoot	0,40	N.P.C.Beerepoot@uva.nl
Jan Mansvelt Beck	0,34	J.MansveltBeck@uva.nl
<b>Total tenured staff</b>	<b>3,83</b>	
<b>Non tenured staff</b>		
Manuel Aalbers	1,00	M.B.Aalbers@uva.nl
Bart Lambregts	0,25	B.Lambregts@uva.nl
Mariangela Lavanga	0,75	M.Lavanga@uva.nl
<b>Total non tenured staff</b>	<b>2,00</b>	
<b>PhD researchers (funded)</b>		
Amanda Brandellero		A.M.C.Brandellero@uva.nl
Michael Deinema		M.N.Deinema@uva.nl
Rodrigo Fernandez		R.Fernandez@uva.nl
Emma Folmer		E.Folmer@uva.nl
Anna Glasmacher		A.U.A.Glasmacher@uva.nl
Robert Röling		R.W.Roling@uva.nl