Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation

Who we are...
CSGR at the University of Warwick is a research centre of the Economic and Social Research Council. It is the oldest and largest academic programme in Europe specifically devoted to the study of globalisation and regionalisation. We are fourteen core staff, five dozen associates and a dozen visiting fellows per year.

What we do...
CSGR engages in high-quality, innovative, multi-disciplinary, inter-cultural, policy-relevant academic research. We run seminars, workshops, conferences and other special events. We publish working papers, articles, books and policy papers. We contribute to national and international networks in globalisation and regionalisation studies and also engage widely with official, civil society, business and media circles.
Welcome to CSGR’s Newsletter 14, covering the second half of our eighth year of operations. As ever, it has been a busy and productive time.

As reported more fully in the pages that follow, the Centre has during this period hosted two conferences and four workshops. The Annual Conference in October 2005 brought together 120 participants on CSGR’s key theme of the relationship between regionalisation and globalisation. A one-day conference in November addressed questions of globalisation and security with reference to global mass media and discourses of terror. Workshops have examined global ethics, democracy promotion, voting power in global and regional economic institutions, and (to be covered in Newsletter 15) global justice through force.

The newsletter also presents some highlights of CSGR research output. Departing Research Fellow Sian Sullivan reviews her three years at the Centre, while incoming Research Fellow Nitsan Chorev reflects on her plans for the years ahead. Two new books in the Routledge/Warwick Series on Globalisation are presented, as is the recently released second edition of Jan Aart Scholte’s Globalization: A Critical Introduction. Past months have also seen the release of more than 20 new CSGR Working Papers, as listed on page 21 below. The first issue of the journal Global Governance under CSGR co-editorship has also gone to press for release in January 2006.

Other pieces in this newsletter describe CSGR’s involvement with a new EU Framework 6 project on intellectual property rights, as well as a new multinational project on Globalisation, Cooperation and Trust, founded by the National Science Foundation. CSGR participation in a recently awarded EU Framework 6 project on ‘Inequality: Mechanisms, Effects, Policies (INEQ)’ will be discussed in a subsequent newsletter.

CSGR’s impact in promoting scholarly networks with policy significance is once again seen through the recent launch of GARNET, the €5.4 million project coordinated through CSGR to link 43 institutions across Europe. Eleni Tsingou, the GARNET Programme Manager, summarises the first months of project operations. A further item reports on the second annual conference of the Globalization Studies Network, which CSGR was instrumental in initiating in 2003-4.

For the rest the newsletter covers two seminar series, recent visitors to the Centre from five continents, and an array of future events on global and regional governance. As said, busy and productive!

Finally, the past half year has brought a number of staff developments, all of them prompting congratulations. Sian Sullivan has, on completion of her three-year fellowship at CSGR, moved to a permanent lectureship at the University of East Anglia. Nitsan Chorev and Dwijen Rangnekar have been appointed to five-year Research Councils United Kingdom (RCUK) Academic Fellowships at CSGR. A third RCUK fellowship (on economics of globalisation) will be appointed in early 2006. Robin Cohen, Senior Fellow at CSGR, has been awarded an ESRC Professorial Fellowship to commence in January 2006. Eleni Tsingou and Denise Hewlett have been promoted to positions as GARNET Programme Manager and Coordinator, respectively. Domenica Scinaldi has left CSGR after a sterling five years as Administrative Secretary to take up new work in London. Daniel Harris has already left an indelible mark as new CSGR Secretary, while Siân Alsop has provided much-appreciated cover in the transition to a new CSGR Administrator. Rebecca Gibbs will join us in that position from January.

Jan Aart Scholte
Co-Director
CSGR's 2005 Annual Conference, co-sponsored with CIGI (Canada) and UNU-CRIS (Belgium), examined the role of regionalisation/regionalism as a mediating level and strategy for the governance of globalisation. The conference was major international event, attracting a total of 120 participants and 90 individual papers, with speakers from over 40 developed and developing countries.

The conference Welcome Dinner enjoyed a combative keynote speech from Willem Buiter, former Chief Economist at the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development and now Professor of European Political Economy at the London School of Economics. Professor Buiter spoke on the subject of ‘Why Would Anyone Wish to Join the European Union?’ and rebuffed many of the recent criticisms of the European project. The following day, a plenary was given by Professor Ramesh Thakur of the UNU-Tokyo and Professor Luk Van Langenhove of UNU-CRIS on the subject of ‘Enhancing Global Governance Through Regional Integration.’ This provided an excellent framework for conceptualising the overall role of regionalisation in global governance.

The conference breakout panels over the following two days sought to address regionalisation’s function in ameliorating the impact of globalisation in a variety of ways: Firstly, panels examined conceptually the interrelationship between globalisation and regionalisation,
including the themes of: Comparative Regionalism; Measuring Regionalisation and Globalisation; Inter-Regionalism; and Theorising Regionalism.

Secondly, panels examined regionalisation across a number of functional areas, comprising economic, political security and social issues. Panels dealt with the themes of: Regionalisation and Development; Regionalism and Trade Governance; Regional Agreements in Trade and Investment Regimes; New Security Challenges and Regionalism; Public Health and Regionalism in East Asia; Finance and Regions; Regional Trading Arrangements; and Regions and Multinationals.

Thirdly, the conference concentrated on regionalisation developments in a number of key regions, including panels on African Regionalism; Asia-Pacific Regionalism; China and Regionalism; Japan and Korea in East Asia Regionalism; Middle East and South Asian Regionalism; European Regionalism; Post-Soviet Regionalism; Latin American Regionalism; and Regionalism in the Americas.

Fourthly, conference panels focussed on a range of state and non-state actors in regionalisation, either through individual papers or as panel themes. The conference included panels on the role of Non-State Actors in Regionalisation; Social Forces in Regionalisation; and the role of the UN and Regional Groupings in Regional and Global Governance.

Fifthly, the conference was an important multidisciplinary exercise, involving contributions from leading international specialists in Economics, Business Studies, Political Science, International Relations and International Political Economy, International Law, Security Studies, Sociology, Anthropology, Geography, and Health Studies.

The conference was a great success as a venue for considering the future role of regionalism in governance and for devising new research networks and projects. An edited book based on a number of conference papers will appear in due course.

The conference organisation team was Chris Hughes (CSGR), Andy Cooper (CIGI) and Philippe de Lombaerde (UNU-CRIS). Many thanks are also due to Dan Harris, Siân Alsop, and Jamie Shin for behind the scenes conference support.

The full conference programme and papers are available on the CSGR website at: www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/csgr/activitiesnews/conferences/2005_conferences/8_annual_conference/.
This event was a one-day conference to explore the relationship in the question of terrorism between globalisation and political violence on the one hand and language and translation in media discourses on the other. The event was organised by CSGR with the Centre for Translation and Contemporary Cultural Studies as co-ordinated by Dr Esperanca Bielsa (CTCCS) and Dr Chris Hughes (CSGR).

In the keynote speech Professor Upendra Baxi, CSGR Associate, explored the terror wars as wars on pluralism and traced their consequences for human rights, also stressing the need to construct a narrative of the past of the war on terror and to colonialism and the cold war as precursors.

Thereafter a morning panel centred on the relationship between globalisation and political violence. Presentations addressed the nature of the new world order and its consequences for the nation state (David Small, University of Canterbury, New Zealand), the role of propaganda in the war on terrorism (Anders G. Romarheim, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs), and media constructions of notions of security and the materialisation of a global threat (Stuart Price, De Montfort University).

In the afternoon panel, which focused on the role of language and translation in discourses on terror, David Machin (University of Leicester) approached global war toys as political discourse. Two other papers examined the translations of key political speeches of the terror wars: a French version of Bush’s ‘State of the Union 2003’ published in Le Monde (Gilles Quentel, University of Gdansk, Poland), and a comparative analysis of BBC and CNN translations of a Bin Laden speech (Sara Al-Mohannadi, University of London).

Throughout the day, both the need for translating terror as an act of understanding and of transgression and the actual practices through which political speeches circulate through the global media were emphasised and explored. This conference was organised in the context of the AHRC-funded research project on ‘Translation in Global News’, which investigates translation practices in global news agencies.

For more information on this project, please visit the website: www.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ctccs/research/tgn
Globalization Studies Network
Second Annual Conference
Jan Aart Scholte

Following on the inaugural meeting hosted by CSGR at Warwick in August 2004, the Globalization Studies Network (GSN) convened its second annual conference at Dakar, Senegal on 29-31 August 2005. The bilingual meeting (in English and French) drew 150 delegates from 40 countries spread across all world regions. Hosts and organisers of the conference were the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA). CSGR was represented by Jan Aart Scholte, who also acted as chair of the GSN Steering Committee for the meeting.

The conference theme of ‘Globalization: Overcoming Exclusion, Strengthening Inclusion’ attracted a wide variety of high-quality contributions. Panels and papers examined this issue across a range of topics including civil society, culture, gender, higher education, ICTs, identities, investment, labour conditions, migration, refugees, regionalism, sovereignty, sport, technology transfer, and trade. Abdulai Janneh, Director of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Regional Bureau for Africa, delivered the keynote address.

The Dakar meeting reconfirmed the value of the GSN as an innovative experiment in research on globalization. The association brings together researchers from across the world and across disciplines in exchanges and collaborations that would otherwise occur only sparsely, if at all. With its location in Dakar and a substantial participation by scholars from Africa, the second annual conference was particularly successful in promoting awareness of lesser known writers and writings on globalisation from the host continent. The many examples in this regard included African perspectives on globalization and gender as well as empirical studies of the Chad-Cameroon pipeline and digital global communications in Niger. In terms of academic disciplines, the conference brought together anthropologists, economists, historians, lawyers, literary theorists, lawyers, political scientists and sociologists. The participation of a number of civil society associations and official institutions furthered the GSN aim of fostering links between academic and practitioner circles.

A compendium of conference proceedings is being prepared on CD-ROM. In addition, several contributions are appearing as working papers, including in the CSGR series. During the past year the GSN has furthermore spurred the preparation of a 16-volume series of globalisation writings, to be published by Sage. Other inter-institutional research collaborations through the GSN have been launched on subjects such as global health, global security, and global social movements.

With the positive outcomes of meetings at CSGR/Warwick and CODESRIA/Dakar, the GSN looks forward with anticipation to its third annual conference, to be hosted by the Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS) in Kuala Lumpur on 21-23 August 2006. Readers may monitor the GSN website (www.gstudynet.com) in the months ahead for further details of this conference.
Conferences and Workshops

Ethics in World Politics: Cosmopolitanism and Beyond?
24 May 2005
James Brassett and Dan Bulley

On 24th May 2005 CSGR played host to a one-day workshop on ethics in world politics organised by James Brassett and Dan Bulley. The workshop included some prominent and emerging experts on the subject of global Ethics from a variety of disciplines including Geography, International Relations, International Political Economy, and Sociology. The aim was to continue a conversation on ethics and “the ethical” in world politics that is sometimes lost to theoretical isolation. To that end a key contribution of the day was to bring into conversation scholars from cosmopolitan, critical realist, feminist and post-structural perspectives.

The workshop was divided into three sessions. The morning session was chaired by Robert Fine who set the scene for the day by playfully questioning the sub-title of the workshop when he said: “It seems like only yesterday that cosmopolitanism was the beyond!” An excellent morning panel saw Heikki Patomakki present a dialogue he is having with David Held, Will Smith presented on the problems and possibilities for thinking about cosmopolitanism in the context of Humanitarian Intervention, and Paola Robotti discussed the (im)possibility of thinking ethics in the context of global finance.

The second session was chaired by Robin Cohen and saw three important critical scholars continue with the theme that Paola introduced. Stuart Elden presented his critique of the “War on Territorial Integrity” by emphasising the way that borders underpin many (ethical) decisions in world politics but are generally left silent. Maja Zehfuss stayed with the Iraqi conflict and turned squarely against the very possibility of ethics in the context of that war. She argued that debates all too easily accept the status of a “We” group that ignores the performative construction of such subjectivities. Finally, Kimberly Hutchings pursued a similar line for the different subject of feminist ethics when she argued that the unproblematic use of ethical argument acts to produce the political world. Again playing with the workshop title, she argued that it would be better to think of a liminal version - Ethics/World/Politics – rather than seeking to portray ethics as the ‘magic ingredient’ that makes world politics ‘nice’ again.

The final session was chaired by Dan Bulley and saw one of the most established cosmopolitan theorists, Andrew Linklater, present and debate with Nick Vaughan-Williams, an emerging scholar of Derrida. Linklater spoke on the concept of harm and argued that the ethics of harm has a straightforward (if hard) task: to highlight a universal vulnerability to suffering and explore ways to mitigate such suffering. On the contrary, Vaughan-Williams argued that the agendas that cosmopolitans propose all too easily fall down on universal signifiers like ‘citizen’ or ‘immigrant’. He contended that we need to get rid of such terms in order to open ethics to the plurality of possible futures and others that our theoretical frameworks sometimes suppress. To be sure, agreement is unlikely – even undesirable – on these important subjects. But, as Robin Cohen surmised, it was useful to for ethical theorists to get their “feet dirty” and recognise the ethical limits of theory. Some of the papers from this workshop have been developed for publication in a Special Issue of International Politics (forthcoming 2006).
The aim of this workshop was to explore how actors in the international democracy assistance community can support the contribution that party politics makes to democratisation in new and emerging democracies, as the parties face the challenges, constraints and opportunities posed by globalisation and regionalisation. Put differently, how should actors in the field of democracy assistance respond to globalisation and regionalisation when they devise their strategies?

The opening session sought to identify how globalisation impacts on democracy in the round and more especially on parties specifically. The session then reviewed the several different distinguishing characteristics of parties and party systems in developing democracies. The failure so far of party aid to have a catalytic or transformative effect in promoting democratisation more generally was catalogued and explained with reference to specific examples drawn from four continents.

The second session, on post-communist Europe and Russia, noted the adverse effects that Europeanisation has meant for political participation, and the role of the parties in producing an ‘accession deficit’ arising from meeting the conditions of membership of the European Union. The chances of reforming the present ‘party of power’ situation in Russia were argued to be less favourable than the recent events in Ukraine or, even, the system of personalistic rule in Belarus.

The third session, on sub-Saharan Africa, brought out the distinctive ways that globalisation is perceived and constructed in post-colonial Africa, while also establishing the convergence – and in that sense globalisation – rather than complete universalisation there of a ‘quasi-polyparchical’ form of rule. A very stimulating exchange took place over the contribution of Germany’s political foundations (Stiftungen), which have a long history of engaging with parties and civic actors in Attica, that highlighted weaknesses in the foundations’ capability and will to seriously evaluate their performance. This particular exercise in rigorous, objective and independent analysis had not previously been attempted.

The final session focused on the Middle East, a region that is currently the centre of much political attention internationally over how to go about stimulating democratic transformation in the face of lingering authoritarianism and, most notably in Iraq, state collapse. Turkey’s apparently successful example of harnessing globalising forces on behalf of democratic party competition, especially in regard to political Islam, has found little resonance in the Middle East more broadly. Even the continuation of the favourable trajectory in Turkey was said to be contingent to some degree on global economic developments and on progress in negotiating membership of the European Union. But such are the complexities of political life in Egypt and Iraq that the scope for international support to develop democratic party politics in these countries is still narrowly circumscribed.

Of the 26 participants in the workshop, 17 came from academic institutions and the rest from policy research institutes and practitioner organisations in democracy promotion. Ten countries were represented, ranging from South Africa to Russia, from Germany and Sweden to the United States. As one of the speakers, Thomas Carothers of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Washington, DC) observed at the close, the event was the first of its kind in bringing together academics and practitioners involved in theorising about, and delivering, international democracy support to parties and party systems. The attempt to explore connections between globalisation, regionalisation and party politics in this context was also a first, and the workshop created the basis for an expanding, and collaborative, international research effort.

Working Papers based on a selection of papers presented at the workshop can be found on the CSGR website. A book collection drawing on modified versions of many of the presentations is also planned.

Dennis Leech

Machover’s presentation, co-authored with fellow VPP co-director Dan Delsenthal (from the University of Haifa), was titled ‘Voting Power Measurement: A Story of Misreinvention.’


While papers were welcomed in all areas of application, including the EU and domestic legislatures, we particularly wished to encourage papers on power in voting systems used in institutions of global governance such as the Bretton Woods system, the Kyoto Protocol, the UN and other supra-national bodies. Participants came from diverse disciplinary backgrounds and with different interests, including political science, economics, game theory and other branches of mathematics, public choice, social choice and voting procedures, as well as practitioners from outside academia. Speakers heralded from Russia, Central Europe, Israel, Mexico, USA and Finland, covering topics from the Bretton Woods Institutions through to papers on the IMF, the Banzhaf Index, and the EU.

Practitioner participants in the workshop included Ariel Buira, Director of the G24 Secretariat, and Geraldine Mahieu from the European Commission.

Several of the papers presented at the workshop are being issued in the CSGR Working Paper Series.
Regular readers of this Newsletter will be aware that CSGR is coordinating GARNET, a Network of Excellence on ‘Global Governance, Regionalisation and Regulation: The Role of the EU’, funded by the European Union’s 6th Framework Programme. The network, led by Professor Richard Higgott, started operating last June, and already much activity is underway. CSGR is the home of the coordination office, managed by Eleni Tsingou with the assistance of Denise Hewlett. Additionally, CSGR Associates Heribert Dieter (German Institute for International and Security Affairs) and Shaun Breslin (University of Warwick, Politics and International Studies) are directing research projects within the network. Pascal Lamy, Director-General of the World Trade Organisation, has agreed to Chair the GARNET International Advisory Board.

GARNET brings together 43 institutions from across Europe and aims to enhance interaction and integration among European researchers. The network held its public ‘launch event’ in Brussels on 9 November with a programme that included addresses by Professor Higgott and Theodius Lennon, Director for Social Sciences and Humanities at the Research Directorate of the European Commission. The event also included a roundtable on ‘Key Issues in Global Governance and European Regionalism’, with contributions from Mario Telo (ULB), Karoline Postel-Vinay (CERI), Furio Cerutti (Florence), Brigitte Young (Muenster) and Elzbieta Stadtmuller (Wroclaw). The event was attended by participants from partner institutions and invited guests from the European Commission and other public and private Brussels-based bodies.

GARNET includes three levels of activity: integrating actions; jointly...
executed research programmes; and spreading of excellence activities. Several research projects are already underway, with workshops on ‘The European Union and Eastern Europe’ (Wroclaw), ‘Normative Issues of Regional and Global Governance: Legitimacy and Political Identity’ (Florence), ‘Global Environmental Governance’ (Berlin), and ‘Global and Regional Security Governance’ (Trento). Work has also started on the creation of a database and indicators of regional integration processes (coordinated by UNU-CRIS and the University of Göteborg).

The network’s integrating activities are also progressing. In cooperation with the European Research Centre for Information Systems of the University of Muenster, a GARNET Virtual Network is being developed; it is now operational and aims to strengthen interaction among researchers by offering search tools as well as opportunities for collaborative research; in addition, the virtual network aims to register the full history (academic and administrative) of GARNET.

GARNET also intends to foster a European research space through a mobility programme open to researchers at the junior and senior levels. The programme, coordinated at CSGR, has so far generated eleven mobility fellows. James Brasset and Sherry Marcellin, CSGR Student Associates, have been awarded mobility packages to the University of Amsterdam and the Evian Group, respectively. In addition CSGR will host Dr Nicole Lindstrom of the Central European University from January 2006. Additional attention is given to junior researchers with the organisation of biannual PhD schools: the first PhD school will take place in Brussels in December 2005 on the theme of ‘The European Union and Global Governance: The Ironies of Legitimacy’.

Activities aiming to spread excellence have so far included the first network Capacity Building Workshop on ‘Trade, Governance and Development: Spreading Excellence through Dialogue’, held in Budapest by the Evian Group. The workshop brought together policy-makers, private sector officials, academics and civil society representatives and integrated PhD students from across the network in the discussions. A full report, compiled by Sherry Marcellin and related working group recommendations are available on the GARNET website. Interaction with the policy community is also enhanced through dissemination activities such as seminars on topical issues aimed at policy-makers and the publication of policy briefs. The first policy brief, dealing with the aftermath of the European Constitution referenda, will be available in December.

GARNET will be holding its first annual conference in Amsterdam on 28-30 September 2006. A call for papers and additional information on the network can be found on the website: www.garnet-eu.org.
Five years have passed since the appearance of the first edition, half a decade full of concrete developments, burgeoning academic research and, for the author, additional personal reflections. The broad chapter outline of the new book carries over from the first edition, but the content is comprehensively revised (and a third longer).

Scholte argues that globalisation – understood as the spread of transplanetary and often also supraterritorial relations between people – continues to be one of the principal long-term trends of contemporary history. True, many exuberant claims in an earlier generation of writings about globalisation need to be qualified or retracted, but the growth of global connectivity still requires substantial adjustments to academic knowledge and policy action.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part lays out a framework of analysis, in terms of the definition, history and theory of globalisation. The second part examines the continuities and changes in social structure that are associated with globalisation, in terms of patterns of production, governance, identity and knowledge. The third part assesses normative and policy issues connected with globalisation, in terms of human security, social inequality, and democracy.

In brief, the book suggests that globalisation is a significant reconfiguration of social geography that has unfolded mainly since the mid-twentieth century. This respatialisation of the social world is closely interconnected with contemporary shifts in the nature of capitalist production, moves toward more polycentric (rather than statist) governance, the rise of more plural and hybrid social identities, and turns toward a more reflexive modernity. Together, these developments pose a host of challenges to secure cornerstones of a good society: namely, cultural creativity, democracy, ecological integrity, economic efficiency, political stability and social justice. The book concludes with a chapter of policy suggestions to attain better globalisations than have been experienced to date.
Globalisation and Economic Security in East Asia, Governance and Institutions.

What is the relationship between globalisation and economic security? This book, edited by long-time CSGR Associate Helen Nesadurai, examines this key question through an empirical and conceptual analysis of the East Asian experience. The contributors to this multidisciplinary volume in the Routledge/Warwick series examine whether the globalisation of the world economy has increased or decreased economic security for states, societies and individuals. They explore the different ways in which state and non-state actors understand the problem of economic insecurity, as well as how policymakers use national, regional and global institutions to help them govern in the interests of economic security. The East Asian region provides rich empirical material for the examination of global capitalism, and the insecurities it generates for societies and individuals.

Globalisation and Poverty, Channels and Policy Responses.

Is globalisation making the poor poorer, or is it the most effective factor in global poverty reduction? The consequences of globalisation for the world’s poor are uncertain and fierce rhetoric is dividing its supporters and detractors. During the last two decades, bilateral and multilateral donors’ policy advice to developing countries has been centred on greater market openness and better integration into the global economy – a process that characterises globalisation. This advice is based on the premise that globalisation enhances growth and faster growth reduces poverty. But many analysts doubt whether globalisation is necessarily pro-poor. This book in the Routledge/Warwick series provides a systematic analysis of the impact of globalisation on poverty, using simulation methods and rich empirical evidence to try to establish directions and magnitudes of effect to inform policy response. The book features detailed case studies on Colombia, Ghana, India, Nepal, Bangladesh and Vietnam. The studies show that a ‘one-size-fits-all’ policy prescription is a bad idea and that country-specific circumstances combined with domestic policies and other factors are co-determinants of the final poverty outcome.
CSGR is participating in a new EU Framework and project on ‘Impacts of the Intellectual Property Rights (IPRs) Rules on Sustainable Development’ (IPDEV). The project is directed towards Priority 8.1 (Policy oriented research) and seeks to address the needs of Area 3.1: ‘to assess the impact of IPR rules on economic growth (including investment), environmental protection (including biodiversity) and social goals (including rural development) through quantitative and qualitative analysis.’ The project is coordinated by the Queen Mary Intellectual Property Research Institute, Queen Mary, University of London. Other collaborators in the project are Ecologic, Universidad de Alicante, IP Bulgaria, and the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

The project has two over riding scientific and technological objectives:

1. To identify IPR-related policies which the European Commission and the EU and its member state governments might consider implementing in support of sustainable development in Europe and elsewhere.

2. To provide data and analysis useful especially to EU candidate countries and also to developing countries seeking to take maximum advantage of the provisions of TRIPS in pursuit of their sustainable development objectives.

The research proceeds with an appreciation of the growing complexity of intellectual property (IP) laws and the comprehensive global harmonisation of the basic standards of IP rules. The 1994 Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (‘TRIPS’), which is administered by the World Trade Organization (WTO), is of special importance in that it establishes enforceable global minimum (and high) standards of protection for all the main IP rights in one single agreement. To make the policy environment even more challenging, especially for the poorer countries, the increasingly complex global IPR architecture includes not only TRIPS, but also a growing array of multilateral, regional and bilateral agreements.

There are a range of views about these developments. Some argue that these expansionist trends are necessary responses to technological change and globalisation, and that TRIPS will benefit all countries, encouraging innovation and creativity while attracting investment and technology transfer. Others affirm that there are substantial immediate and short-term costs in the form of administration, enforcement outlays and rent transfers that are bound to outweigh potential and subsequent benefits. The U.K. Commission on Intellectual Property Rights report on Integrating Intellectual Property Rights and Development Policy expressed serious doubts that the international IPR regime in its present form, and current processes to further strengthen IPR protection, serve the interests of the poor. The United Nations Development Programme has gone even further by calling for research into the development of alternative IPR models to TRIPS, on the grounds that the WTO-based regime is inimical to the interests of developing countries. Proponents and critics of TRIPS are likely to agree, first, that the flexible language means that countries have a certain amount of leeway to interpret its rules as they see fit, and second, that certain provisions of the Agreement may be beneficial not only for the developed countries, but also, and perhaps especially, developing countries and those countries in the process of acceding to the EU.

To address these concerns the IPDEV project undertakes 9 work-packages.
Research Reports

These are devised specifically to improve policymaking in particular areas of IPRs and sustainable development where such policymaking is currently hampered by a lack of reliable data. CSGR leads the research under work-package 6. Here the objective is to assess the effectiveness of the regulatory measures employed to implement the TRIPS Agreement obligations with respect to protection of plant varieties (cf. Article 27.3b). The analysis treats plant variety protection as not being an end in itself, but as part of a larger policy framework related to economic growth in the agricultural sector. In addition, ‘effectiveness’ is considered from multiple perspectives and not only as a requirement for compliance with international agreements. The research will be conducted through a mix of country case studies and a survey of literature. The results of this research - along with those of the other work-packages - will be presented at an end-of-project international conference in Brussels in July 2006. In the interim, more information is available at the project website www.ip4development.org and from Dwijen Rangnekar at CSGR.

Globalisation, Co-operation and Trust

Gianluca Grimalda

In spite of the rapid growth in research on globalization, few studies have investigated how globalisation influences individuals in their day-to-day decision-making. The research project on “Globalisation, Co-operation and Trust”, launched by CSGR in spring 2004, and co-ordinated by one of its researchers, Dr Gianluca Grimalda, is one of the first initiatives in this area. The project has brought together an interdisciplinary core team of researchers: Dr Nancy Buchan (University of Wisconsin), also co-ordinator of the project; Professor Marilyn Brewar (Ohio State University); Dr Margaret Foddy (Carleton University); Dr Enrique Fatás (Valencia University); Professor Rick Wilson (Rice University); and an international network of researchers collaborating in data collection.

The main aim of the project is to study individual propensity to co-operate and trust, using samples of people living in fifteen different countries. This is done through experiments where individuals are involved in ‘controlled’ situations of social interaction, similar to laboratories in the natural sciences. In particular, subjects’ propensity to co-operate is measured by observing how they allocate a sum of money – as provided by the experimenter – between a ‘collective’ as opposed to a ‘personal’ account. The structure of monetary incentives is such as to recreate a co-operation problem: that is, allocating money to the collective account is costly from the individual point of view, but beneficial to the group as a whole. Each individual participates in three interactions, which differ for the group of people with whom s/he is matched. In particular, groups are made up of people living (a) in the local area where the subject lives, (b) in his/her own country, and (c) abroad. The individuals’ exposure to and participation in global relations are measured by their answers to a questionnaire. In this way, it is possible to measure how greater access to globalisation influences an individual’s propensity to co-operate in local, national, and global contexts.

Thanks to a grant of $150,000 from the US-based National Science Foundation, a first wave of data collection will be carried out in spring 2006 in Argentina, Italy, Iran, Russia, South Africa, the United States, and the UK. A second wave of data collection in a different set of countries is planned for the next academic year.
It was from a compulsion to explore correspondences and interrelationships between these apparently disconnected expressions of desire and censorship that my research agenda at CSGR emerged. This carried the title ‘Altered States: The Cultural Politics of Subjectivity in Resistance to Globalisation’. It sprang from an intuition and observation that beneath the universalising discourses of civil society, rights, redistribution, etc. associated with the global justice movement (often referred to inaccurately as the ‘anti-globalisation movement’) are ‘counter-discourses’ and practices that speak to a series of assumptions built on and constructed by the modern liberal humanist project. Put simply, I am interested in a web of subjective experiences that are ‘Othered’ and thereby excluded by a globalising modern and patriarchal ‘culture’ of neoliberalism: in discourses and practices of the self that currently exist in a zone of alterity or otherness to this culture.

My research and writing whilst at CSGR has drawn heavily (and gratefully) on a conceptual nexus of poststructuralism, radical feminism, postcolonialism and anarchism. From R.D. Laing to Theodore Roszak; Luce Irigaray to Sadie Plant; Foucault to Deleuze and Guattari; and Max Stirner to Emma Goldman, these theoretical orientations express well a contemporary movement of desire to break through the normalising and disciplining niceties of modern humanism.

As Hélène Cixous and Catherine Clément declare: ‘[t]here is ‘destiny’
no more than there is ‘nature’ and ‘essence’ as such. Rather, there are living structures that are caught and sometimes rigidly set within historicocultural limits so mixed up with the scene of History that for a long time it has been impossible (and it is still very difficult) to think or even imagine an ‘elsewhere.’” It seems to me that it is an imagining of what might constitute an ‘elsewhere’ that brings heart to contemporary globalisation resistance politics, making it possible to speak of movement beyond the ‘There is No Alternative’ and ‘The End of History’ doctrines of such utility to neoliberalism. This imagining is articulated clearly in some key labels associated with the global justice movements: so, ‘Another world is possible’, proclaims the World Social Forum, while ‘Other worlds are possible’, declare activists of a more consciously pluralist inclination. As such, contemporary resistance politics – ‘the irresistible rise of global anticapitalism’ – is a radical ‘politics of possibility’ that also is a politics of desire for becoming other.

My research and writing at CSGR have thus been informed by three simple questions.

1. How do people come to the desire to assert agency via dissent and resistance, and, in particular, to use their bodies and creativity as sites of resistance?

2. How does (embodied) subjective experience inform resistance politics in shaping and countering normalising relationships with self, with others, with ‘the environment’, with spirit? and

3. How do these relate to the working of subjectivity on ‘it’-self?

In asking these questions I am influenced strongly by Foucault’s potent pronouncements on subjectification: ‘we’ are subjects in both senses of the word, since we are both subjected and are producers of subjectivity. On the latter point, Foucault famously wrote: ‘what, then, is philosophy today – philosophical activity, I mean – if not the critical labour of thought upon itself? And if it does not consist, in place of legitimating what one already knows, in undertaking to know how, and up to what limit, it would be possible to think differently?’ I wish here to substitute ‘thought’ with ‘embodied (i.e. experienced) subjectivity’. Nevertheless, the challenge and suggestion remains similar: that it is possible to think, experience and do differently and thereby to enter and generate modernity’s ‘elsewhere(s)’. And my sense is that it is via these recursive processes that what might be termed a global politics of affect – of heart - is emerging: producing a contemporary global social movement which speaks politically with poetry, art, music, dance and carnival; which organises around ideals of sharing, cooperation and commons; and which is thoroughly angered and distressed by the militarism, profiteering and environmental charlatanism that are so naturalised in ‘conventional society’ today.

To date my work on these lines has taken written form in a range of publications on the themes of war, violence and protest, Social Forums, and subjective, affective and experiential aspects of practices of dissent. Currently I am working on a book manuscript with the provisional title A Deluge of Outcasts: Subversive Subjectivities in Search of ‘the’ Post-Human. With CSGR Faculty Associate André Spicer (and others), and from my new location as Lecturer in the School of Development Studies at the University of East Anglia, I am continuing to work with issues of organising resistance, with the help of an ESRC grant to explore relationships between alternative (particularly internet) media and non-governmental public action.

What remains is for me to express my gratitude for the intellectual and other challenges and opportunities that constituted my experiences as a CSGR Research Fellow. I remain connected to CSGR as an External Associate and look forward to retaining an active relationship with the Centre in the years to come.
Nitsan Chorev has joined CSGR as research fellow in The International Political Economy of Globalisation in October 2005. Before coming to Warwick she was an Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology at the Central European University (CEU) in Budapest, Hungary. She got a Ph.D. in Sociology from New York University (NYU) in 2003. She holds an LL.B. degree in Law and a B.A. degree in Economics, both from Tel Aviv University, Israel. In the academic year 2005-2006, she will be on leave for a one-year fellowship at the UCLA International Institute.

Dr Chorev’s key research interests centre on global political economy, theories of the state and international organizations, comparative and historical sociology, and social theory. Her current major project is concerned with the politics of international trade in the United States. Whereas most studies on globalization view political processes as a reaction to economic conditions already there, in her book (currently under review), she reverses the logic of inquiry by tracing the political processes that allowed global economic processes to occur in the first place. Concretely, she studies the political struggles and policy changes in the United States, from 1934 to the present, which permitted trade liberalization and thereby globalization. How could internationalists, who supported free trade policies (in the form of lower tariffs and the reduction of non-tariff barriers), win the political battle against the protectionists who opposed them? The study shows that the internationalists could not simply change the content of substantive policies passed in Congress, for they have never had sufficient political leverage for such measures. Instead, internationalists introduced new institutional arrangements that governed how later policies were formed and implemented.

Key institutional changes included delegation of authority from the US Congress to the Administration in 1934 and then again in 1974, as well as the establishment of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1947 and the delegation of authority from the US Administration to the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1994. By changing the institutional arrangements in place, both at the domestic and the international levels, and placing authority in the hands of agencies not easily accessible to or depending upon protectionist pressure groups, internationalists secured an effective support of their liberal agenda.

Based on her research on international trade policy, Dr Chorev has written several articles, covering issues such as the legalization of the World Trade Organization, the structural transformation of the US state, and US institutional strategies at the current Doha Round of trade negotiations, as well as more theoretically oriented questions such as institutional change and the Great Divide between domestic and international factors in the study of politics.

Dr Chorev’s next project, which she will start as a Fellow at the UCLA International Institute and continue at Warwick, is a book on the political history of global health. In this project, tentatively called “From Cholera to AIDS: The Global Governance of Health and Death,” she will investigate international cooperation on health crises, from the First International Sanitary Conference in 1851 to the contemporary World Health Organization’s governance of HIV/AIDS. The main concern is to offer a critical alternative to the currently dominant literature on “global governance” which provides a pluralist interpretation of the multi-layered, relatively decentralized, and/or non-member-driven transnational sites of decision-making. Building on the theoretical framework developed in the study of trade policy formation, the aim is to explore, in the specific case of the governance of health, the relations of power and mechanisms of domination, cooptation, and silencing that underline politics at the global level. At the same time, the study will also explore the limits of (legitimate) global power. At the core of the study is a search for a new theory of contemporary transnational politics that takes seriously the interplay between economic interests and human rights, which have emerged as the two governing columns of global politics.
Research Fellows and Associates

Visitors to CSGR
As ever, CSGR has welcomed a number of visiting scholars during past months. Reports on the interests and activities of several who have finished or nearly completed their stays at Warwick follow.

Professor Barrie Axford,
Oxford Brookes University
September-December 2005
During his stay at CSGR, Barrie Axford has worked on a book for Polity Press entitled Theorising Globalisation. It is due for publication in mid-2006. One direct product of my association with CSGR has been a co-authored paper with Professor Richard Higgott. The piece, ‘Hegemony, Institutionalism and US Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice in Comparative Historical Perspective’, will appear in Third World Quarterly.
In addition, I have had the opportunity to collaborate with another visiting fellow, Hidetaka Yoshimatsu. Our joint paper, ‘Asia’s Odd Men Out: Australia, Japan, and the Politics of Regionalism’ will initially be published as a CSGR Working Paper and subsequently be submitted to an international journal. I have also used my sabbatical period to make progress on a single-authored book, provisionally titled Politics, Economics and Security in East Asia: Regionalism in a Global Context. It will be published by Palgrave in late 2006. Again, it is important to emphasize and acknowledge how important it is to have the time and space to make progress on these sorts of longer projects in the sort of environment that CSGR provides.

Professor Lin Jue,
Shanghai University of Finance and Economics
March 2005-March 2006
Professor Lin has had an immensely productive study period at CSGR. She has completed a textbook on international technical trade that will be published in early 2006 by Shanghai University of Finance and Economics Press. Another volume, with herself as chief editor, on relationships between China and its top ten trading partners, will also appear with the same press in 2006. She has also published an article on China’s position in the contemporary world economy. At CSGR’s recent annual conference she presented a paper (co-authored with Dr Liu Hong) on explanations and strategic implications of the rise of China as a global economic power. In addition, Professor Lin is preparing a research report on EU policies on international trade and investment. On top of this substantive research on global and regional political economy, Professor Lin has been intensively examining postgraduate training at Warwick.

Dr Mark Beeson,
University of Queensland
May-September 2005
After waiting for an academic lifetime, I can confirm that sabbatical is a wonderful thing! At CSGR it has meant not only the opportunity for reflection and an intense period of productive activity, but also the chance for synergies with staff and other visitors at the Centre. Indeed, so stimulating have I found the intellectual climate to be in the Centre and Britain more generally, that I’ve actually decided to move back here after having lived for some 30 years in Australia. I shall take up a position at York University in mid-2006. One direct product of my association with CSGR has been a co-authored paper with Professor Richard Higgott. The piece, ‘Hegemony, Institutionalism and US Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice in Comparative Historical Perspective’, will appear in Third World Quarterly.
In addition, I have had the opportunity to collaborate with another visiting fellow, Hidetaka Yoshimatsu. Our joint paper, ‘Asia’s Odd Men Out: Australia, Japan, and the Politics of Regionalism’ will initially be published as a CSGR Working Paper and subsequently be submitted to an international journal. I have also used my sabbatical period to make progress on a single-authored book, provisionally titled Politics, Economics and Security in East Asia: Regionalism in a Global Context. It will be published by Palgrave in late 2006. Again, it is important to emphasize and acknowledge how important it is to have the time and space to make progress on these sorts of longer projects in the sort of environment that CSGR provides.
Professor Franklyn Lisk, Stellenbosch University

October-December 2005

Professor Lisk, former Director of the HIV/AIDS Programme at the International Labour Office in Geneva, is now Professor of the African Centre for HIV/AIDS Management and Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences at Stellenbosch University, South Africa. At CSGR he is continuing his research on the global governance of HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases. He aims to identify the key elements of a new architecture for governance of globalization in the areas of trade, finance, labour standards and global equity and social responsibility that will strengthen the capacity of developing countries and regions to respond effectively to the development challenges of HIV/AIDS. This work is also linked to on-going consultancy and advisory services he is providing to the UNDP, the World Bank and the ILO.

Professor Lisk has presented a paper entitled “Regional Responses to HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Global Public Goods Approach” at the annual CSGR Conference. He has also presented in the CGSR Seminar Series on HIV/AIDS and globalization; contributed a session on the governance of HIV/AIDS to the Warwick MA programme on Globalization and Development; and delivered a background paper for the UNU-CRIS International Conference on NEPAD in Brussels. He continues to promote relationships between CSGR and relevant African institutions such as the African Union, the UN Economic Commission for Africa, and the African Development Bank.

Dr Heloise Weber, University of Queensland

October-December 2005

Dr Weber is visiting CSGR for three months prior to taking up a Lectureship at the School of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Queensland. Her research interests are in the global politics of development and poverty, the relationship between theories of international relations and inequality, Development Studies/Critical Development Studies, and the global political economy (theory and policy implications). Her research includes focused studies on the global politics of micro-credit schemes, the politics of the PRSP initiative, and the WTO Doha Development agenda (with a focus on the General Agreement on Trade in Services). She is currently completing a research monograph on the global politics of micro-credit schemes and is preparing a co-authored book with Marcos T Berger with the provisional title, Rethinking the Third World: International Development and Global Politics. She is involved in three collaborative global research projects. “Rethinking Development” which has been funded by a Workshop Grant from the International Studies Association; the WTO and Development, a project which was initially supported by the ESRC/CSGR; and Development and Global Governance, funded by the Toda Institute. All three projects are based on historical analysis and adopt a critical approach.

Other Visitors to CSGR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Institution</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dr Paul Close</td>
<td>Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, Kyoto</td>
<td>September 2005-July 2006</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr Hidetaka Yoshimatsu</td>
<td>Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, Kyoto</td>
<td>July-September 2005</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr Hannington Odame</td>
<td>Biotechnology Trust, Nairobi</td>
<td>December 2005-January 2006</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr Nicole Lindstrom</td>
<td>Central European University, Budapest</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr Pranab Mukhopadhyay</td>
<td>Goa University</td>
<td>November 2005</td>
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<tr>
<td>Simon Perrault</td>
<td>University of Quebec at Montreal</td>
<td>November 2005-April 2006</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr Paola Robotti</td>
<td>Marie Curie Post Doctoral Fellow</td>
<td>August 2006-February 2007</td>
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<tr>
<td>Professor Mustafizir Rahman</td>
<td>Centre for Policy Dialogue, Dhaka</td>
<td>April - August 2006</td>
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<td>Dr Dania Thomas</td>
<td>University of Manchester</td>
<td>September 2005-June 2006</td>
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<tr>
<td>Professor Jiro Yamaguchi</td>
<td>Hokkaido University</td>
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160/05, May
R Cohen
‘The Free Movement of Money and People: Debates before and after “9/11”’

161/05, May
E Tsingou

162/05, May
S. Zahed

163/05, May
E. Bielsa
‘Globalisation as Translation: An Approximation to the Key but Invisible Role of Translation in Globalisation’

164/05, May
J. Faundez
‘The Rule of Law Enterprise – Towards a Dialogue between Practitioners and Academics’

165/05, May
M. Perkmann
‘The Construction of New Scales: A Framework and Case Study of the EUREGIO Cross-Border Region’

166/05, May
M. Perkmann
‘Cross-Border Co-operation as Policy Entrepreneurship: Explaining the Variable Success of European Cross-Border Regions’

167/05, May
G. Morgan
‘Transnational Actors, Transnational Institutions, Transnational Spaces: The Role of Law Firms in the Internationalisation of Competition Regulation’

168/05, May
G. Morgan, A. Sturdy and S. Quack
‘The Globalization of Management Consultancy Firms: Constraints and Limitations’

169/05, May
G. Morgan and S. Quack
‘Institutional Legacies and Firm Dynamics: The Growth and Internationalisation of British and German Law Firms’

170/05, May
C Hoskyns and S Rai
‘Gendering International Political Economy’

171/05, August
James Brassett
‘Globalising Pragmatism’

172/05, August
Jiro Yamaguchi

173/05, August
M. A. Mohamed Salih
‘Globalized Party-based Democracy and Africa: The Influence of Global Party-based Democracy Networks’

174/05 September
Mark Beeson and Stephen Bell
‘The G20 and the Politics of International Financial Sector Reform: Robust Regimes or Hegemonic Instability?’

175/05 October
Dunja Speiser and Paul-Simon Handy
‘The State, Its Failure and External Intervention in Africa’

176/05 October
Dwijen Rangnekar
‘No Pills for Poor People? Understanding the Disembowelment of India’s Patent Regime’

177/05 October
Alexander Macleod
‘Globalisation, Regionalisation and the Americas – The Free Trade Area of the Americas: Fuelling the “Race to the Bottom”? ’

178/05 November
Daniel Drache and Marc D. Froese
‘The Global Cultural Commons after Cancun: Identity, Diversity and Citizenship’

179/05 November
Fuad Aleskerov
‘Power Indices Taking into Account Agents’ Preferences’

180/05 November
Ariel Buira
‘The Bretton Woods Institutions: Governance without Legitimacy?’
Autumn 2005

26th September
Dick Bryant
(University of Sydney)
Financial Derivatives: The New Gold?

3rd October
André Spicer
(University of Warwick)
From National Service to Global Player: Globalization and the Transformation of Public Broadcasting

10th October
Heloise Weber
(CSGR Visiting Fellow from University of Queensland)
What Is New about the ‘New’ Development Agenda: The PRSP Approach and the Organisation of Global Capitalism

17th October
Paola Conconi
(l’Université Libre de Bruxelles)
Reelection Incentives and the Sustainability of International Cooperation

24th October
Emanuel Kohlscheen
(University of Warwick)
Sovereign Risk: Constitutions Rule

31st October
Franklyn Lisk
(CSGR Visiting Fellow from Stellenbosch University)
HIV/AIDS and Globalization: Issues, Challenges and Responses at International and Regional Levels

7th November
Pranab Mukhopadhyay
(CSGR Visiting Fellow from Goa University)
Natural Resource Management and Impact of Institutional Transition - A Case Study in Goa, India

14th November
Wyn Grant
(University of Warwick)
Globalization, the Doha Round and Agricultural Trade

21st November
Marcus Miller
(University of Warwick)
Bargaining and Sustainability: The Argentine Debt Swap of 2005

28th November
Barrie Axford
(CSGR Visiting Fellow from Oxford Brookes University)
In at the Death? Why Critical Globalization Studies Are Waving not Drowning

Comparative Capitalisms and Globalization Seminar Series

October 11th
Professor John Flood
(University of Warwick Law School)
Large Law Firms: Priests of the New Capitalism

October 25th
Dr. Gregory Jackson
(Management School, Kings College London)
Stakeholders under Pressure: Corporate Governance and Labour Management in Germany and Japan

November 8th
Professor Christel Lane
(SPS, University of Cambridge)
Domestic Capabilities and Global Production Networks in the Clothing Industry: A Comparison of German and UK Firms’ Strategies

November 22nd
Dr. Jos Gamble
(Management School, Royal Holloway, London)
Consumer Control and the Rhetoric of the Customer in China

November 25th
Professor Richard Deeg
(Temple University, USA)
Towards a More Dynamic Theory of Capitalist Diversity
Future Events

Comparative Capitalisms and Globalization Seminar Series

21st January
Professor Jonathan Beaverstock
(Loughborough University)
Spatialities of Business: Clustering and Britain’s Financial District

14th February
Professor Andrew Pendleton
(University of York)
Corporate Governance Regimes and Labour Management

28th February
Dr John Hobson
(University of Sheffield)
Oriental Globalisation in the Rise of the West

7th March
Professor Howard Gospel
(Kings College, London)
The Long-Run Dynamics of Big Firms: The 100 Largest Employers in Global Perspective, 1907 - 2002

Workshops and Conferences

- ‘Globalisation, Regionalisation and National Policy Systems’,
  Anglo-Japanese-Academy, 7 - 11 January 2006
  Coordinated by Chris Hughes (CSGR) and Susumu Takahashi (Tokyo University)

- ‘Metaphors of Globalisation’, co-sponsored with the Munk Centre of International Studies, University of Toronto, 20 - 21 March 2006

- ‘Human Rights and Global Justice’, 29 - 31 March 2006,
  Coordinated by Abdul Paliwala (CSGR) and Celine Tan (CSGR)

- ‘Managing the American Medusa: Global and Regional Political Economy’
  Coordinated by Chris Hughes (CSGR), 29 - 31 March 2006

- ‘Gender in Global and Regional Trade Policy’, 5 - 7 April 2006
  Coordinated by Catherine Hoskyns (CSGR)

  Coordinated by George Frynas and Peter Newell (CSGR)
  Venue: House of Commons, London
  Co-sponsored with Middlesex University

For further information, please see:
www.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/csgr/activitiesnews/workshops/forthcoming/
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