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Hassink, R.; Gong, H.; Marques, P. (2019). Moving beyond Anglo-American economic geography. *International Journal of Urban Sciences*. 23(2):149-169.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/12265934.2018.1469426>



The final publication is available at

<https://doi.org/10.1080/12265934.2018.1469426>

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Additional Information

Moving Beyond Anglo-American Economic Geography

Robert Hassink (a) (*), Huiwen Gong (a), Pedro Marques (b)

(a) Kiel University, Dept. of Geography, Kiel, Germany

(b) INGENIO (CSIC-UPV), Universitat Politècnica de València, Valencia, Spain

* Corresponding author: hassink@geographie.uni-kiel.de

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Jung Won Sonn for organizing the panel session “Moving beyond Anglo-American economic geography” at the Annual Meeting of the American Association of Geographers, Boston, April 2017 and the International Journal of Urban Sciences for sponsoring it. We are also grateful to Klaas Fröhlich for his support preparing the figures and to Fabian Faller for discussing the issue of positionality. Moreover, we thank one anonymous reviewer for giving comments on an earlier version of this paper, as well as several colleagues who contributed to a discussion on Anglo-American Economic Geography on the Online Platform ResearchGate, in particular Anssi Paasi, Michiel van Meeteren, Dominic Power, Ray Hudson, and Phil Cooke, see

[https://www.researchgate.net/post/What is the purpose of using the term Anglo-American economic geography by leading scholars in the field Barnes Sheppard Peck Scott etc](https://www.researchgate.net/post/What_is_the_purpose_of_using_the_term_Anglo-American_economic_geography_by_leading_scholars_in_the_field_Barnes_Sheppard_Peck_Scott_etc)

The usual disclaimer applies.

Abstract

Over the last fifteen years, we have been observing an increasing fragmentation of economic geography, concerning both schools of thought, perspectives, paradigms, themes and the educational background of researchers. The poly-vocal character of economic geography includes a variety of language areas, a phenomenon so far unknown to a large part of Anglo-American economic geographers. Particularly in the literature about theories, perspectives and paradigms, the non-English speaking world is largely ignored as a basis for debate. Even worse, leading scholars in the field increasingly use the term Anglo-American economic geography to refer to the whole field, although they describe trends and theories in both general and authoritative terms. The aim of this paper is to move beyond Anglo-American economic geography by introducing and reviewing economic geography literature in some other main languages, namely Chinese, Spanish and Portuguese. The purpose of doing so is not merely to show that there is more than Anglo-American economic geography, but also to derive from these non-English voices insights in how to move to an integrative paradigm of a truly international economic geography.

5-6 keywords: Anglo-American economic geography, Anglo-American human geography, integrative paradigm of economic geography, Chinese, Spanish, Portuguese

1. Introduction

Recently, in economic geography there has been a discussion about fragmented and engaged pluralism, started by Barnes & Sheppard (2010). Fragmented pluralism has been observed concerning themes, theories, perspectives and paradigms (Hassink & Gong, 2017; Peck, 2015; Muellerleile et al., 2014). The poly-vocal character of economic geography, however, might also count concerning *language areas*, a fragmentation and pluralism so far unknown to a large part of Anglo-American economic geographers, and much less visible and discussed in 'international' (that is English-speaking) journals. There is, in fact, a strong tendency to ignore the non-English speaking world as a basis for theoretical debate (Hassink,

2007; Paasi, 2015a; Hadjimichalis & Vaiou, 2004). The latter is not confined to economic geography, of course, but can also be observed in human geography and in the social sciences more generally (Paasi, 2015a, 2015b). Writing about economic geography, Barnes & Sheppard (2010) titled their paper “engaged pluralism in *Anglophone* [italics added] economic geography?” And they state concerning this issue (Barnes & Sheppard, 2010, p. 209-210): “It might appear paradoxical for Anglophone human geographers to argue, as we do, for the necessity to make room for non-Anglophone voices in economic geography, and even more paradoxical to do so in a paper that focuses exclusively on the Anglophone literature. Partly this reflects our own limited knowledge of the non-Anglophone literature ... Our argument is directed at the specificity of an Anglophone literature that we contend is overly introspective, containing barriers to engaged pluralism. That said, we recognize that there is an enormous amount to learn from non-Anglophones about both economic geography and engaged pluralism ...” They go on arguing that there are “... difficulties of learning to listen and appreciating difference. Partly this a problem of language, which in geography frequently means that others must learn English if they are to be heard ... Partly, also, it is the entrenched character of national geographical traditions ...” (Barnes & Sheppard, 2010, p. 208-209). They experienced this at the Second Global Conference in Economic Geography in Beijing in June 2007 where they presented the paper on engaged pluralism and hoped to stimulate exchange, but were disappointed as the international session participants “... produced a stilted and constrained conversation, and much talk at cross purposes. It became even less like a conversation when yet more voices were added during the discussion period: closer to Babel than dialogue ...” (Barnes & Sheppard, 2010, p. 209). In a more recent, authoritative contribution to the *International Encyclopaedia of Geography* on economic geography they state: “Given the authors’ limited expertise, this entry is confined to anglophone economic geographical research. Future entries are anticipated that move beyond the anglophone discipline alone, allowing a global understanding and appreciation of the field” (Sheppard & Barnes, 2017, p. 1).

We see our paper as a contribution in this direction, but we also consider it a first step in a longer process towards an internationally inclusive integrated paradigm of economic geography (Hassink & Gong, 2017). With the help of this paper, we aim to move beyond Anglo-American economic geography by introducing and reviewing economic geography literature in some other main languages, namely Chinese, Spanish and Portuguese. We

selected some key publications for review in these languages, rather than opting for a bibliometric, quantitative analysis, because many journals in other languages are not included in the Web of Science or similar data banks. We realize that there are more language areas, such as French (Benko, 2005), German (Schamp, 2007; Fromhold-Eisebith, 2018), Dutch (De Pater, 2014) and Korean (Park, 2017), to mention just a few that we are familiar with, but to cover all would clearly go beyond both the scope of a single paper and our language abilities. We see a clear task in the future to build also bridges to these and other language areas.

With the help of this paper, we do not merely want to show that there is more than is acknowledged in the Anglo-American economic geography literature, but also to derive from these non-English voices insightful contributions to a truly international economic geography. The latter has some clear benefits, as it is a multidirectional, multilingual economic geography, which does not only lead to richer empirics, but which also strongly contributes theoretically, due to inductive theorizing from empirical phenomena in the non-Anglo-American world, and to critically testing Anglo-American theories and paradigms. Overall, it will help to get less unequal spaces of empirical and theoretical knowledge production in economic geography.

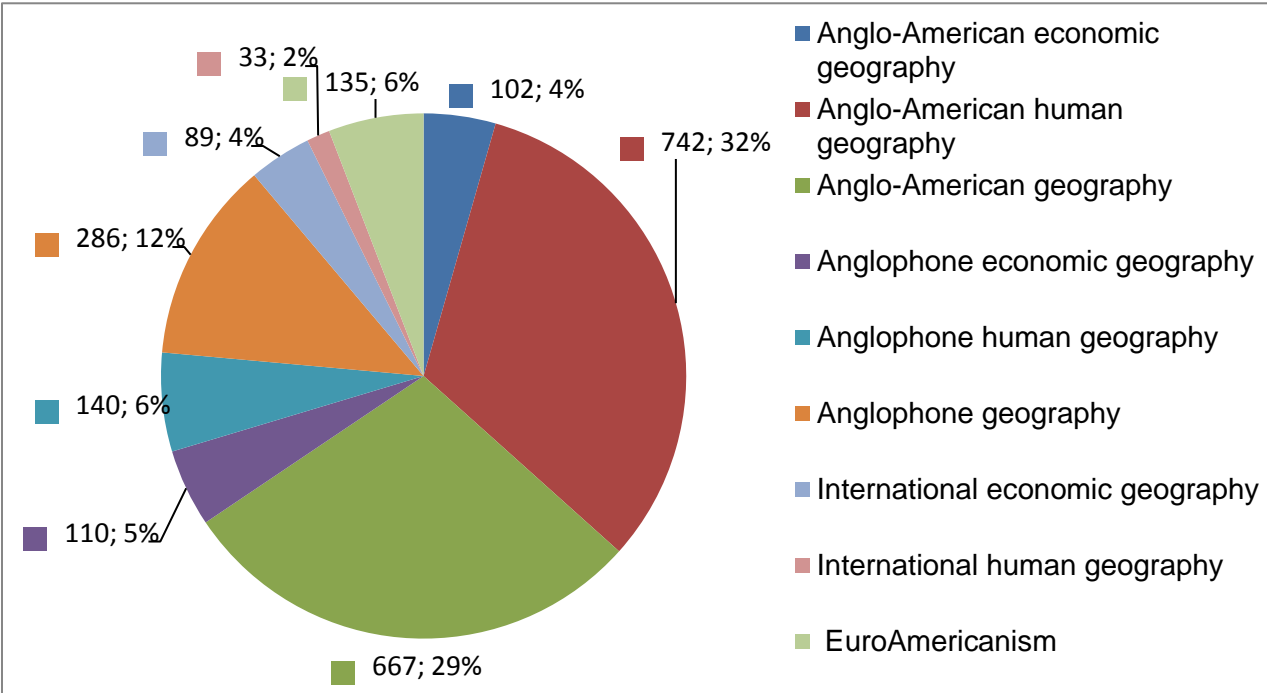
We will proceed in the following way. In Section 2, we will review the literature on Anglo-American economic geography in order to find out what is behind this term. In Section 3, we will critically debate the use of this term. In Section 4, we will then move beyond Anglo-American economic geography by introducing and reviewing economic geography literature in the above-mentioned languages. In Section 5, we will draw some conclusions.

2. What is Anglo-American Economic Geography?

Not only Anglo-American economic geography, but several similar terms in relation to human geography more broadly are used in the literature, such as Anglophone, international and EuroAmericanism (Figure 1). In fact, Anglo-American human geography and geography

are more often used than economic geography. These terms refer to research that has been either carried out by geographers based in the UK and North America or has been done on geographical topics in these countries (for a more detailed discussion on how to define Anglo-American, see Kim et al., 2012, p. 43). Other terms only refer to the language; Anglophone human geography or economic geography is the research published in English, also by scholars based in other countries than the UK and North America.

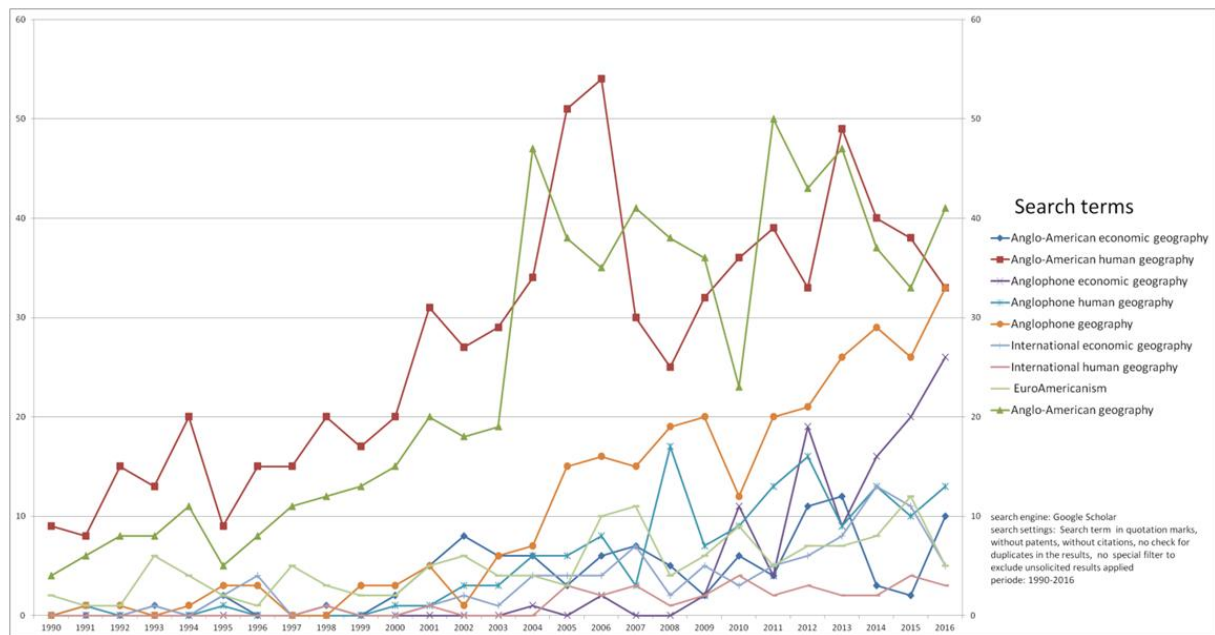
Figure 1: Distribution of different terms in publications in Google Scholar from 1990-2016.



Search settings: Search term in quotation marks, without patents, without citations, no check for duplicates in the results, no special filter to exclude unsolicited results applied.

Interestingly, the number of uses of international economic geography is approximately the same as for Anglo-American economic geography, but this term is often used in texts about the location of economic activities worldwide, and not in disciplinary, theoretical or paradigmatic terms. It is also striking to see that the use of most of the terms have been in similar trends of increase (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Time trend of use of different terms in publications in Google Scholar from 1990-2016.



Why did the use of several similar terms increase? We can only speculate about this, but it might be in order to be politically correct. Maybe, the use of Anglophone economic geography or human geography increased because of the use of only English-language references. Maybe, it increased in order to avoid discrimination against the rest of the world. Alternatively, is it to create a club, so that debating the theoretical core of economic geography becomes available only to insiders?

Leading theorists in economic geography use different terms. In an article based on the prestigious Roepke lecture, Barnes (2012, p. 1) even writes about “the discipline of Anglo-American economic geography”. Peck (2015, 2016) seems to be indecisive in using the Anglo-American adjective. In his keynote speech, for instance, at the latest Global Conference on Economic Geography, he uses the term in the abstract of his keynote speech, later on to be more precise about what kind of economic geography he means: “economic geography —at least in its post-1970s Anglo-American form— ...” (Peck, 2015, p. 12). Later on in the paper he puts Anglo-American in brackets, writing about “... contemporary (Anglo-American) economic geography ...” (Peck, 2015, p. 14). In another recent paper on the state

of the art of economic geography, he uses the term only one time (Peck, 2016). Barnes & Sheppard (2010), on the other hand, prefer to use Anglophone economic geography.

In their textbook, Johnston & Sidaway (2016) use Anglo-American also for the whole of human geography. For them Anglo-American human geography is "... a survey of key debates within English language human geography in the past sixty years, with a primary focus on the UK and anglophone North America" (Johnston & Sidaway, 2016, p. xv). If language is a main characteristic, then the increase in literature in English about empirical topics outside of the UK and North America would justify the increasing use of the term. In a critical note, Johnston & Sidaway (2016, p. xxii) also state that "such academic parochialism in part reflects personal linguistic deficiencies".

3. Why is Anglo-American Economic Geography a problem?

The previous section made clear that the use of the adjectives Anglo-American and Anglophone is on the rise both in economic and human geography. Part of that use is by Anglo-American geographers describing the state of the art of the discipline or contributing to theoretical or paradigmatic debate. Another part of it is by scholars who criticize the language-related Anglo-American hegemony (Paasi, 2005; Hassink, 2007; Paasi 2015a, 2015b; Aalbers & Rossi, 2009). In the latter literature, there is a strong focus on human geography, in general, or area studies (Jazeel, 2016), social geography (Peake, 2011), urban geography (Kong & Qian, 2017), and political ecology (Kim et al., 2012). There is also a rich literature on providing theoretical explanations for the hegemony referring to postcolonialism, Southern Theory, the centre-periphery and the modernist model (see for instance, Best, 2009). Compared to other sub-disciplines in human geography, economic geography is not prominently dealt with in the debate about Anglo-American hegemony. One exception might be Wray et al. (2013), who refer to Antipodean economic geography (from Australia and New Zealand), but largely ignore the issue of language, an issue we regard being essential in the debate (see also Aalbers, 2013). In the following, we will first present some factors that indicate the Anglo-American hegemony and its state of the art.

Then we will discuss the potential consequences of the hegemony, as well as its influence on theory formation.

3.1 The indicators of the hegemony

One of the key indicators is the increasing use of English in human and economic geography, as well as in most other academic disciplines. This is to a great extent the result of national ministries of science in many countries in the world, such as China, supporting English as the “international” language (Paasi 2015a, 2015b). National languages, even those spoken by hundreds of millions of people are regarded as parochial (for a broader discussion on multilingualism in science, see a recent article in the Economist, (2017)).

Several mechanisms that shape academic knowledge production and diffusion can be taken as indicators for this hegemony, including in journals, conferences and textbooks. First, concerning so-called international (i.e English-written) journals it has been criticized that the authors and editors in chief are predominantly based at universities in the UK and North America, and therefore over-represent this language area (Bański & Ferenc, 2013). At the same time, however, improvements have been observed, such as an increasing number of non-Anglo-American economic geographers in the editorial teams and editorial boards of international journals (Wray et al., 2013; Paasi, 2015a). This is despite the fact that in many cases the positions are not advertised and therefore difficult to get for scholars who are not in specific, usually English-speaking, networks.

Secondly, Barnes (2002, p. 490) emphasized the influence of English-speaking textbooks on non-Anglophone parts of the world¹: “... the long shadow of the Anglo-American tradition falls on these other places too, in part because of various forms of Anglo-American imperialism, both direct and indirect, and in part because performances themselves travel”. We experienced the influence of English-speaking textbooks ourselves, when we were students at non-Anglo-American universities (Utrecht, Zhejiang, Lisbon). Recently, some

¹ In a similar vein, Coenen (2012) is critical on the Anglo-American hegemony in his book review of the SAGE Handbook of Economic Geography (Leyshon et al., 2011).

older English textbooks are often glorified as internationally esteemed classics in journals such as *Regional Studies* and *Progress in Human Geography*. Although the current generation of textbooks pays more pay attention to work and traditions in other parts of the worlds than previous generations (see, in particular, Coe et al. (2013) who do not only work with international examples, but also write about the extent to which economic geography in other language areas differs from mainstream Anglo-American economic geography), they are still mainly written by scholars based in North America and the UK and do not refer to non-English literature.

Thirdly, the mobility of Anglo-American economic geography also happens through international conferences. Although we can observe an increase in attendance from non-Anglo-American countries at the Global Conference on Economic Geography or Annual Meetings of the American Association of Geographers (Derudder & Liu, 2016), there is still relatively little international collaboration taking place during these conferences (Derudder & Liu, 2016). Moreover, agenda-setting keynotes and prestigious lectures are often held by scholars based at universities in North America and the UK. One prominent example is the Roepke lecture taking place at the Annual Meeting of the American Association of Geographers, arguably the most prestigious lecture in economic geography in the world and sponsored by *Economic Geography*, which aims to be an international high-ranking journal. So far, the lecture took place twenty times, and not a single time was it delivered by a non-native English speaker. The selected scholars were all based in the USA, UK and Canada, often working at prestigious universities, such as Harvard, Oxford and Cambridge.

3.2 The consequences of the hegemony

Interestingly, little has been said about the consequences of the hegemony of English as lingua franca for non-English economic geographers writing in English². Language is not only a means to communicate and to convey ideas and research results. More importantly, language also represents a way of thinking, a socially embedded, mental framework to do

² This sub-section draws from Hassink (2007).

research (Rodríguez-Pose, 2004). To enter the world of Anglo-American economic geography, therefore, means to change attitudes and the way of thinking.

That might have two kinds of consequences for non-English human geographers who write in English. First, it might have consequences for the research topics they choose. In order to be accepted by Anglo-American editors and referees, they might choose research topics that dominate in the Anglo-American discourse at the expense of locally situated research topics (Paasi, 2005). Secondly, in writing about locally situated phenomena in English, something might get lost in translation or the unwritten might not be conveyed (Short et al., 2001).

Therefore, the domination of one language leads to two marginalisation processes, namely the marginalisation of geographical areas and research topics, due to linguistically caused ethnocentricity, and the marginalisation of colleagues, because language is a symbolic power which empowers some and disempowers others. Although there is a tendency towards academic capitalism in many countries of the world (Paasi 2015a), some countries are still more outward looking and others more inward looking, which might have to do with size and the importance of their mother tongue.

3.3 The hegemony's impact on theory and paradigm formation

Although the Anglo-American hegemony is weakening concerning author- and editorships of international journals, international conference attendance and textbooks, we consider theory and paradigm formation as one of its last bastions, a bastion that is hardest to penetrate. In more general terms, according to Berg & Kearns (1998, p. 129) "... the agent of theory formation is the Euro-American subject, and by extension, the agent of geographic theorising is also Euro-American, and more specifically, Anglo-American ...". They continue in commenting on Johnston's textbook: "... the key ... of what Johnston constitutes as the important debates and central positions in 'geography' are Anglo-American. Although geographers from the 'peripheries' are allowed to participate in such debates, they are rarely able to set the agenda or frame the epistemological boundaries" (Berg & Kearns, 1998, p. 129). Concerning political ecology, Kim et al. (2012, p. 34) speak of "naturalizing

Anglo-American assumptions at the heart of research” and about an “Anglo-American citadel”, whereas Van Meeteren (2016) speaks of a “skewed transnationalization” process. According to (Ferenčuhová, 2016, p. 115), non-Anglo-American geographers “... were expected to provide empirical data, but not theoretical arguments” (see also Hadjimichalis & Vaiou, 2004). Additionally, “Anglophone research gains more currency as ‘universal’ theories and knowledge” (Kong & Qian, 2017, p. 4) and “this problem is arguably more relevant to intellectual activities that are more sensitive to, and contingent on, local contexts (e.g. research in sociology, anthropology, geography, urban studies, cultural studies, more so than, say, psychology)” (Kong & Qian, 2017, p. 3).

The above-mentioned observations are made concerning human geography as a whole, but what about economic geography? In general terms, Yeung and Lin (2003, p. 112) observe a similar phenomenon in economic geography: theories in economic geography often first emerge in Anglo-Saxon countries and are used as framework in studies in other parts of the world, which are consequently “grounded in the *industrial* landscapes of the Anglo-American countries”.

What about the use of the adjective Anglo-American in theory and paradigm formation in economic geography? In a recent paper on the state of the art of the paradigms in economic geography Hassink et al. (2014) did not use the adjective Anglo-American, neither American nor British. The same is true for Boschma & Frenken (2006) in their paper launching the paradigm of evolutionary economic geography. In his article on geographical political economy, on the other hand, Sheppard (2011) writes about Anglophone economic geography and consequently only cites English speaking sources. Bathelt and Glückler (2003) in their paper launching relational economic geography, distinguish between German and Anglo-American economic geography. Though they look at similarities they are clearly addressing a broader group of economic geographers beyond those working in the Anglo-American paradigm. In a similar vein, Bathelt (2006) made cautious attempts to include non-English literature and national schools of thought (German and Spanish) in his analysis of the state-of-the-art in economic geography. Scott (2000) is one of the few referring to French and German economic geography, although he only cited a few French sources. As such, the extent to which Anglo-American and European economic geography theorists cover parts of

the non-Anglo-American world therefore mainly seems to depend on their individual language abilities

Storper (2011, 342) provides a hint about the influence of positionality on the content of theory and paradigm formation. He states that the evolutionary economic geography paradigm, mainly proposed by scholars from Continental Europe, with its concepts stressing path dependence and related variety, fits better to explain regional development and change in Europe, where we find relatively more incremental innovations, than in the USA, where radical innovations are more dominant. So indirectly, he argues that the choice of concepts is influenced by the origin of the proponents and where they are embedded. In a similar vein, we would argue that there is a strong correlation between the home turf of proponents of geographical political economy (North America and the UK) and their critical stance towards neoliberalism and the weak role of the state (Sheppard, 2011), which makes the paradigm less useful in parts of the world where neoliberalism is less prevailing. Paradoxically, despite this context-dependence, some Anglo-American theorists recently (albeit cautiously) attempt to move geographical political economy to the theoretical or paradigmatic centre of economic geography in general (Sheppard & Barnes, 2017; Peck, 2015). Overall, proponents of theories and paradigms in economic geography do not tend to be reflective on the extent to which their home country influences their theorizing.

4. From Anglo-American to international economic geography

In the previous section, we have argued that due to language advantages Anglo-American geographers have been dominating theoretical debates and discourses, in part by possessing key gatekeeper functions, such as journal editorships, referees and textbook authorships (Hassink 2007). Although Continental Europeans and more recently Asians are catching up when it comes to journal articles and citations (Rodríguez-Pose, 2006), in English-language economic geography theorizing by individuals working in the Anglo-American context still dominates.

What can we do about this hegemony and how can we move from an Anglo-American to an international economic geography? We consider reviewing literature in other main languages as one important step, which we will do in the following, whereas other steps will be discussed in the conclusions. For reasons given in the introduction, we are mainly focused on three languages (i.e. Chinese, Spanish and Portuguese), which will provide some insights into the research done by non-English speaking scholars.

4.1 Economic geography in mainland China

As has been widely observed, for quite a long period of time, the development of economic geography in China has been driven mainly by practical tasks, or 'developing the discipline with tasks' (*yi renwu daidong xueke fazhan 以任务带动学科发展*) (Chen et al., 2017). That is, the selection of study topics has been decided mainly by the practical demands of the government at various levels (Liu & Lu, 2002). This is still the case so far, although steady attention has also been paid to the theoretical developments of economic geography within the Chinese context (Chen et al., 2017). According to Liu Weidong and Lu Dadao, whose works have contributed much to the knowledge of economic geographical research in mainland China, five factors played a significant role in the different stages of development of economic geography as a sub-discipline of human geography before the new millennium. These included foreign influence (Western countries before 1950s, the Soviet Union from the 1950s to the 1970s, and Western countries again since 1980s), political factors (from central planning to market economy), the stage of economic development (from accelerated industrialization before the 1950s, to the development of heavy industries and physical infrastructures in the 1950s to 1970s, to the continuous restructuring in the 1980s, and finally to regional disparity, and high-tech industries and global economy after the 1990s), institutional reform and changes, and the cultural tradition of 'acquiring rich knowledge for serving the emperor', or 'study for application' (Liu & Lu, 2002).

Entering the new millennium, economic geography in China has been strongly affected both by China's economic and institutional conditions, as well as by Western academic thought

and research methods (Liu et al., 2011). On the one hand, economic geography in China is characterized by its practice-based nature (or problem-solving orientation). In this context, Chinese economic geographers tend to play the role of planners and consultants to local, provincial or central state governments (e.g., Coe et al., 2013). Chinese human and economic geographers have played a significant role in the major plans and tasks for national and regional socio-economic development, and recent economic globalization of China. These included, among others, “Belt and Road Initiative”, “National Territorial Planning”, “Main Functional Zone Planning”, “Revitalization of Northeast China”, the “Development of Western China”, and the “Rise of Central China” (Li et al., 2014; Liu, 2015; Lu, 2015). On the other hand, Chinese economic geographers also learn from and collaborate with their Western colleagues, and have managed to make some theoretical developments in recent years (e.g., He et al., 2016; Yang et al., 2017; Zhang & Peck, 2016; Zhu et al., 2017). The development of economic geography in contemporary China exhibits the following characteristics: 1) spatial planning at different scales (planning-oriented); 2) cross-disciplinary approach and cooperative study with other disciplines, especially with natural sciences (comprehensive guide); 3) regional development and regional differences (regionalism); 4) new techniques and simulation tools including GIS-based simulation analysis and visualization (the application of new techniques); and finally 5) increasingly going out of the country and serve in international academic organizations (internationalization) (Liu et al., 2011).

The collaboration network analysis of the most productive authors, taken by Liu et al. (2014), indicates that economic geography in China has close linkage with urban geography, and even some cooperative research teams have emerged out of these two camps. Their analysis of the SSCI-listed economic geography articles written by overseas Chinese and indigenous scholars finds out that economic geographers based in mainland China also significantly contributed to the theoretical development of this field (namely, urban-economic geography). The article also finds that traditional topics such as regional disparities and regional development, clusters and agglomeration, spatial structure and linkages of economy, location theory, and transportation geography still remain the hottest topics in Chinese economic geography research. However, some relatively new areas such as producer services, functional zoning, special area planning, energy and carbon emissions, international trade and FDI, information technology and the Internet also gained

considerable significance before the early 2010s. Against the background of globalization, digitalization, urbanization, and sustainable development, economic geography in China also needs to cope with the transformative nature of the society. New topics with “Chinese characteristics”, such as restructuring global geopolitical structure (e.g., Belt and Road Initiative), Internet+ and geography, new types of urban-rural relations, supply-side reform and transformation, etc., have emerged recently, and been increasingly taken up by economic geographers (Chen et al., 2017).

Unlike Western scholars who often try to explore the integration and exchanges between economic geography and economics, economic geographers in China tend to get more inspiration from research done in human geography, urban geography and urban and regional planning. Moreover, economic geographical research in China tends to rely more strongly on geographical visualizing techniques and methods such as GIS and geo-mapping in the era of big data. Closely following the frontier of economic geography research in Western countries, particularly evolutionary economic geography, which emphasizes the historical trajectories of industrial or regional development, more and more Chinese scholars have also tried to include mathematical modeling and economics thinking in their research (e.g., Li et al., 2016; Zhou et al., 2017; Zhu et al., 2017).

Theory-wise, many young Chinese economic geographers, mainly PhDs and early career researchers, who have been trained abroad, and scholars based in prestigious universities in China, have been increasingly engaged in international theoretical debates and in the explorations and constructions of economic geography (e.g., He et al., 2016; Hu & Hassink, 2017a, 2017b; Hassink & Gong, 2017; Yang et al., 2017; Yu & Gibbs, 2017; Zhang & Peck, 2016; Zhu et al., 2017). Research done by these scholars, mainly written in English and published in international journals, has not only contributed to the knowledge of economic geographical phenomena in China, but also results in the modification and critical reflections of Western concepts and theories within the specific Chinese context. Economic phenomena in mainland China have also attracted the attention of many Western scholars, and quite a lot of joint research has been done by Chinese and Western economic geographers (either via the supervision of Chinese PhD students, or through international research projects). It is not rare to see many Chinese scholars participating in international conferences, workshops

or courses in recent years, and it is also not surprising to find articles published in top journals by scholars either based in China or of Chinese nationality.

Publishing and reading in English contributes to a certain extent to successful dialogues between Chinese researchers and their Western colleagues. However, such a dominant position of English publications about China is not without problems. A visible shift towards publishing 'internationally' in English journals organized by British or American publishers has increasingly been observed in China (Paasi, 2015a). Many universities or research institutes only value articles published in high-level English journals of the discipline, as if it is the only criterion to evaluate scholars' academic performance. This has resulted in several problems in the academic world of China. First and foremost, an overemphasis on English literature and publications, has contributed to a neglect of domestic journals and publications by many young scholars, particularly those trained in foreign universities and research institutes. Many young economic geographers nowadays hardly read and publish in Chinese, because Chinese publications are less valued than English papers (namely SSCI-indexed publications) in academic assessments at most universities. Therefore, theoretical and empirical explorations by the older generation of researchers, who are more used to publish in Chinese, hardly get spread to the rest of the world. Additionally, the different perception of the significance of English literature between different generations might potentially lead to a tense relationship between senior and younger generations of scholars, and thus 'agglomeration benefits' or synergetic efforts within the same department in a university are less stressed. Secondly, the dominance of Anglophone economic geography makes most of the Chinese indigenous economic geographers behave more like followers rather than leaders in aspects such as theoretical exploration and construction of economic geography. Closely following the frontier of economic geographical research, Chinese scholars have contributed much to the modification and critical reflection of many key concepts and theories developed in Anglophone countries. Few of them, however, have proposed innovative theories and notions that are well accepted by their Western colleagues (Chen et al., 2017). This is probably due, in part at least, to the lack of interest from a Western audience and thus Western editors of journals, because of the perception that the Chinese context is exotic and not very relevant. It is also due to Chinese researchers' eagerness to communicate with Western scholars using theories and concepts that are familiar to the latter.

Overall, Chinese economic geographers have gained visibility in the international economic geography community. Nonetheless, issues such as the integration of different generations of scholars and the development of specific theories and concepts within the Chinese context still require more efforts among Chinese scholars.

4.2 Economic geography in Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries

The aim of this section is to present some main ideas from a review of economic geography articles published in Portugal and Spain. One of the major conclusions of this review is that, similar to what happens in the Chinese context, concepts emerging mostly in Anglo-Saxon publications dominate theoretical and empirical debates. Though it is important to note that some of these concepts may actually originate from non-Anglo-American countries, their popularity arguably derives from the exposure that they achieve once their authors publish in English speaking journals.

For example, in a recent book edited by two leading economic geographers in Spain on the geography of the economic crisis in Spain (Puebla & Sánchez-Hernández, 2014), Méndez (2014) uses the concepts of neo-liberalism and financialization to explain the real estate boom that led to the economic crisis of 2008. Drawing on authors such as David Harvey and papers published in *Economic Geography* and *Journal of Economic Geography*, the author builds a framework to analyse the relationship between the geography of finance and the crisis in Spain. Méndez (2014) also draws on the concept of resilience as a way to analyse future growth paths. As noted above, current debates about neoliberalism emanate from Anglo-American Universities, in part motivated by the weakness of the welfare state in these contexts. This idea is appealing to Portuguese and Spanish authors, who also have to deal with weak or incomplete welfare states, though the reasons for this weakness are arguably very different. Whereas in the Anglo-Saxon world they are the product of the enduring appeal of classical liberalism, and sharp conservative political turns in the 1980s, in the countries discussed here they emanate mostly from decades of authoritarian governance which prevented the emergence of democratic institutions working for the common good. Therefore, as argued also in this paper, the seamless import of such concepts from different

national contexts can actually obscure important differences in the political and economic trajectories of Spain and Portugal.

Throughout this book, its many chapters, written by a variety of authors working in Spain, draw on other familiar concepts such as national innovation systems, industrial districts or the entrepreneurial city (Puebla & Sánchez-Hernández, 2014). A similar pattern is found in scientific articles published in the *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* (Bulletin of the Association of Spanish Geographers), where concepts such as the creative economy (Barroso et al., 2013), urban governance (Medina, 2013) or the knowledge economy (Méndez, 2013) are deployed in the analysis of Spain's economic geography. In the Portuguese case, concepts such as innovation (Vale, 2009) or smart cities (Carvalho & Maia, 2016) are widely used both in research and as guide for policies for future growth (Ferreira, 2013). Also in this context, the references used draw significantly on English speaking journals and seek to contribute to the concepts developed there through an empirical analysis of Portuguese case studies or data.

The influence of such concepts must however be contextualised. First, it is not only the concepts but also the authors themselves who have internationalised. Many of the leading economic geographers in both countries also publish in top English speaking journals (e.g. Glückler & Sánchez-Hernández, 2014, Méndez et al., 2016, Vale & Carvalho, 2013). Therefore, though they are part of a national academic system in their respective home countries, they are also more or less integrated in a wider epistemic community. It is possible (though at this stage we do not have data to test this hypothesis) that these authors act as pipelines between the international research community and their home countries, thereby contributing to the dissemination of such concepts. Second, among the references collected for this paper, there is a nearly total dominance of empirically-oriented articles. Though they might use the data collected as a way to reflect on the concepts, there appears to be a far more empirical nature to the papers published. It is possible that Spanish or Portuguese authors decide to publish the more theoretically ambitious papers in English speaking journals, seeking to have a wider academic impact, and save more empirical and descriptive papers for journals in their native country.

What value can therefore be drawn from reading economic geography articles published in Spain and Portugal? One is the diversity of empirical material. Particularly in qualitative

research, accumulating examples and case studies is important for theoretical progress (Yin 2013). Examples of the emergence of high-tech clusters in contexts of limited institutional support, for example, contributes to our knowledge of how firms in peripheral regions access knowledge and how they create value with limited use of venture capital (Fontes et al., 2009; González-Relaño, 2015; Méndez, 2013; Santos & Marques, 2012). More importantly however is the diversity of themes and topics covered. One example is the amount of research dedicated to tourism, particularly in Spain, an economic sector which is very important for the economy of both countries, and which is comparatively less studied in Anglo-Saxon economic geography. The importance of tourism for local economies, in terms of its capacity for job creation and territorial development, but also its vulnerability to demand shocks and economic crisis (González-Romero & Caravaca, 2016; Pollice & Iulio, 2011), has not been sufficiently acknowledged in the discipline. It has also been neglected by the literature on innovation, though there are important examples of innovative practices used to raise value-added, which could add to a better understanding of innovation dynamics in non-high-tech sectors (Furt & Llinás, 2014; Garay & Cánoves, 2012).

Tourism as an economic sector is also highly relevant for its many socio-economic, political or environmental implications. For example, strategies based on niches such as cultural heritage (Benito del Pozo, 2016; Capdepón, 2012; Cánoves et al., 2016), rural tourism (Pulido & Cárdenas, 2011, Martín & Martín, 2014), authenticity (Vázquez et al., 2014), or others (Garay & Cánoves, 2012; González, 2015), draw on concepts such as governance, innovation or place branding, and can make important empirical and theoretical contributions. Tourism can also make important contributions to our understanding of the financialisation of real estate (Méndez & Plaza, 2016, Navarro-Jurado et al., 2015) and to environmental sustainability (González et al., 2012). It is therefore a sector which transcends its economic implications. Though its study is not unique to the Spanish and Portuguese contexts, the relative importance of this sector in these countries, and the scale of tourism particularly in Spain, means that research from these countries could provide an important contribution to the accumulation of knowledge.

Regarding Portuguese and Spanish publications emerging from Central and South America, we find a similar tendency for the import of Anglo-Saxon concepts such as financialisation (Contel, 2016), creative industries (Mendes, 2016), or innovation (Tunes, 2016). Authors

such as David Harvey (Botelho, 2016) or Henry Lefebvre (Silva, 2017a) are translated (Lefebvre, 2017), presented and discussed, presumably also as a way to introduce their work to non-English speaking audiences. In the case of Brazil, more ambitious theoretical works tend to happen in book form and similarly build on the work of key international scholars (Oliveira, 2015). In contrast, journal publications appear to have a predominantly applied and descriptive nature, similar to what was already argued in the previous paragraphs for Portugal's and Spain's publications. They include examples ranging from the impact of private beaches on socio-spatial fragmentation (Silva, 2017b), to the impacts of various economic processes on specific metropolitan areas (Baptista, 2014; Rocha, 2015; Teixeira, 2015), and they tend to be less theoretically focused than articles in the high impact Anglo-American journals. This is of course a tendency and does not mean that the latter do not exist (e.g. Martins, 2014). There is equally a geographical element to the economic sectors mostly studied. In the case of Brazil farming (Espindola, 2009; Vieira & Pereira, 2009 and special issue of *Geografia Econômica* 2012), automotive (Lins, 2009; Martins, 2014) and natural resources (Pessanha, 2015) are often discussed, reflecting some of this country's main specializations. Still in Brazil, the role of the State in promoting investment (Algebaile et al., 2017; Hirt, 2013; Junior, 2013) or redistribution of wealth is an important concern and so is, in recent years, the impact of the political crisis that engulfed the country in 2016 and led to the deposition of the president Dilma Rousseff (Oliveira, 2017).

5. Conclusions

This paper is a plea in favour of moving beyond Anglo-American economic geography to an integrative and truly international economic geography (Hassink & Gong, 2017), which is a richer and multidimensional economic geography. It is an economic geography that is multilingual, that fosters diversity instead of standardization due to monolingual, neoliberal academic capitalism. It is also an economic geography actively reducing unequal spaces of geographical knowledge production, by being open to trading zones and a more equal trade balance between Anglo-American and non-Anglo-American economic geography. It is at the same time also an economic geography in which isolated spaces of geographical debate (Fall,

2014, p. 302) are accepted, as they are “one guarantee for creativity, inoculating geography against inbreeding”. This paper is also a plea for a more careful and transparent use of the term Anglo-American economic geography. Although the usage of the term is probably more about a growing recognition of the partiality of this literature, it could also be interpreted as an exclusion to other scholars from a non-English context. We therefore, would suggest a cautious use of the term.

To make a first step in this direction, we encourage reviewing literature in non-English languages; see for instance Hassink et al. (2017) in a recent paper on the restructuring of old industrial areas in East Asia using Chinese, Japanese and Korean sources. In this paper, we have reviewed economic geography research in mainland China and Spanish- and Portuguese speaking countries. There are, however, rich academic traditions not covered in this paper, which could already make important contributions. We, therefore, invite economic geographers in other languages, such as French, German, Russian, Arabic, Japanese, among others, to build bridges and contribute to a truly international economic geography. It has to be acknowledged that the literatures reviewed in previous sections remain predominantly empiricist, which is partly the result of national academic cultures and the political economy of research funding, which in some countries is less geared towards basic research and more towards consultancy-type or applied research. Nonetheless, we argue that if there was a stronger move towards encouraging different voices to contribute to theoretical debates, this would help academics in these countries not only to feel more confident about participating in them, but also allowing them to theorize in an inductive way.

Also, as shown in Section 4, economic geography research in mainland China and Spanish- and Portuguese speaking countries, already exhibit some unique characteristics. This is especially true in what concerns the geographies covered, the sectors most studied and the ways in which a different blend of disciplines is brought together to reflect on the major economic challenges of each country. Furthermore, since economic geography has been animated from the start with understanding territorial inequalities, knowledge of the empirical realities in less developed countries could by itself bring forth a new set of examples to reflect upon. This would allow the discipline to move on from the usual case studies of economic decline or stagnation, such as the Ruhr area in Germany, the North East

in the UK or the city of Detroit in the USA. Because knowledge of new geographies would imply not only knowledge of regions but also of their national and international contexts, this would help economic geographers to contribute to timely and topical debates such as the re-emergence of so called populism and far right movements, the challenges of mass migration or climate change.

We argue that the goal now should be to move from a unidirectional, implicitly universal Anglo-American economic geography to a multidirectional international economic geography. Although it is difficult to achieve multidirectional exchange in some cases, because theories are too much embedded in the context of the authors' home countries, or due to other problems related to de-contextualizing (Maloutas, 2012), we also agree with Wray et al. (2013): theorizing back is not enough; instead new theories should also emerge in the periphery. To achieve exchange, there is a key role for multilingual gatekeepers and intermediary scholars (Kong & Qian, 2017; Jöns, 2018), or cosmopolitan geographers (Minca, 2018), who do not only pass on Anglo-American concepts to their language areas in a unidirectional way, but also develop new concepts on the basis of domestic research and contribute in that way to an integrative paradigm of economic geography in a multidirectional way.

Moreover, as the Chinese and Spanish- and Portuguese writing literature clearly shows, the dominance of Anglo-American economic geography discourses globally should be properly seen as an outcome of the academic behaviour and practices of both English native-speakers and scholars and institutions in non-English speaking regions, regardless with or without intension. To truly move to an international economic geography, therefore, it would require efforts of both sides. For scholars and institutions based in Anglophone countries, factors that could positively contribute to an international economic geography include the more inclusion of non-Anglo-American multilingual editors and reviewers working for international journals, to accept or maybe even encourage references to other language areas than English, and textbooks, writing by multilingual authors, using truly international sources in several main languages of the world.

Scholars who are located in the non-English-speaking regions, on the other hand, should not merely extend or modify concepts and theories that have been developed in Anglophone countries by simply conducting empirical studies, more importantly, they should be

encouraged to develop original theories and concepts that are embedded in their specific socio-economic contexts, and try to make those theories recognizable and visible by actively participating in international theoretical discussions and debates. Educational institutions in these countries, furthermore, should be encouraged to develop rich and diverse criteria (e.g., international collaborations, teaching, the applicability of research, the originality of studies, etc.) when it comes to scientific assessments, rather than adopting simple indexes (e.g., publications in English journals) of assessing the scientific achievements of scholars.

Finally, more international collaborations between scholars from different countries would be beneficial to a truly international economic geography, and such collaborations could also be fostered through the increasing use of social media such as ResearchGate (see also Kim et al., 2012).

All in all, we believe that a truly international economic geography would not only benefit scholars from different parts of the world, but more significantly, contribute to the sustainability of the discipline as it provides richer opportunities for international theoretical and empirical explorations and exchanges.

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