CURRICULUM VITAE
DR. MICHAEL ERIC SAMERS

PERSONAL DETAILS

Date of Birth: 27 September, 1965

Nationality: American

Home Address

250 South Martin Luther King Blvd.
Apt. 107
Lexington, KY
40508

Work Address

1457 Patterson Office Tower
Department of Geography
University of Kentucky
Lexington, KY 40506-0027
Tel: 895-257-6966

Current position Associate Professor, University of Kentucky, since August 16, 2006

EDUCATION

1991-1997 D.Phil. (Ph.D) Geography
University of Oxford, Oxford, UK
Advisors:

Dr. David Harvey
Dr. Erik Swyngedouw

Thesis title: "The Production and Regulation of North African Immigrants in the Paris Automobile Industry, 1970-1990"

1989-1991 MS. Geography
University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin
Advisor:

Dr. Martin Cadwallader

Thesis title: "Growth Machine Theory and Urban Political Decline: A Case study of the Madison South Beltline Highway, Madison, Wisconsin"

1984-1988	BA. Geography Clark University, Worcester, Mass.
1987	Université de Dijon (Université de Bourgogne), Dijon, France
1981-1984	Hebron Academy, Hebron, Maine

PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT

1990-1	Technical Assistant, Dane County Regional Planning Commission, Madison, Wisconsin
1991	ARC/INFO Technician, Geographic Information Systems, Department of Highways, Chicago, Illinois
1991	Project Assistantship, Department of Geography, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin
1992-1993	Computer Assistant, School of Geography, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK
1992-1993	College Lecturer (Human and Economic Geography), Hertford College, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK
1994-2001	Lecturer (Assistant Professor), Department of Geography, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, UK
2002-2006	Lecturer and Senior Lecturer (Assistant Professor, Associate Professor), School of Geography, University of Nottingham, Nottingham, UK

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP

1991-	Member, Association of American Geographers
1994-	Member, Royal Geographical Society/Institute of British Geographers
1997-	Member, Economic Geography Study Group, Royal Geographical Society/Institute of British Geographers

FURTHER TRAINING

1997 Workshop on Writing Grant Applications, University of Liverpool, UK February

OTHER RESEARCH POSITIONS

1993-4 Associated Researcher, Centre de Sociologie Urbaine, Paris, requiring fluency in French (writing, reading, and speaking).

1993-4 Associated Researcher, GERPISA (Groupe d'Etudes et de Recherches Permanent sur l'Industrie et les Salariés de l'Automobile), Paris

1999 Invited Visiting Lecturer, Université de Poitiers, France

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

1988-1989 English Teacher, Lycée Jacques Decour, Paris, France

1992-1993 College Lecturer (Human and Economic Geography), Hertford College, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK

1994-2001 Lecturer (Assistant Professor), University of Liverpool, Liverpool, UK

2002-2005 Lecturer (Assistant Professor), University of Nottingham, Nottingham, UK

2005-2006 Senior Lecturer (Associate Professor), University of Nottingham, UK

ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE/COMMITTEE WORK AND RESPONSIBILITIES

1994-01 Exam papers secretary; Department of Geography, University of Liverpool, UK

1994-01 SOCRATES (European Staff and Student Exchange Program) representative, Department of Geography, University of Liverpool, UK

1996-9 Undergraduate Policy Group, Department of Geography, University of Liverpool, UK

1997-01 First Year BA Tutor, Department of Geography, University of Liverpool, UK

2003-2006 Director of Masters Programmes, Department of Geography, University of Nottingham, UK

2005-2006 Social Sciences Postgraduate Programmes Committee, University of Nottingham, UK

2006-2007 Chair, Graduate Professional Development Committee, Department of Geography, University of Kentucky

2007-2009 Chair, Colloquium Series and Semple Day Committee, Department of Geography, University of Kentucky

2008 -2009 Chair, Graduate Committee, University of Kentucky

2009 - Director of Graduate Studies, University of Kentucky

PhD Committees

2007- Abigail Foulds, Department of Geography, University of Kentucky

2007- Chris Blackden, Department of Geography, University of Kentucky

2008- James Looney, Department of Geography, University of Kentucky

2009- Ruth Brown, Department of Hispanic Studies, University of Kentucky

2009- Jay Christian, Department of Geography, University of Kentucky

2009- (as Chair) Amanda Fickey, Department of Geography, University of Kentucky

PhD Committees (as external examiner)

2007 Ron Mercer, Department of Philosophy, University of Kentucky

2008 Marci Ventor, Department of Anthropology, University of Kentucky

2009 Traci Dundas, Department of Education, University of Kentucky

Masters Committees

2009 Patrick Bigger, Department of Geography, University of Kentucky

EDITORSHIPS AND EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBERSHIP

2004-2006 Member of the editorial board of *Geoforum*, since January 2004

2006- Co-editor, *Geoforum*, since September 2006

ACADEMIC PRIZES

2000 **Best Article of the Year 1998**, for the journal *European Planning Studies* (see under 'Publications')

SERVICE AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

1994 Graduate student representative, Economic Geography Research Group, Institute of British Geographers

1997 Principal Organizer of a joint conference between the Department of Geography, University of Liverpool and the TIDE-CNRS, Université de Bordeaux III, 24-26 April, 1997, "Pratiques scientifiques et contextes culturels et scientifiques: un mise en perspective des savoirs géographiques", with financial support from the CNRS, the British Council, and the Department of Geography/CRED (Centre for Research in Economic Development), Liverpool

1997-2008 Reviewer of dozens of manuscripts and grant applications submitted to refereed journals and funding bodies (e.g British Academy, ESRC, SHHRC, etc.)

2001 Grants award panel, HSBC small grants, Royal Geographical Society/Institute of British Geographers

2000-1 Working Papers Editor, Economic Geography Research Group, Royal Geographical Society/Institute of British Geographers

2002-2005 Secretary, Economic Geography Research Group, Royal Geographical Society/Institute of British Geographers

2002-2005 Member, Research Committee, Royal Geographical Society/Institute of British Geographers

2004 Grants award panel, Neville Schulman Travel award, Royal Geographical Society, Institute of British Geographers

2004 International expert 'ex-post' evaluation of Research Grants for the Belgian Federal Science Policy Office, Brussels, November

2005 International expert evaluation of Research Grants for the Belgian Federal Science Policy Office, September

2005 Appeared on the BBC Television documentary programme: 'Inside-Out', 'The British economy and illegal working', October

2007 Co-organizer of 'Immigration and public space: an opportunity for debate': a colloquium funded by the University of Kentucky, College of Arts and Sciences.

2007 (With Dr. Patricia Ehrkamp and Dr. Virginia Blum). Bid successfully for a 'Cluster Hire' on migration/immigration (5 new faculty for the College of Arts and Sciences, University of Kentucky)

2008 National Screening Committee, US Fulbright Commission, Houston, December 10-12

LANGUAGES

French: near-native fluency (reading, writing, and speaking); some Spanish

PUBLICATIONS

Articles

(1997) "The production of diaspora: Algerian emigration from colonialism to neo-colonialism (1840-1970)" *Antipode*, 29,1: 32-64.

(1998) "'Structured Coherence': immigration, racism, and production in the Paris car industry", *European Planning Studies* (invited special issue paper on 'Locality research: ten years on'), 6,1: 49-72.

(1998) "Immigration, 'ethnic minorities', and social exclusion in the European Union: a critical perspective", *Geoforum* (invited special issue paper on 'social exclusion'), 29, 2: 123-144.

(1999) "'Globalization' the geo-political economy of migration, and

the'spatial vent'", *Review of International Political Economy*,6, 2: 163-196.

(2001) "What is the point of economic geography"? *Antipode*. 33, 2: 183-193.

(2001) "Here to work: undocumented immigration in the United States and Europe", *SAIS (School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins) Review*, Winter-Spring. 21,1: 131-145.

(2002) "Immigration and the 'global city hypothesis': towards an alternative research agenda", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 26,2: 389-402.

(2003) "Diaspora unbound: Muslim identity and the erratic regulation of Islam in France", *International Journal of Population Geography*, 9: 351-364.

(2003) "Invisible capitalism: political economy and the regulation of undocumented immigration in France", *Economy and Society*, 32,4: 555-583.

(2003) "Immigration and the spectre of Hobbes: some comments for the quixotic Dr. Bauder", *ACME: an International E-journal for Critical Geographies*, 2,2: 210-217.

(2004) "An emerging geopolitics of 'illegal' immigration in the European Union", *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 6:23-41.

(2004) "Do welfare systems matter? A preliminary analysis of welfare retrenchment and the employment of young people of immigrant origin in France", *Kolor: Journal of Moving Communities*, 4, 2: 74-96.

(2005) "The myopia of 'diverse economies', or a critique of the 'informal economy", *Antipode*. 37, 5: 875-886.

(2005) "Underground employment, immigration and economic development in the European Union: an agnostic-sceptic perspective", *International Journal of Economic Development*. 6,3: 199-272.

(2007) (with Jane Pollard) "Islamic banking and finance, postcolonial political economy, and the decentring of economic geography" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. 32: 313-330.

Articles and book chapters currently in preparation

(2009) (with Jane Pollard) Islamic banking, territoriality, embodiment, and the internationalisation of financial regulation, to be submitted to *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*

Articles currently under review

(2008) “International division of labor or international labor market segmentation?” Resubmitted to *Economic Geography*

Peer-reviewed editorials and commentaries in refereed journals

(1999) (with J. Sidaway) “Exclusions, inclusions, and occclusions in Anglo - American geography: reflections on Minca’s Venetian Geographical Praxis”, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 18,6: 663-666.

(2002) (with Haylett and Sidaway) “Conventions and context, a comment on Dear, *Political Geography*, 21: 287-292.

(2005) ‘Banal plagiarism’? Invited editorial, *Geoforum*, 35: 651-654.

(2005) 'Dancing on an asymptote, and conveying it', Invited Review essay of *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*, *Environment and Planning A*, 171-173.

Book Chapters

(1998) "Maghrebin immigration, France, and the political economy of the 'spatial vent", in Herod, A., Roberts, S., and O’ Tuathail, G. (eds.) *An Unruly World? Globalization, Governance*, *and Geography*. London: Routledge

(1998) (with R.I. Woods) 'Socio-economic change, EU policy and Social Disadvantage' in D. Pinder (ed.) *The New Europe: Economy, Society and Environment.* New York: John Wiley Press.

(1999) ‘Une archaeologie contemporaine de la géographie économique: le cas Anglo-Americaine, in Chivallon, C. Ragouet, P., and Samers, M. (eds.) *"Discours scientifiques et contextes culturels: geographies britanniques et françaises à l'épreuve postmoderne”*, Bordeaux/Talence: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme d’Aquitaine.

(2006) Changing the world: geography, political activism, and Marxism, in Valentine, G, and Aitken, S. *Key approaches to Human Geography*, London: Sage, pp. 273-285.

(2006) Immigration and the global city hypothesis: towards an alternative research agenda, reprinted in Brenner, N. and Keil, R. (eds.) *The Global City Reader*, Sage

(2008) Labour markets: at the heart of 'migration management', in Gabriel, C., and Pellerin, H. (eds.) *Governing International Labour Migration*, Routledge.

(2010) (with Professor Matthew Zook) "Telemediated servants and self-servants of the global economy: labor in the era of ICT-enabled e-commerce, in McGrath-Champ, S, Herod, A., and Rainnie, A. (eds.) *Handbook of Employment and Society: Working Space*, in press.

(2010) Torwards a critical economic geography of workfare, in Lee, R., Leyshon, A., McDowell, L., and Sunley, P. (eds.) *A Compendium of Economic Geography*. Sage, in press.

(2010) The supply and demand of 'alterity' in Islamic banking, in Fuller, D., Jonas, A., and Lee, R., in *Interrogating Alterity: alternative spaces of economy, society and politics*. Ashgate Publishers, in press

(2010) The 'socio-territoriality' of cities and the incorporation of migrants in urban labour markets, in Glick-Schiller, N., and Caglar, A. (eds.) *The Location of Migration: the City and the Scale*, Cornell University Press, in press

(2011) Islamic housing finance, in Sanders, A. Wachter, S, and Smith, S. (eds.) *International Encyclopedia of Housing and Home*, Elsevier, forthcoming

(2011) Strange castle walls: the political economy of undocumented migration and informal employment in the European Union, in Menz, G. and Caviedes, A. (eds.) *The Changing Face of Labour Migration in Europe*. Palgrave, forthcoming

Books

(1999) (co-edited with Christine Chivallon and Pascale Ragouet) *Discours scientifiques et contextes culturels: geographies britanniques et françaises à l'épreuve postmoderne*, Bordeaux/Talence: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme d'Aquitaine.

(2004) (co-written with Noel Castree, Neil Coe, and Kevin Ward) *Spaces of work: global capitalism and geographies of labour*, Sage.

(2009) *Migration* (part of the Key ideas in Geography series), Routledge.

Reports to Government Committees

(1996) (with Lloyd, P., and Meegan, R.). Prior Appraisal of New Generation of Community Initiatives: URBAN. Final Report to Directorate-General XVI, Commission of the European Communities (also with G.Haughton, V. Hionidou, C. Ni Laoire and A. Trono).

(2002) 'Sizing the illegally resident population', Final report prepared for the Secretary of State for the Home Office, Contract Reference Number RDS/02/067.

Book reviews

(1993) Book Review in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, of *Les Régions qui Gagnent* by Benko, G., and Lipietz, A. (eds.), Volume 11, 5: 617-8.

(1996) Book Review in *Third World Planning Review* of the *World Development Report*, by the World Bank, Volume 18, 2: 259-61.

(1998) Book Review in *European Planning Studies* of *Innovation, networks*, and *learning regions*, by Simmie, J. (ed.), Volume 6, 2: 235-36

(1998) Book Review in *Town Planning Review Urban Regions in a global context: Directions for the Greater Toronto Area: Proceedings for a conference at the University of Toronto, October 18-20, 1995*, by Kjellberg-Bell, J., and Webber, S. (eds) Volume 69, 1: 101-103.

(1998) Book Review in *Environment and Planning A* of *Paris*, by Noin, D, and White, P., Volume 30, 11, 2080-2082.

(1998) Book Review in *Third World Planning Review*, of *Local and Global: Management of Cities in the Information Age*, by Borja, J., and Castells, M. Volume 20,4: 441-442.

(1999) Book Review in *Environment and Planning A* of *Comprendre et combattre l'exclusion sociale*, by Baertschi, B., Dermange, F, and Dominice, P. (eds.) Volume 31, 10:1895-1896.

(1999) Book Review in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* of *Perceptions of Marginality: theoretical issues and regional perceptions of marginality in geographical space*, by Jussila, H., Leimgruber, W., Majoral, R. (eds.).

(2000) Book Review in *The Arab World Geographer* of *Migrations internationales entre le Maghreb et l'Europe*, Volume 3,1: 74-75.

(2000) Book Review in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* of *Globalisation and culture*, by Tomlinson, J. Volume 90,3: 630-631.

(2001) Book Review in *Progress in Human Geography* of *French Hospitality: racism and North African immigrants*, by T. Ben Jelloun. Volume 25,3:488-520.

(2001) Book Review in *Progress in Human Geography* of *Social Exclusion*, by D. Byrne, Volume 25,3: 490-492.

(2001) Book Review in *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, of *The postmodern urban condition*. 28,6: 939-941.

(2003) Book Review in *European Planning Studies*, of *La Richesse des Régions: la nouvelle géographie socio-économique*, by Benko, G., and Lipietz, A. (eds.), 11 (1): 95-97.

(2007) Book Review in *Economic Geography*, of Gibson-Graham, J.K. *A Postcapitalist Politics*, 83,3: 327-328.

GRANTS

(2006) (with Dr. Jane Pollard), 'The Production of Trust: making Islamic banking and finance in the UK and the US", British Academy, 7,370 pounds (approximately $14,000).

(2006) Interdisciplinary Initiative on Migration ('Immigration and Public Space: an opportunity for debate'), principal applicant, speaker series, University of Kentucky, $6,200 (with Dr. Patricia Ehrkamp)

(2004) Study leave grant, University of Nottingham, Project Code A2RM70, £2,970 (Declined)

(2002) Principal investigator (with Colin Williams), 'Informal employment in Nottinghamshire', Business-link Nottinghamshire, £10,000

(2002) Principal investigator, 'Sizing the illegally resident population', United Kingdom Home Office Contract Grant, RDS/02/067, £11,982

(2002) University of Nottingham Overseas Conference Fund, £500

(1999-2000) Research development grant from the University of Liverpool: (approximately £1,000) to undertake a feasibility study for a further grant to the Economic and Social Research Council (UK).

(1998-2000) "Pathways to integration: tackling social exclusion on Merseyside", Part of the "Cities: Competitiveness and Cohesion Research Programme", Economic and Social Research Council Grant no. L130 25 1044, United Kingdom (£133,000), with Peter Lloyd, Richard Meegan, and Noel Castree.

(1997) British Academy Travel award (as organizer and presenter of a conference in Bordeaux, France (see under 'other activities')

(1992) St. Peter's College Travel award (for D.Phil research in Paris), University of Oxford

PEER REVIEWS OF JOURNAL ARTICLES AND GRANTS

Beyond my role as Editor of *Geoforum*, I have reviewed more than two dozen papers for refereed journals, including *Administrative Quarterly, Antipode, Economic Geography, Environment and Planning A, B, and D, European Journal of International Relations, Gender Place and Culture, Global Networks, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, The Professional Geographer, Progress in Human Geography, and Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*

And I have reviewed grants for the:

Belgian Federal Science Policy Office
The British Academy
The Economic and Social Research Council (UK)
The Fulbright Commission
Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

INVITED LECTURES AND WORKSHOP PAPERS (<u>ALL EXPENSES PAID, INCLUDING HONORARIUMS</u>)

(1999) "Postmodernism and the international political economy of migration", Invited speaker **(GIVEN IN FRENCH)** and visiting lecturer (all expenses paid) at the University of Poitiers, France, November 28 – December 3.

(2004) "Do welfare systems matter? A preliminary analysis of welfare retrenchment and the employment of young people of immigrant origin in

France", Invited speaker (all expenses paid), workshop on the "Political Economy of Immigration: International Perspectives", University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada, March

(2005) "Outline of a framework for understanding the position of migrants in twenty-first century labour markets", Invited speaker (all expenses paid), International workshop on "Governing International Labour Migration: current issues, challenges, and dilemmas", University of Ottawa, Canada, May

(2006) "Immigration and the concept of 'hospitality and generosity', Invited speaker (all expenses paid), Workshop on "Giving space, taking time: a workshop on hospitality and generosity", Berkamsted, UK, March

(2006) "Informal employment and undocumented immigration: powerful academic arguments and their policy implications", Keynote speaker (all expenses paid), International conference on "Regularisation is not the only policy: ten ways to protect undocumented migrant workers", European Policy Centre/King Baudoin Foundation/Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrant Workers, Brussels, Belgium, March

(2006) "The socio-territorality of cities', 'international labour market segmentation", and the incorporation of migrants in urban labour markets", Invited speaker (all expenses paid), International workshop on "Migration and city scale", Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle, Germany, 18-21 May.

(2006) "The state and the question of Muslim identity in France", invited presentation, Department of French, University of Louisville, November 15, 2006. A $300 honorarium was paid for this presentation.

(2007) Islamic banking and finance: transnational social movement, or what?, invited colloquium, University of West Virginia, 9 November

(2007) Islamic banking and finance: purification and post-colonial political economy, invited colloquium, Ohio State University, 15 November

(2008) Islamic banking and finance: purification and post-colonial political economy, invited colloquium, Miami University of Ohio,

(2009) The Ungovernable Cité: critical reflections on urban social inclusion in France, invited presentation, Conference on Globalization, urbanization, and ethnicity, University of Ottawa, December 2-3.

OTHER SELECTED CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS, INVITED LECTURES AND SEMINARS

(1993) "Current 'isms' in Human Geography" Invited paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the ESRC/Wessex Consortium, Windsor Great Parks, Windsor, December.

(1993) "Immigrant Dynamics: North African Immigrants in the Paris Automobile Industry, 1970-1990" Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Association of American Geographers:, Atlanta, Georgia, April

(1994) "The Dynamics of Immigrant Labor: North African Immigrants in the Paris Automobile Industry, 1970-1990". Paper presented at the annual conference of the Association of American Geographers, San Francisco, California, March.

(1994) "Crisis and Punishment: immigrants, automobiles, and a spatial vent" Invited seminar paper presented at the School of Geography, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, UK, March.

(1994) "From the factory to the 'spatial vent': North African immigrants in the Paris
automobile industry", Paper presented at the annual conference of the Association of American Geographers Chicago, Illinois, March.

(1994) "From 'lean production to lean production'?: North African Immigrants, neo-Taylorism, and the 'spatial vent', "Paper presented at the Regional Futures conference (European urban and regional research network), Regional Studies Association, Gothenburg, Sweden, May.

(1996) "A history of North African emigration, 1840-1990 Invited seminar paper presented at the Department of Geography, King's College, University of London, October.

(1996) Two invited lectures given in the Department of Geography at the University of Cambridge, January, 1996, for the second-year Economic Geography module.

(1996) "From crisis to punishment in the Paris car industry: the case of North African immigrants", Invited seminar paper presented at the University of Hull, February.

(1997) "The possibility and production of the 'spatial vent' presented at the Conference on "Crises of Global Regulation and Governance", University of Georgia, Athens, Ga., April 6-8.

(1997) “Economy and culture in an industrial sector”. Invited lecture to the undergraduate geographical society, University of Wales-Aberystwth, Wales, UK., March.

(1997) “A contemporary archaelogy of economic geography: the British case”. Invited paper presented at the “Scientific knowledge and cultural contexts: a comparison of geographical knowledges” conference, Bordeaux, France, April 24-26.

(1998) “Immigration, ‘ethnic minorities’, and ‘social exclusion’ in the European Union: a critical perspective”. Invited seminar paper, presented at the University of Reading, Reading, UK., November 17

(1998) “What is the point of economic geography?” Paper presented at the Annual meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Boston, Mass., March 25-29.

(1998) “Immigration and employment in the European Union”, invited seminar at the International Centre for Labour Studies, University of Manchester, UK, March 3

(2002) “The regulation of undocumented immigration in the European Union”, invited seminar at Loughborough University, Loughborough UK.

(2003) “The dawn of Islamic banking in Muslim communities in the UK and the United States”, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Philadelphia, PA., 15-19 March

(2003) “Does the nature of the welfare state matter for French immigration policy?” Paper presented at the International Metropolis Conference, Vienna, Austria, September

(2004) “The importance of cities in understanding immigrant entrepreneurship”, Diversity and Prosperity Conference, Earls Court, London, Invited conference paper, October.

(2005) “Underground employment, immigration and economic development in the European Union”, Invited conference paper, COMPAS International Conference (“Irregular Migration – Research, Policy, and Practice”), 7-8 July 2005, Oxford University, Oxford, UK

(2005) “Prophet motives: situating Islamic banking”, Royal Geographical Society/Institute of British Geographers, 31 August – 2 September.

(2007) “Islamic banking and the end of the economic geography of finance(as we knew it)”, paper presented at the Second Global Conference on Economic Geography, Beijing, China, 25-28 June.

(2009) “The embodied governance of Islamic banking”, paper presented at 50th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, 15-18 February, New York, NY.

(2009) “The moral geographical economy of Islamic banking”, seminar presented at Clark University, Worcester, MA., October 2.

(2009) “The moral geographical economy of Islamic banking”, seminar presented at Hunter College, City University of New York, November 20.