

GREAT TRANSFORMATIONS (GPOL 6434/GHIS 5186)

Fall 2017

Time: Thursday, 2:00-3:50 p.m.

Location: 6 East 16 Street, Room 1200a

Sanjay Ruparelia

Associate Professor of Politics

6 East 16 Street, Room 713

E: ruparelia@newschool.edu

T: (212) 229-5747 ext. 3083

Office Hours: by appointment

Introduction

This seminar analyzes the political economy of the modern welfare state in comparative historical perspective. Several general questions inspire it. Why did the modern welfare state emerge in the twentieth century? What factors explain the variety of dynamics regarding capital accumulation and social protection across the world? What have been the consequences of these differences for patterns of human welfare, democratic politics and economic prosperity? The first part of the seminar examines the construction of modern welfare systems in Europe and the United States in light of Karl Polanyi's classic account, *The Great Transformation*, and their key differences. In part two, we survey the variety of social welfare regimes in the global south from the 1950s to the 1970s, ranging from the productivist welfare regimes of East Asia and state corporatist systems in Latin America to informal security arrangements of South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. Part three of the seminar analyzes the patterns, causes and ramifications of comparative welfare retrenchment since the 1980s in the wake of the Washington Consensus. In part four, we investigate diverse contemporary attempts to tame growing socioeconomic inequalities—ranging from rights-based legal activism and radical social movements to popular militant insurgencies—in America, India, China, South Africa and Brazil. The seminar concludes by assessing the possible futures of the modern welfare state and its alternatives.

Requirements & Assessment

You must read all the set material for each section prior to each class. You should also keep abreast of related current events through newspapers, periodicals and other media.

The success of the class depends on your active and informed participation. Being active means engaging in discussion and debate; being informed entails careful reading of the set material. To encourage both, each student is required to share a set of questions and comments in the Discussion section, to be posted on Canvas by 5.00pm every Wednesday. Your class participation—attendance and questions/comments—is worth 30% of your final grade.

In addition, you are required to write one short paper (6-8 pages, double-spaced, 12 point font: 20% of your final grade) and one long paper (15-20 pages double-spaced, 12 point font: 50% of your final grade). The seminar is divided into three sections (I-III). Your short paper should compare efforts to expand welfare regimes in two or more regions of the world, the topic of section I. Your long paper should compare efforts to limit and refashion welfare regimes in two or more regions, the topics of sections II and III. Your first paper is due on October 19. Your final paper is due on December 14.

Each paper should provide a critical appraisal of the issues and arguments that arise in the readings. A critique does not necessarily mean a negative evaluation; it also implies explicating the conceptual foundations, theoretical reasoning and empirical basis of a piece of work. (It is

far easier to say what is missing in an argument than to demonstrate its strengths, explore its insights, or consider how it might be developed.) Each paper will be evaluated according to the clarity, insight and comprehensiveness of your analysis.

Course Material

There are several texts for the course. They will be available at Barnes & Noble, 33 East 17th Street (between Broadway and Park Avenue South), 4th floor.

- Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: the political and economic origins of our time* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001)
- Gosta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990)
- Mark Blyth, *Great Transformations: economic ideas and institutional change in the twentieth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman, *Development, Democracy and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia and Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
- David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005)

All other assigned readings will be available electronically through Canvas.

I The Emergence of Modern Welfare Regimes across the World

Week 1 (August 31): Overview of the course

Week 2 (September 7): The first great ‘double movement’

- Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: the political and economic origins of our time* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001)

Week 3 (September 14): Revisions, extensions, critiques

- T.H. Marshall, “Citizenship and social class,” in idem, *Class, Citizenship and Social Development* (New York: Doubleday, 1976), pp. 65-123.
- Gosta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 1-78.
- Ann Shola Orloff, “Gender and the social rights of citizenship: the comparative analysis of gender relations and welfare states,” *American Sociological Review*, 58, 3 (June 1993): 303-328.
- Adam Przeworski, “Social democracy as an historical phenomenon,” in idem, *Capitalism and Social Democracy* (Paris and Cambridge: Maisons des Sciences de l’Homme and Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 7-47.
- Sheri Berman, *The Primacy of Politics: social democracy and the making of Europe’s twentieth century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 20-46.

September 21: Rosh Hashanah—No Class

Week 4 (September 28): The variety of social welfare states in western Europe

- Gosta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 79-221.
- Peter Swenson, “Bringing capital back in, or social democracy reconsidered: employer power, cross-class alliances, and the centralization of industrial relations in Denmark and Sweden,” *World Politics* 43, 4 (July 1991): 513-544.
- Mark Blyth, *Great Transformations: economic ideas and institutional change in the twentieth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 3-48 (skim) and 96-125.
- Wilhelmus Antonius Arts and John Gelissen, “Three worlds of welfare capitalism or more? a state-of-the-art report,” *Journal of European Social Policy*, 12, 2 (2002): 137-158.

Week 5 (October 5): America in comparative historical perspective

- Theda Skocpol, *Social Policy in the United States: future possibilities in historical perspective* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 1-36 and 72-167.
- Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Poor People’s Movements: why they succeed, how they fail* (New York: Vintage, 1979), pp. 96-180.
- Mark Blyth, *Great Transformations: economic ideas and institutional change in the twentieth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 49-95.

- Jacob Hacker, *The Divided Welfare State: the battle over public and private social benefits in the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 85-123 and 191-220.
- Ira Katznelson, "Triumph and sorrow," in idem, *Fear Itself: the New Deal and the origins of our time* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2013), pp. 3-26.

Week 6 (October 12): The foundations of welfare in the socialist east and global South

- Geof Wood and Ian Gough, "A comparative welfare regime approach to global social policy," *World Development*, 34, 10 (2006): 1696-1712.
- Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman, *Development, Democracy and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia and Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 1-178.
- Jeremy Seekings, "Welfare regimes and distribution across the global South: theory and evidence in the construction of typologies," mimeo (September 2013), 29 pp.

II The Neoliberal Turn

Week 7 (October 19): The neoliberal turn in Europe

First paper due

- Claus Offe, "Democracy against the welfare state? structural foundations of neoconservative political opportunities," *Political Theory*, 15, 4 (November 1987): 501-537.
- Paul Pierson, "The new politics of the welfare state," *World Politics*, 48, 2 (January 1996): 143-179.
- Herbert Kitschelt, "European social democracy between political economy and electoral competition," in Herbert Kitschelt, Peter Lange, Gary Marks and John D. Stephens (eds), *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 317-345.
- Mark Blyth, *Great Transformations: economic ideas and institutional change in the twentieth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 202-250.
- Gosta Esping-Andersen, *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 145-184.

Week 8 (October 26): The neoliberal turn in America

- Theda Skocpol, *Social Policy in the United States: future possibilities in historical perspective* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 209-227.
- Mark Blyth, *Great Transformations: economic ideas and institutional change in the twentieth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 126-201.
- David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 1-63.
- Jacob S. Hacker, "Privatizing risk without privatizing the welfare state: the hidden politics of social policy retrenchment in the United States," *American Political Science Review*, 98, 2 (May 2004): 243-260.

- Margaret R. Somers, *Genealogies of Citizenship: markets, statelessness and the right to have rights* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 63-117.

Week 9 (November 2): The neoliberal challenge in the socialist east and global south

- David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 64-119.
- Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman, *Development, Democracy and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia and Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 181-304.
- Richard Sandbrook, Marc Edelman, Patrick Heller and Judith Teichman, *Social Democracy in the Global Periphery: origins, challenges, prospects* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 3-64 and 177-254.

III Emerging Counter-Movements in the Twenty-First Century

Week 10 (November 9): America

- David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 152-206.
- Lawrence R. Jacobs and Theda Skocpol, “Hard-fought legacy: Obama, Congressional democrats and the struggle for comprehensive health care reform,” in Theda Skocpol and Lawrence R. Jacobs (eds), *Reaching for a New Deal: ambitious governance, economic meltdown and polarized politics in Obama’s first two years* (New York: Russell Sage, 2011), pp. 53-104.
- Daniel Carpenter, “The contest of lobbies and disciplines: financial politics and regulatory reform,” in Theda Skocpol and Lawrence R. Jacobs (eds), *Reaching for a New Deal: ambitious governance, economic meltdown and polarized politics in Obama’s first two years* (New York: Russell Sage, 2011), pp. 139-188.
- David Graeber, *The Democracy Project: a history, a crisis, a movement* (New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2013), pp. 3-149.
- Philip Mirowski, *Never Let a Serious Crisis Go to Waste: how neoliberalism survived the financial meltdown* (New York: Verso, 2014), pp. 325-358.

Week 11 (November 16): Brazil

- Marcus Andre Melo, Njuguna Ng’ethe and James Manor, *Against the Odds: politicians, institutions and the struggle against poverty* (London: Hurst, 2012), pp. 115-162.
- Gianpaolo Baiocchi, “Participation, activism and politics: the Porto Alegre experiment,” in Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright (eds), *Deepening Democracy: institutional innovations in empowered participatory governance* (New York: Verso, 2003), pp. 45-76.
- Wendy Hunter and Natasha Borges Sugiyama, “Democracy and social policy in Brazil: advancing basic needs, preserving privileged interests,” *Latin American Politics & Society*, 51, 2 (Summer 2009): 29-58.
- James Holston, *Insurgent Citizenship: disjunctions of democracy and modernity in Brazil* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 3-35 and 203-267.

- André Singer, “Rebellion in Brazil,” *New Left Review*, II, 85 (January-February 2014): 19-37.

Week 12 (November 21): India

Note: Class meets on a Tuesday

- Partha Chatterjee, *The Politics of the Governed: reflections on popular politics in most of the world* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), pp. 3-81 and 131-148.
- Neera Chandhoke, “Democracy and well-being in India,” in Yusuf Bangura (ed.), *Democracy and Social Policy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 164-188.
- Ramachandra Guha, “Adivasis, Naxalites and Indian democracy,” *Economic & Political Weekly*, 42, 32 (11 August 2007): 3305-3312.
- Niraja Gopal Jayal, “Social citizenship in neoliberal times,” in idem, *Citizenship and its Discontents: an Indian history* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2013), pp. 163-196.
- Alpa Shah, “The tensions over liberal citizenship in a Marxist revolutionary situation: the Maoists in India,” *Critique of Anthropology*, 33, 1 (2013): 91-109.

Week 13 (November 30): China

- David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 120-151.
- Wang Shaoguang, “The great transformation: the double movement in China,” *boundary* 35, 2 (Summer 2008): 15-47.
- Qin Gao, Sui Yang, S. & Shi Li, “The Chinese welfare state in transition: 1988-2007,” *Journal of Social Policy*, 42, 4 (October 2013): 743-762.
- Elizabeth J. Perry, “Chinese conceptions of ‘rights’: from Mencius to Mao—and now,” *Perspectives on Politics* 6, 1 (March 2008): 37-50.
- Ching Kwan Lee, “Workers and the quest for citizenship,” in Ching Kwan Lee and You-Tien Hsing (eds), *Reclaiming Chinese Society: the new social activism* (New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 42-63.

Week 14 (December 7): South Africa

- Jeremy Seekings, “Trade unions, social policy & class compromise in post-apartheid South Africa,” *Review of African Political Economy*, 31, 100 (June 2004): 299-312.
- Marius Pieterse, “Eating socioeconomic rights: the usefulness of rights talk in alleviating social hardship revisited,” *Human Rights Quarterly*, 29, 3 (August 2007): 796-822.
- Franco Barchiesi, “Wage labor, precarious employment, and social inclusion in the making of South Africa’s post-apartheid transition,” *African Studies Review*, 51, 2 (September 2008): 119-142.
- James Ferguson, “The uses of neoliberalism,” *Antipode*, 41, S1 (2009): 166-184.
- John Kruger, “Social protection in South Africa: recent achievements and future prospects,” in James Midgley and David Piachaud (eds), *Social Protection, Economic Growth and Social Change: goals, issues and trajectories in China, India, Brazil and South Africa* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2013), pp. 243-261.

Week 15 (December 14): Rethinking social democracy for the twenty-first century

*****Final paper due*****

- Fred Block and Margaret R. Somers, “Beyond the economic fallacy: the holistic social science of Karl Polanyi,” in Theda Skocpol (ed.), *Vision and Method in Historical Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 47-84.
- Peter Evans, “Is an alternative globalization possible?” *Politics & Society*, 36, 2 (June 2008): 271-305.
- Michael Buroway, “From Polanyi to Pollyanna: the false optimism of global labor studies,” *Global Labour Journal*, 1, 2 (2010): 301-313.
- Richard Sandbrook, “Polanyi and post-neoliberalism in the global South: dilemmas of re-embedding the economy,” *New Political Economy*, 16, 4 (2011): 415-443.
- Nancy Fraser, “A triple movement?” *New Left Review*, 81 (May-June 2013): 119-132.