

POLI 7976 Comparative Political Economy

THE POLITICS OF GROWTH AND INEQUALITY IN THE CAPITAL-NATION-STATE

Monday 12:00 – 2:50 pm, fall 2015, 0001 Hatcher Hall

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**OH: 12:20 – 1:20 pm on Tuesday and Thursday, or by appointment
Stubbs 229, Department of Political Science**

The leitmotif of this seminar is the politics of growth and inequality in the capitalist system. Traditional political economy studied this topic, by assuming that environments and political institutions are given and neutral with regard to the market allocations; they are there but they do not act. New political economy differs from the traditional approach in its treatment of politics. It accepts that political institutions and their relations to the economy and society are populated by actors who have interests/ideologies/faiths and pursue them. Hence, this course is based on the belief that socioeconomic development is fundamentally a political phenomenon. Another firm belief is that the politics of growth and inequality should be understood in terms of capitalism historically embedded in particular conditions. A warning: political scientists cannot study political economy without knowing some sort of economics, as we cannot study political history without dealing with history. So, we will study economic theories and formulations as well.

The first part of the course examines the fundamentals of the capitalist system – the system of “the trinity of the capital-nation-state” (Karatani 2014), by reading Polanyi, Schumpeter, Gramsci, and Marx (mostly as a political observer, not as an economist). The second part provides a critical evaluation (with some methodological comment) of the main theories and empirics of the politics of inequality under the so-called “advanced” capitalist democracies. While the purpose of this seminar is to actively engage in academic discussions, our ultimate goal is to go beyond conventional blueprints and to search for a “better” political socio-economic organization in the real world.

This seminar is organized as a collective reading course of what I consider to be contemporary classics (i.e., foundational texts that have constantly inspired scholars) and exemplary studies in the humanities and social sciences on our topic. By reading classics and exemplary studies, we will be exposed to diverse epistemological and ontological traditions of scholarship. “Reading” here is a three-fold operation. The first reading is analytical in that we attempt to “accurately” understand the author’s main arguments and logical trajectory that reaches the conclusion. We pay particular attention to conceptual formulations, methodology, and tools that the author employs and develops. The second reading is to relate the author’s entire argumentation to his/her contemporary polemics/literature and to situate the text in a specific historical situation. In the third reading, we conduct a critical assessment of the text by finding out what (part or totality of the text) we can adopt (as applicability or inspiration) and discard (as “bullshit” à la Frankfurt or relics). “Reading” means open to all kinds of possibilities and potentialities. We proceed behind a veil of ignorance, amicable to various positions, methods, ideologies, cultures, religions, and cults. As such, the only approach is Bayesian, and the sole goal is to understand (as a corollary, possibly change) the world.

This is an advanced graduate seminar. A “seminar” is a forum for a collaborative exploration of ideas, focusing on identifying what we do not know and on theoretical and empirical formulations for finding out. The pace of the course will depend on our understanding of topics; we will stop and think of new approaches if there is no satisfying answer given by existing scholars. Hence, this seminar will probably contribute little to your academic career if you already have a dogmatic faith in the same methods and same models safely used by everyone else. Class meetings will combine lectures, student presentations, and discussions.

REQUIREMENTS

1) Weekly memos (reaction papers) on the required books (200-500 words)

It is important for students to engage each week's book in a written memo prior to the seminar sessions. Memos on the reading are not mini-papers. Rather, they are meant to be think pieces, reflecting your own intellectual engagement with the book: identifying some core idea/argument, method, and position; specifying what is obscure, hidden, or confusing in the book; exploring some interesting implications of the book. They do not have to be profound or brilliant but need to address *some issue(s) you like to talk about in class*. These memos will be a substantial basis for the seminar discussions. Memos should be emailed to me by noon on the day before the seminar meets (i.e., Sunday noon). I will then merge them with my brief comments into a single file, and send them to all the seminar participants by late Sunday. Everyone should try to read all the memos before coming to class. Because memos are meant to improve the quality of seminar discussions, late memos will not be accepted. Failing to hand in memos will affect your grade. If you have to miss a class, you are still expected to email a memo to me by Sunday noon.

Students are also expected to make a brief presentation on that week's assigned book (at least once throughout the semester). This presentation should provide the necessary background for questions or points of discussion to be directed to your fellow seminar participants.

2) Critical review paper of Eric Hobsbawm's *The Age of Extremes*

This is a sweeping macro-sociopolitical history of capitalist developments around the world in the "short" 20th century. Hobsbawm's history is Eurocentric, but erudite and impressive. The book is also a rich repository of relevant political actors' beliefs, ideas/ideologies, and blueprints, providing microfoundations for macro-historical patterns. Because "political history is the history of political thought: not political theory, but the thought which occupies the mind of a man engaged in political work" (Collingwood 1938: 110), we should really pay attention to what actual protagonists were thinking when they're making a history. The book ends with a somber sentence, "the alternative to a changed society is darkness," and your paper should center on interpreting and critiquing the meaning of this statement. This should be a short paper, no longer than 1,000 words. You should submit a hard copy of the paper by October 12 in class.

3) Term paper/project (6000-10,000 words)

Students are expected to write a term paper on the politics of growth and inequality. The paper may take a variety of forms. It may be an empirically informed research paper in which a research question is posed, a hypothesized answer is advanced, and the plausibility of that answer is evaluated with some evidence (N.b.: theoretical discussions must be incorporated even in a heavily empirical paper). The paper may be a critical review essay in which some body of work is reviewed with avenues for future research identified. The paper may also take the form of a research proposal in which the significance of a problem is explained, existing attempts to address it are reviewed, and a research design to address the problem is developed. A warning: The least satisfactory paper would be either the one that has little to do with the spirit/topics of the seminar or the one that tries to synthesize too much, too abstractly, and too pretentiously. Whatever format is chosen, students should frequently discuss their papers with me. You should hand in a hard copy of your paper proposal (one single-spaced page excluding references) by November 2 in class. The deadline of a final version of your paper (a hard copy) is Monday, December 7 – you need to put it in my mailbox in the department office. Late papers will not be accepted unless arrangements have been made in advance.

GRADING

A basic principle of grading is as follows: I put more emphasis on good faith, serious effort on the part of students than on sheer brilliance. If a student does all of the assignments seriously, then they will almost certainly receive at least a B for the course regardless of the "quality" of the work. The weekly memos will not be graded for quality, although I will keep track of whether or not they were completed.

BOOKS

Many social science courses assign a lot of little bits and pieces from many sources: a chapter here, an article there, sometime even parts of chapters and articles. Articles are valuable forms of scholarly work (and you will write one in this seminar), and some kind of research is best published in this form. In my opinion, however, the most important aspect of one's intellectual life is reading books. Books are usually not just long articles, nor series of several articles. They are essentially different intellectual products in which an extended argument can be developed and crafted. Reading a book is not just a simple operation to understand an author's main idea. I think that the real excitement of reading scholarly work lies in the details as much as in the main arguments. Thus, for most of this seminar, we will read the entire book in this semester.

The following books have been ordered as required books at LSU Bookstore. They are all worth having in your permanent library.

1. Hobsbawm, Eric. 1994. *The Age of Extremes*. Vintage.
2. Polanyi, Karl. 1944. *The Great Transformation*. Beacon Press.
3. Schumpeter, Joseph. 1942. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. Harper Perennial.
4. Boix, Carles. 2015. *Political Order and Inequality*. Cambridge University Press.
5. Marx, Karl. 1852. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. International Publishers.
6. Ansell, Ben, and David Samuels. 2014. *Inequality and Democratization*. Cambridge University Press.
7. Przeworski, Adam. 1985. *Capitalism and Social Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.
8. Pontusson, Jonas. 2005. *Inequality and Prosperity*. Cornell University Press.
9. Piketty, Thomas. 2014. *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. Belknap Harvard University Press.
10. Berman, Sheri. 2006. *The Primacy of Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
11. Hays, Jude. 2009. *Globalization and the New Politics of Embedded Liberalism*. Oxford University Press.

SCHEDULE/OUTLINE OF TOPICS

(subject to change)

I. Fundamentals of Capitalism: the Capital-Nation-State Nexus				
1	August	24	Introduction and Analytical Framework	Lecture
2	August	21	Preliminaries: (Neo)classical/(Neo)liberal Theories and Their Critics	Lecture
3	September	7	Labor Day	No Class Meeting
4	September	14	Market-State Dynamics and Discovery of "Active Society"	Polanyi
5	September	21	Engines of Capitalism and Political Competition	Schumpeter
6	September	28	Birth of Leviathan and the Spirit of Capitalism	Boix
7	October	6	"Star Wars Marxism": Strategic Interactions of Classes	Marx
II. The Politics of Growth and Inequality under Capitalist Democracies				
8	October	12	Inequality and Democratization	Ansell & Samuels
9	October	19	Class Compromise	Przeworski
10	October	26	Varieties of Capitalism: Social Europe vs. Liberal America	Pontusson
11-2	November	2-9	Dynamic Patterns of Global Inequality under Capitalism	Piketty
13	November	16	Primacy of Economics vs. Primacy of Politics: Role of Ideology	Berman
14	November	23	Neoliberal Globalization	Hays
15	November	30	Feasible Blueprint? Conclusion	Comprehensive Discussion

READING ASSIGNMENTS AND SPECIFIC TOPICS

(subject to change)

I. FUNDAMENTALS OF CAPITALISM: THE CAPITAL-NATION-STATE NEXUS

WEEK 1. INTRODUCTION AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

De-centralized and centralized allocation mechanisms. Objectives of rulers. Conflict of interests. Political socio-economic equilibria. Nested (linked) games. Heuristic map of the relationships. Approaches. Role of theory. Importance of history and empirics. Scope and roadmap of the course.

Recommended reading:

Przeworski, Adam. 2003. *States and Markets: A Primer in Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Drazen, Allan. 2000. *Political Economy in Macroeconomics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Persson, Torsten, and Guido Tabellini. 2003. *Political Economics: Explaining Economic Policy*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Calvert, Randall. 1995. "The Rational Choice Theory of Social Institutions: Cooperation, Coordination, and Communication." In J. Banks and E. Hanushek, eds., *Modern Political Economy: Old Topics, New Directions*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Aoki, Misahiko. 2001. *Toward Comparative Institutional Analysis*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Remedy (general reading, book-length surveys, study materials):

For political economy and economic sociology, skim through Caporaso and Levine (1998). This book is a general introduction to various perspectives in the history of political economy (although some of their points are problematic). Read Trigilia's (2002) an excellent survey. If you still have energy and do not abhor formal modeling, tackle Przeworski (2003). This is a superb textbook that clarifies several convoluted issues in political economy. But before Przeworski, read non-naïve economists' text by Bowles, Edwards, and Roosevelt (2005). Cypher (2014) is also very useful. In addition, Hirschman's now classic (1970) provides an interesting unified theory of politico-economic behaviors. For non-technical intellectual history, read famous Heilbroner (1999) and Warsh (2006).

Bowles, Samuel, Richard Edwards, and Frank Roosevelt. 2005. *Understanding Capitalism: Competition, Command, and Change*. 3rd Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Caporaso, James and David Levine. 1998. *Theories of Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cypher, James. 2014. *The Process of Economic Development*. London and New York: Routledge.

Hirschman, Albert. 1970. *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Trigilia, Carlo. 2002. *Economic Sociology: State, Market, and Society in Modern Capitalism*. London: Blackwell.

Heilbroner, Robert. 1999. *The Worldly Philosophers*. New York: Touchstone.

Warsh, David. 2006. *Knowledge and the Wealth of Nations*. New York: Norton.

Week 2. PRELIMINARIES: (NEO)CLASSICAL/(NEO)LIBERAL THEORIES AND THEIR CRITICS

Perennial puzzle: the persistence of income inequality under democracy. Measurement issues. Fundamental theorems of welfare economics. Market failures. Efficient markets hypothesis. Keynesianism. Solow model. Cambridge controversies. New growth theory. Primitive accumulation. M-C-M'. Capitalism as an exploitative system. Marxian “long-term” trajectory. Braudelian perspective. Capitalism as anti-market. Liberal’s fear of popular democracy. Mettler-Richard model. Capitalism as the trinity of market-society-state; of capital-nation-state. Blueprints: desirability, feasibility, transformability, and sustainability. Blueprints and actual conditions.

Recommended reading:

For the fundamental theorems of welfare economics, read: Stiglitz, Joseph. 1997. *Wither Socialism?* Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Solow, Robert. 1956. “A Contribution to the Theory of Economic Growth.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 70(1): 65-94.

Meltzer, Allan, and Scott Richard. 1981. “A Rational Theory of the Size of Government.” *Journal of Political Economy* 89(5): 914-927.

Karatani, Kojin. 2014. *The Structure of World History: From Modes of Production to Modes of Exchange*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. See also his *Transcritique: On Kant and Marx*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press. His works are heavily philosophical (his conception of “parallax” has influenced many scholars including Žižek), but some of Karatani’s analysis on the history of the capitalist state is brilliant (“trinity of capital-nation-state” is taken from him).

Braudel, Fernand. 1992[1972]. *Civilization & Capitalism 15th-18th Century*. Three volumes. Berkeley: University of California Press (I think this is truly monumental work, the most important achievement in the field of the history of capitalism. Three volumes together contain about 2,000 pages, but the good news is that there is a short-version (only 120 pages) neatly summarized by Braudel himself, *La dynamique du capitalisme* (1985), Paris: Arthaud).

N.B. There are serious inequality data problems. Sources of problem include concepts of income, recipient units, treatment of pensions, treatment of capital gains, information sources (surveys versus tax records). Data sources – survey based: WDI, WIDER, APS, SIDD, SWIID, LIS; tax records based: Top incomes. Others – wage dispersion, land to wage ratios, and proportion of family farms. Read Piketty (2014) for his remedy.

Background and further reading:

*Measurement issues – GDP as the measure of output, inequality, capability approach and HDI:

Atkinson, Anthony, and Andrea Brandolini. 2001. “Promise and Pitfalls in the Use of Secondary Data-Sets: Income Inequality in OECD Countries.” *Journal of Economic Literature* 39: 771-799.

Bourguignon, Francois, and Christian Morrison. 2002. “Inequality among World Citizens: 1820-1992.” *American Economic Review* 92(4): 727-44.

Lambert, Peter J. 2001. *The Distribution and Redistribution of Income*. Third edition. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Ray, Debraj. 1998. *Development Economics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Solt, Frederick. 2009. “Standardizing the World Income Inequality Database.” *Social Science Quarterly* 90(2): 231=241.

Sen, Amartya. 2000. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Anchor Books.

Sen, Amartya. 1997. *On Economic Inequality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sen, Amartya. 1985. *Commodities and Capabilities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Temkin, Larry. 1993. *Inequality*. New York: Oxford University Press.

The World Bank. 2006. *World Development Report 2006: Equity and Development*. Washington D.C.: The World Bank and Oxford University Press.

**Neoclassical growth models and empirics:

Helpman, Elhanan. 2004. *The Mystery of Economic Growth*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

Lucas, Robert. 2001. *Lectures on Economic Growth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Mankiw, N. G., P. Romer, and D. Weil. 1992. "A Contribution to the Empirics of Economic Growth." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 107: 407-438.

Jones, Charles. 2002. *Introduction to Economic Growth*. Second edition. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Pritchett, Lant. 2000. "Understanding Patterns of Economic Growth: Search for Hills among Plateaus, Mountains, and Plains." *World Bank Economic Review* 14: 221-250.

***Critique of neoclassical theories:

Sraffa, Piero. 1960. *Production of Commodities by Means of Commodities: Prelude to a Critique of Economic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Keen, Steve. 2011. *Debunking Economics*. London and New York: Zed Books.

Cohen, Av J., and G.C. Harcourt. 2003. "Whatever Happened to the Cambridge Capital Theory Controversies?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17(1): 199-214.

****Conventional views of capitalism:

If you are interested in major classical perspectives of capitalism, it is essential to read the following original texts (at some point in your life, read at least Smith and Marx). Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776); Karl Marx's *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), *The Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859), and, above all, *Capital, Vol. I* (1867); Vladimir Lenin's *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916) and *State and Revolution* (1917); Max Weber's *Economy and Society* (posthumous, 1922) and *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905); Rosa Luxemburg's *The Accumulation of Capital* (1913); Nikolai Bukharin's *Imperialism and World Economy* (1929). For a lucid, authoritative introduction to Marx, Balibar's short treatment of Marx is superb: Balibar, Étienne. 2014[1993]. *The Philosophy of Marx*. London and New York: Verso.

Aron, Raymond. 2003[1968]. *Main Currents in Sociological Thought*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publisher.

Freedman, Milton. 2002[1962]. *Capitalism and Freedom*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hayek, F. A. 1994[1944]. *The Road to Serfdom*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Heilbroner, Robert. 1986. *The Nature and Logic of Capitalism*. New York: Norton.

Ingham, Geoffrey. 2008. *Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

****Alternatives and blueprints:

Wright, Erik. 2010. *Envisioning Real Utopias*. London and New York: Verso.

Archer, Robin. 1998. *Economic Democracy: The Politics of Feasible Socialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

WEEK 3. LABOR DAY – NO CLASS MEETING

WEEK 4. MARKET-STATE DYNAMICS AND DISCOVERY OF “ACTIVE SOCIETY”

Self-regulating market and self-preserving society. Modes of integration. Embeddedness. Moral economy. Fictitiousness. Shifting place of the economy in human society. *Haute finance*. Double movement. Disruptive strains. Liberal dilemma. Polanyi’s vision.

Required reading:

Polanyi, Karl. 2001[1944]. *The Great Transformation*. Second Edition. Boston: Beacon Press.

If you have time, also read: Polanyi, Karl. 1957. “The Economy as Instituted Process.” In *Trade and Market in the Early Empires*, Karl Polanyi et al. (eds.). Glencoe: The Free Press.

Recommended reading:

Block, Fred, and Margaret Somers. 2014. *The Power of Market Fundamentalism: Karl Polanyi’s Critique*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Probably the most popular interpretation of Polanyi from a social democratic perspective.

Further reading:

*Cooperative motive and reciprocity:

Mauss, Marcel. 1990[1950]. *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. London: Routledge.

Bowles, Samuel, and Herbert Gintis. 2013. *A Cooperative Species: Human Reciprocity and Its Evolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

***The Great Transformation*:

Birchfield, Vicki. 1999. “Contesting the Hegemony of Market Ideology: Gramsci’s ‘Good Sense’ and Polanyi’s ‘Double Movement.’” *Review of International Political Economy* 6(1): 27-54.

Block, Fred. 2007. “Understanding the Diverging Trajectories of the United States and Western Europe: A Neo-Polanyian Analysis.” *Politics & Society* 35(1): 3-33.

Block, Fred and Margaret Somers. 2003. “In the Shadow of Speenhamland: Social Policy and the Old Poor Law.” *Politics & Society* 31(2): 283-323.

Block, Fred. 2003. “Karl Polanyi and the Writing of ‘The Great Transformation.’” *Theory and Society* 32(3): 275-306.

- Blyth, Mark. 2002. *Great Transformations: Economic Ideas and Institutional Change in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Buğra, Ayşe, and Kaan Ağartan. 2007. *Reading Karl Polanyi for the Twenty-First Century: Market Economy as Political Project*. New York: Palgrave.
- Burawoy, Michael. 2003. "For a Sociological Marxism: The Complementary Convergence of Antonio Gramsci and Karl Polanyi." *Politics & Society* 31(2): 193-261.
- Caporaso, James, and Sidney Tarrow. 2009. "Polanyi in Brussels: Supranational Institutions and the Transnational Embedding of Markets." *International Organization* 63(4): 593-620.
- Dale, Gareth. 2010. *Karl Polanyi: The Limits of the Market*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Dale, Gareth. 2010. "Social Democracy, Embeddedness and Decommodification: On the Conceptual Innovations and Intellectual Affiliations of Karl Polanyi." *New Political Economy* 15(3): 369-383.
- Granovetter, Mark. 1985. "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness." *American Journal of Sociology* 91(3): 481-510.
- Gemic, Kurtuluş. 2008. "Karl Polanyi and the Antinomies of Embeddedness." *Socio-Economic Review* 6: 5-33.
- Harvey, Mark, Ronnie Ramlogan, and Sally Randles. 2007. *Karl Polanyi: New Perspectives on the Place of the Economy in Society*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Holmwood, John. 2000. "Three Pillars of Welfare State Theory: T. H. Marshall, Karl Polanyi and Alva Myrdal in Defense of the National Welfare State." *European Journal of Social Theory* 3(1): 23-50.
- Kim, Wonik. 2010. "Polanyi's Double Movement and Neoliberalization in Korea and Japan." *Social Movement Studies* 9(4): 373-392.
- McRobbie, Kenneth, and Kari Polanyi-Levitt. 2005. *Karl Polanyi in Vienna: The Contemporary Significance of The Great Transformation*. 2nd edition. Montreal: Black Rose Books.
- North, Douglass. 1977. "Markets and Other Allocations Systems in History: The Challenge of Karl Polanyi." *Journal of European Economic History* 6: 703-716.
- Piore, Michael. 2009. "Second Thoughts: On Economics, Sociology, Neoliberalism: Polanyi's Double Movement and Intellectual Vacuums." *Socio-Economic Review* 7(1): 161-175.
- Riain, Sean. 2006. "Time-Space Intensification: Karl Polanyi, the Double Movement, and Global Information Capitalism." *Theory and Society* 35(5/6): 507-528.
- Rodrigues, João. 2004. "Endogenous Preferences and Embeddedness: A Reappraisal of Karl Polanyi." *Journal of Economic Issues* 38(1): 189-200.
- Scott, James. 1977. *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*. New Heaven: Yale University Press.
- Shaniel, William, and Walter Neale. 2000. "Karl Polanyi's Forms of Integration as Ways of Mapping." *Journal of Economic Issues* 34(1): 89-104.

Silver, Beverly and Giovanni Arrighi. 2003. "Polanyi's "Double Movement": The Bell Époques of British and U.S. Hegemony Compared." *Politics and Society* 31: 325-355.

Krippner, Greta. 2001. "The Elusive Market: Embeddedness and the Paradigm of Economic Sociology." *Theory and Society* 30(6): 775-810.

Krippner, Greta, et al. 2004. "Polanyi Symposium: A Conversation on Embeddedness." *Socio-Economic Review* 2: 109-35.

WEEK 5. ENGINES OF CAPITALISM AND POLITICAL COMPETITION

Economic sociology. Increasing returns. Entrepreneurs. Credit creation. Capitalism as civilization. Static and dynamic models. "Passion for destruction = creative passion." *Elan vital*. Classical doctrine of democracy. Democracy as a method. Elite. Manufactured will. Schumpeter's prediction over: capitalism vs. socialism. blueprints revisited.

Required reading:

Schumpeter, Joseph. 2008[1942]. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. New York: Harper Perennial.

Recommended reading:

Schumpeter, Joseph. 2007[1911]. *The Theory of Economic Development*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
This book is absolutely brilliant. Pay particular attention to some of the footnotes that contain surprisingly insightful comments.

McGraw, Thomas. 2007. *Prophet of Innovation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
This is a beautiful biography of Schumpeter's very colorful life.

Further reading:

*Schumpeter's theory of capitalism:

Bellamy, Richard. 1991. "Schumpeter and the Transformation of Capitalism, Liberalism and Democracy." *Government and Opposition* 26: 500-519.

Elliott, John. 1980. "Marx and Schumpeter on Capitalism's Creative Destruction: a Comparative Restatement." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 95: 45-68.

Foster, John. 1983. "Theories of Capitalist Transformation: Critical Notes on the Comparison of Marx and Schumpeter." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 98(2): 327-331.

Nicholas, Tom. 2003. "Why Schumpeter Was Right: Innovation Market Power and Creative Destruction in 1920s America." *Journal of Economic History* 63(4): 1023-1058.

Swedberg, Richard. 1991. *Joseph A. Schumpeter: The Economics and Sociology of Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Witt, Ulrich. 2002. "How Evolutionary is Schumpeter's Theory of Economic Development?" *Industry and Innovation* 9(1/2): 7-22.

**Schumpeterian conception of democracy:

- Bobbio, Norberto. 1990. *Democracy and Dictatorship*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Cheibub, Jose, Jennifer Gandhi, and James Vreeland. 2010. "Democracy and Dictatorship Revisited." *Public Choice* 143 (1-2):67-101.
- Maloy, J.S. 2008. "A Genealogy of Rational Choice: Rationalism, Elitism and Democracy." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 41(3): 749-771.
- Medearis, John. 2001. *Schumpeter's Two Theories of Democracy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Mueller, Dennis, and Uwe Canter. 2000. *Capitalism and Democracy in the 21st Century*. New York: Springer.
- Przeworski, Adam. 1991. "Could We Feed Everyone? The Irrationality of Capitalism and the Infeasibility of Socialism." *Politics and Society* 19(1): 1-29.
- Przeworski, Adam. 2010. *Democracy and the Limits of Self-Government*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam. 1999. "Minimalist Conception of Democracy: a Defense." In Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordón (eds.). *Democracy's Value*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosanvallon, Pierre. 1995. "The History of the Word 'Democracy' in France." *Journal of Democracy* 5(4): 140-54.
- Schmitter, Philippe. 2004. "The Ambiguous Virtues of Accountability." *Journal of Democracy* 15 (4): 47-60.
- Schmitter, Philippe, and Terry Karl. 1991. "What Democracy Is...and Is Not." *Journal of Democracy* 2: 75-88.

WEEK 6. BIRTH OF LEVIATHAN AND THE SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM

Modern nation-state. Capital-nation-state revisited. "Memorable alliance." What is "modernity" in state building? Why Europe? Hintze thesis. Tilly's thesis. Role of war. Importance of inequality. Technological breakthrough. Why do men in uniform obey? Nationalism as the spirit of capitalism. History of capitalism. "Global history."

Required reading:

Boix, Carles. 2015. *Political Order and Inequality: Their Foundations and Their Consequences for Human Welfare*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Recommended Reading:

Lane, Frederick. 1958. "Economic Consequences of Organized Violence." *Journal of Economic History* 18(4): 401-417.
This article is the most succinct and clearest formulation of Weberian conception of the modern state as "the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force."

Anderson, Benedict. 2006[1983]. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York: Verso.

The most important work on nationalism – very much Walter Benjamin.

Tilly, Charles. 1992. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992*. London: Blackwell.
You need to read it along with the following article. Their arguments are different.

Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In *Bringing the State Back In*, edited by Peter Evans, Dietrich Reuschmeyer, and Theda Skocpol. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 169-191.

North, Douglass, and Robert Thomas. 1999[1973]. *The Rise of the Western World*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

The foundational book of neoclassical institutionalism.

Pomeranz, Kenneth. 2000. *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

New scholarship of economic history, the so-called “California school” that criticizes Eurocentric interpretations of the rise of capitalism.

Background and Further reading:

*Formation of the modern state:

Anderson, Perry. 1974. *Lineages of the Absolute State*. New York: Verso.

Bayly, C.A. 2004. *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Brewer, John. 1988. *The Sinews of Power*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Ertman, Thomas. 1997. *The Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hintze, Otto. 1977. *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kratochwil, Frederick. 1986. “Of Systems, Boundary, and Territoriality: An Inquiry into the Formation of the State System.” *World Politics* 39(1): 27-52.

Levi, Margaret. 1988. *Of Rule and Revenue*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Mann, Michael. 1993. *The Source of Social Power, Vol. II: The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McNeil, William. 1982. *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since AD 1000*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

North, Douglass and Barry Weingast. 1989. “Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in 17th Century England.” *Journal of Economic History* 49: 803-832.

Mitchell, Timothy. 1991. “The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and their Critics.” *American Political Science Review* 85(1): 77-96.

Scott, James. 2009. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Heaven: Yale University Press.

Spruyt, Hendrik. 1996. *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Poggi, Gianfranco. 1978. *The Development of the Modern State: A Sociological Introduction*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Vu, Tong. 2010. “Studying the State through State Formation.” *World Politics* 62(1): 148-75.

Weber, Max. 1978. *Economy and Society*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

**Nationalism:

For a very useful survey on theories of nationalism, read: Özkirimli, Umut. 2010. *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Armstrong, John. 1982. *Nations before Nationalism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Balibar, Étienne. 1991. "Racism and Nationalism." In Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein (eds.), *Race, Nation, and Class: Ambiguous Identities*. London and New York: Verso, pp. 37-67.

Balibar, Étienne. 1991. "The Nation Form: History and Ideology." In Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein (eds.), *Race, Nation, and Class: Ambiguous Identities*. London and New York: Verso, pp. 86-106.

Billig, Michael. 2002[1995]. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage.

Breuilly, John. 1985. *Nationalism and the State*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Chatterjee, Partha. 1993. "Whose Imagined Community?" In *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 3-13.

Cruz, Consuelo. 2000. "Identity and Persuasion: How Nations Remember Their Pasts and Make Their Futures." *World Politics* 52: 275-312.

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Gellner, Ernest and Anthony Smith. 1996. "The Nation: Real or Imagined?: The Warwick Debates on Nationalism." *Nations and Nationalism* 2(3): 357-370.

Hobsbawm, Eric. 1992. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, and Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger. 2012[1983]. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Green, Liah. 2001. *The Spirit of Capitalism: Nationalism and Economic Growth*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Marx, Anthony. 1998. *Making Race and Nation: Comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Renan, Ernest. 1996[1882]. "What Is a Nation?" In Geoff Eley and Ronald Suny (eds.), *Becoming National: A Reader*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 41-55.

Smith, Anthony. 2009. *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach*. London: Routledge.

***History of capitalism:

Abu-Lughod, Janet. 1989. *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson. 2005. "The Rise of Europe: Atlantic Trade, Institutional Change, and Economic Growth." *American Economic Review* 95(3): 546-579.

- Alexander Field. 1981. "The Problem with Neoclassical Institutional Economics: A Critique with Special Reference to the North/Thomas model of pre-1500 Europe." *Explorations in Economic History* 18: 174-98.
- Arrighi, Giovanni. 2010. *The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power and the Origins of Our Times*. London and New York: Verso. New and updated edition.
- Arrighi, Giovanni. 2007. *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty-First Century*. London and New York: Verso.
- Arrighi, Giovanni, Po-Keung Hui, Ho-fung Hung, and Mark Sheldon. 2003. "Historical Capitalism, East and West." In *The Resurgence of East Asia: 500, 150, and 50 Year Perspective*, edited by Giovanni Arrighi, Takeshi Hamashita, and Mark Sheldon. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 259-333.
- Aston, T.H., and C.H.E. Philpin. 1985[1976]. *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bairoch, Paul. 1993. *Economics and World History: Myths and Paradoxes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Beaud, Michel. 2001[1981]. *A History of Capitalism, 1500-2000*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Beckert, Sven. 2014. *Empire of Cotton: A Global History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Bloch, Marc. 1961. *Feudal Society, Volume 1: The Growth of Ties of Dependence; Volume 2: Social Class and Political Organization*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Brenner, Robert. 1976. "Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe." *Past & Present* 70: 30-75.
- Brenner, Robert. 1977. "The Origins of Capitalist Development: A Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism." *New Left Review* I/104: 25-92.
- Findlay, Ronald, and Kevin O'Rourke. 2007. *Power and Plenty*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Frank, Andre Gunder. 1998. *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Goldstone, Jack. 2008. *Why Europe? The Rise of the West in World History, 1500-1850*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Heller, Henry. 2011. *The Birth of Capitalism: A 21st Century Perspective*. London: Pluto Press.
- Hilton, Rodney. 1978. *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism*. London and New York: Verso.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1968. *Industry and Empire*. New York: The New Press.
- Jones, Eric. 2003. *The European Miracle: Environments, Economies and Geopolitics in the History of Europe and Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maddison, Angus. 2007. *Contours of the World Economy, 1-2030 AD*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Maddison, Angus. 2005. *Growth and Interaction in World Economy: The Roots of Modernity*. Washington, D.C.: The AEI Press.

- Marks, Robert. 2007. *The Origins of the Modern World: A Global and Ecological Narrative from the Fifteenth to the Twentieth-first Century*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publisher.
- Mielants, Erik. 2008. *The Origins of Capitalism and the "Rise of the West."* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Mokyr, Joel. 1990. *The Lever of Riches: Technological Creativity and Economic Progress*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- North, Douglass. 1981. *Structure and Change in Economic History*. New York: Norton.
- Morris, Ian. 2011. *Why the West Rule - for Now*. New York: Picador.
- Parthasarathi, Prsannan. 2011. *Why Europe Grew Rich and Asia Did Not: Global Economic Divergence, 1600-1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ringmar, Erik. 2007. *Why Europe Was First: Social Change and Economic Growth in Europe and East Asia, 1500-2050*. London: Anthem Press.
- Toynbee, Arnold. 1956[1884]. *The Industrial Revolution*. Beacon Press.
- Voightlaender, Nico and Hans Joachim Voth. 2010. "The Three Horsemen of Growth: Plague, War and Urbanization in Early Modern Europe." Ms.
- Vries, Peer. 2003. *Via Peking to Manchester: Britain, the Industrial Revolution, and China*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Research School CNWS.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 2006. *World-Systems Analysis*. Durham: Duke University Press.
Here, Wallerstein provides a succinct account of his famous three volumes of *The Modern World-System*; the fourth volume has been published recently in 2011.
- Wrigley, E. A. 2010. *Energy and the English Industrial Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wong, R. Bin. 1997. *China Transformed*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Wood, Ellen. 2002. *The Origin of Capitalism: A Longer View*. New York: Verso.

WEEK 7. "STAR WARS MARXISM": STRATEGIC INTERACTIONS OF CLASSES

Capitalist state vs. the state in capitalism. Class-in-itself and class-for-itself. Class interests. Class voting. Political interests. Fundamental contradictions in capitalist democracy. Parliament and president. Representativeness: literary vs. parliamentary representation. Politics of rhetoric. Hegemony. Strategic interactions.

Required reading:

Marx, Karl. 1994[1852]. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. New York: International Publishers.

Recommended reading:

If you have time, read Marx's other works that completes his trilogy of revolutions: *Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850* (1850) and *Civil War in France* (1871). See also Alistair Horne's *The Fall of Paris: The Siege and the Commune, 1870-71* (2007[1965]), London: Penguin Books.

Gramsci, Antonio. 2003[1971]. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers.
Formidable, convoluted work, must-read.

Background and further reading:

*For the survey of the capitalist state/the state in capitalism and civil society, read:

Barrow, Clyde. 1993. *Critical Theories of the State*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Cohen, Jean, and Andrew Arato. 1994. *Civil Society and Political Theory*. Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Evans, Peter, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol. 1985. *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

***The Eighteenth Brumaire*:

Aron, Raymond. 2003[1968]. *Main Currents in Sociological Thought*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publisher (I think that Aron's interpretation of *The Eighteenth Brumaire* is still the best).

Carver, Terrell. 2004. "Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*: Democracy, Dictatorship, and the Politics of Class Struggle." In Peter Behr and Melvin Richter (eds.), *Dictatorship in History and Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cowling, Mark, and James Martin. 2002. *Marx's Eighteenth Brumaire: (Post)modern Interpretations*. London: Pluto.

Karatani, Kojin. 2012. "Introduction: On *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*." In *History and Repetition*. New York: Columbia University.

Reid, Donald. 2007. "Inciting Readings and Reading Cites: Visits to Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*." *Modern Intellectual History* 4(3): 545-570.

***Classes under the capitalist state from various Marxian perspectives:

Lukás, Georg. 1972[1920]. *History and Class Consciousness*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Thompson, E.P. 1963. *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Vintage.

Althusser, Louis. 2001[1971]. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses." In *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

I think that Miliband-Poulantzas debates forty years ago are still fascinating, although some of their discussions are eccentrically and unnecessarily convoluted. The following is a short list of some of the essential readings.

Poulantzas, Nicos. 1980. *State, Power, and Socialism*. London: Verso.

Poulantzas, Nicos. 1975. *Political Power and Social Classes*. London: Verso.

Poulantzas, Nicos. 1969. "The Problem of the Capitalist State." *New Left Review* 1(58): 67-78.

Miliband, Ralph. 1968. *The State in Capitalist Society*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Miliband, Ralph. 1973. "Poulantzas and the Capitalist State." *New Left Review* 1(82): 83-92.

Offe, Claus. 1974. "Structural Problems of the Capitalist State: Class Rule and the Political System. On the Selectiveness of Political Institutions." *German Political Studies* 1: 31-54.

Therborn, Göran. 2008[1978]. *What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules?* London: Verso.

Fred, Block. 1977. "The Ruling Class Does Not Rule: Notes on the Marxist Theory of the State." *Socialist Revolution* 33: 6-27.

Laclau, Ernesto, and Chantal Mouffe. 1985. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*. London: Verso.

II. THE POLITICS OF GROWTH AND INEQUALITY UNDER CAPITALIST DEMOCRACIES

WEEK 8. INEQUALITY AND DEMOCRATIZATION

Schumpeterian conception of democracy revisited. Endogenous vs. exogenous democratization. Meltzer-Richard model revisited. Redistributive thesis. Elite competition. Mistakes. Information. Suffrage extensions. Threat of revolution vs. voice. Commitment problem. Cooptation. Problems with the simultaneous transitions.

Required reading:

Ansell, Ben, and David Samuels. 2014. *Inequality and Democratization: An Elite-Competition Approach*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Recommended reading:

For a solid survey of the democratization literature, read: Coppedge, Michael. 2012. *Democratization and Research Methods*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Therborn, Göran. 1977. "The Rule of Capital and the Rise of Democracy." *New Left Review* 103: 113-114.
A seminal article on the complex relationships between capitalism and democracy.

Przeworski, Adam. 1991. *Democracy and the Market*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
The best political economy book on democratic transitions and consolidation of democracy.

Haggard, Stephan, and Robert Kaufman. 2012. "Inequality and Regime Change: Democratic Transitions and Stability of Democratic Rule." *American Political Science Review* 106(3): 495-516.
Two veteran comparativists provide a clear literature review and solid empirics based on a medium-N research design.

Background and further reading:

*Economic performances/modernization/culture/modes of transition/international dimensions:

Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson. 2005. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Boix, Carles. 2011. "Democracy, Development and the International System." *American Political Science Review* 105 (November): 809-828.

Boix, Carlos. 2002. *Democracy and Redistribution*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Boix, Carles, and Susan Stoke. 2003. "Endogenous Democratization." *World Politics* 55: 517-549.

- Collier, Ruth. 1999. *Paths toward Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Collier, Ruth, and David Collier. 2002. *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Transitions in Latin America*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Epstein, David et al. 2006. "Democratic Transitions." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 551-569.
- Gandhi, Jennifer. 2008. *Political Institutions under Dictatorship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gleditsch, Kristian, and Michael D. Ward. 2006. "Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization." *International Organization* 60(4): 911-933
- Haggard, Stephan and Robert Kaufman. 1995. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hadinius, Alex, and Jan Teorell. 2005. "Cultural and Economic Prerequisites of Democracy: Reassessing Recent Evidence." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 39(4): 87-106.
- Huntington, Samuel. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1997. *Modernization and Postmodernization: Culture, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Karl, Terry Lynn. 1990. "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 23, 1: 1-21.
- Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." *World Politics* 44, 1: 7-48.
- Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan A. Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 53, 1: 69-105.
- Moore, Barrington. 1965. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Boston: Beacon.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe C. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. The John Hopkins University Press.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1979. *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Przeworski, Adam, Michael Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Material Well-being in the World, 1950-1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "Modernization: Theories and Facts." *World Politics* 49(2): 155-183.

Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tilly, Charles. 2005. *Contention and Democracy, 1650-2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**Strategic interactions/transition games:

Gandhi, Jennifer and Adam Przeworski. 2006. "Cooperation, Cooptation, and Rebellion under Dictatorship." *Economics and Politics* 18 (1): 1-26.

Gates, Scott, and Brian D. Humes. 1997. "Information and Transitions to Democracy: An Examination of Przeworski's Democracy and the Market." Chapter 5 in Scott Gates and Brian D. Humes, *Games, Information, and Politics*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Kuran, Timur. 1989. "Sparks and Prairie Fires: A Theory of Unanticipated Political Revolution." *Public Choice* 61: 41-74.

Rustow, Dankwart A. (1970) "Transitions to Democracy." *Comparative Politics* 2(3): 337-363.

Przeworski, Adam (1986) "Some Problems in the Study of the Transition to Democracy." In *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspective*, edited by Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead. The John Hopkins University Press, pp. 47-63.

Zielinski, Jakub. 1995. "The Polish Transition to Democracy: a Game-Theoretic Approach." *European Archives of Sociology* 36: 135-158.

***Recently revived interests on enfranchisement:

Aidt, T.S., and Peter Jensen. 2010. "Workers of the World, United! Franchise Extensions and the Threat of Revolution in Europe, 1820-1938." Ms. University of Cambridge.

Engerman, Stanley, and Kenneth Sokoloff. 2005. "The Evolution of Suffrage in the New World." *The Journal of Economic History* 65: 891-921.

Justman, Moshe, and Mark Gradstein. 1999. "The Industrial Revolution, Political Transition, and the Subsequent Decline in Inequality in 19th Century Britain." *Explorations in Economic History* 36: 109-127.

Kim, Wonik, 2007. "Social Insurance Expansion and Political Regime Dynamics in Europe, 1880-1945." *Social Science Quarterly* 88(2): 494-514.

Lindert, Peter. 2004. *Growing Public*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lizzeri, Alessandro, and Nicola Persico. 2004. "Why Did the Elites Extend the Suffrage? Democracy and the Scope of Government with an Application to Britain's Age of Reform." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May: 707-765.

Przeworski, Adam. 2009. "Conquered or Granted? A History of Suffrage Extension." *British Journal of Political Science* 39: 291-321.

Ziblatt, Daniel. 2006. "How Did Europe Democratize?" *World Politics* 58(2): 311-38.

WEEK 9. CLASS COMPROMISE

Social democracy and socialism. Electoral dilemma. Class conflict. Conception of classes. Gramsci revisited. Importance of parties. Voting model. Conditions for class compromise. Valley of transition. Structural dependence of the state on capital. Methodological individualism. Analytical Marxism.

Required reading:

Przeworski, Adam. 1985. *Capitalism and Social Democracy*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Recommended reading:

Pizzorno, Alessandro. 1978. "Political Exchange and Collective Identity in Industrial Conflict." In *The Resurgence of Class Conflict in Western Europe since 1968*, Colin Crouch and Alessandro Pizzorno (eds.). New York: Holmes and Meier.

This underrated Italian political sociologist offers a profound meaning of power in a dynamic setting ("capacity for strategy") and the relationship between leaders and rank-and-file members of organizations.

Offe, Claus, and Helmut Wiesenthal. 1980. "Two Logics of Collective Action: Theoretical Notes on Social Class and Organizational Form." *Political Power and Social Theory* I: 67-115.

Who has a more serious collective action problem – capital or labor? Debates between Offe and Przeworski.

Roemer, John. 1982. *A General Theory of Exploitation and Class*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Perhaps the most brilliant work in the entire literature of Analytical Marxism. Roemer shows mathematically why capitalism is inherently an exploitative system, which is not supposed to be stable, but in fact stable.

*History of socialism:

Bartolini, Stefano. 2000. *The Class Cleavage: The Political Mobilization of European Left, 1860-1980*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Luebbert, Gregory. 1991. *Liberalism, Fascism, or Social Democracy*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Kolakowski, Leszek. 2005[1976]. *Main Currents of Marxism*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Sasson, Donald. 1996. *One Hundred Years of Socialism: The West European Left in the Twentieth Century*. New York: The New Press.

**Social cleavages, class politics, and representation:

Clark, Terry, and Seymour M. Lipset, S.M. 2001. *The Breakdown of Class Politics*. Boulder: Westview.

Erikson, Robert, and John Goldthorpe. 1992. *Constant Flux: A Study of Class Mobility in Industrial Societies*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Evans, Geoffrey. 1999. *The End of Class Politics?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Evans, Geoffrey. 1993. "Class, Prospects and the Life-cycle: Explaining the Association between Class Position and Political Preferences." *Acta Sociologica* 36:263-276.

Katznelson, Ira, and Aristide Zolberg. 1986. *Working-Class Formation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kingston, Paul. 2000. *The Classless Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Lipset, Seymour, and Stein Rokkan. 1967. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction." In *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: A Cross-National Perspective*. Lipset and Rokkan (eds.). New York: The Free Press.

Manza, Jeff, and Clem Brooks. 1999. *Social Cleavages and Political Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Przeworski, Adam, and John Sprague. 1986. *Paper Stones*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Przeworski, Adam, Susan Stokes, and Bernad Manin. 1999. *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Schmitt, Carl. 1988[1926]. *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Van Parijs, Philippe. 1987. "A Revolution in Class Theory." *Politics & Society* 15(4): 453-482.

Van der Waal, Jeroen et al. 2007. "Class Is Not Dead – It Has been Buried Alive: Class Voting and Cultural Voting in Postwar Western Societies, 1956-1990." *Politics and Society* 35(3): 403-426.

***Analytical Marxism:

Carver, Terrel., and Paul Thomas. 1995. *Rational Choice Marxism*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Cohen, G.A. 2000[1978]. *Karl Marx's Theory of History: A Defense*. Expanded edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Elster, Jon. 1985. *Making Sense of Marx*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goldstein, Jonathan. 2006. "Marxian Microfoundations: Contribution or Detour?" *Review of Radical Political Economics* 38(4): 569-594.

Levi, Margaret. 1988. "Bringing People Back into the State: A Bibliographic Essay." In *Of Rule and Revenue*, Margaret Levi. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mayer, Tom. 1994. *Analytical Marxism*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Roemer, John. 1993. *Analytical Marxism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tarrit, Fabien. 2006. "A Brief History, Scope, and Peculiarity of Analytical Marxism." *Review of Radical Political Economics* 38(4): 595-618.

WEEK 10. VARIETIES OF CAPITALISM (VOC): SOCIAL EUROPE VS. LIBERAL AMERICA

Why welfare by the state? Logic of industrialism. Power-resources theory. Democratic class struggle. "Three worlds." Social risks and social insurance. Capitalists against market. Trade-off between efficiency and equity? SMEs (or CMEs) and LMEs. Hump-shape. Rehn-Meidner model. Preferences of firms. Cross-class alliance. Complementarity and correspondence. Skill formation. Linkage between capitalism and representation system.

Required reading:

Pontusson, Jonas. 2005. *Inequality and Prosperity: Social Europe vs. Liberal America*. Cornell University Press.

Recommended reading:

Barr, Nicholas. 1992. "Economic Theory and the Welfare State." *Journal of Economic Literature* 30 (June): 741-804.
Rigorous model that entails a firm justification of and for public social insurance provision.

Calmfors, Lars and John Driffill. 1988. "Bargaining Structure, Corporatism, and Macroeconomic Performance." *Economic Policy* (April): 14-61.
Hump-shape relationship is first formulated here – institutions matter.

Esping-Andersen, Gosta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Contemporary classic on the welfare state.

Huber, Evelyn, and John D. Stephens. 2001. *Development and Crisis of the Welfare State: Parties and Policies in Global Markets*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Statistical defense of power-resources theory.

Hall, Peter, and David Soskice. 2001. "An Introduction to Varieties of Capitalism." In *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*, Peter Hall and David Soskice (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-68.
A foundational text of the VoC approach.

Background & further reading:

*Essential readings on VoC:

Estevez-Abe, Margarita, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice. 2001. "Social Protection and the Formation of Skills: A Reinterpretation of the Welfare State." In *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*, Peter Hall and David Soskice (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.145-183.

Hall, Peter, and Kathleen Thelen. 2009. "Institutional Change in Varieties of Capitalism." *Socio-Economic Review* 71(1): 7-34.

Iversen, Torben. 2005. *Capitalism, Democracy, and Welfare*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Iversen, Torben, and David Soskice. 2001. "An Asset Theory of Social Policy Preferences." *American Political Science Review* 95(4): 875-893.

Korpi, Walter. 2006. "Power Resources and Employer-Centered Approaches in Explanations of Welfare States and Varieties of Capitalism: Protagonists, Consenters, and Antagonists." *World Politics* 58(2): 167-206.

Mares, Isabela. 2003. *The Politics of Social Risk: Business and Welfare State Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cusack, Thomas, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice. 2007. "Economic Interests and the Origins of Electoral Systems." *American Political Science Review* 101(3): 373-391.

Read the following two articles on different interpretations of historical formation of electoral rules, which strongly suggests that quantitative analysis should be based on a solid case study.

Cusack, Thomas, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice. 2010. "Coevolution of Capitalism and Political Representation." *American Political Science Review* 104(2): 393-403.

Kreuzer, Marcus. 2010. "Historical Knowledge and Quantitative Analysis: The Case of the Origins of Proportional Representation." *American Political Science Review* 104(2): 369-392.

**Further readings on VoC:

Albert, Michel. 1993. *Capitalism vs. Capitalism*. New York: Basic Books.

Amable, Bruno. 2003. *The Diversity of Modern Capitalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crouch, Colin. 2005. *Capitalist Diversity and Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dore, Ronald. 2000. *Stock Market Capitalism: Welfare Capitalism Japan Germany vs. the Anglo-Saxons*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ebbinghaus, Bernhard, and Philip Manow. 2001. "Introduction: Studying Varieties of Welfare Capitalism." In *Comparing Welfare Capitalism*, Bernhard Ebbinghaus, and Philip Manow (eds.). London: Routledge.

Gourevitch, Peter, and James Shinn. 2005. *Political Power and Corporate Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hall, Peter, and Daniel Gingerich. 2004. "Varieties of Capitalism and Institutional Complementarities in the Macroeconomy: An Empirical Analysis." MPiFG Discussion Paper 04/5.

Hancke, Bob (ed.). 2009. *Debating Varieties of Capitalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hollingsworth, Rogers, and Robert Boyer. 1997. "Coordination of Economic Actors and Social Systems of Production." In *Contemporary Capitalism: The Embeddedness of Institutions*, Rogers Hollingsworth and Robert Boyer (eds.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-47.

Iversen, Torben, and David Soskice. 2009. "Distribution and Redistribution: The Shadow of the Nineteenth Century." *World Politics* 61(3): 438-86.

Mares, Isabela. 2006. *Taxation, Wage Bargaining, and Unemployment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schmitter, Philippe. 1979. "Still the Century of Corporatism?" In Philippe Schmitter and Gerhard Lehmbruch (eds.) *Trends toward Corporatist Intermediation*. New York: Sage Publication.

Soskice, David. 1999. "Divergent Production Regimes: Coordinated and Uncoordinated Market Economies in the 1980s and 1990s." In *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*, Herbert Kitschelt et al. (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 101-134.

Streeck, Wolfgang. 2011. "Taking Capitalism Seriously: Towards an Institutional Approach to Contemporary Political Economy." *Socio-Economic Review* 9(1): 137-167.

Swenson, Peter A. 2002. *Capitalists against Markets: The Making of Labor Markets and Welfare States in the United States and Sweden*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thelen, Kathleen. 2004. *How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

***Redistributive models and welfare state in general:

Amenta, Edwin. 1998. *Bold Relief: Institutional Politics and the Origins of Modern American Social Policy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

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Besley, Timothy, and Stephen Coate. 1998. "Sources of Inefficiency in a Representative Democracy: A Dynamic Analysis." *American Economic Review* 88: 139-156.

Banoli, Ciuliano. 1997. "Classifying Welfare States: A Two-dimension Approach." *Journal of Social Policy* 26(3): 351-372.

Barr, Nicholas. 1998. *The Economics of the Welfare State*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

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Bradley, David et al. 2003. "Distribution and Redistribution in Postindustrial Democracies." *World Politics* 55(January): 193-228.

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Esping-Andersen, Gösta. 1999. *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Esping-Andersen, Gösta, and Walter Korpi. 1984. "Social Policy as Class Politics in Post-War Capitalism: The Development of Scandinavian Social Policy." In *Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 179-206.

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Flora, Peter, and Arnold J. Heidenheimer. 1981. *The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America*, New Brunswick: Transaction Books.

Haggard, Stephan, and Robert Kaufman. 2008. *Development, Democracy, and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hicks, Alexander. 1999. *Social Democracy and Welfare Capitalism: A Century of Income Security Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

- Iversen, Torben, and David Soskice. 2006. "Electoral Institutions and the Politics of Coalitions: Why Some Democracies Redistribute More than Others." *American Political Science Review* 100(2): 165-181.
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- Kasza, Gregory. 2002. "The Illusion of Welfare Regimes." *Journal of Social Policy* 31(2): 271-287.
- Kim, Wonik. 2007. "Social Risk and Social Insurance." *Rationality and Society* 19(2): 229-254.
- Korpi, Walter. 1983. *The Democratic Class Struggle*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Marshall, T. H. 1964. *Class, Citizenship and Social Development*. Garden City: Doubleday & Company.
- Moene, Karl, and Michael Wallerstein. 2003. "Earning Inequality and Welfare Spending: A Disaggregated Analysis." *World Politics* 55 (July): 485-516.
- Moene, Karl, and Michael Wallerstein. 2001. "Inequality, Social Insurance, and Redistribution." *American Political Science Review* 95(4): 859-874.
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- Moss, David A. 2002. *When All Else Fails: Government as the Ultimate Risk Manager*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Offe, Claus. 1993. *Contradictions of the Welfare State*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- O'Connor, Julia S., and Gregg M. Olsen. 1998. *Power Resources Theory and the Welfare State: A Critical Approach*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Pierson, Christopher. 2007. *Beyond the Welfare State: The New Political Economy of Welfare*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Rehm, Philippe. 2011. "Social Policy by Popular Demand." *World Politics* 63(2): 271-99.
- Piven, Frances, and Richard Cloward. 1993[1971]. *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Roemer, John. 2001. *Political Competition: Theory and Application*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Rosanvallon, Pierre. 2000. *The New Social Question: Rethinking the Welfare State*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rothstein, Bo. 2001. "The Universal Welfare State as a Social Dilemma." *Rationality and Society* 12(2): 213-233.
- Scruggs, Lyle, and James Allan. 2008. "Social Stratification and Welfare Regimes for the Twenty-first Century: Revisiting *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*." *World Politics* 60(4): 642-664.
- Stephens, John. 1980. *The Transition from Capitalism to Socialism*. Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press.

Titmuss, Richard. 1974. *Social Policy: An Introduction*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Western, Bruce. 1997. *Between Class and Market*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Wilensky, Harold. 1975. *The Welfare State and Equality: Structural and Ideological Roots of Public Expenditures*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 1-14.

WEEK 11-12. DYNAMIC PATTERNS OF GLOBAL INEQUALITY UNDER CAPITALISM

Conception of “capital.” New measures. Critiques of mainstream economics. Importance of history. First and second fundamental “laws.” Two types of inequality. Turning-points in history and the meaning of critical junctures. Partisan effects. Organized interests. Special interest politics. Capital as power. Sociological origins of the capitalist state. Representativeness revisited. Principal-agent problem. Hegemony revisited. Democratic incapacity? Three faces of power. Why is Piketty so popular? What is missing in Piketty? History of capitalism revisited.

Required reading:

Piketty, Thomas. 2014. *Capital in the 21st Century*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

*See Slavoj Žižek’s interesting critique in his *Trouble in Paradise: From the End of History to the End of Capitalism* (2014, London: Allen Lane).

Recommended reading:

Lancaster, Kelvin. 1973. “The Dynamic Inefficiency of Capitalism.” *Journal of Political Economy* 81: 1092-1109.
First formal model about why capitalism is irrational.

Przeworski, Adam, and Michael Wallerstein. 1988. “Structural Dependence of the State on Capital.” *American Political Science Review* 82(1): 11-29.

Predicated upon Lancaster’s model, Przeworski and the late Wallerstein provide the reason why the state is structurally constrained by capitalists, but they also imply that the dependence is not so binding as to make democracy a sham; there is room for democratic process to affect the outcomes.

Lindblom, Charles. 1977. *Politics and Markets*. New York: Basic Books.

Contemporary classic about the “privileged position of business in a democracy.”

Hacker, Jacob, and Paul Pierson. 2010. “Winner-Take-All Politics: Public Policy, Political Organization, and the Precipitous Rise of Top Incomes in the United States.” *Politics & Society* 38(2): 152-204.

Critique of the median voters’ theorem and voting models widely employed in the field of American politics; they argue that politics is an organized activity.

Lukes, Steven. 2005[1974]. *Power: A Radical View*. New York: Palgrave.

Three faces of power is succinctly discussed. For a one more face, the Foucaultian face, see: Peter Digeser, “The Fourth Face of Power,” *Journal of Politics* 54(4): 977-1007.

Further reading:

Atkinson, Anthony. 2015. *Inequality: What Can be Done?* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Bartels, Larry. 2009. *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Bourguignon, François. 2015. *The Globalization of Inequality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Beramendi, Pablo, and Christopher Anderson. 2008. *Democracy, Inequality, and Representation: A Comparative Perspective*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Grossman, Gene, and Elhanan Helpman. 2002. *Special Interest Politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Milanovic, Branko. 2005. *World Apart: Measuring International and Global Inequality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Nitzan, Jonathan, and Shimshon Bichler. 2009. *Capital as Power*. London: Routledge.
- Panitch, Leo, and Sam Gindin. 2013. *The Making of Global Capitalism: The Political Economy of American Empire*. London and New York: Verso.
- Rosanvallon, Pierre. 2013. *The Society of Equals*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Sandel, Michael. 2012. *What Money Can't Buy: The Moral Limits of Markets*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Stiglitz, Joseph. 2013. *The Price of Inequality: How Today's Divided Society Endangers Our Future*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

WEEK 13. PRIMACY OF ECONOMICS VS. PRIMACY OF POLITICS: ROLE OF IDEOLOGY

Liberalism, socialism, and communitarianism. Revisionism. *La politique du pire*. Erfurt program. "Movement is everything." Ideas vs. ideologies. Class voting. Internationalism vs. nationalism. SPD vs. SAP vs. NSDAP. Wigforss. Hansson. "People's home." Myth making. Gramsci revisited.

Required reading:

Berman, Sheri. 2010[2006]. *The Primacy of Politics: Social Democracy and the Making of Europe's Twentieth Century*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Further reading:

*Role of ideology:

Morgan, Edmund. 1988. *Inventing the People: The Rise of Popular Sovereignty in England and America*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Rodrik, Dani. 2014. "When Ideas Trumps Interests: Preferences, Worldviews, and Policy Innovation." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 28(1): 189-208.

Ryan, Alan. 2012. *Making of Modern Liberalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. 2011. *The Modern World-System IV: Centrist Liberalism Triumphant, 1789-1914*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Žižek, Slavoj. 2011. *Living in the End Times*. London and New York: Verso.

Žižek, Slavoj. 1989. *The Sublime Object of Ideology*. London and New York: Verso.

WEEK 14. NEOLIBERAL GLOBALIZATION

Origins and consequences of current globalization. Embedded liberalism. Partisan model vs. electoralist model. Compensation thesis vs. efficiency thesis. Calmfors-Driffill model revisited. Median voters' theorem revisited. Interaction model in regression analysis. Globalization = neoliberalization? *Dependencia* again? Policy shift. Logic of retrenchment. State-society dynamic in an open economy. Trilemma of the world economy.

Required reading:

Hays, Jude. 2009. *Globalization and the New Politics of Embedded Liberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Recommended reading:

Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, and Enzo Faletto. 1979. *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Still relevant in the 21st century.

Duménil, Gérard, and Dominique Lévy. 2011. *The Crisis of Neoliberalism*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

These French political economists provide quantitative evidence of why neoliberal projects have rigged democracies and plundered civil societies around the world; their analysis is as important as Piketty's.

Panitch, Leo, and Sam Gindin. 2012. *The Making of Global Capitalism: The Political Economy of American Empire*. London and New York: Verso.

Importance of the United State in shaping the post-war global capitalism.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1978. "State and Alliances in Argentina, 1956-1976." *Journal of Development Studies* 15(1): 3-33.

The best single-case study article in comparative political economy, showing how global economy affects domestic politics, and how the state is "colonized" by civil society.

Background & further reading:

Alesina, Alberto, Nouriel Roubini, and Gerald Cohen. 1997. *Political Cycles and the Macroeconomy*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Atkinson, Anthony. 1999. *The Economic Consequences of Rolling Back the Welfare State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bardhan, Pranab, Samuel Bowles, and Michael Wallerstein. 2006. *Globalization and Egalitarian Redistribution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Berger, Suzanne. 2005. *How We Compete: What Companies Around the World Are Doing to Make it in Today's Global Economy*. Random House.

Blanchard, Oliver, and Justin Wolfers. 2000. "The Role of Shocks and Institutions in the Rise of European Unemployment: The Aggregate Evidence." *Economic Journal* 110 (March): C1-C33.

Cameron, David. 1978. "The Expansion of the Public Sector: A Comparative Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 72(4): 1243-1361.

Clark, William. 2005. *Capitalism, Not Globalism: Capital Mobility, Central Bank Independence, and the Political Control of the Economy*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

- Collier, David, and Richard E. Messick. 1975. "Prerequisites Versus Diffusion: Testing Alternative Explanations of Social Security Adoption." *American Political Science Review* 69(4): 1299-1315.
- Cox, Robert. 1981. "Social Forces, States, and World Order: Beyond International Relations Theory." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 10: 126-155.
- Detleif, Jahn. 2006. "Globalization as 'Galton's Problem': The Missing Link in the Analysis of Diffusion Patterns in the Welfare State Development." *International Organization* 60: 401-431.
- Duménil, Gérard, and Dominique Lévy. 2004. *Capital Resurgent: Roots of the Neoliberal Revolution*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Eichengreen, Barry. 2008. *Globalizing Capital: A History of the International Monetary System*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Frieden, Jeffrey. 2006. *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Frieden, Jeffrey. 1991. "Invested Interests: The Politics of National Economic Policies in a World of Global Finance." *International Organization* 45(4): 426-451.
- Garrett, Geoffrey, and Deborah Mitchell. 1998. "Globalization, Government Spending, and Taxation in the OECD." *European Journal of Political Research* 39: 145-177.
- Garrett, Geoffrey. 1998. *Partisan Politics in the Global Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Helleiner, Eric. 1994. *States and the Reemergence of Global Finance: From the Bretton Woods to the 1990s*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Hicks, Alexander, and Christopher Zorn. 2005. "Economic Globalization, the Macro Economy, and Reversals of Welfare: Expansion in Affluent Democracies, 1978-94." *International Organization* 59: 631-662.
- Iversen, Torben, and Thomas Cusack. 2000. "The Causes of Welfare State Expansion: Deindustrialization or Globalization?" *World Politics* 52(April): 313-349.
- Glyn, Andrew. 2007. *Capitalism Unleashed: Finance, Globalization, and Welfare*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Katzenstein, Peter. 1985. *Small States in World Markets: Industrial Policy in Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Kaufman, Robert, and Alex Segura-Ubierno. 2001. "Globalization, Domestic Politics, and Social Spending in Latin America: A Time-Series Cross-Section Analysis." *World Politics* 53 (July): 553-587.
- Moises, Arce, and Wonik Kim. 2011. "Globalization and Extra-Parliamentary Politics in an Era of Democracy." *European Political Science Review* 3(2): 253-278.
- Mosley, Layna. 2000. "Room to Move: International Finance Markets and National Welfare States." *International Organization* 54(4): 737-773.
- Mudge, Stephanie. 2008. "What is Neo-liberalism?" *Socio-Economic Review* 6(4): 703-731.

- Oatley, Thomas. 1999. "How Constraining Is Capital Mobility? The Partisan Hypothesis in an Open Economy." *American Journal of Political Science* 43: 1003-1027.
- Rodrik, Dani. 1997. *Has Globalization Gone Too Far?* Washington D.C.: Institute for International Economics.
- Rodrik, Dani. 2011. *The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy*. W. W. Norton & Company.
- Ruggie, John. 1982. "International Regimes, Transactions, and Changes: Embedded Liberalism in the Post-War Economic Order." *International Organization* 36(2): 379-415.
- Pierson, Paul. 1994. *Dismantling the Welfare State? Reagan, Thatcher, and the Politics of Retrenchment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Prasad, Monica. 2006. *The Politics of Free Markets*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Przeworski, Adam. 1992. "The Neoliberal Fallacy." *Journal of Democracy* 3(3): 45-59.
- Rasler, Karen, and William Thompson. 2009. "Globalization and North-South Inequality, 1870-200." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 50(5-6): 425-451.
- Rudra, Nita. 2002. "Globalization and the Decline of the Welfare State in Less-Developed Countries." *International Organization* 56(2): 411-445.
- Singer, Peter. 2004. *One World: The Ethics of Globalization*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Swank, Duane. 2002. *Global Capital, Political Institutions, and Policy Change in Developed Welfare States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wolf, Martin. 2005. *Why Globalization Works*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

WEEK 15. FEASIBLE BLUEPRINT? CONCLUSION

Conclusion: capital, social force, and political power (the trinity revisited). Is there an "alternative" beyond positive compromise and beyond a cooperative blueprint? "The future is already here" vs. "what is to be done."

Suggested reading.

- Banerjee, Abhijit, and Esther Duflo. 2011. *Poor Economics: A Radical Rethinking of the Way to Fight Global Poverty*. New York: PublicAffairs.
- Wright, Erik. 2010. *Envisioning Real Utopias*. London and New York: Verso.
- Cohen, G. A. 2009. *Why Not Socialism?* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rifkin, Jeremy. 2014. *The Zero Marginal Cost Society: The Internet of Things, the Collaborative Commons, and the Eclipse of Capitalism*. New York: Palgrave.
- Margalit, Avishai. 1996. *The Decent Society*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.