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## NEOLIBERALISM

### Overview:

In recent years scholars have increasingly adopted neoliberalism as an explanatory framework for the workings of global capitalism since the late twentieth century. This course reviews recent scholarship that explicitly engages with this concept and phenomenon. We will reflect on the definition, roots, and manifestations of neoliberalism, both from a historical perspective and in contemporary political economy. The first part of the course interrogates the nature of neoliberalism, starting with the recent scholarly debate around Foucault's lectures on neoliberalism. In the second part of the course, we then move on to a review of various instantiations of neoliberalism. Because neoliberalism is a multifaceted phenomenon, we will freely cross disciplinary boundaries and read works of theory, history, political science, sociology, and anthropology.

### Assignments and Grading:

This is a readings seminar, and the primary expectation is that every student will arrive in class prepared to contribute to in-depth discussions of the assigned texts. Additionally, at the conclusion of the semester students will be asked to submit a paper of about 20 pages exploring one of the (many) themes discussed during the seminar. This paper should include substantial readings beyond those assigned on the syllabus. It will be due on Monday, December 18th. This course may be graded either on a letter basis or on a pass/fail basis.

### Texts:

A number of the course readings (denoted with an in the syllabus) will be available on electronic reserve. Other readings, listed below, should be acquired separately.

### Part I - What is neoliberalism?

#### Thursday, August 31: Foucault and Neoliberalism

- \*Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-79* (Palgrave, 2008), lectures 5–10. Ebook available through Sheridan Libraries.

- \*Michael Behrent, "Liberalism Without Humanism: Michel Foucault and the Free-Market Creed, 1976–1979," and Daniel Zamora, "Foucault, the Excluded, and the Neoliberal Erosion of the State," in Daniel Zamora and Michael C. Behrent, eds., *Foucault and Neoliberalism* (Polity, 2015). Ebook available through Sheridan Libraries.
- \*[Wendy Brown, "Neoliberalism and the End of Liberal Democracy,"](#) in *Edgework: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 37–59.

### **Monday, September 11: The Concept of Neoliberalism**

- \*Taylor C. Boas and Jordan Gans-Morse, "Neoliberalism: From New Liberal Philosophy to Anti-Liberal Slogan," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 44 (2009), pp. 137–161.
- \*Philip Mirowski, ch. 2, "Shock Block Doctrine: Neoliberalism as Thought Collective and Political Program," from *Never Let a Serious Crisis Go to Waste: How Neoliberalism Survived the Financial Meltdown* (Verso, 2014).
- \*Jamie Peck, *Constructions of Neoliberal Reason* (Oxford University Press, 2010), ch. 1 ("Neoliberal worlds"), 2 ("Freedom rebooted"), 5 ("Creative liberties").
- \*Terry Flew, "Six Theories of Neoliberalism," *Thesis Eleven* 122, no. 1 (2014), pp. 49–71.
- \*Rajesh Venogupal, "Neoliberalism as a Concept," *Economy and Society*, vol. 44, no. 2 (2015): 165-187.

### **Monday, September 11: Marx and Neoliberalism**

- \*David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Basil Blackwell, 1989), Part II (pp. 121–197).
- \*David Harvey, "Afterthoughts on Piketty's Capital," *Reading Marx's Capital* website (2014).
- \*Wolfgang Streeck, "How Will Capitalism End?," *New Left Review* 87 (2014), pp. 35–64.
- Wolfgang Streeck, *Buying Time: The Delayed Crisis of Democratic Capitalism* (Verso, 2017) pp. 1-116.

### **Monday, September 25: The Influence of Neoliberal Ideas**

- \*Peter Hall, "Policy Paradigms, Social Learning, and the State: The Case of Economic Policymaking in Britain," *Comparative Politics*, vol. 25, no. 3 (April 1993), pp. 275-296.
- \*Mark Blyth, *Great Transformations: Economic Ideas and institutional Change in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), ch. 1 ("Karl Polanyi and institutional change"), 2 ("A theory of institutional change"), 5 ("Ideas to break a bargain").

- \*Peter Evans and William Sewell Jr., “The Neoliberal Era,” in Peter Hall and Michelle Lamont, eds., *Social Resilience in the Neo-Liberal Era* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), ch. 1.
- \*Vivien A. Schmidt and Mark Thatcher, “Why Are Neoliberal Ideas So Resilient in Europe’s Political Economy?”, *Critical Policy Studies* 8, no.3 (2014), pp. 340–347.
- \*Nicolas Jabko, “Contested Governance: The New Repertoire of the Eurozone Crisis” (manuscript 2017).

### **Monday, October 2: Neoliberal Economics**

- \*Marion Fourcade, *Economists and Societies: Discipline and Profession in the United States, Britain, and France, 1880s to 1990s* (Princeton University Press, 2009), “Introduction: Economics and societies”, ch. 2 (USA), ch. 4 (France).
- \*Timothy Shenk, ch. 5, “The Enemy Within,” from “Inventing the American Economy” (Columbia Ph.D. diss., 2015).
- \*Johanna Bockman, *Markets in the Name of Socialism: The Left-Wing Origins of Neoliberalism* (Stanford University Press, 2011), selections.
- \*Philip Mirowski and Dieter Plehwe, eds., *The Road from Mont Pelerin: The Making of the Neoliberal Thought Collective* (Harvard University Press, 2009), preface, introduction, ch. 4 (by Van Horn and Mirowski), ch. 7 (by Plehwe), postface.
- \*Timothy Mitchell, “Fuel Economy,” in *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil* (Verso, 2011), pp. 109–143.

### **Monday, October 9: Neoliberal Society and Subjectivity**

- \*Pierre Dardot, *The New Way of the World: On Neo-liberal Society*, trans. Gregory Elliott (Verso, 2009), selections.
- \*Dean Mathiowetz, *Appeals to Interest* (Penn State UP, 2011), ch. 1, 5, 6, epilogue.
- \*Samuel Chambers, *Bearing Society in Mind* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2014), selections.

## **Part II - Instantiations of neoliberalism**

### **Monday, October 16: Democracy and Authoritarianism**

- Wendy Brown, *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism’s Stealth Revolution* (New York: Zone, 2015), part I (“Neoliberal reason and political life”), ch. 5 (“Law and legal reason”).
- \*Juan Gabriel Valdes, *Pinochet’s Economists: The Chicago School in Chile* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), selections.
- \*Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (Penguin, 2008), ch. 2.

- \*William Connolly, *The Fragility of Things: Self-Organizing Processes, Neoliberal Fantasies, and Democratic Activism* (Duke University Press, 2013), ch. 2 (“Hayek, neoliberalism, and freedom”).

### **Monday, October 23: Colonialism and Postcolonialism**

- James Ferguson, *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order* (Duke University Press, 2006), selections.
- \*James Ferguson, “The Uses of Neoliberalism,” *Antipodes*, vol. 41, no. 1 (2009): 166-184.
- \*Clara Han, *Life in Debt: Times of Care and Violence in Neoliberal Chile* (University of California Press, 2012), selections.
- \*Amy Offner, “Anti-Poverty Programs, Social Conflict, and Economic Thought in Columbia and the United States” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2012), selections.

### **Monday, October 30: Globalization and Growth**

- Robert M. Collins, *More: The Politics of Economic Growth in Postwar America* (Oxford UP, 2000) prologue (pp. 1-16), ch. 5-7 (pp. 132-232), conclusion (pp. 233-241).
- Meg Jacobs, *Panic at the Pump: The Energy Crisis and the Transformation of American Politics in the 1970s* (Hill & Wang 2016), introduction (pp. 3-10), ch. 3-5 (pp. 89-185).
- \*Quinn Slobodian, *Globalists: The End of Empire and the Birth of Neoliberalism* (Harvard University Press, forthcoming), selections.

### **Monday, November 6: Financialization**

- Greta Krippner, *Capitalizing on Crisis: The Political Origins of the Rise of Finance* (Harvard University Press, 2011), ch. 1, 2, 5 (pp. 1-57, 106-137).
- \*Donald McKenzie, *An Engine, Not a Camera: How Financial Models Shape Markets* (MIT Press, 2006), ch. 1, 2, 9 (1-68, 243-276).
- \*Jacqueline Best, *The Limits of Transparency: Ambiguity and the History of International Finance* (Cornell UP, 2005), Ch. 1, 5, 6 (pp. 1-12, 86-144).
- \*Natasha Van der Zwan, “Making sense of financialization,” *Socio-Economic Review*, vol. 12 (2014): 99-129.

### **Monday, November 13: Incarceration**

- \*Loïc Wacquant, ch. 1, “Social Insecurity and the Punitive Upsurge,” in *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity* (Duke University Press, 2009).
- Bernard Harcourt, *The Illusion of Free Markets: Punishment and the Myth of Natural Order* (Harvard University Press, 2012), selections.

## Monday, November 27: Institutions and Elites

- Nancy MacLean, *Democracy in Chains: The Deep History of the Radical Right's Secret Plan for America* (Viking, 2017), selections.
- Rakesh Khurana, *From Higher Aims to Hired Hands: The Social Transformation of Business Schools and the Unfulfilled Promise of Management as a Profession* (Princeton University Press, 2007), selections.
- Robert Proctor and Londa Schiebinger, *Agnotology: The Making and Unmaking of Ignorance* (Stanford University Press, 2008), selections.
- Stephanie Mudge, "What is Neo-Liberalism?", *Socio-Economic Review* 6 (2008), pp. 703–731.

## Monday, December 4: Conclusion: neoliberalism and social theories

- Daniel Rodgers, *Age of Fracture* (Harvard University Press, 2011).
- Angus Burgin, "The Neoliberal Turn" (draft, 2017).

## Supplementary Readings:

- Sonja Amadae, *Prisoners of Reason: Game Theory and Neoliberal Political Economy* (Cambridge University Press, 2015)
- S. M. Amadae, *Rationalizing Capitalist Democracy: The Cold War Origins of Rational Choice Liberalism* (University of Chicago Press, 2003).
- Lucio Baccaro and Chris Howell, "A Common Neoliberal Trajectory: The Transformation of Industrial Relations in Advanced Capitalism," *Politics and Society* 39, no. 4, pp. 521–563.
- Ulrich Beck, "On the Logic of Wealth Distribution and Risk Distribution," ch. 1 in *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* (Sage, 1992).
- Johanna Bockman, *Markets in the Name of Socialism: The Left-Wing Origins of Neoliberalism* (Stanford University Press, 2011)
- Howard Brick, *Transcending Capitalism: Visions of a New Society in Modern American Thought* (Cornell University Press, 2006).
- Angus Burgin, *The Great Persuasion: Reinvention Free Markets since the Depression* (Harvard University Press, 2012).
- Philip G. Cerny, "Embedding Neoliberalism: The Evolution of a Hegemonic Paradigm," *Journal of International Trade and Diplomacy* 2, no. 1 (2008), pp. 1–46.
- Raewyn Connell and Nour Dados, "Where in the World Does Neoliberalism Come From? The Market Agenda in Southern Perspective," *Theory and Society* 43 (2015), pp. 117–138.

- Jefferson Cowie, *The Great Exception: The New Deal and the Limits of American Politics* (Princeton University Press, 2015).
- Jefferson Cowie, *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labor* (Cornell University Press, 1999).
- Mitchell Dean, "Rethinking Neoliberalism," *Journal of Sociology* 50, no. 2 (2014), pp. 150–163.
- Lily Geismer, *Don't Blame Us: Suburban Liberals and the Transformation of the Democratic Party* (Princeton University Press, 2015), pp. 1–42.
- Jeremy Gilbert, "What Kind of Thing is 'Neoliberalism'?", *new formations* 80–81 (2013), pp. 7–22.
- Robert Gordon, *The Rise and Fall of American Growth: The U.S. Standard of Living since the Civil War* (Princeton University Press, 2016).
- Peter A. Hall and David Soskice, "An Introduction to Varieties of Capitalism," in *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage* (Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 1–70.
- Peter Hall, "The Political Origins of Our Economic Discontents: Contemporary Adjustment Problems in Historical Perspective" (draft, December 2010).
- Peter Hall and Michelle Lamont, eds., *Social Resilience in the Neo-Liberal Era* (Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- Shane Hamilton, *Trucking Country: The Road to America's Wal-Mart Economy* (Princeton University Press, 2008).
- David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Louis Hyman, *Debtor Nation: The History of America in Red Ink* (Princeton University Press, 2011).
- Nicolas Jabko, *Playing the Market: A Political Strategy for Uniting Europe, 1985–2005* (Cornell University Press, 2006).
- Rakesh Khurana, *From Higher Aims to Hired Hands: The Social Transformation of Business Schools and the Unfulfilled Promise of Management as a Profession* (Princeton University Press, 2007).
- Christopher McKenna, *The World's Newest Profession: Management Consulting in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- Amy Offner, "Anti-Poverty Programs, Social Conflict, and Economic Thought in Columbia and the United States" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2012)
- Jamie Peck, "Explaining (with) Neoliberalism," *Territory, Politics, Governance* 1, no. 2 (2013), pp. 132–157.
- Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (Harvard University Press, 2014), 1–35, pp. 113–198, 234–303, 377–429, 493–539, 571–577.
- Monica Prasad, *The Politics of Free Markets: The Rise of Neoliberal Economic Policies in Britain, France, Germany, and the United States* (University of Chicago Press, 2006).

- Monica Prasad, *The Politics of Free Markets: The Rise of Neoliberal Economic Policies in Britain, France, Germany, and the United States* (University of Chicago Press, 2006).
- Robert Proctor and Londa Schiebinger, *Agnotology: The Making and Unmaking of Ignorance* (Stanford University Press, 2008).
- Magnus Ryner, "Europe's Ordoliberal Iron Cage: Critical Political Economy, The Euro Area Crisis and Its Management," *Journal of European Public Policy* 22, no. 2 (2014), pp. 275–294.
- Lester Spence, *Knocking the Hustle: Against the Neoliberal Turn in Black Politics* (Punctum, 2015).
- Daniel Stedman Jones, *Masters of the Universe: Hayek, Friedman, and the Birth of Neoliberal Politics* (Princeton University Press, 2012).
- Dag Einar Thorsen, "The Neoliberal Challenge: What is Neoliberalism?," *Contemporary Readings in Law and Social Justice* 2, no. 2 (2010), pp. 188–214.
- Fred Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism*.
- Loïc Wacquant, "Drafting the Neoliberal State: Workfare, Prisonfare, and Social Insecurity," *Sociological Forum* 25, no. 2 (2010), pp. 197–220.
- Linda Weiss, "The State in the Economy: Neoliberal or Neoactivist?," in *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Institutional Analysis* (Oxford University Press, 2010).
- Wyatt Wells, *Antitrust and the Formation of the Postwar World* (Columbia University Press, 2002).
- Samuel Wetherell, "Pilot Zones: The New Urban Environment of Twentieth Century Britain" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2016)
- Caitlin Zaloom, *Out of the Pits: Traders and Technology from Chicago to London* (University of Chicago Press, 2006).