

**UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE SANTA CATARINA
CENTRO DE FILOSOFIA E CIÊNCIAS HUMANAS
DEPARTAMENTO DE FILOSOFIA
PROGRAMA DE PÓS-GRADUAÇÃO EM FILOSOFIA**

1st Semester / 2015

Instructor:

Prof. Dr. Alessandro Pinzani

Course title:

STATE, MARKET, AND SOCIETY IN THE NEOLIBERAL AGE

Course codes:

FIL 3132 (Tópicos especiais em filosofia política)

FIL 3312 (Seminário avançado na área de ética e filosofia política II)

Course aims:

The American billionaire Warren Buffett claimed infamously (and repeatedly) that “there's class warfare, but it's my class, the rich class, that's making war, and we're winning.” Many think that this war is fought in the name of neoliberalism, but this is a relatively vague concept. What is certain, however, is that the main weapon in this war is state power. Far from having weakened the state, neoliberalism seems to have reengineered it in order to better realize its own project of reshaping society and individuals.

The course aims at grasping the complex, multilayered relation between the state, the market and society in our neoliberal age. First and foremost we shall have to understand what precisely neoliberalism is. In doing so, one should avoid to give both a too narrow definition, which considers neoliberalism to be merely an economic ideology or regime, and a too wide definition, according to which one should speak of neoliberal techniques of power, not of neoliberalism as a single phenomenon. Rather, neoliberalism should be seen as a way of (re)articulating the State, the market, and society – as well as of forming a new individual identity. Particular attention will be given to the importance of debt and of debt economy for the neoliberal project.

Course requirements:

- a) Admission to the course: The course is open to regularly enrolled participants of graduate programs of the UFSC (including DINTER students). Students of other universities or so-called “alunos especiais” should contact the professor to get permission to attend classes.
- b) Class language: The course will be held in English. Students are required to be proficient in this language (in reading, speaking and writing).
- c) Class attendance and participation policy: Students are allowed to miss a maximum of four classes. They are expected to participate actively through presentations and through discussion of the topics. Therefore, they are expected to read every week the text(s) that shall be discussed in class.

Schedule:

Classes will be held on **Tuesday** from 14:20 to 18:00

Date	Topics assignment and readings
	(RQR = Required readings; RCR = Recommended readings; FR = Further readings)
March 10	Introduction to the seminar and distribution of the presentations.
March 17	<i>Homo oeconomicus</i> and the birth of neoliberalism (RQR: Foucault) (RCR: Peck; FR: Stedman-Jones; Harvey)
March 24	Neoliberalism and globalization (RQR: Gill; RCR: Halevi & Varoufakis; FR: Prashad; Klein)
March 31	Neoliberalism and globalism (RQR: Peck & Tickell; Jessop) (FR: Peck & Theodore; Collier)
April 07	An institutionalist approach to <i>homo oeconomicus</i> (RQR: Streeck 1) (RCR: Dumenil & Levy; Piketty; Fourcade & Healy; Kapur et alii)
April 14	Neoliberalism and politics (RQR: Mudge, Munck) (RCR: Passavant; Mitchell; Wacquant 1; Poulantzas; FR: Brittan 1 & 2; Femia)
April 21	<i>Tiradentes</i>
April 28	Neoliberalism as religion (RQR: Connolly, Bigelow, Bourdieu & Wacquant, Shaik) (FR: Harris)
May 05	Reading week
May 12	Neoliberal economics (RQR: Stiglitz 1) (RCR: Varoufakis; Stiglitz 2 & 3) (FR: Meiksins Wood; Reinhart & Rogoff; Herndon, Ash & Pollin)
May 19	The founding father of Neoliberalism (RQR: Hayek 1 & 2) (RCR: Infantino; FR: Hayek 5 & 6; Plant 1; Gray)
May 26	What is Freedom? (RQR: Hayek 3; Sen) (RCR: Friedman; Plant 2)

June 02	Neoliberal arguments in practice (RQR: Becker & Posner) (RCR: Hayek 4; Becker 1 & 2; FR: Becker & Murphy; <i>Harcourt</i> ; Wacquant 2; King & Waldron; Goodin; Shapiro; Schmitdz & Goodin; MacFarlane & Bleyzer; Shorrock)
June 09	Is Neoliberalism necessarily an evil? (RQR: Ferguson) (RCR: Larner 1)
June 16	Neoliberalism, Neo-conservatism and Democracy (RQR: Brown 1) (RCR: Gilens & Page; Brown 2; Dean)
June 23	Shaping the neoliberal subject (RQR: Dardot & Laval) (RCR: Boltanski & Chiapello; Graeber 3; FR: Fisher; Crary; Jackall; New Zealand 1 & 2; Larner 2; Hochschild; <i>Illouz</i>)
June 30	Introducing debt (RQR: Graeber 1 & 2)
July 07	Debt economy and the Consolidation State (RQR: Streeck 2) (RCR: Lazzarato)
July 14	Capitalism reorganized (RQR: Azmanova) (RCR: Streeck 3; FR: <i>Crouch</i>); final discussion

Required readings:

- AZMANOVA, Albena. Capitalism Reorganized: Social Justice after Neo-liberalism. *Constellations*, 17/3, 2010, 390-406.
- BECKER, Gary; POSNER, Richard. *Uncommon Sense. Economic Insights, from Marriage to Terrorism*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009 (selected posts).
- BIGELOW, Gordon. Let There be Markets. The Evangelical Roots of Economics. *Harper's Magazine*, May 2005, 33-38.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre; WACQUANT, Loïc. NewLiberalSpeak. Notes on the New Planetary Vulgate. *Radical Philosophy*, 105, 2001, 2-5.
- BROWN, Wendy. American Nightmare: Neoliberalism, Neoconservatism, and De-Democratization. *Political Theory*, 34/6, 2006, 690-714 (BROWN 1).
- CONNOLLY, William E. The Evangelical-Capitalist Resonance Machine. *Political Theory*, 33/6, 2005, 869-886.
- DARDOT, Pierre; LAVAL, Christian. *The New Way of the World: On Neoliberal Society*. London: Verso, 2013 (Manufacturing the Neoliberal Subject, 255-299).
- FERGUSON, James. The Uses of Neoliberalism. *Antipode*, 41/1, 2009, 166-184.
- FOUCAULT, Michel. *The Birth of Biopolitics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, 267-297.
- GILL, Stephen. Globalisation, Market Civilisation, and Disciplinary Neoliberalism. *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*, 24/3, 1995; 399-423.
- GRAEBER, David. Debt. The First 5,000 Years. *Mute*, 2/12, 2009 (GRAEBER 1)
- GRAEBER, David. *Debt. The First 5,000 Years*. Brooklyn (NY): Melville House, 2011 (A Brief Treatise on the Moral Grounds of Economic Relations, 89-126) (GRAEBER 2)
- HAYEK, Friedrich von. *The Constitution of Liberty*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1978 ("Preface" and "Economic Policy and the Rule of Law", v-vi and 220-233) (HAYEK 1).
- HAYEK, Friedrich von. *Law, Legislation, and Liberty*. London: Routledge, 1982 ("The Market Order, or Catallaxy", Vol. 2, 107-132) (HAYEK 2).
- HAYEK, Friedrich von. *The Constitution of Liberty*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1978 (Liberty and Liberties, 11-21 and Coercion and the State, 131-147) (HAYEK 3).
- JESSOP, Bob. Liberalism, Neoliberalism, and Urban Governance: A State-Theoretical Perspective. *Antipode*, 34/3, 2002, 452-472 (only pp. 452-464).
- MUDGE, Stephanie L. The State of the Art. What is Neoliberalism? *Socio-Economic Review*, 6, 2008, 703-731.
- MUNCK, Ronaldo. Neoliberalism and Politics, and the Politics of Neoliberalism. In: SAAD-FILHO, Alfredo; JOHNSTON, Deborah (eds.). *Neoliberalism. A Critical Reader*. London: Pluto Press, 2005, 60-69.
- PECK, Jamie; TICKELL, Adam. Neoliberalizing Spaces. *Antipode*, 34/3, 2002, 380-404.
- SEN, Amartya. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 2000 (The perspective of Freedom, 13-34).
- SHAIKH, Anwar. The Economic Mythology of Neoliberalism. In: SAAD-FILHO, Alfredo; JOHNSTON, Deborah (eds.). *Neoliberalism. A Critical Reader*. London: Pluto Press, 2005, 41-49.
- STIGLITZ, Joseph E. Freefall. Free Markets and the Sinking of the Global Economy. London: Penguin, 2010 (Chapter 9: Reforming Economics, 238-274) (STIGLITZ 1).
- STREECK, Wolfgang. *Taking Capitalism Seriously: Toward an Institutional Approach to Contemporary Political Economy*. MPIfG Discussion Paper 10 /15, 2010 (STREECK 1).
- STREECK, Wolfgang. *The Politics of Public Debt: Neoliberalism, Capitalist Development, and the Restructuring of the State*. MPIfG Discussion Paper 13/7, 2013 (STREECK 2).

Recommended readings:

- BECKER, Gary. Investment in Human Capital. A Theoretical Analysis. *Journal of Political Economy*, 70/5, 1962, 9-49 (BECKER 1).
- BECKER, Gary. A Theory of Social Interactions. *Journal of Political Economy*, 82/6, 1974, 1063-1093 (BECKER 2).
- BECKER, Gary; MURPHY Kevin. *Social Economics. Market Behavior in a Social Environment*. Cambridge (MA): Belknap, 2000 (Part I, pp. 3-21)
- BOLTANSKI, Luc; CHIAPELLO, Éve. The New Spirit of Capitalism. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 13/4, 2005, 161-188.

- BROWN, Wendy. Neo-liberalism and the End of Liberal Democracy. *Theory and Event*, 7/1, 2003 (BROWN 2)
- DEAN, Jodi. *Democracy and Other Neoliberal Fantasies. Communicative Capitalism and Left Politics*. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2009 (Democracy. A Knot of Hope and Despair, 75-94).
- DUMENIL, Gérard; LEVY, Dominique. Costs and Benefits of Neoliberalism. A Class Analysis. *Review of International Political Economy*, 8/4, 2001, 578–607.
- FOURCADE, Marion; HEALY, Kieran. Classification Situations: Life-chances in the Neoliberal Era. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 38, 2013, 559-572.
- FRIEDMAN, Milton. *Capitalism and Freedom. The Fortieth Anniversary Edition*. Chicago: Chicago UP, 2002 (“Introduction” and “The relation between economic freedom and political freedom”, 1-21).
- GILENS, Martin; PAGE, Benjamin I. Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens.: *Perspectives on Politics*, 12/3, 2014, 564-581.
- GRAEBER, David. Turning Modes of Productions Inside Out. Or, Why Capitalism is a Transformation of Slavery. *Critique of Anthropology*, 26/1, 2006, 61-85 (GRAEBER 3).
- HARRIS, Ralph. Interview with Lord Ralph Harris for the PBS Series *Commanding Heights* (available at: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/commandingheights/shared/minitext/int_ralphharris.html)
- HALEVI, Joseph; VAROUFAKIS, Yanis. The Global Minotaur. *The Monthly Review*, 55/3, 2003, 56-74.
- HAYEK, Friedrich von. *The Constitution of Liberty*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1978 (Social Security, 285-305) (HAYEK 4).
- INFANTINO, Lorenzo. *Ignorance and Liberty*. London: Routledge, 2003 (Austrian Marginalism, 99-127).
- KAPUR, Ajay; MACLEOD, Niall; SINGH, Narendra. *Plutonomy: Buying Luxury, Explaining Global Imbalances*. Citigroup Equity Strategy Papers, 2005.
- KAPUR, Ajay; MACLEOD, Niall; SINGH, Narendra. *Revisiting Plutonomy: The Rich Getting Richer*. Citigroup Equity Strategy Papers, 2006.
- KAPUR, Ajay; MACLEOD, Niall; SINGH, Narendra et alii. *The Plutonomy Symposium: Rising Tides, Lifting Yachts*. Citigroup Equity Strategy Papers, 2006.
- LARNER, Wendy. Neo-liberalism: Policy, Ideology, Governmentality. In: *Studies in Political Economy*, 63, 2000, 5-25 (LARNER 1).
- LAZZARATO, Maurizio. *The Making of the Indebted Man. An Essay on the Neoliberal Condition*. Los Angeles: semiotext(e), 2012.
- MITCHELL, Don. Property Rights, the First Amendment, and Judicial Anti-Urbanism: The Strange Case of *Hicks v. Virginia*. *Urban Geography*, 26, 2006, 565-586.
- PASSAVANT, Paul A. The Strong Neo-liberal State: Crime, Consumption, Governance. *Theory and Events*, 8/3, 2005.
- PECK, Jamie. Remaking Laissez-Faire. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32/1, 2008, 3-43.
- PICKETTY, Thomas. *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge (MA): Belknap, 2014 (Introduction, 1-35).
- PLANT, Raymond. *The Neo-liberal State*. Oxford: OUP, 2010 (The Nature of the Neo-liberal State and the Rule of Law, 5-27 [PLANT 1] and Freedom and Coercion: An Alternative Account, 195-212 [PLANT 2]).
- POULANTZAS, Nikos. *State, Power, Socialism*. London: Verso, 2014 (Economy and Politics, 180-189).
- STIGLITZ, Joseph E. Moving beyond Market Fundamentalism to a More Balanced Economy. *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics*, 80/3, 2009, 345-360 (STIGLITZ 2).
- STIGLITZ, Joseph E.; SNOWDON, Brian. Redefining the Role of the State. Joseph Stiglitz on Building a Post-Washington Consensus. *World Economics*, 2/3, 2001, 45-86 (STIGLITZ 3).
- STREECK, Wolfgang. How Will Capitalism End?. *New Left Review*, 87, 2014, 35-64 (STREECK 3).
- VAROUFAKIS, Yanis. *The Global Minotaur. America, the True Origins of the Financial Crisis and the Future of the World Economy*. London: Zed Books, 2011, 13-17, 22-23, 133-145 and 181-184.
- WACQUANT, Loïc. Three steps to a historical anthropology of actually existing neoliberalism. *Social Anthropology / Anthropologie Sociale*, 20/1, 2012, 66–79 (WACQUANT 1).

Further readings:

- BRITTAN, Samuel. The Economic Contradiction of Democracy. *British Journal of Political Science*, 5/2, 1975, 129-159 (BRITTAN 1).
- BRITTAN, Samuel. “The Economic Contradiction of Democracy” Revisited. *The Political Quarterly*, 20/2, 1989, 190-203 (BRITTAN 2).
- COLLIER, Stephen. The Spatial Forms and Social Norms of ‘Actually Existing Neoliberalism’: Toward a Substantive Analytics. *International Affairs Working Paper*, 2005.
- CRARY, Jonathan. *24/7. Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep*. London; New York: Verso, 2013.
- CROUCH, Colin. *The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011.
- FEMIA, Joseph V. *Against the Masses. Varieties of Anti-Democratic Thought Since the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001 (Jeopardy Thesis (3): Democracy vs. Economic Efficiency, 148-158).
- FISHER, Mark. *Capitalist Realism. Is there no alternative?*. Winchester: Zero Books, 2009.
- GOODIN, Robert E. The End of the Welfare-State?. In: BALL, Terence; BELLAMY, Richard (eds.). *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 202-216.
- GRAY, John. *Hayek on Liberty*. 3rd edition. London: Routledge, 1998.

- HARCOURT, Bernard E. *The Illusion of Free Markets. Punishment and the Myth of Natural Order*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard UP, 2011.
- HARVEY, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- HAYEK, Friedrich von. *Studies in Philosophy, Politics and Economics*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1967 (The Result of Human Action, but not of Human Design, 96-105; Opening Address to a Conference at Mount Pelerin, 148-159; The Principles of a Liberal Social Order, 160-177).
- HAYEK, Friedrich von. *New Studies in Philosophy, Politics, Economics and the History of Ideas*. London: Routledge, 1978 (The Errors of Constructivism, 3-22; The Pretence of Knowledge, 23-34; The Constitution of a Liberal State, 98-104; Competition as a Discovery Procedure, 179-190).
- HERNDON, Thomas; ASH, Michael; POLLIN, Robert. Does High Public Debt Consistently Stifle Economic Growth? A Critique of Reinhart and Rogoff. *Political Economy Research Institute Working Papers*, 322, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Amherst, 2013.
- HOCHSCHILD, Arlie R. *The Managed Heart. Commercialization of Human Feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.
- ILLOUZ, Eva. *Cold Intimacies. The Making of Emotional Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007.
- JACKALL, Robert. *Moral Mazes. The World of Corporate Managers*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1988.
- KING, Desmond S.; WALDRON, Jeremy. Citizenship, Social Citizenship and the Defence of Welfare Provision. *British Journal of Political Science*, 18/4, 1988, 415-443.
- KLEIN, Naomi. *The Shock Doctrine*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007 (The Other Doctor Shock, 49-71).
- LARNER, Wendy. Post-Welfare State Governance: Towards a Code of Social and Family Responsibility. *Social Politics*, 7/2, 2000, 244-265 (LARNER 2).
- MACFARLANE, Robert; BLEYZER, Michael. Taking Iraq Private. *Wall Street Journal*, March 27th 2003.
- MEIKSINS WOOD, Ellen. *The Origin of Capitalism. A Longer View*. London: Verso, 2002 (especially: The Origin of Capitalism, 71-121).
- NEW ZEALAND BUSINEES ROUNDTABLE. *Towards a Code of Social and Family Responsibility*. 1998 (NEW ZEALAND 1).
- PECK, Jamie; THEODORE, Nik. Exporting Workfare/Importing Welfare-to-Work: Exploring the Politics of Third Way Policy Transfer. *Political Geography*, 20, 2001, 427-460.
- PRASHAD, Vijay. *The Poorer Nations. A Possible History of the Global South*. London: Verso, 2012.
- THE RESPONSE ANALYSIS TEAM. *Towards a Code of Social and Family Responsibility. The Response Report*. 1998 (NEW ZEALAND 2).
- REINHART, Carmen M.; ROGOFF, Kenneth S. Growth in a Time of Debt. *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Papers*, 15639, Cambridge (MA): Harvard University, 2010.
- SCHMIDTZ, David; GOODIN, Robert E. *Social Welfare and Individual Responsibility. For and Against*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- SHAPIRO, Daniel. *Is the Welfare State Justified?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- SHORROCK, Tim. Selling (Off) Iraq. *The Nation*, 276/4, 2003, 11-16.
- STEDMAN-JONES, Daniel. *Masters of the Universe. Hayek, Friedman, and the Birth on Neoliberal Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012 (Conclusion).
- WACQUANT, Loïc. *Punishing the Poor. The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity*. Durham: Duke UP, 2009 (WACQUANT 2).

Grading procedures:

- 1) Graded assignments:
At the end of the course, students should deliver a paper in English on a topic chosen together with the instructor. The oral presentation of topics and the participation to the debates will be graded too.
- 2) Grades weight:
 - Final paper: 60%
 - Presentation: 20%
 - Participation in the discussion: 20%

Florianópolis, February 28th 2015



Prof. Alessandro Pinzani