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 Dept. of Government, LSE
 LT 2019, 23 Sept. 2019

New Approaches in Comparative Political Economy
 GV517 MT 2019

MT 2019: Thursdays, 2-5, in PAN.2.01

This half-unit reading seminar will survey a set of major topics in the Comparative Political Economy (CPE) of advanced capitalist and developing countries. The seminar is designed for PhD students (research students) across the School wanting to familiarize themselves with some of the major themes, controversies, and research frontiers in CPE. Our goal is to nurture innovation in doctoral-level CPE research at the LSE.

The seminar will be run by Catherine Boone and David Soskice. Soskice works on the CPE of the OECD countries. Boone works on the CPE of African economies and the developing world more generally. We have two objectives in this course.

Our first objective is to develop a course focused on understanding using CPE theory to understand how the contemporary world works. While situating our analyses in the context of a changing global economy, our focus will be on describing and explaining transformation at the level of nation states. Drivers of change can be found in the locus and organization of political power, in technological change, and/or in the dynamics of capital. Our seminar will explore both productive connections and tensions that emerge across explanatory models. We are particularly interested in the rise of the Knowledge Economy, and the Euro crises have confirmed, undermined, or transformed "varieties of capitalism" and how CPE scholars should understand their similarities, differences, and dynamics. Do problems, concepts, theories and empirical categories from the VoC literature and its descendants travel to the global South?

The MT 2019 version of this course explores different forms of inequality and the politics that they produce. The hypothesis is that the political salience of different forms of inequality (a.) varies over time and space, and (b.) that political institutions play an important role in conditioning the ways in which social inequalities become politically salient and find expression in the political arena. Can we theorize ideology, collective action, and cross-national variation in policy outcomes (eg. structure of social welfare regimes) within such a framework?

Versions of this course in past years have paid particular attention to accumulation regimes and the problem of secular stagnation (and the fall-out from the 2008 global financial crisis in the OECD countries more generally), the Eurocrisis, comparative welfare states and social policy regimes, distribution and redistributive conflict, regime transitions, and the middle-income trap. As in the past, the MT 2019 course will pay particular attention to ways in which comparativists and economists frame and use concepts of economic structure, agency (individual and collective), institutions, power, and ideology in making descriptive and causal inference. We will also trace the micro and macro economic theories that are woven through these works, comparing and contrasting economic models to those proposed in other disciplines.

More detailed questions could include rethinking models of :

growth and development: changing varieties of capitalism and developmentalism under conditions of financialisation, globalisation, and post-Bretton Woods global regulatory regimes. Is capitalist democracy sustainable?

levels, structures, and effects of inequality. How can we explain over time and cross-national variation in level/forms of social contract, support, and welfare systems? Do different forms of inequality underlie support for different welfare systems?

states, nation states, and capitalism: citizenship regimes, insiderism and outsiderism, inequality, poverty, predistribution and redistribution, political accountability and political choices; predatory, rentier, state-building, and capitalist states and regimes

the political underwriting of changing asset-ownership and technological regimes: global IPR regimes, knowledge, higher education, deskilling, urban skill clusters/agglomerations, innovation and its geographic distribution across the advanced and developing world, MNEs, privatization and de-nationalization, commodification, accumulation by dispossession, capital mobility

structure and change in labor markets, mobility, labor market participation: insiderism and outsiderism; (lumpen)proletarianization, informalism, flexibilization, exclusion; careers, women, and implications for the political expression of socio-economic cleavage (eg. political parties' re-gendering or regionalization; disenfranchisement)

macroeconomics in open economies, tax regimes and financial systems, constrained and asymmetric monetary and fiscal policy; international debt regimes; the Eurozone.

A second objective is to enhance the role of the LSE as a multi- and inter-disciplinary institution for doctoral students. We aim to teach CPE not as a sub-discipline of political science but rather as a core tool for doctoral students across the social sciences, from (in LSE terms) sociology and social policy to political science and international relations, development, European studies, gender and law, as well as economics and economic history.

Participation and Assessment

-- Each seminar member will launch discussion of one week's reading (10 min. presentation, approx). You may focus on one reading (eg. book ch. or article) and discuss how it relates to other readings for that week, and to readings for earlier weeks.

-- We will reserve the last 40 min. of each seminar meeting, as well as the last 2 meetings of the term, for student presentations of dissertation proposals or chapters. Plan a 20 presentation of your work, leaving the rest of the time for discussion.

-- Assessment will be based on coursework (100%) in the MT. Each student will present their research project as described above and submit a 20 page (double spaced, approx. 5000 words) research paper, dissertation proposal, or draft dissertation chapter on T., Week 2 of LT as the basis of assessment for this course.

Books (indicative list). Avail. on-line via LSE library (see also LSE Readings on line (via course Moodle side)

Pablo Beramendi, Silja Hausermann, Herbert Kitschelt, and Hanspeter Kriesi, "Introduction," in Beramendi et al, *The Politics of Advanced Capitalism* (Cambridge U. Press/ CUP, 2015).

Torben Iversen and David Soskice, *Democracy and Prosperity: Reinventing capitalism through a turbulent century* (CUP 2019).

Bruce Achen and Larry Bartels, *Democracy for Realists: Why elections do not produce responsive government* (Princeton, 2016).

Kay Schlozman, Henry Brady and Sidney Verba, *Unequal and Unrepresented: Political Inequality and the People's Voice in the New Gilded Age* (Princeton University Press, 2018),

Pablo Beramendi, *The Political Economy of Inequality: Regions and Redistribution* (CUP, 2012)

Jonathan Rodden, *Why Cities Lose: The Deep Roots of the Urban-Rural Divide*, Basic, 2019.

Richard Baldwin, *The Globotics Upheaval: Globalization, Robotics, and the Future of Work* (London: W&N, 2019), Chs. 4, 7.

Melissa Zeigler Rogers, *The Politics of Place and the Limits to Redistribution* (Routledge 2016).

Gary Gereffi, *Global Value Chains and Development: Redefining the contours of 21st century capitalism* (CUP 2018).

Rina Agrawala, *Informal Labor, Formal Politics, and Dignified Discontent in India* (CUP 2014).

Isabela Mares, *From Open Secrets to Secret Voting: Democratic Electoral Reforms and Voter Autonomy* (CUP 2015)

L-E Cederman, K. Gleditsch, and H. Buhaug, *Inequality, Grievances and Civil War* (CUP 2013)

Course Outline and Readings

Week 1. Oct. 3. Introductions, course overview, brief discussion of paradoxes and competing approaches

Scott James and Lucia Quaglia. "Brexit and the City: Brexit and the Limits of Financial Power," Oxford/ Blavatnik Global Econ. Gov. Wkg Paper GEG 129, May 2017.

John Authers, "Brexit Can't Dull London's Trading Allure," *Bloomberg.com* [Opinion], 23 Sept. 2019.

Week 2. Oct. 10. Inequality and Institutions in CPE. What are the differences between the analytic models laid out in these two pieces? Where, if at all, do they converge?

Pablo Beramendi, Silja Hausermann, Herbert Kitschelt, and Hanspeter Kriesi, "Introduction," in Beramendi et al, *The Politics of Advanced Capitalism* (CUP, 2015), 1–64.

Lucio Baccaro and Jonas Pontussen, "Rethinking Comparative Political Economy: The Growth Model Perspective," *Politics & Society* 44/2 (2016): 175-207.

Recommended:

David Hope and David Soskice, "Growth Models, Varieties of Capitalism, and Macroeconomics," *Politics & Society* 44/2 (2016): 209-226.

Andreas Nölke and Simone Claar, "Varieties of capitalism in emerging economies," *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, 81/82, 2013. pp. 33-54.

- Carles Boix, "Economic Roots of Civil Wars and Revolutions in the Contemporary World," *World Politics* 60 (2008): 390-437.
- Stephen Haggard and Robert Kaufman, "Inequality and Regime Change," *APSR* 106/3 (August 2012): 1-22
- Ellen Meiksins Wood, "Unhappy Families: Global Capitalism in a World of Nation-States," *Monthly Review*, 51/3 (1999).
- Steven Vogel, *Marketcraft* (OUP 2018).

Week 3. Oct. 17. Income inequality: Electoral Politics of the Welfare State

Iversen and Soskice, *Democracy and Prosperity: Reinventing capitalism through a turbulent century* (CUP 2019), Chs. 1-4

Recommended

- Martin Gilens and Benjamin Page, "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens," *Perspectives on Politics*, 12/3 (Sept) 2014: 564-81.
- Robert S. Erickson, "Income Inequality of Policy Responsiveness," *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol 18, 2015: 11-29.
- Jennifer Pribble, *Welfare and Party Politics in Latin America* (CUP 2013)
- Melani Cammett and Lauren MacLean, eds., *The Politics of Nonstate Social Welfare Provision in the Global South* (Cornell 2014).
- Xian Huang, "Four Worlds of Welfare: Understanding Subnational Variation in Chinese Social Health Insurance," *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 222 (June) 2015: 449-474.
- Rubén Lo Vuolo (Ed.) *Citizen's Income and Welfare Regimes in Latin America. From Cash Transfers to Rights*, Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.51-66.
- Thandika Mkandawire, ed. *Social Policy in a Development Context* (UNRISD-Palgrave, 2005). Avail on-line at LSE.

Week 4. Oct. 24 Job Inequality: The Knowledge Economy and Its Discontents

Iversen and Sockice, *Democracy and Prosperity* (CUP 2019), Chs. 5, 6.

Christian Lyhne Ibsen and Kathleen Thelen. "Diverging Solidarities: Labor Strategies in the New Knowledge Economy," *World Politics* 69/3 (2017): 409-47.

Richard Baldwin, *The Globotics Upheaval: Globalization, Robotics, and the Future of Work* (London: W&N, 2019), Chs. 4, 7.

Recommended

- Richard Baldwin, *The Robotics Upheaval: Globalization, Robotics, and the Future of Work* (Oxford 2019).
- Scott James and Lucia Quaglia. "Brexit and the City: Brexit and the Limits of Financial Power," *Oxford/ Blavatnik Global Econ. Gov. Wkg Paper GEG 129*, May 2017.
- Daron Acemoglu and Pascual Restrepo, "AI, Automation, and Work," January 4, 2018 [NBER].
- Arlie Russell Hochschild, *Strangers in their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right* (New York: New Press, 2016).
- Wolfgang Streeck, *How Will Capitalism End?* (Penguin Random House/ Verso 2016).

- Fred Block, "Swimming Against the Current: The Rise of a Hidden Developmental State in the United States," *Politics & Society*, 2008, 36/2 : 169-206.
- James Ferguson and Tanya Li, "Beyond the Proper Job: Political-Economic Analysis after the Century of Labouring Man," Institute for Poverty, Land, and Agrarian Studies PLAAS, Working Paper 51, UWC: Cape Town, 13 April 2018.
- Rina Agrawala, *Informal Labor, Formal Politics, and Dignified Discontent in India* (CUP 2014), Ch. 1, "Informal Labor and Formal Politics."
- ILO, "Women and Men in the Informal Economy: A statistical picture" (3rd edition), Geneva, April 2018.
- James Manor and Rob Jenkins, *Politics and the Right to Work: India's National Rural Employment Guarantee Act* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
- Barrientos, S., Mayer, F., Pickles, J. and Posthuma, A. (2011b) 'Decent Work in Global Production Networks: Framing the Policy Debate', *International Labour Review*, 150(3-4): 299-317.

Week 5. Oct. 31. Political Inequality. Is political inequality a distinct dimension of inequality and if so, how do we model its relationship to other forms of inequality in producing political outcomes? How does the Ardanaz and Mares' argument relate to the main contentions of the Scholzman et al piece? What are the implications of Achen and Bartels for the Iversen and Soskice argument?

Kay Scholzman, Henry Brady and Sidney Verba, *Unequal and Unrepresented: Political Inequality and the People's Voice in the New Gilded Age* (Princeton University Press, 2018), Chs. 1, 2, 10-13 (pp. 1-49, 187-278).

Bruce Achen and Larry Bartels, *Democracy for Realists: Why elections do not produce responsive government* (Princeton, 2016), Selection TBA

Martin Ardanaz and Isabela Mares, "Labor Shortages, Rural Inequality, and Democratization," *Comparative Political Studies*, 47/12 (2014): 1639-69.

Recommended:

- Sara Wallace Goodman, *Immigration and Membership Politics in W. Europe* (CUP 2014).
- Kay Scholzman, *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy* (Princeton University Press, 2012),
- Bruce Achen and Larry Bartels, *Democracy for Realists: Why elections do not produce responsive government* (Princeton, 2016).
- RS Foa and Y. Mounk. 2016. "The Democratic Disconnect," *J. of Democracy*, 27/3: 5-17
- Karen Long Jusko, *Who speaks for the poor? Electoral Geography, Party Entry, and Representation* (CUP 2017)
- David Rueda, "Insider-Outsider Politics in Industrialized Democracies: The Challenge to Social Democratic Parties." *American Political Science Review* 99(1) (2005), 61-74.
- Isabela Mares, *From Open Secrets to Secret Voting: Democratic Electoral Reforms and Voter Autonomy* (CUP 2015)
- Tianna S. Paschel, 2016. *Becoming Black Political Subjects: Movements and Ethno-Racial Rights in Colombia and Brazil*. Princeton University Press.
- Alesina, Michaelopoulos, Papaioannou, *Ethnic Inequality*, JPE 2016

Week 6. Reading Week. No class

Week 7. Nov. 14. Spatial Inequalities: How Uneven Geography Makes Politics

Jonathan Rodden, *Why Cities Lose: The Deep Roots of the Urban-Rural Divide*, Basic Books, 2019, Chs. 1-4 (pp. 1-99).

Jonathan Rodden, "Geographic Distribution of Political Preferences," *Annual Review of Political Science* n. 13, 2010: 321-40.

Recommended:

Lars- Erik Cederman, Kristian Gleditsch, and Halvard Buhaug, *Inequality, Grievances and Civil War* (CUP 2013)

Jacqueline Behrend and Laurence Whitehead, "Territorially Uneven Democratization Processes in Large Federations," in Behrend and Whitehead, eds., *Illiberal Practices: Territorial Variance within Large Federal Democracies* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U. Press, 2016).

Nicola Lacey and David Soskice, "Crime, Punishment, and Segregation in the United States: The paradox of local democracy," *Punishment and Society* 17/4 (2015): 454-481.

Catherine Boone, *Political Topographies of the African State* (CUP 2003).

Catherine Boone, *Property and Political Order: Land Rights and the African State* (CUP 2014)

Jonathan Rodden and Ernesto Calvo, The Achilles Heel of Plurality Systems: Geography and Representation in Multi-Party Democracies, 2015, *American Journal of Political Science* 59,4: 789-805.

Week 8. Nov. 21. Spatial Inequality: Territorial Institutions and Spatial Inequality.

Spatial Inequality and Redistribution: Territorial Structure, Preferences, Unequal Representation. How and why does the territorial fragmentation of political institutions shape patterns of inequality? Do geography and differential factor mobilities matter more in some polities than others? Do these analyses address the *over time* change (secular downward trend) in welfare state generosity in the capitalist democracies?

Melissa Zeigler Rogers, *The Politics of Place and the Limits to Redistribution* (Routledge 2016).

Simona Iammarino, Andrés Rodríguez-Pose, and Michael Storper, "Regional Inequality in Europe: Evidence, Theory, and Policy Implications," *J. of Economic Geography* 19 (2019): 273-298.

Recommended:

Pablo Beramendi, *The Political Geography of Inequality: Regions and Redistribution*, CUP, 2104.

Pablo Beramendi. 2007. "Inequality and the Territorial Fragmentation of Solidarity," *International Organization* 61 (Fall): 783-820.

J-P Azam, "The Political Geography of Redistribution," in Benno Ndulu et al., *The PE of Economic Growth in Africa, 1960-2000* (Cambridge U. Press, 2008), pp. 225-248.

Agustina Giraudy and Jennifer Pribble, "Rethinking Democracy and Welfare State Universalism: Lessons from Subnational Research" *Regional and Federal Studies* (2018).

Kristin Bakke and Eric Wibbels, Diversity, Disparity, and Civil Conflict in Federal States, *World Politics*, 59/1 (2006): 1-50

- Kristin Bakke, *Decentralization and Intrastate Struggles: Chechnya, Punjab, Québec* (Princeton 2015).
- Abdul-Garafu Abdoulay, "Rethinking Spatial Inequality in Development: The Primacy of Power Relations," *Journal of Int Development*, 29 (2017): 386-403.
- Philip Manow, "Electoral Rules, Class Coalitions, Welfare State Regimes, or how to explain Esping-Anderson with Stein Rokkan," *Socio-Economic Review* 7 (2009): 101-21.

Week 9. Nov. 28. North-South Inequality: Accumulation on a Global Scale

- Dani Rodrik, "Premature deindustrialisation in the developing world.," CEPR Policy blog, 12 Feb. 2015 (4 pages)(and NBER working paper n. 20935, Cambridge, MA).
- David Harvey, "The New Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession," *Socialist Register*, 2004: 63-87
- Gary Gereffi, *Global Value Chains and Development: Redefining the contours of 21st century capitalism* (CUP 2018), Ch. 1: Emergence of Global Value Chains: Ideas, Institutions, and Research Communities

Recommended:

- Eric Rougier, "Fire in Cairo: Authoritarian-Redistributive Social Contracts, Structural Change, and the Arab Spring," *World Development* 78 (2019): 148-171.
- Yuen Yuen Ang, *How China Escaped the Poverty Trap* (Cornell 2019), Ch. 6, Connecting First Movers and Laggards, pp. 184-221.
- Mark Dincecco, *State Capacity and Development* (CUP 2019)
- Ellen Meiksins Wood, "Unhappy Families: Global Capitalism in a World of Nation-States," *Monthly Review*, 51/3 (1999).
- Ilene Grabel, *When Things Don't Fall Apart: Global Financial Governance in Developmental Finance in An Age of Productive Incoherence*, MIT Press, 2018
- Ali Kadri, *Arab Development Denied: Dynamics of Accumulation by Wars of Encroachment* (Anthem 2014).
- G. Arrighi, "The African Crisis: World Systemic and Regional Aspects," *New Left Review* 151 (May-June), 2002: 5-36.
- Kevin Gallagher, "Reforming Global Economic Governances as if Development Mattered (review article)," *Development and Change*, Vol.49/6 (Nov.) 2018: 1605-1615
- Michelle Williams, ed.. *The end of the developmental state?* Routledge 2014. See Intro and chs. by Peter Evans, Vivek Chibber (HC59.7 E61).
- Navroz K. Dubash and Bronwyn Morgan, eds. *The Rise of the Regulatory State in the Global South* (Oxford 2013).

Week 10. Dec. 5. Presentations

Week 11. Dec. 12. Presentations and Wrap-up. Class party TBA. 5:10.