This seminar is the core course for the Collaborative PhD Program with a Specialization in Political Economy. The seminar is designed to promote advanced and critical thinking on the political economy tradition and its future, including the development of core competencies around foundational concepts and contemporary debates. A primary goal is to encourage collaborative and interdisciplinary reading, thinking and discussion. The course is also designed to help guide students regarding the range of theoretical alternatives that may be of use in developing their own doctoral research.

Seminar Requirements

Assessment will be based on the level and quality of your participation (50%) and your major paper (50%). The participation mark encompasses regular weekly discussion as well as short seminar papers and presentations.

You may satisfy the major paper requirement in one of four ways:

1) A well-researched review paper based on the impact of Political Economy on your discipline;
2) A well-researched review paper based on the impact of your discipline on Political Economy;
3) A research paper based on your thesis research;
4) Another topic pertaining to the seminar, and negotiated with the professor.

Major papers will normally be 6500-7500 words in length and demonstrate a command of the literature and original thinking in the domain of political economy. Papers will be due at the end of term.

This is an advanced seminar in which regular, active, and critical participation is expected from every member of the seminar, every week. You must attend all seminar meetings, being prepared to discuss the assigned texts and related topics. Always bring the texts, and your notes on them, to each meeting; be sure to have read through and considered your peers’ papers prior to each meeting as well. Bring your written comments to each meeting. You may use the CULearn discussion board to start or continue conversations in between seminar meetings.

Students are expected to be respectful of other seminar participants inside and outside the classroom.

Each student will also pick two occasions on which to formally present on the material and write a short seminar paper on the texts for a given week:

- Each presentation, which should take approximately 20 minutes, should address the main argument, points of insight, and contentious issues in the assigned readings. If relevant, your discipline’s relationship to the general topic or to the assigned texts may also be worth explaining to the seminar. You should take 3-5 minutes at the end of the presentation to highlight the main points of your paper (below): this will set the tone and agenda for the seminar discussion to
Everyone not giving a presentation in a given week will be expected to be a discussant for the presentations and papers.

- A seminar paper should comprise a concise set of well-written, thoughtful reflections that demonstrates a close reading of one or more texts and a rich understanding of the material. It may be focused narrowly on a particular theoretical point, or it may be an exploratory paper that looks into the applicability of the week’s material to a subject of particular interest. Please distribute your papers to the seminar by mailing them, as single-spaced PDFs, by 7pm on the Sunday prior to the seminar meeting.

Letter grades on the major paper and in the course will reflect the following scheme:

A: Outstanding, highly insightful work; demonstrates fluency with the theory and a very high level of engagement with the text(s).

B: Good insights; ability to understand and engage with the text(s) is apparent, although the work may be uneven, unsustained, or there may be one or more significant oversights.

C: Level of engagement with the material and overall quality of work falls below expectations. It is given when a piece of work reflects a poor grasp of theory, an inability to develop a basic argument, and/or poor research skills. At the graduate level, a final grade of less than B- at the end of the term is considered a failure.

Late Work: Late work seriously screws up the seminar format, and cannot be accepted. Readings must be competed and papers must arrive on time.

Academic honesty: Academic honesty is crucial in the environment of a small graduate seminar, and I take it very seriously, without consideration of extraneous circumstances.

Cell phones: Cell phones should be off for the duration of the seminar.

Computers: Laptop computers should not be used in class except with documentation from the PMC that a computer is required for note-taking. In the latter case, access to the internet should be disabled. Seminar participants should be giving attention to each other and to their note-taking, not to transcribing nor to any of the variety of distractions available from the Internet.

Questions: Questions about the course material that don't come up in seminar are best handled with each other over CULearn, or with me in office hours, rather than over email. If it is impractical or impossible to schedule an office hour appointment, then you are encouraged to email me your question and I will get back to you as soon as possible.

Email turnaround time: I check my email at least once a day, but I am not perpetually connected to mobile devices nor to the Internet. Every effort will be made to respond within 24 hours to requests to schedule a meeting. Other emailed questions may take longer, depending on their content and complexity.

If you are unable to meet with me, please don’t hesitate to meet with each other. (The course material provides lots to chew on and work through collectively – even over a meal, a pint, coffee, or tea.)

*** Carleton University is on unceded, unsurrendered Algonquin land. ***
Outline of topics and assigned texts

Part I — Where we came from

January 8 Introduction and intellectual autobiographies

Students are asked to come to class each prepared to do a 10 minute presentation of their intellectual autobiography. In this informal presentation, you should discuss what formative experiences led you to come to study what you do, what influences your thinking, why you selected the topic for your planned dissertation, etc.

We will also discuss the course outline and expectations for the seminar.

No required reading for January 10. However, students may be interested in looking up and perusing any of the following:

- Geoffrey Hodgson, How Economics Forgot History: The Problem of Historical Specificity in Social Science (Routledge, 2001)
- Ben Fine and Dimitris Milonakis, From Political Economy to Economics (Routledge, 2008)

Based in part on students’ declared interests, the remainder of the seminar will be divided into several parts, highlighting both core and contested concepts in political economy.

January 15 Classical political economy: markets and capital

Robert Heilbroner, Teachings from the Worldly Philosophy, pp. 55-157 [excerpts of Smith, Ricardo, et al]

Karl Marx, Capital, ch. 25 ("The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation"), ch. 26 ("The Secret of Primitive Accumulation"), and ch. 33 ("The Modern Theory of Colonization")


Suggested:

- Kevin Anderson, Marx at the Margins: On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies (Chicago, 2010).
- David Harvey, A Companion to Marx's Capital (Verso, 2010).
January 22  Canadian political economy

Wallace Clement, “Locating the New Canadian Political Economy,” in Thomas, Vosko, and Fanelli, eds., Change and Continuity: Rethinking the New Canadian Political Economy (McGill-Queen’s, 2016)

Wallace Clement and Glen Williams “Introduction” to The New Canadian Political Economy (McGill-Queen’s, 1989), pp. 3-15.


Wallace Clement, “Autobiography” (provided by Clement)


Leo Panitch, "The Role and Nature of the Canadian State" in Panitch (ed.), The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power (University of Toronto, 1977), 3-27

Suggested:


Any of the chapters from The New Canadian Political Economy, Understanding Canada: Building on the New Canadian Political Economy, or Changing Canada: Political Economy as Transformation.

Part II — Key Concepts and Debates

January 29  What is class?

Joan Acker, Class Questions, Feminist Answers (Rowan and Littlefield, 2006), chapters 2 and 3.

Erik Olin Wright, Understanding Class (Verso, 2015), chapters 1 and 7.


Suggested:

E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (Vintage, [1963]), especially chs. 6, 8, 9, 14, and 16.


**February 5**  
**Productive labour and value theory**

Marx, selections from *Capital* and *Theories of Surplus Value* (PDF)


Suggested:

Kathi Weeks, further selections from *The Problem With Work*


David Harvie, “All Labour Produces Value for Capital and We All Struggle Against Value,” *The Commoner* 10, 132-171. [politically correct; theoretically incorrect]

**February 12**  
**Social reproduction theories**


Suggested:


Frederick Engels, *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* [1884]


**February 26 or March 5**

**Welfare states**


Asbjørn Wahl, *The Rise and Fall of the Welfare State*, ch. 1-4 (pp. 1-92)


Suggested:

Michèle Barrett, *Women's Oppression Today*, ch.7 “Feminism and the Politics of the State”

Daniel Béland and Rianne Mahon, *Advanced Introduction to Social Policy* (Edward Elgar, 2016)


Erik Olin Wright, *Understanding Class* (Verso, 2015), part 3 (chs. 10-12): “Class Struggle and Class Compromise”


**March 5 or March 12 State theory and International Political Economy**


Suggested:

Mariana Mazzucato, *The Entrepreneurial State: Debunking Public vs. Private Sector Myths* (Anthem, 2013): Introduction (1-13), chs. 1-3 (15-71), one of the case studies (chapter 5, 6, or 7), and chs. 9-10.


Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes* (ch. 9)


Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (Routledge, 1994 [1943]).


Any texts from the Poulantzas-Miliband debates

Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the 21st Century*

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**March 19**

**Communicative capitalism, Surveillance capitalism, and other 'New Economies'**

Jodi Dean, *Democracy and Other Neoliberal Fantasies: Communicative Capitalism and Left Politics*, ch. 1-2


Suggested:

Jodi Dean, *Blog Theory: Feedback and Capture in the Circuits of Drive*

Doug Henwood, *After the New Economy*

Doug Henwood, *Wall Street: How it Works and For Whom*
March 26

Rights, Recognition, and Redistribution


Nancy Fraser, “From Redistribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a 'Post-Socialist' Age” and further New Left Review debates with Iris Marion Young and Judith Butler (PDF)


Suggested:

Nancy Fraser, “Mapping the Feminist Imagination: From Redistribution to Recognition to Representation” (if you can find it)

China Mieville, Between Equal Rights (Brill, 2005)


Nicola Smith, “Toward a Queer Political Economy of Crisis”

Tom Warner, Never Going Back

April 2

Political Economies of Settler Colonialism

Glen Coulthard, Red Skin White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition (Minnesota, 2014).

Shiri Pasternak and Tia Dafnos, “How does a settler state secure the circuitry of capital?” Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 0:0 (2017), 1-19.


Suggested:

Historical Materialism special issue/roundtable on Red Skin, White Masks


Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom Through Radical Resistance (Minnesota, 2017)


“The Dene Nation: From Underdevelopment to Development” [1977], in Hugh Grant and David Wolfe, Staples and Beyond (McGill-Queen’s, 2006), 51-70.


April 9

Political ecology and climate change


Timothy Mitchell, “Carbon democracy”, Economy and Society 38:3 (2009), 399-432.

Matthew Paterson and Simon Dalby, "Empire's Ecological Tyreprints" Environmental Politics 15:1 (2006), 1-22.


Suggested:


Andreas Malm, Fossil Capital (Verso, 2016)


Daniel Tanuro, Green Capitalism: Why it Can’t Work (Fernwood, 2014)


Carla Lipsig-Mummé, ed., Climate@Work (part of Labour in Canada series; Fernwood, 2013).

Appendix: further suggested topics & readings (obviously, this is not even close to being comprehensive):

Classical Theory and Political Thought

Nikolai Kondratiev, *The Major Economic Cycles*

Ernest Mandel, *Late Capitalism*

Ernest Mandel, *Long Waves of Capitalist Accumulation*


Inequality


Debt and (Under)Development


Arturo Escobar, "Development" in *Territories of Difference*


Samir Amin, *Accumulation on a World Scale: A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment*

**Moral economies**


Christopher Lind, *Rumours of a Moral Economy* (Fernwood, 2010)


Lauren Langman and Dan Albanese, “Political Economy and the Normative: Marx on Human Nature and the Quest for Dignity,” in Michael Thompson, ed., Constructing Marxist Ethics (Brill, 2015).


**More on Value Theory**

Diane Elson, “The Value-Theory of Labour”


Karl Marx, *Theories of Surplus-Value*


Larsen, Nilges, Robinson, and Brown, eds. *Marxism and the Critique of Value* (MCM, 2014)


**Labour in Canada**

Aziz Choudry and Adrian Smith, eds., *Unfree Labour? Struggles of Migrant and Immigrant Workers in Canada* (PM Press, 2016)

Stephanie Ross and Larry Savage, eds., *Rethinking the Politics of Labour in Canada* (Fernwood, 2012)


Stephanie Ross and Larry Savage, eds., *Public Sector Unions in the Age of Austerity* (Fernwood, 2013)


**Space and Scale**


David Harvey, *Spaces of Capital* (Routledge, 2001)

David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* (Verso, 2012)


**More on (Post)colonialism and decolonization**


Aníbal Quijano, "Coloniality and Modernity" in Therborn, *Globalizations and Modernities*

Franz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*

Chandra Talpade Mohanty, *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*


**More on Neoliberalism, Globalisation, and Varieties of Capitalism**


Susan Braedley and Meg Luxton, *Neoliberalism and Everyday Life* (McGill-Queen’s, 2010).


David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford, 2005)


Gérard Duménil and Dominique Lévy, "The Nature and Contradictions of Neoliberalism" in *The Globalization Decade*

Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics* (Picador, 2010 [1979])


David McNally, *The Global Slump*

Randy Martin, *The Financialization of Daily Life*


David Harvey, *The Limits to Capital*

Makato Itoh, *The World Economic Crisis and Japanese Capitalism*

**Trade, Commodity Chains, Fisheries, and Agriculture**


Graeme Auld, *Constructing Private Governance: The Rise and Evolution of Forest, Coffee, and Fisheries Certification* (Yale, 2014)


**Race and political economy**


Himani Bannerji, The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender


David Roediger, Seizing Freedom: Slave Emancipation and Liberty for All (Verso, 2014)

Asad Haider, Mistaken Identity: Anti-Racism and the Struggle Against White Supremacy (Verso, 2018)

Patricia Hill Collins, “Black Feminist Epistemology” in Black Feminist Thought (Routledge, 2000), 251-272

Franz Fanon, Black Skin White Masks

Theodore W. Allen, The Invention of the White Race (Verso, 2 vols.)


Borders, migration, and citizenship


More on social reproduction and the political economy of care

Kate Bezanson, “Child Care Delivered Through the Mailbox: Social Reproduction, Choice, and Neoliberalism in a Theo-Conservative Canada,” in Braedley and Luxton, Neoliberalism and Everyday Life (McGill-Queen’s, 2010), 90-112.


Meg Luxton, More Than a Labour of Love (1980)


Historiographies of political economy

Perry Anderson, In the tracks of Historical Materialism


Agnes Heller, A Theory of History

Aesthetics