

## DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

### SOCI 501: Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy Winter Semester 2018

**Meeting Times:**  
**Tuesdays 11:35-1:25**  
**Location: Leacock 917**

**Professor: Barry Eidlin**  
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**Office: Leacock 820**  
**Office Hours: Tue. 1:45-3:45**

### COURSE OBJECTIVES

While this course has only recently come to McGill, it arrives with a storied history. It was originally developed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century at the University of Wisconsin–Madison by the pioneering labour economist John R. Commons, who passed it down to his student Selig Perlman, also a labour economist of considerable renown. After World War II, the famous German emigré sociologist Hans Gerth, known for his translations of the works of Max Weber, took it over. Perlman’s lectures for this course have been published as *Selig Perlman's Lectures on Capitalism and Socialism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976).

The course was originally designed to explore the distinctive, some would say “exceptional,” U.S. political and economic landscape, and how it came to be that way. While it is a landscape that has fostered historically unprecedented levels of economic growth and prosperity for some, it has also led to levels of poverty and inequality that are unmatched among comparable countries. In this redesigned version of the course, we will be enriching this analysis of American exceptionalism by comparing the U.S. with Canada. While both countries are similar in many ways, they have important differences when it comes to politics and social policy. Exploring and explaining why those differences exist can help us better understand both countries.

To do this, the course will trace the historical development of the conflict between labor and capital in the U.S. and Canada over the meaning and content of democracy, and how that conflict has shaped politics and social policy in both countries. The course is organized chronologically, moving from the mid-nineteenth century to today. Along the way we will study the struggles of labor and agrarian populists against “the interests” of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; the upheavals of the Great Depression and World War II and how they shaped the postwar period; the crises of the 1970s and the rise of neoliberalism; up to the current challenges and conflicts in the wake of the crisis of 2008. In the process, we will address questions that lie at the heart of political economy, including: Who really rules? Are capitalism and democracy compatible? Why does the U.S. have so much poverty, and why does Canada have less? Why has there been no significant socialist movement or labor party in the U.S., but there has been in Canada? Is the U.S. state weak or strong? Is Canada an economic dependency, or a global economic power?

## CLASS CULTURE AND STANDARDS OF BEHAVIOR

Grappling with the questions we will be dealing with in this course will require effort on your part. This is not a course where you can just come to class and hope to absorb something. Below I lay out my expectations of you over the course of this semester.

Reading: Students are required to read more than 100 pages per week on average. **If you are unable or unwilling to do this much reading consistently, you should drop the course now.** You must come to class prepared to discuss the readings. To help you prepare for class, I will require you to prepare short written responses to the week's readings at least nine times over the course of the semester.

Attendance: Class time will be devoted to a combination of lecturing and discussion. Attendance at all class sessions is mandatory. That said, you should absolutely not attend class if you are sick – doing so is detrimental to both your health and the health of those around you. Because of this, you may miss a total of 2 class sessions without any penalty to your grade. If you need to miss more than a total of two days during the semester because of a family or health emergency, please notify me and we will discuss your options. Please note that I will take attendance at the beginning of every session; thus, if you are late, you run the risk of being marked absent.

Participation: Beyond simply attending class, you are expected to participate in class discussions based on the readings. The required reading responses will help ensure you come to class prepared to participate. Participation includes contributing to discussion and raising questions. However, participation does not necessarily mean taking up classroom airtime. Your participation grade will not increase the more you talk. Sometimes, taking time to really listen is participating. Sometimes, helping another student draw out their point with a relevant question is participating. Sometimes, knowing when to hold back and let others speak is participating.

Most importantly, we must all work together to foster a respectful environment where everyone can voice diverse opinions and create a critical but constructive dialogue. Please be open-minded with your classmates and with me. This class deals with politically charged subject matter, and I want this class to be a safe and stimulating forum for discussion for all students.

**No laptops are allowed in class** unless you have a legitimate, OSD-documented reason and have received explicit permission from me. (I know I couldn't resist surfing the web, emailing my friends, etc., during class, so I'm removing the temptation!) Plus, recent research shows that taking notes on laptops is detrimental to learning because it results in shallower information processing (Mueller and Oppenheimer, *Psychological Science* 2014 – see article abstract at <http://pss.sagepub.com/content/25/6/1159>). You can also read a summary of other research on classroom electronics in this piece by a professor of Media Studies (i.e. someone whose job it is to study the internet and electronic communication), explaining why he does not allow electronics in class:

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/answer-sheet/wp/2014/09/25/why-a-leading-professor-of-new-media-just-banned-technology-use-in-class/>.

Cell phones must be switched off (not just set to vibrate) unless you have a legitimate need (*e.g.*, your spouse is about to have a baby or a liver transplant) that you have told me about.

### **Evaluation and Assignments**

In accord with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded.

Conformément à la Charte des droits de l'étudiant de l'Université McGill, chaque étudiant a le droit de soumettre en français ou en anglais tout travail écrit devant être noté (sauf dans le cas des cours dont l'un des objets est la maîtrise d'une langue).

In addition to course participation, you will have four main assignments over the course of the semester. These will test your ability to grapple with the central questions of the course over the course of the semester. They will include:

1. Nine structured one-page reading responses, addressing one or more of the week's readings;
2. A research proposal, using theories discussed in class to analyze in greater depth a problem we examine in class, due on MyCourses by 11:59 p.m. on **FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16**;
3. A first draft of your research paper (10 pages maximum, longer for graduate students), due on MyCourses by 11:59 p.m. on **FRIDAY, MARCH 16**.
4. A final draft of your research paper (8-10 pages maximum, longer for graduate students), due on MyCourses by 11:59 p.m. on **FRIDAY, APRIL 13**.

You have considerable leeway in determining what you write about for your paper. However, there are certain rules. Most importantly, the paper must have *a clearly-articulated problem*, which you should discuss with me beforehand. Additionally, it should be well organized, engage at least *two* assigned authors (along with other scholarly sources), and be printed and double-spaced, using 1" margins and Times New Roman font. Please format your paper references using the ASA Style Guide (<http://www.asanet.org/students/Quick%20Style%20guide.pdf>).

I am giving you time to think about and develop your ideas for your paper over the course of the semester, and will provide you with feedback at each step. Beyond the feedback you get on your assignments, I encourage you to speak with me about your ideas before you write your proposals and submit your papers.

There will be no in-class examinations in this class.

Extra Credit: I never offer extra credit. The way to succeed in this course is to do all of the assignments as best you can and come see me in office hours if your best effort is not earning you the grade you want.

### **Academic honesty**

McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see [www.mcgill.ca/students/srr/honest/](http://www.mcgill.ca/students/srr/honest/) for more information).

L'université McGill attache une haute importance à l'honnêteté académique. Il incombe par conséquent à tous les étudiants de comprendre ce que l'on entend par tricherie, plagiat et autres infractions académiques, ainsi que les conséquences que peuvent avoir de telles actions, selon le Code de conduite de l'étudiant et des procédures disciplinaires (pour de plus amples renseignements, veuillez consulter le site [www.mcgill.ca/students/srr/honest/](http://www.mcgill.ca/students/srr/honest/)).

### **Grading**

Your final grade will be based on the following:

<b>Item</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Due Date</b>
Participation (attendance 5%, preparedness 5%, discussion of material 10%)	20%	Throughout semester
Analytical Reading Responses	30%	Throughout semester (9 total)
Research proposal	10%	February 16
First draft of research paper	10%	March 16
Final draft of research paper	30%	April 13

Graduate and honors students will also be responsible for preparing notes and leading discussion for one class of your choice, which will count as part of your participation grade.

According to McGill policies, course assignments will be graded as follows:

<b>Grades</b>	<b>Grade Points</b>	<b>Numerical Scale of Grades</b>
A	4.0	85 – 100%
A-	3.7	80 – 84%
B+	3.3	75 – 79%
B	3.0	70 – 74%
B-	2.7	65 – 69%
C+	2.3	60 – 64%
C	2.0	55 – 59%
D	1.0	50 – 54%

F (Fail) 0 0 – 49%

If you are taking the course for honors or graduate credit, please see the instructor regarding special requirements.

Also, related to grading: this course has both undergraduate and graduate students enrolled. Given that these two groups are in different types of academic programs and at different stages of their education, they will be evaluated based on different sets of standards. Undergraduates will not be compared to graduate students.

### **Accommodations**

If you require special accommodations for this class, please let me know as soon as possible. You are never required to tell me personal information; however, if you are having problems that affect your ability to attend, participate, or keep up with the workload in this class, please don't wait until right before the exams to ask for help, and don't just disappear. I may be able to help you or direct you to someone else who can help you.

The McGill Office for Students With Disabilities (514-398-6009, <https://www.mcgill.ca/osd/office-students-disabilities>) provides resources for students with disabilities. You will need to provide documentation of disability to them in order to receive official university services and accommodations.

### **Absences**

If you are absent, you are still responsible for the course materials you missed. You should get the notes from someone in the class, review those notes, and come see me in office hours if you have any questions. I do not deviate from the syllabus, and if I do, I will email the class, so you can assume that what is on the syllabus is what we covered in class. Please do not email me to ask if you “missed anything important,” as that implies that every class is not important.

### **Respect**

Please be respectful of yourself, your peers, and me. This means raising your hand before speaking, keeping an open mind, and never chatting while someone else is speaking. Making excessive noise during class (such as by chatting or packing up before class is over) is rude to everyone in the room, as it denies the people around you (and yourself) a chance to learn. If you have a question, please ask me (and not your neighbor). Finally, if you make an office hours appointment with me, please show up. If you cannot come, send me an email letting me know ASAP.

## **Email**

I will be communicating with you via email a lot. Please check your McGill email regularly. I am not always available via email. I will usually be able answer your email within 24 hours (except on weekends). Please do not expect an immediate response to your emails.

Please write your emails to me like you would write an email to your supervisor or other work colleague. Emails should have a proper greeting (Hi, Hello, Dear, Greetings, etc.) followed by my name (you may call me Dr. Eidlin, Professor Eidlin, or Barry. “Mr. Eidlin” is not an appropriate form of address for university professors). The body of your email should be written in complete sentences, using standard English grammar and spelling (i.e. not in “text speak”), and should use a respectful, professional tone. Please be sure to sign your emails with at least your first name. It can be hard to tell who the email is from if you do not sign it.

## **Questions**

You can approach me with questions at any time. My preference is to answer questions in class or in office hours – this format is best for avoiding misunderstandings (which are common via email or when conversations are rushed). I am also available to answer quick questions via email (allow up to 24 hours to respond, longer if on the weekend) and right after or before class. If at any time you feel that what I am doing is not advancing your learning, please let me know (in a respectful manner) – I want each and every one of you to feel safe and to learn, so please let me know if that is not happening.

## **Reading Assignments**

Required reading assignments are compiled in a course reader available from the McGill Bookstore. I have also uploaded PDFs to the course website at myCourses (<https://mycourses2.mcgill.ca/d2l/home>). At the end of this syllabus I also include a list of optional reading that you might find helpful in putting together your research paper.

### **I. The Problem Outlined: The Liberal Tradition and its Discontents**

#### **Week 1 (January 9): The Working Class and Social Citizenship**

Popper, Karl. 2000 [1956]. “On the Non-Existence of Scientific Method,” 1956 Preface to *Realism and the Aim of Science: From the Postscript to the Logic of Scientific Discovery* (London: Routledge):5-8.

Zeitlin, Maurice. “The Four Questions, AKA How to Read” (hand-out)

Karabel, Jerome. 2010. “American Exceptionalism and the Quality of Life in the United States: Some Preliminary Statistical Observations” *UC Berkeley IRLE Working Paper*, April 30.

- Berman, Sheri. 2006. *The Primacy of Politics: Social Democracy and the Making of Europe's Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 1-19.
- Marshall, T. H. 2006 [1949]. Excerpts from "Citizenship and Social Class," pp. 30-39 in *The Welfare State Reader*, Christopher Pierson and Francis G. Castles, eds. (Cambridge: Polity).
- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press): 1-11.

### **Week 2 (January 16): Class and U.S. Political Economy**

- Moore, Barrington. 1967. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon Press): 111-155.
- Sanders, Elizabeth. 1999. *Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers, and the American State, 1877-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press):1-29.

### **Week 3 (January 23): Class and Canadian Political Economy**

- Pentland, H. Clare. 1981. *Labour and Capital in Canada 1650-1860*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company: 130-199
- Kellogg, Paul. 2015. *Escape from the Staple Trap*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press): 189-228.

### **Week 4 (January 30): The Liberal Tradition in North America**

- de Tocqueville, Alexis. 2004 [1835]. *Democracy in America, Book 1* (New York: Library of America): Author's Preface, chs. 2-3.
- Hartz, Louis. 1964. *The Founding of New Societies* (New York: Harcourt): 1-48.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1996. *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword* (New York: W. W. Norton): 77-109.
- Horowitz, Gad. 1966. "Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism in Canada: an Interpretation." *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science/ Revue canadienne d'économie et de Science politique* 32(2):143-71.

### **Week 5 (February 6): Contesting the Liberal Tradition**

- Davis, Mike. 1980. "Why the U.S. Working Class Is Different." *New Left Review*, I/123:3-44.
- Voss, Kim. 1993. *The Making of American Exceptionalism: The Knights of Labor and Class Formation in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press): 231-249.
- Gourevitch, Alex. 2013. "Wage-Slavery and Republican Liberty." *Jacobin* (Feb. 28), <http://jacobinmag.com/2013/02/wage-slavery-and-republican-liberty/>
- Wiseman, Nelson, and Benjamin Isitt. 2013. "Early Socialism in Canada: International and Regional Impulses." *American Review of Canadian Studies* 43(4):512-28.
- Kealey, Gregory S., and Bryan D. Palmer. 1982. *Dreaming of What Might Be the Knights of Labor in Ontario, 1880-1900*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press: 27-56.

## **II. Challenges to Liberalism: Populism, Depression, and War, 1890-1945**

### **Week 6 (February 13): Labor and the State at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

Sanders, *Roots of Reform*: 30-100.

Kealey and Palmer, *Dreaming of What Might Be*: 377-398.

**(RESEARCH PAPER PROPOSAL DUE BY 11:59 PM ON FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16)**

### **Week 7 (February 20): Farmers and the State at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

Sanders, *Roots of Reform*: 101-178.

Brym, Robert J. 1978. "Regional Social Structure and Agrarian Radicalism in Canada: Alberta, Saskatchewan, and New Brunswick." *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie* 15(3):339-51.

### **Week 8 (February 27): Great Depression and Labour Policy in North America**

Goldfield, Michael. 1989. "Worker Insurgency, Radical Organization, and New Deal Labor Legislation." *American Political Science Review* 83(4): 1257-1282.

Skocpol, Theda, and Kenneth Finegold. 1990. "Explaining New Deal Labor Policy." *American Political Science Review* 84(4): 1297-1315.

MacDowell, Laurel Sefton. 1978. "The Formation of the Canadian Industrial Relations System During World War Two." *Labour/Le Travail* 3:175-96.

**READING WEEK MARCH 5—MARCH 9**

### **Week 9 (March 13): Labour and Politics in the Great Depression and WWII**

Davis, Mike. 1980. "The Barren Marriage of American Labour and the Democratic Party." *New Left Review* 1/124: 43-84.

Eidlin, Barry. 2016. "Why Is There No Labor Party in the United States? Political Articulation and the Canadian Comparison." *American Sociological Review*, 81(3):488-516.

**(DRAFT OF RESEARCH PAPER DUE BY 11:59 PM ON FRIDAY, MARCH 16)**

## **III. Shaping the Postwar Period, 1941-1973**

### **Week 10 (March 20): Political Economy and Ideology**

Prasad, Monica. 2012. *The Land of Too Much: American Abundance and the Paradox of Poverty*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press: xi-xiv, 46-98.

Keynes, John Maynard. 2007 [1936]. *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave): ch. 24.

Hayek, Friedrich A. 2001 [1944]. *The Road to Serfdom* (London: Routledge): Ch. 3 (Ch. 5 recommended).

Kalecki, Michal. 1943. "Political Aspects of Full Employment." *The Political Quarterly* 14(4) 322-330.

### **Week 11 (March 27): Social Democracy and the Welfare State**

Brenner, Robert. 1985. "The Paradox of Social Democracy: The American Case." *The Year Left* 1: 32-87.

Maioni, Antonia. 1997. "Parting at the Crossroads: The Development of Health Insurance in Canada and the United States, 1940-1965." *Comparative Politics* 29(4): 411-31.

### **V. Neoliberalism and Crisis, 1973-present**

### **Week 12 (April 3): Crisis, Neoliberalism, and Policy Effects**

Krippner, Greta. 2011. *Capitalizing on Crisis: The Political Origins of the Rise of Finance* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press): 1-26.

McCarthy, Michael A. 2014. "Turning Labor Into Capital: Pension Funds and the Corporate Control of Finance." *Politics and Society* 1-33.

Myles, John. 1996. "When Markets Fail: Social Welfare in Canada and the United States." Pp. 116-40 in *Welfare States in Transition: National Adaptations in Global Economies*, edited by Gøsta Esping-Andersen. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE.

### **Week 13 (April 10): Capitalism, Crisis, and Democracy**

Streeck, Wolfgang. 2011. "The Crises of Democratic Capitalism." *New Left Review* 71(Sept.-Oct.): 5-29.

Moody, Kim and Charles Post. 2014. "The Politics of U.S. Labour: Paralysis and Possibilities." *Socialist Register* (2015):295-317.

Ross, Stephanie, and Larry Savage, eds. 2012. *Rethinking the Politics of Labour in Canada*. Winnipeg, Man.: Fernwood Publishing Co.: 7-32

**FINAL PAPER DUE ON MYCOURSES BY FRIDAY, APRIL 13 AT 11:59 PM.**

### **Supplementary Readings**

Below you will find a very non-systematic, non-exhaustive list of additional readings that relate to the course material. These are pieces that would have ended up on the syllabus if we had more time together. You might find them helpful as you put together your final research papers.

#### **Agrarian Populism**

Clemens, Elisabeth S. 1997. *The People's Lobby: Organizational Innovation and the Rise of Interest Group Politics in the United States, 1890-1925*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hansen, John Mark. 1991. *Gaining Access: Congress and the Farm Lobby, 1919-1981*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kazin, Michael. 1998. *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Schwartz, Michael. 1976. *Radical Protest and Social Structure: The Southern Farmers' Alliance and Cotton Tenancy, 1880-1890*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

### American Exceptionalism

Archer, Robin. 2007. *Why Is There No Labor Party in the United States?* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Foner, Eric. 1984. "Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?" *History Workshop Journal* 17(Spring):57–80.

Holt, James. 1973. "The Trade Unions and Socialism in the United States." *Journal of American Studies* 7(3):321–27.

Jacoby, Sanford M. 1991. "American Exceptionalism Revisited: The Importance of Management." Pp. 173–200 in *Masters to Managers: Historical and Comparative Perspectives on American Employers*, edited by Sanford M. Jacoby. New York: Columbia University Press.

Katznelson, Ira. 1978. "Considerations on Social Democracy in the United States." *Comparative Politics* 11(1):77–99.

Shafer, Byron E. 1999. "American Exceptionalism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2(1):445–63.

### Labour

Ansell, Christopher K. and Antoine Joseph. 1998. "The Mass Production of Craft Unionism: Exploring Workers' Solidarity in Late Nineteenth-Century France and America." *Politics and Society* 26(4):575–602.

Babson, Steve. 1999. *The Unfinished Struggle: Turning Points in American Labor, 1877-Present*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

Brenner, Aaron, Robert Brenner, and Cal Winslow, eds. 2010. *Rebel Rank and File: Labor Militancy and Revolt From Below During the Long 1970s*. New York and London: Verso.

Camfield, David. 2011. *Canadian Labour in Crisis: Reinventing the Workers' Movement*. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Fernwood.

Fudge, Judy, and Eric Tucker. 2001. *Labour Before the Law: The Regulation of Workers' Collective Action in Canada, 1900-1948*. Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press.

Greenstone, J. David. 1969. *Labor in American Politics*. New York: Knopf.

Isitt, Benjamin. 2011. *Militant Minority: British Columbia Workers and the Rise of a New Left, 1948-1972*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Jamieson, Stuart M. 1968. *Times of Trouble: Labour Unrest and Industrial Conflict in Canada, 1900-66*. Ottawa: Task Force on Labour Relations.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1973. *Industrial Relations in Canada*. 2nd ed. Toronto: Macmillan.

Kimeldorf, Howard. 1988. *Reds or Rackets? the Making of Radical and Conservative Unions on the Waterfront*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lichtenstein, Nelson. 1989. "From Corporatism to Collective Bargaining: Organized Labor and the Eclipse of Social Democracy in the Postwar Era." Pp. 122–52 in *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980*, edited by Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 2003. *State of the Union: A Century of American Labor*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- McInnis, Peter S. 2002. *Harnessing Labour Confrontation: Shaping the Postwar Settlement in Canada, 1943-1950*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Milkman, Ruth. 1987. *Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex During World War II*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Moody, Kim. 1988. *An Injury to All: The Decline of American Unionism*. London; New York: Verso.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2007. *US Labor in Trouble and Transition: The Failure of Reform From Above, the Promise of Revival From Below*. London; New York: Verso.
- Orren, Karen. 1991. *Belated Feudalism: Labor, the Law, and Liberal Development in the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Perlman, Selig. 1928. *A Theory of the Labor Movement*. New York: Augustus M. Kelley.

### Left Politics

- Davis, Mike. 1999. *Prisoners of the American Dream: Politics and Economy in the History of the US Working Class*. New York and London: Verso Books.
- Gourevitch, Alex. 2014. *From Slavery to the Cooperative Commonwealth*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Iton, Richard. 2000. *Solidarity Blues: Race, Culture, and the American Left*. The University of North Carolina Press.
- Kelley, Robin D. G. 1990. *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Marks, Gary, Heather A. D. Mbye, and Hyung Min Kim. 2009. "Radicalism or Reformism? Socialist Parties Before World War I." *American Sociological Review* 74(4):615–35.
- Mills, Sean. 2010. *The Empire Within: Postcolonial Thought and Political Activism in Sixties Montreal*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

### New Deal

- Ferguson, Thomas. 1984. "From Normalcy to New Deal: Industrial Structure, Party Competition, and American Public Policy in the Great Depression." *International Organization* 38(1):41–94.
- Gilbert, Jess, and Carolyn Howe. 1991. "Beyond 'State vs. Society': Theories of the State and New Deal Agricultural Policies." *American Sociological Review* 56(2):204–20.
- Harris, Howell J. 1982. *The Right to Manage: Industrial Relations Policies of American Business in the 1940s*. Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Swenson, Peter. 1997. "Arranged Alliance: Business Interests in the New Deal." *Politics and Society* 25(1): 66-116.

### 1970s Crisis/Neoliberalism

- Hacker, Jacob S. and Paul Pierson. 2010. *Winner-Take-All Politics*. New York: Simon & Shuster.

- Lazonick, William, and Mary O'Sullivan. 2000. "Maximizing Shareholder Value: a New Ideology for Corporate Governance." *Economy and Society* 29(1):13–35.
- Mizruchi, Mark S. 2013. *The Fracturing of the American Corporate Elite*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Panitch, Leo and Sam Gindin. 2012. *The Making of Global Capitalism: The Political Economy of American Empire*. New York: Verso.
- Saad-Filho, Alfredo, and Deborah Johnston. 2005. *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*. London: Pluto Press.

### Welfare States

- Myles, John, and Jill Quadagno. 2002. "Political Theories of the Welfare State." *Social Service Review* 76(1):34–57.
- Orloff, Ann Shola. 1993. "Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: the Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States." *American Sociological Review* 58(3):303–28.
- Pierson, Christopher. 1991. *Beyond the Welfare State? the New Political Economy of Welfare* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press).