

SOCIOLOGY 621

CLASS, STATE AND IDEOLOGY:

AN INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST SOCIAL SCIENCE

Fall Semester, 1999

Professor Erik Olin Wright

Department of Sociology

University of Wisconsin, Madison

Office: 8112D Social Science

Office hours: 8:30-10:00 a.m., MW, Catacombs Coffeehouse

email: Wright@ssc.wisc.edu

This course provides a rigorous introduction to the core concepts, ideas and theories in the Marxist tradition of critical social science. It is not primarily a course on Marx *per se*, or on the historical development of Marxism as an intellectual tradition, but rather on the logic, concepts and theories of that tradition. The emphasis, therefore, will be on contemporary problems and debates rather than on the history of ideas. The course will also not attempt to give equal weight to all varieties of Marxisms, but rather will focus especially on what has come to be known as "Analytical Marxism".

The course will revolve around seven broad topics: Marxism as a social science; The theory of history; class structure; class formation and class struggle; the theory of the state and politics; ideology and consciousness; socialism and emancipation. Within each of these topics we seek to achieve four objectives: (1) define the decisive differences between the treatments of various topics within the Marxist (and other radical) traditions and "conventional" sociology; (2) present a systematic account of the central concepts and propositions within Marxist and other critical approaches to the topic; (3) examine some of the most salient debates within contemporary discussion on each topic, and locate unresolved questions and gaps in the theory; (4) discuss some of the key empirical and historical research problems generated within these debates.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Course topics	ii
Requirements	v
Lecture Schedule	viii
 Course Topics	
 PART I. INTRODUCTION: METATHEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS	
1. What is "Critical" in Critical Social Science?	1
2. What is "Scientific" in Critical Social Science?	2
3. Miscellaneous Metatheoretical Issues: levels of abstraction; structures & actors; micro/macro analysis ...	3
4. The Project of Reconstructing Marxism as a Critical Social Science	4
 PART II. THE THEORY OF HISTORY	
5. What is a "theory of history"?	5
6 & 7. The Classical Theory of History	5
8. Critiques and reconstructions	7
 PART III. CLASS STRUCTURE, CLASS FORMATION AND CLASS STRUGGLE	
9. What is Class?	9
10. The Concept of Exploitation	10
11. Rethinking the Class Structure of Capitalism	11
12. Class and Gender	13
13. Class and Race	14
14. The "Death of Class" debate	15
 IV. CLASS FORMATION	
15. Basic Concepts of class formation	16
16. Rationality, solidarity and class struggle	16
17. Dilemmas of Working Class Collective Action	17
18. Class Compromise:	17
 PART V. THE THEORY OF THE STATE AND POLITICS	
19. What is "Politics"? What is "the state"?	19
20. What, if anything, makes the capitalist state a <i>capitalist</i> state? Is the state a <i>patriarchal</i> state?	20
21. The State & Accumulation: functionality and contradiction	21
22. The State and the Working Class: The democratic capitalist state and social Stability	22

PART VI. IDEOLOGY AND CONSCIOUSNESS

23. What is Ideology? 23

24. Mystification: ideology as false consciousness 24

25. Ideological Hegemony and Legitimation 25

26. Ideology and Exploitation: the problem of consent 27

27. Explaining Ideology: Micro-foundations for the theory 27

PART VII. SOCIALISM AND EMANCIPATION

28. The Classical Theory of Socialism 28

29. New Models of emancipatory futures 29

30. Radically Transforming Capitalism: traditional Marxist perspectives 31

SUPPLEMENTARY TOPICS

SUPPLEMENTARY TOPICS ON METHODOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

(v). Concept Formation 32

(vi). Varieties of Explanation: functional, causal, intentional 33

(vii). Causal Primacy 34

(viii).Methodological individualism and holism 34

(ix). Causation: determination and contradiction 35

(x) Determination: The problem of agency and transformative determinations 36

(xi). Different Marxist Understandings of What Constitutes "Method" 36

(xii). "Economic Determination in the Last Instance": in what sense is Marxism "materialist"? 37

(xiii).Theory and Practice 38

SUPPLEMENTARY TOPICS ON THE THEORY OF HISTORY

(i). An Historical Example: The Origins of Capitalism 39

(ii). NonMarxist Theories of History 40

SUPPLEMENTARY TOPICS ON CLASS STRUCTURE

(i). The Bourgeoisie in Advanced Capitalism I: the Social Constitution of the Ruling Class 40

(ii). The Bourgeoisie in Advanced Capitalism II: Structural Differentiation and Integration 41

(iii). The Bourgeoisie in Advanced Capitalism III: the problem of management 41

(iv). The Traditional Petty Bourgeoisie 42

(v). Internal Differentiation of the Working Class 42

(vi). Empirical Studies of Class Structure 43

(vii). Race and Class: the underclass debate 43

(viii). Gender and Class: alternative class analyses of gender	44
--	----

SUPPLEMENTARY TOPICS ON CLASS FORMATION

(i). The labor process and class formation	45
(ii). Class Structure and Class Formation in the Third World	46
(iii). Explaining Variations in Capitalist Class Formation	46
(iv). Explaining Variations in Working Class Formation	47

SUPPLEMENTARY TOPICS ON THE STATE

(i). Alternative Marxist perspectives on the State: "structuralist" and "instrumentalist" approaches ...	48
(ii). Critical Theory approaches to the state: Habermas	49
(iii). The State as a "Condition of Existence" of Capital: "post-Althusserian" British Marxism	50
(iv). Capital Logic and State Derivation Perspectives	50
(v). Gramsci and the State	51
(vi). The State and the Oppression of Women	52
(vii). The State in the Third World	53
(viii). American Exceptionalism	53
(ix). Explaining variations in Welfare State policies	55
(x). The logic of electoral politics: voting and voters	57
(xi). Strategies of empirical research on the state and politics	58
(xii). The "state-centered" approach to politics	58

SUPPLEMENTARY TOPICS ON IDEOLOGY

(i). Ideology, Science and Knowledge	59
(ii). Rationality and Communication: Critical Theory's Contribution to Marxist Theories of Ideology ..	60
(iii). Deconstructing Ideological Practices	61
(iv). Explaining Ideology: Power, Interests and the Production of Ideology	62
(v). Strategies of Empirical Research on Class Consciousness	62
(vi). The "Dialectic" of the material and the cultural	63

SUPPLEMENTARY TOPICS ON SOCIALISM

(i). Classes in "Actually Existing Socialisms"	64
(ii). Perspectives on the attempts at Reform in State Socialist Societies in the 1970s and 1980s	64
(iii). The Working Class in State Socialist Societies	65

ADDITIONAL TOPICS

A. POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION

1. The Labor Theory of Value I: The Commodity, Commodity Production and Exchange	66
2. The Labor Theory of Value II: Labor, Labor Power and Capitalist Exploitation	67
3. Critiques of the Labor Theory of Value	67
4. The Labor Process	68

5. Accumulation and Crisis Theory	70
6. Internationalization of Capital and Problems of Stagnation	71
7. The Distinctive Contradictions of Late Capitalism	72
8. Explaining Technical Change	72
9. Imperialism I: Why Imperialism? Classical Views and Contemporary Reformulations	72
10. Imperialism II: Dependency Theory	73
11. Imperialism III: The Impact of Imperialism -- progressive or regressive?	73

B. MARXISM AND FEMINISM

1. The Classical Marxist Interpretation: Engels on Women	74
2. Contemporary Marxist Approaches to the Oppression of Women	74
3. The "Dual Systems" Approach	75
3. Towards a Dialectical Theory of class and gender: Class and Sex as Asymmetrically Interdependent	76

GENERAL COURSE REQUIREMENTS

WRITTEN WORK

1. Short Papers

During the semester students are required to write *three* short 8-10 page papers. These are **NOT** meant to be mini-term papers requiring additional reading and a great deal of time, but instead should be concise reflections and analyses of issues raised in the core readings and lectures. These papers should be typed, and should not exceed 10 double-spaced typewritten pages. Longer papers are not better papers.

For each paper, your assignment is to take one or more of the readings in the syllabus for a section of the course preceding the paper's due date (see below), and write an essay engaging the central idea(s) of the reading. The readings can be from either the core or suggested readings for a topic. The precise form of this essay is up to you. It can be written as if it were designed to be a published "commentary" in a journal, or a book review, or a substantive essay in its own right dealing with the issues in the reading. The paper can certainly bring in material from outside the readings for the course, but this is not necessary. The important thing, however, is that the essay should not be merely (or even mainly) expository. It should be "critical," meaning that you should engage the arguments under review. In general, in an 8 page paper of this sort no more than two pages should be directly summarizing the reading itself.

The papers (drawing from the readings and discussion for the indicated sessions) are due at the beginning of class on the following dates:

- Paper #1 (sessions 1-11): October 18
- Paper #2 (sessions 12-20): November 15
- Paper #3 (sessions 21-30): December 15

The three papers must be written on three different sections of the course. Thus, if you write a paper from Part III for paper #1 you must write on part IV in paper #2.

Be warned: *These are firm deadlines.* The punishment for delinquent paper is that I will not write *any* comments on them.

I encourage students to hand in their papers before the due date. I will try to read them quickly and give you comments so you will have time to revise and resubmit the paper if you wish. Students can also revise the first two papers in light of my comments up to the due date for the next paper and resubmit them *so long as the revisions are not merely cosmetic*. If the paper is significantly better, your grade will change accordingly. The third paper can only be revised if it is handed in sufficiently before the due date that I can give comments on it.

2. Comments on Papers

In addition to writing these papers, students are required to prepare written comments on papers by **two (2)** other students in the class for each of the first two papers handed in. It is often easier to recognize problems in reading other people's writing than in one's own, and thus exchanging and criticizing each other's papers is a good way of improving one's writing and analytical skills. **Students should thus always hand in three copies of each paper they write.** I will keep one and distribute two. Comments on other students' papers will be due one week after the papers are distributed. When you give the comments back to the students whose papers you have read, you should give me copies of the comments so that I know that they have been done.

EXTRA SESSIONS AND TUTORIAL HELP

The ideas and readings in this course are difficult, and it is always a challenge to teach this kind of material when students in the class have such different levels of background and the class includes graduate students as well as undergraduates. Because this is a core course in the graduate sociology program in class analysis, I do not want to water it down by gearing it primarily to students without much prior knowledge of the material. In order to deal with this problem I am doing three things:

- (1). *Undergraduate discussion session.* I will hold a bi-weekly discussion section with undergraduates which will meet at my house (1101 Grant Street, 1 mile from the social science building) on Fridays 10-11ish. I will meet with the undergraduates in the class the first week to see if students would actually come to this discussion. I do not want to schedule this extra session unless students make a strong commitment to come.
- (2). *Office Hours.* I will hold office hours on Mondays and Wednesdays before class from 8:30-10 in the Catacombs coffee house (the basement of Pres House). Students do not need to make appointments for this; it is a chance to ask questions and get clarifications on the material.
- (3). *Graduate Student Mentoring.* We will set up a mentoring system within the class in which every undergraduate will have a specific graduate student mentor to help with the material. I strongly believe that teaching is one of the best ways of learning and thus I see this mentoring relation as beneficial to the graduate students as well as the undergrads. (Depending upon the ratio of graduate students to undergrads, we may rotate the mentoring responsibilities during the semester.)

A NOTE ON THE SCOPE OF THE COURSE

Two comments are needed on the scope of this course -- the first on the question of theoretical perspectives and the second on substantive topics. Over the years that I have taught versions of this course some students complain that it is not really a course on Marxism but on "Wrightism": some of the readings come from my own published work, and most of the lectures focus on the core ideas of the variety of Marxism within which I do my own work, "Analytical Marxism". There is thus very little discussion of Hegelian Marxism, of the Frankfurt school, of various forms of culturalist Marxism, of classical Marxism, or of the rich body of Marxist historical writing. Some of the times I have taught the course I tried to incorporate significant material from these other perspectives in the course, but in the end it was never very satisfactory. Including these kinds of alternative perspectives always meant dropping important topics from the course agenda, and in any case, many students wondered why I included these readings when I was so critical of them (especially for their obscurantism). Given the time constraints, I decided in the end that it is better to organize the course around the ideas and approaches I find most powerful and compelling.

In terms of substantive topics, there are two very large gaps in the course -- gender and race. Here the only

issue is the available time in the semester. When this was a two-semester course, we spent three weeks specifically on feminism and at least two weeks on race. In a single semester, this was impossible. As a result, the course is restricted to the core topics within Marxist class analysis -- class, state and ideology. We will periodically discuss problems of gender analysis and race, but except for one session they will not be the central focus of concern.

READING MATERIALS

This course requires extensive reading. I would not assign a given piece if I didn't think it worth the effort, but the effort required will be considerable. For the entire semester there are about 2,500 pages of reading, or about 150 pages per week. Ideally, you should try to do most of the reading before the lectures. The following books, which are suggested for purchase, have been ordered at the University Bookstore. Most of them should also be on reserve in H.C. White:

Background reading for many of the topics: Tom Mayers, *Analytical Marxism* (Sage, 1994) This book is an excellent exegesis of many of the ideas we will be discussing. It is useful as a reference work and will provide useful background for many students.

Core readings:

Adam Przeworski, *Capitalism and Social Democracy* (Cambridge U. Press, 1985)
Erik Wright *Class Counts* (Cambridge University Press, 1997)
Erik Wright, *Interrogating Inequality* (Verso: 1994)
G.A. Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory of History: a defense* (Princeton U.P., 1978)
Goran Therborn, *The Power of Ideology and the Ideology of Power* (London, Verso: 1980)

Supplementary readings: Three other books have been ordered at the bookstore for use as supplementary readings for the course.

Erik Wright, Andrew Levine and Elliott Sober, *Reconstructing Marxism* (Verso, 1993)
Clyde Barrow, *Critical Theories of the State* (U.W. Press, 1993)
Terry Eagleton, *Ideology* (Verso 1990)

In addition, a packet of photocopied reading materials has been prepared for your use covering the CORE readings assigned in the course. These will be available at the Social Science Copy Center. There will also be a copy on reserve in the Social Science Reading Room.

Organization of the Syllabus

The readings in each section are grouped under several categories. These should be interpreted as follows:

BACKGROUND READINGS: These readings generally provide a quick and simple overview of a general topic area. They are frequently not as analytically rigorous as the main readings, but may be useful to get a general sense of concepts and issues, especially for people with little or no background in the particular topic.

CORE READINGS: These are the readings which all students are expected to read as part of the normal work in the course. If one of these readings is more essential than others, it will be designated with an asterisk (*). The lectures will presuppose that students have read of these core readings prior to the lecture. In the syllabus, readings in the photocopied reader are denoted by brackets.

SUGGESTED READINGS: Graduate students taking the course are expected to read at least some of the suggested readings, and undergraduates are encouraged to do so. Students who are using the bibliography to study for the Class Analysis and Historical Change Prelim Examinations should read extensively in the suggested readings

sections.

SUPPLEMENTARY AND ADDITIONAL TOPICS: The syllabus also contains extended reading lists on topics that we will not directly discuss in the course. Some of these are supplementary topics to the six parts of the course; others are additional topics that go beyond the specific agenda of class, the state and ideology. Originally this course was a two semester sequence, and in transforming it into a one semester course we had to omit a great deal of important material. Most of these omitted sections have been included either as "supplementary" or "additional" topics.

SCHEDULE OF LECTURE TOPICS**PART I. INTRODUCTION: METATHEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS**

- 9/8 1. What is "Critical" in Critical Social Science?
9/13 2. What is "scientific" in critical social science: a realist approach to science
9/15 3. Miscellaneous Metatheoretical Issues: levels of abstraction; structure & agency; micro/macro levels of analysis
9/20 4. The project of reconstructing Marxism as a Critical Social Science

PART II. THE THEORY OF HISTORY

- 9/22 5. What is a "theory of history"?
9/27 6. The Classical Theory of History
9/29 7. The Classical theory of History, continued
10/4 8. Critiques and reconstructions

PART III. CLASS

- 10/6 9. What is Class?
10/11 10. The Concept of Exploitation
10/13 11. Rethinking the Class Structure of Capitalism
10/18 12. Class and Gender
10/20 13. Class and Race
10/25 14. The "Death of Class" debate

PART IV. CLASS FORMATION

- 10/27 15. Basic Concepts of class formation.
10/27 16. Rationality, solidarity and class struggle (Elster)
11/1 17. Dilemmas of working class collective Action (Offe)
11/3 18. The Material Basis of Class Compromise (Przeworski)

PART V. THE THEORY OF THE STATE AND POLITICS

- 11/8 19. What is "Politics"? What is "the state"?
11/10 20. What, if anything, makes the capitalist state a *capitalist* state? Is the state a *patriarchal* state?
11/15 21. The State & Accumulation: functionality and contradiction
11/17 22. The State and the Working Class: The democratic capitalist state and social reproduction

PART VI. IDEOLOGY AND CONSCIOUSNESS

- 11/22 23. What is ideology?
11/24 24. Mystification: ideology as false consciousness
11/29 25. Ideological hegemony and legitimation
12/1 26. Ideology and Exploitation: the problem of consent
12/6 27. Explaining Ideology: Micro-foundations for the theory

PART VII. SOCIALISM AND EMANCIPATION

- 12/8 28. The Classical Theory of Socialism
12/13 29. New Models of emancipatory futures
12/15 30. Radically Transforming Capitalism: traditional Marxist perspectives

PART I. INTRODUCTION: METATHEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

In these first four sessions we will explore a range of metatheoretical issues which we will encounter in different ways throughout the semester. By "metatheory" in this context I mean general principles which guide the way we create, use, test and revise social theory.

1. WHAT IS "CRITICAL" IN CRITICAL SOCIAL SCIENCE?

It is useful to distinguish two kinds of theoretical enterprises in social sciences:

#1. Attempts to describe and explain social phenomena in terms of the *actual variations which occur empirically* in the world. Theoretical attention is thus restricted to empirically observable variations which actually occur.

#2. Attempts to describe and explain social phenomena in terms of *variation beyond the limits of what has actually occurred in the world*. Theoretical attention thus allows inclusion of states of the world which do not exist.

Empiricist social science basically adopts the first of these stances. If you want to study inequality, for example, this implies that you study variations in actual levels of inequality, either by looking at variations across individuals or by looking at variations across societies. The value "complete equality" is not considered a legitimate value on the variable "degree of inequality", since there are no empirical instances where this has occurred.

Critical social science, on the other hand, always encompasses consideration of variation outside of the range of empirically existing reality. The critical theory of communication elaborated by Habermas, for example, includes "domination-free communication" as a form of the variable "communication relations"; the critical theory of gender relations includes the value "gender equality" in the variable "gender relations"; and the critical theory of class relations -- Marxism -- includes the value "communism" in the variable "social organization of production". This does not mean that critical theories are not also *empirical* -- they are constructed and revised through an engagement with evidence from the world -- but they are not simply *empirical generalizations* from observable variation.

We will briefly distinguish three forms of critical theory in this session. These are distinguished in terms of how they think about the relevant "alternative" to the existing world: in strictly *moral* terms (utopian critical theory); in terms of *feasible*, but not necessarily likely, alternatives; or in terms of *immanent* alternatives, alternatives that are actively being posed by the causal forces at work in the existing world. Marxism, I will argue, has traditionally been a particular form of an immanent, critical theory, although increasingly many Marxists have shifted towards the less deterministic understanding of feasible alternatives.

CORE READING:

3. Raymond Geuss, *The Idea of Critical Theory*, chapter 3."Critical Theory", pp.55-95
4. Erik Olin Wright "Reflections on *Classes*; section 3. Role of the Scientist", in Erik Olin Wright, et. al. *The Debate on Classes* (London: Verso, 1989) pp.67-77; Michael Burawoy, "The Limits of Wright's Analytical Marxism and an Alternative", pp.78-99; Erik Olin Wright, "Reply to Burawoy," pp. 100-104.

SUGGESTED READINGS:

- Alvin Gouldner, *The Two Marxisms* (New York: Seabury Press, 1980), especially chapter 1, "Introduction" and c. 2, "Marxism as Science and Critique."

2. WHAT IS "SCIENTIFIC" IN CRITICAL SOCIAL SCIENCE: a realist approach to science

One of the most contested issues among critical/radical social theorists in recent times is the status of "science" itself. There are strong currents in contemporary thought which often go under the loose rubric "post-modernism" (or sometimes "post-structuralism") which reject the possibility of anything approaching an "objective" social science. Not only are causal explanations dismissed, but even the possibility of factually accurate descriptions is challenged. Since all knowledge must be constructed through discourses, postmodernists often argue, knowledge can never be said to genuinely "represent" or "reflect" anything.

In this session I want to defend an alternative stance towards the enterprise of critical social science, one which affirms the possibility of knowledge within a framework that is sometimes called "scientific realism." I will try to show that while knowledge is formulated through discourses, nevertheless the goal of science is adopt those discourses which enable knowledge also to be effectively constrained by "reality". Realism thus rejects the radical perspectivism of post-modernism by claiming that knowledge of the world is possible.

Realism, as I will elaborate it, should not be confused with empiricism and positivism. In a purely empiricist approach to knowledge, concepts are seen as directly derivable from theory-neutral processes of observation and mental operations, and the causal linkages between concepts are assumed to have a one-to-one correspondence to empirically observable relations among the objects of investigation. Theory, to the pure empiricist, can therefore be constructed simply on the basis of ever-more-refined empirical generalizations. In contrast, within a realist conception of science, it is not assumed that real relations and causes are always observable, and thus the concepts necessary for understanding reality cannot be simply derived from observation in a simple theory-neutral way. Theory is seen as a necessary condition for scientific observation; theory can never simply be a generalization from pretheoretical observation (since there can be no such thing as pretheoretical observation). The task of theory, then, is to provide a coherent explanation of the real mechanisms and processes which produce the empirical generalizations which we encounter as we experience the world, not simply to order systematically those generalizations.

CORE READING:

5. Andrew Collier, *Critical Realism* (London: Verso, 1994), chapter 1., "Why Realism? Why Transcendental?", pp.3-30
6. Russel Keat and John Urry, *Social Theory as Science* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975) Part One: Conceptions of Science, pp. 3-65 [required: 27-45; the rest is recommended]

Erik Olin Wright, "Marxism as Social Science", chapter 9 in *Interrogating Inequality*.

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

- Roy Bhaskar, *A Realist Theory of Science*, (Harvester, 1975), pp.12-62
Roy Bhaskar, *The Possibility of Naturalism* (Harvester Press, 1979), pp. 1-30
Ray Pawson, *A Measure for Measures: a manifesto for empirical sociology* (New York: Routledge, 1989)
G.A. Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory...*, Appendix I, "Karl Marx and the Withering Away of Social Science"
Alan Garfinkle, *Forms of Explanation* (Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 1-48
Bob Jessop, *The Capitalist State* (new York: NYU Press, 1982), p.211-220
Maurice Godelier, *Rationality and Irrationality in Economics* (MR Press, 1972), "Forward: Functionalism, Structuralism and Marxism" pp. vii-xli

3. MISCELLANEOUS METATHEORETICAL ISSUES: LEVELS OF ABSTRACTION; STRUCTURES & ACTORS; MICRO/MACRO ANALYSIS

There are a range of metatheoretical problems which we will encounter in many of our specific discussions which need clarification before we begin. In this session we will briefly explore three issues:

First, before actually discussing substantive issues in class analysis it will be useful to clarify the distinction between the various *theoretical objects* in class analysis (e.g. class structure, class formation, class struggle) and the *level of abstraction* at which those objects are analyzed (mode of production, social formation, conjuncture). I will argue that in Marx's own work there is a highly sophisticated and systematic analysis of class structure at the level of abstraction of the mode of production, and of class formation and class struggle at the level of the conjuncture, but that the intermediate levels of abstraction are relatively less developed.

Second, I will clarify the problem of the relationship between *micro-* and *macro-* levels of analysis. This is important because throughout the course we will be exploring microfoundations of macrophenomena. I will also briefly try to explain why the study of microfoundations should not be confused with "methodological individualism" or other efforts at reducing the macro to the micro.

Third, I will in a preliminary way lay out the overall logic of interconnections among these basic theoretical objects. This involves sorting out the venerable problem of the relationship between "structure" and "agency". I will elaborate a simple way of thinking through this problem that takes off from Marx's famous statement that "[people] make their own history, but not just as they please". The "make" in this statement is a claim about agency; the "not just as they please" is a statement about structure. I will formalize this "dialectic" by seeing structures as *setting limits upon* practices, and practices as *transforming* those structures.

CORE READINGS:

7. Erik Olin Wright, *Classes* (London: Verso, 1985), pp. 6-24

Erik Olin Wright, *Class Counts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), chapter 13, a general framework for studying class consciousness and class formation, pp.373-378, 387-388

8. Erik Olin Wright, *The Debate on Classes* (London: Verso, 1990), pp.269-278

9. Erik Olin Wright, "Methodological Introduction," *Class, Crisis and the State* (London: Verso, 1978), pp. 9-29

G. A. Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory of History: a defense* (Princeton University Press, 1978), "The Structural Definition of Class", pp. 73-77

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Erik Olin Wright, Andrew Levine and Elliott Sober, *Reconstructing Marxism*, Chapter 6, "Marxism and methodological Individualism", pp.107-127

FURTHER READINGS:

Pierre Bourdieu, "The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups," *Theory and Society*, vol14:6 (November 1985), pp.723-744

- Rogers Brubaker, "Rethinking Classical Theory: the sociological vision of Pierre Bourdieu", *Theory and Society*, 14:6 (November), pp.723-44
- Stuart Hall, "The Political and the Economic in Marx's Theory of Classes", in Alan Hunt (ed), *Class & Class Structure*, (Lawrence and Wishart, 1977), pp. 15-61.
- E.P. Thompson, "Preface" to *The Making of the English Working Class*, (Penguin, 1968).
- Erik Olin Wright, *Class, Crisis and the State*. (London: New Left Books, 1978) "Class Structure and Class Struggle", pp. 97-108.

4. THE PROJECT OF RECONSTRUCTING MARXISM AS A CRITICAL SOCIAL SCIENCE

Marxism has always been easier for non-Marxists to define than for Marxists themselves. Non-Marxists generally define Marxism as a doctrine (or worse, dogma) which defends a set of propositions about society based on the work of Karl Marx. Marxists, on the other hand, have engaged in endless debates over precisely what constitutes the irreducible core of that doctrine, what is essential and what is not, what aspects of Marx's work should be retained and what aspects discarded or revised, whether Marxism is primarily a "method" or a set of substantive propositions, whether Marxism is a general theory of society and history, or just a specific theory of certain properties of societies. Such debates are complex and often opaque. We will encounter them in many different guises throughout the year.

In this session I do not want to delve into the intricacies of these debates. Rather I will lay out what I see as the central properties that define Marxism as a distinctive tradition of critical social science. I will argue that Marxism as an intellectual tradition has three basic theoretical *nodes*, which I will call Marxism as a theory of *Class Emancipation*, Marxism as *Class Analysis* and Marxism as a *Theory of History*. Reconstructing Marxism can then be understood as a project of clarifying the core concepts within each of these nodes and elaborating explanatory theories using these concepts.

BACKGROUND READINGS:

- Tom Mayer, *Analytical Marxism*, chapter 1, "Foundations of Analytical Marxism", pp.1-24
- Rius, *Marx For Beginners* (London: Two Worlds Publishers, 1977)

CORE READING:

Erik Olin Wright, "What is Analytical Marxism?" and "Marxism After Communism", Chapters 10 and 13 in *Interrogating Inequality*

10. G.A. Cohen, "Back to Socialist Basics", *New Left Review* #207, September-October, 1994, pp.3-16

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Erik Olin Wright, Andrew Levine and Elliott Sober, *Reconstructing Marxism: essays on explanation and the theory of history* (London: Verso, 1992), Chapter 1. "Marxism: Crisis or Renewal?" and Chapter 8. "Prospects for the Marxist Agenda"

FURTHER READINGS:

- David McLellan, *Karl Marx* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975), chapter ii, "The Thought", pp.19-76.
- Frederick Engels, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific"
- Perry Anderson, *Considerations on Western Marxism* (London: NLB, 1976)
- Ernest Mandel, *The Formation of the Thought of Karl Marx* (Monthly Review Press, 1971).
- V.I.Lenin, "Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism" (in *Selected Works* [Moscow: Progress

Publishes]).

PART II. THE THEORY OF HISTORY

The heart of Marxist social science has traditionally been a theory of history, usually called "historical materialism." While many Marxists today are highly critical of Marx's formulations of this theory of history, and some even deny the usefulness of any theory of history, historical materialism nevertheless remains in many ways the central point of reference for much general theoretical debate, both among Marxists and between Marxists and non-Marxists.

In these sessions we will examine the central theses of historical materialism as they have been elaborated and defended by G.A. Cohen. Cohen's defense of Marx's theory of history is the most systematic and coherent of any that has been offered. While there is considerable debate over the adequacy of Cohen's reconstruction of historical materialism, I feel that it is faithful to the underlying logic of Marx's argument, and that it has the considerable merit of making that logic much more explicit and accessible than in Marx's own work. Some students will find the idiom of Cohen's exposition -- analytical philosophy -- difficult and awkward. Cohen is preoccupied with making rigorous distinctions in the nuances of the theory, making every assumption explicit and laying out all of the steps in the argument. The first time one reads this kind of analysis, it is easy to become overwhelmed with the fine points and to lose track of the overall thrust of the argument. Still, the book provides a much firmer basis for assessing the merits and limitations of historical materialism than any other discussion I know of, and therefore I think it is worth the effort of mastering it.

5. WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO CONSTRUCT A THEORY OF "HISTORY"

In what sense can "history" as such be a legitimate theoretical object in social science? or is history such a contingent process that no theory of history is possible? In order to approach these questions, a range of possible ways in which history can be included within social theory can be elaborated:

1. History as contextual or conjunctural analysis
2. history as cumulative account of contingent change.
3. History as temporality within theory.
4. history as path-dependent explanations
5. history as developmental trajectories
 - 5.1 evolutionary models
 - 5.2 within-system dynamic models of "laws of motion" of given types of society
 - 5.3 across-system dynamic models of epochal trajectories

The core of the Marxist theory of history is the attempt to coherently theorize history in the sense of type 5, but there are disagreements as to which variety of trajectory theory Marxism attempts to realize.

CORE READING

11. Erik Olin Wright, Andrew Levine and Elliott Sober, "What is Historical about Historical Materialism?" chapter 3 in *Reconstructing Marxism* (London: Verso, 1993), pp.47-61

G.A. Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory of History* (Princeton University Press, 1978), Chapter I. "Images of History in Hegel and Marx," pp.1-27

6 & 7. CLASSICAL HISTORICAL MATERIALISM: THE STRONG VERSION

We will spend most of our time exploring the strongest version of classical historical materialism -- the version which attempts to produce a general theory of the overall trajectory of human history. In the course of discussing this possibility we will entertain the alternatives.

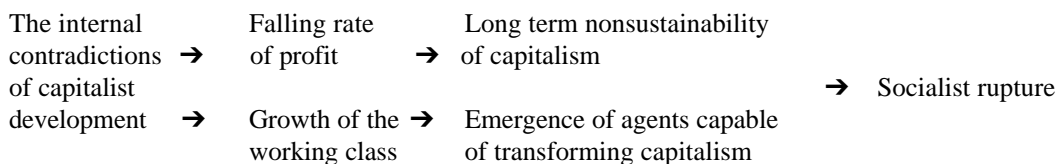
To say that the overall trajectory of historical change is a legitimate theoretical object of explanation implies that history is not simply an empirical outcome of a myriad of entirely contingent processes; some kind of systematic process is operating which shapes the trajectory of historical development. This systematic process need not produce a unique path of historical development -- actual, empirical history is undoubtedly the result of a variety of contingent processes intersecting this more law-like developmental logic -- but there will be some kind of determinate pattern to historical change.

If we provisionally accept the legitimacy of the *project* of building a theory of history, the question then becomes: what are the central driving forces which explain this trajectory? By virtue of what does historical development have a systematic, noncontingent character?

G.A. Cohen has argued in his influential and important book on Marx's theory of history that the only coherent way to reconstruct Marx's views on history is to argue that he was fundamentally a technological determinist. Historical materialism is based on the thesis, Cohen argues, that the forces of production explain the form of the social relations of production, and by virtue of this, the development of the forces of production ultimately explains the trajectory of social development. The heart of this argument is what Cohen characterizes as a "functional explanation", that is, an explanation in which the effects of a structure figure into the explanation of that structure. We will try to understand the central logic of this claim for the primacy of the forces of production. This means we will spend some time examining the nature of functional explanations in general, and then see how Cohen uses such explanations in his analysis of historical materialism.

Within Marxism the crucial pay-off of a theory of history is its application to the specific case of understanding the logic of capitalist development. Historical materialism is not just a general theory of all of human history; it is also a specific theory of the trajectory capitalist history. Indeed, one might argue that this is the very heart of classical Marxism: a theory about the historical trajectory of the development of capitalism culminating in a revolutionary rupture which leads to socialism. The theory is based on two causal chains, both rooted in the internal dynamics of capitalism as a mode of production. One causal chain leads from the contradictions between forces and relations of production within capitalist development through the falling rate of profit to the fettering of the forces of production within capitalism and thus the long term nonsustainability of capitalism; the other causal chain leads through the growth of the working class to the increasing capacity to transform capitalism of those historic agents with an interest in such transformation. The coincidence of these two causal chains makes a rupture in capitalism desirable and possible.

The Traditional Marxist Theory of How Capitalist Contradictions → Socialism



BACKGROUND READING:

Tom Mayer, *Analytical Marxism*. (Sage, 1994), chapter 2. "The Theory of History", pp. 25-58

CORE READING:

*Karl Marx, "Preface" to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, pp. vii-viii in Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory of History: a defense* (Princeton University Press, 1978)

G.A. Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory of History* (Princeton University Press, 1978)

The following sections provide definitions and conceptual background for Cohen's arguments:

- Chapter II. "The Constitution of the Productive Forces", pp. 28-37, 40-47, 55-62
- Chapter III. "The Economic Structure", pp.63-69, 77-87
- Chapter IV. "Material and Social Properties of Society", pp. 88-90, 105-108.

The following chapters lay out the central structure of Cohen's argument:

- *Chapter VI. "The Primacy of the Productive Forces", pp.134-171
- *Chapter VII. "The Productive Forces and Capitalism", pp. 175-214
- Chapter X. "Functional Explanation in Marxism", pp.278-296

SUGGESTED READINGS:

- Erik Olin Wright, Andrew Levine and Elliott Sober, *Reconstructing Marxism: essays on explanation and the theory of history* (London: Verso, 1992), Part I. The Theory of History.
- G.A. Cohen, *KMTH*, the remaining sections of chapters VI, VII and X, and chapter XI.
- John McMurtry, *The Structure of Marx's World View* (Princeton University Press, 1978), chapters 2, 3, 7 and 8. [This is a somewhat less rigorous development of a position rather similar to Cohen's].
- Gregor McLennan, *Marxism and the Methodologies of History* (London: Verso, 1981)
- G.A. Cohen, "Forces and Relations of Production" in Betty Matthews (ed), *Marx: 100 years on* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1983), pp. 111-134
- Jon Elster, *Making Sense of Marx* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1985), 5.1 "The general theory of modes of production" pp.243-272; 5.3 "Marx's periodization of history", pp.301-317; 7.1 "The nature and explanation of the state", pp.399-428; 8.1 "Ideologies: stating the problem", pp.461-476.
- Erik Olin Wright, *Classes* (London: NLB/Verso, 1985), pp. 26-37
- William H. Shaw, *Marx's Theory of History* (Stanford Univ. Press, 1978), chapter 2, "Marx's Technological Determinism", pp.53-82.
- Louis Althusser and Etienne Balibar, *Reading Capital* (London: NLB, 1970), Chapter 4. "The Errors of Classical Economics: Outline of a concept of Historical Time," and chapter 5. "Marxism is not a Historicism", pp.91-144
- Maurice Godelier, "Structure and Contradiction in Capital", in Robin Blackburn (ed), *Ideology in Social Science* (Vintage, 1972).

8. CRITIQUES AND RECONSTRUCTIONS OF HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

These readings explore a number of criticisms of historical materialism and explore some general possible lines for its reconstruction. This discussion will help to frame many of the issues we will engage throughout the year. In particular, we will look at three major issues: the problem of *functional explanation*, the problem of *class reductionism* and the problem of *interests and capacities* for social change.

Functional explanation. Cohen's reading of Marx relies very heavily on functional explanations. The forces of production, he argues, "explain" the relations in that only those relations will persist which are functional for the development of the forces of production. John Elster, among others, has criticized such reasoning on the grounds that functional explanations are, with rare exceptions, illegitimate in social explanations. Since in many places in this course -- in the discussions of ideology, of the state, of patriarchy, of accumulation and crisis -- we have encountered functional explanations it will be useful now to explore in at least a preliminary way the structure and problems of such explanations in Marxism.

Class reductionism. One of the most common critiques of historical materialism is that it is reductionist, that it collapses or reduces all of the complex processes of social life to either the economic or the technological. Typically

such anti-reductionist critiques are accompanied by pleas for causal pluralism, or a recognition of the multiplicity of autonomous causal processes operating in history. In order to assess this kind of critique, several theoretical issues need to be clarified: (1). What precisely does historical materialism attempt to explain? Does it try to explain all aspects of historical development or only some? (2). Does assigning primacy of one causal process imply that other causal processes are reducible to the primary process? (3) Is it possible to see various kinds of causal processes as having a "relative" autonomy in their effects, or must causes be either autonomous or nonautonomous? These are all difficult questions, raising a host of methodological and epistemological problems.

Interests and Capacities. Classical historical materialism emphasizes how contradictions between structures -- between the forces and relations of production -- are the driving process of historical transformation, the process which gives it a necessary directionality. Class struggle is important, but "secondary" in the sense that the potential for such struggles to have epochal revolutionizing effects is strictly dependent upon the structural contradictions themselves. This is not a satisfactory way of theorizing the relationship between class struggle and the structural conditions/contradictions within which such struggles occur. One way of dealing with these issues is to argue that with respect to the development of structural contradictions, the *capacities* for struggle by classes have a much more contingent character than assigned them in classical historical materialism. And yet, it can be argued that the *directionality* of the trajectory of social change is to be explained by the possibilities inherent in specific patterns of structural contradiction. This, then, is the basic thrust of one theoretical reconstruction of historical materialism: a materialist approach to history provides us with a map of the *possible* trajectories of social change, but not a satisfactory account of the actual process by which movement along the paths of that map occur. For the latter a theory of the capacities of classes is needed -- a theory of class power and class struggle -- which cannot itself be derived from historical materialism as such.

CORE READING:

12. Erik Olin Wright, Andrew Levine and Elliott Sober, *Reconstructing Marxism* (London: Verso, 1992), chapter 2, "Classical Historical Materialism" (pp. 33-46 required; pp. 13-32 recommended), and chapter 5, "Toward a Reconstructed Historical Materialism" (pp. 89-100).
13. Ellen Meiksins Wood, "History or Technological Determinism?", chapter 4 in *Democracy Against Capitalism: renewing historical materialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.108-145
14. Jon Elster, "Marxism, Functionalism and Game Theory", *Theory & Society*, 11:4, July, 1982, pp. 453-482

SUGGESTED

- G.A. Cohen, "Restricted and Inclusive Historical Materialism", E. Ullmann-Margalit, *The Prism of Science* (D. Reidel Publishing Co, 1986) pp.57-83
 Joshua Cohen, "Review of G.A. Cohen, KMT" *Journal of Philosophy*, 1982, v.79, 253-73
 Erik Olin Wright, *Classes* (NLB/Verso, 1985), "The Theory of History", pp.114-118

The Critique of Economic Determinism:

- Anthony Giddens, *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism* (UC California Press, 1981)
 Erik Olin Wright, "Giddens' Critique of Marx", *New Left Review*, #139, 1983.
 G.A. Cohen, "Reconsidering Historical Materialism," *NOMOS*, 1983, 227-251
 Jean L. Cohen, *Class and Civil Society* (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1982)
 Anthony Cutler, Barry Hindess, Paul Hirst and Athar Hussain, *Marx's Capital and Capitalism Today*, vol. I. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), pp. 135-156, 207-242.
 Jean Baudrillard, *The Mirror of Production*, (Telos Press, 1975)

The Debate over Functional Explanation in the Theory of History

G.A. Cohen, "Reply to Elster on 'Marxism, Functionalism and Game Theory'", *Theory & Society*, 11:4, pp.483-496.

Philippe van Parijs, "Functionalist Marxism Rehabilitated: a comment on Elster", *Theory and Society*, 11:4, pp.497-512

Johannes Berger and Claus Offe, "Functionalism vs. Rational Choice?: some questions concerning the rationality of choosing one or the other," *Theory & Society*, 11:4, pp.521-526

Jon Elster, "Cohen on Marx's Theory of History," *Political Studies*, XXVIII:1,(March, 1980), pp.121-128.

G.A. Cohen, "Functional Explanation: reply to Elster," *Political Studies*, XXVIII:1 (Mar 1980), pp.129-135.

G.A. Cohen, *KMTH*, chapter IX. "Functional Explanations: in general"

Philippe Van Parijs, "Marxism's Central Puzzle" in Terrance Ball and James Farr (eds) *After Marx* (Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 88-104

James Noble, "Marxian Functionalism", in Ball and Farr, *ibid.*, pp. 105-120

Richard W. Miller, "Producing Change: work, technology and power in Marx's Theory of History," in Ball and Farr, *ibid.*, pp. 59-87

Richard W. Miller, *Analyzing Marx: morality, power and history* (Princeton U. Press, 1984), pp.171-270

PART III. CLASS STRUCTURE

This section of the course will revolve around a range of theoretical problems in the analysis of classes. This material constitutes the pivot of the Marxist theoretical tradition, for the analysis of classes -- their structural properties, the conditions of their formation as collective actors, the dynamics of their struggles -- defines the theoretical relevance of many of the other topics we will be considering. When we study the state and ideology our main preoccupation will be on how these institutions affect classes and the potentialities of class struggles. This is not to advocate a radical class reductionism. Indeed, when we examine the specific problem of class and gender one central theme will be the nonreducibility of gender to class. But it is to argue for the centrality of class analysis within the broader project of critically understanding contemporary society and its possibilities of transformation.

9. WHAT IS CLASS?

The term "class" figures in virtually all traditions of sociology. But the term is used in qualitatively different ways in different perspectives, and in order to avoid conceptual confusion it is essential that we properly differentiate Marxist from a range of nonMarxist conceptualizations of class. In particular, since in contemporary discussions Weberian approaches to class analysis are often treated as an explicit alternative and challenge to Marxist treatments, it is important to specify rigorously precisely what it is that distinguishes these two perspectives on class. Because there is such intense debate within the Marxist tradition over the concept of class, it is not a simple task to defend a set of conceptual criteria that unify all "Marxist" class concepts. Nevertheless, I will argue that broadly, the Marxist concept of class structure is defined by four principal elements:

- (1) class is a *relational* rather than *gradational* concept.
- (2) those relations are intrinsically *antagonistic* rather than *symmetrical* or reciprocal.
- (3) the objective basis of that antagonism is *exploitation* rather than simply *inequality*.
- (4) the basis of exploitation is to be found in the social organization of *production*.

CORE READING

Erik Olin Wright, "The Class Analysis of Poverty", chapter 3 in *Interrogating Inequality*

Erik Olin Wright, *Class Counts* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.29-37

15. Erik Olin Wright, *Classes* (London: Verso, 1985), pp. 24-37 (appears with item [5] in reader)

16. Erik Olin Wright, *The Debate on Classes* (London: Verso, 1990), pp. 278-301

SUGGESTED READING

Adam Przeworski, "Proletariat into a Class: the process of class formation from Kautsky's *The Class Struggle* to recent contributions", Chapter 2, *Capitalism and Social Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 1985) pp.47-97

Rosemary Crompton and Jon Gubbay, *Economy and Class Structure* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), especially chapter 1

Albert Szymanski, *Class Structure: a critical perspective* (New York: Praeger, 1983), chapter 1.

Terry Johnson and Ali Rattansi, "Social Mobility without Class", *Economy & Society*, 10:2, 1981.

The following are a number of non-Marxist discussions of class theory that are useful for clarifying the contrast between Marxist and various nonMarxist approaches:

Max Weber, *Economy and Society* (University of California Press, 1978, edited by Gunther Roth), Chapter IV,

- "Status Groups and Classes", and Chapter IX, part 6, "The Distribution of Power within the Political Community: Class, Status and Power." pp.302-7, 926-39
- Gordon Marshall, *Repositioning Class* (Sage, 1997)
- Anthony Giddens, *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973)
- Frank Parkin, *Marxist Class Theory: a Bourgeois Critique* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), especially part one, "Rethinking Class Analysis," pp. 3-116
- Ralph Dahrendorf, *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Societies* (Stanford University Press, 1959).
- Gerhard Lenski, *Power and Privilege* (McGraw Hill, 1966)
- Werner S. Landecker, *Class Crystallization* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1981).
- John H. Goldthorpe, *Social Mobility & Class Structure in Modern Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).
- A. Stewart, K. Prandy and R.M. Blackburn, *Social Stratification and Occupation* (Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp.1-11, 89-113, 173-207, 277-283
- Dennis Gilbert and Joseph Kahl, *The American Class Structure* (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1982)

10. THE CONCEPT OF EXPLOITATION

Perhaps the most distinctive property of the Marxist concept of class is the link between "class" and "exploitation". In this session we will try to develop a rigorous definition of exploitation and examine the relationship between exploitation so defined and class structure.

Traditionally, the Marxist concept of exploitation has been closely linked to the labor theory of value. In recent years the labor theory of value has come under considerable attack, and these attacks have called into question the concept of exploitation as well. In this lecture we will first briefly look at the labor theory of value as the original way in which exploitation in capitalist societies was analyzed by Marx. In the next session we will examine an important contemporary alternative. We will then look at one of the most important and interesting attempts at rethinking the concept of exploitation and its implications for class theory has been done by the Marxist economist, John Roemer. Many Marxists have argued that the concept of exploitation is constitutive of the concept of class: it is one of the central elements which specifies what distinguishes classes from other kinds of relations. John Roemer, however, in an innovative body of recent work, has argued that the concept of class should *not* be *defined* in terms of exploitation; rather, the exploitative nature of class relations should be a deduction from the structural properties of classes. He therefore proposes that classes be defined strictly in terms of *property relations* -- ownership of various kinds of productive assets. It is then a discovery of considerable theoretical importance (rather than an axiom) that the social categories so defined are also in relations of exploitation to each other.

Roemer's work is sometimes highly technical, involving analytical strategies derived from game theory and mathematical economics. It is not important that you understand all of these technical details, and generally his textual exposition is quite accessible.

BACKGROUND READING:

Tom Mayer, *Analytical Marxism*, chapter 3, "Exploitation: conceptual issues", and Chapter 4, "Exploitation: applications and elaborations" pp.58-130

CORE READINGS:

17. Paul Sweezy, *The Theory of Capitalist Development* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1947), chapter IV. "Surplus Value and Capitalism", pp.56-71
18. John Roemer, "New Directions in the Marxian Theory of Class and Exploitation", *Politics & Society*, 11:3, 1981 pp.253-287

Erik Olin Wright, *Class Counts* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.4-19

19. Erik Olin Wright, *The Debate on Classes*, pp.3-23

SUGGESTED READING ON LTV:

Erik Wright, "The Meaning of Accumulation", pp.113-124, in *Class, Crisis and the State*, London: New Left Books, 1978)

Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. I (any edition). Chapter 6. "The Sale and Purchase of Labor power"; and Chapter 7. "The Labor Process and the Valorization Process."

Marx, *Capital*, vol. I (Vintage edition, 1976)

Chapter 6. The Sale and Purchase of Labor power. pp.270-280

Chapter 7. The Labor Process and the Valorization Process. 283-306

Chapter 8. Constant Capital and Variable Capital. 307-319

Chapter 9. The Rate of Surplus Value. 320-329

Chapter 10. The Working Day. 340-344,375-416.

Chapter 11. The Rate and Mass of Surplus Value. 417-426

Chapter 12. The Concept of Relative Surplus Value. 429-438

Ian Steedman, et. al., *The Value Controversy*, (London: New Left Books, 1981)

SUGGESTED READINGS ON ROEMER'S APPROACH:

John Roemer, *Free to Lose* (Harvard University Press, 1988), chapters 2, 5 and 7.

The following three articles are critiques of the essay in the core reading by Roemer:

Erik Olin Wright, "The Status of the Political in the Concept of Class Structure," chapter 3 in *Interrogating Inequality*

Jon Elster, "Roemer vs. Roemer". *Politics & Society*, 11:3, 1981

John Roemer, "Reply", *Politics & Society*, 11:3, 1981

Adam Przeworski, "Exploitation, class conflict and socialism: the Ethical Materialism of John Roemer", Chapter 7 of *Capitalism and Social Democracy*

Jon Elster, *Making Sense of Marx*, pp.167-185

G.A. Cohen, "The Labor Theory of Value and the Concept of Exploitation," in Ian Steedman, et.al., *The Value Controversy* (London: New Left Books, 1977), pp.202-223

OTHER READINGS BY ROEMER:

"Should Marxists be Interested in Exploitation?" *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 14:1 (1985), pp.30-65

A General Theory of Exploitation and Class (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 1-25, 194-216, 233-289

"Exploitation, Alternatives and Socialism", *The Economic Journal*, March, 1982.

"Methodological Individualism and Deductive Marxism", *Theory and Society*, 11:4, 1982

11. RETHINKING THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF CAPITALISM: What to do with the "Middle Class"?

The most intense debates among Marxists over the analysis of class structure in recent years have revolved around the problem of specifying the location of the "middle class(es)" in the class structure. This is distinctively a problem posed at the middle level of abstraction of class analysis. At the level of abstraction of mode of production, classes are polarized; at the level of abstraction of conjunctures, the analysis of "empty places" involves an array of intra-class divisions, segments, fractions, nonclass locations, etc. The problem of the middle class, is thus a problem of decoding the class structure at the level of the "social formation" as it is sometimes called.

In this lecture I will very briefly review a range of alternative strategies that have been adopted by Marxists to

deal with the problem of the middle classes. Four alternatives have been particularly important:

1. *Simple polarization* views of the class structure: In this view, there is no "middle class" at all, except perhaps for the traditional petty bourgeoisie. All positions are either in the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. In effect, this stance insists that classes can only be defined at the highest level of abstraction, the level of the polarized mode of production.

2. *Segments of Traditional Classes*: There are two versions of this stance. In the first, the middle class is viewed as a segment of the petty bourgeoisie (the New Petty Bourgeoisie); in the second, it is treated as a segment of the working class (the New Working Class). In both of these views the distinction between manual and mental labor looms large as a class criterion. Frequently the distinction between productive and unproductive labor is important as well.

3. *The New Class*: the middle classes of advanced capitalism are viewed, in this perspective, as a distinctively new class in its own right, a class which emerges in the course of capitalist development and which is defined by its distinctive relationship to knowledge or culture. In some versions this new class has the potential of vying for the position of dominant class; in others it is a permanent subsidiary class. But in either case it is a proper class, not a segment of any other class.

4. *Contradictory Class Locations*: This stance rejects the assumption of all of the others that all locations within a class structure must be viewed as falling into a unique class. Class locations -- the "empty places" in the structure of class relations -- may be simultaneously located within two or more classes.

After laying out these alternatives, I will discuss in some detail a fifth strategy, one based on our previous discussion of exploitation, which defines the middle class as locations within the class structure which are simultaneously exploiters and exploited.

If we have time, we will also explore a number of additional complexities in the analysis of class structure:

1. the *temporal* dimension of class locations (class locations embody time horizons)
2. multiple class locations (many people hold more than one job in different class locations)
3. mediated class locations (links to the class structure via family and social networks)

BACKGROUND READING:

Tom Mayer, *Analytical Marxism*, chapter 5. "Class", pp.131-171

CORE READINGS:

[13a] Erik Olin Wright, *Classes*, pp.37-42 (appears with item [5] in the reader)

[17a] Erik Olin Wright, *The Debate on Classes*, pp.23-31

[14a] Erik Olin Wright, *The Debate on Classes*, pp.313-348 (301-313 optional)

Erik Olin Wright, *Class Counts*, pp. 19-29

20. John Goldthorpe, "On the Service Class", in Anthony Giddens and Gavin Mackenzie (eds), *Social Class and the Division of Labor* (Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp.162-85

21. Philippe van Parijs, "A Revolution in Class Theory", in *The Debate on Classes*, pp.213-243

SUGGESTED READINGS:

John Gubbay, "A Marxist Critique of Weberian Class Analysis" *Sociology*, 31:1, February 1997, pp.73-89

Val Burris, Arthur Stinchcombe, Peter Meiksins, Johanna Brenner and Erik Wright, "Symposium on Erik Olin Wright's *Classes*", in *The Debate on Classes*, pp.157-211

Peter Whalley and Steven Crawford, "Locating Technical Workers in the Class Structure," *Politics & Society*,

- v.13:3, 1984, pp. 239-52
- Guiglielmo Carchedi, "Two Models of class analysis -- a review of E.O.Wright, *Classes*", *Capital & Class*, #29, Summer 1986, pp.195-215, reprinted in *The Debate on Classes*
- Albert Szymanski, *Class Structure: a critical perspective* (New York: Praeger, 1983), Appendix, "Critique of Alternative Conceptualizations of Class," pp.602-645
- Richard Hyman, "White Collar Workers and Theories of Class", in *The New Working Class?* edited by Richard Hyman and Robert Price (London: MacMillan, 1983), pp. 3-45
- Richard Hyman and Robert Price (eds), "The Search for Theory: Synthesis or Dissonance", in *ibid.*, pp.98-144.
- Erik Olin Wright, "Varieties of Marxist Conceptions of Class Structure," *Politics & Society*, 9:3, 1980.
- Gavin Mackenzie, "Class Boundaries and the Labor Process", in Anthony Giddens and Gavin Mackenzie (eds), *Social Class and the Division of Labor* (Cambridge University Press, 1982).pp. 63-86.
- Nicos Poulantzas, "On Social Classes", *New Left Review*, 78, 1973
- Erik Olin Wright, *Class, Crisis and the State*, chapter 2, especially pp.61-97
- Pat Walker (ed), *Between Capital and Labor* (Boston: South End Press, 1979).
- Jon Elster, *Making Sense of Marx*, Chapter 6.1, "Defining Classes", pp.319-331
- Nicos Poulantzas, *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism* (London: NLB, 1975).
- G. Carchedi, *On the Economic Identification of Social Classes*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977).
- R.W. Connell, "A Critique of the Althusserian Approach to Class," *Theory and Society*, 8:3, 1979
- N. Abercrombie and J. Urry, *Capital, Labour and the Middle Classes* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983)
- John Gubbay and Rosemary Crompton, *Economy and Class Structure* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978).
- Dale L. Johnson (ed), *Class & Social Development: a new theory of the middle class* (Sage, 1982).
- Allin Cottrell, *Social Classes in Marxist Theory* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), especially ch. 2

12. CLASS AND GENDER

Perhaps the biggest challenge to class analysis among radical intellectual has revolved around the problem of the relationship between class and other forms of oppression and struggle, particularly gender and race. The characteristic form of this challenge involves the accusation that Marxist class analysis is guilty of one or more of the following sins:

1. The concept of class in Marxism is gender-blind and/or race-blind, whereas class relations are inherently gendered and racialized.
2. Marxist class analysis tends to "reduce" gender and race to class. That is, gender and race oppression are treated as if they can be fully explained by class oppression.
3. Marxist class analysis treats race and gender as "epiphenomena" -- that is, as effects which are not themselves causally important for anything else. They are treated as "surface phenomena", symptoms of something else, but not important in their own right.

Because of time constraints we cannot, in this course, thoroughly explore the theoretical and empirical problem of the relation of class to gender and to race. Nevertheless, it is important to respond to these objections and define a general perspective on how to think about the structural interconnection between class and other forms of oppression.

In this session we will lay out a general conceptual menu for how to think about the interconnection of class and gender. Specifically, we will look at five ways in which class and gender are interconnected:

1. gender as a form of class relations
2. gender as a sorting mechanism into class locations
3. gender relations causally affecting class relations and class relations causally affecting gender relations
4. gender as a basis for mediated class locations

5. gender and class as distinct mechanisms co-determining various outcomes.

I will briefly illustrate a number of these possibilities, but give particular attention to the problem of gender and mediated class locations. This issue has been particularly salient in a recent British debate over how to conceptualize the class location of married women, particularly in two-earner households. Is a secretary married to a factory worker in the same class as a secretary married to a top manager? This problem of defining the class location of married women has been sharply posed in an essay by the British sociologist John Goldthorpe.

Goldthorpe argues, quite contentiously, that:

- (a) families are the units of class analysis;
- (b) all members of a family share the same class;
- (c) the class of families is strictly determined by the head of households;
- (d) in nearly all cases the head of household is father/husband in a nuclear family;
- (e) therefore, in general, the class of married women is derived from the class of her husband.

We will carefully examine Goldthorpe's position both theoretically and empirically.

CORE READING

Erik Olin Wright, *Class Counts*, Chapters 9-11, pp.239-317 (skip the methodological appendices)

22. J. Goldthorpe, "Women and Class Analysis: In defense of the Conventional View", *Sociology* 17:4, 1983, pp.465-488

Erik Olin Wright, "Explanation and Emancipation in Marxism and Feminism", *Interrogating Inequality*

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Michelle Stanworth, "Women and Class Analysis: a reply to John Goldthorpe," *Sociology* 18:2, May, 84, pp.161-169

A. Heath & N. Britten, "Women's Jobs do make a difference: a reply to Goldthorpe," *Sociology* 18:4, 1984, pp.475-90

Robert Erikson, "Social Class of Men, Women and Families", *Sociology* 18:4, November, 1984, pp.500-514

John Goldthorpe, "Women and Class Analysis: a reply to the replies," *Sociology*, 18:4, Nov. 1984, 491-499

Nicky Hart, "Gender and the Rise and Fall of Class Politics", *New Left Review*, 1989, #175, pp. 19-47

Jane Humphries, "Class Struggle and the persistence of the working class family", *Cambridge J of Econ*, 1:3, 1977, pp.241-258

Gita Sen, "The Sexual Division of Labor and the Working Class Family: towards a conceptual Synthesis of Class Relations and the Subordination of Women", *RRPE*, 12:2, 1980, pp.76-86

13. CLASS AND RACE

Frequently radical theorists tend to see race as posing very similar problems for class analysis as gender. I think this is a mistake. These are distinctively different kinds of social relations and practices, and they have distinctively different kinds of articulation to class. Specifically, racial domination has often had a much more direct and powerful articulation to class domination than has been the case for gender. This is strikingly the case for slavery in capitalist societies, where racial domination was a central component of the system of class exploitation. In this sessions I will explore the general issue of the articulation of race and class by discussing two specific empirical problems:

- (1). Who benefits from racism? One of the central problems in the interrelationship between race and class is the issue of who benefits from racism. Specifically, it is a contentious political issue whether white workers, white capitalists or both benefit from racism. This is a complex issue and we cannot possibly explore it in detail here, but

I will try to clarify the theoretical issues at stake in the debate. Answering this question will require some attention to a difficult counterfactual: which social categories would have their material interests undermined by reductions in racial oppression.

(2) How should we explain transformations in race relations in the United States? Here I want to address a specific historical question posed by the sociologist David James: why was the civil rights movement successful in the 1960s whereas it had failed earlier? Why were race relations transformable towards less oppressive forms in the U.S. South then, but not in 1900 or 1930? James proposes an interesting class theory of the conditions for the transformability of racial domination which still gives racial domination real autonomy.

CORE READINGS:

23. David James, "The Transformation of the Southern Racial State: class and race determinants of local-state structures", *ASR*, 53, 1988, pp.191-208
24. Edna Bonacich, "Class Approaches to Ethnicity and Race," *Insurgent Sociologist*, X:2, Fall 1980, pp.9-24.

SUGGESTED READINGS:

- Michael Albert and Robin Hahnel, *Marxism and Socialist Theory* (Boston: South End Press), chapter 6, "Community and History" pp.231-268
- Harold Wolpe, "Class concepts, class struggle and racism", in John Rex and David Mason (eds) *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp.110-130
- Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986)
- Peter Weinreich, "The Operationalization of identity theory in racial and ethnic relations," in Rex and Mason (eds) *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp.299-320
- Larry Bobo, "Group Conflict, Prejudice and the Paradox of Contemporary Racial Attitudes", in P.A. Katz (ed), *Eliminating Racism: profiles in controversy* (New York: Plenum, 1988)
- Larry Bobo, "White's Opposition to Busing: Symbolic Racism or Realistic Group Conflict?", *J. of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1983, Vol.45:6, pp.1196-1210.
- Tom Nairn, "The Modern Janus," *The Break up of Britain* (New Left Books)
- Steve Erie, *Rainbow's End: Irish-Americans and the Dilemmas of Urban Machine Politics, 1840-1985* (University of California Press, 1988). Selections
- Robert Miles, *Racism* (London: Routledge, 1989)

14. THE "DEATH OF CLASS" DEBATE

Stated in its simplest form, what might be called the fundamental thesis of class analysis is: class matters. Recently this thesis has been sharply challenged by a number of sociologists who have argued that class has largely disappeared as a salient form of social inequality. In its strongest form these authors argue that classes have ceased to exist; in its weaker form the claim is that class is in the process of dissolving as a significant causal process. The observations used to back up such claims include such things as the almost universal decline in the labor movement, the crisis of social democratic and socialist parties, the decline in the correlation between class membership and attitudes, the decline in class-based voting behavior, the increasing diffusion of ESOPs, IRAs and other forms of dispersed stock ownership, etc. At first glance such claims might seem absurd to conclude from such observations that classes no longer exist or even that they have significantly eroded, but these claims are being taken seriously by respectable journals and publishers. *Theory and Society*, perhaps the premiere journal of sociological theory, published a symposium on this thesis last year. It is therefore worth examining in some detail the structure of such arguments.

CORE READING

25. Jan Pakulsi and Malcolm Waters, "The Reshaping and Dissolution of Social Class in Advanced Society," *Theory and Society*, vol.25:5, 667-691 1996
26. Erik Olin Wright, "The continuing relevance of Class Analysis", *Theory and Society*, 25: 693-716. 1996.
27. Jan Pakulsi and Malcolm Waters, "Misreading status as class: a reply to our critics" *Theory and Society*, 25: 731-736.
28. John Holmwood, "The Problem of Inequality and Class in Contemporary Debates," unpublished manuscript, 1997

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

- Jan Pakulsi and Malcolm Waters, *The Death of Class* (London: Sage, 1996)
- John Goldthorpe and Gordon Marshall. 1992. "The promising Future of Class analysis: a response to recent critiques", *Sociology*, 26:381-400.
- John Gubbay, "A Marxist Critique of Weberian Class Analysis" *Sociology*, 31:1, February 1997, pp.73-89

PART IV. CLASS FORMATION**15. BASIC CONCEPTS OF CLASS FORMATION**

In the next few sessions we will shift our attention from the analysis of class structures to the problem of class formation, i.e. the process by which the people occupying the "empty places" in the class structure are formed into organizations of collective struggle. In particular, we will deal with two related issues: (1) the problem of how solidarity is generated among workers, i.e. the process by which the "free-rider" problem is solved within the working class; (2) the problem of class collaboration or class compromise: the material basis for translating the antagonistic relations of the class structure into a more or less cooperative relationship among class actors.

Underlying the various issues we will discuss on class formation is a common theoretical problem: how to understand the ways in which *strategic collective practices* are forged within a structure of antagonistic class relations. In this first session we will discuss a number of critical concepts needed to analyze strategic action and its relationship to class structure and class formation. In particular, we will explore two sets of ideas: First, the basic concepts subsumed under what is often called "game theory": rationality, rational choice, strategic interaction, prisoner's dilemmas, free riders, etc. Second, we will try to clarify the general problem of the relationship between class structure and class formation.

BACKGROUND READING

Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action* (Harvard, 1965)

CORE READINGS:

Erik Olin Wright, "A General Model of Class Consciousness and Class Formation", chapter 13 in *Class Counts*.

[12] Jon Elster, "Marxism, Functionalism and Game Theory", *Theory and Society*, 11:4, July, 1982, pp. 453-482

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Erik Wright, *Class, Crisis and the State*, pp.97-110

Thomas Schelling, "What is Game Theory?", chapter 10 in *Strategies of Conflict* (Harvard University Press, 1980)

Russell Hardin, *Collective Action* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1982), pp. 6-37, 101-124

Jon Elster, *Ulysses and the Sirens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), chapter 1

16. RATIONALITY, SOLIDARITY AND CLASS STRUGGLE

In this session and the next we will focus on the problem of the formation of solidarity in a world of competitive individualism. Whatever else might be the case, for the working class to be able to exert effective class power either within capitalism or against capitalism, workers have to be able to form strong collective organizations, and this requires solving the problem of solidarity. In this first session we will look at the approach of Jon Elster to this problem. Elster sees the formation of solidarity within the working class as an example of the classic problem of collective action as understood within game theory: given that the benefits of class struggle are unlikely to be monopolized by the actual participants in the struggle, what prevents workers from being "free-riders", from avoiding the obvious costs of participation in struggle while reaping the benefits of successful struggles? This, he argues, is the heart of the problem of "solidarity". Elster's task is to explore the ways in which Marx dealt with these issues and to raise a series of problems based on an assessment of Marx's position. At the core of Elster's analysis is the claim that the formation of solidarity involves a transformation of the "game" in which workers attempt to build organization from a "prisoners dilemma" to an "assurance game", that is, from a game characterized by purely selfish preference orderings of individuals to one with "conditional altruist" preference orderings.

CORE READING:

29. Jon Elster, *Making Sense of Marx*, chapter 6.2, "Class Consciousness", pp. 344-71 (suggested: 6.3, pp. 371-97)

30. Jon Elster, *Ulysses and the Sirens* (Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 18-28

SUGGESTED

Pam Oliver, Gerald Marwell and Ruy Teixeira, "The Theory of the Critical Mass", *American Journal of Sociology*, 1984

17. THE DILEMMAS OF WORKING CLASS COLLECTIVE ACTION

Claus Offe, in his essay with Helmut Weisenthal, also operates within a broadly rational actor model of solidarity. He, however, is less concerned with the free rider problem as such than with the problem of the nature of the interests of class actors within struggle. In particular, he attempts to understand the specificity of the problem of class formation of the working class by way of a contrast within the logic of class formation within the bourgeoisie. Offe and Wiesenthal argue that there is a fundamental asymmetry in the logics by which these two classes are organized in capitalist society, and that this asymmetry helps to explain the particular trajectory of class formation/class struggle in such societies. This asymmetry stems from the different kinds of interests of workers and capitalists at stake in class struggles, the different requirements of leadership, hierarchy and organization to realize these interests, the problems of communication inherent in each of their class situations, and certain other issues.

CORE READING:

31. Claus Offe and Helmut Wiesenthal, "Two Logics of Collective Action: theoretical notes on social class and organizational form," in Maurice Zeitlin (ed), *Political Power and Social Theory*, vol. 1, 1980 (JAI Press, 1980), pp.67-116.

SUGGESTED READINGS:

John Bowman, "The Politics of the Market: economic competition and the organization of capitalists", *Political Power and Social Theory*, vol. 5, pp.34-88 (JAI Press, 1985)

18. CLASS COMPROMISE

Classes are not simply formed or unformed, organized or disorganized. They are organized in particular manners, with historically specific inter-relationships with the class formation of other classes. One of the important tasks of a Marxist analysis of class formation is to understand the variability in types of class formation, and the central determinants of this variability. Later in the year we will examine the various ways in which ideology and the state help to shape the specific forms of class struggle. In this session our focus will be more on the "material basis" which underlies different class formations. In particular, we will explore Adam Przeworski's very important contributions to the theory of "class compromise". Przeworski seeks to demonstrate how class compromise emerges out of the concrete material conditions faced by workers and their organizations, thus avoiding explanations of reformism and economism that rely primarily on "misleadership", "corruption" or "false consciousness." Whether this strategy is successful or not is the subject of a debate between Przeworski and Burawoy.

As with capitalists, so with workers. Different levels of organization permit different strategies for advancing interests, and shape those interests themselves. With high levels of organization, reflected in high union density and electoral vehicles of their own, workers are capable of, and commonly interested in, striking accommodations with capitalists through the state. Typically, this takes the form of wage moderation, coupled with the provision of a more generous social wage. Within less highly organized regimes, by contrast, workers' action typically takes the form of more militant "economism" (that is, collective action confined to the economic sphere, centering on particular wage and benefit gains), and is distinctly less solidaristic. David Cameron's essay (suggested readings) explores these dynamics across a range of capitalist democracies. He argues for the economic rationality of wage moderation in highly organized settings, and suggests the ways in which it provides the basis for relatively stable concessions by capitalists, and a virtuous cycle of high economic performance. Michael Wallerstein (suggested readings) returns to the implicit premise of this argument. Recognizing the virtuous consequences of solidarity, he attempts to explain what leads (organized) workers to pursue solidaristic strategies in the first place. Once again, the position of workers within the world economy -- the degree of openness and export dependence of the economy in which they operate -- is found to be a critical determinant. Finally, Rogers (suggested reading) considers other institutional aspects of national systems that determine union strategy, focusing on U.S. labor law.

CORE READINGS:

Adam Przeworski, *Capitalism and Social Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp.133-203.

32. Erik Olin Wright, "Workers Power and Capitalist Interest: rethinking the problem of class compromise" (Forthcoming, *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 2000)

SUGGESTED:

Michael Burawoy, "Marxism without Micro-Foundations," *Socialist Review* 89/2 (1989), pp. 54-85.

Adam Przeworski, "Class, Production and Politics: A Reply to Burawoy," *Socialist Review* 89/2 (1989), pp.

87-111.

David Cameron, "Social Democracy, Corporatism, Labour Quiescence, and the Representation of Economic Interest in Advanced Capitalism," in Goldthorpe, *Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism* (Oxford: 1984), pp. 143-178.

Michael Wallerstein, "The Microfoundations of Solidarity: Protectionist Policies, Welfare Policies and Union Centralization" (unpublished mss, 1987)

Joel Rogers, "Don't Worry, Be Happy: Institutional Dynamics of the Postwar Decline of Private Sector U.S. Unionism." *University of Wisconsin Law Review*, 1990.

Ira Katznelson, *City Trenches*

Walter Korpi, *The Working Class in Welfare Capitalism* (RKP, 1981), and *The Democratic Class Struggle* (RKP, 1983)

Francis Castles, *The Social Democratic Image of Society* (RKP, 1978)

Scott Lasch, *The Militant Worker: Class and Radicalism in France and America* (London: Heineman, 1984)

Duncan Gaillie, *Social Inequality and Class Radicalism in France and Britain* (Cambridge, 1983)

PART V: THE THEORY OF THE STATE AND POLITICS

Marxists have always held that the state plays a pivotal role in sustaining the class domination of ruling classes. Without the intervention of the state, especially its repressive interventions, the contradictions between classes would become so explosive that bourgeois domination could hardly survive for an extended period. The state, nearly all Marxists insist, fulfills an essential function in reproducing the class relations of capitalist society.

What is sometimes less systematically emphasized is that the state is also an object and arena of class struggles, struggles which may impinge on the capacity of the state to fulfill this "essential function." A complete account of the capitalist state, therefore, must integrate on the one hand an analysis of the state's functions and the mechanisms which enable the state to fulfill those functions, and, on the other, an analysis of the process of struggle which transforms the state and its mechanisms and which generates contradictions within the state itself. Understanding such "contingent, contradictory functionality" will be the central theme of our exploration of the theory of the state.

19. WHAT IS "POLITICS"? WHAT IS "THE STATE"?

Many of the debates over the state and politics, both within Marxism and between Marxist and non-Marxist perspectives, are confused because the labels are being used to designate different phenomena, different concepts, different structures and processes. While it may seem somewhat scholastic to have a discussion centering entirely on what we mean by these terms, a sharp clarification of these issues is important. In particular in this session we will try to develop some basic understandings of four interconnected concepts that will reappear throughout this part of the course: politics, power, domination and the state. Somewhat schematically, I will argue for the following definitions:

Politics: practices through which social relations are reproduced and transformed.

Political Power: the capacities or resources used to reproduce and transform social relations.

Domination: a social relation within which political power is unequally distributed, i.e. where the capacities to reproduce and transform social relations are unequally distributed.

State: the most superordinate institutional site in which domination is exercised over a given territory.

BACKGROUND READING:

Tom Mayer, *Analytical Marxism*, chapter 6 "The State"

CORE READINGS:

Erik Wright, "Class and Politics", chapter 5 in *Interrogating Inequality*

33. Robert Alford and Roger Friedland, *The Powers of Theory: capitalism, the state and democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp.1-14, 408-426

34. Goran Therborn, *What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules?*, (London: Verso 1978) pp.129-138, 145-153

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Michael Mann, "Societies as Organized Power Networks," Chapter 1 in *The Sources of Social Power* (Cambridge University Press, 1986) pp.1-33

Max Weber, "The Political Community", *Economy and Society*, chapter 9 in volume II (University of California Press edition, 1978).

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (New York: McMillan, 1962), pp.129-133

Anthony Giddens, *Nation State and Violence* (Polity Press, 1986), pp 7-34

Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses", in Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971)

Alan Wolfe, "New Directions in the Marxist Theory of Politics", *Politics & Society*, 4:2, 1974

Erik Olin Wright, "The Status of the Political in the Concept of Class Structure", *Politics & Society*, 11:3, 1982.

Jon Elster, *Making Sense of Marx*, pp.399-408

Barry Hindess, "Classes and Politics in Marxist Theory," in Littlejohn,(ed), *Power and the State*, (London: Croom Helm, 1978)

Michael Albert and Robin Hahnel, *Marxism and Socialist Theory* (Boston: South End Press, 1981), chapter 3. "Politics and History."

Ernesto LaClau, "The Specificity of the Political", in LaClau, *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory* (London:NLB, 1977)

Michael Burawoy, "Between the Labor Process and the State: The Changing Face of Factory Regimes Under Advanced Capitalism", *The American Sociological Review*, 48:5, October 1983, revised as chapter 3 in Burawoy, *The Politics of Production*.

Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, especially part IX, "Barbarism and Civilization"

Steven Lukes, *Power: a Radical View* (London: McMillan, 1974)

Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory* (University of California Press, 1979), pp.85-94

Anthony Giddens, "Domination, Power and Exploitation: a analysis", chapter 2 in *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism* (University of California Press, 1981)

Nicos Poulantzas, *State, Power, Socialism* (NLB, 1978), pp35-62, 123-154.

Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (Vintage, 1979)

20. WHAT, IF ANYTHING, MAKES THE CAPITALIST STATE A CAPITALIST STATE? IS THE STATE A PATRIARCHAL STATE?

In this session we will try to accomplish four things: First, we will discuss why the problem of the capitalist character of the state is a "problem". This will involve explaining the distinction between viewing the state as a "state in capitalist society" versus "a capitalist state". Second, we will discuss some of the possible properties of the "capitalist" state that various theorists have argued have a distinctively capitalist character to them. In particular we will discuss Goran Therborn's attempt at constructing a fairly comprehensive typology of the class character of formal aspects of state institutions. Third, we will examine the methodological problems in validating these kinds

of arguments. Even if it is legitimate to treat the state as having a distinctive class character, it is a difficult task to empirically establish that a given state intrinsically has a particular class character. It is not sufficient to show that the *policies* of the state are biased in favor of one class, since this could be the result either of instrumental actions of class actors or of the structural properties of the form of the state. Claus Offe argues that in order to establish the class character of the form of the state itself, it is necessary to demonstrate that this form itself produces the class bias, that is, that the form as such excludes anticapitalist policies and effects. This means that the task of proving the class character of the state requires explaining "non-events" -- things which do not happen -- as well as events. Finally, we will examine what it might mean for the state to be a "patriarchal state" rather than simply a "state in patriarchal society".

CORE READINGS:

[32a] Goran Therborn, *What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules?*(London: NLB, 1978).pp 23-97, 118-119

35. Claus Offe, "Structural Problems of the Capitalist State: Class rule and the political system. On the selectiveness of political institutions", in Von Beyme (ed). *German Political Studies*, vol. I (Sage, 1974).pp. 31-54

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Catherine A. MacKinnon, *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp.157-170

David Gold, Clarence Lo and Erik Olin Wright, "Recent Developments in Marxist Theories of the State", *Monthly Review*, October and November, 1975.

Martin Carnoy, *The State*, pp. 131-140

Claus Offe and Volker Ronge, "These on the Theory of the State" *New German Critique* #6, Fall, 1975.

Ellen Meiksins Woods, "The Separation of the Economic and the Political in Capitalism," *NLR* #127, 1981

Steven Lukes, *Political Power: a radical View* (London: McMillan, 1974)

John Keane, "The Legacy of Political Economy: Thinking with and against Claus Offe," *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory*, 1978.

Jon Elster, *Making Sense of Marx*, pp.411-422

Bob Jessop, "Towards a Theoretical Account of the State", chapter 5 in Jessop, *The Capitalist State*.

Herbert Kitschelt, "Review of Goran Therborn, *What Does...*", *Kapitalistate* #7, 1979

S. Sardei-Biermann, et. al., "Class Domination and the Political System: a critical interpretation of recent contributions by Claus Offe", *Kapitalistate* #1, 1973.

Claus Offe, "Advanced Capitalism and the Welfare State" *Politics & Society*, Summer 1972.

Claus Offe, "Competitive Party Democracy and the Keynesian Welfare State", *Policy Sciences*, 15, 1983, pp.225-246.

21. THE STATE AND ACCUMULATION: FUNCTIONALITY AND CONTRADICTION

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the recent revitalization of Marxist theorizing on the state was in its early stages, the general consensus among Marxists was that the welfare state fundamentally functioned to reproduce and strengthen bourgeois domination. While there was considerable disagreement over what was the most salient function of the welfare state (coopting the working class, fragmenting subordinate classes, subsidizing the costs of reproducing capital, etc.) and an equal amount of debate over how to conceptualize the mechanisms for accomplishing these functions (instrumental manipulation by capitalists, structural determinations by the mode of production, derivation from the logic of capital, etc.), there was little disagreement over the status of the welfare state as essentially reproductive of capitalist rule.

Twenty years later the welfare state is under considerable attack throughout the capitalist world, and many of

the former critics of those institutions find themselves defending the various apparatuses and programs of the welfare state. This quite dramatic transformation of the political context for theoretical work on the state has helped stimulate new views on the nature of the welfare state, the logic of bourgeois democracy and the relationship of classes to the state. There is now a much greater emphasis on the crisis-ridden character of the state, on its role in generating rather than simply containing contradictions.

In this session we will examine some of the main themes in these discussions of the crisis of the state. In particular, we will examine two general conceptualizations of these crisis tendencies: the first, which emphasizes the contradictory character of the relationship between the *legitimation* and *accumulation* functions of the state, and the second, which emphasizes contradictions between the *form* of the state and tasks which it is called on to perform.

In legitimation vs accumulation argument, the welfare activities of the state expanded largely out of the need for the capitalist state to create legitimacy (either for itself or for capitalism) among subordinate groups/classes. This expansion was possible so long as such policies did not conflict with the requirements of capital accumulation. Eventually, however, the expansion of welfare spending began to undermine accumulation itself for various reasons -- it was a drain on surplus value because it was unproductive; it reduced the effectiveness of the reserve army of labor and thus resulted in a lowering of the rate of exploitation; it directly raised the value of labor power by transferring income to the working class (raising the "social wage"). The result, then, is a particular kind of economic crisis -- "stagflation" -- combined with a particular kind of political crisis -- initially a fiscal crisis of the state, followed by a concerted assault on welfare state programs.

While the central theme of most analyses of tendencies toward state crisis in advanced capitalist welfare states is some sort of version of the legitimation/accumulation contradiction, there is a second line of thought that has emerged which focuses more on the internal organization of state apparatuses -- what Therborn calls their "administrative technologies" -- and the tasks required of those apparatuses. In this case, instead of there being a contradiction *between two functions* of the state, there is a contradiction *between its form and its functions*. The implication of this perspective is that the resolution of the crisis requires more than just a change of state *policies* -- elimination or reduction of programs, changes in emphases among types of state spending, etc. -- but a *structural reorganization* of the apparatuses as well.

BACKGROUND READINGS:

Erik Olin Wright, *Class, Crisis and the State*, chapter 3, "Historical Transformations of Capitalist Crisis Tendencies"

CORE READINGS:

36. Claus Offe, "The Capitalist State and the Problem of Policy Formation", in Leon Lindberg (ed), *Stress and Contradiction in Contemporary Capitalism* (D.C. Heath, 1975) pp. 125-144
37. Claus Offe, "The Crisis of Crisis Management: elements of a political Crisis Theory", in Claus Offe, *Contradictions of the Welfare State* (London: Hutchinson, 1984) pp. 35-61

SUGGESTED READINGS:

- Ian Gough, *The Political Economy of the Welfare State*, chapter 6. "The Welfare State and the Capitalist Economy" and chapter 7. "The Welfare State and the Crisis", pp.102-152
- James O'Connor, *The Fiscal Crisis of the State* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), pp.5-12, 40-64, 97-178, 221-260
- Sam Bowles and Herb Gintis, "The Crisis of Capital and the Crisis of Liberal Democracy: the case of the United States", *Politics & Society*, vol.11:1,1982, pp. 51-94.
- Alan Wolfe, "The Legitimation Crisis of the State", *The Limits of Legitimacy* (New York: Basic Books, 1977)
- Claus Offe, "Competitive Party Democracy and the Keynesian Welfare State", *Policy Sciences*, 15, 1983,

- pp.225-246. reprinted in Offe, *Contradictions in the Welfare State*, op.cit.
- Sam Bowles, "Have Capitalism and Democracy come to a Parting of the Ways?" in U.R.P.E., *Capitalism in Crisis* (URPE, 1978)
- Jurgen Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis* (Boston: Beacon, 1975)
- Stephen Skorownek, "National Railroad Regulation and the Problem of State Building: interests and institutions in late nineteenth century America", *Politics & Society*, 10:3, 1981
- David Abraham, "State and Classes in Weimar Germany," *Politics & Society*, 7:3, 1977

22. THE STATE AND THE WORKING CLASS: Democratic Capitalism and Social Stability

In a famous passage from *Class Struggles in France* Marx portrayed the linkage of democracy and capitalism as an intensely contradictory couplet:

The comprehensive contradiction of this constitution, however, consists in the following: the classes whose social slavery the constitution is to perpetuate, proletariat, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, it puts into the possession of political power through universal suffrage. And from the class whose old social power it sanctions, the bourgeoisie, it withdraws the political guarantees of this power. It forces the political rule of the bourgeoisie into democratic conditions, which at every moment help the hostile classes to victory and jeopardize the very foundations of bourgeois society. (Marx/Engels, *Selected Works in Three Volumes*, vol.I, Moscow, pp.235-6)

Lenin, writing some sixty years later in *The State and Revolution*, claimed that parliamentary democracy was the "best possible shell" for the perpetuation of bourgeois rule. Can these two positions be reconciled? Do they reflect distinct theoretical stances towards the problem of "bourgeois democracy" or do they simply reflect the changing conditions of bourgeois rule from the mid-19th century to the twentieth century?

These issues are hardly simply questions of textual interpretation: the debate over the class character of parliamentary democracy remains at the very heart of both theoretical and political debates over the state on the left today. Can the state be "used" by different classes in the pursuit of their class interests, or does the state have a monolithic class character? Does the parliamentary form of the capitalist state contain within itself contradictory principles? Particularly since the "problem of democracy" has become such a central political concern given the history of "actually existing socialist" states, the answers to such questions are of fundamental importance.

In this session we will look at how capitalist democracies work, how they structure class struggle in such a way that they simultaneously contribute to social reproduction and open opportunities for potentially explosive social changes. Particular attention will be paid to the dynamics of electoral competition and the ways in which this shapes the possibilities of radical objectives.

BACKGROUND READINGS:

- Karl Marx, *Class Struggles in France*
V.I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*

CORE READINGS:

- Adam Przeworski, *Capitalism & Social Democracy*, chapter 1 and chapter 3, pp.7-46, 99-132.

SUGGESTED READINGS:

- Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers, *On Democracy* (Penguin, 1983). especially, Chapter 3, "Structure", pp.47-87
- Bob Jessop, "Capitalism and Democracy: the Best Possible Shell?", in Littlejohn, et. al. (eds) *Power and the State* (London: Croom Helm, 1978).
- Perry Anderson, "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci", *New Left Review* #100, 1977.
- Goran Therborn, "The Rule of Capital and the Rise of Democracy", *New Left Review* #103, May-June 1977.

- Bob Jessop, "The Political Indeterminacy of Democracy", in Alan Hunt (ed) *Marxism and Democracy*, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1980), pp. 55-80.
- Erik Olin Wright, *Class, Crisis and the State*, (London: NLB, 1978), chapter 4. "Bureaucracy and the State"
- Barry Hindess, "Marxism and Parliamentary Democracy" in Hunt, op.cit., pp.21-54
- Barry Hindess, "Democracy and the Limitations of Parliamentary Democracy in Britain," *Politics & Power*, #1 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980).
- Bob Jessop, "Parliamentary Democracy: the limitations of Hindess", *Politics & Power* #2, 1980.
- Barrington Moore, Jr. *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966).
- Andrew Levine, *Liberal Democracy: a critique of its theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981)

PART VI IDEOLOGY AND CONSCIOUSNESS

The problem of subjectivity has become an increasingly salient theme in all varieties of critical theory. Within the Marxist tradition such concerns are generally theorized under the rubric "ideology and consciousness", whereas in other traditions "culture" is the buzzword for the study of subjectivity in social life. The increased attention to such themes within Marxism is partially a reaction to the underdevelopment of the theory of ideology in early Marxist work and partially a result of a growing realization that capitalist societies are reproduced not merely through repressive force but through the pervasive impact of various forms of ideology on the subjectivity of workers. In this section of the course we will try to sort out some of the salient features of ideology as a process of reproduction and struggle and some of the critical debates on the theory of ideology in contemporary Marxist discussion.

One preliminary word of caution: Discussions of ideology are particularly complex (and sometimes opaque) because they so directly impinge on questions of methodology, epistemology and philosophy. Disagreements about what is ideology and how its effects and determinations are to be understood are directly implicated in disagreements over what is knowledge and how scientific understandings are to be constructed. Frequently it happens that discussions of ideology become totally preoccupied with these methodological issues, and the actual elaboration of the real mechanisms and dynamics of ideology never gets analyzed in a sustained way. I will try in this section of the course to keep the lectures and readings as substantive as possible. While we will spend some time reflecting on the methodological questions bound up with the study of ideology, we will reserve a full-dress discussion of these problems for the final section of the course.

23. WHAT IS IDEOLOGY?

Debates on ideology typically revolve around two interconnected but distinct questions (a) How should we understand the social process by which ideology is determined? (b) How should we understand the social consequences of ideology? The first of these has been at the heart of discussions of the relative autonomy of ideology, of the ways in which ideology does or does not reflect (in inverted fashion or otherwise) "real" relations, sect. The second issue centers on different views of what ideology really is, on how it "functions" within social relations and why it matters. We will focus most of our energies on this second cluster of problems, not because the problem of the determination of ideology is uninteresting, but because the analysis of such determination can be made intelligible only once we understand the logic by which ideology is consequential for human affairs.

There is relatively little consensus among Marxists about precisely what the term "ideology" denotes, and thus, of course, little consensus about why ideology is consequential. We will discuss several different usages of the term "ideology" that are common in Marxist discussions and then turn to the general problem of the relationship between ideology and subjectivity as a way of integrating these different views. Note that in any case these different usages are overlapping and interdependent rather than mutually exclusive.

In these lectures I will defend an overarching conception of ideology that has its roots in the work of Louis

Althusser, although I will criticize Althusser's functionalist tendencies in his analysis of ideology. I will argue that other conceptions of ideology -- conceptions which revolve around the concepts of false consciousness, mystification or normative beliefs -- all make important contributions, but are incomplete. The Althusserian perspective provides a way of integrating these partial accounts under a more general framework. Instead of viewing ideology as primarily a set of ideas whether mystified or normative, Althusser argues that ideology should be regarded as a kind of practice (or perhaps more rigorously, as a specific dimension of social practices), namely *a practice which produces human subjectivity*. (Sometimes this is referred to as practices which produce subjects, or subject-producing practices). Ideology is a social practice, a structure of real activities which have the effect of producing and transforming forms of human subjectivity.

BACKGROUND READINGS:

- Raymond Boudon, *The Analysis of Ideology* (London: Polity Press, 1989), c.2, "What is Ideology?", c. 3 "Is Homo Sociologicus (always) irrational?" and c. 3, "Journey around a Table", pp.18-68
- Jorge Larraín, *The Concept of Ideology* (The University of Georgia Press, 1979), particularly chapter 1, "Historical origins of the concept of ideology" and chapter 2, "Marx's theory of ideology" pp.17-67
- Richard Lichtman, "Marx's Theory of Ideology" *Socialist Revolution* #23, 1975
- Stuart Hall, "The Hinterland of Science: Ideology and the Sociology of Knowledge" in *On Ideology*, Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies (Hutchinson, 1978). pp.9-33

CORE READINGS:

- Goran Therborn, *The Power of Ideology and the Ideology of Power* (Verso, 1980), pp. 1-49
- Erik Olin Wright, *Class Counts*, pp. 382-387

SUGGESTED READINGS:

- Terry Eagleton, *Ideology* (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 1-63
- Raymond Geuss, *The Idea of Critical Theory* (Cambridge University P., 1981), chapter 1, "Ideology", pp.4-44
- Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in *Lenin and Philosophy* (NLB, 1971)
- G.McLennan et al., "Althusser's Theory of Ideology" in *On Ideology* (op.cit.), pp.77-108
- N. Abercrombie, S.Hill and B. Turner, "Determinacy and Indeterminacy in the theory of Ideology," *New Left Review*, #142, 1983
- Erik Olin Wright, *Classes* (London: Verso, 1985), "What is Class Consciousness?", pp.242-250
- Raymond Williams, "Ideology", pp.55-74 in *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford University Press, 1977)
- Jorge Larraín, *Marxism and Ideology* (Humanities Press, 1983)

24. MYSTIFICATION: IDEOLOGY AS FALSE CONSCIOUSNESS

This is perhaps the most common usage of the term ideology. Ideology is a set of distorted ideas about the world. Used in this way, ideology is implicitly contrasted to "science", cognitively undistorted (or at least less pervasively distorted) knowledge of the world.

Ideology understood as mystification has played a particularly important role in Marxist discussions. (Marx's concept of "commodity fetishism" and Lukacs' concept of "reification" are two important examples of this usage.) Ideology is seen as preventing workers from understanding the nature of their oppression and the possibilities of its transformation. The absence of effective struggle for socialism, then, is at least in part explained by the pervasiveness of these cognitive distortions.

We will analyze ideology as false consciousness in terms of several interconnected issues:

- (a). The distinction between distortions of what exists and distortions of conceptions of alternatives to what

exists;

(b). The problem of the *source* of mystification -- "propaganda" or "common sense" (lived experience);

(c). The relationship between cognitive distortions (mystifications within consciousness) and unconscious aspects subjectivity.

(d). The problem of functionalism within the theory of mystification: are mystifications always functional for the reproduction of capitalism? Does mystification distort the perceptions of interests of the bourgeoisie as well, perhaps in ways which reduces their ability to manage capitalism?

(e) The problem of "objective" interests.

This final issue -- the problem of objective interests -- is particularly problematic. The distinction between "objective" and "subjective" interests is deeply implicated in the Marxist theory of ideology since whenever expressions like "false consciousness" and "mystification" are used there is the implication that ideology in one way or another masks the true interests of actors.

The concept of objective class interests has had a troubled career in Marxism. On the one hand, claims that a specific policy or strategy are "in the *objective* interests of the working class" have served as justifications for antidemocratic, elitist forms of politics in which leadership pays little attention to the subjective preferences of workers. Because of this latent elitist implication, many Marxists reject the concept of "objective" interests altogether. On the other hand, in the absence of a theory of objective interests, socialism becomes simply one value-preference among others. It may be morally desirable according to a particular value system, but it has no privileged status as being in the "objective interests" of the working class. The rejection of the objectivity of interests thus has a tendency to lead to a kind of moral and political relativism and accordingly blunts the critical edge of analyses of ideology.

CORE READINGS:

Marx, *Capital*, vol.I (any edition), chapter 1, section 4, "Commodity Fetishism"

G.A.Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory of History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), chapter V. "Fetishism", pp. 115-133

38. Raymond Geuss, *The Idea of Critical Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), chapter 2, "Interests", pp.45-54.

39. Michael Rosen, *On Voluntary Servitude: false consciousness and the theory of ideology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), pp.1-3, 9-11, 30-53

SUGGESTED READINGS;

Terry Eagleton, *Ideology*, pp.70-91

Jon Elster, *Making Sense of Marx*, section 2.3.2., "Fetishism", pp.95-99

Ted Benton, "Objective Interests and the Sociology of Power", *Sociology*, 15:2, 1981, pp.161-184.

Issac Balbus, "The Concept of Interest in Pluralist and Marxist Analysis", *Politics & Society*, February, 1971

William Connolly, "On Interests in Politics," *Politics & Society*, 2:4, 1972, pp.459-77.

George Lukacs, "Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat", in *History and Class Consciousness*

Gareth Stedman Jones "The Marxism of the Young Lukacs", in *Western Marxism: a Critical Reader* (NLB, 1977)

Jorge Larrain, *The Concept of Ideology*, c.6, "Science and Ideology", pp.172-212

Steven Lukes, *Power: a radical view* (London: McMillan, 1976)

25. IDEOLOGICAL HEGEMONY AND LEGITIMATION

In this lecture we will explore two inter-related concepts that often play a central role in discussions of ideology: *legitimation* and *hegemony*.

Ideology as legitimation is undoubtedly the most frequent usage of "ideology" among non Marxists, where ideology is usually understood as an "ism", but such usage is found often enough in Marxist discussions as well. In this usage ideology consists of a systematic set of normatively integrated beliefs about what is good and bad, desirable and undesirable. Max Weber's work on forms of legitimacy (legitimate authority) and generalized world views (eg. Puritanism) revolve primarily around this notion of ideology (although he does not use the term in this context). Marxist discussions of legitimation, particularly as it relates to the state, also center on ideology as a normative system.

Ideological Hegemony is perhaps the least familiar usage of the concept of ideology. Many times, in fact, the term is used interchangeably with expressions like "ideological domination", and the specificity of hegemonic ideology is lost. Most broadly understood, hegemony constitutes the capacity of a class to systematically tie the interests of other classes to the realization of its own interests. Such a capacity is bound up with the leadership role played by the hegemonic class, a leadership which is at once economic, political, cultural and moral (as Gramsci was fond of saying). Ideological hegemony, then, is the ideological aspect of this capacity, of this linking together of the interests of subordinate classes to those of the dominant class. Hegemony understood in this way, it should be noted, is not simple mystification. The leadership capacity is objectively grounded and the coordination of interests is based on real compromises/sacrifices rather than just propaganda. Hegemony may underwrite mystifications -- such as the belief in the unchangeability of the social order -- but hegemony itself is based on the actual capacity to provide such direction to the society as a whole.

At the ideological level, as Chantall Mouffe argues following Gramsci, such hegemony depends upon the extent to which the ruling class is able to incorporate into its own ideology pivotal elements of popular ideologies which are then reorganized and combined in such a way as to reinforce the position of dominance of the ruling class.

What, then, is the relationship between "hegemony" and "legitimation"? Do the two necessarily go together? Can one have hegemony without legitimation or legitimation without hegemony? These are some of the issues we will engage in this session.

CORE READING:

40. Chantal Mouffe, "Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci", in *Gramsci & Marxist Theory* (ed. by Mouffe, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 168-204
41. Jurgen Habermas, *Communication and the Evolution of Society*, pp. 183-188
42. Nicholas Abercrombie, Stephen Hill and Bryan Turner, *The Dominant Ideology Thesis* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1980), pp. 7-29, 156-180

Goran Therborn, *The Power of Ideology and the Ideology of Power*, pp. 93-112

SUGGESTED READINGS:

- Ellen Meiksins Woods, *The Retreat from Class* (London: Verso, 1986), chapter 4, "The Autonomization of Ideology and Politics", pp. 47-76
- John Rawls, *Theory of Justice* (Harvard University Press, 1971), section 29
- Ernesto LaClau, "Towards a Theory of Populism", in *Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory*, (London: NLB, 1977), pp. 143-199
- Ernesto LaClau and Chantall Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (London: NLB/Verso, 1984)
- Antonio Gramsci, "The Intellectuals," "The Modern Prince," "The State and Civil Society" in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (International Pub., 1971)
- Perry Anderson, "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci" *New Left Review* #100, 1977
- Walter Adamson, *Hegemony and Revolution: Gramsci's Political and Cultural Theory* (U. of California Press,

1980)

Max Weber, "The Types of Authority and Imperative Coordination" *Economy and Society*, vol.I. reprinted in Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (ed by T.Parsons, New York: Free Press, 1947). pp.324-362

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*, Part 1, Chapter 1, section b. "Concerning the production of consciousness"

Jurgen Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis*, Part III. "On the Logic of Legitimation Problems", pp.95-143

Jurgen Habermas, "Historical Materialism and the Development of Normative Structures" in Habermas, *Communication and the evolution of society*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1979)

26. IDEOLOGY AND EXPLOITATION: THE PROBLEM OF CONSENT

If the distinction between labor power and labor provided the conceptual breakthrough which enabled Marx to develop the theory of surplus value and exploitation, the analysis of the labor process provided him with the concrete empirical focus analyzing the distinctive dynamics of exploitation in capitalism. Workers sell their labor power on the labor market to the capitalist; they perform actual labor within the labor process. The possibility of surplus value -- the process of exploitation -- depends upon the capacity of capitalists to force workers to work sufficiently long and hard within the labor process. This, then, is the focus of Marx's analysis of the labor process: how technological change and reorganizations of the process of work enable the capitalist to increase the amount of surplus labor (value) created by workers within the labor process.

In the last two decades, beginning with the seminal contribution of Harry Braverman, a great deal of empirical and theoretical work has been done on the labor process, with particular attention to the ways in which capitalists contend with the problem of actually getting workers to perform surplus labor. In this session we will focus on one particular issue within these discussions: how important is the *active consent* of workers to their own exploitation? Is exploitation fundamentally a coercive practice in which workers are continually forced to exert effort, or is their a set of ideological processes involved which elicit the active collusion of workers in their own exploitation?

These questions have been posed recently in a particularly useful way in a debate sparked by Sam Bowles and Herbert Gintis's work on what they call "contested exchange". Their arguments were initially addressed primarily to neoclassical economists with the objective of demonstrating how the surveillance and social control costs of capitalism were a deep inefficiency built into capitalist property relations, but the issues they raise have critical implications for the role of ideology within the process of exploitation as well.

BACKGROUND READING:

Harry Braverman. *Labor and Monopoly Capital* (New York: MR Press, 1973). Part I. "Labor and Management", pp. 3-139.

CORE READINGS:

43. Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, "Contested Exchange: New Microfoundations for the Political Economy of Capitalism," *Politics & Society*, June 1990, 165-222

Michael Burawoy and Erik Olin Wright, "Coercion and Consent in Contested Exchange", chapter 6 in *Interrogating Inequality*

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Sam Bowles, "The Production Process in a Competitive Economy: Walrasian, Neo-Hobbesian and Marxian Models", *American Economic Review* (75:1, March 1985), pp.16-36.

Michael Burawoy, *The Politics of Production* (London: NLB/Verso, 1985)

Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1: Chapter 7, part 1. The Labor Process; Chapter 13. Cooperation;. Chapter 14. The Division of

Labor in Manufacture. Chapter 15. Machinery and Large Scale Industry. Chapter 16. Absolute and Relative Surplus Value.

27. EXPLAINING CONSCIOUSNESS: Micro-foundations for the Theory of Consciousness

In many analyses of ideology, the actual process by which ideologies are formed in the subjectivity of individuals and become part of their consciousness is left unspecified. The cognitive processes involved are usually treated as a black box, and when some reference to the formation of consciousness is made, rarely do arguments go beyond rather vague and typically unsophisticated notions of inculcation and indoctrination.

Clearly if we are to fully understand the nature of ideology as a social process, and particularly if we wish to combat ideologies which restrict the horizons of radical social change, we must do better than this. In this session we will begin to explore some of the ingredients in the problem of the formation of individual consciousness. In particular, we will examine some of the possible mechanisms involved in the individual-level formation and transformation of preferences and beliefs, since these are of such importance in the general problem of consciousness and ideology.

CORE READINGS:

44. Jon Elster, *Making Sense of Marx*, chapter 8, "Ideologies", pp. 458-510.

Goran Therborn, *The Power of Ideology and the Ideology of Power* (NLB/Verso, 1980), pp.31-49

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Thomas Piketty, "Social Mobility and Redistributive Politics" *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August, 1995, pp.551-584

Jon Elster, *Sour Grapes* (Cambridge University Press, 1983)

Raymond Boundon, *The Analysis of Ideology* (London: Polity Press, 1989), chapter 6, "Ideology, social position and dispositions", pp.94-115

VII. SOCIALISM AND EMANCIPATION

There was a time not so far in the past when Marxists more or less took for granted the possibility of socialism as a radical alternative to capitalism. There were disagreements about how best to define socialism, about whether existing historical experiments that have been forged under the name of socialism were really socialist, and what political strategies offered the greatest possibility of achieving socialism. But the feasibility of socialism itself was not seriously questioned.

This is no longer the case. Recent years have witnessed a profound interrogation of the concept of socialism itself and new and interesting ideas about what a radically egalitarian alternative to capitalism means. In these sessions we will explore the classic image of socialism and some of these new visions and perspectives.

28. The Classical Theory of Socialism

This session examines both the *normative* issues and theoretical issues involved in the traditional way Marxists understood socialism. We will be interested both in the vision of the "good life" embodied in Marxian conceptions of socialism and in recent democratic theorists heavily influenced by the Marxist tradition. In particular we will examine four interconnected issues:

1. *Socialism and Exploitation*. One of the essential issues in defining socialism revolves around the problem of exploitation. Is socialism simply the eradication of capitalist property relations and thus capitalist exploitation?

Does socialism countenance specific forms of exploitation? Is communism a society with no exploitation?

2. *Socialism and Autonomy.* A second central theme that Marxists have pursued in the discussions of socialism concerns autonomy, and the closely related concept of "alienation." Socialism, and even more deeply, communism, are seen as societies within which alienation is minimized, where people have the maximum scope for "self realization" and autonomous self-direction. Socialism is normatively defended above all because of the ways it enhances *freedom* rather than because of the ways it reduces exploitation.

3. *Socialism and Domination.* In classical Marxism, particularly as it was molded by the theory and practice of Leninism, socialism became defined as the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat". In this understanding, the essential character of socialism revolves around the problem of class domination: in capitalism the bourgeoisie is the ruling class, in socialism the proletariat assumes this role. Few concepts have had as confused a career in Marxist theory as the dictatorship of the proletariat. A good case can be made in the latter part of the 20th century that, given the history of dictatorial forms of the capitalist state, especially fascism, and the experience of authoritarian regimes in state socialist societies, that the *word* dictatorship is simply incapable of adequately representing the *concept* "dictatorship of the proletariat." Be that as it may, before we can judge the utility of words we need to grasp the concept itself and understand precisely what it means to claim that the working class becomes a ruling class and is thus able to dictate its interests within the state apparatus and repress systematically interests which threaten that class rule.

4. *Socialism and Democracy.* To many socialists the concept of socialism has come to be closely identified with radical democracy. The transformation of property relations and the elimination of capitalist exploitation are seen as important because of the ways these facilitate genuine democracy. Radical democracy is not understood, in this perspective, as exclusively constituting the working class as a ruling class, but rather as a mechanism for empowering people in general to enable them to pursue collective projects. Self-actualization and individual freedom/autonomy may still be the ultimate normative goal, but its realization is viewed as contingent upon the radical democratization of all spheres of social life.

In our exploration of each of these issues we will also draw connections between the problem of socialism and the radical transformations of gender relations. In particular, we will examine the extent to which the alternative conceptions of socialism inherently imply a society without gender domination and the ways in which the two agendas may have real autonomy one from the other.

BACKGROUND READINGS:

Tom Mayer, *Analytical Marxism*, chapter 9, "Socialism"

V.I. Lenin, *State and Revolution*, especially chapters 1 and 5

Karl Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Program*

CORE READINGS:

45. Jon Elster, *Making Sense of Marx* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 82-92, 446-458, 513-531

Adam Przeworski, *Capitalism and Social Democracy*, Postscript: "Social Democracy and Socialism", pp.239-248

Erik Olin Wright, "Emancipation and Explanation in Marxism and Feminism", *Interrogating Inequality*, chapter 10.

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers, *On Democracy*, chapter 6, "Democracy", pp.146-183

Andrew Levine, *The End of the State* (London: Verso: 1987).pp.131-182

Bertell Ollman, *Alienation*, (Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp.104-119

Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Democracy and Capitalism*, c.7, "Future: postliberal Democracy",

pp.176-213

Etienne Balibar, *Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (Verso: 1977)

29. New Models of Emancipatory Futures

All varieties of Marxists have always assumed that some kind of statist socialism -- state ownership of the principal means of production under the control of the working class -- was an essential precondition for the transition to communism -- a society without classes, without exploitation, with maximal freedom, etc. This model of a postcapitalism has lost credibility in recent years. While it can certainly be debated whether or not the irrationalities of the command economies decisively demonstrate that centralized, statist models of socialism inevitably thwart the aspirations of democratic socialists, still, few socialists today have much faith in such models. This loss of faith in statist socialism, in turn, has underwritten the growing power of TINA claims ("there is no alternative") about the inevitability of capitalism.

In this historical situation, it becomes an especially important task to elaborate alternative models of post-capitalist, emancipatory possibilities. In this session we will explore two such models: universal basic income grants and market socialism.

Basic income Grants (BIG). In their provocative essay, "The Capitalist Road to Communism", Robert Van der Veen and Philippe Van Parijs argue that some of the essential features of communist society can be constructed within advanced capitalist societies through the creation of universal, unconditional citizen rights to part of the social surplus, without the necessity of either a political rupture or a rupture in capitalist property relations. Universal Basic income is a particularly interesting reform proposal for feminists since, in guaranteeing everyone basic income it potentially would have significant effects on gender relations.

Market socialism. While one can certainly argue that the USSR was not "truly" socialist, nevertheless the manifest failure of the Soviet economy to function efficiently poses serious issues for traditional socialist ideas about a planned economy. Many people now argue that central planning, even if democratically controlled, cannot work because of the massive information problems of a complex society. This has led to new thinking about the possibility of combining socialism with markets. In this session we will examine one such proposal, the model of coupon-socialism developed by John Roemer. Roemer's basic idea is quite simple: imagine an economy with two kinds of money, "dollars" and "coupons". Dollars are used to buy commodities just like in our society. Coupons are used to buy property rights in firms. Dollars and coupons are nonconvertible: you cannot trade coupons for dollars and vice versa. Coupons are then distributed equally to all adults in the society and they use these coupons to buy shares in firms. Thus ownership of firms is more or less equally distributed. Share ownership gives people claims to dividends (i.e. a share in profits) from firms, which are paid in dollars. This system of property rights and markets Roemer argues is a viable form of market socialism. Even if one rejects this model as insufficiently egalitarian, nevertheless, a provocative and helps to clarify a range of problems in the institutional design of socialism.

BACKGROUND READING:

Tom Mayer, *Analytical Marxism*, pp.278-288

CORE READINGS

Erik Olin Wright, "The Real Utopia's Project: Overview", <http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~wright/OVERVIEW.html>

Universal Basic Income

46. Robert Van der Veen and Philippe van Parijs, "A Capitalist Road to Communism", *Theory & Society* v.15:5,

1986, pp.635-655

Erik Olin Wright, "Why Something like Socialism is Necessary for the Transition to Something like Communism", chapter 7 in *Interrogating Inequality*.

47. David Purdy, "Citizenship, Basic Income and the State", *New Left Review* #208, November-December 1994, pp.30-48

Market socialism

48. John Roemer, "A Future for Socialism," *Politics & Society*, December 1994.

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Jon Elster, "Comment on Van der Veen and Van Parijs", *Theory & Society* v.15:5, 1986, pp.709-721

Philippe Van Parijs, *Arguing for Basic Income* (London: Verso, 1993).

John Roemer, *A Future for Socialism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994)

John Roemer, *Equal Shares*, vol.2 in the *Real Utopias Project* (London: Verso: 1996)

30. Radically Transforming Capitalism: traditional Marxist perspectives

Three perspectives have been particularly important within the Marxist and socialist tradition about how capitalism can be transformed into "socialism":

- (1) The traditional Leninist position which sees the capitalist state as so pervasively bourgeois in its fundamental character that it cannot not in any serious way be used in the construction of socialist society. It must be "smashed" in its totality.
- (2) The traditional social democratic view, which sees the state as essentially flexible, if not strictly neutral, and therefore a suitable vehicle for socialist reforms.
- (3) The view, somewhat popular on the left in the 1970s, that while the capitalist state needs ultimately to be fundamentally transformed in order to accomplish a socialist transformation, nevertheless because of its internal contradictions and lack of unity in capitalism, it can still be used strategically in a revolutionary transition. This is the theory of "nonreformist reforms", of struggling over the democratization of the capitalist state as a way of creating embryonic forms of socialism inside of capitalism.

CORE READINGS:

49. Erik Olin Wright, "Socialist Strategies and the State", chapter 5, *Class, Crisis and the State*. pp.226-252

SUGGESTED READINGS:

John Stephens, *The Transition from Capitalism to Socialism*, chapters 2,3,6

Martin Carnoy, "The State, Democracy and the Transition to Socialism", chapter VI in *The State*

Norberto Bobbio, "Are there Alternatives to Representative Democracy?", *Telos*, #35, 1978.

ADDITIONAL TOPICS

[Note: the readings for many of these sections are quite out of date. This reading list has not been systematically updated in the past decade, alas.....]

In earlier incarnations of this course, it was organized as an integrated two semester sequence. This enabled us not merely to include more specific discussions under the three general topics of this course -- class, state and ideology -- but to discuss a range of material that had to be omitted from the one-semester version of the course, in particular the political economy of capitalism and Marxism and Feminism. (Other omitted topics have been included in the supplementary topics sections of the main body of this reading list). Since these issues remain critical for radical social science, we are including reading lists for these topics in this syllabus to provide students with some guidance for their own work.

A. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION

In this section of the course we will examine the basic Marxist account of the logic, dynamics and development of the capitalist mode of production. This aspect of Marxist social science has a curious status within Marxism as a whole. On the one hand, it is in many ways the most technically complex and developed aspect of Marxism, involving sophisticated mathematics, highly specialized vocabulary and, to outsiders at least, esoteric debates. Of all of the "branches" of Marxism, political economics has the appearances of being a real "science". On the other hand, in recent years there is probably no aspect of the Marxist tradition that has come under more sustained critical fire *from within* that tradition than "orthodox" political economy. As a result, there is probably less consensus among Marxist economists over the basic concepts and propositions of the analysis of capitalism as an economic system than among any other category of Marxist theorists.

Because of the technical complexity of some of this material, we will not be able to delve extensively into the debates and critiques of traditional Marxist political economics that have emerged in the past decade. While I will discuss some of the issues involved in the critique of the labor theory of value, our basic objective will be to understand the traditional concepts and arguments. Perhaps more than in the rest of the course, these lectures are similar to a language class, where the task is to learn the vocabulary and the rules for linking the terms together. If we can accomplish this goal of basic "literacy" then it should be possible for interested students to read more deeply into the topics on their own and in study groups.

In this section we will rely fairly heavily on readings from *Capital*. While it is possible to get most of this material from other sources, *Capital* remains the basic point of reference for discussions of political economics. Since so many of the debates are structured around battles over the text of *Capital* itself, it is best to go to the original source if one wants to become literate in the debates.

One final note. It is important to stress throughout these discussions that in spite of the technical complexity of some of the issues we will discuss, the investigation of the logic of the capitalist mode of production is *not* exclusively a topic in "economics", understood as an autonomous science of purely economic phenomena. The account is labeled political economics, and by rights it should be called political social ideological economics, suggesting that the analysis of economic processes is inextricably bound up with all aspects of social relations, social structure and social practices.

3. The Labor Theory of Value I: The Commodity, Commodity Production and Exchange.

Almost from its inception, the labor theory of value (LTV) has been an object of considerable contention within Marxism. Much of the bourgeois critique of Marxism has rested on arguments that the LTV is invalid and thus Marxist claims about class relations and exploitation grounded in the LTV can be dismissed out of hand. Many

Marxists, for their part, have insisted that the LTV is the cornerstone of Marxism and that the general social and political theory of capitalism developed by Marx and later Marxists depends upon its validity. More recently a growing number of Marxists have argued that the LTV is not such a vital component of Marxism in general or even Marxist political economics in particular and that, as a result, it can be dispensed with little theoretical cost.

These readings we will touch on some of these debates. Our main concern, however, will be to understand the logic of the labor theory of value, since it continues to be such an important element in the idiom of Marxist discourse. Marx certainly believed it was indispensable and thus he used it as a vehicle for the elaboration of a wide range of theoretical claims.

In this first session we will discuss one of the pivotal concepts in Marx's analysis of capitalism: the concept of the "commodity". Marx described the commodity as the "cell" of capitalist society, the most basic concept for decoding the overall logic and dynamics of capitalism. In this session we will examine in detail this concept under rather simplified assumptions, namely under conditions where all workers own their own means of production and thus do not have to sell their labor power on a labor market. Such a structure, usually referred to as "simple commodity production", helps to reveal the essential logic of commodity production. In later lectures we will examine the properties of capitalist commodity production per se.

Note on Readings: The Readings from *Capital* are all listed under CORE READINGS. In order to minimize the number of pages that everyone has to read, I have divided them into required (**) and recommended (*). Students who have never read parts of *Capital* before should probably only try to get through the required readings; students with some exposure should read at least some of the recommended passages as well.

BACKGROUND READING:

Paul Sweezy, *Theory of Capitalist Development* (Monthly Review Press, 1947), pp.23-71.

Pierre Jalee, *How Capitalism Works* (Monthly Review Press, 1977), pp.7-64.

**Erik Olin Wright, "The Meaning of Accumulation," in *Class, Crisis and the State*, pp. 113-124.

Ernest Mandel, "Introduction" to the vintage edition of Vol. I of *Capital*, **pp.38-65, *11-38, 66-86.

CORE READING:

Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. I (New York: Vintage, 1976):

Chapter 1. The Commodity. **125-137, 163-177; *137-163.

Chapter 2. The Process of Exchange. *178-187.

Chapter 3. Money or the Circulation of Commodities. **198-210;*188-198.

Chapter 4. The General Formula of Capital. **247-257

Chapter 5. Contradictions in the General Formula. **258-269

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Jesse Swartz (ed), *The Subtle Analysis of Capitalism* (Santa Monica: Goodyear Publishers, 1977), especially Part II, "The Hidden Meaning of Things: Profit, Rent and Wages" and the essay, "There is nothing Simple about a Commodity".

Maurice Dobb, *Theories of Value and Distribution since Adam Smith* (Cambridge University Press, 1923).

R. Meek, *Studies in the Labor Theory of Value* (Monthly Review Press)

4. The Labor Theory of Value II: Labor, Labor Power and Capitalist Exploitation

Marx considered his most profound contribution to political economics to be the elaboration of the distinction between labor power and labor. The distinction between these two made possible the discovery of "surplus value" as the source of profits in capitalism, and thus the precise specification of the mechanisms of capitalist exploitation. *Labor power* is, according to Marx, a commodity sold by workers to capitalists -- their capacity to perform labor. *Labor*, on the other hand, is the actual activity of laboring. The decisive feature of capitalist exploitation, Marx argued, is that capitalists are able to force workers to labor more hours than is the equivalent value of their labor power, i.e. they create more value than is embodied in the commodities they buy with their wage.

CORE READINGS:

Marx, *Capital*, vol. I,

- Chapter 6. The Sale and Purchase of Labor power. **270-280.
- Chapter 7. The Labor Process and the Valorization Process. **283-306
- Chapter 8. Constant Capital and Variable Capital. *307-319
- Chapter 9. The Rate of Surplus Value. *320-329
- Chapter 10. The Working Day. *340-344,375-416.
- Chapter 11. The Rate and Mass of Surplus Value. *417-426
- Chapter 12. The Concept of Relative Surplus Value. **429-438

SUGGESTED READING:

Marx, "Wages, Prices and Profits", section XIV. (in *Selected Works*).

Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, "Structure and Practice in the Labor Theory of Value", *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 12:4, 1983, pp.1-26.

5. Critiques of the Labor Theory of Value

Probably the most concerted challenge to the labor theory of value in recent years has come from economists working in the tradition associated with the name of Piero Sraffa (although Sraffa himself did not actually launch the critique of the LTV as such). Many of the participants in the attack consider themselves to be Marxists, but feel that the conceptual edifice of the LTV is unnecessary and misleading, and above all, substantively incorrect. The most focussed statement of this position is by Ian Steedman in *Marx After Sraffa*. He defends two principle theses: (1) that the LTV is redundant in that prices and profits are directly determined by the physical coefficients of production and the real wage as are "value magnitudes" (the amounts of socially necessary labor in commodities). The calculation of value magnitudes is thus a redundant step in the analysis of prices and profits. (2). Any attempt to derive prices and profits from value magnitudes yields incoherent results (such as negative values with positive prices) under certain conditions.

In this session I will explain in a nontechnical manner the basic logic of the arguments behind these critiques, and assess their implications for Marxist class analysis in general. In particular, we will look at G.A. Cohen's argument that the theory of exploitation is in no way dependent upon the labor theory of value for either its moral or sociological importance.

CORE READINGS:

Ian Steedman, *Marx after Sraffa* (London: NLB, 1977), pp. 13-29

Jon Elster, *Making Sense of Marx*, section 3.2, "The Labor Theory of Value", pp.127-141

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Ben Fine and Laurence Harris, *Rereading Capital* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), c.2. "Value, Price and the Transformation Problem", pp. 21-48. [This is an able restatement of the traditional position in light of the Sraffan critique].

Ian Steedman, et. al. *The Value Controversy* (London: NLB/Verso, 1981). Especially the following essays:

Erik Olin Wright, "The Value Controversy and Social Research", pp.36-74.

Geoff Hodgson, "Critique of Wright: 1. Labour and Profits".pp.75-99

P radeep Bandyopadhyay, "Critique of Wright: 2. In Defense of a Post-Straffan Approach", pp. 100-129

Erik Olin Wright, "Reconsiderations", pp.130-162

G.A. Cohen, "The Labour Theory of Value and the Concept of Exploitation", pp.202-223.

Bob Rowthorn, "Neo-Classicism, Neo-Ricardianism and Marxism", *New Left Review* #86, 1974.

Anwar Shaikh, "Marx's Theory of Value and the Transformation Problem", in Swartz (ed), *The Subtle Analysis of Capitalism*, op.cit. pp.106-139.

G.C. Harcourt, "The Theoretical and Social Significance of the Cambridge Controversies in the Theory of Capital", *ibid.* pp.285-303.

Review of Radical Political Economics, vol.14:2, Summer 1982, special issue on "Modern Approaches to the Theory of Value".

Richard D. Wolff, Antonio Callari and Bruce Roberts, "A Marxian Alternative to the Tradition "Transformation Problem", *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 16:2-3, 1984, pp.115-136

6. The Labor Process

If the distinction between labor power and labor provided the conceptual breakthrough which enabled Marx to develop the theory of surplus value and exploitation, the analysis of the labor process provided him with the concrete empirical focus analyzing the distinctive dynamics of exploitation in capitalism. Workers sell their labor power on the labor market to the capitalist; they perform actual labor within the labor process. The possibility of surplus value -- the process of exploitation -- depends upon the capacity of capitalists to force workers to work sufficiently long and hard within the labor process. This, then, is the focus of Marx's analysis of the labor process: how technological change and reorganizations of the process of work enable the capitalist to increase the amount of surplus labor (value) created by workers within the labor process.

While most Marxists continue to view the labor process and its dynamics in essentially the same way as Marx,

there have increasingly been challenges to this traditional account. Much of this new work has developed as a response to the work of Harry Braverman, whose study *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, published in 1973, elaborated in a clear and systematic way the classic Marxist position on the degradation of labor, the destruction of skills, the ever-increasing control of capital over the labor process, etc. Several critiques have been raised against this analysis:

- (1). The labor process and its transformations should be understood much more as an arena of struggle and contestation between workers and capitalists than simply as an arena of capitalist domination.
- (2). The labor process cannot be understood simply in terms of the economic logic of capitalism; it is also regulated by political apparatuses and transformed through political struggles.
- (3). At even the economic level, there is no simple tendency for degradation and ever-increasing deskilling; technical change also involves reskilling and upgrading of jobs, and the net effect is largely indeterminate in terms of overall tendency.

In this session we will critically examine Marx's and Braverman's central arguments, in particular, focussing on Michael Burawoy's analysis of the problem of control and resistance in the labor process and what he terms "the politics of production." This analysis makes it possible to begin to explain in a much more subtle manner variations in the labor process within capitalism.

BACKGROUND READING:

Harry Braverman. *Labor and Monopoly Capital* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973). Part I. "Labor and Management", pp. 3-139.

CORE READINGS:

Marx, *Capital*, vol. I:

Chapter 13. Cooperation. **448-451; *439-447, 451-454

Chapter 14. The Division of Labor in Manufacture. **474-77,480-91 *470-474

Chapter 15. Machinery and Large Scale Industry. **544-553,

Chapter 16. Absolute and Relative Surplus Value. *643-654

Michael Burawoy, *The Politics of Production* (London: NLB/Verso, 1985), Introduction, "Bringing Workers Back In"; Chapter One, "The Labour Process in Capitalist Society"; Conclusion, "Toward a Global Perspective," Chapter three, "The Changing Face of Factor Regimes under Advanced Capitalism" pp.2-84, 122-155, 253-269

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Michael Burawoy, *The Politics of Production and the Production of Politics*, op.cit., Chapter Two, "Karl Marx and the Satanic Mills", , Chapter Four, "Worker's in Workers' States", and Chapter Five, "The Hidden Abode of Underdevelopment.", pp. 85-121, 156-252

Craig R. Littler, *The Development of the Labour Process in Capitalist Societies* (London: Heineman

Educational Books, 1982). pp.1-63, 186-195.

David Noble, "Social Choice in Machine Design," *Politics & Society*, 8:3-4, 1978.

David Noble, *The Forces of Production* (Knopf, 1985)

Larry Hirschhorn, *The Limits of Mechanization* (MIT Press, 1984)

Stephen Marglin, "What Do Bosses Do?", *Review of Radical Political Economics* 6:2, 1974, pp. 60-112.

Andrew Zimbalist, *Case Studies on the Labor Process* (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1979).

David Montgomery, *Worker's Control in America* (Cambridge University Press, 1979).

Katherine Stone, "The Origins of Job Structures in the Steel Industry", *Radical America*, 1974.

E.P. Thompson, "Time, Work Discipline and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present*, 38:56-97, Dec 1967.

Robert J. Thomas, "Citizenship and Gender in Work Organization: some considerations for Theories of the Labor Process", *American Journal of Sociology*, supplement to Vol. 88, 1982.

Richard Edwards, *Contested Terrain* (New York: Basic Books, 1979)

Andrew Friedman, *Industry and Labour: class struggle at work and monopoly capitalism*, (London: McMillan, 1977).

David Gordon, Richard Edwards and Michael Reich, *Segmented Work, Divided Workers* (Cambridge, 1982)

7. Accumulation and Crisis Theory

The heart of the Marxist account of the accumulation of capital has always been to demonstrate how that process was inherently contradictory, i.e. how the logic of the expansion of capital simultaneously and necessarily produced obstacles to the expansion itself. One of the key ways in which the social relations of production become "fetters" on the development of the forces of production in capitalism revolves around these obstacles, since it is only through capital accumulation that the forces of production in capitalism can develop. A stagnation of accumulation, therefore, generally implies a stagnation of technological development as well.

While all Marxists share this general, abstract stance towards accumulation, they differ strongly on how best to conceptualize the contradictions or obstacles to accumulation. Marx was quite clear as to why he felt mature capitalism had intrinsic contradictions of accumulation. He argued that because of both competition and class struggle, there was a systematic tendency in capitalism for technological change to take the form of substituting machines for labor. This has the effect of undermining the rate of profit: profits are generated only by living labor (according to the labor theory of value), but because of technological change, living labor becomes an increasingly small part of total costs of production. Thus the *rate* of profit declines. This is the basis for Marx's famous "law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall".

In the debates over crisis theory in recent years, the theory of the falling rate of profit has come under considerable criticism. As a result, in the current discussions a variety of different mechanisms which might generate crises have been entertained: (1) The rising organic composition of capital and the accompanying

tendency for the rate of profit to fall (i.e. Marx's classical argument); (2) The tendency for overproduction and underconsumption inherent in the anarchy of capitalist production and the need for each capitalist to minimize wages; (3) the tendency for profits to be "squeezed" by successful wage struggles; (4) the tendency for the relative overexpansion of unproductive uses of surplus value, particularly through the state. We will briefly examine each of these mechanisms, beginning with Marx's account of the falling rate of profit, and see how the historical evolution of capitalism can be characterized in terms of shifts in the core impediments/contradictions in accumulation.

BACKGROUND READINGS:

Paul Sweezy, *The Theory of Capitalist Development* pp. 75-108, 133-139, 214-236.

Pierre Jalee, *How Capitalism Works*, pp. 72-80

CORE READINGS:

Marx, *Capital*, vol. I.

Chapter 23. Simple Reproduction. **709-724

Chapter 24. The Transformation of Surplus Value into Capital. **725-734; *734-57

Chapter 25. The General Law of Accumulation. **762-802

Erik Olin Wright, "Historical Transformations of Capitalist Crisis Tendencies," c.3 of *Class, Crisis and the State*, pp.111-180.

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Jon Elster, *Making Sense of Marx*, section 3.3 and 3.4, pp.142-165

Marx, *Capital*, vol. III. (International Publishers Edition, 1967). Part III. "The Law of the Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall", *pp.211-266.

Jon Elster, *Making Sense of Marx*, chapter 3.4. "Theories of Capitalist Crisis", pp.154-165

Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy, *Monopoly Capital* (Monthly Review Press)

Ernest Mandel, *Late Capitalism* (London: NLB, 1975)

James O'Connor, *The Fiscal Crisis of the State* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1973).

David Yaffe, "The Marxist Theory of Crisis, Capital and the State," *Economy & Society*, 1973, pp. 186-232.

U.R.P.E. *U.S. Capitalism in Crisis* (U.R.P.E., 1977), especially parts 1 and 2

Manuel Castells, *The Economics Crisis and American Society* (Princeton University Press, 1980)

R. Boddy and J. Crotty, "Class Conflict and Macro-Policy: the political business cycle," *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 7:1, 1975.

Paul Mattick, *Marx and Keynes* (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1969).

Joseph Steindl, *Maturity and Stagnation in Advanced Capitalism* (MR Press,

8. Internationalization of Capital and Problems of Stagnation

The most important structural development in the world economy in the past twenty years has been its qualitatively increased integration. No country is any longer immune from international competitive pressures, and none is independent of export markets; most capital controls have been abolished, and financial markets are much more integrated than they once were; and "natural" comparative advantage is less and less relevant to locational and production decisions by the steadily increasing ranks of multinational firms. This process of increased structural integration has coincided with a general deterioration in economic performance among the advanced capitalist powers, whose growth since the early 1970s has been only about half their previous postwar levels, and has coincided as well with a pronounced erosion in the comparative performance of the U.S. economy, the centerpiece of the postwar capitalist system. In this session we explore this "coincidence," examining the ways in which -- given the decline in U.S. power, and the unwillingness of the major capitalist powers to coordinate their macroeconomic policies -- integration contributes to stagnation. We give particular attention to the problems of international monetary instability, including the "deflationary bias" produced by the actions of international capital markets, the general difficulties of running a world economy off the currency of a declining economic power, and the collective action problems that plague efforts at international monetary reform.

CORE

Michael Stewart, *The Age of Interdependence* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984), especially 1-100, 151-70

SUGGESTED:

Gerald Epstein, "The Triple Debt Crisis," *World Policy Journal*, vol. 2, no. 4 (Fall 1985), pp. 625-657.

Harley Shaiken, Stephen Herzenberg and Sarah Kuhn, "The Work Process under Flexible Production", *Industrial Relations*, vol.25:2 (Spring, 1986), pp.167-183)

Fred Block, *The Origins of International Monetary Disorder* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

Michael Bruno and Jeffrey Sachs, *The Politics of Worldwide Stagflation* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984).

F.Frobel, J. Heinrichs and O. Kreye, *The New International Division of Labor* (Cambridge, 1980)

Joseph Grunwald and Kenneth Flamm, *The Global Factory: Foreign Assembly in International Trade* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1985).

Michael Piore and Charles Sabel, *The Second Industrial Divide: Possibilities for Prosperity* (New York: Basic Books, 1984).

W. Arthur Lewis, *The Evolution of the International Economic Order* (Princeton: Princeton U Press, 1978).

Harry Magdoff and Paul Sweezy, *Stagnation and the Financial Explosion* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1987).

9. The Distinctive Contradictions of Late Capitalism

Periods of "structural crisis" are periods in which solutions to the crisis require basic structural reorganizations in the capitalist system. The normal mechanisms of crisis management are themselves in crisis -- what Claus Offe refers to as the "crisis of crisis management." The question then becomes: what are the likely trajectories of structural reorganization being posed within the present crisis and what kinds of struggles are likely to influence the paths of those reorganizations.

READINGS:

G.A. Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory of History: a Defense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), chapter XI. "Use-Value, Exchange Value and Contemporary Capitalism," pp. 297-325.

Erik Olin Wright, "Transformations.....", *op.cit.* pp.175-180.

Alvin Gouldner, "Marxism as a Theory of Indefinite Growth", in *The Two Marxisms* (New York: Seabury Press, 1976).

T. Weisskopf, "The Current Economic Crisis in Historical Perspective", *Socialist Review* #57, 1981, pp.9-54.

Ernest Mandel, *Late Capitalism* (London: NLB, 1975), pp.523-589

Lester C. Thurow, *The Zero-Sum Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1980).

10. Explaining Technical Change

At the core of Marx's account of capital accumulation and crisis is a specific theory of technical change, namely that as a result of capitalist competition and class struggle, capitalists innovate to (a) increase productivity by (b) substituting machines for labor. Technical change is thus, in Marx's view, both *systematic* and *biased* (towards labor saving innovations). Recent discussions have challenged the second of these postulates, and furthermore have raised some issues with the mechanisms involved in technical change and technical diffusion. These readings explore these issues.

READINGS:

Jon Elster, *Explaining Technical Change* (Cambridge University Press, 1983)

Larry Hirschhorn, *Beyond Mechanization* (MIT Press, 1984)

Arthur Stinchcombe, *Economic Sociology* (Academic Press, 1983), chapter 3, "Technology and Manipulation of the Environment"

G.A. Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory of History*, *op.cit.*, chapter II, "The Constitution of the Productive Forces"

11. Imperialism I: Why Imperialism? Classical Views and Contemporary Reformulations.

Contemporary Marxist views of Imperialism have been substantially shaped by the debates in the early part of the 20th century. Particularly important in those discussions were the works of Lenin and Luxemburg. While in many ways the current discussion has gone beyond these early studies, nevertheless they remain a crucial point of departure for the definition of imperialism and the analysis of its causes and consequences.

READINGS:

V.I.Lenin, *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism*

Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital* (Monthly Review Press, 1964)

Tom Kemp, *Theories of Imperialism* (London: Dobson, 1967), especially pp.1-8, 45-85

Giovanni Arrighi, *The Geometry of Imperialism* (London: NLB, 1978), especially pp.9-34

Albert Szymanski, *The Logic of Imperialism* (New York: Praeger, 1981)

Albert Szymanski, "Capital Accumulation on a World Scale and the Necessity of Imperialism," *The Insurgent Sociologist*, special issue on Imperialism and the State, VII:2, 1974

Harry Magdoff, "How to Make a Molehill out of a Mountain" (a reply to Szymanski), *Insurgent Sociologist*, VII:2, 1974, pp.106-112

12. Imperialism II: Dependency Theory.

In the 1960s and 1970s one of the most important perspectives on the problem of the impact of imperialism on the third world came to be known as "dependency theory". The thrust of dependency theory was to see capitalism as an integrated world system in which the development of the industrialized capitalist "CORE" countries was at the expense of the underdeveloped "peripheral" third world countries. Indeed, in the strongest versions of dependency theory, imperialism leads to an intensified underdevelopment in the periphery, a "development of underdevelopment" as it was sometimes called. This process, it is argued in dependency theory, is essentially animated by dynamics of the core and orchestrated by the monopoly bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries.

READINGS:

Ronald H. Chilcote, "Dependency: A critical Synthesis of the Literature," *Latin American Perspectives*, 1:1, 1974, pp.4-29

Andre Gunder Frank, "Dependence is Dead, Long Live Dependence and the Class Struggle: an answer to critics," *Latin American Perspectives*, 1:1, 1974, pp.87-106

Frederico H. Cardoso, "Dependency and Development in Latin America," *New Left Review* #74, 1972

Samir Amim, *Accumulation on a World Scale* (Monthly Review Press, 1974).

Robert Brenner, "The Origins of Capitalist Development: a critique of neo-Smithian Marxism," *New Left Review* #104, 1977

Frank Bonilla and Robert Girling (eds), *Structures of Dependency* (Stanford, 1973)

13. Imperialism III: The Impact of Imperialism -- progressive or regressive?

At least since the time of Lenin it has been a basic doctrine of Marxism that imperialism is a regressive force in the

world, that it is on the one hand a central cause of war among capitalist societies in the developed world, and, on the other, that it has led to a deterioration of social and economic conditions in the third world and is the main cause of the persistent poverty and underdevelopment of those countries. This view is quite different from Marx's. Marx generally had a positive historical view of imperialism, seeing it as a progressive force in that it destroyed precapitalist fetters on the forces of production. Just as Marx and Engels saw capitalism itself as a revolutionary and progressive force in the world in spite of the human suffering associated with it, so they saw the global expansion of capitalism -- imperialism -- as largely progressive. This pre-Leninist, Marxist position, is defended in an important and controversial book by Bill Warren.

READINGS:

Bill Warren, *Imperialism: pioneer of capitalism* (London: NLB/Verso, 1980)

Arghiri Emmanuel, "Myths of Development versus Myths of Underdevelopment," *New Left Review* #85, 1974, pp.61-82

Philip McMichael, James Petras and Robert Rhodes, "Imperialism and the Contradictions of Development," *New Left Review* #85, 1974, pp. 83-102

B. MARXISM AND FEMINISM

There have been few more profound challenges to traditional Marxist theory than that posed by feminism. Marxists and Marxism have paid relatively little attention to understanding the specificity of the oppression of women, and most discussions have tended in one way or another to collapse the problem of women's oppression into the problem of class and exploitation. The response by many feminists has been to fracture the link between class and sex almost completely, seeing the relations of sexual domination (Patriarchy) as a completely autonomous structure. In the most extreme "radical" feminist versions, class relations virtually disappear entirely, being subordinated to the relations of patriarchy which assume the role of the "fundamental" structure of social domination.

The project of Marxist Feminists is, at least in part, both to grasp the specificity and autonomy of the oppression of women and to understand the systematic character of the articulation of patriarchal relations to class relations. This project is not complete, and various different strands of theorizing are currently being debated as possible strategies for producing a genuinely Marxist Feminist theory. We will explore some of the precursors of these debates and some of the important contemporary discussions in this section.

1. The Classical Marxist Interpretation: Engels on Women

The classical position within Marxism has been that the oppression of women is one of the earliest consequences of the emergence of a social surplus and private property, and that it is institutionalized primarily through the sexual division of labor (the separation of home and work). One of the consequences of this was the conviction that the full participation of women in the wage labor force would erode any basis for their continued subordination to men.

CORE READINGS:

F.Engels, "The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State", especially the sections on the family.

Karen Sacks, "Engels Revisited: Women, the Organization of Production and Private Property" in *Women, Culture, and Society*, ed.by Rosaldo and Lamphere (Stanford University Press, 1974).

Alison M. Jaggar, *Feminist Politics and Human Nature* (Rowman & Allenheld, 1983), pp. 51-82

SUGGESTED READINGS:

M.Godelier, "The Origins of Male Domination", *New Left Review* #127, May-June, 1981

Lise Vogel, *Marxism and the Oppression of Women* (Rutgers University Press, 1983)

2. Contemporary Marxist Approaches to the Oppression of Women

In this section we will examine two different attempts to go beyond the traditional Marxist accounts of the oppression of women. The first attempts to derive an explanation of the oppression of women from the labor theory of value. Of particular importance in this approach was the attempt to link an analysis of housework to the accumulation of capital by seeing unpaid labor in the home as functional for the accumulation process. The second approach shifts the analysis from production to ideology, and tries to understand the oppression of women in terms of the ideological requirements for the reproduction of class relations. Both of these approaches make important contributions to understanding sexism, but both of them largely fail in inadequately theorizing the contradictory character of the link between class and patriarchy. In different ways both of these approaches adopt some kind of functionalist-totality in their conceptualization of male domination.

CORE READINGS:

Maxine Molyneux, "Beyond the Domestic Labour Debate" NLR #116

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Michele Barret, *Women's Oppression Today: problems in Marxist feminist analysis* (NLB: Verso, 1980)
pp.8-41, 83-113, 187-226, 248-259

Eli Zaretsky, *Capitalism, The Family and Personal Life* (Harper and Row, 1975)

Walley Secombe, "The Housewife and Her Labour under Capitalism" NLR #83, 1974

Jean Gardiner "Women's Domestic Labor" NLR #89, 1975

Veronica Beechey, "Women and Production: a critical analysis of some sociological theories of women's work"
in Kuhn and Wolpe, *Feminism and Materialism* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978)

Paul Smith, "Domestic Labor and Marx's Theory of Value" in Kuhn and Wolpe, *op cit.*

Margaret Coulson, et. al., "The Housewife and her Labor Under Capitalism -- a critique" NLR #89, 1975

Roisin McDonough and Rachael Harrison, "Patriarchy and the relations of production" in Kuhn and Wolpe,
op. cit.

M. McIntosh, "Reproduction and Patriarchy" *Capital & Class* #2, 1977.

Bridget O'Laughlin, "Production and Reproduction: Meillassoux's Femmes, Greniers et Capitaux" *Critique of Anthropology* vol. 2, 1977

3. The "Dual Systems" Approach

The second principal form of anti-class reductionist socialist feminist theory has come to be known as the "dual systems" approach (although the socialist feminist work that emphasizes psychoanalytic mechanisms could also be given this name). Rather than focus on deep psycho-sexual dynamics, the emphasis is on the relationship of men and women to central aspects of production and reproduction. The argument is that through male control of certain pivotal resources -- in particular, the labor power of women -- patriarchy is built up as a parallel system to capitalism. The task of analysis, then, is to understand the mechanisms which reproduce this material basis and which articulate the two systems of domination.

This "dual systems" approach has probably been most cogently elaborated in the work of Heidi Hartman. In this session we will examine in some detail her arguments and a number of the core criticisms that have been raised against it.

CORE READINGS:

Heidi Hartman, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: towards a more progressive union", in *Women and Revolution*, ed by L Sargent (Boston: South End, 1981), pp. 1-42

Alison M. Jaggar, *Feminist Politics and Human Nature* (Rowman & Allenheld, 1983), pp. 83-167

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Critiques of Hartman's position (all in *Women and Revolution*):

Iris Young, "Beyond the Unhappy Marriage: a critique of the Dual Systems Theory", pp.43-70

Sandra Harding, "What is the Real Material Base of Patriarchy and Capital?" pp. 135-164

Ann Ferguson and Nancy Folbre, "The Unhappy Marriage of Patriarchy and Capitalism," pp. 313-338

Deborah Fahy Bryceson and Ulla Vuorela, "Outside the Domestic Labor Debate: towards a theory of modes of human reproduction:", *Review of Radical Political Economics*. vol. 16 (2/3), 1984, pp.137-166

Zillah Eisenstein, "Developing a theory of Capitalist Patriarchy and Socialist Feminism," in Zillah Eisenstein (ed), *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979), pp.5-40

Arthur Britaan and Mary Maynard, *Sexism, Racism and Oppression* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984)

Michael Albert and Robin Hahnel, *Marxism and Socialist Theory* (Boston: South End Press, 1981), chapter 5, "Kinship and History", pp.197-230

4. Towards a Dialectical Theory of class and gender: Class and Sex as Asymmetrically Interdependent

In this session we will discuss a general strategy for resolving the theoretical limitations of the perspectives we have already examined. Specifically, we will discuss a modified version of the "dual systems" approach, one which recognizes the irreducibility of patriarchy to class and which insists that there are mechanisms which reproduce male domination quite apart from any functional relationship to the requirements of class domination but which nevertheless also argues that this autonomy or independence does not imply that class and patriarchy are symmetrically related to each other, particularly in terms of the dynamic development of social structures. Class relations, it can be argued more fundamentally define the limits of possibility for the transformation of sex-gender relations than do sex-gender relations limit the possibilities for the transformation of class relations.

This asymmetrical relation can perhaps best be examined in the context of trying to explaining the historical trajectory of transformations in the relationship between class and gender. At the **CORE** of the problem of the articulation of capitalism and patriarchy is the problem of explaining changes in the form of male domination. We will look at this problem in terms of a specific debate over the transformations of gender relations during the industrial revolution centered on a paper by Johanna Brenner and Maria Ramas on the interactions between material conditions and biological constraints in the historical construction of "capitalist patriarchy."

Johanna Brenner and Maria Ramas have tried to develop a perspective which recognizes the importance of biological factors in explaining gender relations and their development while still rejecting biological reductionism. Essentially what they argue is that biological facts of childbearing and early childhood nurturance have real effects on gender relations contingent upon the social, economic and technical environment in which those biological factors operate.

This conceptual issue becomes particularly salient in debates around the historical development of gender relations in the 19th century. In particular, Brenner and Ramas argue that the family wage should be viewed as a rational, adaptive demand of both male and female workers, given the constraints of biological reproduction under

the conditions of capitalist oppression and exploitation in early industrial capitalism. While they also argue that the family wage, once in place, tends to reinforce and perpetuate female dependency and male domination, it should not be primarily viewed as a strategy by men to ensure their domination. In this perspective, both class and gender have "autonomous" effects, but the dynamics of class relations and the transformations of material conditions play a larger role in explaining the transformations of *constraints* on social practices.

CORE READING:

Johanna Brenner and Maria Ramas, "Rethinking Women's Oppression," *NLR* #144, 1984, pp. 33-71

SUGGESTED READINGS

Jane Lewis, "The Debate on Sex and Class," *NLR* #150, 1985

Heidi Hartman "Capitalism, Patriarchy and Job Segregation by Sex," in Zillah Eisenstein (ed). *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism* (New York: MR Press, 1979), pp.206-247

Michele Barrett, "Rethinking Women's Oppression: a Reply to Brenner and Ramas", *New Left Review* #146, July-August, 1984

Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, "Beyond Sexless Class and Classless Sex: Towards Feminist Marxism," *Studies in Political Economy* #10 (Winter, 1983)

Jane Humphries, "The Working Class Family, Women's Liberation and Class Struggle: the case of 19th Century British History," *Review of Radical Political Economics* 9:1

Jane Humphries, "Class Struggle and the persistence of the working class family", *Cambridge J of Econ*, 1:3, 1977, pp.241-258

Gita Sen, "The Sexual Division of Labor and the Working Class Family: towards a conceptual Synthesis of Class Relations and the Subordination of Women", *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 12:2, 1980, pp.76-86