

Week 1

Zoom Lecture 0.1 - Introductions and Navigating the Online Platform

1. View the lecture Tuesday evening
2. Make sure things we talk about in the seminars are about the readings

Zoom Lecture 0.2 - Course Assignments and Assessments

1. Do you decide the essay after the seminar session - due at 2 pm
 - a. My name
 - b. TA's name
 - c. Section number
 - d. Does not have to be a separate title page
 - e. Paragraphs need a good flow
 - f. Have an "in this essay I will discuss" thesis statement and discuss what you will argue
 - g. Good language and grammar, good sentence structure
2. Bring seminar and readings together
3. Have 1 week to respond to the essay prompt
4. The test is true or false, or multiple choice
5. Only do one mini-essay
6. Week 8 academic skills in coming in
7. Computing power has increased greatly
8. There has been a massive increase in the number of other devices that have been connected to the internet, is about to exceed pcs and smartphones
9. This changes employability as more jobs are automated
 - a. This impacts those who do not go to university the most as their jobs often include repetition
 - b. Jobs with less repetition and that require care are less likely to be removed
10. Income distribution has shifted towards the highest quintile (the rich people have gotten richer)

Zoom Lecture 0.3 - Why the Course? Why Consent?

1. Thomass Hobbes (1588-1679) who theorized the authoritarian rule most famously in his book Leviathan (1651).
2. Mike Pompeo is the US secretary of state
3. The second Boer war began on 11 October 1899
4. Climate change is measured by Data analysis of trees, corals, limestone deposits, ice, snow, and carbon data
5. The WTO is headquartered in Geneva Switzerland
6. Women earn 87c for every dollar earned by men
7. Bicameral parliamentary systems have 2 chambers
8. There has been a rise in the power of new societies (ex china)
 - a. This means that there is a shift in economic power as there is increasing power in the global south
 - b. There is a lot of income mobility
 - c. The global north is losing power
9. There us a massive increase in urbanization

- a. Megacities are being created
 - b. We are starting to reach the limits of our finite planet and food resources
 - c. The pandemic has shown us how interconnected we are
- 10. Income in Canada is increasing going upwards, however, it is concentrated in the wealthy. This is the precariat
- 11. Precariat - the precarious worker (not the working class, they are often gig or contracted workers, or permanent part-time) this drives increased inequality
- 12. There has been a rise in student debt
 - a. Takes about 9.5 years to pay it off
 - b. About 50% of students have loans
 - c. Students are increasingly relying on loans to go to university
 - d. Some students are defaulting on their loans, they often are unable to find higher income, they require multiple part-time jobs, they do not graduate
 - e. Student loans could be eliminated (the government has many other expensive programs that cost similar amounts of money) but 50% of students don't have debts and why should they pay the cost of these annulments, how would these higher tax rates affect other parts of the economy
- 13. It doesn't look like there is going to be a v-shaped employment recovery after the pandemic, a lot of this is due to increasing automation and people no longer need the employers as people are no longer visiting these locations
 - a. Any rebound would be very slow
- 14. Politics is the way that we deal with distributing goods and services that are scarce
- 15. How do we know when we have equality

Reading - Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (2019), 'Introduction' in *Global Politics: A New Introduction*. (Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss, editors) (London: Routledge), 1-19.

What Does the Book Do

- 1. Book tackles 25 main questions
- 2. The third world
 - a. Coined in 1952 during the cold war
 - b. The first world was the west, the second world were the communist states and the third world was everyone else
 - c. The term was problematic because it oversimplified and then countries in Asia started to industrialize

Why are there wars

- 1. Why do we not seek an answer to why is there peace
- 2. Often the violence of war is not limited to other military combatants
 - a. When other people or things are hurt they are often called collateral damage
- 3. During ww2 the UK bombed many cities in order to demoralize the public
- 4. The US bombed strategic german sites
- 5. Many cities and home were decimated by the bombing
 - a. The firebombing was particularly destructive. This was when they aimed to set cities on fire by bombs

Responses to Wars

1. Emotional response - people look at how awful their deaths were and put themselves in their shoes. This leads to a feeling of responsibility to do something about it
2. Academic response - look at how perhaps this sort of bombing was needed in order to win the war and put down the government.
3. War is about killing people
4. The third response is taking some action in response
5. There are two main responses to conflict - confrontation or engagement
6. The group that we belong to influences the way that we see the world and the way that we choose to respond to it

Assumptions

1. We often take things, such as our knowledge and position for granted
 - a. Our own knowledge and position is often considered to be "common sense"
2. We need to recognize what assumptions we make so that we are not limited by them
 - a. This is a standard academic practice
3. Robert Cox
 - a. Problem-solving theory - works to find an answer within our own assumptions
 - b. Critical theory - seeks to question the question and the common knowledge that the assumptions made about the question are based on
 - c. Once we pinpoint our assumptions we can open up our thinking about the world
4. Antonio Gramsci
 - a. In all times there are different thoughts which are diffused in society
 - b. We have a spontaneous philosophy - all our collected knowledge and culture
 - c. Our task is to critically examine why we think the way that we do
 - d. He wrote his notebooks while in prison
5. People often like to separate the historical study of politics and what happens in the present (the theory from practice)
6. Michel Foucault says that in every time frame there is a regime of truth - the way that we determine what is true (currently the scientific method). This regime is always tied up with power structures
7. Wittgenstein says that our views and explanations of the world are always tied up in language games

* Why do Edkins and Zehfuss argue that each new generation must formulate and tackle political problems for themselves?

This is because the world is always changing and each generation needs to define the world for themselves

* Why does this book begin with questions (rather than topics or explanations from 'great minds')?

This is because the great minds don't know everything and it is important to always question them and the world around you

* What purpose does the 'Why are there wars' subsection hold for the authors?

They are trying to explain why wars are unnatural and how they affect people.

* Edkins and Zehfuss (pg 14) discuss the distinction between problem-solving theories and critical theories. How does this relate to the discussion about assumptions (and common sense)?

This relates because it talks about what assumptions we need to make in order to solve the problems. In order to understand these problems, we need “common sense” which may in itself be flawed. If we base our solutions on flawed assumptions then the assumptions will also be flawed.

Week 2

Pangle and Burns Hobbes (W02)

Broad Historical Context

1. There were two big changes happening at the time
 - a. Protestant reformation leaving warring sects
 - b. Emergence of mathematical physics
2. He proposed a concept of civic justice and common good instead of religion
3. His thoughts propelled the enlightenment

Attack of Aristotle and Aquinas

1. Failure of philosophy as none of the schools can prove anything
2. He liked philosophy as it existed to prove things that exist
3. Philosophy is problematic as there is a diversity of tastes and conceptions of the good life
4. Philosophy had also convinced people that they could participate greatly in politics in small governing communities
 - a. However, Hobbes thought that **centralized monarchy** were really the only stable regimes
5. People thought that they should be **politically concerned with their souls**
 - a. They were not content with physical security and prosperity which was all that the government could do

The New Foundation in the Passions

1. Feels that we need a normative and scientific approach to political science
2. Everyone has passionate and feels pleasure but they do not all have the same objects of passions
3. People want to think that their existence is directed towards the good
4. Two types of inner emotions
 - a. Vital motions - biological processes
 - b. Animal motions - commentary of conscious motions
 - i. Desire
 - ii. Aversion
5. Good and evil are only relevant to one person
6. He believes in representations and a representative government established by a mutual contract among men who agree on something more important than the good
7. Everyone is in a state of profound restlessness
8. **Hobbes is a hedonist - all human life is aimed at pleasure**
9. Dismissed noble opinions

10. Humans seek the diminishing of present pain or increasing present pleasure or building something that will lead to these outcomes in the future
11. There is no free will
12. Humans are influenced by the pleasure or pain of others surrounding them
13. Humans seek superiority over others
 - a. They see **delight in their own power**

The Centrality of Power

1. Gaining and maintaining power is the primary goal in life and this urge to have power only ends when we die
2. Power allows us to achieve all sorts of unspecified ends
3. **Natural powers - own individual capacities**
4. **Instrumental Powers - these powers, which include riches and reputation make other people do what you want them to**
5. Human worth is measured in how other people see you
6. To be honoured constitutes more power, to be dishonoured is a loss of power
7. Power is seen as scarce so people compete for it
8. The best way to have power over people is to make them fear you

Opposing the Biblical Conception

1. According to the bible, the only way to solve sin is to confess your guilt after the fact
2. He says that people have appropriated religions frauds as a way to advance their power

The State of Nature

1. When artificial order breaks down into war the state of nature returns here people are bound by their passions and pursuit of power
2. Lives would be "nasty, brutish and short"
3. The purpose of government is to repress and control human nature
4. People get too excited by war and lose sight of the fact that they may die
5. The greatest evil is death at the hand of another human
6. People then limit their power-seeking so that they don't die
7. However, religion tells us that after we die we continue to live so people are not scared of dying
8. In the **natural condition everyone is on the offensive**

Natural Basis of Justice

1. In the natural state, everyone has a right to do all things and nothing is unjust
 - a. You have a right to your body, but others also have a right to kill you
 - b. There is no exclusive right to property
 - c. Justice is naturally self impending
2. The strongest natural passion is fear of violent death
3. The second strongest is a desire to remove yourself as far as possible from violent death
4. People construct rules so that they can overcome the natural condition these laws are called "laws of nature"
 - a. We need these so that we are not as morally crippled
5. The government should use its power to secure but otherwise leave unregulated competitive relations

The New Moral “Laws of Nature”

1. Liberty is a natural right so you should never do anything that threatens it
2. People make promises to do things so that in return they can receive safety. This is called a **covenant**
3. Good to have a reputation as a promise keeper
4. Bourgeois ethic promotes peace and civility
5. The fourth law is to always show gratitude so that others will see that helping you will benefit them
6. The fifth law is civility where we should prohibit retribution and only punish people to deter them and rehabilitate them
7. The ninth is that we should treat all people equally as then they will be willing to be in the relationship of peace with us
8. The deepest obligation is to leave others alone

The Social Compact

1. We all have to give up our right to threaten and kill people
2. The government should be representative
3. Political participation should be onerous and an administrative job, not one that is a noble end
4. **Nobody can opt-out** because then they could assert their right at any time
5. There cannot be any other higher religious power

Organizing and Administering Government

1. Sovereignty is not dictated by natural law
2. However, Hobbes thinks that hereditary monarchies are the best
 - a. **Less likely to favour one section over another**
 - b. **They get better advice because they can call on people in private**
 - c. **More unified**
 - d. **Succession is clearer**

Inalienable Individual Rights

1. No one can agree to sacrifice their lives
2. No one can agree to a violent threatening of their life
3. No one can be asked to testify against themselves or their close family
4. No evidence that comes from torture is admissible in court
5. No one can be obliged to risk their life in battle

Sovereignty by Acquisition

1. The most historically accurate way that a covenant is entered into is by conquest
2. Citizens agree to follow the leader out of fear of each other and fear of the conqueror

Stuart Elden (2019), ‘Why is the World Divided Territorially?’ in *Global Politics: A New Introduction*. (Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss, editors) (London: Routledge), 212-233.

Forms of Political and Geographical Organization

1. Political maps have changed greatly in recent history
 - a. Particularly in Africa in decolonization
 - b. Also in Eastern Europe
 - c. Central Asia
2. Before recently large areas of the world were unknown to everyone but who lives there

3. People are no longer as nomadic and as such their relationship to the land has changed
4. The territory is an area or space under the jurisdiction of a certain group
5. Max Weber - a state is a human community that lays claim to physical violence within a certain territory
 - a. A particular human grouping
 - b. The group retains complete control within that area
 - c. The power is **undivided and unlimited** (as nobody has sovereignty over them)
6. If every state has sovereignty then they should never be the puppet of another state
7. Today, international agreements often put limitations on state sovereignty

Illustrative Example: European Territorial State

Ancient Greece, The Roman Empire and the Middle Ages

1. Ancient Greek city-state (polis) was one of the earliest form of political unit in Europe
2. Urban center that extended into the countryside
3. Some had wars, but some shared and left unclaimed territory
4. Rome began as a city-state but through wars, it acquired more land
5. Different parts of the empire ruled in different ways but were still aligned with Rome
6. They did not recognize other states as being on a similar level
 - a. They saw **non-roman land as no-man's-land (Terra Nullius)**
 - b. The borders were more like unexplored/conquered frontiers
7. After Rome fell there were small rulers, however, the pope in Rome tried to establish some sort of rule over all of them

Religious Wars and the Rise of the State

1. With the fractionating surrounding the protestant reformation there was a question of what religion would be dominant if the leader converted
 - a. Diet of Augsburg (1555) - to whom the rule, or religion, his religion
2. The treaty of Westphalia brought an end to the thirty years war
3. The Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) created the first exact border between France and Spain
4. The modern state system began to emerge

Imperialism and Empire

1. Europeans occupied non-contiguous land, unlike the Romans
2. Other parts of the world became **locations for European conflict**
3. This became profound during the scramble for Africa
4. During decolonization, these boundaries, often arbitrary, remained
5. They broke up eastern Europe into larger states with several ethnicities in them
 - a. After, they broke up into smaller nations using national self-determination

The Peace of Westphalia (1648)

1. Brought to end the 30 years war - a war centered on religious differences
2. State are given the right to
 - a. Declare war and peace
 - b. Make laws
 - c. Raise taxes
 - d. Keep a standing army
 - e. Linking of their sovereignty to territory

3. Fairly modern idea

The Emergence of Territory

1. Biological approach to understanding human nature is useless as we change too rapidly

Political-Economic Approach

1. Some see **territory as property**
2. With the emergence of capitalism they started to tax property and assets
3. There was also a shift of power towards the middle class during industrialization
4. Feudal systems revolved around who owned the land

Political-Strategic Approach

1. Countries need to be able to **manage and protect the land that they own**
2. Michal Mann - there is a changing of interests in the development of state including what they are militarily and strategically interested in

Changing Importance of the Territorial State

1. Supranational organizations (ex EU) - take over key law-making areas and weaken borders to allow for free movement
2. Globalization also increased the flow of goods, information and energy
3. Deterritorialization is when the territory is no longer fixed and interaction is no longer contained within borders
4. Andrew Linklater - migration makes us rethink national identity
5. There was a movement to decrease the importance of borders in the 90's but after 9/11 the trend reversed
6. The international community also had to get involved in cross border issues such as HIV/AIDS and climate change
7. Cold war saw countries getting involved in the politics of other states
8. During the war on terror other countries saw it as justifiable to get involved in the affairs of others
9. In **international law territorial integrity means protecting existing boundaries and the sovereignty of state within them**

Michel Foucault (1926-1984)

1. French historian and philosopher
2. Power flows through **society rather than from a central source**
3. Power is exercised
4. Power can be creative and repressive

Brexit

1. 52% voted to leave
2. David Cameron resigned as he had campaigned to remain
3. Issues included
 - a. Financial contribution required
 - b. Control of borders and migration
 - c. Question of sovereignty
4. Since the referendum issues of trade became more prominent
5. Brings up questions of borders and migration, right to residence and work within the UK

The EU

1. Set up after WW2 after 2007 it contains 27 countries

2. The budget is over 120 billion euros
3. Citizenship includes the right to travel, work and live anywhere in the EU
4. Developing a **common foreign and defence policy**

Techniques and the Future of the Territorial State

1. Territories have not always existed and were not the only way to organize space
2. Mapping and control of territory is necessary to exist
3. Advances in geometry, cartography, land surveying and clocks were all necessary to develop a territory-based system
4. Edward Soja - to see land as property then their borders need to be objectively defined
5. Allocation - sets the general shape on a map
6. Delimitation - selection of boundaries on the ground
7. Demarcation - marked by man-made objects
8. Poorly maintained borders can lead to conflict
9. Coastlines and rivers are also changing which influence internal geography and change the national borders that depend on them
10. Political arithmetic (statistics) emerged during the renaissance
11. New technology helps leaders to understand what land they are getting at peace talks
12. Manuel Castelles suggested we move from a space of place to a space of flows - location is not as important as connections

Lecture 1 - Thinking About Consent (Why do we obey)

1. Foucault - power travels throughout society rather than from a single source
2. Power is not always repressive, it can also be progressive

The Emergence of the Modern State

1. Consent - voluntaristic (must agree to provide consent because we think we are going to benefit) coercive (state has the power to punish us for not adhering to laws)
2. Power can be a force that helps define who we are
3. By not obeying we withdraw some of our consent (we have done this through BLM and Environmental protests)
 - a. Identity can no longer be fulfilled by adhering to society so they believe that they can no longer identify with the existing social order
4. The government has stepped in to help and provide rules during the covid pandemic
 - a. Calls to rebuild societies but this may increase inequality and precarity
 - b. Question of is this going to be the beginning of a withdrawal of consent
5. If consent is withdrawn then the coercive element emerges quite quickly
 - a. This may cause a resistance
6. The law of the father - the rules that we come to be governed by because of the fear of reprisals if we do not follow these rules
7. "They do not know it, but they are doing it"
 - a. We often don't think about why we do things
 - b. This is called ideology - young people are being told to accept the ideological transformation
8. "Whoever you are, or want to be, you may not be interested in the state, but the state is interested in you."
 - a. The state demands our obedience

- b. The state is deploying power
- 9. "Governments rest not only on consent of the governed, but upon their fantasy of nationhood"
 - a. Fantasies keep our desires alive
 - b. When our enjoyment is missing we see our fantasies as something that is just outside of our reach
 - c. When we finally get what we wanted we want something new
 - d. We often think that someone has stolen our enjoyment from us

Lecture 2 - Historical Context: State Formation and Legitimate Rule

Defining the State

1. Territory is central to the definition of the state
2. Notion that there is an institution complex that has sovereignty and is the supreme political authority within the territory -Hay and Lister
3. Monopoly on legitimate physical violence in a certain territory - max weber
4. The world is divided territory because of political determinations

Implications of Weber's Definition

1. Sovereignty provides a base for citizenship and rights
2. Primary trigger of war and mass violence
3. Sometimes is an impediment to the protection of human rights
4. Forms a shared identity that is strong enough for people to be willing to surrender their lives
5. Means to ensure obedience to authority

Treaty of Westphalia (1648)

1. Ended the thirty years war
 - a. War between dukedoms of kingdoms in modern day germany
 - i. Incredible diversity that each save their own identity
 - b. It was a religious war between catholics and the emerging protestant state
 - c. This was at the edge of the holy roman empire
 - d. About 1/3 of the population died and nobody was victorious
2. Peace in shrines that territories are going to be internally coherent
3. They shouldn't intervene in other states
4. There is an attempt to establish a regime to inhibit currency fluctuations
5. Encouragement of diplomacy - introduction of embassies and ambassadors.
6. Systematizes how states should interact with each other
7. Creates an idea of europe which becomes synonymous with civilization, this creates the "other"
8. The "other" is shifted to the outside
 - a. The other does not have to be negative until we view our state as superior
9. Identity is formed within state borders
10. Body politics - the peasants and merchants separated out from the royal court or the head of state. The head of state has divine right to rule over the people
 - a. This understanding holds sway for a long period of time
 - b. This is contested by an absolutist parliamentary state like in England
 - i. Question of where does the legitimacy come from

The English Civil War

1. 1642-1651
2. Execution of King Charles on Jan 30, 1649
3. The king was not interested in sharing power with parliament, so he disbands it
 - a. Wants to resurrect the power of religion - restore the catholic faith
 - b. Challenge the prodists and people's liberties
4. He calls parlements back again to get more money and they get angry
5. South and east aligned with the parlement
6. North and west are aligned with the king
7. Charles is handed over to the parliamentarians who try the king for high treason, and he is found guilty and beheaded
8. Idea of the monarchy starts to give way so people try to figure out what to do next
9. Question of how does a government receive its legitimacy

Lecture 3 - Hobbes: The Social Contract and Authoritarian Rule

Leviathan

1. 1651, Written by Thomas Hobbes
2. Who or what has the legitimate power to govern
3. What makes that authority possible
4. What renders it legitimate
5. First english language political philosopher
6. When he was young he would go to shakespeare plays
7. He is a gifted student who goes to oxford
8. Enters into the service of a wealthy family and is a tutor for them
9. Spends free time working on a book
 - a. Translation of a book on the peloponnesian war
 - i. Concerned with power, birth of realism
10. Meets galileo, descartes
11. Hobbes fleeces to france during the civil war
12. Concerned with the political disorder
13. Gives rise to the idea of a constitutional monarchy
14. Defender of political absolutism
15. He gives us a lot of the vocabulary that we use to talk about politics and power
16. He says that we obey in order to allow for social order
17. Consent is needed for those who have political authority in order to create social order
18. People are not naturally ethical, this can only be achieved through state coercion
 - a. Focuses on the way that things are
 - b. Thinking about territory allows for this type of coercion
19. In the state of nature life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short"
 - a. Every person is the enemy of every person
20. Hobbes believes that humans want freedom of motion, the ability to get better
 - a. Nature does not provide enough so we must compete
 - b. We demand respect and submission of others to our desires
 - c. This causes us to fear others
 - d. We have pride in ourselves as individuals

- e. Our passions lead us to do things that are outside of rationality
- f. We often seek revenge
- 21. Social compact - give up personal authority to the other entity
- 22. Individuals are not equivalent to the sovereign
- 23. We create covenants between equals, then this get abstracted up collectively
 - a. These people enter into a collective social contract
 - b. The king should act as your representative
 - c. The people are united in one leader, in the state
- 24. The actions of government are legitimate if the sovereign approves them
- 25. The actions of the sovereign must preserve the state

The Cover

- 1. The man in the background is the leviathan
- 2. The people are turned and looking towards the sovereign
- 3. This demonstrates their consent
- 4. The leviathan is looking out at their territory
- 5. The power is territorially based
- 6. The latin words at the top translate to "there can be no power on earth when compared to him"
- 7. He holds both civil and religious power
- 8. Left side has 5 components
 - a. Thate
 - b. Institutions of the state
 - c. Military
 - d. Social and political ordering
 - e. Honour and order
- 9. Right side has 5 components
 - a. Church
 - b. Bishop's miter
 - c. Excommunication
 - d. Schools of theology
 - e. The church is subordinate to the leviathan

Quote from Leviathan

- 1. Whenever there are revolutions or significant demand for change we want hobbes ideas back
- 2. "Mutual relationship between protection and obedience"
- 3. We see security that the state is able to offer

Summarize

- 1. State of nature (war against all) + we are unhappy, unsafe and alone + we are rational and give up liberty to from the state + costs are introduced for disobedience against the state + individuals comply with these laws and norms = social order

Week 3

Chapter 7

Obedience, Resistance and Force

1. Who are we obeying, authority figures, our moral voice, or rules
2. What do we do if we disagree with a decision
3. If you live in a democracy there are more ways of getting involved in the government
4. Organization and government gives us convention
5. Milgram's experiment showed that people are willing to hurt others when told to do so by an authority figure
6. Typically start with trying to persuade people to follow their rules
7. The government will then use force to stop us
 - a. They are allowed to use force, but there are some limitations

The Revolutions of 1989

1. Theda Skocpol argued that even though most revolutions are directed against authority they often result in the strengthening of government, sometimes one with a different ideology but the institution is strengthened
2. China's 1989 revolution came to an abrupt end when the state violently dispersed demonstrators
3. There were also upheavals in eastern Europe but soviet tanks rolled in
4. In Germany, protest numbers were increasing
5. The press officer announced that people would be able to travel out of East Berlin on Nov 9th 1989 and the lines at border crossing were massive
 - a. The people that went out were effectively disbarred from reentering
 - b. They then stopped stamping passport and the wall was effectively down

Authority and Legitimacy

1. Ted Gurr, Charles Tilly and John Dunn are also writers who talk about how we should think about revolutions
2. Max Weber and Emile Durkheim - produced sociology in the 19th and 20th centuries. They believed that religious authority was no longer what was most significant
3. Driving force behind secularism was that the social sciences should be able to explain the world as well as the natural sciences had this would mean that they could explain it as well as religion had
4. Weber contested the communist view that there was one theme for everything
 - a. Interested in social structure
 - b. Identified three types of authority
 - i. Legal-rational authority - legitimacy is derived from established rules, often based on a constitution
 - ii. Charismatic authority - submit because of their belief in a particular person
 - iii. Traditional Authority - belief in what has always existed (like a monarchy)
5. Emile Durkheim - society has its own nature that it requires submission to, we are willing to do this because we respect it
6. Martin Luther - his 95 theses were a criticism of the sale of indulgences

Thinking About Power

1. When someone who has lots of power does not get what they want perhaps they had less power than we thought
2. Michel Foucault - power is repressive and also good.
 - a. More important to talk about power relations
 - b. There is always power and resistance and the way we interact with power changes us
 - c. We need to think about what politics would look like without a sovereign
 - d. Power would not exist without human interactions
3. Bruno Latour - look at the power of materialities, like the berlin wall, and conceded that the society that we have built is based off of exclusion

Locke's Second Treatise of Government

1. He accepts some of hobbes theories but disagrees with their interpretation and implementation
2. Government itself can be a threat and be abused

Locke's Rhetorical Genius

1. Fear is passion that can become reasonable
2. We should make use of pride
3. Dignity is tied up with people's attachment to traditionalist ways of thinking
4. He thinks that slavery is vile and miserable
5. Radicalism is hidden under a veil of conservative rhetoric
6. He made the doctrines of hobbes catch on in continental europe and the english speaking world
7. Lulled people into thinking that he was giving them a better way to be a good christian
8. Locke never refers to hobbes even when he adopt his framework
 - a. He devotes his first treatises to defending hobbes underlying principles
 - b. He however, rejects absolute monarchy

The State of Nature

1. Political power is the right to make laws with the penalty of death, laws that preserve property and employ the force of the community in enforcing these laws
 - a. These laws should be for the public good
2. The state of nature is anarchy where everyone is absolutely free and equal
3. We do not owe mutual love, charity or duty
4. No one has the liberty to destroy themselves or their property unless the destruction of property is nobler than their own preservation
 - a. This nobler use could be to eat
 - b. We are free to destroy all inferior ranks of creatures
5. No one ought to harm another in their own life, liberty or possessions
6. The natural law tells us to avoid harming one another
7. You should seek peace and preservation for everyone else as long as your preservation does not come in competition
8. Everyone has a right to punish transgressors to make them repent and deter others
 - a. Everyone has the right to be a retributive executioner for others
 - b. Can execute anyone that they perceive to be a threat to anyone on earth

9. Locke says that the state of nature would not be endured but that there is no god-given government and that instead we need to create our own civil government based on a social compact
 - a. absolute monarchy is worse than the state of nature
 - b. International relations are always a state of nature
10. Private property is tied up with the meaning of liberty as we need to have material possessions to avoid starvation
11. Although the natural state offers total freedom the enjoyment of this is uncertain so they will submit
12. Human pride takes a moralistic form as a retributive reaction
13. Slavery is the worst because it is a negation of liberty

Property

1. Every individual should pursue a self interested acquisition of more private material possessions and economic buying power as long as we respect the rights of other people to do the same
2. Older philosophers saw a love of money as degrading and only should be used to give away to others
3. One of the central ideas for Locke is no taxation without representation
4. Whatever is the product of your labour belongs to the labouring person
5. One can take what they need from the common stock as long as there is some left for others, and there is natural abundance so this happens
 - a. Reason constrains what people take because if they take too much then it spoils
6. It is okay that all of the land has become fenced because by owning and working on the land it becomes more productive and produces enough for everyone
7. People invented money, and this does not spoil so people can collect money
 - a. Government is created to regulate the unequal distribution of property and the hierarchy of owners and wage labourers
8. Native Americans have less productive land because they see it as common and thus they have less comforts in life
9. People that own the land should hire people to work on it as long as they are not exploiting people
10. Human labour creates value for everyone
11. We should encourage everyone to labour
12. Those who do not work suffer insecurity
13. Government should regulate property to stop income from accumulating in the hands of the powerful and idle
14. Wealth should be redistributed to the hardworking

The Family

1. Parents have a natural affection towards their children because they see them as part of themselves
2. Families would be more productive and less exploitative of children and women if they were united by economic power
3. Marriage is a contract so it should be temporary and could be with multiple people at the same time

4. Through caring for children economically they should get some expectation of return on their investment
5. Legitimate government should not imitate the paternal relationship
6. Government needs internal checks and balances and competition

The Civic Spirit of a Lockean Commonwealth

1. Civilians should be vigilant about the government not overstepping its legitimate bounds
2. Pride should be channeled into the quest for economic power
3. Presumed consent is not enough to become a full citizen
4. Government representatives should be periodically re-elected
5. Civilians have a right to revolution

Constitutionalism

1. All laws need to protect life, liberty and property for all
2. Laws need to apply equally to all people and be for the good of the people
3. Cannot transfer their power
4. Some qualifications for voters so that they make decisions independently
5. The people that administer the laws should be different so that the lawmakers make careful and narrow laws knowing that they cannot interpret them
6. Should rely as little as possible on the virtue of citizens or rulers and instead set up institutional mechanisms
7. An executive leader has chief jurisdiction over foreign policy, national defence and they need to be always in action. Their elections need not occur very often
8. Legislature does not need to be always in session
9. There should be a person to have temporary executive reserve powers in case an emergency happens, they should be able to trump the legislature
10. The people need to be able to rise up against their leaders
 - a. More successful if it is a lot of people
 - b. A minority can arouse the majority to an awareness of the issue
11. Governments can prevent uprising by listening to and following the checks and balances

Video - Historical Context

Emergence of the Modern States and Individuals

1. 17th and 18th century experienced the industrial revolution in western Europe
2. Began talking about the middle class, bourgeoisie
 - a. Dignified and free
 - b. This is because of economic growth
 - c. Cities began to emerge, focused on trade
3. Desire to become wealthy, so people improved trade routes
4. People challenge the absolutist state
5. They want to create civil society - merchants, skilled workers
 - a. Contrast to the military state
 - b. Wanted independence from feudalism

Towns and Cities 1200-1400

1. As they gained wealth they started to politically exert themselves
2. See themselves as a single class (bourgeoisie)
 - a. Not a common word anymore because it is associated with Marxism

- b. They were not peasants or nobles
 - c. They were often town dwellers
 - d. They were able to hire others and sell goods the workers make
 - e. Identity is associated with their profession
 - f. Their goal is to accumulate wealth/capital
 - g. Had a future orientation
- 3. Created modernity
- 4. Protestantism taught us work ethic
 - a. More important to engage in this world than focus on the afterlife
 - b. Engage in the world through rationalism
 - i. This rationalism allows us to create capitalism

Newton

- 1. Ideas get transferred into politics
- 2. Idea that political science possess truth and thus possesses power
- 3. Political philosophers reveal truth
- 4. Most universities start teaching this by the end of the 18th century
- 5. His ideas were translated orally to people that couldn't read
- 6. Newton did not step away from religion
 - a. Science is created by god, we don't need to analyze it further
- 7. Science displaces faith-based elites
- 8. Locke takes these ideas and applies them to political philosophy, he refutes and builds up on Hobbes

Video - John Locke

- 1. 1632-1704
- 2. Writes two treatises of Civil Government
- 3. Explains how natural law and rights determine the legitimacy of government
- 4. Second one he provided the intellectual justification for the Glorious Revolution and the American War of Independence
- 5. Gifted student, goes to Oxford
- 6. Becomes acquainted with the new scientists, including Newton
- 7. Takes ideas of Newton and applies it to Politics
 - a. Atomistic view of society
 - b. Reduce actions and patterns to behavior of individuals
 - c. Studies nature of individuals and applies this to greater problems
- 8. Locke pushes us towards the birth of the modern political individual
- 9. Government can become a threat as well as individuals
 - a. Actually a much larger threat
 - b. This is because governments have more power
 - c. The leviathan should be restrained through checks and balances
- 10. Democracy, but limited by class gender and race
- 11. In the state of nature people have inalienable rights, life, liberty and the right to own property
- 12. Positive view of human nature - people are moral, capable to learning from their experiences and improving themselves

13. Whiti the right information people will act rationally and make good decisions, they should be trusted to govern
14. Must provide consent so government can protect individual liberties and rights
15. Why we consent to be governed
 - a. State of nature + we are rational and voluntarily undertake special obligations + we provide active and tacit consent to be governed by laws of the state + we don't consent fully as we are governed by natural law (government must conform to natural laws) + we have a right to dissent when the government breaks natural laws = social order

Video - Concluding Remarks

1. Jefferson is primarily tasked with drafting the constitution
2. He relies a lot on Locke
3. He argues that the king is no longer protecting the natural rights of the people so they can remove their consent
4. The government is going to install their natural rights
5. This would have seemed like common sense to the American people
6. They would create 3 unions
 - a. The US
 - b. Canada - those who refuse to withdraw consent should move north
 - c. Create a tension between the slave and non-slave states - divide between an industrializing north that needed free labour and a south that relies on slave labour for their economy
7. Nation formed on natural rights

Critiques of Social Contract Theory

1. Fantasy - forges a people's collective and personal will, framing device they use to protect themselves
2. Max Weber - obedience of people rests on fear of vengeance from magical powers that are outside of them and beyond the compliance of the world
3. Fantasies shape the way we see reality
4. Fantasy of complete freedom teaches us how to desire
5. Feminist Critique
 - a. Relation between the contract and women's subordinate to men, fundamental contract is between men and women and could not happen without the domination of women. The social contract is a patriarchal society. Women were seen as the object of contracts
 - b. What is a liberal individual - should be without gender or class, but yet it sees individuality as masculine
 - c. Care and provisioning as part of human nature - trying to construct a moral identity and explain why we do things, they do not take into account dependent relationships
6. Racial Challenges
 - a. Racial subordination and the relationship within the contract - racial contract has been more central than the social contract, puts parameters on who can enter into the contract

- b. What is a liberal individual

Week 4

1. Rise in liberalism as the liberal states had won the war
2. Post-war neoliberalism 1990s, is a return to Locke
 - a. Belief that welfare restrains the economy
 - b. Goal is for people to stay off welfare
3. Civil right - right to engage increase and sell your labour, needed for other rights
4. When talking about civil rights being taken away you also have to look at if they had civil rights to begin with
5. When government is not representative or people are not cared for there is unrest
6. Providing social programs can create a more productive workforce
7. UK introduced the NHS in 1949

Citizenship and Social Class

Development of Citizenship to the end of the 19th Century

1. Marshall divides citizens into 3 parts - writing in 1950
 - a. Civil - rights necessary for individual freedom
 - b. Political - right to participate in political power
 - c. Social - range from right to economic welfare to a share in the common heritage and live as a civilized being based on community standards
2. These rights were once fused together
3. In a feudal society status was the hallmark of class and the measure of inequality

Early Impact of Citizenship on Social Class

1. Trace the development of citizenship to England at the end of the 19th century
2. Civil rights came before the Reform act of 1832
3. Political rights came next
4. Social rights emerged with public elementary schools but then only attained equal partnership until the 20th century
5. Citizenship - status bestowed on those who are full members of a community
 - a. No universal principle to determine rights and duties
6. Social class is a system of inequality
7. Citizenship coincides with the rise of capitalism
8. In early forms, citizenship was a principle of equality
9. Citizenship was composed of civil rights
10. Civil rights gave people the image of individual status and allowed for denying individuals social protections on the basis that they could provide for themselves
11. Maine thought there was a contractual element in feudalism
12. Status was an aid to capitalism
13. The poor law was an aid because it increased social responsibility and educated people but not above their station
14. Citizenship did little to reduce social inequality but it guided progress towards egalitarian politics
15. Citizenship requires a sense of community
16. Loyalty of free men protected with a common-law
17. Birth of national consciousness in the 18th century

18. Expected that once the working class became educated they would accept the political structure
19. Unions operated to exercise civil rights collectively
20. Collective bargaining transferred the process from the political to the civil

Social Rights in the 20th Century

1. Civil rights gave legal powers
2. Political rights gave potential power to change government
3. Social rights were at a minimum and not woven into citizenship
4. Booth's Survey opened a new period that was the first big advance
 - a. Rise of incomes, but unevenly distributed so that there was less of a gap and increased savings
5. System of graduated taxation
6. Mass production in the home market to offer quality that differed less from the rich products
7. Components of civilized life were brought into the hands of many
8. Class abatement is still the aim of social rights
 - a. No longer the attempt to abate destitution it now wants to restructure the entire system

Why We Need a New Welfare State

Forward

1. March 2000 European Council (Lisbon Summit) set the goal to be a compatible and dynamic knowledge-based economy capable of sustainable economic growth with better jobs and greater social cohesion
2. Modernize the European social model
3. Europe-wide social policy
4. Created quantitative measures
5. Common objective for pensions
6. Book supports the coordination of policies

Sustainable Social Justice through an Active Welfare State

1. Belgian government coined this expression in 1999
2. Capture 3 ideas
 - a. Goal of active people - enables citizens to participate in the mainstream social and economic life
 - b. Goal called a welfare state - provide protection for those who cannot participate actively or who have reached the stage of retirement
 - c. Intelligently active state - refers to how government should manage social policy
3. Welfare policy cannot be reduced to employment but this is the key issue in welfare reform
4. The nature of employment has changed as employment is for both women and men
5. During the 1990s consensus that active labour market policies should be more tailored to individual needs
 - a. Systems that discourage people from being active should be discarded
6. Welfare should not only cover normal social risks but also new social risks such as single parenthood or a lack of skills

7. The welfare state is a passive institution, only once there is an undesirable outcome does the net get spread
8. Increasing dependency is a result of socio-economic changes
9. Social investment state does not work because we live in an ageing society
10. Labour participation matters because we have an ageing population
11. Engaging active participation is the best way to have fair income distribution
12. We should aim at high levels of employment and social protection
13. Participation is crucial for gaining respect from others and self-respect
14. John Rawls thinks that self-respect is one of the most important social primary goods
15. Self-respect requires that everyone has a community where their interests are validated
16. Participation can also be participating in the community by taking care of someone, getting an education or doing voluntary work
17. Quality of jobs is as important as the quantity
18. The labour market should be easy to enter and exit from
19. Egalitarian argument integrates individual responsibility
20. Individual responsibility - linking risks (such as single parenthood) to personal behaviour
 - a. A difference in taste is a matter of individual responsibility, an innate condition is not
21. It is unfair that individuals be at a disadvantage from something that they cannot be held responsible for
 - a. We should give equal opportunities
 - b. This should include differences in talents
22. Should be income redistribution for social justice
23. The labour market should have a sufficient number of opportunities
24. There are social obligations of the rich and powerful
25. Protecting the vulnerable irrespective of what caused this should be something society should do

The Life Cycle, Financial Sustainability, and Justice

1. Rawlsian concept of justice
2. Rawls - terms of citizens life prospects and expectations of well being
3. Good pension policies begin at birth like good health policies
4. Invest in equal opportunity for children
5. John Myles - issues of intergenerational justice
 - a. Difficult to develop equality between generations and this it is different to determine what later generations deserve
6. Richard Musgrave - intergenerational risk sharing
 - a. Must make sure that our pension systems are sustainable for the generations that have to pay for them and that they can still meet their own needs while paying for pensions
 - b. Relative income position - create a fixed standard of living between the generations, based on well-being rather than income
7. Should be a joint retirement plan and standard across all European countries

Open Coordination and the Definition of the European Social Model

1. Clear and mutually agreed upon objectives are decided that allows EU member states to learn from good practices
 - a. Built on local diversity
 - b. Aim to promote progress in the social sphere
 - c. Should have country intelligently mimic policies
2. Benchmarking should include
 - a. Reliable information on social policy and its results
 - b. Evaluation of this information in light of the objectives
 - c. Evaluation in light of local context of the policies
3. We should be sensitive to context
4. Lets citizens know that member states will protect them
5. Traditional field like pensions and health care require more resources
6. New social risks and needs have emerged
7. Increased EU mobility will affect welfare states
8. Principal value-added to the open method of coordination
 - a. Common objectives are essential
 - b. Cognitive tool because we can learn from each other
 - c. Normative tool because common objectives embody substantive views on social justice
9. Luxembourg process
 - a. December 2002 member states presented a national strategy on pensions
 - b. Agree on a joint report
 - c. Common conclusion should be incorporated into board economic policy guidelines
 - d. 5 key principles
 - i. One method, cannot be applied to all social issues
 - ii. Do not mix up objectives and instruments. Deciding what we want to achieve is the most important
 - iii. All possible instruments should be included in the analysis
 - iv. Set realistic but ambitions benchmarks
 - v. Open communication is important, actual litmus test for ability and readiness to engage in coordination

Towards the Good Society, Once Again

1. Long phases of consolidation and institutional path dependency punctuated by periods of intense reform
2. 1930-1940s produced a wave of regime shifts
 - a. Today's states are elaborations on this
3. Scandinavian shift since the 1970s may constitute a third fundamental regime overhaul
4. Most regime shifts have ideological competition between visions of the good society
5. Late 19th century pitted defenders of the ancient regime against liberals and christian reformants
 - a. Question of nation building

6. In the US and increasingly the UK they favoured individualism and markets with the welfare state cast as a minimal and residual player
7. In Scandinavia they have comprehensive social citizenship
8. Southern and Continental Europe fused social insurance with corporatist and Catholic traditions
9. Expansion of mass education was a vehicle for equal opportunity
10. Income maintenance to equalize living conditions and eliminate social risks

The New Welfare Challenge

1. New revolution is spearheaded by women's independence and lifelong careers
2. Less stable household arrangements as marriage is more of a choice
3. Economic upheaval as unskilled labor is not as needed or as well paid
4. Those with weak human capital will face low wages or unemployment
5. Life chances based on education less than traditional class
6. Post-war equalized living conditions
7. Need to maximise the productivity of the young to sustain the elderly

Emerging Blueprints for Reform

1. Viability of the welfare state is being questioned
 - a. Hard to sustain given the demographics
 - b. The status-quo is ill suited to meet the challenges ahead
2. Existing systems may hinder development
3. 1980s libertarians and neo-liberals wanted to return to individualism, de-regulation and the privatization of social protection
 - a. If markets could reign more freely than barriers to mobility and individual initiative would fall
4. Third way of the 1990s fused individualism with public responsibility
 - a. Adapt and empower individuals so that they are better equipped to satisfy needs within the market
 - b. Training and lifetime learning are flagship policies

Towards a Viable New European Welfare Architecture

1. British Labour's third way has been coolly received
2. UK moved from universal social security to income-tested assistance
3. Third way is similar to Nordic social democracy
4. Third way has a selective appropriation of social democratic policy
 - a. Often believes that activation is a substitute for conventional income maintenance
 - b. Minimization of poverty is a precondition for effective social investment
 - c. Remedial policy is unlikely to be effective unless they possess necessary abilities and motivations in the first place

The Need for a Method

1. Normal policy making is short sighted and fragmented, biased towards improving the existing practice
2. Uses snapshot diagnosis but this is problematic if we are experiencing rapid change
3. Need a method that
 - a. An informed peek into the future

- b. Links fragments to the whole
 - c. Captures the dynamics of citizens life chances
- 4. We want to stop social ills from becoming permanent

Principles of Social Justice

- 1. Promotion of economic efficiency can only be justified if it enhances welfare
- 2. European welfare states pool social risks collectively
- 3. Welfare status quo is very popular
- 4. Policy is made in favour of groups because they are victims
- 5. Paretian principles - change is good if it doesn't hurt anyone
 - a. Not good for state policy as it does not always hold up fairness
 - b. Can lead to a spiralization of victimization claims
- 6. Strong policies when there is benefit for all
- 7. When people see their lives as being insecure they do not take risks

Welfare as Social Investment

- 1. Educational expenditures yield a dividend because they make people more productive
- 2. Family policy should also be viewed as social investment

Rethinking Security in Old Age

- 1. Todays old people benefited from wages from the post war employment boom
- 2. As people live longer so do their health problems
- 3. If we keep the current system the burden is on those working
- 4. If we move to a contribution system than the burden is on the elderly

Three Welfare Pillars

- 1. Government runs on a redistributive social contract
- 2. Private troubles are often becoming public problems
- 3. Many families are unable to provide the carrying capacity needed
- 4. Traditional caring obligations contradict women's employment abilities
- 5. Neo-liberals advocate for the markets supporting people
- 6. Conservatives favour local community social responsibility

Similar Challenges for Different Welfare Regimes

Nordic Countries

- 1. Emphasises government pollar
- 2. Strengthens families by unburdening them
- 3. Strives for greater individual independence
- 4. Minimizes the degree that welfare relies on the markets
- 5. Universal income guarantees
 - a. Activation for the development of children
 - b. Disabled
 - c. Frail elderly
- 6. Social safety net
- 7. Promote labour market flexibility and adaptation
- 8. Heavy tax requirements so if the market stalls then they are at risk

Liberal Welfare Model

- 1. Ireland and the UK
- 2. Sponsors market solutions

3. Targets benefits to the demonstrably needy
4. Middle class opts into the private welfare market
5. Shift to work-conditional benefits
6. Benefits are set at a low level and there are coverage gaps
7. Low wages do not disappear
8. Goal is to reduce public expenditures

Continental Europe Welfare Model

1. Adherence to familial welfare responsibilities
2. Introduced employment guarantees and regulations
3. People face difficulty accumulating sufficient pension credits
4. Tax on employment taxes the young and less productive out of the market
5. Dangerous for those who don't have stable families
6. Reduces women's abilities for economic independence
7. So they added non contributory social programs

From National Regimes Towards a European Model

1. Most nations are trying to reform their systems
2. Bismarkian Phase - debate was as international as it is today
3. Question of if different nations face similar problems

Rewriting the Social Contract

A New Family Policy

1. Safeguard the male breadwinner
2. Provide relief to families with many children
3. Family structure is not different
4. Small children now need to be cared for outside of the home
5. Youth unemployment inhibits their ability to form families
6. Families are increasingly unstable
7. Quality of childhood matters

New Gendered Contract

1. Used to believe that once married women would become housewives
2. Women's employment improves family welfare
3. Question of how to make parenthood compatible with a career

Social Inclusion through Employment

1. Paid employment is the foundation for household welfare
2. Job market is dominated by skilled jobs
3. Fight social exclusion through job expansion
4. Threat of job polarization
5. Stress are the main risks
6. Duration of poverty increases when overall rates are high

Generational Contract

1. Using public pensions would be unjust as they would have double payment, there would be inequality and heightened insecurity
2. Fertility incentives in inadequate and immigration will only cover shortfall if the rates become enormous
3. Should ensure retirement security for both thi and next generations

4. Could delay employment exit

Video - Administration and Review of Social Contracts

1. 1870 - only Switzerland is a liberal democracy
2. They had parlements but the qualifications to vote were very strained
3. 1920 - removal of property provisions to vote
4. Property qualifications prohibit people from voting
5. Increase of the working class
 - a. Greater level of working class organization
 - b. Seeking political rights through expansion of the vote
6. More factories develop
7. People realise that since they share experiences with other factory workers than they fight together
 - a. Invention of the working class consciousness
8. The locomotive brought increased connectivity between cities and people
9. Increased commodities available
10. Brought about massive disparities and increased poverty
11. People no longer had access to land and this they could only sell their labour
 - a. This was dependent on the employer
12. Movement of people into the cities
13. People were packed into housing near factories
14. Workers were seen as live machines
15. The workers and wage labourers became a commodity
16. Bourgeois life was different
 - a. They were able to have leisure time
 - b. They were able to purchase luxury items
 - c. Belief that they were different from factory workers

Marxism and Consent

1. Marx and Engels - try to figure out why the ideas of the past remained so dominant despite the social realities of the working class
2. Capitalism was introducing a very unequal society
3. Increasingly large groups of people became part of the working class
4. People had little ability to exercise control over their lives
5. Questions of just or unjust nature of the current social order
6. Viewed government as necessary for social order
7. The state emerges in a world of unequal classes based on the means of production
8. Goods were sold on the market for a profit to accumulate wealth for the factory owner
9. Our consciousness forms based on our material reality - the world around us and our socio-economic position
10. Should be a way how intellectuals come to together and rethink political consent
 - a. How to transform the system to one that benefits workers
 - b. Try to organize across nation-states
11. Could withdraw consent if the system is not working for you
12. Reorganization of government to benefit workers

13. Class conflict + dominance by powerful (through the state) + imposing what is appropriate through law and applying costs through penalties + compliance = social order
14. For many the definition of success is being wealthy
15. Precariat - merges economic precariousness with the proletariat (people have precarious access to employment but are still the working class)

Citizenship as Compromise

1. Working class had demands
2. Marxism wanted a complete withdrawal of consent
3. Others wanted to work within the system
 - a. Higher wages
 - b. Better working conditions
4. They incorporated the working class into the existing system to prevent revolution like in France or America
5. They get citizenship which gives them further rights
6. Marshall argues that capital solutions to public problem is erroneous
7. Social rights are a Marshall idea
8. Social rights as welfare rights
 - a. Should get these regardless of need or class
 - b. Get based on status as a citizen
9. Beveridge Report (1942 - Britain)
 - a. War is on
 - b. Question of what the world should look like after the war
 - c. Can't ask people to give up their lives for the war, and then come back to depression conditions
 - d. Canada report - Marshall report
 - e. Social rights are now part of the great compromise between workers and capitalists
 - f. They get these just for being citizens
 - g. Fights against the levels of ignorance, want, disease, squalor, idleness
 - h. After the war the PM introduces the things in the report
10. Beveridge report is massively supported
11. Conservatives frown on the report
12. Churchill views it as the road to socialism
 - a. Loses the election over this issue
13. System of social security, healthcare, pension system, all working age people pay part of their paycheck as part of this national insurance contribution
14. Beveridge argues that this provides a minimum standard of living which no citizen should ever fall below
15. Also appealed to upper classes because they can shift costs away from corporations to the public, produces better wage labourers and they are not as weak and have education, can increase productivity
16. Marshall Report - Canada 1943
 - a. Wrote the report in 1 month

- b. Report was largely ignored by the King government
- c. Liberal party in 1945 picked the family allowance measure and this helped them to form a government
- d. People are more willing to submit to employers because they get social rights
- e. Society where deprivation is mitigated
- f. State is a guardian of the citizens

Welfare State and Consent

1. After 1945 there is a passive revolution
2. Working class claims are addressed so the working class consents
 - a. Only masks the tensions between classes
 - b. Does so only as long as there is growth
 - c. Tensions re-emerge when growth slows
3. Keynesian economics - takes social rights and incorporates them into economic thinking
 - a. Ways of before no longer hold sway as there is a new organized working class that seeks for its claims to be announced through trade unions
 - b. Want social justice, higher wages, and better working conditions
 - c. Capitalism should adjust to accept this new social force
 - d. Best protection against fascism is to expand social rights
4. Working class gets respect as they are involved in work
5. Certain forms of work need to be subsidised outside of the government
6. Produce egalitarianism with the welfare state
7. Accomplishments include
 - a. Squalor reduces
 - b. Creation of a middle class - professional classes, government workers, unionized workforce - have disposable income
 - c. Underwrites social reproduction - provides things that otherwise only the wealthy would have access to - like education, universal healthcare
 - d. compression of inequality
 - e. Redistribution of income
 - f. Minimum care standards
 - g. Provided regulatory framework - government inspections, people get better products
 - h. Worker protections, trade unions
 - i. Combines social justice with economic efficiency
8. Extension of civil rights + extension of political rights + acceptance of class-based societies with the extension of social rights that decommidify the bulk of national society + legalization of trade unions and collective bargaining + class compromise (male workers give up control over production in order to receive a breadwinner wage) + gender compromise (women return to the private sector and in second states give attention to social reproduction) = social order

Week 6

Chapter 17 - How is the World Organized Economically

1. Economics - study of the production and distribution of goods and wealth

2. During feudalism exchange of goods were small scale and it was difficult to accumulate wealth
3. 15th century gave power to the nation-state
 - a. Increased exploitation of “new” lands
4. 18th century capitalism expansion extended european power
5. Increased factory production, machinery and productivity
6. Work was wage labour
7. People lost access to land
8. Expansion affected colonies, people were sold into slavery, destroyed India's cotton industry, exploited the chinese market and killed indigenous people in oceania and the americas
9. Europe developed advanced industrialized countries (AIC)
10. Unions and welfare state arrangements helped workers

Adam Smith and the Political Economy

1. State has an essential role in managing
 - a. Flows of goods
 - b. Facilitating exchange between nations
 - c. Ensuring that the state's wealth is used for the benefit of the nation
2. Criticises mercantilism as it promoted state interference
3. Promoted laissez faire economics
4. Devalued household labour as it was unproductive

Formal and Informal Work

1. Formal economics - legal and contractual exchanges where wages are negotiated, commodities are exchanged, and profit seeking is expected
2. Informal activities - not recorded or regulated, volunteer activities, childcare, cash is rarely exchanged. Very rarely counted in studies
3. Informal lily is half of all economic output
4. Questions of how to document and measure it
5. Neoliberalism has transferred structured arrangements into dispersed networks or casual workers, informal or short term workers, avoidance of organized labour - called flexibilisation
 - a. One source of growth from neoliberal restructuring is through flexibilisation. The author argues flexibilisation feminises the workforce. Flexibilisation involves:
 - i. Production processes shift to spatially dispersed networks (e.g., subcontracting), are increasingly casualized (e.g., part-time) and informalised (e.g., non-contractual) jobs.
 - ii. Increases the power of management and decreases the choices available to most workers.
 - iii. Mainstream accounts emphasise elites and entrepreneurs, but most flexible and informal workers have few choices about the work they do. Instead, most of the world's workers face greater insecurity of employment, incomes, and benefits.
6. Women earn 30-50 percent less than men
 - a. Women are thought to be not the primary breadwinners

7. Some individuals are able to prosper through entrepreneurship made possible by a less regulated environment
 - a. Only a small percentage amount of people are able to take advantage of this
8. Informalization matters as it pushed wages downwards
9. Societies lose control when they cannot collect taxes and these informal workings pose safety concerns

Neoliberal Globalisation

1. Washington consensus
2. Promote a restructuring of policies to free the economy
3. Liberalisation - ensuring free markets by removing governmental influence
4. Deregulation - relaxing or removing existing controls
5. Stabilization - reducing government spending and social programs
6. Export-orientation - producing for export rather than domestic consumption as the preferred strategy for development

Politics of Economics

1. Adam Smith saw economics as inextricably linked to politics
2. 19th century universities divided into economics and politics

Liberal and Neoliberal Approaches

1. Conventional accounts of the global political economy are associated with liberal tradition and its promotion of neoclassical economists
2. Basic assumptions are that markets are efficient and morally desirable, unfettered trade will result in optimal investment flow, growth is imperative and will trickle down, open borders is the most efficient and equitable way of distribution
3. Restructuring for neoliberalism entails penetrating to the individual level
4. Individuals are responsible for their own well being
5. Social well being is not a primary concern, pursuit of profit is
6. Historically, the most amount of study was on large corporations, dismissing feminised industries, and the economies of poorer countries
7. Theoretical reassessment was spurred by growth in informal activities worldwide, seen as a breeding ground for microenterprise
8. Informalism often involves illegal activities
9. Nobody studies how these activities affect inequality

Marxist Approaches

1. Critiques how capitalism concentrates power in a minority at the expense of the majority
2. Gramscian variant looks at how hegemonic rule occurs through producing ideological consent
3. Tend to focus on the formal but have made efforts to include informal
4. Informal activities help build and maintain money
5. During economic downturns informal activities increase

Hidden Costs of Neoliberalism

1. Wages have declined and there is increased job insecurity
2. Undercuts welfare provisioning
3. Making informal income rarely allows for people to prosper

4. The unpaid work that women do in the home is often not counted despite it having benefits for the population

Gendered Division of Labour

1. Feminist economists emphasize relationship between women's reproductive labour and the formal economy by adding it to existing theoretical models
2. Look at how doing these activities affects women's empowerment
3. Raising children produces workers and spares the traditional economy the cost of producing a labour force
4. Informal labour associated with the household underpins capitalist development
5. Most people's wages are insufficient for sustaining a household
6. Immanuel Wallerstein - world systems analysis treats the present economy as the rich and the periphery and semi-periphery

Costs of Exclusions

1. Liberal and neoliberal - growth is the answer and unfettered capitalism is the only way to achieve it
2. Cautious voices urge to soften the costs of restructuring
3. Marxists, feminists and environmentalists critique neoliberalism

Paradoxes of the Competition State: The Dynamics of Political Globalization (pg 258-274)

From Welfare State to Competition State

1. There is a new role for states as an enforcer of decisions emerging from the market
2. The post-war welfare state insulated elements of economic life and promotes certain elements of the market
3. John Ruggie - embedded liberalism - eroded by the consequences of growing external trade and the decreasing ability to insulate national economies
4. Emergence of the competition state where the state pursues marketization to make economic activities within the territory competitive internationally
 - a. Attempts to deregulate economic activities
5. Four types of policy change
 - a. Shift from macroeconomic to microeconomic interventionism
 - b. Inferentialism to maintain minimal economic self-sufficiency to retain a competitive advantage
 - c. Emphasis on controlling inflation
 - d. Promotion of enterprise, innovation and profitability in private and public sectors
6. The government should intervene as little as possible
7. However, some activities are not amenable to being run by the market and in these situations the welfare state and state control can be justified
8. The state should prevent unfair competition
9. The state is seen as a mode of operation that undermines the market
10. The welfare state could be restrained and regularly deconstructed to avoid the ratchet effect
11. Overloaded state has four types of constraint
 - a. Chronic deficit financing
 - b. Naturalized industry puts further pressure on inflation

- c. That gets lame duck syndrome where it takes responsibility for greater sectors of the economy
 - d. Negative consequences for balance of payments and the exchange rate
12. Should combine austerity with promotion of structural reform

Divergences and Convergences: Competing Forms of the Competition State

1. The state should be more involved in international trade, but less involved in the national economy
2. State should help them to adapt to global competition
3. Maintain an exchange rate policy
4. The state should deregulate and create new structures that enforce global market behavior
5. Should decommodify bureaucracies and stop them from producing, but rather they should motier contracted out services
6. Neocopraltist system is seen as a midway
7. States should increase regional trade
8. The state sometimes acts as a market actor itself

Scope and Limits of the Competition State

1. Complex actor in a structures action feil
2. State actors and market atos intermingle
3. The political capacity and autonomy is origin
4. Public provisions are replaced with private
5. State should minimize inflation and maintain confidence on international business
6. Complex globalisation with the state making up the third level
7. There is a separation between zones where there is peace, and zones where there is turmoil
8. State morpites the commodification of its own activities and structures
9. The state has to find new ways to function in a more flexible way
10. Today, the competition state is most likely to be involved in deregulation and creeping liberalization

Powerpoint

1. The global north no longer leads
2. BRICS are gaining more power
3. Competition state with neoliberalism is incapable of addressing the challenges of advanced economics
4. Modernization theory
 - a. Traditional society + preconditions for take off + take off + drive to maturity + high mass consumption society = development and social order
5. China has been rapidly developing
6. The growth of east asia could be seen as a challenge to american-led world order
7. Explanations to the east asian miracle
 - a. Free market did it
 - b. State managed capitalism did it

Neoliberalism

1. Emerged in the 1970s and 1980s led by US and Britain

2. Provides a new model for development
3. Combines neo-classical economics with liberal political theory
4. Liberalism (political philosophy) + neoclassical economics = neoliberalism
5. Key ideas include
 - a. Market supremacy
 - b. Positive to have increased international trade
 - c. Minimal state - cut expenditures
 - d. Minimal state limited to securing private property rights and contracts
 - e. Deregulation and re-regulation along capitalist market based lines
 - f. Privatization
 - g. Subordinating the commons and public goods
 - h. Focus on individuals
 - i. Conceived as consumers not citizens

Developmental State

1. Economic development is top priority
2. Role of elite bureaucracy
3. Restrict other branches of government
4. Globalization guilt in
5. Bureaucracy is structured hierarchically
6. State led investment
7. Focus on their key industries
8. East asia shifted from national to internationally based economies
9. Affected by geopolitics of the cold war
10. New class relations emerged

Keynesian Economics

1. Economic growth + promotion of industrialization + full employment + limited wealth redistribution + institutionalization of social rights of citizenship = social order
2. Full employment is the primary political objective

Week 7

Geoffrey Garrett

Squeezed

1. Arguing in the 90's
2. Boosters of globalization see it as a win win
3. Critics see it as a way for a global elite to line their pockets
4. Globalization has squeezed the middle class
5. Middle income countries struggle to be competitive in either the knowledge economy or the low-wage economy
6. Often explain the poor performance of middle income countries by pointing to factors other than globalization
7. Out of the middle income countries those who have globalized have fared the worst
8. Challenge of helping the middle class tech up through
 - a. Educational reform
 - b. Institutional reform
 - c. Government stabilization

- d. Banking reform
- e. Property rights and legal reform
- f. Transform system into one that fosters innovation

Another Country

1. Employment in professional and business services has doubled as well as low paying jobs have doubled, effectively getting rid of the manufacturing middle class
2. The middle income countries are Latin American, Former soviet bloc, the asian tigers, and much of the middle east
3. World's poorest countries have been able to increase their incomes through increasing exports
4. Modernization though globalization has greeted inequalities between rural and urban, hinterland and coastal creating internal migration
5. Liberalization in latin america and eastern europe has brought instability, and on several occasions, a financial crisis

Searching for Explanations

1. Success of globalizations can be explained by mainstream economics - technological integration has spurred growth in high-income countries and low income countries have used their comparative advantage in cheap labor to gain large shares of the global marketplace
2. Middle income countries that cut tariffs less have fared better
3. Misleading to characterize asian tiger nations as having open economies
4. When latin america liberalised they had mixed results

Unconventional Wisdom

1. China and india are outliers that could skew the low income category
2. African economics today are still less open
3. Africa's low wage workforce offers an advantage over middle income countries

From Missing to Modernized

1. More free trade or more protectionism is unlikely to work
2. Middle income countries should tech up to compete
3. This change is unlikely to be possible on their own
4. Many eastern european countries try to join the EU to get better access to trade, baliity, credibility and they can get involved in common european practice
5. Latin american countries should get smart development assistance to help them tech up
6. US launched the Middle east partnership initiative to help improve systems that foster entrepreneurship in the middle east
7. Since 9/11 achieving political goals through economic means has a much lower priority than the war on terrorism
8. The EU and US must help middle income countries develop competitive knowledge economies

Pg 386-407

Sources of Inequality

Thought Experiment

1. The US is a very unequal country
2. Earnings are separated by demographics such as race, sex and education level

Inequality in the Age of Neoliberal Reform

1. 19th and 20th centuries unequal access to education contributed to inequality
2. Policies favoured urban over rural

Changes in the Global Economy - late 20th century

1. Reversal of the post-war trend towards equality
2. Creation of a global economy
 - a. Consequence of the rise of Asian economies and the re-establishment of eastern Europe
3. Promotion of international institutions, greater openness and competitiveness
4. Shift in policy under Reagan and Thatcher
5. Benefits of globalization have been mainly going to a few in China and India
6. Decreasing inequality between countries but increasing inequality between individuals
7. There is a large number of working poor
8. Became more equal after WW2 but after that the top 0.1 percent's income is increasing at a much faster rate
9. Three different patterns of wealth distribution
 - a. East Asian - 1939-45 a key turning point, stable pattern after
 - b. Anglo-North American - redistribution is reversed after post-war
 - c. Continental European - redistribution is not reversed
 - d. Nordic - more relative equality

Measuring and Comparing Inequality

1. Need good national statistics
2. Scandinavian democracies have the most equality
3. US is the most unequal of developed countries
4. UK saw an increase in inequality after Thatcher

Developing and Emerging Economies

1. Global economy has become more unequal
2. China has increased exports and foreign investments
 - a. Presents Brazil, Mexico and South Africa with competitive challenges
3. Income inequality is still rising in these countries

Liberty and Developmental Perspectives on Inequality

Liberal Globalism

1. Think that free markets are good for the poor
2. Argue that if everyone benefits from growth that it doesn't matter if the rich benefit the most
3. Degree of inequality is inevitable
4. Hostile to state intervention that inhibits the market
5. Oppose protectionist policies
6. Want all countries to undergo liberal reforms

Global Developmentalism

1. Reject the liberal approach because it ignores the privileged position of countries in the global north
2. Argue that liberalization measures shrink the developmental space of developing economies

3. Liberalism rules of industrial development strategies that worked in east asia and the US
4. Falling poverty is only significant in China which does not follow liberalism

Liberalism, Developmentalism and International Institutions

1. International institutions - led by the world bank are proponents of liberal globalism
2. Focus on good governance, privatization, and reduced state interference
3. Governments should provide macroeconomic stability
4. Should look to private enterprises to provide jobs
5. Focus is allowing the poor access to the economy

Historical Materialism and the Expansion of the Global Working Class

1. Governments should act alongside markets to address inequality
2. Historical materialism starts not at the market, nor the developmental state but social relations between people
3. Relationship between the bourgeoisie, proletariat and the capitalist state
4. As capitalism comes to dominate society is shaped by class struggle
5. 5 key concepts by Marx
 - a. Primitive accumulation - two classes are created through the exploitation of resources belonging to proletariat and concentration in the hands of the few bourgeoisie
 - b. Exploitation of labour - capitalists only pay workers a fractions of the surplus and keep the rest as profit
 - c. Profit motive - orientation of the capitalist towards accumulation of wealth rather than any social motive
 - d. Constant revolution of production - competition that causes the capitalists to either innovate to make the worker more productive or push them to take lower wages and work longer hours
 - e. Global competition - tendency for the production process to spill out of national borders
6. Did not predict that capitalism would become global but said that if it did it would be uneven
7. Neoliberal revolution was a temporary victory
 - a. Drafted people into a new workforce/global proletariat
 - b. Creates new sights for production
8. By adding more people into the workforce there are more people to exploit for their labour
9. Removal of benefits means that people are forced to find work
10. Large number of working poor

Seminar Notes

1. Rich countries have stable financial systems and stable currency
2. Countries need to find a niche in the world market to help them succeed
3. Garret treats countries as if they are homogenous where in reality they are not
4. Jobs previously held by the middle class were exported to the south
5. Middle class is an elastic term

Week 9

Definitions

1. Mainstream economics normalizes men's lives and ignores much of what women do
2. The economy is dependent on activities that lie outside the market
3. Gender relations are a structural characteristic of any economy
4. Mainstream economics is often gender blind
5. Feminists economics believe that we should start by assuming everything has a gender dimension
6. Believe that taking account of gender relations is better economics and all economists should be feminist economics

1 - Analysing market relations is not enough

1. There are caring and unpaid activities that go on within the household
2. Non-market time spent affect what time people have left to do with their lives
3. Obligations to do unpaid housework fall more on women
4. Cannot assume that all women are wage workers, or are consistent wage workers, tend to have a much more varied employment history
5. New Household economics applies market logic to a non-market area but only can give partial answers
6. Household jobs should be more equitably shared and jobs should be designed to fit around caring activities

2 - Household is not an individual

1. People are members of different households throughout their lives
2. Resources are not always shared equally
3. Households do not always have unified interests
4. Women are more likely to sacrifice their interests to those of other household members

3 - Social norms influence what people want to do an can be analyzed

1. Neoclassical economics assumes that people are rational and have unchanging preferences
2. Social norms are not absolute but they both define who we are, and limit what we choose

4 - Care provision provides an alternative model of work and production

1. Feminists stress theorizing care as it is strongly gendered
2. Supply and demand for care are influenced by social norms
3. Near-universal tendency to allocate unpaid care to women
4. Provision of care involves a personal relationship between provider and receiver
5. Raising productivity is hard
6. People benefit from consistency of care

5 - A broader definition of well-being, investment and infrastructure

1. Definition of investment should be - expenditure is undertaken to gain benefits in the future, either monetary or any form of well-being
2. Physical infrastructure is more likely to employ men, whereas social infrastructure employs more women

Chapter 5 - Who do we think we are?

Narratives and Politics

1. Identity includes national, ethnic, racial, gender, class, sexual and religious identity
2. Narrative theorists say that we are all Homo Fabulans or storytellers
 - a. We identify ourselves by the way that we tell our stories
 - b. The way we think about ourselves changes over time
 - c. These stories create insiders and outsiders and enforce purity within the in-group

Feminist Movements in the US

1. All women are oppressed and have a shared experience of oppression
2. Women have been systematically erased from history, science and policy
3. Bias must be corrected by gathering information about women's lives
4. Examination of the structure of the patriarchy
5. Friedan - feminine mystique - encourages women to narrow life goals to housewife/mother
6. Sojourner Truth/Isabella Baumfree wrote about her experience as a former slave and poor woman
7. Feminism should be respectful, illuminating and empowering
8. Many feminists focus on white middle-class women and struggle to be more inclusive

Intensification of Identity Politics

1. We should not assume that all women have common experiences, but their other identities interact with their womanhood in different and relevant ways
2. Anti-politics of identity - identity becomes the subject of politics
3. Hyphenated identities are adopted to specify their group
4. Subgroupings fragment the movement and prioritize individual identity
5. Should participate in consciousness-raising

How can we conceptualize identity

Biology and Natural History

1. Gender is no longer thought of as a binary and gender roles are created
2. Darwin's - there are different races of people that could be clearly distinguished

Static and Dynamic Approaches to Identity

1. Scholars believe identity is a social construct
2. Static perspective - takes a snapshot of someone's identity at the moment
3. Fluid perspective - looks at how identity changes over time
4. RW Connell - thinking about gender from a fixed perspective
5. Positivism - scholar takes a perspective outside the world that is being studied
 - a. Often creates a very stereotypical view of what makes women the way they are and it fails to take variation into account
6. Normative Approach - looks from the outside on what ought to be, rather than what is then looks at if individuals fit the norm

How does group identification shape global politics

1. Claiming an identity can provide people with a support network, but can lock them into identity politics
2. Question of do we identify with a group or do others identify us into that group
3. What happens when our identities conflict

Week 10

On Friday, December 4th from 7 pm onwards TUPS (Trent University Political Society) is hosting Red Solo Tups. This event involves casual drinks and discussion over zoom. This would be a great opportunity for students to meet each other, make friendships, and relax before the exam season. All students welcome!

Chapter 14 - Is Democracy a Good Idea?

Democracy in Argentina

1. Became independent in 1810
2. 19th century they focused on nation building and organization of power
3. 20th century they focused on struggles for power and the fight for greater inclusion
 - a. Repudiation of these meant that they duppered 5 coups
4. Retired to democracy in 1983

Populism - the Peronist Party

1. Populisms combines electoral democracy and democratic rhetoric with a cult of personality
2. This is called Peronism after Juan Peron
3. The party is built off of their relationship with the poor
4. They remain influential today
5. Populisms there is associated with masculinity
6. He bame prominent in the militalry regime of 1943
7. Sided with workers over labour disputes
8. Eva Duarte/Evita performed her rle of a humble provincial girl who had the identity of knowing what poverty was but now being in a positon of power where she could do something about it
9. Successful populaims makes the people feel powerful and stong
10. This movement was socially democratizing even though his rule ws authoritarian

Madres de la Plaza de Mayo - Social movements and human rights

1. Last military dictarorship was very brutal
2. The madres wre the most vocal oposion- they were mothers of those who had been disappeared by the government
3. They plyed a crucial role in the reinstatement of democracy in 1983
4. They held democratic representatives to account fro human rights promisie

Democracy, Populism and Human Rights Struggle

What is Democratic and Undemocratic about Populism

1. Peronist party sought to gain power though elections
2. The formal mechanism of democracy isan important test of popularity
3. Peron gave women the right to vote in 1953
4. Made it easier for people withough papers like indegous people to get citizenship
5. Empahsised participation reahter thand decelopin a critical population that holds the government accountable
6. Made a feel good environment by pitting the people against and other (the oligarchs and the right wing media)
7. He distributed wealth more evenly and raised the standard of living for poor people
8. Benefits are channeled through the party machine so they become politicised favors

9. They build the political party into the community
10. This undermines equality because benefits are not evenly distributed

Broader Lessons from Argentine Populism

1. Resembles the labour movement in the UK under Jeremy Corbyn
2. Leftist movements often evoke strong emotional responses
3. Populism can also be a right-wing movement
4. In Europe there is a rise of right wing populism as they set the people against foreigners
5. Trump is a populist as he has charisma and motivates people to unify against the other
6. Trump uses hyper-masculinity to demonstrate power

Human Rights Struggle - Necessary in Democracies?

1. Most countries emerging from authoritarian regimes promote truth and reconciliation, while Argentina promotes truth and justice
2. Human rights suffered a reverse when the military became threatening
3. Armed forces jeoparded the supremacy of the elected leaders
4. HJOS took justice into their own hands and democratized it when the judicial system refused to
5. Social movements are important to democracy as they change assumptions

Social Movements - Pushing Democracy Forward

1. Madres have championed the use of human rights as a strategy for tackling injustice
2. They are one of the most progressive western democracies because they had large LGBT social movements and a sympathetic president
3. Use a discourse of equality to move forward
4. Poress the boundaries of democracy by sharing voices that are outside of the mainstream

Are human rights struggles necessary in established democracies

1. Human rights are only important for those who don't have them
2. Important tool to demand justice against oppressive situations

Where do we start thinking about democracy

1. Many scholars assume that western democracies are the best and create democratic questions based off of these
2. This means that non-western democracies have to play catch up
3. Democracy carries the value of good
4. Democracy is important to politicians and citizens who use it
5. Taking populism seriously highlights the need to look beyond elections and institutions
6. Conventional textbooks place social movements as interest groups while Argentina places them at the core of social democracy
7. Taking social movements seriously means shifting the balance of power away from elites