

**University of Wisconsin, College of Letters and Science
Department of Sociology
Political Seminar: A New Left? F2020**

**Cross listed in Sociology and Urban and Regional Planning 924-SEM-002
Meets with Public Affairs 974-SEM-003**

Credits	3
Instructor Title and Name	Professor Joel Rogers (he/him/his)
Instructor Availability	M 3:15-5:15 PM or by appointment
Instructor Email/Preferred Contact:	jerogers@wisc.edu, 608.262.4266 Assistant: Michelle Bright (she/her/hers), michelle.bright@wisc.edu, 608.890.2543
Canvas Course URL	https://canvas.wisc.edu/courses/215513
Course Meeting Time and Location:	M 9-11:30 AM
Instructional Mode	Lectures all synchronous remote
Office hours	Monday 3:15-5:15 PM

Course Description

The traditional institutions and practices of social democracy are in decline worldwide, but no convincing egalitarian-democratic alternative to social democracy has emerged. This course is about what that alternative might be – its assumptions about human nature and the economy, its suggestions and priorities for collective action, its imagined popular base, and its principles and public philosophy of governing.

These are hard issues, and there's clearly no consensus answer to them that integrates the needed elements of any successful political strategy: story/analysis/vision; platform/program; intra- and extra-communication; leadership development; presences in social movements, advocacy and functional NGOs, and electoral politics; an accountable presence in the state; and money to fuel both this work and new society creation.

But I think that, with good hearts and applied minds, we can make some progress toward a shared view of the demands and possibilities of meeting these functional requirements.

Course Schedule & Office Hours

This course, alas, is going to be taught entirely by remote, but synchronous with its stated time in the course timetable. Outside class you can always find me during my remote office hours (M 3:15-5:15) or by appointment, best scheduled through Ms. Bright.

Especially given all the stress of this moment, I'd like to make this course as relaxed as possible – a semi-structured but relatively free-wheeling conversation about egalitarian-democratic possibilities right now.

Course Requirements, Grading

Course requirements are simple. Do whatever reading is assigned in advance of showing up and participate as constructively as you can in the discussion; if taking the course for seminar credit, write a term paper and submit it shortly after the course ends.

To clarify further: You can take this course for S/U or A-F grading. For taking it S/U, the *Discussion* activity below is required. For those taking it for A-F grading and seminar credit, the *Term Paper* is also required.

Discussion – I'm going to put a premium on the quality of discussion, both inside and outside the seminar.

What I mean by "inside" is straightforward. Don't talk too long; don't interrupt; don't be a jerky show-off; never attack people; be fearless in criticism of ideas; try to make rational hope possible rather than despair inevitable.

What I mean by "outside" is this. I'd like you to do the readings assigned for any given week the week before, and write up and *post to Canvas, by 2 PM the Friday before*, a short (1-3 single-spaced pages) statement of comments or questions about them. My office will then gather them all and the post back to *Canvas* as a combined file later that day.

For those taking the course for seminar credit, this combined discussion contribution will count as 30% of your grade. For those taking it S/U, it'll count for all.

Term paper – For those taking the course on an A-F basis, the other 70% will be based on a paper you write and due one week after the final class, and uploaded to *Canvas*: **Monday, December 14, 2020**. (I'm sorry about this deadline, but grades are due a week after that.) This paper can be on any topic considered in the course. It'll be judged on its mastery of relevant material and strength and originality of argument.

I don't want these papers to be big affairs. Exceptions can always be made, but you should shoot for something that's *no more than 10K words* (excluding footnotes and references as well as exhibits) and it certainly can be less. I'm of course happy to talk over your proposed topic before you begin to write, but don't need to.

Departmental notice of grievance and appeal rights — The Department of Sociology regularly conducts student evaluations of all professors and teaching assistants near the end of the semester. Students who have more immediate concerns about this course should report them to the instructor or the Department Chair, Christine Schwartz, socchair@ssc.wisc.edu, 608.262.1498.

Department learning objectives — Beyond the specific substantive and methodological content I will cover in this course, I have designed this course to achieve the following instructional objectives designated as priorities by the Department of Sociology:

Critical Thinking about Society and Social Processes: Sociology graduates can look beyond the surface of issues to discover the "why" and "how" of social order and structure and consider the underlying social mechanisms that may be creating a situation, identify evidence that may adjudicate between alternate explanations for phenomena, and develop proposed policies or action plans in light of theory and data.

See Things from a Global Perspective: Sociologists learn about different cultures, groups, and societies across both time and place. They are aware of the diversity of backgrounds and experiences among residents of the United States. They understand the ways events and processes in one country are linked to those in other countries.

Prepare for Graduate School and the Job Market: Students use their social research skills to identify opportunities for employment or further study, assess their qualifications for these opportunities, and identify strategies for gaining the necessary knowledge and experience to improve their qualifications. Students are encouraged to develop and maintain portfolios of their written work and educational experiences to aid them in preparing applications.

Reading for the first week

Because it's already familiar to many of you and very easy to read, I suggest as reading for the first week (9/14), Erik Olin Wright's *How to Be and Anti-Capitalist in the 21st Century*. This is currently available direct from the publisher [Verso Press](#) at 40% off thru September 30, 2020.

After that, a choice to make that I'd like to make with you

After that, however, I'm of two minds on what readings to assign.

We could continue to go a predominately book route, in which case I'd suggest – in no definite order, and among many possible alternatives (with a few shorter supplementary article-length readings) – some of these books as naturals:

- Sheri Rosen, *The Primacy of Politics*;
- Lane Kenworthy, *Social Democratic Capitalism*;
- Geoffrey Hodgson, *Conceptualizing Capitalism*
- Torben Iversen & David Soskice, *Democracy and Prosperity*
- Robert Sapolsky, *Behave*
- Wolfgang Streeck, *How Will Capitalism End?*
- Daniel Coyle, *The Culture Code*
- Paul Mason, *Postcapitalism*
- Mark Engler and Paul Engler, *This is an Uprising*

- Paul Adler, *The 99% Economy*
- Varshini Prakash & Guido Girgenti, *Winning the Green New Deal*
- Jonathan Rose, *The Well-Tempered City*
- The Foundational Collective, *The Foundational Economy*
- Michel Bauwens, *Transitioning to a Commons-Based Society & Background on the FLOK Project*
- Gus Spaeth & Kathleen Courrier, eds., *The New System Reader*
- Otto Scharmer, *Theory U*

Or we could go a more article-heavy route. Here's a list of some of the readings from a course on a similar topic done several years ago. This could of course be updated, but you can get the basic idea from what was done then:

1. Rodrik, D. (2011). *The Globalization paradox: Democracy and the future of the world economy*, New York, NY: W.W. Norton.
Chapters 10-12.
2. Kenworthy, L. (2008). *Jobs with equality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
3. Romer, P. (1990). Endogenous technological change. *Journal of Political Economy*, 98, S71-S102.
4. Krugman, P. (2011). The Profession and the crisis, *Eastern Economic Journal*, 37, 307-312.
5. Pontusson, J. (2005). *Inequality and prosperity: Social Europe vs. liberal America*. Ithaca, NY and London. Cornell University Press.
Chapters 4-9, and Pp. 225-233.
6. Pontusson, J. (2011). Once Again a Model: Nordic Social Democracy in a Globalized World. In J. Cronin, G. Ross and J.Schoch (Eds), *What's left of the left*. Durham, NC: Duke University.
7. Gourevitch, P. (1986). *Politics in hard times: Comparative responses to international economic crises*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Chapter 4.
8. Esping-Andersen, G. (2009). *The Incomplete evolution: Adapting to women's new roles*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
Chapters 2-5.
9. Powell, L. (1971, August 23). *Confidential memo: Attack of American Free Enterprise System*.

10. Ferguson, T. & Rogers, J. (1986). *Right Turn*. New York: NY: Hill & Wang, A Division of Farrar, Straus & Giroux.
Chapters 2-5.
11. Przeworski, A. & Wallerstein, I. (1986). Democratic capitalism at the crossroads. In Przeworski, A. (Ed.), *Capitalism and social democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
12. Sachs, J. (2011). *The Price of civilization: Reawakening American virtue and prosperity*. New York, NY. Random House.
Chapters 4-7.
13. Johnson, S. (2009, May). The Quiet coup. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from www.theatlantic.com
14. Hacker, J. & Pierson, P. (2010). Winner-Take-All politics: Public policy, political organization, and the precipitous rise in top incomes in the United States. *Politics and Society*, 38(2), 152-204.
15. Streeck W. (2011). A Crisis of democratic capitalism. *The New Left Review*, 71, 1-25.
16. Hoenig, T. (2009, March 6). *Too big has failed*.
17. Alpert, D., Hockett, R., & Roubini, N. (2011, October). *The Way forward: Moving from the post-bubble, post-bust economy to renewed growth and competitiveness*. New American Foundation.
18. Glaeser, E. (2011). *Triumph of the city: How our greatest invention makes us richer, smarter, greener, healthier and happier*. New York, NY: Penguin Press.
Introduction, Chapters 1-2, 8-9, and Conclusion.
19. 112th Congress. (2011, September 7). Departments of Transportation and Housing and Urban Development Appropriations Bill 2012.
DRAFT
20. 112th Congress. (XXXX). Departments of Transportation and Housing and Urban Development Appropriations Bill 2012.
Final, Maybe
21. Bay, P. (2009). *Role of transit agencies in the regional transportation planning process*. Federal Transit Administration. **Draft Final Report**
22. Rodden, J. (2006, January). Red states, blue states, and the welfare state: Political geography, representation, and government policy around the world. Paper presented at Stanford GSB, Stanford, CA.

23. Dragu, T. and Rodden, J. (2011). *Representation and redistribution in federations*. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences Early Edition. Retrieved from www.pnas.org
24. Iversen, T. and Soskice, D. (2006). *Electoral institutions and the politics of coalitions: Why some democracies redistribute more than others*. *American Political Science Review*, 100, 165-181.
25. Lupu, N. and Pontusson, J. (2011). *The Structure of inequality and the politics of redistribution*. *American Political Science Review*, 105, 316-336.
26. Bartels, L. (2008). *The Irrational electorate*. *The Wilson Quarterly*, Autumn 2008, 44-50.
27. Keohane, J. (2010, July 11), *How facts backfire*. *Boston.com*. Retrieved from www.boston.com
28. Schneiberg, M. (2011). *Toward an organizationally diverse American capitalism? Cooperative, mutual and local, state-owned enterprise*. *Seattle University Law Review*, 34, 1409-1434.
29. Fung, A., (2012, July 31). *Reinventing Democracy in Latin America* Review Essay. *Perspectives in Politics*, 1-24.
30. Rogers, J. & Sabel, C. (1993). *Imagining Unions*. *Boston Review*, 18, 10-12.
31. Schmidt, J. & Mitukiewicz, A. (2011). *Politics matter, changes in unionization rates in rich countries, 1960-2010*. Center for Economic and Policy Research.
32. Rogers, J. (1993). *Come together*.
33. Rogers, J. (1995). *How divided progressives might unite*. *The New Left Review*, 210, 3-32.
34. Rogers, J. & Colburn, B. (1996, November 18). *What's next?* *The Nation*, 263, 11-18.
35. Rogers, J. (2000, Spring). *Pull the plug*. *Administrative Law Review*, 52:2, 743-768.
36. Rogers, J. (2004, August 30). *Devolve this!* *The Nation*. Retrieved from www.thenation.com
37. Rogers, J. (2007). *Seizing the opportunity (for climate, jobs and equity) in building energy efficiency*. Madison: COWS.
38. Rogers, J. (2008). *Eyes on the prize*. Madison: COWS.
or
Rogers, J., Hudson, J. & Thompson, P. (2008, December). *Eyes on the prize: Program architecture of emerald cities*. Madison: COWS.
39. Rogers, J. (2011). *Productive democracy*. Madison: COWS.
or UPDATED

Rogers, J. (2012) Productive democracy. In J. De Munck, C. Didry, I. Ferreras, and A. Jobert (Eds.), *Renewing democratic deliberation in Europe, The Challenge of social and civil dialogue* (pp. 71-92). Berlin: Peter Lang.

40. Krugman, P., Dominquez, K & Rogoff, K. (1988). *It's baaack: Japan's slump and the return of the liquidity trap*. Brookings Paper on Economic Activity, 137-205.
41. Krugman, P. (2011, October 9). *IS-LMentary*. Retrieved from The Conscience of a Liberal Blog, <http://krugman.blogs.nytimes.com/>
42. Solow, R.M. (1984). *Mr. Hicks and the classics*. Oxford Economic Papers, New Series, (36), Supplement: Economic Theory and Hicksian Themes, 13-25.
43. Roxburgh, C., Lund, S., Wimmer, T., Amar, E., Atkins, C., Kwek, J., Dobbs, R. & Manyika, J. (2010, January). *Debt and deleveraging: The Global credit bubble and its economic consequences*. McKinsey Global Institute.
44. Roxburgh, C, Lund, S. & Piotrowski, J. (2011, August). *Mapping global capital markets 2011*. McKinsey Global Institute.
45. Lijphart, A. (1997). Unequal participation: Democracy's unresolved dilemma. *The American Political Science Review*, 91, 1-14.
46. Rogers, J & Streeck, W. (1984). Productive solidarities: Economic strategy and left politics. In D. Miliband (Ed.) *Reinventing the Left*. London: Polity Press.
47. Horn, J., Singer, V. & Woetzel, J. (2010, September). *A Truer picture of China's export machine*. McKinsey Quarterly.
48. Rogers, J. *Finance 001: The Capital Stack*

In any case

In any case, please think about this broad choice on the design of readings before class on the 14th.

Other Institutional Notes

How to Succeed in this Course

Resource links to other campus services:

- [University Health Services](#)
- [Undergraduate Academic Advising and Career Services](#)
- [Office of the Registrar](#)
- [Office of Student Financial Aid](#)
- [Dean of Students Office](#)

Students' Rules, Rights & Responsibilities

During the global COVID-10 pandemic, we must prioritize our collective health and safety to keep ourselves, our campus, and our community safe. As a university community, we must work together to prevent the spread of the virus and to promote the collective health and welfare of our campus and surrounding community. [Rights & Responsibilities](#)

UW-Madison Badger Pledge

[Badger Pledge](#)

Quarantine or Isolation Due to Covid-19

Students should continually monitor themselves for COVID-19 [symptoms](#) and get [tested](#) for the virus if they have symptoms or have been in close contact with someone with COVID-19. Students should reach out to instructors as soon as possible if they become ill or need to isolate or quarantine, in order to make alternate plans for how to proceed with the course. Students are strongly encouraged to communicate with their instructor concerning their illness and the anticipated extent of their absence from the course (either in-person or remote). The instructor will work with the student to provide alternative ways to complete the course work.

Course Evaluations

Students will be provided with an opportunity to evaluate this course and your learning experience. Student participation is an integral component of this course, and your feedback is important to me. I strongly encourage you to participate in the course evaluation.

Digital Course Evaluation (AEFIS)

UW-Madison uses an online course evaluation survey tool, AEFIS. In most instances, you will receive an official email two weeks prior to the end of the semester when your course evaluation is available. You will receive a link to log into the course evaluation with your NetID where you can complete the evaluation and submit it, anonymously. Your participation is an integral component of this course, and your feedback is important to me. I strongly encourage you to participate in the course evaluation.

Academic Calendar & Religious Observances

See: <https://secfac.wisc.edu/academic-calendar/#religious-observances>

Academic Integrity Statement

By virtue of enrollment, each student agrees to uphold the high academic standards of the University of Wisconsin-Madison; academic misconduct is behavior that negatively impacts the

integrity of the institution. Cheating, fabrication, plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, and helping others commit these previously listed acts are examples of misconduct which may result in disciplinary action. Examples of disciplinary action include, but is not limited to, failure on the assignment/course, written reprimand, disciplinary probation, suspension, or expulsion.

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities Statement

The University of Wisconsin-Madison supports the right of all enrolled students to a full and equal educational opportunity. The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), Wisconsin State Statute (36.12), and UW-Madison policy (Faculty Document 1071) require that students with disabilities be reasonably accommodated in instruction and campus life. Reasonable accommodations for students with disabilities is a shared faculty and student responsibility. Students are expected to inform faculty [me] of their need for instructional accommodations by the end of the third week of the semester, or as soon as possible after a disability has been incurred or recognized. Faculty [I], will work either directly with the student [you] or in coordination with the McBurney Center to identify and provide reasonable instructional accommodations. Disability information, including instructional accommodations as part of a student's educational record, is confidential and protected under FERPA. (See: [McBurney Disability Resource Center](#))

Diversity & Inclusion Statement

[Diversity](#) is a source of strength, creativity, and innovation for UW-Madison. We value the contributions of each person and respect the profound ways their identity, culture, background, experience, status, abilities, and opinion enrich the university community. We commit ourselves to the pursuit of excellence in teaching, research, outreach, and diversity as inextricably linked goals.

The University of Wisconsin-Madison fulfills its public mission by creating a welcoming and inclusive community for people from every background – people who as students, faculty, and staff serve Wisconsin and the world.