

GLOBALIZATION AND NEOLIBERALISM

Course Overview

Globalization is a fashionable buzzword, an unstable term that is prone to being hyped, maligned, or acclaimed. For many anthropologists, globalization refers to accelerated flows or intensified connections—across national and other boundaries—of commodities, people, symbols, technology, images, information, and capital, as well as disconnections, exclusion, marginalization, and dispossession. Whether globalization is new or not—or how new it is—is the subject of much debate. Many find it useful to historicize the concept and to view the world economy as having passed through a globalizing phase from approximately 1870 to 1914, a deglobalizing period from about 1930 to 1980, and a renewed era of globalization since 1980. But since about 1990 one particular form of globalization—economic neoliberalism—has become dominant.

Neoliberalism is a doctrine that valorizes individual competition, entrepreneurship, free markets, and minimal state intervention in flows of goods, services, and finance. The underlying logic is that market competition ensures efficient production of goods and services, and that market deregulation stimulates productive economic activity that benefits all in the long term. In poorer nations neoliberalism often means imperatives by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) to reduce government subsidies for education and health care, privatize state-owned firms, liberalize trade, devalue currencies, emphasize production of primary goods for export, and deregulate financial and labor markets. But have neoliberal reforms produced their intended effects? It has become common for tests of market viability to be taken for granted or naturalized in domains as disparate as academia, journalism and art—leaving open the questions of why this particular conception of economy carries such force and what flaws may be embedded in its underlying assumptions. Whether one views the end of the 20th century and start of the 21st as a time of market tyranny or market triumph, there is little doubt about the contemporary force of neoliberalism.

This seminar explores the relationship of contemporary globalization processes to neoliberal ideology, and examines the cultural, political and economic logics of neoliberalism. For example, with what transformations in the workplace, media, individual subjectivities, consumption, gender relations, governance and capital is neoliberalism associated? An earlier generation of scholars such as Karl Polanyi and E.P. Thompson saw the question of how market relations are extended to new domains and then naturalized as a defining feature of major historical transitions. How are ideological expressions of the “free-market” naturalized today, and how do they come to seem inevitable (if not necessarily legitimate)? Neoliberalism of course is not monolithic; why is the neoliberal camp itself divided, and what new debates about alternatives are emerging in centrist as well as more left-leaning circles? Why does neoliberalism fuel highly energized social movements in many parts of the world? What are some limitations of conventional narratives about globalization? How has the 2008-2009 global economic crisis affected interpretations and practices of neoliberalism?

Course Objectives

- To provide graduate students with knowledge of theoretical debates and key concepts in the study of globalization and neoliberalism.
- To explore ethnographic approaches to globalization and neoliberalism (ethics, epistemology, methodology, representation).

Textbooks (available for purchase at *Douglass Co-op Bookstore*)

-Edward LiPuma and Benjamin Lee, 2004, *Financial Derivatives and the Globalization of Risk*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

-Catherine Besteman, 2008, *Transforming Cape Town*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Other Readings

Articles and book chapters listed below are available on the Sakai course website.

Requirements

(1) Timely completion of assigned readings, regular attendance and participation in seminar discussions, and weekly informal response papers (1-2 pages) on assigned readings (*due by email each Monday by 5:00 p.m.*). These informal written remarks can be a mix of **comments** such as “The discussion of X led me to reconsider...,” **reactions** such as “I like/dislike the approach of this article/book because...,” and **questions** such as “What did the author mean by...?” I will use students’ written responses to the readings to structure the seminar discussion and my introductory remarks.

(2) Essay (8-10 pages/2,000-2,500 words) on a theme drawn from required readings (instructor will provide a list of possible topics). *First draft* due by email at 9:00 a.m. Wednesday, October 7th; ***final version***—hard copy in instructor’s dept. mailbox—due 1:00 p.m. Friday, October 9th. [No electronic submissions of final version of essay.]

(3) Final research paper (about 20 pages/5,000 words) that addresses course readings and themes in relation to your dissertation research topic or a field statement. Please set up a meeting to discuss your paper topic in September, and then submit a preliminary outline of the proposed paper (hard copy in instructor’s office mailbox) no later than 3:00 p.m. Thursday, October 15th. Submit a *first draft* of the paper (by email) no later than 4:00 p.m. Friday, November 13th. The *final version* (hard copy) is due in the instructor’s office mailbox by noon on Monday, December 7th. Note: *The final research paper must incorporate at least 15 assigned readings, including at least 10 readings assigned in weeks 6-13, in addition to outside readings.*

*Both the 8-10 page essay and final research paper should be double-spaced, with one-inch margins, and should include footnotes and a list of references cited.

Grades will be based on students’ written and oral contributions to the seminar as follows: short essay= 25%; final research paper = 50%; oral contributions and informal written responses to readings = 25%. [Late papers will be penalized (1/2 grade per day), except in unusual circumstances.]

Attendance

A productive seminar is a collective endeavor, so regular attendance by all members is important. Absences should occur only in quite exceptional circumstances. Please notify the instructor in advance if you will miss a seminar meeting. (Anyone who misses a seminar meeting must submit—by 4:00 p.m. Friday of the same week—a 3-5 page summary and discussion of that week’s assigned readings.) Notify the instructor *no later than the second week of the semester* if you will observe a **religious holiday** that will prevent you from attending a class meeting.

Outline of Topics and Readings

WEEK 1 (9/1): Introduction to the Seminar

9/8—No class due to Rutgers’ change in designation of class days: **Tuesday/Sept. 8 = Monday classes.**

WEEK 2 (9/15): What is Neoliberalism? (Part I)

- David Harvey, 2005, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, pp. 1-63 and 152-206. Oxford University Press.
- Friedrich A. Hayek, 1994 [1944], *The Road to Serfdom*, pp. ix-12. University of Chicago Press.
- Adam Smith, 2005 [1776], excerpts from *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Book II [reprinted as “Of the Accumulation of Capital, or of Productive and Unproductive Labor,” pp. 87-90. In Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, eds., *The Anthropology of Development and Globalization*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Daniel M. Goldstein, 2005, "Flexible Justice: Neoliberal Violence and 'Self-Help' Security in Bolivia." *Critique of Anthropology* 25(4):389-411.
- Paul Krugman, 2009, “All the President’s Zombies.” *New York Times*, August 24, p. A19.

WEEK 3 (9/22): What is Neoliberalism? (Part II)

- John Gledhill, 2004, "Neoliberalism," pp. 332-348, in *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics*, David Nugent and Joan Vincent, eds. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Karl Polanyi, 1957[1944], *The Great Transformation*, excerpts. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Milton Friedman, 1962, “Introduction” to *Capitalism and Freedom*, pp. vii-21. University of Chicago Press.
- Noelle Mole, 2008, “Living it on the skin: Italian states, working illness.” *American Ethnologist* 35(2):189-210.
- Paul Krugman, 2009, “The Swiss Menace.” *New York Times*, August 17, p. A19.
- Nicolas D. Kristof, 2009, “Health Care Fit for Animals,” *New York Times*, August 27, 2009, p. A31.

Reference

- Joel Bakan, 2004, *The Corporation*. New York and London: Free Press.

WEEK 4 (9/29): The Great Globalization Debate (Part I)

- David Held and Anthony McGrew, 2004, “The Great Globalization Debate: An Introduction.” In *Global Transformations Reader*, 2nd edition, David Held and Anthony McGrew, eds., pp. 1-50. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Joseph E. Stiglitz, 2002, *Globalization and Its Discontents*, pp. ix-xvi and 3-22. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Jagdish Bhagwati, 2004, *In Defense of Globalization*, pp. 3-27. Oxford University Press.
- Jane L. Collins, 2005, "Deterritorialization and Workplace Culture, pp. 250-261. In Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, eds., *The Anthropology of Development and Globalization*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Reference

- Daniel Yergin and Joseph Stanislaw, 2002, *The Commanding Heights: The Battle for the World Economy*, chapters 13-14 ("The Age of Globalization" and "The Balance of Confidence"). New York: Free Press.

WEEK 5 (10/6): **The Great Globalization Debate (Part II)**

- Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, 2005, "Anthropology and Globalization," pp. 21-27, and "From Development to Globalization: Introduction," pp. 157-159. In Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, eds., *The Anthropology of Development and Globalization*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sidney Mintz, 1998, "The Localization of Anthropological Practice: from area studies to transnationalism." *Critique of Anthropology* 18(2).
- Frederick Cooper, "What Is the Concept of Globalization Good For? An African Historian's Perspective. *African Affairs* 100:189-213. [READ pp. 189-197]
- Mary E. Hawkesworth, 2006, "Engendering Globalization, pp. 1-28 in *Globalization and Feminist Activism*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Anna Tsing, 2000, "The Global Situation." *Cultural Anthropology* 15(3):327-360.
- Stephen J. Collier and Aihwa Ong, 2005, "Global Assemblages, Anthropological Problems," pp. 1-21. In *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics, and Ethics as Anthropological Problems*, Aihwa Ong and Stephen J. Collier, eds. Oxford: Blackwell.

Reference

- Aihwa Ong, 2006, *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

ESSAY: *First draft* due by email at 9:00 a.m. **Wednesday, Oct. 7th**; *final version* (hard copy) due in instructor's office mailbox by 1:00 p.m. **Friday, October 9th**. [No electronic submissions of final version of essay.]

WEEK 6 (10/13): **Neoliberal Subjectivities**

- Michel Foucault, 1994 [1978] "Governmentality," pp. 87-104. In Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller, eds., *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. University of Chicago Press.
- Thomas Lemke, 2001, "The Birth of Bio-Politics:" Michel Foucault's Lecture at the College de France on Neo-Liberal Governmentality. *Economy and Society* 30(2):190-207.
- Graham Burchell, 1996, "Liberal Government and Techniques of the Self," pp. 19-36. In Andrew Barry, Thomas Osborne and Nikolas Rose, eds., *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neoliberalism and Rationalities of Government*. University of Chicago Press.

- Nikolas Rose, 1999, "Governable Subjects," pp. 40-47. In *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*. Cambridge University Press.
- Carla Freeman, 2002, "Designing Women: Corporate Discipline and Barbados's Off-shore Pink-collar Sector," pp. 83-99, in *The Anthropology of Globalization*, Jonathan Xavier Inda and Renato Rosaldo, eds. Oxford: Blackwell.

Preliminary outline/overview of final research paper (hard copy) due in instructor's office mailbox by 3:00 p.m. **Thursday, October 15th.

WEEK 7 (10/20): States, Forests, Counter-Mapping, and Counter-Narratives

Guest Instructor: Professor Tom Rudel

- Tom Rudel, 2005, *Tropical Forests: Regional Paths of Destruction and Regeneration in the Late 20th Century*, pp. 155-171. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Nancy Lee Peluso, 2005, "Whose Woods Are These? Counter-Mapping Forest Territories in Kalimantan, Indonesia," pp. 273-281. In Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, eds., *The Anthropology of Development and Globalization*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- James Fairhead and Melissa Leach, 2005, "Misreading Africa's Forest History," pp. 282-291. In Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, eds., *The Anthropology of Development and Globalization*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- James C. Scott, 1998, *Seeing Like a State*, pp. 1-8 and 342-357. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

WEEK 8 (10/27): The Cultural Logics of Neoliberalism

- Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, 2005 [2001], "Millennial Capitalism and the Culture of Neoliberalism," pp.177-187. In *The Anthropology of Development and Globalization: From Classical Political Economy to Contemporary Neoliberalism*, Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, eds. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Arjun Appadurai, 2002 [1996], "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," pp. 46-64. In *The Anthropology of Globalization: A Reader*, Jonathan Xavier Inda and Renato Rosaldo, eds. Oxford: Blackwell.
- David Harvey, 1989, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, [excerpts]. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Guy Debord, 1988, *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle*. New York: Verso. [excerpts]
- Renee Sylvain, 2005, "Disorderly Development: Globalization and the Idea of 'Culture' in the Kalahari." *American Ethnologist* 32(3):354-370.

Reference:

- Fredric Jameson, 1992[1984], "The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," pp. 1-54 in *Postmodernism Or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham: Duke University Press.

WEEK 9 (11/3): Urban Ethnography in the Age of Neoliberal Globalization

- Catherine Besteman, 2008, *Transforming Cape Town*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Week 10 (11/10): Neoliberalism in Crisis? (Part I)

- Edward LiPuma and Benjamin Lee, 2004, *Financial Derivatives and the Globalization of Risk*, pp. ix-84.
- Paul Krugman, 2001, "The End of Middle-Class America." *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, October 20.
- Karen Ho, 2005, "Situating Global Capitalisms: A View from Wall Street Investment Banks." *Cultural Anthropology* 20(1):68-96.

Reference

- Karen Ho, 2009, "Disciplining Investment Bankers, Disciplining the Economy: Wall Street's Institutional Culture of Crisis and the Downsizing of 'Corporate America'." *American Anthropologist* 111(2):177-189.
- Melissa Fisher and Greg Downey, eds., 2006, *Frontiers of Capital: Ethnographic Reflections on the New Economy*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Caitlin Zaloom, 2006, *Out of the Pits: Traders and Technology from Chicago to London*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Robert G. Williams, 2006, *The Money Changers: A Guided Tour Through Global Currency Markets*. London and New York: Zed Books.

First draft of final essay due 4:00 p.m. **Friday, November 13th (by email).

Week 11 (11/17): Neoliberalism in Crisis? (Part II)

- Edward LiPuma and Benjamin Lee, 2004, *Financial Derivatives and the Globalization of Risk*, pp. 85-189.
- Joseph Stiglitz, 2008, "Reversal of Fortune," *Vanity Fair*, November 2008, pp. 134-138.

Week 12 (11/24): Debating Development

- David Mosse, 2006, "Anti-social anthropology? Objectivity, objection, and the ethnography of public policy and professional communities." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (N.S.) 12:935-956.
- Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, 2005, excerpts from "Introduction" (pp. 1-10 and 39-55). In Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, eds., *The Anthropology of Development and Globalization*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Jonathan Fox, 2005, "Advocacy Research and the World Bank: Propositions for Discussion," pp. 306-312. In *The Anthropology of Development and Globalization: From Classical Political Economy to Contemporary Neoliberalism*, Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, eds. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Richard Harper, 2005, "The Social Organization of the IMF's Mission Work," pp. 323-333. In *The Anthropology of Development and Globalization: From Classical Political Economy to Contemporary Neoliberalism*, Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, eds. Oxford: Blackwell.

Reference:

- James Ferguson, 2002, "The Anti-Politics Machine," pp. 399-408. In Joan Vincent, ed., *The Anthropology of Politics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Arturo Escobar, 2005, "Imagining a Post-Development Era," pp. 341-351. In Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, eds., *The Anthropology of Development and Globalization*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Marc Edelman, 2002, "Peasants Against Globalization," pp. 409-423. In Joan Vincent, ed., *The Anthropology of Politics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- David Mosse, 2005, *Cultivating Development: An Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice*. London: Pluto Press.

Week 13 (12/1): **Counter-Movements to Neoliberalism**

- Pierre Bourdieu, 1998, *Acts of Resistance Against the Tyranny of the Market*. New York: New Press. [excerpts]
- David Graeber, 2005, "The Globalization Movement: Some Points of Clarification," pp. 169-172. In Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, eds., *The Anthropology of Development and Globalization: From Classical Political Economy to Contemporary Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Angelique Haugerud, 2009 [forthcoming], "Neoliberalism, Satirical Protest, and the 2004 U.S. Presidential Campaign. In Carol J. Greenhouse, ed., *Politics, Publics, Personhood: Ethnography at the Limits of Neoliberalism*. Philadelphia; University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Marc Edelman, 2001, "Social Movements: Changing Paradigms and Forms of Politics." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30:285-317.

Reference:

- Gavin Smith, 2004, "Hegemony," pp. 231-247. In *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics*, David Nugent and Joan Vincent, eds. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Charles Tilly, 2004, *Social Movements, 1768-2004*. London and Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.
- June Nash, ed., 2005, *Social Movements: An Anthropological Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, eds., 2003, *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, 2004, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*. New York: Penguin.
- Howard Rheingold, 2002, *Smart Mobs: The Next Social Revolution*. Cambridge, MA: Basic Books.
- Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, 1998, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Naomi Klein, 2002, *No Logo*. New York: Picador.

Week 14 (12/8) **Wrap-Up**

-TBA

****Final research papers due in instructor's office mailbox by 1:00 p.m. Monday, December 7th. [No electronic submissions.]**