

## **The Political Economy of Race and Gender: Political Economy II (ECON 709)**

University of Massachusetts Amherst

Department of Economics

Professor Katherine A. Moos

[kmoos@umass.edu](mailto:kmoos@umass.edu)

### **Course Description:**

As a Ph.D. level course on the political economy of race and gender, this course will investigate the meaning and effect of hierarchical identity-based power structures in capitalist societies. Drawing on a diverse literature from political economy, economics, and related social sciences, this course seeks answers to the following questions: What are the roles of households, markets, and states in social provisioning, social reproduction, and the reproduction of identity-based hierarchies and power structures? As radical economists, at what level of political economy analysis should we theorize patriarchy, white supremacy, and other forms of identity-based domination, oppression, and exploitation? What tensions and complementarities exist between radical/heterodox economics and neoclassical/orthodox economics in understanding questions related to race and gender, and how can this inform our methodology, theory, and empirical work? With regard to political economy and economic analysis, how should we understand social norms and structures related to the family/household, sex/gender/sexuality, race/ethnicity, marriage, children, old-age, disability, migration, etc.?

### **Learning Goals:**

1. Students will engage in debates related to Marxian, feminist, and stratification economics, as well as intersectionality theory and social reproduction theory.
2. Students will produce an original research paper related to the course content and goals on a topic of their choice. Critical literature reviews are highly encouraged.

### **Evaluation:**

- **Participation 40%**
  - o Class discussions (25%)
  - o Final Paper Presentation (15%)
- **Research Paper: 60%**
  - o Research Proposal / Abstract / Outline (20 %) DUE: Week 4 in Class
  - o Final Paper (40 %) DUE: Final Class

### **Books to buy or borrow:**

- Tithi Bhattacharya. (ed) 2017. *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentering Oppression*.
- Angela Y. Davis. 1983. *Women, Race, & Class*.
- Silvia Federici. 2012. *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Revolution, and Feminist Struggle*.
- Karl Marx. *Capital* Volume 1.
- Lise Vogel. 2013. *Marxism and the Oppression of Women*.

**Copies of other materials will be uploaded to the course website.**

## Syllabus and Course Outline:

### 1. Introduction to the Course

- Marilyn Power. 2004. Social Provisioning as a Starting Point for Feminist Economics, *Feminist Economics*, 10:3, 3-19
- Ellen Mutari. 2003. Radical Political Economy and the State: Lessons from Gender Theory. *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 35(3): 296-303.
- Nancy Folbre and Julie Nelson. 2000. For Love or Money—Or Both? *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 14(4): 123-140.

### 2. Social Reproduction Theory

- Lise Vogel. 2013. *Marxism and the Oppression of Women*. ix- xL, chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10,
- Sylvia Federici. 2017. "Notes on Gender in Marx's Capital," *Continental Thought and Theory* 1(4): 19-37
- Tithi Bhattacharya. 2017. Chapter 1, "Introduction: Mapping Social Reproduction Theory" and Chapter 4: "How Not To Skip Class: Social Reproduction of Labor and the Global Working Class." in *Social Reproduction Theory*. London: Pluto.
- Isabella Bakker. 2007. Social Reproduction and the Constitution of a Gendered Political Economy. *New Political Economy* Volume 12(4).
- Barbara Laslett and Johanna Brenner. 1989. "Gender and Social Reproduction: Historical Perspectives." *Annual Review of Sociology* 15.
- **Podcast:** Tithi Bhattacharya on Jacobin Radio:  
<https://www.blubrry.com/jacobin/30374357/behind-the-news-what-social-reproduction-theory-offers-us/>
- **Podcast:** Nancy Fraser on The Dig:  
<https://www.blubrry.com/thedig/37649594/beyond-economism-with-nancy-fraser/>

### 3. Identity, Intersectionality, and the Stratified Economy

- Angela Davis. 1983. *Women, Race, and Class*. Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9
- William Darity Jr., Darrick Hamilton, Patrick L. Mason, Gregory N. Price, Alberto Davila, Marie T. Mora, Sue K. Stockly. 2017. "Stratification economics: a general theory of intergroup inequality." In Andrea Flynn, Susan R. Holmberg, Dorian T. Warren, Felicia J. Wong. (Editors). *The Hidden Rules of Race: Barriers to an Inclusive Economy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pages 35-51.
- Patricia Hill Collins. 2000. Gender, Black Feminism, and Black Political Economy. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 568(1):41-53.
- Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw. 1989. Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 139-67
- Rose M. Brewer. 1993. "Theorizing Race, Class, and Gender: The New Scholarship of Black Feminist Intellectuals and Black Women's Labor." In: Rosemary Hennessy and Chrys Ingraham (eds). 1997. *Materialist Feminism: A Reader in Class, Difference, and Women's Lives*. Routledge.

### 4. Social Reproduction Theory and Intersectionality

- David McNally. 2017. "Intersections and Dialectics: Critical Reconstructions in Social Reproduction Theory," in Tithi Battacharya, *Social Reproduction Theory*.
- Sharon Smith. 2017. "A Marxist Case for Intersectionality" *Social Worker* <https://socialistworker.org/2017/08/01/a-marxist-case-for-intersectionality>
- Susan Ferguson. 2016. Intersectionality and Social-Reproduction Feminisms: Toward an Integrative Ontology. *Historical Materialism*, 24(2):38-60.
- Ashley J. Bohrer. "Intersectionality and Marxism: A Critical Historiography." <http://www.historicalmaterialism.org/articles/intersectionality-and-marxism>

## 5. The Role of the State

- Suzanne de Brunhoff. 1978. *The State, Capital, and Economic Policy*. Chapter 1, "Management of Labor-Power." Pluto Press.
- Benjamin Selwyn and Satoshi Miyamura. 2004. Class Struggle or Embedded Markets? Marx, Polanyi and the Meanings and Possibilities of Social Transformation. *New Political Economy* 19(5).
- James Ferguson. 2015 *Give a Man a Fish: Reflections on the New Politics of Distribution*. Chapter 1
- Salar Mohandesi and Emma Teitelman. 2017. "Without Reserves" chapter 3 in *Social Reproduction Theory* (ed: Bhattacharya)
- Michele Barrett. [1980] 2014. "Feminism and the Politics of the State." Chapter 7 in *Women's Oppression Today: The Marxist/Feminist Encounter*.
- Katherine Moos, *The Political Economy of State Regulation: The Case of the British Factory Acts* (most recent version will be distributed)

## 6. Families and Households

- Frederick Engels. [1884] 2004. *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Chapter 2: The Family, p.45-87
- Gary S. Becker. 1981. Altruism in the Family and Selfishness in the Market Place," *Economica* 48(189): 1-15.
- Nancy Folbre. 1982. Exploitation Comes Home. *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 6(4): 317-29.
- Jane Humphries. 1977. Class Struggle and the Persistence of the Working-Class Family. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*.
- Patricia Hill Collins. 1998. It's All in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation. *Hypatia* 13(3) 62-82.
- Lindsey German. 1989. "Theories of the Family." In: Rosemary Hennessy and Chrys Ingraham (eds). 1997. *Materialist Feminism: A Reader in Class, Difference, and Women's Lives*. Routledge.
- Michele Barrett. [1980] 2014. "Women's Oppression and the 'Family'". In *Women's Oppression Today: The Marxist/Feminist Encounter*.
- Heather Brown. 2014. "Marx on Gender and the Family: A Summary." *Monthly Review* <https://monthlyreview.org/2014/06/01/marx-on-gender-and-the-family-a-summary/>
- "Family Matters" Interview with Melinda Cooper: <https://www.viewpointmag.com/2018/03/19/family-matters/> printer friendly:

<https://www.printfriendly.com/p/g/ZUbmAs>

- "The Only Way Out is Through: A Reply to Melinda Cooper"  
Kate Doyle Griffiths responds to Melinda Cooper's critique of Social Reproduction Theory. <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3709-the-only-way-out-is-through-a-reply-to-melinda-cooper>
- James Chappel. 2017. "Modern Family" Review of Melinda Cooper's Family Values. <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/family-values-melinda-cooper-review>
- **Podcast:** Melinda Cooper "Family Values" (Interview by Daniel Denvir) The Dig <https://www.blubrry.com/thedig/40717533/family-values-with-melinda-cooper/>

## 7. Debating Work and Labor

- Silvia Federici. 1975. "Wages Against Housework." In *Revolution at Point Zero*.
- Kathi Weeks. 2011. *The Problem With Work*, Chapter 3, "Working Demands: From Wages to Housework to Basic Income" p.114-150
- Simun Mohun. 1996. Productive and Unproductive Labour in the Labour Theory of Value. *Review of Radical Political Economics*.
- Susan Himmelweit and Simon Mohun. 1977. Domestic Labour and Capital. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 1(1): 15-31.
- Paddy Quick. 2018. Labor Power: A 'Peculiar' Commodity. *Science & Society*. 82(3):386-412.
- Lise Vogel. 2013. *Marxism and the Oppression of Women*, chapter 11 and appendix "Domestic Labor Revisited"
- Maxine Molyneux. 1979. Beyond the Domestic Labour Debate. *New Left Review* 1/116.

## 8. Theorizing Children and Human Capital

- Paula England and Nancy Folbre. 1999. "Who Should Pay for the Kids?" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 563
- Gary Becker. 1962. Investment in Human Capital: A Theoretical Analysis. *Journal of Political Economy*, 70(5)9-49.
- Nancy Folbre. 2012. The Political Economy of Human Capital. *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 44(3)281-292.
- Nancy Folbre. 1994. Children as Public Goods. *American Economic Review* 84(2):86-90.
- Susan Ferguson. 2013. "Children, Childhood, and Capitalism: A Social Reproduction Perspective." Chapter 6 in *Social Reproduction Theory* (ed: Bhattacharya)
- Jacquilyn Weeks. 2011. Un-/Re-Productive Maternal Labor: Marxist Feminism and Chapter Fifteen of Marx's *Capital*. *Rethinking Marxism*. 23(1)
- Bowles and Gintis. 2002. Schooling in Capitalist America Revisited. *Sociology of Education*, 75(1).
- Review of: Jenny Brown. 2019. *Birth Strike: The Hidden Fight Over Women's Work*. (TBA)
- *Jacobin*. Summer 2018. Childhood issue. <https://jacobinmag.com/issue/childhood>

## 9. The Reserve Army, Surplus Populations, and Dependency

- Marx. *Capital*, Vol 1. chapter 25, (especially sections 1,2,3,4)
- Nancy Fraser, "Crisis of Care? On the Social-Reproductive Contradictions of Contemporary Capitalism," chapter 2 in Tithi Bhattacharya, *Social Reproduction Theory*.
- James Stafford. 1987. The Class Struggle and the Rise of Private Pensions, 1900-1950. *Labour / Le Travail*, 147.
- Serap Saritas Oran. "Pensions and Social Reproduction." chapter 8 in Tithi Bhattacharya, *Social Reproduction Theory*.
- Silvia Federici. 2009. "On Elder Care Work and the Limits of Marxism." In *Revolution at Point Zero*
- Sara R. Farris. 2015. "Social Reproduction, Surplus Populations and the Role of Migrant Women" *Viewpoint Magazine*, November.
- Nirmala Erevelles. 2009. "Disability and difference in global contexts: enabling a transformative body politic," pages 61-63 [summary of: Robert Young, "Signs of Race in Poststructuralism: Toward a Transformative Theory of Race" University Press of America, 2009]

## 10. The Global Division of Labor

- Lourdes Beneria. 1979. Reproduction, Production, and the Sexual Division of Labour. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*.
- Maria Mies. 1987. "Colonization and Housewifization" chapter 18 in: Rosemary Hennessy and Chrys Ingraham (eds). 1997. *Materialist Feminism: A Reader in Class, Difference, and Women's Lives*. Routledge.
- Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital*, Chapter XXVI, 19.
- Maria Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale*. London. Zed Books. Chapters 1 and 2, "What is Feminism" and "Social Origins of the Sexual Division of Labor," pp. 6-66.
- Maureen Mackintosh, "Gender and Economics: The Sexual Division of Labor and the Subordination of Women," in Kate Young, Carol Wolkowitz and Roslyn McCullagh, editors, *Of Marriage and the Market*. London, CSE Books 1981, p. 10.
- Susan Ferguson and David McNally. 2015. "Precarious Migrants: Gender, Race and the Social Reproduction of a Global Working Class." *Socialist Registrar*
- Alejandro Luis Fitzsimons and Guido Starosta. 2018. Global capital, uneven development, and national difference: Critical reflections on the specificity of accumulation in Latin America. *Capital & Class* Vol. 42(1) 109-132.
- Silvia Federici, *Revolution at Point Zero*, Part 2 "Globalization and Social Reproduction", pp. 65-111
- Carmen Teeple Hopkins. 2013. "Mostly Work, Little Play: Social Reproduction, Migration and Paid Domestic Work in Montreal" chapter 7 in *Social Reproduction Theory* (ed: Bhattacharya)
- **Podcast:** Rethinking Migration with Aziz Rana (The Dig)  
<https://www.blubrry.com/thedig/40852241/rethinking-migration-with-aziz-rana/>

## 11. Gender, Sex, and Sexuality

- Alan Sears. "Body Politics: The Social Reproduction of Sexualities." Chapter 9 in Tithi Bhattacharya, *Social Reproduction Theory*.
- Silvia Federici. 1975. "Why Sexuality is Work." In *Revolution at Point Zero*.
- Drucilla K. Barker. 2012. Queering the Paradox of Caring Labor. *Rethinking Marxism A Journal of Economics, Culture & Society* Volume 24, 4.
- Rosemary Hennessy. 2006. Returning to Reproduction Queerly: Sex, Labor, Need. *Rethinking Marxism: A Journal of Economics, Culture & Society* 18(3).
- Kevin Floyd. 2009. *The reification of desire. Toward a queer Marxism*, chapter 1: Introduction: On Capital, Sexuality, and the Situations of Knowledge
- Leslie Feinberg. 1992. "Transgender Liberation: A Movement Whose Time Has Come." In: Rosemary Hennessy and Chrys Ingraham (eds). 1997. *Materialist Feminism: A Reader in Class, Difference, and Women's Lives*. Routledge.
- Merve Emre "All Reproduction Is Assisted" (and responses)  
<http://bostonreview.net/forum/merve-emre-all-reproduction-assisted>
- **Podcast:** Nat Raha, "Queering Marxist [Trans]Feminism: Queer and Trans Social Reproduction" <https://www.history.ac.uk/podcasts/marxism-culture/queering-marxist-transfeminism-queer-and-trans-social-reproduction>

## 12. The Political Economy of Race and Gender in the Neoliberal and Trump Era

- Nancy Fraser. 2013. A Triple Movement? Parsing the Politics of Crisis after Polanyi. *New Left Review* 81.
- Susan Watkins. 2018. Whose Feminisms? *New Left Review* 109.
- Cinzia Arruzza. 2017 "From Social Reproduction Feminism to the Women's Strike." Chapter 10 in Bhattacharya.
- Karl Polanyi, "Freedom in a Complex Society" in *The Great Transformation*
- Review of Asad Haider's *Mistaken Identity*:  
<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2018/08/mistaken-identity-asad-haider-review-identity-politics>
- **Podcast:** Interview with Asad Haider "Mistaking Identity Politics" (The Dig)  
<https://www.blubrry.com/thedig/35625071/mistaking-identity-politics/>
- **Podcast:** Interview with Nikhil Pal Singh "Race or Class? Bad Question" (The Dig)  
<https://www.blubrry.com/thedig/36702815/race-or-class-bad-question-with-nikhil-pal-singh/>
- **Podcast:** Second Interview with Nikhil Pal Singh "The Color of Economic Anxiety" on (The Dig): <https://www.blubrry.com/thedig/38946001/the-color-of-economic-anxiety/>

## 13. Student Presentations of Final Papers