

**Doctoral Seminar
Comparative Political Economy**

Prof. Dr. Lucio Baccaro, Prof. Dr. Martin Höpner
Wednesdays, 11:00-12:30
Max-Planck-Institut für Gesellschaftsforschung
Paulstraße 3, 50676 Köln
Seminar Room 1

Start: October 9, 2024

The course introduces research questions, methods and current debates in comparative political economy, linking it with international and European political economy as well. In a first step, we will read foundational literature on comparative capitalism (varieties of capitalism, growth models, French theory of regulation). In further steps, we will deal with research exploring how national models of capitalism interact at the European and international levels, and how developments at these levels feed back to the national level. Special attention will be paid to the heterogeneity within and the functioning of the European Monetary Union. One guiding question of the course will be how insights from international and European political economy can be incorporated into comparative political economy research. The course is particularly aimed at doctoral students who wish to develop a research project at the interface of comparative and international political economy, but also at anyone interested in research in these fields.

Participation and Grading

Discussion of the readings will make up the core of the seminar sessions. To get credit, you are expected to:

1. Do all assigned mandatory readings.
2. Each meeting begins with a participant briefly summarizing the mandatory readings (no longer than 10 minutes!). Act as summarizer twice.
3. Prepare, for each session, a brief statement on the mandatory readings. Ask yourself, for example: To which controversy are the authors speaking? Is there a theoretical value-added?, what is the practical relevance of the insights? Have the authors convinced you? Which aspects do you find to be particularly fascinating and should be discussed in class?

The readings can be downloaded here (password: CPE2425):

<https://ln5.sync.com/dl/2bc987b20/qkaikds8-c9igxbsk-mfqw5vfr-zx556e3t>

9 October 2024

Introduction: Course Organization

16 October 2024

No meeting due to the course on “Informed Consent in Qualitative Social Research”

Part I: Theoretical Foundations

23 October 2024

Varieties of Capitalism

Mandatory Reading:

Peter A. Hall, David Soskice, 2001: An Introduction to Varieties of Capitalism. In: Peter A. Hall, David Soskice (Eds.), Varieties of Capitalism. Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-68.

Recommended Readings:

Georg Menz, 2017: Comparative Political Economy. Contours of a Subfield. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Therein: Ch. 3, 66-99.

Wolfgang Streeck, 2011: E Pluribus Unum? Varieties and Commonalities of Capitalism. In: Mark Granovetter, Richard Swedberg (Eds.), The Sociology of Economic Life. Boulder: Westview, 419-455.

30 October 2024

French Regulation School

Mandatory Reading:

Robert Boyer, 2022: Political Economy of Capitalisms. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Therein: Ch. 3, Chs. 4.1 and 4.2 (not 4.3!), Ch. 5, 37-107.

Suggested Readings:

Michel Aglietta, 1976: A Theory of Capitalist Regulation: The US Experience. Verso. Therein: Introduction, 9-34.

Robert Boyer, Yves Saillard, 2002: A Summary of Régulation Theory. In: Robert Boyer, Yves Saillard (Eds.), Régulation Theory. The State of the Art. London/New York: Routledge, 36-44.

Robert Brenner, Mark Glick, 1991: The Regulation Approach: Theory and History. In: New Left Review 188(1), 45-119.

6 November 2024

No meeting due to the retreat of the Political Economy research cluster

13 November 2024

Growth Models

Mandatory Readings:

Lucio Baccaro, Mark Blyth, Jonas Pontusson, 2022: Introduction: Rethinking Comparative Capitalism. In: Lucio Baccaro, Mark Blyth, Jonas Pontusson (Eds.), Diminishing Returns. The New Politics of Growth and Stagnation. New York: Oxford University Press, 1-50.

Recommended Readings:

Lucio Baccaro, Jonas Pontusson, 2022: The Politics of Growth Models. In: Review of Keynesian Economics 10(2), 204-21.

Anke Hassel, Bruno Palier, 2021: Tracking the Transformation of Growth Regimes in Advanced Capitalist Economies. In: Anke Hassel, Bruno Palier (Eds.), Growth and Welfare in Advanced Capitalist Economies. How Have Growth Regimes Evolved? Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3-56.

20 November 2024

Macroeconomic Foundations of Growth Models and Comparative Political Economy (with LB)

Mandatory Readings:

- Engelbert Stockhammer, Özlem Onaran, 2022: Growth Models and Post-Keynesian Macroeconomics. In: Lucio Baccaro, Mark Blyth, Jonas Pontusson (Eds.), *Diminishing Returns: The New Politics of Growth and Stagnation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 53-73.
- Marc Lavoie, Engelbert Stockhammer, 2013: Wage-led Growth: Concept, Theories and Policies. In: Marc Lavoie, Engelbert Stockhammer (Eds.), *Wage-led Growth: An Equitable Strategy for Economic Recovery*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 13-39.

Recommended Readings:

- Lucio Baccaro, Jonas Pontusson, 2018: *Comparative Political Economy and Varieties of Macroeconomics*. MPIfG Discussion Paper 2018/10. Cologne: Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies.
- David Soskice, 2007: *Macroeconomics and Varieties of Capitalism*. In: Bob Hancké, Martin Rhodes, Mark Thatcher (Eds.), *Beyond Varieties of Capitalism: Conflict, Contradictions, and Complementarities in the European Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 89-121.
- Engelbert Stockhammer, 2022: *Post-Keynesian Macroeconomic Foundations for Comparative Political Economy*. In: *Politics & Society* 50(1), 156-87.

28 November 2024 (Thursday!), 9.00-10.30, via Zoom

Growth Models in an IPE Context (with LB)

Mandatory Readings:

- Andreas Nölke, 2023: *Second Image IPE*. Cham: Palgrave. Therein: Chs. 1 and 2, 1-47.
- Herman Mark Schwartz, 2022: From Fordism to Franchise: Intellectual Property and Growth Models in the Knowledge Economy. In: Lucio Baccaro, Mark Blyth and Jonas Pontusson (Eds.), *Diminishing Returns: The New Politics of Growth and Stagnation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 74-97.

Recommended Readings:

- Dorothee Bohle, Aidan Regan, 2021: The Comparative Political Economy of Growth Models: Explaining the Continuity of FDI-Led Growth in Ireland and Hungary. In: *Politics & Society* 49(1), 75-106.
- Herman Mark Schwartz, Bent Sofus Tranoy, 2019: Thinking about Comparative Political Economy: From Macro to Micro and Back. In: *Politics & Society* 47(1), 23-54.

Part II: The Euro, its Crisis and the Future of the Eurozone

4 December 2024

The Euro: Invented by German Exporters?

Mandatory Readings:

- Kathleen R. McNamara, 1999: Consensus and Constraint: Ideas and Capital Mobility in European Monetary Integration. In: *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37(3), 455-76.

Tobias Tober, 2021: The Launch of EMU and German Export Interests. In: *Socio-Economic Review* 21(3), 1657–1678.

Recommended Readings:

- Kenneth Dyson, Kevin Featherstone, 1999: *The Road to Maastricht. Negotiating Economic and Monetary Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Therein: Ch. 17, 746-801.
- Ashoka Mody, 2018: *Euro Tragedy. A Drama in Nine Acts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Therein: Ch. 2, 65-123.
- Tal Sadeh, Amy Verdun, 2009: Explaining Europe's Monetary Union: A Survey of the Literature. In: *International Studies Review* 11(2), 277–301.
- Amy Verdun, 2019: Economic and Monetary Union. In: Michelle Cini, Nieves Pérez-Solórzano (Eds.), *European Union Politics*. 6th Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 343-357.

11 December 2024

The Euro Crisis: Institutional and Ideational Explanations

Mandatory Readings:

- Alison Johnston, Aidan Regan, 2016: European Monetary Integration and the Incompatibility of National Varieties of Capitalism. In: *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54(2), 318-336.
- Matthias Matthijs, 2016: Powerful Rules Governing the Euro: The Perverse Logic of German Ideas. In: *Journal of European Public Policy* 23(3), 375-391.

Recommended Readings:

- Mark Blyth, Oddny Helgadóttir, William Kring, 2016: Ideas and Historical Institutionalism. In: Orfeo Fioretos, Tullia G. Falletti, Adam Sheingate (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 142-162.
- Peter A. Hall, 2017: Varieties of Capitalism in Light of the Euro Crisis. In: *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(1), 7-30.
- Andreas Nölke, 2016: Economic Causes of the Eurozone Crisis: The Analytical Contribution of Comparative Capitalism. In: *Socio-Economic Review* 14(1), 141-161.
- Mark Copelovitch, Jeffry Frieden, Stefanie Walter, 2016: The Political Economy of the Euro Crisis. In: *Comparative Political Studies* 49(7), 811-840.

18 December 2024

Next Generation EU: An Evolving Fiscal Capacity?

Mandatory Readings:

- Martin Höpner, 2021: Vollendung der Währungsunion? Der europäische Aufbaufonds. In: *Leviathan* 49(4), 488-509. *An English version of the article will be provided!*
- Magnus G. Schoeller, Sebastian Heidebrecht, 2024: Continuity Despite Crises: Germany's Euro Policy in the Light of the Pandemic, War and Inflation. In: *Journal of European Public Policy* 31, 9, 2509-2533.

Recommended Readings:

- Jens van t' Klooster, 2022: Technocratic Keynesianism: A Paradigm Shift Without Legislative Change. In: *New Political Economy* 27(5), 771-787.
- Caroline de la Porte, Mads Dagnis Jensen, 2021: The Next Generation EU: An Analysis of the Dimensions of Conflict Behind the Deal. In: *Social Policy Administration* 55(2), 388-402.
- Lucas Schramm, 2023: Economic Ideas, Party Politics, or Material Interests? Explaining Germany's Support for the EU Corona Recovery Plan. In: *Journal of European Public Policy* 30(1), 84-103.

Part III: International Political Economy Themes

8 January 2025

Double session, 9.00-10.30 and 11.00-12.30!

9.00-10.30

The Nature of Money and Monetary Financing (with LB)

Mandatory Readings:

Benjamin Braun, 2016: Speaking to the People? Money, Trust, and Central Bank Legitimacy in the Age of Quantitative Easing. In: Review of International Political Economy 23, 6, 1064-1092.

Will Bateman, Jens van t’Klooster, 2024: The Dysfunctional Taboo: Monetary Financing at the Bank of England, the Federal Reserve, and the European Central Bank. In: Review of International Political Economy (online first).

Suggested Readings:

David Fields, Matías Vernengo, 2013: Hegemonic Currencies During the Crisis: The Dollar Versus the Euro in a Cartalist Perspective. In: Review of International Political Economy, 20(4), 740-759.

Geoffrey Ingham, 2020: Money: Ideology, History, Politics. Cambridge: Polity Press. Therein: Chs. 5, 6 and 7.

Morgan Ricks, 2016: The Money Problem: Rethinking Financial Regulation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Therein: Introduction, 1-26.

Herman Mark Schwartz, 2024: Triffin Reloaded: The Matrix of Contradictions Around Global Quasi-State Money. MPIfG Discussion Paper 24/3. Cologne: Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies.

Mattias Vermeiren, 2019: The IPE of International Currency Leadership. In: Timothy M. Shaw, Laura C. Mahrenbach, Renu Modi, Xu Yi-chong (Eds), The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary International Political Economy. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 265-282.

11.00-12.30

Critical Macro Finance (with LB)

Mandatory Reading:

Daniela Gabor, 2021: Revolution without Revolutionaries: Interrogating the Return of Monetary Financing. Transformative Responses to the Crisis Working Paper. Berlin: Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung.

Just one mandatory reading for this part of the double session. Please read this article very carefully; mark the technical terms you do not understand; and do a search on them.

Recommended Readings:

Cornel Ban, Daniela Gabor, 2016: The Political Economy of Shadow Banking. In: Review of International Political Economy 23(6), 901-914.

Daniela Gabor, 2020: Critical Macro-Finance: A Theoretical Lens. In: Finance and Society 6(1), 45-55.

Michael McLeay, Amar Radia, Ryland Thomas, 2014: Money Creation in the Modern Economy. In: Bank of England Quarterly Bulletin, Q1/2014, 14-27.

Carolyn Sissoko, 2019: Repurchase Agreements and the (De)Construction of Financial Markets.
In: *Economy and Society* 48(3), 315-41.

29 January 2025

The Global Restructuring of Production (with LB)

Mandatory Readings:

William Milberg, 2008: Shifting Sources and Uses of Profits: Sustaining US Financialization with Global Value Chains. In: *Economy and Society* 37(3), 420–451.

Gary Gereffi, 2014: Global Value Chains in a Post-Washington Consensus World. In: *Review of International Political Economy* 21(1), 9–37.

Recommended Readings:

Cédric Durand, William Milberg, 2020: Intellectual Monopoly in Global Value Chains. In: *Review of International Political Economy* 27(2), 404-429.

Ugo Pagano, 2014: The Crisis of Intellectual Monopoly Capitalism. In: *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 38(6), 1409-1429.