Professor: Ann K. Heffernan Email: <u>akheff@umich.edu</u> Office Hours: sign up <u>here</u> Haven Hall 7632 or by Zoom

OVERVIEW:

"Once at the center of political and social theory, work," observes Russell Muirhead, "now stands at the margins." This sentiment (if not Muirhead's conclusions) is shared by Kathi Weeks, who likewise remarks on the strange silence of political theory with respect to work. "Work," Weeks observes, "is crucial not only to those whose lives are centered around it, but also, in a society that expects people to work for wages, to those who are expelled or excluded from work and marginalized in relation to it." If anything, the political significance of work has only become more apparent in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. Transforming our ideas about the proper location of work and the assumed separation between "work" and "home," the pandemic prompted many to rethink the feasibility of a universal basic income (UBI), the limits of corporate and state responsibility, and long-held assumptions about what employers owe to their employees.

But how did it come to pass that work—even menial, poorly paid work—became not just the core of moral life but also a means of securing political belonging? How have these beliefs weathered recent changes in the form and structure of work? Can we imagine a world in which work does not play such a central role in our lives? This class will address these and other questions, first, through canonical texts in political theory, and then through more recent efforts to challenge, refute, and/or expand their central assumptions. We will proceed by considering recent transformations in the form, availability, and organization of paid employment, before turning to efforts to rethink work as an organizing feature of our lives.

ASSESSMENT:

Attendance and Participation:

I view this class as a collaborative enterprise grounded in engaged discussion and open debate. I understand participation to include not only comments or questions, but the ability to actively listen to your colleagues and thoughtfully and respectfully engage with their ideas.

Discussion Leadership

While I will typically open class with a short lecture to frame the readings and provide some background, you will each be responsible for beginning one class discussion. Typically, this will involve a short (5-7 minute) presentation in which you situate the texts relative to each other and to the overall aims of the course. Think of this as if you are providing discussant comments at a workshop or an academic conference. Your task is **not** to provide a summary (we will have read the texts, after all), but rather to highlight key concepts, areas of confusion, agreement, or conflict between texts. While some readings are in explicit conversation with each other, in some cases the

25%

15%

1

resonances (or points of disagreement) are less obvious. Your remarks should be followed by 2-3 questions to orient the discussion.

Seminar Paper

60%

You will be required to write a seminar paper of 15-20 pages, due electronically to me by 5pm on December 15th.

OTHER POLICIES AND INFORMATION:

Attendance: While complete attendance in the class is encouraged, I recognize that the pandemic will likely make this impossible. Most importantly, please stay home if you feel sick (no need to get a doctor's note). Testing is available around campus (sign up <u>here</u>).

Accessibility: If you have a physical, sensory, cognitive, or psychological disability and require accommodations, please let me know if I can do more to make the class (and class materials) more accessible. You do not have to disclose your disability status in order to request accommodations from me. I do want to know about what kinds of accommodations will make our classroom a productive learning environment for you, but I also want you to know that disclosure is a choice. Disclosure isn't limited to disability status, either: it may come up with respect to past trauma, gender identity, sexuality, etc.

Formal requests for accommodations may be made by contacting the Services for Students with Disabilities (SSD) Office located at G664 Haven Hall. Once your eligibility for an accommodation has been determined you will be issued a verified individual services accommodation (VISA) form. While I do not require you to have completed a formal request with the SSD Office, it can be helpful for accessing resources (OCR PDFs, for example).

Student Well-Being: Students may experience stressors that can impact both their academic experience and their personal well-being (especially this year). These may include academic pressure and challenges associated with relationships, mental health, alcohol or other drugs, identities, finances, etc.

If you are experiencing any issues, seeking help is a courageous thing to do for yourself and those who care about you. If the source of your stressors is academic, please contact me so that we can find solutions together. For personal concerns, U-M offers many resources, some of which are listed at <u>Resources for Student Well-being</u> on the Well-being for U-M Students website. You can also search for additional resources on that website.

Academic Honesty and Integrity: The University of Michigan community functions best when its members treat one another with honesty, fairness, respect, and trust. The college promotes the assumption of personal responsibility and integrity and prohibits all forms of academic dishonesty and misconduct. For more information, including examples of behaviors that are considered academic misconduct and potential sanctions, please see <u>lsa.umich.edu/lsa/academics/academic_integrity.html</u>

Contacting me: I am here to be a resource for you. **Do** take advantage of my office hours, and feel free to email me at any point with questions or concerns. I will try to reply to emails within 24 hours.

You can sign up for office hours <u>here</u>. If there are no times available that work with your schedule, please email me and we'll figure something out.

Note on texts: All readings are available on Canvas under the "Modules" tab; however, you may wish to have the following texts on hand:

Elizabeth Anderson, Private Government: How Employers Rule Our Lives (and Why We Don't Talk About It) (Princeton University Press, 2017).

Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (Vintage Books, 1995).

Karl Marx, Capital, vol. I, trans Ben Fowkes (Penguin Books, 1976).

Kathi Weeks, The Problem with Work: Feminism, Marxism, Antiwork Politics, and Postwork Imaginaries (Duke University Press, 2011).

COURSE SCHEDULE (Please complete the readings in the order listed)

August 29th: Introduction

PART I: THEORIZING WORK September 5th: Labor Day (No Class)

September 12th: The Problem with Work: Four Approaches Required Reading:

- Kathi Weeks, The Problem with Work: Feminism, Marxism, Antiwork Politics, and Postwork Imaginaries (Duke University Press, 2011): 1-36.
- Elizabeth Anderson, Private Government: How Employers Rule Our Lives (and Why We Don't Talk About It) (Princeton University Press, 2017): xix-71.
 <u>Note</u>: Responses to Anderson, as well as Anderson's response, can be found under course

modules. You <u>do not</u> need to read them, they're there simply as a reference.

- Russell Muirhead, Just Work (Harvard University Press, 2004): 1-29.
- Aaron Benenav, "Automation and the Future of Work—I" and "Automation and the Future of Work—II," *New Left Review* (Sept/Oct and Nov/Dec 2019).

Recommended Reading:

Kwame Anthony Appiah, "The Philosophy of Work," in Oxford Studies in Political Philosophy, vol. 7, eds. David Sobel, Peter Vallentyne, and Steven Wall (Oxford University Press, 2021), 1-22.

<u>Note</u>: Appiah gave the 2021 Tanner Lecture, entitled "Work: What is It? Do Most of Us Need It, and Why?" It isn't in print yet, but the video can be found <u>here</u>.

- Raymond Geuss, A Philosopher Looks at Work (Cambridge University Press, 2021).
- Axel Honneth, "Labour,' A Brief History of a Modern Concept," *Philosophy* 97, no. 2 (2022): 149-167.
- Rahel Jaeggi, "Pathologies of Work," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 3-4 (Fall/Winter 2017): 59-76.

September 19th: "The Labour of His Body and the Work of His Hands"

Required Reading:

- John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, eds., Peter Laslett (Cambridge University Press, 1988) Chs. II, IV, V.
- John Locke, "An Essay on the Poor Law," in *Locke, Political Essays*, ed. Mark Goldie (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 182-198.
- William Cronon, Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England (Hill and Wang, 2003), 3-15, 54-81.
- James Tully, "Rediscovering America: The Two Treatises and Aboriginal Rights," in *An Approach to Political Philosophy: Locke in Contexts* (Cambridge University Press, 1993): 137-176.

Recommended Reading:

- Barbara Arneil, John Locke and America (Oxford University Press, 1996).
- Nancy Hirschmann, "Liberal Conservatism, Once and Again: Locke's Essay on the Poor Law and Contemporary U.S. Welfare Reform," *Constellations* 9 (2002): 335-55.
- E. J. Hundert, "The Making of Homo Faber: John Locke Between Ideology and History," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 33, no. 1 (1972): 3-22.
- Onur Ulas Ince, *Colonial Capitalism and the Dilemmas of Liberalism* (Oxford University Press, 2018), chap. 2.
- Lucas Pinheiro, "A Factory Afield: Capitalism and Empire in John Locke's Political Economy" 19, no. 1 (2022): 1-28.

September 26th: "A Man Must Always Live by His Work"

Required Reading:

- Adam Smith, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (Liberty Classics, 1981). Introduction and Plan of the Work Book I: Ch. 1-2 (all); Ch. 3: §1-2; Ch. 5: §1-10; Ch. 6: §1-9; Ch. 7: all; Ch. 8: §1-22, §36-48; Ch. 10: §1-3; Part I: §1-2 Book II: Intro; Ch. 1 §1-9; Ch. 3: §1-8 Book V: Ch. 1, Part II "Of the Expense of Justice" pages 708-728 (incl. §14); §I.f.48-57
- Sidney Pollard, "Factory Discipline in the Industrial Revolution," *Economic History Review* 16, no. 2 (1963): 254-271.
- Michael Sainato, "I'm Not a Robot': Amazon Workers Condemn Unsafe, Grueling Conditions at Warehouse," *Guardian*, February 5, 2020, <u>https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2020/feb/05/amazon-workers-protest-unsafe-grueling-conditions-warehouse</u>

Recommended Reading:

- Gianna Englert, "Liberty and Industry: John Locke, John Stuart Mill, and the Economic Foundations of Political Membership," *Polity* 48, no. 4 (Oct. 2016): 551-579.
- Lisa Herzog, Inventing the Market: Smith, Hegel, and Political Theory (Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Emma Rothschild and Amartya Sen, "Adam Smith's Economics," in *The Cambridge Companion* to *Adam Smith*, ed. Knud Haakonssen (Cambridge University Press, 2006): 319-365.
- E. G. West, "Adam Smith's Two Views on the Division of Labour," *Economica* 31, no. 121 (Feb. 1964): 23-32.

October 3rd: "An Engine, the Parts of Which Are Men"

Required Reading:

- Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, trans. Martin Milligan (Prometheus Books, 1988)

"Wages of Labour" (pp. 19-34) (<u>Note</u>: You may want to have *Wealth of Nations* handy) "Estranged Labour" (pp. 69-84)

Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. I, trans Ben Fowkes (Penguin Books, 1976). Chapter 1: sections 1, 2, 3 (first 5 paragraphs), 4 Chapter 3: section 2, part A ("The Metamorphosis of Commodities") (pp.198-209) Chapters 4, 6, 7 Chapter 10: sections 1, 5 (pp. 375-top of 383) Chapter 12 Chapter 14: sections 1, 2, 4 (pp. 470 to bottom of 477), 5 Chapter 15: sections 3, part a (to bottom of 518); 4 (to middle of 621) Chapter 23 (<u>Note:</u> We will revisit this chapter in week Chapter 25: sections 3-4 Chapter 26: 896 to the middle of 900

 Look through/Skim: <u>On the Line: How the Meatpacking Industry Became a Hotbed of COVID-19</u>, (ProPublica Series)

Recommended Reading:

- Michael Burawoy, "Between the Labor Process and the State: The Changing Face of Factory Regimes Under Advanced Capitalism," *American Sociological Review* 48, no. 5 (Oct. 1983): 587-605.
- David Harvey, A Companion to Marx's Capital (Verso, 2010).
- Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson, *The Politics of Operations: Excavating Contemporary Capitalism* (Duke University Press, 2019).
- Moishe Postone, *Time, Labor, and Social Domination: A Reinterpretation of Marx's Critical Theory* (Cambridge University Press, 1993).

PART II: WHY WORK? RETHINKING THE BOUNDARIES OF CAPITALISM October 10th: Ethic(s) of Work

Required Reading:

- Max Weber, "The Spirit of Capitalism," and "Asceticism and the Spirit of Capitalism," in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Stephen Kalberg (Routledge, 2001): 13-37, 103-125.
- E.P. Thompson, "Time, Work-discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," Past & Present 38 (1967): 56-97.
- Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon, "A Genealogy of Dependency: Tracing a Keyword of the U.S. Welfare State" *Signs* 19, no. 2 (Winter 1994): 309-336.
- Kathi Weeks, "Mapping the Work Ethic," in *The Problem with Work* (Duke University Press, 2011): 37-78.
- Veena B. Dubal, "The Time Politics of Home-Based Digital Piecework," *Center for Ethics Journal* (2020).

Recommended Reading:

 Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift, "Reworking E.P. Thompson's 'Time, Work-discipline and Industrial Capitalism," *Time and Society* 5, no. 3 (1996): 275-299.

- Russell Muirhead, "The Work Ethic and Callings" and "Work as Practice," in *Just Work* (Harvard University Press, 2004): 95-113, 149-166.
- Daniel T. Rodgers, *The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850-1920* (University of Chicago Press, 1978).
- Juliet Schor, The Overworked American: The Unexpected Decline of Leisure (Basic Books, 2008).
- Rebecca Solnit, "The Annihilation of Time and Space," *New England Review* 24, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 5-19.

October 17th: No Class (Fall Break)

October 24th: Docile Bodies

Required Reading:

- Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995). <u>Note</u>: focus on sections III and IV.
- <u>Skim</u>: Jeremy Bentham, *Pauper Management Improved: Particularly by Means of an Application of the Panopticon Principle of Construction* (R. Baldwin, 1812).
 - "Observations on the Pauper Population Table Hereunto Annexed" (pp. 6-18)
 - "Outline of the Non-Adult Value Table" (pp. 21-36)

"Pauper Population Table"

"Table of Cases Calling for Relief"

- "Buildings and Land" (pp. 23-36)
- "Working Hands" (pp. 57-60)
- "Building and Furniture for an Industry-House Establishment"

Recommended Reading:

- Alessandro Delfanti, "Machinic Dispossession and Augmented Despotism: Digital Work in an Amazon Warehouse," New Media & Society 23, no. 1 (2021): 39-55.
- Timothy Pachirat, Every Twelve Seconds: Industrialized Slaughter and the Politics of Sight (Yale University Press, 2011).
- Graham Sewell and Barry Wilkinson, "Someone to Watch Over Me': Surveillance, Discipline, and the Just-in-Time Labour Process," *Sociology* 26, no. 2 (May 1992): 271-289.
- Steven P. Vallas, Hannah Johnston, Yana Mommadova, "Prime Suspect: Mechanisms of Labor Control in Amazon's Warehouses," *Work and Occupations* (online first).
- Gabriel Winant, "The Natural Profits of Their Years of Labor: Mass Production, Family, and the Politics of Old Age, Radical History Review 139 (January 2021): 75-102.

October 31st: "The Founding Stones of Modern Industry," or, "There is no such Thing as Capitalism Without Slavery"

Required Reading:

- W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Black Worker" and "The White Worker," in *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880* (Free Press, 1992): 3-31.
- Cedric J. Robinson, "Racial Capitalism: The Nonobjective Character of Capitalist Development," in *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (University of North Carolina Press, 2000): 9-28.
- Eric Foner, "The Idea of Free Labor in Nineteenth Century America," in Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War (Oxford University Press, 1995): ix-xxxix.

- Walter Johnson, "To Remake the World: Slavery, Racial Capitalism, and Justice," *Boston Review*, February 20, 2018.
- Stephanie Smallwood, "What Slavery Tells Us about Marx" (Response to Johnson), Boston Review, February 21, 2018. (Note: You may want to have Capital handy)

Recommended Reading:

- Michael Dawson, "Capitalism, Legitimation Crises, and the Racial Order," *Critical Historical Studies* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 143-161.
- Cheryl I. Harris, "Whiteness as Property," Harvard Law Review 106, no. 8 (June 1993): 1707-1791.
- Walter Johnson, "The Pedestal and the Veil: Rethinking the Capitalism/Slavery Question," *Journal of the Early Republic* 24 (Summer 2004): 299-308.
- Charles W. Mills, "Racial Liberalism," PMLA 123, no. 5 (2008): 1380-1397.
- Cedric J. Robinson, "Historiography and the Black Radical Tradition," in *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (University of North Carolina Press, 2000): 185-240.
- David Roediger, The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class (Verso Books, 2007).

PART III: THEORIZING THE PRESENT, IMAGINING THE FUTURE

November 7th: Marxist Feminism, or: Revisiting the Wages for Housework Debate

Required Reading (Note: Don't panic, the first 5 readings are short)

- Maria Dalla Costa and Selma James, "Women and the Subversion of Community," in *The Power of Women and the Subversion of Community* (Falling Wall Press, 1972): 21-56.
- Sylvia Federici, "Wages Against Housework (1975)" in Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle (Autonomedia, 2012): 15-22.
- Carol Lopate, "Women and Pay for Housework," Liberation 18, no. 8 (May/June 1974), 8-11.
- Sylvia Federici and Nicole Cox, "Counterplanning from the Kitchen (1975)" in Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle (Autonomedia, 2012): 28-40.
- Angela Y. Davis, "The Approaching Obsolescence of Housework: A Working-Class Perspective," in *The Angela Y. Davis Reader*, ed. Joy James (Blackwell, 1998): 192-209.
- Nancy Fraser, "Behind Marx's Hidden Abode: For an Expanded Conception of Capitalism," *New Left Review* 86 (March-April 2014): 55-72.
- Kathi Weeks, "Working Demands: From Wages for Housework to Basic Income," in *The Problem with Work* (Duke University Press, 2011): 113-150.

Recommended Reading:

- Elizabeth Anderson, "Is Women's Labor a Commodity?" *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 19, no. 1 (Winter 1990): 71-92.
- Wendy Edmond and Suzie Fleming, eds., *All Work and No Pay: Women, Housework, and the wages due* (Falling Wall, 1975).
- Sylvia Federici, Caliban and the Witch (Autonomedia, 2004).
- Ellen Malos, eds. The Politics of Housework (New Clarion, 1995).
- Ailsa Mckay and Jo Vanevery, "Gender, Family, and Income Maintenance: A Feminist case for Citizens Basic Income," *Social Politics* 7, no. 2 (2000): 266-84.

November 14th: Bodies of Work and the Commercialization of Feeling Required Reading:

- Sylvia Federici, "Why Sexuality Is Work," in *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle* (Autonomedia, 2012), 23-27.
- Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (University of California Press, 2012): chs. 1-3 (pp. 3-55), 6 (pp. 89-137).
- Heather Berg, Porn Work: Sex, Labor, and Late Capitalism (University of North Carolina Press, 2021), Introduction (pp. 1-28), ch. 2 (pp. 64-94), Epilogue (pp. 183-185).
- Kathi Weeks, "Down with Love: Feminist Critique and the New Ideologies of Work," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 3-4 (Fall/Winter 2017): 37-58.

Recommended Reading:

- Sara Ahmed, The Promise of Happiness (Duke University Press, 2010).
- William Davies, The Happiness Industry: How the Government and Big Business Sold Us Well-Being (Verso, 2015).
- Shulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution (Farr, Straus, and Giroux, 1970).
- Melissa Gregg, Work's Intimacy (Polity, 2011)
- Ronnie J. Steinberg and Deborah M. Figart, "Emotional Labor Since the Managed Heart," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 56, no. 1 (1999): 8-26.
- Miya Tokumitsu, Do What You Love: And Other Lies about Success and Happiness (Regan Arts, 2015).

November 21st: Precarity and Precarious Work

Required Reading:

- Brett Neilson and Ned Rossiter, "Precarity as a Political Concept, or, Fordism as Exception," Theory, Culture, & Society 25, no. 7-8 (2008): 51-72.
- Silke Van Dyk, "Post-Wage Politics and the Rise of Community Capitalism," *Work, Employment, Society* 32, no. 3 (2018): 528-545.
- Annie McClanahan, "TV and Tipworkification," Post 45 (2019).
- Lauren Berlant, "After the Good Life, an Impasse: Time Out, Human Resources, and the Precarious Present," in *Cruel Optimism* (Duke University Press, 2011): 191-222.
- Thomas Fuller, "Coronavirus Limits California's Efforts to Fight Fires with Prison Labor," New York Times, August 22, 2020.

Recommended Reading:

- Clara Han, "Precarity, Precariousness, and Vulnerability," *Annual Review of Anthropology* (2018): 331-43.
- Jasper Bernes, The Work of Art in the Age of Deindustrialization (Stanford University Press, 2017).
- Melinda Cooper, Family Values: Between Neoliberalism and the New Social Conservatism (Zone Books, 2017).
- Arne Kalleberg, "Precarious Work, Insecure Workers: Employment Relations in Transition," *American Sociological Review* 74, no. 1 (2009): 1-22.
- Kathleen Millar, "Toward a Critical Politics of Precarity," Sociology Compass 11 (2017).

November 28th: COVID-19 and Other Dilemmas of Care and Work Required Reading:

- Joan Tronto, Caring Democracy (NYU Press, 2013): chs. 1-2 (pp. 17-64).

- Leslie Salzinger, "Seeing with the Pandemic: Social Reproduction in the Spotlight," *Feminist Studies* 47, no. 3 (2021): 492-502.
- Katrina Forrester and Moira Weigel, "Bodies on the Line," Dissent (Fall 2020).
- Sarah Jaffe and Michelle Chen, "Work in the Time of Coronavirus" Dissent (Fall 2020).
- Amy Kapczynski and Gregg Gonsalves, "The New Politics of Care," *Boston Review*, April 27, 2020.
- Claire Pomeroy, "A Tsunami of Disability is Coming as a Result of 'Long COVID'" Scientific American, July 6, 2021.

Recommended Reading:

- The Care Collective, The Care Manifesto: The Politics of Interdependence (Verso Books, 2020).
- JOMO, "Caring on Stolen Time: A Nursing Home Diary," Dissent, Winter 2013.
- Jennifer Nedelsky and Tom Malleson, Part-Time for All: A Care Manifesto, forthcoming.
- Ari Ne'eman, "What if Disability Rights Were for Everyone?" New York Times, October 1, 2021.
- Joan Tronto, Moral Boundaries: A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care (Routledge, 1993).

<u>Assignment</u>: Please circulate a 350-500 word abstract or proposal for your final paper to your classmates (and me) by Friday, December 2nd at 12pm. Please comment on at least three of your classmates' proposals.

December 5th: Imagined Futures Beyond Work

Required Reading:

- Michael Denning, "Wageless Life," New Left Review 66 (Nov/Dec 2010).
- David Frayne, The Refusal of Work: The Theory and Practice of Resistance to Work (Zed Books, 2015), selections.
- Kathi Weeks, "Abolition of the Family: The Most Infamous Feminist Proposal," *Feminist Theory* (online first).
- Philippe Van Parijs, "Why Surfers Should be Fed: The Liberal Case for an Unconditional Basic Income," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 20, no. 2 (1991): 101-131.
- Alex Gourevitch and Lucas Stanczyk, "The Basic Income Illusion," *Catalyst* 1, no. 4 (Winter 2018).

Recommended Reading:

- Paul Apostolidis, "Day Laborers and the Refusal of Work," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 117, no. 2 (April 2018): 439-448.
- Juliana Uhuru Bidadanure, "The Political Theory of Universal Basic Income," *Annual Review of Political Science* 29 (2019): 481-501.
- Bertrand Russell, "In Praise of Idleness," in *Why Work? Arguments for the Leisure Society* (Freedom Press, 2019): 8-15.
- Nick Stricek and Alex Williams, *Inventing the Future: Postcapitalism and a World Without Work* (Verso, 2016).

Final Paper Due December 15th at 5pm