

DOWNLOAD PDF POLANYI'S CONCEPT OF DOUBLE MOVEMENT AND POLITICS IN THE CONTEMPORARY MARKET SOCIETY AYSE BUGRA

Chapter 1 : Polanyi's Double Movement and the Reconstruction of Critical Theory

Buğra A. () *Polanyi's Concept of Double Movement and Politics in the Contemporary Market Society. In: Reading Karl Polanyi for the Twenty-First Century. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.*

Some artists, experts and art historians even dismiss it as art. Conceptual art is based on the notion that the essence of art is an idea, or concept, and may exist distinct from and in the absence of an object as its representation. Many examples of conceptual art well-known works or statements question the notion of art itself. Some conceptual artists believe that art is created by the viewer, not by the artist or the artwork itself. Since ideas and concepts are the main feature of art, aesthetics and material concerns have a secondary role in conceptual art. Conceptual artists recognize that all art is essentially conceptual. In order to emphasize these terms, they reduce the material presence of the work to an absolute minimum – a tendency that some have referred to as the dematerialization of art – which is one of the main characteristics of conceptual art. As many conceptual art examples show, the conceptual art movement itself emerged as a reaction against the tenets of formalism. Formalism considers that the formal qualities of a work – such as line, shape and color – are self-sufficient for its appreciation, and all other considerations – such as representational, ethical or social aspects – are secondary or redundant. Conceptual art is very broad term, and it includes a number of different art practices. Some of them you surely must admire. For conceptual art, it need not look like a traditional work of art, or even take any physical form at all. Sol LeWitt and Joseph Kosuth were among the first ones to insist that genuine art is not a unique or valuable physical object created by the physical skill of the artist – like a drawing, painting or sculpture – but instead a concept or an idea. It was Sol LeWitt who made this new important distinction – distinction between idea and the art as a product. It is about ideas that are behind the works; ideas that surpass each work itself. This great artist also wrote a lot. His famous quote is: When an artist uses a conceptual form of art, it means that all of the planning and decisions are made beforehand and the execution is a perfunctory affair. The idea becomes a machine that makes the art. It is interesting to mention that Sol LeWitt was also one of the leading figures of Minimalism. His best-known work is *Fountain*, a work that had rattled the very definition of the work of art. With this work, Duchamp severed the traditional link between the labor of artists and the merit of the work. Questions of appropriation had been raised in art. Particularly during 1960s and 1970s, conceptual artists focused on language, structure and representation. John Baldessari has created thousands of works that demonstrate – and, in many cases, combine – the narrative potential of images and the associative power of language within the boundaries of the work of art. He is best known for works that blend photographic materials such as film stills, take them out of their original context and rearrange their form, often including the addition of words or sentences. Elaine Sturtevant is a conceptual artist who questions the notions of representation and appropriation. In 1960s, she began to manually reproduce paintings and objects created by her contemporaries with results that can immediately be identified with the original. She turned the concept of originality around. All of her works are copies of the works of other artists; none of them is an original. Sturtevant was particularly focused on works by Roy Lichtenstein and Andy Warhol. These examples show how much conceptual art insists on self-conscious or self-referential. The reason for that is not only the dematerialization of artworks, but the possibility of widening the definition of art. If everything is based on idea and concept, while technique and visual art skills occupy a secondary role, maybe Joseph Beuys was right when he said that every person can be an artist. On the other hand, the rejection of aesthetics cannot be the reason for claiming that conceptual art is nihilistic. Many conceptual art examples show that beauty can be found in an idea as well, and not only in representation. On Kawara is one of the most popular conceptual artists in the past few decades. Conceptual art, while having no intrinsic financial value, can deliver a powerful message, and thus has served as a vehicle for socio-political comment. A lot of conceptual artists are creating art that is sometimes labeled as political art. Charles Gaines is an artist whose work interrogates the discourse relating aesthetics and politics. He uses

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different media in order to express a political message that is embedded in the concept. Similarly, Barbara Kruger uses photography for provocative statements on issues surrounding commercial culture, feminism, and identity politics. Postmodernism has influenced the Development of Conceptual Art Image in slider: Because of its tendency to understand all art as conceptual, the conceptual art movement often includes those practices that would not be linked with conceptual art in the first place. This is particularly the case with performance art. However, many argue that he is a conceptual artist as well, since his art practice is deeply based on clear concepts. Similarly, Marina Abramovic , who is today probably the most recognized performance artist, is also linked with conceptual art. There is also a tendency that new art media, emerging as a result of technological development, is a priori labeled as conceptual art. In most cases it is true. We could just take a look at the art of Jenny Holzer , or the emerging art of codes. Marcel Duchamp ’s Fountain. All images used for illustrative purposes only.

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Chapter 2 : Social Change and Modernity

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General argument[edit] Polanyi argued that the development of the modern state went hand in hand with the development of modern market economies and that these two changes were inextricably linked in history. Essential to the change from a premodern economy to a market economy was the altering of human economic mentalities away from their grounding in local social relationships and institutions, and into transactions idealized as "rational" and set apart from their previous social context. For Polanyi, these changes implied the destruction of the basic social order that had reigned throughout pre-modern history. Central to the change was that factors of production, such as land and labor, would now be sold on the market at market-determined prices instead of allocated according to tradition, redistribution, or reciprocity. His empirical case in large part relied upon analysis of the Speenhamland laws, which he saw not only as the last attempt of the squirearchy to preserve the traditional system of production and social order but also a self-defensive measure on the part of society that mitigated the disruption of the most violent period of economic change. Polanyi also remarks that the pre-modern economies of China, the Incan Empire, the Indian Empires, Babylon, Greece, and the various kingdoms of Africa operated on principles of reciprocity and redistribution with a very limited role for markets, especially in settling prices or allocating the factors of production. He argues that the construction of a "self-regulating" market necessitates the separation of society into economic and political realms. Polanyi does not deny that the self-regulating market has brought "unheard of material wealth", but he suggests that this is too narrow a focus. The market, once it considers land, labor and money as fictitious commodities , and including them "means to subordinate the substance of society itself to the laws of the market. Market societies are those where markets are the paramount institution for the exchange of goods through price mechanisms. Polanyi argues that there are three general types of economic systems that existed before the rise of a society based on a free market economy: On a macro level this would include the production of goods to gift to other groups. Family units produce food, textile goods, and tools for their own use and consumption. These three forms were not mutually exclusive, nor were they mutually exclusive of markets for the exchange of goods. The main distinction is that these three forms of economic organization were based around the social aspects of the society they operated in and were explicitly tied to do those social relationships. Polanyi argued that these economic forms depended on the social principles of centrality, symmetry, and autarky self-sufficiency. Markets existed as an auxiliary avenue for the exchange of goods that were otherwise not obtainable. Graeber attacks formalists and substantivists alike, "those who start by looking at society as a whole are left, like the Substantivists, trying to explain how people are motivated to reproduce society; those who start by looking at individual desires, like the formalists, unable to explain why people chose to maximize some things and not others or otherwise to account for questions of meaning. The criminalization of debt, then, was the criminalization of the very basis of human society. It cannot be overemphasized that in a small community, everyone normally was both lender and borrower. One can only imagine the tensions and temptations that must have existed in a communityâ€”and communities, much though they are based on love, in fact, because they are based on love, will always also be full of hatred, rivalry and passionâ€”when it became clear that with sufficiently clever scheming, manipulation, and perhaps a bit of strategic bribery, they could arrange to have almost anyone they hated imprisoned or even hanged. Stiglitz also summarizes the difficulties of "market liberalization" in that it requires unrealistic "flexibility" amongst the poor. Satanic Mill Chapter 3. Societies and Economic Systems Chapter 5. Evolution of the Market Pattern Chapter 6. The Self-regulating Market and the Fictitious Commodities: Labor, Land, and Money Chapter 7. Speenhamland, Chapter 8. Antecedents and Consequences Chapter 9. Pauperism and Utopia Chapter Self-Protection of

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Society Chapter Man, Nature, and Productive Organization Chapter Birth of the Liberal Creed Chapter Birth of the Liberal Creed Continued: Class Interest and Social Change Chapter Market and Man Chapter Market and Nature Chapter Market and Productive Organization Chapter Popular Government and Market Economy Chapter History in the Gear of Social Change Chapter It was reissued by Beacon Press as a paperback in and as a 2nd edition with a foreword by Nobel Prize-winning economist Joseph Stiglitz in Foreword by Robert M. Foreword by Joseph E. Stiglitz; introduction by Fred Block.

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Chapter 3 : CONCEPTUAL ART MOVEMENT AND EXAMPLES | Widewalls

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During that time particularly Regan-Teacher era and the following decades, the world has undergone profound social, political and economic transformation. Neo-liberalism surfaced as the dominant ideology underpinning the monetary policies and reforms that gave shape this transformation. It is now widely acknowledged that the financial crisis was the consequence of neo-liberal policies implemented for more than two decades. Consequently, the crisis triggered profound skepticism of globalised world economy as growing numbers of people across the globe questioned with a wider perspective whether the globalised free market economy was viable. More recently, the international political economy circles and academia began questioning the sustainability of the neo-liberal policies, which resulted in re-emergence of the idea that the need to regulate the markets. From a historical and sociological perspective the book examines the rise of the modern economic system from the industrial revolution in England to the Great Depression and the outbreak of the Second World War. The core argument of Polanyi is that the market economy emerged as the winner in its struggle with the traditional economy and ideologies supporting it won the corresponding battle in the market place of ideas Dale, The most important concepts of Polanyi: Free market economy dreams are still increasingly enshrined in international law and the commodification of land, labour and money are not natural yet cost massively on societies. This is a useful framework to understand contemporary neo-liberal outlook. As noted by Block These institutions were the balance of power, the international gold standard, the self-regulating market, and the liberal state Polanyi, Thus for Polanyi The key to the institutional system of the nineteenth century lay in the laws governing market economy. An economy of this kind derives from the expectation that humans beings behave in such a way as to maximize their personal gains" Polanyi, This creates the existence of markets for trading all elements of industry: Instead, he strongly emphasised human economy has been embedded in society and nature Polanyi , The premise that a market economy needs commodification of all elements of industry implies that every element of industry is regarded as having been produced for sale on the market and is thus subject to the laws of demand and supply Polanyi, , Polanyi argues that the extension of the market logic to the essential elements of labour, land and money is highly problematic and irrational Polanyi, Polanyi nonetheless highlights that although labour, land, and money are essential to the market economy they are not commodities, in the sense that they are not objects produced for sale on the market. As he stresses, labour is "another name for a human activity which goes with life itself, which in its turn is not produced for sale but for entirely different reasons, nor can that activity be detached from the rest of life, be stored or mobilized" Polanyi, , The 4 former aimed at the establishment of the self-regulating market, with the support of the trading class and relied on laissez- faire approach, while the latter had an aim of the conservation of human, nature and productive organisation, with the varying support of those who are the most affected by the market, and used protective legislation, restrictive legislation and other instruments of intervention as its methods Polanyi, All regions of the world were in economic decline simultaneously which is perceived as a powerful testimony to the integration of the contemporary global economy. As it was mentioned earlier, the recession resulted in downturns in stock markets around the world and the threat of total collapse of large financial institutions. The unpopular bailouts of banks by national governments saw record figures spent on private banks to be rescued. The World Social Forum provides one of the most salient examples of resistance movements across the world as it has been organised around an agenda of counter- hegemonic globalisation and decentralised forms of international solidarity building and offering alternative democratic approaches to global dilemmas. The common assumption is that expert knowledge has become a factor of production as important as, if not more important than, labor, land, and

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money. Expert knowledge is scientific knowledge since science is its main provider. Scientific research proves the fact over and over that neoliberal era has brought in further deterioration in an already problematic trend which is environment. As Polanyi scholar Bugra pointed out in her book, there was Bugra However, the contemporary concept of governance refers to little more than one side of the double movement, the one that pertains to the deliberate policy action taken to institute the market economy. Another dimension pertains to the attempts undertaken by political and economic power holders to assure governability in a market-dominated economic order. Encouraging social participation in market reforms is an important aspect of these attempts. Civil initiatives, romantic notions of civil society and voluntary gift giving are tools at some level to hide the reality of destructive impact brought by commodification of life and livelihood. Polanyi has been seen as economic-anthropologist who sought to understand capitalism: However, he wrote the Great Transformation in , which was until then the era dominated by national state interventions and his book had a focus on nation states in Europe. However, the global order experienced in the late 20th century would be unrecognisable in many ways from the historic vantage point Polanyi occupied. Since the publication of the GT, the world has been characterised by institutionalised interdependency through the formation of GATT, IMF and World Bank to whom most governments have transferred a wide range of sovereign powers that oblige them to enforce 7 increasingly intrusive and binding international rules and agreements laid out in a vast range since the end of Second World War in order to operate free market economy. Therefore, unprecedented levels of interconnectedness are visibly a determining force across the borders in this age. Moreover, he claimed that unchecked international free trade would lead to large-scale dislocations and calamities within societies. For Polanyi, the separation of politics and economics in the middle of the 19th century meant that the market became increasingly self-regulative and was disembedded from the political system. Although the need for a fairer economic system is evident, the counter-movements to enforce this are divided and lacking in focus. The Arap Spring which partly ignited the Occupy movements across the world bring hope and solidarity 8 in terms of nurturing counter-movements however much it has been fragmented and lacking specific demands. It is much more interconnected with high level of urbanization, rapid communication and transportation. Nevertheless, Polanyi enables us to understand why and how the international economic system should be restructured. As Stiglitz , vii has argued, "because the transformation of European civilization is analogous to the transformations confronting developing countries around the world today, it often seems as if Polanyi is speaking directly to present day issues". Re embedding the economy in society and nature. Market Economy as a Political Project, eds. Ayse Bugra and Kaan Agartan. A Brief History of Neoliberalism. Oxford, Oxford Universtiy Press: Money, Capitalism and Transition â€” Reciprocity, redistribution, and exchange:

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Chapter 4 : Prefigurative politics - Wikipedia

This article explores Karl Polanyi's analysis of the institutional separation of politics and the economy in the context of the 19th century market economy.

The Origins of the Cataclysm. A week later he added a post-script. His prediction could not have been more accurate: The Great Transformation, a powerful critique of market liberalism, is now considered a 20th Century classic. The book, translated into twelve languages, is among the most cited works in the social sciences. Its importance is also indicated by the fact that Joseph Stiglitz, former Chief Economist at the World Bank and Nobel Prize winner, wrote a foreword for a new edition of the book published in 2002. However in the last two decades there has been a remarkable surge of interest in his work worldwide and across disciplines in the social sciences and humanities, and among legal scholars, scientists, policy makers and activists. This paper is a synthesis of many documents that the Institute, in collaboration with members of the Executive Board of Directors, has produced over the last twenty years. In the spring of 2002, inspired by the intellectual energy generated at the memorial conference, Professors Kari Polanyi Levitt and Marguerite Mendell presented Concordia University Montreal with a proposal for the creation of the Karl Polanyi Institute of Political Economy. The mission of the Institute is twofold: Polanyi dedicated his life to the study and analysis of humankind and society and his writings span a period of 57 years. Some of the materials are very fragile and the Institute has taken measures to ensure their preservation. In 2002 the Institute received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to photocopy the entire collection onto acid-free paper and to store the documents in acid-free containers. In 2003 the Institute received a grant from Concordia University to digitize the entire archival collection. The Institute is now seeking financial support for the second and critical phase of the project, which will convert all the digitalized material into a useable electronic library. The Institute also responds to request for photocopies from students and scholars who are unable to travel to Montreal. Those interested, can consult the Archive catalog for this. In this section I focus primarily on the archival material that has been consulted by researchers and scholars over the last twenty years. The family moved to Hungary when Karl was four years old. Karl and his siblings were instructed at home with the highest standards of Western European elite education until they were of age to attend high school. At the age of fourteen Polanyi lost his father and never quite got over the loss. He continued the tradition with his daughter Kari until his death. The goal of the Galileists was the moral regeneration of the Hungarian society. He joined the editorial staff in 1938. Archival research has been limited by the fact that the material from this period is in Hungarian. This will be partly addressed in the near future. Professor Gareth Dale Brunel University has received funding to translate the titles of the Hungarian archival material and to produce rough translations of selected materials. Professor Dale will deposit the translated material at the Institute. This will greatly benefit the wider research community and will facilitate the translation of the Hungarian documents. They were married in 1938 and their only daughter Kari was born in 1939. Red Vienna was the observatory where Polanyi began to develop the main arguments of The Great Transformation. The progressive social policies of the Austrian Democratic Party and the commitment to the cultural development of the working class were evidence that a socialist democratic project was feasible. The research on the archival material from the Vienna years has been mainly on three subjects: It is a journey into the discovery of the origins of human suffering, a theme that permeated his discourse on the ethical foundations of human thought and action. The Institute has observed a growing interest in this particular essay which has benefited greatly from two publications by scholars associated with the Institute: Prelude to The Great Transformation: Polanyi scholars associated with the Institute have contributed to the dissemination of this important material. Towards a Christian Left. He also drafted and edited the Christian Left pamphlets. The English teaching experience deepened his commitment to adult education as a tool for political and social change. The preparations for the W. The notes from the W. A lectures formed the basis of his seminal work, The Great Transformation, written in Vermont while he was

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Resident Scholar at Bennington College through a three year grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. According to Polanyi, in all human societies production and distribution are ensured by certain principles of socio-economic integration including reciprocity, redistribution and exchange. The institutional pattern of exchange is the market, and markets can be found in many different societies through history. Finally the spread of the market system leads to social countermovement to protect society from the ravages of the self-regulating market. Karl Polanyi and his wife Ilona moved to North America, their third and last migration. Ilona was denied entrance into the United States because of her involvement in communist parties in Hungary and Austria. The research agenda included the origin of economic institutions and anthropological research on money, trade and markets. The project formed the basis of the book *Trade and Markets in Early Empires*. For substantivists, the production of goods and services in non-market is embedded in social, political and religious institutions. The *Tool Box of Institutional Analysis*. Professor Rotstein is currently preparing a manuscript for publication on the weekend notes. The book, which was never published, was to expand on the philosophical outlook of *The Great Transformation*. In broad terms the proposed book outline makes the argument that human beings are now organized in much larger and more complex societies in which technological progress is dominant. This technology renders the very existence of society precarious, both in terms of economic and, most important, social costs. The decline of the West is spiritual. To act within the constraints of reality requires an exploration of these constraints. Polanyi did not live to see the first issue. He died in Toronto, April 22, 1972. In order to co-exist with other humans we have to understand human nature. But co-existence has many facets: To achieve true co-existence requires a deep understanding of all of these facets. This goal preoccupied Polanyi throughout his life, and most particularly in his final years. Tawney, which deals with the English publication of *The Great Transformation*. Researchers have paid attention to the archival correspondence between the brothers, Neale, and Paul Bohannon, as well as the correspondence that deals with the journal *Co-Existence*. The intimate correspondence between Karl and Ilona as well as between the Polanyis and their daughter Kari, and the correspondence with other family members, provides researchers with a portrait of the man and his times, as the correspondence is not just letters but chronicles of world events. International Conferences 29 The organization of international conferences is a primary objective of the Institute. These meetings provide a forum for interdisciplinary dialogue, reflection and exchange among students, scholars, civil society organizations, policy actors and engaged public. They also broaden the network of Polanyi scholars and facilitate future collaborations across disciplines and countries, and provide the policy community, NGOs and civil society organizations with knowledge about new and innovative research in many universities and several disciplines worldwide. The conferences have also contributed to the expansion of secondary literature on the life and work of Karl Polanyi. On average 80 to 100 scholars and students from many parts of the world, representing many disciplines in the social sciences, the humanities, and most recently medicine and law, participate at each Polanyi conference. The Institute is very proud of its record of graduate student participation, both as presenters as well as audience. These conferences provide student presenters with the unique opportunity to get feedback on their graduate research. Participating scholars at both conferences explored the interplay between market, state and society in broad terms, theoretically and from comparative perspectives and discussed Polanyi-inspired alternatives for social reconstruction. The proceedings from the Fourth International conference were published in the volume *The Milano Papers. Survival Strategy or Autonomous Development?* Montreal, further developed the themes discussed in the two previous conferences by introducing into the discourse the issues of globalization, socio-economic restructuring and emergent responses to the economic and social crisis at the national, regional and local levels. The conference examined these initiatives on a comparative basis both to document these programmes in various parts of the world, and to explore their capacity to transform the communities they addressed. Presentations by participants from developing countries gave researchers, academics and practitioners from the Western industrialized countries the opportunity to learn about the experiences of the informal sector in these developing economies. The Institute published four volumes of proceedings from this conference, From

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Political Economy to Anthropology. Freedom in a Complex Society Vienna, Austria, , in collaboration with the Austrian Academy of Sciences, marked the 50th anniversary of the publication of *The Great Transformation* and the 30th anniversary of the death of Karl Polanyi. The Institute published a volume of proceedings from this conference, *Karl Polanyi in Vienna*. The Institute published three volumes of proceedings from this conference *Social Economy*. Polanyi-inspired conference presentations attempted to provide theoretical grounds for a new economic paradigm that reflected the problems of contemporary societies. A central theme addressed at the conference was the existing crisis in democracy, how the new world order undermines democracy and basic human rights, in both the North and in the South, in favor of the market. Issues discussed included alternative economic strategies that harmonize the economy with society, and sustainable economic development which would subordinate markets to social institutions of reciprocity and political institutions of distribution. The conference addressed questions of peace and security, which at the time were deemed highly appropriate, given the turbulent international political environment in the aftermath of September 11, The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Government of Canada, mandated the Institute to produce a synthesis of the issues raised at this conference. The theme of the Tenth International Karl Polanyi Conference *Protecting Society and Nature from the Commodity Fiction*, Istanbul, , in collaboration with the Social Policy Forum, Bogazici University, invited participants to discuss and debate the contemporary transformation of the world economy. *Market Economy as a Political Project* The general theme of the conference, which marks the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Institute, is the relevance of Polanyi for scholarship and social change in the 21st century. Leaders in public and social economy enterprises in Quebec have been invited to address how these enterprises have been engaged in embedding the Quebec economy in society. For participants from the many countries represented at this conference, as well as for those from Quebec and Canada, this will be a unique opportunity to learn how these enterprises, publicly or collectively owned, play a key role in the socio-economic development of Quebec. Nancy Neamtan has played a leadership role in these movements for almost four decades and has been instrumental in initiating numerous innovative citizen based socio-economic development strategies in Quebec. Within Canada, Nancy Neamtan has spearheaded public policy initiatives provincially, federally and most recently at the municipal level in Montreal. *Research and Institutional Collaborations* 42The Institute has established a wide international network of researchers and scholars, and it makes every effort to establish research collaborations with universities and research centres worldwide. These collaborations are increasingly important as global debates on issues confronting both the North and the South demand dynamic international forums for dialogue and exchange.

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Chapter 5 : The Karl Polanyi Institute of Political Economy : A Narrative of Contributions to Social Change

Using Karl Polanyi's analysis of the separation of politics and the economy, the book argues that the market economy is not a spontaneous process, but a 'political project' realized through The contributions explore the impact of this commodification process.

On one side is the movement of laissez faire--the efforts by a variety of groups to expand the scope and influence of self-regulating markets. On the other side has been the movement of protection--the initiatives, again by a wide range of social actors, to insulate the fabric of social life from the destructive impact of market pressures. Yet at the same time, at multiple levels of politics--local, national, regional, and global-- we also see counter movements that have sought to check, control, or modify the impact of market forces. After examining barriers to the mobilization of a protective counter movement, the final section explores the possibilities of moving beyond the double movement. The theoretical project

In developing the concept of the double movement, Polanyi was addressing some key problems in Marxist class analysis. Polanyi suggests that the exercise of state power fundamentally shapes the relative strength of different social actors, so he broadened his analytic lens to encompass battles over government regulation, over the provision of public goods and services, and over international flows of labor, goods, and money. It is implicit in his analysis that these conflicts ultimately influence the balance of forces on the shop floor. Even when the official ideology is laissez-faire, the state is deeply involved in managing market economies. Since the market acting alone cannot produce these things in correct and sustainable quantities, the state must manage the supply and demand for these critical inputs to the production process Block Since its stated political goal--"a fully self-regulating market economy"--is fundamentally impractical and incoherent, there is always a substantial gap between the ideology and the reality. This represents a major difference between Marx and Polanyi. For the former, the core contradiction is that capitalism would prove unable to further develop the productive forces and a socialist transformation would become inevitable. So despite the power imbalance between employers and workers, the opponents of self-regulating markets can use this impossibility to win incremental changes that help protect society from the market. These two moves are closely interconnected since Polanyi sought a more holistic account of social conflicts in which the specific historical context helped shape how social groups mobilized Block and Somers This meant that the two movements were not simply national phenomena, but global phenomena. However, both England and the United States exported to the rest of the world one particular template --an economy organized around an integrated set of self-regulating markets for land, labor, capital, and other commodities. To be sure, even in England and the United States, the actual organization of the economy followed this template only loosely, but political and economic leaders around the world were well-advised to say that they were implementing this template or they could be subject to harsh reprisals by the dominant power. Some nations were granted substantially more leeway to violate the template either because of their geopolitical location or their specific struggles against the protective counter movement. Moreover, there have also been periods when the dominant power has been preoccupied with hot or cold wars that have left other nations with considerably more room to maneuver. And these groups have resisted demands for social protection by claiming that such moves are simply not possible without a radical and dangerous break with the international rules. Domestic counter movements are able to draw on nationalist resentments in arguing against fealty to foreign notions of how the economy should properly operate and in favor of pursuing their own unique developmental path that requires some greater degree of political management of markets. Tilting policies too far in the direction favored by the movement of laissez-faire risks both weakening the domestic economy and becoming too dependent on the global hegemon. Political leaders have to thread the needle between these two dangers and this provides opportunities and openings for both movements. However, if the downturn continues, the protective counter movement tends to gain greater political leverage as more citizens demand protection from economic hardship. If the movement for

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laissez-faire simply argued that expanding markets would create more profit opportunities for certain firms, their arguments would have little resonance. In one famous passage, Polanyi notes how political leaders in the aftermath of WW I, including even the Bolsheviks, could see no alternative to the restoration of the pre-war Gold Standard Polanyi , p. Ultimately, the severity of the Great Depression lifted the ideological blinders, and in the last years of W. Who then are the actors who participate in these movements? However, they are certainly not the only actors in his analysis. Other social groups including landed classes, shopkeepers, intellectuals, government officials, and groups with no shared class identity routinely play key roles as part of these broad coalitions. So while capitalists tended to participate in the movement for laissez-faire and workers in protective counter movements, things do not always line up so neatly. There are always some capitalists who are fighting for protection from the market and frequently there are groups of workers who ally with the movement to expand markets. Profound differences over strategy or goals can, at times, make joint action impossible. Polanyi does not explore this option, but there are time that the movement for laissez-faire is hopelessly divided between free market extremists and more pragmatic defenders of the market, and the two groups are weakened because they cannot make common cause. These two very different types of movements compete to win support from some of the same social groups and their relative strength will depend on some combination of specifically local factors and political skill. Opportunity, power, and capacity 22In its specifics, the double movement is a theory of politics in societies that are at least nominally democratic and where citizens have a set of basic political rights. To be sure, some of the analysis is also relevant to social struggles that occur under authoritarian regimes. But the sheer difficulty of political mobilization under authoritarian conditions makes it a separate topic. The double movement is about the normal politics of market societies with democratic governance, where adherents of both laissez-faire and the protective counter movement are able to press their case in the political arena. Silver and Arrighi make the point that there is no double movement in colonized societies because of the effectiveness of repression. Most often, it is capitalists or wealth holders who are in the vanguard of efforts to press for the expansion of markets and for the dismantling of barriers that restrict their ability to increase profits. But they are often able to mobilize a broader political coalition that agitates for expanded markets. Political leaders, for example, might join because they recognize possibilities for economic growth that could come from dismantling local or national barriers to the movement of goods or capital, and they are sometimes able to build cross-class coalitions in favor of such policies. But in such fights, one will usually find some capitalists on both sides of the divide. In brief, the free market utopia empowers the movement of laissez-faire by grounding their self-interested arguments in an appealing and seemingly coherent vision of a desirable social order. The fundamental incoherence of the free market utopia, and the day-to-day dependence of wealth holders on the state, ultimately provides an ideological opening, an opportunity, to the advocates of the protective counter movement. Global corporations have waged fierce battles in recent years for an international trade regime that enforces their property rights around the world. They frame their argument within the standard language of market freedom. Pharmaceutical firms insist that they invested scarce resources in developing new medications and it is only fair that they be able to profit from their discovery wherever there is demand for that product. After all, recycling a share of those profits into new discoveries will ultimately benefit all global consumers Evans , Klug 27The problem, however, is that the protection of those property rights requires a series of action by states. This is a powerful argument that ultimately forced the United States to agree in the Doha Declaration that governments have the right to override these intellectual property claims to respond to health emergencies. The argument was also a factor in the decision of the Administration of George W. Bush to expand significantly U. To be sure, behind the scenes, the U. So that while the movements have had a real impact, they have not yet been able to mobilize enough pressure to force deeper institutional changes. Exercising Power 29The fact that the protective counter movement is consistently provided with ideological openings hardly ensures that it will be able to exercise the power necessary to win the protections from market forces that it seeks. By definition, the people who need protection the most are those with the fewest material

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resources, and this lack of resources puts them at a structural disadvantage in the arena of politics. Wealth holders, in contrast, are able to use ideological, structural, and instrumental power to advance the agenda of laissez-faire and resist movements of social protection. Lukes But she then argues that in the complex division of labor and spatial organization of industrial and postindustrial societies, many different groups have the opportunity to exercise interdependent power by collectively refusing to follow the standard institutional routines. So, for example, the urban poor can assemble to protest high food prices and refuse to disperse when ordered to do so by the police, students can strike or occupy buildings, and activists can mobilize thousands to close down highways, bridges, or other critical transportation linkages. However, such actions become more likely when there is an ideological opening that makes a particular injustice appear to be remediable through political action and when there are significant obstacles to a purely repressive response by the state. Such circumstances occur most often when political and economic elites are seriously divided over how to solve the problems that the political system is facing. The very existence of the reformist wing helps to legitimate the claims of the insurgents that change is possible and feasible. If the reformist wing is holding power, its leaders are considerably less likely to unleash undifferentiated repression against the protestors. And when the conservative wing is holding power, there is a chance that its use of repression will create a backlash that brings the reformers into power. Years of agitation using less dangerous tactics can build up popular support and undermine the earlier unity among elites. Capacity 35

But how is it that those with less power are able to exercise the solidarity that is needed for the exercise of interdependent power? Those who most need protection from the market are often separated from each other by religious, ethnic, racial, gender, age or other divisions. How can they overcome these divisions and engage in joint action? As Viviana Zelizer, has argued, the fear that the instrumental values of market society would erode the ability of individuals to form durable bonds with others has been a theme in the culture for hundreds of years. It was expressed by Shakespeare, theorized by the young Marx, elaborated by Georg Simmel, and remains an enduring current of contemporary theorizing. Hochschild However, she does not offer an explanation of where these alternative values come from and how they are continually reproduced. Among these motives gain was not prominent. Custom and law, magic and religion cooperated in inducing the individual to comply with rules of behavior which, eventually, ensured his functioning in the economic system. The thin model defines reciprocity as an exchange of equivalents between two individuals where there is an expectation that the balancing will occur relatively quickly. This model encompasses the circumstance where A does a favor for B and assumes that B will return the favor relatively soon. This type of reciprocity is consistent with the motive of gain since the parties are able to do a relatively precise cost-benefit analysis to make sure that they will gain materially from the exchange. It is currently most evident when longstanding relationships with lovers, friends, or relatives are ended. Such imperiled relationships can sometimes be saved if the person who violated the expectations is able to explain that there were special circumstances that made them unable to respond appropriately. Such apologies are sometimes effective precisely because thick reciprocity does not demand an immediate balancing of accounts. The child is supposed to understand that he or she will have the opportunity to repay in the distant future either by caring for the aging parent or by providing care for the next generation. Similar lessons are learned as the child forms relationships with peers and comes to understand the norms of friendship, and ultimately of intimate relationships. While many of those early relationships might be characterized by betrayals and disappointments, they still teach the basic expectations of thick reciprocity. Moreover, the same lessons are reinforced by both religious and secular authorities who remind us that we should treat others as we wish to be treated ourselves. People learn empathy, the ability to take the role of the other, and the demands of thick reciprocity in their personal relationships and they bring those skills with them when they encounter strangers. These skills can be used to forge solidaristic relationships with multiple others and it is in the context of those solidaristic relationships that people take actions that could never be justified by purely self-interested calculations. Thick reciprocity makes it possible to create broader and broader networks of solidarity that cross existing lines of social division. Even though we are of different ethnicities or

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skill levels, I might be willing to rally today to support you against your employer because I know that I might need such help against my own employer six months or a year from now. Similarly when I recognize that environmental struggles and labor struggles are connected, I might participate in both types of actions with equal enthusiasm. Even in the face of the most severe challenges, it cannot be assumed that strong counter movements will appear. So when the pursuit of a rapid transition to the market produced widespread economic and social dislocation, most people were left with a very limited repertoire of explanation. One option was to take the proponents of laissez-faire at their word and accept that there was no immediate alternative to austerity and that things would eventually get better. The other was to listen to the defenders of the Soviet regime and argue for its restoration. But given the glaring defects of that regime, few people were willing to mobilize around the slogan of socialist restoration. Yet even though these policies had adverse consequences for the prosperity of the average citizen Bartels, it took until the Democrats made gains in the midterm elections before one could plausibly speak of a protective counter movement that was strong enough to impact state policies. Alternative framings that suggested that there might be limits to the market were literally drowned out. The second was a high level of elite unity around these ideas that persisted until the election of George W. While the Clinton Administration initially made some challenges to market-oriented policies, it ultimately accepted the logic of greater reliance on the market at home and abroad Shoch He imagined a new era in which humanity collectively chose to subordinate markets to political control.

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22 In its specifics, the double movement is a theory of politics in societies that are at least nominally democratic and where citizens have a set of basic political rights. To be sure, some of the analysis is also relevant to social struggles that occur under authoritarian regimes.

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