

Political Science 490SWR: Globalization and Its Discontents

[Emory University](#), Spring 2006
[Tarbutton Hall](#) 113C, M 1:00p-4:00p
Section 00P, Class No. 1819
February 7, 2006

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Course Description & Objectives

This course's title is paraphrased from Freud's classic monograph, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, which argues that the fulfillment of individual desires is inevitably constrained (to the detriment of the individual's psychological integrity) by the requirements of life within a larger community. This course explores the application of that idea to the political debates surrounding recent trends in the global economy and in global governance. The latter half of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first witnessed an increased integration of global trade and financial markets. This trend has been accompanied by the proliferation of global and regional institutions designed to regulate trade and investment, international monetary relations, international legal disputes, and international security. Optimists have hoped that the extensive integration of markets and the development of global institutions to manage these increased connections would promote peace and prosperity throughout the world. However, these developments have not been welcomed by all. Critics point to the possible deleterious effects of such globalization on workers' rights, human rights, the environment and public health, democratization, economic development, and national sovereignty. This clash between anti-globalization activists and the often anonymous forces of globalization lies at the heart of many of the most salient contemporary political debates.

Our course tackles these issues head-on by engaging the arguments of both proponents and opponents of globalization. Each week we will apply the theoretical and empirical tools of rigorous social science to make sense of the debates surrounding globalization. These debates often become heated emotional issues for those whose lives are directly affected by globalization. We will seek to address these debates with minds open to alternative arguments, drawing on theories of political economy, with rigorously collected and analyzed evidence as the ultimate arbiter.

This course satisfies an Emory College post-freshman writing requirement as well as the upper-level seminar requirement. The format thus emphasizes intensive dialogue and debate, in class meetings as well as in written assignments. One chief goal in this regard is to promote the development of articulate and well-reasoned public speaking and social scientific writing skills.

Requirements

Grades in the course will be based on the following items:

- 30% **8 weekly short essays**, 1-2 pages each. Due at 5pm on the Tuesday before the class meets on Wed each week. Turn it in via Digital Dropbox, as described on the guidelines handout. You can

skip this for 2 of our 10 substantive meetings, or do all 10 and take the best 8 grades. Pick just one argument made by one of the readings for the relevant week (the week that it is due), and critique it, drawing if desired on the other readings for that week. Take a clear position, making your own critical argument at the start of the essay and structuring it to present/defend your argument.

- 20% **class participation**, i.e., asking questions, making arguments, citing evidence, demonstrating knowledge of readings assigned for the day. The extent to which your class interventions are civil, relevant, and focused directly on the discussion underway will be factored into this part of your grade.
- 5% serve as **discussion leader** for part of one meeting. Start the session with a 5-7 minute talk synthesizing the debates and arguments in the readings, critiquing them, and by taking a position yourself. Then lead discussion in a focused fashion. The onus of leadership is on you: you must get the other students to focus discussion so as to produce a cumulative dialogue.
- 5% **research presentation**. Present your research paper's puzzle, argument, evidence, and implications in a 10-to-12-minute "conference-style" talk. Respond to questions.
- 5% serve as **discussant/commentator** on another student's research presentation. Based on one other student's draft research paper, write 2-3 pages of detailed but constructive comments, focusing not just on writing style but also, most importantly, substantive arguments and evidence. The aim is to help the subject revise his/her research paper draft. You will also present your comments orally for 5 minutes after the subject's research presentation.
- 35% **research paper**, divided into several stages, including a (1%) one-page **proposal** (due Feb 15), (2%) 2-4 page annotated **description of sources** (due Mar 8), (5%) 10-15 page **draft** (due Apr 2), and (27%) 20-page **final paper** (due May 2).

The research paper is on a topic of your choice, though we expect students to choose tightly-focused questions, usually revolving around a policy debate related to those we cover in class. You must make a clear argument and defend your claims rigorously and systematically with evidence gleaned from original research. Check out the course Blackboard site for further instructions for this assignment.

Course Policies

Absolutely *no* excuses will be accepted for late assignments, unless they are formally approved by the academic counselors in Student Affairs at the Emory College office in White Hall, and communicated directly to us from the College. See a College representative before you come to us with an excuse for any assignment whatsoever. There will be no exceptions. In the absence of a formal College waiver, assignments will be penalized by one half letter grade each day late, e.g., A to A-, etc. The academic counselors at the College office are your advocates and are wonderful resources for all academic-related questions during your time at Emory (e.g., choice of major, distribution requirements, resources for coping with personal problems interfering with academic progress, etc.). The Office for Undergraduate Education is located in White Hall Suite 300, 404-727-6069, college@emory.edu.

It is the policy of Emory University to make reasonable accommodations for qualified students with disabilities. All students with special requests or need for accommodations should consult as soon as possible with the Office of Disabilities Services (404-727-6016, 110 Administration Building, see Jessalyn Smiley, jpsmile@emory.edu) to make arrangements. All information will be held in the strictest confidence.

You are required to know and uphold the [Emory Honor Code](#). What this means, in particular, for the written assignments will be defined when assigned.

Readings

We have not ordered any books for the bookstore. Most of the readings are academic articles or news stories, all of which are available through the Woodruff Library reserve system. Generally, these files are in Adobe Acrobat (i.e., PDF) format. You may need to download the free [Acrobat Reader](#) before viewing them. Students are expected to have completed the reading by the day for which it has been assigned, ready for intensive discussion of detailed points from all the day's readings. This is a seminar, after all, and what you have and have not read will be crystal clear to the instructors.

Course Outline

Jan 18: Introduction. Course administration. What is globalization? Theories of political economy. The anti-globalization perspective. Primer on social scientific empirical methods.

Recommended:

- Thomas Oatley, *International Political Economy: Interests and Institutions in the Global Economy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Pearson, 2006), 1-16
- Irwin, Douglas A. *Free Trade Under Fire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002, 5-69 (chapters 1 and 2)
- Kimberly Ann Elliott, Debayani Kar, and J. David Richardson, "Assessing Globalization's Critics: 'Talkers Are No Good Doers'", 2002

Jan 25: 1. Globalization and the environment. Investment agreements and NAFTA's Chapter 11. Why do countries form investment agreements? Do such investment treaties attract investment? Do they limit effective environmental regulations? What have been the effects of NAFTA's Chapter 11 provisions, in particular, on investment and on the environment? NAFTA's *Methanex* case.

Required:

- International Institute for Sustainable Development, *Private Rights, Public Problems: A Guide to NAFTA's Controversial Chapter on Investor Rights*, 2001, 1-52 (plus 53-70 if you like, for the text of Chapter 11)
- Zachary Elkins, Andrew Guzman, and Beth Simmons, "Competing for Capital: The Diffusion of Bilateral Investment Treaties, 1960-2000," *International Organization*, forthcoming
- Mary Hallward-Driemeier, "Do Bilateral Investment Treaties Attract Foreign Direct Investment? Only a Bit...And They Could Bite", World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3121, August 2003
- Howard Mann, "The Final Decision in Methanex vs. United States: Some New Wine in Some New Bottles," International Institute for Sustainable Development, August 2005

Recommended:

- Bill Moyers' one-hour 2002 documentary, "Trading Democracy", [video segments](#) or the [full transcript](#)
- Tim Buthe and Helen V. Milner, "The Politics of Foreign Direct Investment into Developing Countries: Increasing FDI through Policy Commitment via Trade Agreements and Investment Treaties?," 2005
- International Institute for Sustainable Development, *Private Rights, Public Problems: A Guide to NAFTA's Controversial Chapter on Investor Rights*, 2001, 69-110 (for full descriptions of each Chapter 11 case through 2000)

- Public Citizen, “NAFTA’s Threat to Sovereignty and Democracy: The Record of NAFTA Chapter 11 Investor-State Cases, 1994-2005,” February 2005, 21-75 (for descriptions of each Chapter 11 case updated through 2004)
- the full official record of documents related to each NAFTA Chapter 11 case, at [the US State Department’s NAFTA Investor-State Arbitration page](#)
- the text of NAFTA’s Chapter 11 at [the official NAFTA Secretariat web site](#)

Feb 1: 2. Globalization and public health I. Intellectual property rights & TRIPs. Why did WTO members agree to upgrade their intellectual property rights standards? Will such IP standards induce innovation, especially for new drug treatments for neglected diseases? What are the costs of such higher standards, and, in particular, do WTO rules limit affordability of drugs for HIV/AIDS and other diseases in the developing world? Case: the experience of Ghana.

Required:

- Arvind Subramanian, “Medicines, Patents, and TRIPS,” *Finance & Development* (March 2004), 22-25
- Medecins sans Frontieres, *Doha Derailed: A Progress Report on TRIPS and Access to Medicines*, August 2003 [8 pages]
- Alan O. Sykes, “[TRIPS, Pharmaceuticals, Developing Countries, and the Doha ‘Solution.’](#)” *Chicago Journal of International Law* (2002), 47-68
- Jillian Clare Cohen et al. “TRIPS, the Doha Declaration, and Increasing Access to Medicines: Policy Options for Ghana,” *Globalization and Health* 1:17 (December 2005) [35 pages]

Recommended:

- Jean O. Lanjouw and Margaret MacLeod, “Statistical Trends in Pharmaceutical Research for Poor Countries,” April 2005
- Kenneth C. Shadlen et al., “The Political Economy of Intellectual Property Protection: The Case of Software,” *International Studies Quarterly* 49 (2005), 45-71
- Medecins sans Frontieres, “[A guide to the post-2005 world: TRIPS, R&D and access to medicines.](#)” February 2005
- Jillian Clare Cohen and Kristina M. Lybecker, “AIDS Policy and Pharmaceutical Patents: Brazil’s Strategy to Safeguard Public Health,” *World Economy* (2005), 211-230
- Phil Thorpe, “Study on the Implementation of the TRIPS Agreement by Developing Countries,” UK Commission on Intellectual Property Rights, 2002
- WTO documents related to [TRIPS and public health](#)

Feb 8: 3. Globalization and public health II. Disputes over biosafety (food safety and human, animal, and plant health). Why do governments have conflicts over food safety policies? Do WTO rules limit effective health and safety regulations? How have they been applied in practice?

Required:

- Lori Wallach and Patrick Woodall, *Whose Trade Organization? A Comprehensive Guide to the WTO* (New York: New Press, 2004), 51-82
- Trish Kelly, “The WTO, the Environment and Health and Safety Standards,” *World Economy* (2003), 131-151

- Donna Roberts and Laurian Unnevehr, “Resolving Trade Disputes Arising from Trends in Food Safety Regulation,” in Economic Research Service/USDA, *International Trade and Food Safety*, 2004, 28-47
- Prema-Chandra Athukorala and Sisira Jayasuriya, “Food Safety Issues, Trade and WTO Rules: A Developing Country Perspective,” *World Economy* (2003), 1395-1416

Recommended:

- William A. Kerr and Jill E. Hobbs, “The North American-European Union Dispute over Beef Produced Using Growth Hormones: A Major Test for the New International Trade Regime,” *World Economy* (2002), 283-296
- Grant E. Isaac and William A. Kerr, “Genetically Modified Organisms and Trade Rules: Identifying Important Challenges for the WTO,” *World Economy* (2003), 29-42
- Spencer Henson, Ann-Marie Brouder, and Winnie Mitullah, “Food Safety Requirements and Food Exports from Developing Countries: The Case of Fish Exports from Kenya to the European Union,” *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 82:5 (2000), 1159-1169
- Thomas Bernauer and Ladina Caduff, “In Whose Interest? Pressure Group Politics, Economic Competition, and Environmental Regulation,” *Journal of Public Policy* 24:1 (2004), 99-126
- WHO and WTO, [*WTO Agreements and Public Health*](#) (Geneva: WHO & WTO, 2002), 32-38, 52-55, 62-70, 82-85
- WTO information on the [SPS agreement](#)

Feb 15:

4. Globalization and human rights. Does globalization help or harm human rights? Do governments face incentives to repress their citizens in order to look “stable” for international investors, or do governments face incentives to promote rights in order to become like advanced industrial democracies? Are international institutions and international treaties effective at promoting respect for and protecting rights? **Research paper proposal due.**

Required:

- Richards, David; Ronald Gelleny & David Sacko, 2001. “Money with a Mean Streak? Foreign Economic Penetration and Government Respect for Human Rights in Developing Countries.” *International Studies Quarterly* 45(2): 219-239
- Layna Mosley and Saika Uno, “Racing to the Bottom or Climbing to the Top? Foreign Direct Investment and Labor Rights Violations,” University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2005
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie. 2005. “Trading Human Rights: How Preferential Trade Agreements Influence Government Repression.” *International Organization* 59(3): 593-629
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie, and Kiyoteri Tsutsui, “Human Rights in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises,” *American Journal of Sociology* 110:5 (March 2005), 1373-1411

Recommended:

- Michael C. Davis. 2004. “East Asia After the Crisis: Human Rights, Constitutionalism, and State Reform.” *Human Rights Quarterly*:126-151

- Caroline Dommen. 2002. Raising Human Rights Concerns in the World Trade Organization: Actors, Processes and Possible Strategies.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 24: 1-50
- Poe, Steven C. and C. Neal Tate. 1994. “Repression of Human Rights to Personal Integrity in the 1980s: A Global Analysis.” *American Political Science Review* 88(4): 853-872
- Cingranelli, David L. and David. L. Richards. 1999. “Respect for Human Rights After the End of the Cold War.” *Journal of Peace Research* 36(5): 511-534
- Maxfield, Sylvia. 1998. “Understanding the Political Implications of Financial Liberalization in Emerging Market Economies.” *World Development* 26(7): 1201-1219
- Oona Hathaway. 2002. “Do Human Rights Treaties Make a Difference?” *Yale Law Journal* 111(8): 1935-2042

Feb 22: 5. How to raise labor standards in an era of globalization. What approach to improving labor standards is best: enforcement through market-based methods or through linkage to the international trade & financial regimes? How effective are non-governmental organization campaigns to improve labor standards?

Required:

- Human Rights Watch, “Labor Rights and Trade: Guidance for the United States in Trade Accord Negotiations,” Human Rights Watch Briefing Paper, <http://hrw.org/press/2002/10/laborrights-bck.htm>
- Kimberly Ann Elliott and Richard B. Freeman, *Can Labor Standards Improve Under Globalization?* Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics, 2003, chs 1-4, 6-7
- Regina Abrami, “Worker Rights and Global Trade: The US-Cambodia Bilateral Textile Trade Agreement,” Harvard Business School Case Study 9-703-034, August 2003

Recommended:

- Ann Harrison and Jason Scorse, “Moving Up or Moving Out? Anti-Sweatshop Activists and Labor Market Outcomes,” NBER Working Paper 10492, 2004
- Eric Neumayer and Indira de Soysa, “Trade Openness, Foreign Direct Investment, and Child Labor,” *World Development* 33:1 (2005), 43-63

Mar 1: 6. Globalization and democratization. Does globalization help or harm efforts to democratize? Do international organizations help promote democratization? What are the linkages between foreign investment and democracy?

Required:

- Li, Quan and Rafael Reuveny. 2003. “[Economic Globalization and Democracy: An Empirical Analysis](#),” *British Journal of Political Science* 33:29-54
- Jon C. Pevehouse, “Democracy from the Outside In? International Organizations and Democratization.” *International Organization*. Summer 2002
- Michael Hiscox and Scott Kastner, “Trade and Democracy: Political Institutions and Trade Policies in Developing Nations,” Harvard University, 2005
- Elizabeth Economy. 2004. “Don’t Break the Engagement.” *Foreign Affairs* 83(3). [Argues that globalization will aid democratic reform]
- perhaps one more item to be added later...

Recommended:

- Kristian Gleditsch and Michael Ward. 2000. "Peace and War in Time and Space: The Role of Democratization." *International Studies Quarterly* 43:1-29
- Li, Quan and Adam Resnick. 2003. "[Reversal of Fortunes: Democracy, Property Rights and Foreign Direct Investment Inflows in Developing Countries](#)," *International Organization* 57(1):1-37
- J. Ernesto Lopez-Cordova and Christopher M. Meissner, "The Globalization of Trade and Democracy, 1870-2000," NBER Working Paper 11117, 2005

Mar 8:

7. Globalization and management of financial crises: the International Monetary Fund. Are multilateral lending programs effective? Why or why not? What political variables affect the resort to, supply of, and compliance with IMF lending programs? How should IMF lending be reformed? **Research paper description of sources due.**

Required:

- Paul Blustein, *The Chastening: Inside the Crisis that Rocked the Global Financial System and Humbled the IMF* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2001), 8-18, 85-115, 207-234
- Global Exchange, "How the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank Undermine Democracy and Erode Human Rights — Five Case Studies," September 2001
- Randall W. Stone, "The Political Economy of IMF Lending in Africa," *American Political Science Review* 98:4 (2004), 577-591
- Joseph Stiglitz, "Dealing with Debt: How to Reform the Global Financial System," *Harvard International Review* (Spring 2003), 54-59

Recommended:

- Dani Rodrik. 1995. "Why is there Multilateral Lending?" NBER Workd Paper 5160
- James Vreeland. 2001. "Institutional Determinants of IMF Agreements."
- James Vreeland. 2003. *The IMF and Economic Development*. Cambridge University Press

Mar 15:

Spring Break

Mar 22:

8. Foreign aid and debt relief. Can foreign aid alleviate the plight of the poorest nations in the world? What institutional pre-requisites are there for aid to work? Is debt relief for the poorest borrowers the answer?

Required:

- Jeffrey Sachs et al., "Ending Africa's Poverty Trap," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* 2004:1
- William Easterly. 2002. "How did the heavily indebted poor countries become heavily indebted? Reviewing 2 decades of debt relief." *World Development* 30(10): 1677-1696
- Todd Moss, Gunilla Pettersson, and Nicolas van de Walle, "An Aid-Institutions Paradox? A Review Essay on Aid Dependency and State Building in Sub-Saharan Africa," Center for Global Development Working Paper 74, January 2006
- Steven Radelet, Michael Clemens, and Rikhil Bhavnani, "Aid and Growth," *Finance & Development* 42:3 (September 2005)

Recommended:

- William Easterly. 2003. "Can Foreign Aid Buy Growth?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17(3): 23-48
- Craig Burnside and David Dollar, "Aid, Policies, and Growth..."
- William Easterly, "The Political Economy of Growth without Development: A Case Study of Pakistan," in Dani Rodrik, 2003, *In Search of Prosperity*, Princeton University Press
- Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson, "An African Success Story: Botswana," Chapter 4 in Dani Rodrik, 2003, *In Search of Prosperity*, Princeton University Press
- Thad Dunning. 2004. "Conditioning the Effects of Aid: Cold War Politics, Donor Credibility, and Democracy in Africa." *International Organization* 58: 409-423
- Stephen Knack, "Does Foreign Aid Promote Democracy?," *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (2004), 251-266
- IMF, Debt Relief Under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative, <http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/hipc.htm>
- IMF, The Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI), <http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/mdri.htm>
- "Picture This: Aiding Development," *Finance & Development* 42:3 (September 2005), a brief on foreign aid, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2005/09/picture.htm>

Mar 29:

9. Multilateral security management. Are international organizations effective at preventing international conflict and building peace after conflict ends? If so, under what conditions? Are the critics right, that they are merely tools of powerful states? Conversely, are other critics right that the US, as the only global superpower, is or should not be constrained by multilateral security institutions?

Required:

- Erik Voeten. 2005. "The Political Origins of the UN Security Council's Ability to Legitimize the Use of Force." *International Organization* 59(4)
- Fortna, Page. 2004. "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War." *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 48, No. 2, June 2004, pp. 269-92
- Roland Paris, 2004, *At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 13-51
- Michael J. Glennon, "Why the Security Council Failed," *Foreign Affairs* 82:3 (May-June 2003), 16-35

Recommended:

- Thompson, Alexander. 2006. "Coercion through IOs: The Security Council and the Logic of Information Transmission." *International Organization* 60(1): 1-34
- Cases: Angola and Rwanda in Paris, pp. 63-78. Namibia and Mozambique in Paris, pp. 135-148
- Amy Yuen and Suzanne Werner. 2005. "Making and Keeping Peace." *International Organization* 59(2): 261-292
- Ian Hurd. 2005. "The Strategic Use of Internationalism: Libya and the UN Sanctions, 1992-2003."
- Terrence Chapman. 2005. "International Security Institutions, Domestic Politics, and Institutional Legitimacy in World Affairs." Manuscript, Emory University

- Terrence Chapman and Scott Wolford. 2006. "Organizational Bias and Crisis Bargaining: When can International Security Organizations Prevent International Conflict?" Manuscript, Emory University
- Michael Barnett. 2000. *Eyewitness to Genocide*.
- Susan Woodward. 1995. *Balkan Tragedy*.
- Barnett, Michael and Martha Finnemore. 1999. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations." *International Organization* 53(4): 699-732

Apr 5: 10. Globalization and the welfare state. Does globalization lead to a "race-to-the-bottom" in social welfare spending? How do countries manage the "Catch-22" of opening to global markets and facing more insecurity and higher demands for government programs, versus reducing tax rates to attract foreign capital? **Research paper draft due.**

Required:

- Dani Rodrik, *Has Globalization Gone Too Far?*, Washington, DC: Brookings, 1998, 1-10.
- Duane Swank. 2001. "Mobile Capital, Democratic Institutions, and the Public Economy in Advanced Industrial Societies." *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis* 3: 133-162
- George Avelino, David S. Brown, and Wendy Hunter, "The Effects of Capital Mobility, Trade Openness, and Democracy on Social Spending in Latin America, 1980-1999," *American Journal of Political Science* 49:3 (July 2005), 625-641
- Sven Steinmo, "Bucking the Trend? The Welfare State and the Global Economy: The Swedish Case Up Close," *New Political Economy* 8:1 (2003), 31-48
- The example of Germany in 2005-2006: "Germany's Surprising Economy," *The Economist* August 20, 2005; "Taxing Times," *The Economist* November 19th, 2005; "Merkel's Adagio," *The Economist* December 3, 2005

Recommended:

- Nita Rudra, "Openness, Welfare Spending, and Inequality in the Developing World," *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (2004), 683-709
- Isabela Mares. 2004. "Economic Insecurity and Social Policy Expansion: Evidence from Interwar Europe." *International Organization* 58: 745-774
- Duane Swank and Sven Steinmo. 2002. "The New Political Economy of Taxation in Advanced Capitalist Countries." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(3): 642-655
- Alexander Hicks and Chris Zorn. 2005. "Economic Globalization, the Macro Economy, and Reversals of Welfare: Expansion in Affluent Democracies, 1978-1994." *International Organization* 59(3): 631-662
- Mark Hallerberg and Scott Basinger. 2004. "Remodeling the Competition for Capital: How Domestic Politics Erases the Race to the Bottom." *American Political Science Review* 98(2): 261-276
- Alicia Adsera and Carles Boix. 2002. "Trade, Democracy, and the Size of the Public Sector." *International Organization* 56(2): 229-262
- Mosley, Layna. 2000. "Room to Move: International Financial Markets and National Welfare States." *International Organization* 54(4): 737-773

Apr 12: Student presentations.

Apr 19: Student presentations.

Apr 26: Student presentations.

May 2: **Research papers due.**