

POSC 269 Research Seminar in Comparative Politics: Globalization and the Nation State Spring, 2007-2008

Duane Swank

Office 450 William Wehr Physics

Office Hours: T Th 11:00 - 12:15; Wed 12:00 - 3:30

Phone: 8-3418 Email: duane.swank@marquette.edu

Introduction. This course focuses on the economic, political and social impacts of globalization on nation states across the globe. As such, it will offer a survey of social science theory and research on globalization's impacts from the fields of international, comparative, and (to a lesser extent) American politics as well as from economics and sociology. We will focus most centrally on the nation-state impacts of *economic globalization*, or the increasing volume, speed, and intensity of international flows of goods, services, capital and labor around the globe. We will also recognize and assess the impacts of political globalization (i.e., the creation of supranational institutions for regional or global governance) and socio-cultural globalization (e.g., the international proliferation of western cultural norms and tastes).

The course is structured around four thematic units that address central questions in the academic (and popular political) debate about the consequences of globalization. First, and as a prelude for the three substantive sections of the course, we will examine ***“the rise, fall, and rise” of globalization*** from the mid-1800s to the present. In this section, we will read significant new work in political economy about the characteristics of historic and contemporary periods of globalization and, most centrally, the causes of internationalization of economic activity.

After exploring the history, nature and causes of globalization, we will examine ***the case for globalization***. In this section, we will examine the classic arguments about the benefits of economic globalization and attendant processes, namely, that internationalization of markets promotes notable increases in economic well-being, liberal democracy, and peace. We will consider the main critiques of these pro-globalist theories and the rebuttals by the globalists.

Third, we will examine the central question of ***whether or not globalization significantly limits the autonomy of national governments*** to pursue their preferred policies. We will pay particular attention to the question of whether or not globalization constrains democratically elected governments from pursuing their chosen policies. Some emphasis will be given to the potential constraints of globalization in the core public policy areas of environmental and consumer protection, economic management by the state, and social protection.

Fourth, we will examine in some depth the central question of ***whether the central economic and political impacts of globalization in the developing world are positive or negative***. Globalists argue that economic internationalization brings development to the “third world” and reinforces democracy and human rights. Vocal critics of globalization argue that increases in exposure to international markets actually harms developing nations economically and socially, and potentially intensifies domestic political conflicts.

POSC 269: Research Seminar in Comparative Politics: Globalization and the Nation State

Readings/Books. We will explore these central questions in the form of eight books (as well as a set of classic and important new articles and book chapters). Most material that is not in the required books is in the form of articles accessible through standard electronic journal access procedures on MARQCAT (or on websites). Any additional books beyond the core eight will be accessible at the reserve desk at Raynor Library.

Gary Burtless et al, *Globaphobia: Confronting Fears about Open Trade*. (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1998).

Ha-Joon Chang, *Kicking Away the Ladder: Development Strategy in Comparative Perspective*. London: Anthem Press, 2002.

Amy Chua, *World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability*. (New York: Anchor Books-Random House, 2003).

Jeffrey Frieden, *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2006.

Layna Mosley, *Global Capital and National Governments*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Joseph Stiglitz, *Making Globalization Work*. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company 2006).

Duane Swank, *Global Capital, Political Institutions and Policy Change in Developed Welfare States*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

David Vogel, *Trading Up: Consumer and Environmental Regulation in a Global Economy*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

Additional authors: as the syllabus indicates we will read seminal or new “cutting-edge” work by several additional scholars including multiple works by Dennis Quinn, Geoffrey Garrett, Dani Rodrik and other leading figures in social science theory and research on globalization.

Course Requirements and Grading:

Seminar participants should attend each seminar meeting and be prepared to discuss the material assigned for that session. Informed **class participation will constitute 10 % of the final grade**. Students are also required to select one of the course's weekly based topics for specialized study. This selection should be coordinated with the research paper topic. The first two sessions -- the

POSC 269: Research Seminar in Comparative Politics: Globalization and the Nation State

introductory session (January 15) and Week 2, "The Rise, Fall, and Rise of Globalization" (January 22), as well as Week 9 (March 12), Week 10 (March 19) and Week 16 (research findings presentations) are excluded. For the topic chosen, students will prepare *a critical review essay on the required reading as well as a recommended reading*, where the recommended reading usually consists of an important or even seminal article or chapter on the featured topic. In addition to the essay, seminar participants are also expected to provide a formal *in-class presentation (detailed review and critique) of the recommended reading* as well as share the lead of seminar discussion. The **critical review-presentation assignment is worth 30 % of the final grade**. (More on this with a special handout appended to this syllabus.)

The central class assignment is to complete **a seminar-quality research paper** on any topic within the purview of the course. A **prospectus** of this paper, including a preliminary bibliography, is due by March 12 (and is worth **10 % of the final grade**). On the 12th, each seminar participant will present their prospectus to the whole seminar. **The final paper** is due by Monday, May 5 and is worth 50 % of the final grade. Research findings will be presented on April 30, the final meeting of the seminar. (More about the research paper assignment via a class handout in a couple of weeks.) In sum:

Seminar Participation:	10%
Critical Review/Presentation:	30 %
Seminar Paper:	60% (10% for prospectus, 50 % for final paper)

Schedule: Overview

Introduction

Week 1 (January 16): Overview of Research Seminar

Part A: The Rise, Fall and Rise of Globalization

Week 2 (January 23) The Rise, Fall, and Rise, Part I

Week 3 (January 30) The Rise, Fall, and Rise, Part II

Part B: The Case for Globalization: Critics and Defenders

Week 4 (February 6): The Case for Globalization: Economics

Week 5 (February 13): The Case for Globalization: Politics

Part C: Globalization and National Policy Autonomy: Races to the Bottom or Something Else?

Week 6 (February 20): Globalization and National Economic and Social Policy: Theory

Week 7 (February 27): Globalization and National ... Policy: Developed Democracies

Week 8 (March 5): Globalization and National ... Policy: Developing Political Economies

Week 9 (March 12): **Prospectus Due/ Presentations**

Week 10 (March 19) Spring Break and Easter Combined Holiday

Week 11 (March 26): Globalization and Environmental/Consumer Protection

POSC 269: Research Seminar in Comparative Politics: Globalization and the Nation State

Part D: Globalization and Its Impact on Economics and Politics in the Developing World

Week 12 (April 2): Does Globalization Work for Developing Nations? Economics, Part I.

Week 13 (April 9): Does Globalization Work...? Economics, Part II

Week 14 (April 16): Does Globalization Work...? Politics, Internal Conflict and War

Week 15 (April 23): Global Capitalism and Development Strategies

Week 16 (April 30): Research Findings Presentation

Schedule: Weekly Readings

Introduction

Week 1 (January 16): Overview of Research Seminar

Part A: The Rise, Fall and Rise of Globalization

In this section, we will examine the first wave of globalization (1860s-1914), its collapse (interwar years), and the contemporary wave of globalization via Jeff Frieden's impressive treatment of the topic in *Global Capitalism*. Beyond a survey of the history of globalization from the mid-1980s to the present, Frieden's goal is to highlight that the causes of globalization, past and present, rest with political choices made by leading nation states. We will supplement Frieden through a presentation of a cutting edge quantitative analysis of the causes of financial liberalization by political economists Dennis Quinn and Maria Toyoda. They, too, argue that ultimately contemporary choices to liberalize financial markets, a central feature of contemporary globalism, are driven by politics. (Additional background material on theory and evidence on the causes of globalization as well as associated bibliography is available via an insightful analytical survey by Geoff Garrett. In subsequent weeks, we will often explore the question of how domestic political forces shape globalization and its economic, social and policy impacts.)

Week 2 (January 23) The Rise, Fall, and Rise, Part I (19th and early 20th Century globalism and its collapse)

Required:

- Prologue, Parts I and II (Chs 1-10) in Frieden, *Global Capitalism*

Week 3 (January 30) The Rise, Fall, and Rise, Part II(contemporary globalization)

Required:

- Parts III and IV (Chs. 11-20) and Conclusion, Frieden, *Global Capitalism*

Recommended

- Dennis Quinn and A. Maria Toyoda, "Ideology and Voter Preferences as Determinants of Financial Globalization." *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 51, No.2 April 2007, 344-363.

POSC 269: Research Seminar in Comparative Politics: Globalization and the Nation State

Background Part A. (for an extensive survey of the causes of globalization and associated bibliography): Geoffrey Garrett, “The Causes of Globalization.” *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 33, No 6/7. August/September 2000, pp. 941-991. (Also see the extensive bibliography in Frieden, *Global Capitalism* and Quinn and Toyoda.)

Part B: The Case for Globalization: Critics and Defenders

We address in this section of the course much of the basic theory concerning why globalization might produce greater *economic growth* and material well-being as well as salutary social and political outcomes such as strengthened *democracy*; as part of the outline of the case for globalism, we will also get an overview of the critics case that globalization might be inconsequential or even bad for economic and political performance of national economies and political systems. In many ways, this is an introduction to many of the issues we will address throughout the course. (We will examine the theory and research on the question of whether globalization’s impact on *internal conflict* - political violence, civil war – and external militarized conflict (e.g., *war and peace*) is positive or negative in Week 14.

We begin by exploring the theory behind the notion that openness in trade is good (and the standard arguments behind the notion that it is bad) via the accessible yet rigorous treatment in the book by Burtless and colleagues. We will also hear from Dani Rodrik who summarizes much of what is actually known by international political economists about the relationship between trade and economic growth. We will return to some detailed analysis of this question later on in the course.

Next, we consider the argument that international integration of a nation fosters democratization and supports democratic institutions. After reading a series of recent empirical assessments of this hypothesis, we will again consult Rodrik (and co-author Mayda) on the question of how individuals’ (political) preferences for more or less international liberalization are determined. This research sets the stage for further exploration of domestic political conflicts about globalization. (Additional background material is also referenced.)

Week 4 (February 6): The Case for Globalization, Part I: Economics

Required:

- Gary Burtless *et al*, *Globaphobia*

Recommended:

- Dani Rodrik, “Trading in Illusions,” *Foreign Policy* March/April, No. 123, 2001.

Week 5 (February 13): The Case for Globalization, Part II: Democracy

Required:

- J. Ernesto Lopez-Cordova and Christopher Meissner, “The Globalization of Trade and Democracy, 1870-2000.” National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 11117, <http://www.nber.org/papers/w11117>.

POSC 269: Research Seminar in Comparative Politics: Globalization and the Nation State

- Quan Li and Rafael Reuveny, "Economic Globalization and Democracy: An Empirical Analysis." *British Journal of Political Science* 33, 2003, pp. 29-54c.
- Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Michael Ward, "Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization." *International Organization* 60, Fall 2006, pp. 911-934.

Recommended:

- Anna Maria Mayda and Dani Rodrik, "Why Are Some People (and Countries) More Protectionist than Others?" <http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~drodrik/papers.html> (Published in *European Economic Review* August 2005.

Background for Part B: Jagdish Bhagwati, *In Defense of Globalization*, Oxford University Press, 2004) is a very nice complement to Burtless *et al.* For a penetrating survey of the state-of-the-art research in international economics on the notion that trade openness fosters economic growth, see Francisco Rodriguez and Dani Rodrik, "Trade Policy and Economic Growth: A Skeptics Guide to the Cross-National Evidence." <http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~drodrik/papers.html> (Published in Ben Bernanke and Ken Rogoff, eds., *Macroeconomics Annual 2000* (MIT Press, 2001). (We will also address even more rigorously the question of globalization and economic growth at several junctures below.)

Part C: Globalization and National Policy Autonomy: Races to the Bottom or Something Else?

One of the most widely debated and significant questions about the impact of globalization is whether or not it diminishes the autonomy of national policy makers to choice among a full range of otherwise feasible economic, social, environmental and other policies. When this range of choice is constrained in a established democracy, democracy as well as national autonomy is arguably diminished; when it is constrained in democratizing - or even authoritarian - cases, it represents the decline of national autonomy and a range of possible negative (or positive) economic, social and political outcomes.

We will address this question through two books that focus on national economic and social policies (my own 2002 book and one by Layna Mosley) as well as David Vogel's seminal treatment of the impact of international and regional trade integration and international organizations (e.g., WTO, EU, NAFTA) on the ability of national governments to retain autonomy over environmental and consumer protection. We will also read recent influential articles on globalization and the welfare state in Latin America, the impact of International Monetary Fund program conditionality on national spending autonomy, and the continued importance of national politics and institutions for shaping national environmental performance.

Generally, one branch of contemporary globalism theory argues that increasing economic integration, especially the dramatic increases in financial liberalization since the 1970s forces all nations to "run to the bottom" as they compete for capital. Another branch of theory, with deep

POSC 269: Research Seminar in Comparative Politics: Globalization and the Nation State

roots in political economy theory, argues that nations will not typically run to the bottom (e.g., reduce the size of state interventions and promote market-oriented policy) but will be more actively engaged in managing internationalization and providing compensation to those hurt. Some, like Vogel, argue that internationalization and regionalization may actually embody mechanisms that foster a “run to the top.” Ultimately, we should decide if national autonomy is significantly constrained by various forms of internationalization, and if so how exactly, and in what directions are national policies actually moving.

Week 6 (February 20): Globalization and National Economic and Social Policy: Theory

Required:

- Chs. 1 and 2 in Mosley, *Global Capital and National Governments*
- Chs. 1 and 2 in Swank, *Global Capital, Political Institutions and Welfare States*

Recommended:

- Chapter 7 in Swank, *Global Capital ... Welfare States*

Week 7 (February 27): Globalization and National Economic and Social Policy: Developed Democracies

Required:

- Ch. 3 (skim 5 and 6) in Mosley *Global Capital and National Governments*
- Chs. 3 thru 6 in Swank, *Global Capital, Political Institutions and Welfare States*

Recommended:

- Alex Hicks and Christopher Zorn, “Economic Globalization, the Macro Economy, and Reversals in Welfare: Expansion in Affluent Democracies, 1978-1994. *International Organization* 59 (Summer, 2005), pp. 631-662.

Week 8 (March 5): Globalization and National Economic and Social Policy: Developing Political Economies (and Historical Eras)

Required:

- Chs. 4 and 7 in Mosley, *Global Capital and National Governments*
- Robert Kaufman and Alex Segura-Ubiergo, “Globalization, Domestic Politics, and Social Spending in Latin America: A Time-Series Cross-Section Analysis, 1973-1997. *World Politics* 53 (July 2001), pp. 553-87.

Recommended:

- Irfan Nooruddin and Joel Simmons, “The Politics of Hard Choices: IMF Programs and Government Spending.” *International Organization* 60, Fall 2006, pp. 1001-1033.

POSC 269: Research Seminar in Comparative Politics: Globalization and the Nation State

Week 9 (March 12): **Prospectus Due/ Presentations**

Week 10 (March 19) Spring Break and Easter Combined Holiday

Week 11 (March 26): : Globalization and Environmental/Consumer Protection

Required:

- David Vogel, *Trading Up*

Recommended:

- Lyle Scruggs, "Is There Really a Link Between Neo-Corporatism and Environmental Performance? Updated Evidence and New Data for the 1980s and 1990s." *British Journal of Political Science* 31, No. 4 2001, pp. 686-692c.

Background for Part C: Extensive bibliography can be found in the required and recommended readings for this section. As these readings indicate, the literature is vast and many core questions are yet to be answered.

Part D: Globalization and Its Impact on Economics and Politics in the Developing World

In this section, we will further explore the impacts of globalization on national performances and policies in the developing world. Does international integration foster growth, inequality, and political stability as well as encourage governments to adopt effective policies? Or, as some argue, does internationalization have little impact on growth, negative impacts on equality, and adverse effects on stability and national policies? We will cover these questions with books by Nobel Prize winner Joe Stiglitz, Yale Law Professor Amy Chua, and Cambridge University economist Ha-Joon Chang as well as important new research by Nancy Brune and Geoff Garrett, Dani Rodrik et al, Sarah Brooks et al, and Jon Pevehouse et al.

Week 12 (April 2): Does Globalization Work for Developing Nations? Economics, Part I.

Required:

- Chs. 1-4 Stiglitz, *Making Globalization Work*

Recommended:

- Nancy Brune and Geoffrey Garrett, "The Globalization Rorschach: International Economic Integration, Inequality, and the Role of Government. *Annual Review of Political Science* 8 (2005), pp. 399-423.

Week 13 (April 9): Does Globalization Work...? Economics, Part II

POSC 269: Research Seminar in Comparative Politics: Globalization and the Nation State

Required:

- Chs 5-10 in Stiglitz, *Making Globalization Work*

Recommended:

- Dani Rodrik et al, "Institutional Rule: The Primacy of Institutions over Geography and Integration in Economic Development." *Journal of Economic Growth* no.2 June 2004.

Week 14 (April 16): Does Globalization Work...? Politics

Required:

- Amy Chua, *World on Fire*

Recommended:

- Jon Pevehouse and Bruce Russett, "Democratic International Governance Organizations Promote Peace." *International Organization* 60, Fall 2006, pp. 969-1000.

Week 15 (April 23): Global Capitalism and Development Strategies, Part I.

Required:

- Ha-Joon Chang, *Kicking Away the Ladder*

Recommended:

- Sarah Brooks and Marcus Kurtz, "Capital, Trade, and the Political Economies of Reform." *American Journal of Political Science* 51, No. 4, 2007, pp. 703-720.

Background for Part D. Again, the literature is vast and extensive bibliographic material can be found in the readings listed above. Of particular interest on the distributional impacts of globalization in the developing world is The World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization, *A Fair Globalization: Creating Opportunities for All*. Geneva: International Labour Organization, 2004. For more on globalization, institutions and growth, Dani Rodrik's new book, *One Economics, Many Recipes: Globalization, Institutions, and Economic Growth* (Princeton University Press, 2007), is a good place to start.

Week 16 (April 30): Research Findings Presentation

Research Papers Due: May 5

Guidelines for Critical Review/Presentation Assignments

As noted on the main syllabus, you should select one of the relevant topics/weeks for your critical review/presentation assignment. To the extent possible, you select this week based on your preliminary plans for a research paper. (See attached sheet for the available weeks and the form for declaring your preferences.) For the assigned week, you have two tasks. First, complete a critical review essay where you summarize, integrate, and critique the main required reading and the recommended reading. Second, prepare a formal class presentation for the recommended reading (usually a particularly important article).

Critical Review Essay

Content: Provide a critical review essay that covers the required reading and recommended reading. (These materials will be included in purchased texts or will be on reserve at the library.) The critical review essay should include the following. (a.) You should provide a synopsis of the main theoretical arguments of each author, the methods employed, and a concise overview of the evidence generated through empirical analysis. Do not attempt any detailed recapitulation of all that is discussed in a book or article; a few concise paragraphs on the arguments of an author and another few paragraphs on the methods and evidence and analysis will suffice. (b.) You should also critically reflect on each reading. This may be done by contrasting and comparing the readings where the relative strengths and weaknesses of each are highlighted; commenting on the logic of the argument and the adequacy of evidence; and, where appropriate, using theories and evidence from other sections in this course or knowledge gained in other courses to assess whether the author's thesis is correct.

Organization: One might organize the essay by sequentially discussing the readings and by providing a comparative synthesis in a concluding set of paragraphs. Alternatively, one might organize the essay by specific questions or themes common across the readings discussing each article's arguments and contributions to each issue. Generally, the readings themselves and reviewer's analytical style and talents will suggest one or the other format. Suggested length: 5-6 pages, double spaced (10-12 point font).

Class Presentation:

For each session/class meeting, I will make a brief introductory or summary presentation of background and material relevant to that week's particular topic. Generally, we will then proceed with a discussion and dissection of that week's required reading; the presenter will have some responsibility to be particularly active during the general discussion; indeed, the expectation is that the presenter will play some role in leading at least parts of the seminar discussion. The **main in-class task is to present the recommended reading** to the class. We will devote the last 30 minutes or so to those presentations and subsequent discussion. Specifically, plan to present the arguments — the theory and hypotheses — of the recommended reading, an overview of the methodology used, and a synopsis of major findings and conclusions of the author(s). To complete the presentation, you should provide a concise critique of the reading — a statement of its major strengths and weaknesses. Your presentation should be 15-20 minutes (followed by seminar discussion). Be concise, and polish your presentation before class. The use of a class handout that summarizes arguments or findings is mandated for many if not all of the readings.

NOTE: The written critical review essay is due at the beginning of the relevant class session.

POSC 269: Globalization and the Nation State

Duane Swank

Please *select five* of the following weeks/topics for critical review/presentation assignments. You will be assigned two.

Available weeks are:

Week 3 (January 30) The Rise, Fall, and Rise, Part II: Contemporary Globalism

Week 4 (February 6): The Case for Globalization: Economics

Week 5 (February 13): The Case for Globalization: Politics

Week 6 (February 20): Globalization and National Economic and Social Policy: Theory

Week 7 (February 27): Globalization and National ... Policy: Developed Democracies

Week 8 (March 5): Globalization and National ... Policy: Developing Political Economies

Week 11 (March 26): Globalization and Environmental/Consumer Protection

Week 12 (April 2): Does Globalization Work for Developing Nations? Economics, Part I.

Week 13 (April 9): Does Globalization Work...? Economics, Part II

Week 14 (April 16): Does Globalization Work...? Politics, Internal Conflict and War

Week 15 (April 23): Global Capitalism and Development Strategies

Preferences (list five weeks in order and you will be assigned one):

Your Name: _____

	Week #/Date	Weekly Topic Title
First Preference:	_____	_____
Second Preference:	_____	_____
Third Preference:	_____	_____
Fourth Preference:	_____	_____
Fifth Preference:	_____	_____