

Interdisciplinary Programmes

Academic year 2018-2019

Globalisation and the Political Economy Labor

MINT128 - Autumn - 6 ECTS

Course Description

This course examines the politics of labor in the era of globalization. It starts with an overview of the new issues that globalization have raised (or are assumed to) in developing and developed states. As a result of deeper international interdependence, some workers in the world enjoy better opportunities, while others burden more risks; some countries provide better welfare protection for workers, while others undermine existing institutions that could minimize risks and uncertainties. Why do we see different outcomes at the societal level? What kinds of policies one might need in order to improve labor rights and distribute resources more equally?

> PROFESSOR

Rho Sung Min
sungmin.rho@graduateinstitute.ch

[Office hours](#)

Syllabus

Course Requirements:

- **Class participation (20%).** All students are expected to complete the reading assignments before the class and to actively participate in class discussion. If you miss more than two classes, other than documented emergencies, you will automatically receive zero for class participation.
- **Weekly notes (20%).** Students are required to write a short but concise note (1-page, single spaced) on course readings. The note should discuss what are the main points of debate in the readings, what you agree or disagree with the claims of the readings, and what they fail to address. This is an exercise to help students critically engage with the readings and prepare for in-class discussion. Students can choose two weeks where they do not submit the note. All of the notes should be emailed to the TA by Friday 12:15 **before** the class.
- **Book review (20%).** Students will be paired as a team to read a book and write a review. The review should discuss the author's main arguments and supporting evidence as well as implications for understanding the theme of the week. Students will be asked to make a short presentation on the book during class. 5 pages max.

- **Final project and presentation (40%).** Students are asked to choose a topic of their choice in relations to the class materials and write a research report. Students have an option of writing the report as a team or as an individual. The final project will be presented during the last two sessions.

Paper Policy:

Papers should be submitted electronically to TA by the start of class. It is students' responsibility to ensure that their computer and internet work properly and submit the assignments on time. No late work will be accepted without prior written agreement.

Academic Integrity:

Any act of academic dishonesty including plagiarism and resubmission of one's own work used in other classes will result in a failing grade. For further information, please refer to "Institute's Internal Guidelines Governing Citation of Sources and Plagiarism." Students are expected to read and understand the guideline before submission of any assignment.

Office Hours:

To meet with Prof. Rho, students are asked to sign up for a 15-minute slot online. The time slots will be posted on <https://wejoinin.com/sungmin.rho@graduateinstitute.ch>. Please do not sign up for more than one slot at a time. If you need more than 15 minutes, please email Prof. Rho.

Suggested references

- Rivoli, P. (2014). *The travels of a t-shirt in the global economy: An economist examines the markets, power, and politics of world trade*. John Wiley & Sons
- Frieden, Jeffrey A., David A. Lake, and David A. Lake. *International political economy: perspectives on global power and wealth*. Routledge, 2014, 4th Edition
- Dicken, Peter. *Global Shift: Mapping the Changing Contours of the World Economy*. Sage, 2015, 7th Edition
- Martin, Lisa L., ed. *The Oxford Handbook of the Political Economy of International Trade*. Oxford University Press, 2015.

Weekly Session Schedules

(subject to change)

Session 01 (09/21) Introduction

- Rodrik, D. (1998). *Has globalization gone too far?*. Institute for International Economics, Chapter 1
- Trade: Last Week Tonight with John Oliver, can be accessed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=etkd57IPfPU>
- *Mardi Gras Made in China*, Documentary

Part 1: Debate over Consequence

Session 02 (09/28) Shifts in the Global Economy and Inequality

- O'Rourke, Kevin H., and Jeffrey G. Williamson. "When did globalisation begin?." *European Review of Economic History* 6.1 (2002): 23-50.

- Lindert, P. H., & Williamson, J. G. (2003). Does globalization make the world more unequal?. In *Globalization in historical perspective* (pp. 227-276). University of Chicago Press.
- Rodrik, D. (1998). *Has globalization gone too far?*. Institute for International Economics, Chapter 2
- *Mardi Gras Made in China*, (2005). Documentary

Session 03 (10/05) Trade as Labor Politics

- The Globalization and Labor. *IMF World Economic Outlook: Globalization and Inequality* (2007), Chapter 5
- Scheve, Kenneth F., and Matthew J. Slaughter. "What determines individual trade-policy preferences?." *Journal of International Economics* 54.2 (2001): 267-292.
- Rho, Sungmin, and Michael Tomz. "Why Don't Trade Preferences Reflect Economic Self-Interest?." *International Organization* 71.S1 (2017): S85-S108
- Jensen, J. B., Quinn, D. P., & Weymouth, S. (2017). Winners and losers in international trade: The effects on US presidential voting. *International Organization*, 71(3), 423-457.

Supplementary

- Owen, E., & Johnston, N. P. (2017). Occupation and the Political Economy of Trade: Job Routineness, Offshorability, and Protectionist Sentiment. *International Organization*, 71(4), 665-699.
- Baker, Andy. "Who wants to globalize? Consumer tastes and labor markets in a theory of trade policy beliefs." *American Journal of Political Science* 49.4 (2005): 924-938.
- Margalit, Y. (2011). Costly jobs: Trade-related layoffs, government compensation, and voting in US elections. *American Political Science Review*, 105(1), 166-188.

Session 04 (10/12) Globalization and Labor Rights

- Baldwin, Richard. "1 Global supply chains: why they emerged, why they matter, and where they are going." *Global value chains in a changing world* (2013): 13.
- Mosley, L., & Uno, S. (2007). Racing to the bottom or climbing to the top? Economic globalization and collective labor rights. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(8), 923-948.
- Malesky, E. J., & Mosley, L. (2018). Chains of Love? Global Production and the Firm-Level Diffusion of Labor Standards. *American Journal of Political Science*.
- Chan, J., Pun, N., & Selden, M. (2013). The politics of global production: Apple, Foxconn and China's new working class. *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 28(2), 100-115.

Supplementary

- Mosley, L. (2010). *Labor rights and multinational production*. Cambridge University Press.
- Flanagan, R. J. (2006). *Globalization and labor conditions: working conditions and worker rights in a global economy*. Oxford University Press.
- China Blue (2005), Documentary
- Weil, D. (2014). *The fissured workplace*. Harvard University Press.
- Cao, X., Greenhill, B., & Prakash, A. (2013). Where is the tipping point? Bilateral trade and the diffusion of human rights. *British Journal of Political Science*, 43(1), 133-156.
- Greenhill, B., Mosley, L., & Prakash, A. (2009). Trade-based diffusion of labor rights: A panel study, 1986–2002. *American Political Science Review*, 103(4), 669-690.
- Chan, A. (2016). *China's Workers Under Assault: Exploitation and Abuse in a Globalizing Economy: Exploitation and Abuse in a Globalizing Economy*. Routledge.
- The Economist, When workers dream of a life beyond the factory gates, Dec 15 2012

- Rudra, N. (2005). Are workers in the developing world winners or losers in the current era of globalization?. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 40(3), 29-64
- Vadlamannati, K. C. (2015). Rewards of (dis) integration: Economic, social, and political globalization and freedom of association and collective bargaining rights of workers in developing countries. *ILR Review*, 68(1), 3-27.

Session 05 (10/19) Globalization and Welfare State

- Rudra, N. (2002). Globalization and the decline of the welfare state in less-developed countries. *International Organization*, 56(2), 411-445
- Rudra, N. (2008). Globalization and the Race to the Bottom in Developing Countries. *Cambridge Books*. Chapters 4-5
- Nooruddin, I., & Simmons, J. W. (2009). Openness, uncertainty, and social spending: Implications for the globalization—welfare state debate. *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(3), 841-866.
- Rickard, S. J. (2012). Welfare versus subsidies: Governmental spending decisions in an era of globalization. *The Journal of Politics*, 74(4), 1171-1183.

Supplementary

- Rodrik, D. (1998). *Has globalization gone too far?*. Institute for International Economics, Chapter 4
- Hays, J. C. (2009). *Globalization and the new politics of embedded liberalism*. Oxford University Press.
- Swenson, P. (2002). *Capitalists against markets: The making of labor markets and welfare states in the United States and Sweden*. Oxford University Press on Demand.

Part 2: Debate over Select Topics

Session 06 (10/26) Women and Labor

- Elson, D., & Pearson, R. (1981). 'Nimble fingers make cheap workers': An analysis of women's employment in third world export manufacturing. *Feminist review*, 7(1), 87-107.
- Ross, M. L. (2008). Oil, Islam, and women. *American political science review*, 102(1), 107-123.
- Caraway, T. L. (2009). Comparative political economy, gender, and labor markets. *Politics & Gender*, 5(4), 568-575.
- Caraway, T. L. (2005). The political economy of feminization: From "cheap labor" to gendered discourses of work. *Politics & Gender*, 1(3), 399-429.

Supplementary

- Chang, L. T. (2009). *Factory girls: From village to city in a changing China*. Random House Digital, Inc
- Constable, N. (2014). *Born out of place: Migrant mothers and the politics of international labor*. Univ of California Press.

Session 07 (11/02) Child Labor

- Weiner, M. (1991). *The child and the state in India: Child labor and education policy in comparative perspective*. Princeton University Press. Chapter 1, 6
- Von Stein, J. (2016). Making promises, keeping promises: democracy, ratification and compliance in international human rights law. *British Journal of Political Science*, 46(3), 655-679.

- The Nation, May 23rd 2017, Is Banning Child Labor Really That Controversial?
<https://www.thenation.com/article/banning-child-labor-really-controversial/>

Supplementary

- Thorsen, D. (2006). Child migrants in transit. In *Navigating youth, generating adulthood: social becoming in an African context*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutete
- Neumayer, E., & De Soysa, I. (2005). Trade openness, foreign direct investment and child labor. *World Development*, 33(1), 43-63.
- Satz, D. (2010). *Why some things should not be for sale: The moral limits of markets*. Oxford University Press.

Session 08 (11/09) Migration

- Solinger, D. J. (1999). Citizenship issues in China's internal migration: comparisons with Germany and Japan. *Political Science Quarterly*, 114(3), 455-478.
- Goldin, I., Cameron, G., & Balarajan, M. (2011). *Exceptional people: How migration shaped our world and will define our future*. Princeton University Press. Chapter 3
- Card, David. (2009). "How Immigrants Affect U.S. Cities." in *Making Cities Work*. Ed. By Robert P. Inman. Princeton University Press.
- Messina, A. M. (2007). *The logics and politics of post-WWII migration to Western Europe*. Cambridge University Press, Chapter 2

Supplementary

- Homeland: Immigration in America, Jobs (2012), Documentary
- Freeman, G. P. (1995). Modes of immigration politics in liberal democratic states. *International migration review*, 29(4), 881-902.
- Zolberg, A. R., & Zolberg, A. R. (2009). *A nation by design: Immigration policy in the fashioning of America*. Harvard University Press.
- Kapur, D. (2010). *Diaspora, development, and democracy: the domestic impact of international migration from India*. Princeton University Press.
- Card, D. (2001). Immigrant inflows, native outflows, and the local labor market impacts of higher immigration. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 19(1), 22-64.
- Card, D. (1990). The impact of the Mariel boatlift on the Miami labor market. *ILR Review*, 43(2), 245-257.
- Altonji, J. G., & Card, D. (1991). The effects of immigration on the labor market outcomes of less-skilled natives. In *Immigration, trade, and the labor market* (pp. 201-234). University of Chicago Press.
- Hatton, T. J., & Williamson, J. G. (2005). *Global migration and the world economy: Two centuries of policy and performance*. Cambridge, MA: MIT press.
- Sides, J., & Citrin, J. (2007). European opinion about immigration: The role of identities, interests and information. *British journal of political science*, 37(3), 477-504.
- Alba, R., & Foner, N. (2014). Comparing immigrant integration in North America and Western Europe: How much do the grand narratives tell us?. *International Migration Review*, 48, S263-S291.
- Rottman, A. J., Fariss, C. J., & Poe, S. C. (2009). The Path to Asylum in the US and the Determinants for Who Gets in and Why. *International Migration Review*, 43(1), 3-34.

Part 3: Debate over Solution

Session 09 (11/16) Labor Regulations and Standards

- Brown, D. K. (2001). Labor standards: where do they belong on the international trade agenda?. *Journal of Economic perspectives*, 15(3), 89-112
- Bartley, T. (2003). Certifying forests and factories: States, social movements, and the rise of private regulation in the apparel and forest products fields. *Politics & Society*, 31(3), 433-464.
- Locke, R. M., Rissing, B. A., & Pal, T. (2013). Complements or substitutes? Private codes, state regulation and the enforcement of labour standards in global supply chains. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 51(3), 519-552.
- Distelhorst, G., & Locke, R. (2018) "Does Compliance Pay? Firm-level Trade and Social Institutions," *American Journal of Political Science*

Supplementary

- Elliott, K. A., & Freeman, R. B. (2003). Can labor standards improve under globalization?. *Peterson Institute Press: All Books*.
- Locke, R. M. (2013). *The promise and limits of private power: Promoting labor standards in a global economy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Vogel, D. (2007). *The market for virtue: The potential and limits of corporate social responsibility*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Hafner-Burton, E. M. (2013). *Forced to be good: Why trade agreements boost human rights*. Cornell University Press.
- Rodríguez-Garavito, C. A. (2005). Global governance and labor rights: Codes of conduct and anti-sweatshop struggles in global apparel factories in Mexico and Guatemala. *Politics & Society*, 33(2), 203-333.
- O'Rourke, D. (2006). Multi-stakeholder regulation: privatizing or socializing global labor standards?. *World development*, 34(5), 899-918.
- Vogel, D. (2010). The private regulation of global corporate conduct: Achievements and limitations. *Business & Society*, 49(1), 68-87.
- Lim, A., & Tsutsui, K. (2012). Globalization and commitment in corporate social responsibility: Cross-national analyses of institutional and political-economy effects. *American Sociological Review*, 77(1), 69-98.
- Seidman, G. W. (2003). Monitoring multinationals: Lessons from the anti-apartheid era. *Politics & Society*, 31(3), 381-406.
- Distelhorst, G., Locke, R. M., Pal, T., & Samel, H. (2015). Production goes global, compliance stays local: Private regulation in the global electronics industry. *Regulation & Governance*, 9(3), 224-242.
- Lechner, L. (2016). The domestic battle over the design of non-trade issues in preferential trade agreements. *Review of International Political Economy*, 23(5), 840-871.
- Anner, M. (2012). Corporate social responsibility and freedom of association rights: The precarious quest for legitimacy and control in global supply chains. *Politics & Society*, 40(4), 609-644.
- Ruwanpura, K. N., & Wrigley, N. (2011). The costs of compliance? Views of Sri Lankan apparel manufacturers in times of global economic crisis. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 11(6), 1031-1049.

Session 10 (11/23) Collective Action of Workers

- Silver, B. J. (2003). *Forces of labor: workers' movements and globalization since 1870*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3
- Constable, N. (2009). Migrant workers and the many states of protest in Hong Kong. *Critical Asian Studies*, 41(1), 143-164.

- Anner, M. (2015). Labor control regimes and worker resistance in global supply chains. *Labor History*, 56(3), 292-307.
- Rho, Sungmin. (2017). Anti-foreign sentiment and collective action of factory workers in South China, working paper

Supplementary

- Anner, M. S. (2011). *Solidarity transformed: Labor responses to globalization and crisis in Latin America*. Cornell University Press.
- Golden, M. (1997). *Heroic defeats: The politics of job loss*. Cambridge University Press.
- Fantasia, R., & Voss, K. (2004). *Hard work: Remaking the American labor movement*. Univ of California Press.
- Lee, C. K. (2007). *Against the law: Labor protests in China's rustbelt and sunbelt*. Univ of California Press.
- Constable, N. (2007). *Maid to order in Hong Kong: Stories of migrant workers*. Cornell University Press.

Session 11 (11/30) Role of Civil Society

- Seidman, G. (2008). Transnational labour campaigns: Can the logic of the market be turned against itself?. *Development and Change*, 39(6), 991-1003.
- King, B. G., & Soule, S. A. (2007). Social movements as extra-institutional entrepreneurs: The effect of protests on stock price returns. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 52(3), 413-442.
- Hainmueller, J., Hiscox, M. J., & Sequeira, S. (2015). Consumer demand for fair trade: Evidence from a multistore field experiment. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 97(2), 242-256.
- Micheletti, M., & Stolle, D. (2007). Mobilizing consumers to take responsibility for global social justice. *The annals of the American academy of political and social science*, 611(1), 157-175.

Supplementary

- Harrison, A., & Scorse, J. (2010). Multinationals and anti-sweatshop activism. *American Economic Review*, 100(1), 247-73.
- Seidman, G. W. (2007). *Beyond the boycott: Labor rights, human rights, and transnational activism*. Russell Sage Foundation.
- Gereffi, G., Garcia-Johnson, R., & Sasser, E. (2001). The NGO-industrial complex. *Foreign policy*, (125), 56.
- Prasad, M., Kimeldorf, H., Meyer, R., & Robinson, I. (2004). Consumers of the world unite: a market-based response to sweatshops. *Labor Studies Journal*, 29(3), 57-79.

Session 12 (12/07) Presentation (1)

Session 13 (12/14) Presentation (2)