

**SNU/GSIS
M2051.000800: State, Capital, and Labor in the Era of Globalization
Spring 2017
Wednesday 9:30 am-12:20 pm
Building 140, Classroom 104**

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Office Hours: Wednesday 2:00-4:00 pm & by appointment

I. Course Description and Objective

This course aims to survey recent key research agendas in the field of comparative and international political economy, with a specific focus on state, labor, and capital. It analyzes a set of political and market institutions, the interactions among the state, capital, and labor, and the linkage between global challenges and national political economy. The first section of the class will cover the institutional foundations of capitalism and democracy. The second part will analyze the varying role of state, capital and labor (mostly in advanced industrialized countries) in explaining economic performance, inequality, redistribution, and political dynamics. The third part will assess new challenges for global and national political economy, such as de-industrialization, immigration, and global investment. The last part will examine changing political and economic dynamics of East Asia through a lens of the Asian financial crisis and the effects of the crisis on the region.

II. Prerequisites and Course Format

There are no prerequisites for this course, although some previous coursework in political science, international relations, and/or economics is helpful. The format of this course will be based on a combination of lecture and seminar, but with a heavy focus on the latter. Thus each student is expected to complete all the required reading each week and to contribute to the class discussion. On average, students can expect 120 pages of reading per class. “Cold calls” may sometimes be used.

III. Textbooks and Reading Assignments

There are no required textbooks for this course. The instructor will post the course reading on the course eTL. Please check the course eTL periodically.

IV. Grading Policy and Evaluation

- 1) Attendance and class participation: 20%
- 2) Class discussion leading: 10%
- 3) Weekly discussion question posting: 24%
- 4) Final Research Paper: 46%

A. Course Requirements

(1) Attendance and class participation: 20%

Attendance at all classes is mandatory. Student active class participation is strongly encouraged and expected. Not only quantity, but also quality of participation will be critically evaluated.

(2) Class discussion leading: 10%

Each student (or a group of students, depending on the course enrollment) is assigned for leading a class discussion *at least once* during the semester. Each discussion leader is expected to present the core arguments of the reading in a very concise manner, to provide critical assessments and evaluations on the reading (e.g., strengths and weaknesses of the reading materials), and to raise theoretical and/or empirical questions in order to stimulate active class debates and discussions. The presentation should not be a mere summary of the reading assignments. Students are expected to send power point slides for the presentation to the instructor as well as teaching assistant by Tuesday morning or early afternoon, but no later than Tuesday 2:00 pm. No show-up for the week responsible for leading a class discussion will result in a zero point for this assignment.

(3) Weekly discussion question posting: 24% (2% per each week, 12 weeks)

Beginning week 2, students are required to submit a one paragraph long (i.e., a couple of sentences, whose length should be less than a half of the page) weekly discussion question to the course eTL by Tuesday 12:00 pm. Please submit a weekly discussion question with *the format of MS word file, NOT PDF file*. Teaching assistant will collect these discussion questions and circulate them to the class before each seminar. *Any late submission will not be accepted, except for medical or family emergencies*. Both quantity and quality of the weekly discussion question will be evaluated by the instructor.

(4) Final research paper: 46% (Due at 12:00 pm on Monday, June 19)

Students are required to write a final research paper (14-15 pages, double-spaced, 12 font size, 1 inch margin) with a full bibliography (which is not going to be included in the page count). Since it is a writing assignment, both the contents of the research paper and the quality of the writing itself will be critically evaluated. *Keep all the formats of the paper.*

NOTE: The instructor will submit all writing assignments to turnitin.com in order to check for a possible sign of plagiarism.

(4-1) Contents and Format:

Final research papers should include theoretically and/or empirically interesting questions, the literature review section, rigorous tests of the hypothesis and arguments, and relevant academic references. Think it as a much shorter version of a master's thesis or Ph.D. dissertation.

Students can choose any research paper topic related to state, capital, and/or labor in global and national political economy, *but with prior approval by the instructor.*

While students may write a final research paper on the topic that has already been included in the course syllabus, they should present a new analytical approach and/or new empirical evidence, as opposed to simply summarizing a given week's reading on the topic. If students are not sure about their research paper topics, please consult the instructor in advance.

Extra reading materials and research beyond the course syllabus are required. While students may utilize online sources and/or journalistic coverage (e.g., newspaper articles and magazines) as references, the primary references should be academic materials (e.g., books, scholarly journals, government publications, and etc.). *No citation from Wikipedia for this course!*

(4-2) Research proposal: 6% (Due at 9:30 am on Wednesday, May 10)

Students are required to submit a 1-2 page long (double-spaced, 12 font size, 1 inch margin) research proposal that presents clear research questions, preliminary arguments, preliminary empirical evidence to support the key claims, and a few references related to the research topic. Keep the length of the proposal.

Unless students have a very compelling reason to do so, they **CANNOT** change research paper topics after submitting the proposal to the instructor. The instructor **WILL NOT** read any additional version of the research proposal after initial submission, either. Thus, please be careful when choosing a research topic and more importantly, begin to conduct research early on. Don't wait until the day before the deadline.

Students should bring a hardcopy of the research proposal to class as well as upload an electronic copy of the proposal to the course eTL at the beginning of the class (due at 9:30 am Wednesday, May 10). Please submit paper proposals with the format of MS word file or PDF file. No other format will be accepted.

(4-3) Research paper presentation: 5% (Wednesday, June 14)

In week 15, student presentations (10-15 minute long for each) will be scheduled. Students are expected to make constructive comments on others' presentations.

(4-4) Final Research Paper: 35% (Due at 12:00 pm on Monday, June 19)

Students are required to submit a final research paper (14-15 pages, double spaced, 12 point font, 1 inch margin) by 12:00 pm Monday, June 19. Students should bring a

hardcopy of the paper to the instructor's office as well as upload an electronic copy of the research paper to the course eTL.

Please keep the length of the paper and make sure that ***a paper has a title and each page is numbered***. Use a standard bibliographic style (e.g., Chicago, APA, or MLA) to list all of the works cited in the paper.

Grades for late papers will be downgraded by "one full letter grade" per day late (e.g., A+ to B+).

IMPORTANT! To avoid plagiarism, students are expected to provide proper citations in final research papers for all quotations, paraphrases, and ideas taken from any source other than students' original thoughts. **No block quotations unless they are essential!!!**

B. Make-up and Lateness Policies

Except documented family or medical emergencies, there will be no make-up exams or assignment extension provided in this course. ***Routine doctor's appointment (e.g., flu or cold) does not qualify as medical emergencies.***

C. Office Hours Policy

Students should contact teaching assistant in advance (2-3 days preferably, but 1 day at least) to schedule a meeting during the instructor's office hours (Wednesday 2:00-4:00 pm). If students cannot make it during the regular office hours ***because of other class and/or work schedule (not because of student convenience)***, they have to email both the instructor and teaching assistant to consult additional office hours.

D. Laptop and Cell Phone Policy

Students can use their own laptops for note taking in class, however web browsing, on-line chatting, and/or course-unrelated activities **WILL NOT** be allowed. No cell phone use (including phone call, texting message, and/or phone applications) will be permitted during the class.

E. Academic Honesty

Any plagiarism or academic dishonesty will be severely punished. It will result in a failing grade and an official report to the Graduate School of International Studies. If students cite from other people's books, articles, or written/verbal materials, they should provide proper citations in writing materials for all quotations, paraphrases, and ideas taken from any source other than their own original thoughts. Regarding academic misconduct, please refer to the university's guideline on the principle of research ethics.

F. Accommodation Policy

Any student in this course who has a disability that may prevent him or her from fully demonstrating his or her abilities should contact the instructor personally as soon as possible to discuss accommodations necessary to ensure full participation and facilitate students' educational opportunities.

V. Course Schedule

	TOPIC	METHOD	ETC.
Week 1 (March 8)	Introduction and Course Overview	Lecture	
Week 2 (March 15)	Political Economy of Development	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 3 (March 22)	Political Economy of Advanced Industrialized Capitalism	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 4 (March 29)	Political Regime and Regime Changes	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 5 (April 5)	Votes, Parties, and Elections	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 6 (April 12)	Varieties of Welfare Regimes	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 7 (April 19)	Labor Markets, Inequality & Social Protection	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 8 (April 26)	Financial Markets & Corporate Governance	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 9 (May 3)	<i>Buddha's Birthday: National Holiday</i> <i>No Class</i>	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 10 (May 10)	Political Economy of Deindustrialization and Immigration	Lecture/Seminar	<i>Proposal Due at 9:30 am, Wednesday, May 10</i>
Week 11 (May 17)	Political Economy of Investment Flows	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 12 (May 24)	Fair Trade and Labor Standards	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 13 (May 31)	Asian Financial Crisis	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 14 (June 7)	Political Democratization & Economic Globalization in East Asia	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 15 (June 14)	<i>Student Presentations</i>		<i>Paper Due at 12:00 pm, Monday, June 19</i>

<Course Schedule>

Note: I may make some minor changes regarding the course schedule and reading assignments.

Week 1 (March 8): Introduction & Course Overview

No required reading.

(Recommended):

Hayek, Friedrich A. 1944. *The Road to Serfdom*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chapters 3 and 6.

Polany, Karl. 1944. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Boston: Beacon Press, chapters 3-6.

PART I: Institutional Foundations of Capitalism and Democracy

Week 2 (March 15): Political Economy of Development

Gerschenkron, Alexander. 1962. *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, chapter 1, pp. 5-30.

Johnson, Chalmers. 1982. *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy 1925-1975*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 3-34.

North, Douglas C. 1990. *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, chapters 10-12, pp. 83-117.

Acemoglu, Daron, and James Robinson. 2012. *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*. Crown Business, preface and chapter 1, 1-44.

(Recommended):

Krueger, Anne. 1990. Government Failures in Development. *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 4 (3): 9-23.

Week 3 (March 22): Political Economy of Advanced Industrialized Capitalism

Melzer, Allan, and Scott Richard. 1981. A Rational Theory of the Size of Government. *Journal of Political Economy* 89 (5): 914-927 [Read only pp. 914-917].

Katzenstein, Peter J. 1985. *Small States in World Markets: Industrial Policy in Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, chapter 1, pp. 17-38.

Hall, Peter A., and David Soskice. 2001. Introduction. In *Varieties of Capitalism*, edited by Peter A. Hall and David Soskice. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-70.

Beramendi, Pablo, Silja Hausermann, Herbert Kitschelt, and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2015. Introduction. In *The Politics of Advanced Capitalism*, edited by Pablo Beramendi, Silja Hausermann, Herbert Kitschelt, and Hanspeter Kriesi. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-64.

(Recommended):

Boix, Carles. 2000. Partisan Governments, the International Economy and Macroeconomic Policies in OECD Countries, 1964-1993. *World Politics* 53 (1): 38-73.

Week 4 (March 29): Political Regime and Regime Changes

Schmitter, Philippe C., and Terry Lynn Karl. 1991. What Democracy Is...And Is Not. *Journal of Democracy* 2 (3): 3-16.

Przeworski, Adam, and Fernando Limongi. 1997. Modernization: Theories and Facts. *World Politics* 49 (2): 155-183.

Geddes, Barbara. 1999. What Do We Know about Democratization After Twenty Years? *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 115-144.

Haggard, Stephan, and Robert R. Kaufman. 2012. Inequality and Regime Change: Democratic Transitions and the Stability of Democratic Rule. *American Political Science Review* 106 (3): 495-516.

(Recommended):

Przeworski, Adam. 1999. Minimalist Conception of Democracy: A Defense. In *Democracy's Value*, edited by Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordon. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 23-55.

Week 5 (April 5): Votes, Parties, and Elections

Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Stein Rokkan. 1967. Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction. In *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*, edited by Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan. New York: Free Press, pp. 1-56.

Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Polities. *Comparative Political Studies* 33(6/7): 845-879.

Iversen, Torben, and David Soskice. 2006. Electoral Systems and the Politics of Coalitions: Why Some Democracies Redistribute More than Others. *American Political*

Science Review 100 (2): 165-181.

Kwon, Hyeok Yong, and Jonas Pontusson. 2010. Globalization, Labour power and Partisan Politics Revisited. *Socio-Economic Review* 8 (2): 251-281.

(Recommended):

Geoffrey Garrett. 1998. *Partisan Politics in the Global Economy*, chapters 1 and 2, 1-50. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

PART II: The State, Capital, and Labor

Week 6 (April 12): Varieties of Welfare Regimes

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chapter 1, pp. 9-34.

Orloff, Anne. 1993. Gender and Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States. *American Sociological Review* 58 (3): 308-28.

Mares, Isabela. 2003. The Sources of Business Interest in Social Insurance: Sectoral versus National Differences. *World Politics* 55 (2): 229-258.

Korpi, Water. 2006. Power Resources and Employer-Centered Approaches in Explanations of Welfare States and Varieties of Capitalism: Protagonists, Consenters, and Antagonists. *World Politics* 58 (2): 167-206.

(Recommended):

Hacker, Jacob. 2004. Privatizing Risk without Privatizing the Welfare State. *American Political Science Review* 98 (4): 243-260.

Week 7 (April 19): Labor Markets, Inequality, and Social Protection

Swenson, Peter. 1991. Bringing Capital Back In, Or Social Democracy Reconsidered: Employer Power, Cross-Class Alliances, and Centralization of Industrial Relations in Denmark and Sweden. *World Politics* 43 (4): 513-544.

Estevez-Abe, Margarita, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice. 2001. Social Protection and the Formation of Skills. In *Varieties of Capitalism*, edited by Peter A. Hall and David Soskice. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 145-183.

Rueda, David. 2005. Insider-Outsider Politics in Industrialized Democracies. *American Political Science Review* 99 (1): 61-74.

Preliminary Version
(February 2017)

Thelen, Kathleen, and Bruno Palier. 2010. Institutionalizing Dualism: Complementarities and Change in France and Germany. *Politics & Society* 38 (1): 119-148.

Hacker, Jacob, and Paul Pierson. 2010. Winner-Take All Politics: Public Policy, Political Organization, and the Precipitous Rise of Top Incomes in the United States. *Politics & Society* 38 (2): 152-204.

(Recommended):

Thelen, Kathleen. 2014. *Varieties of Liberalization and the New Politics of Social Solidarity*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapter 1, 1-32.

Week 8 (April 26): Financial Markets and Corporate Governance

O'Sullivan, Mary. 2003. The Political Economy of Corporate Governance. *Review of International Political Economy* 10 (1): 23-72.

Gourevitch, Peter A., and James Shinn. 2005. *Political Power and Corporate Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chapters 1 and 2, 1-26.

Culpepper, Pepper D. 2005. Institutional Change in Contemporary Capitalism: Coordinated Financial Systems since 1990. *World Politics* 57 (2): 173-199.

Cioffi, John W., and Martin Höpner. 2006. The Political Paradox of Finance Capitalism: Interests, Preferences, and Center-Left Party Politics in Corporate Governance Reform. *Politics & Society* 34 (4): 463-502.

(Recommended):

Culpepper, Pepper D. 2011. *Quiet Politics and Business Power: Corporate Control in Europe and Japan*, chapters 1 and 2, 1-47. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Week 9 (May 3): Buddha's Birthday

*** *No Class* ***

PART III: New Challenges for Global and Domestic Political Economy

Week 10 (May 10): Political Economy of Deindustrialization and Immigration

*** *Research Proposal at by 9:30 am* ***

Iversen, Torben, and Anne Wren. 1998. Equality, Employment, and Budgetary Restraints: The Trilemma of the Service Economy. *World Politics* 50 (3): 507-546.

Wren, Anne. 2013. *The Political Economy of the Service Transition*, introduction, 1-72. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Peters, Margaret E. 2015. Open Trade, Closed Borders Immigration in the Era of Globalization. *World Politics* 67 (1): 114-154.

Burgoon, Brian. 2014. Immigration, Integration, and Support for Redistribution in Europe. *World Politics* 66 (3): 365-405.

(Recommended):

Huber, Evelyne, and John Stephens. 2014. Chapter 10: Post-Industrial Social Policy. In *The Politics of Advanced Capitalism*, edited by Pablo Beramendi, Silja Hausermann, Herbert Kitschelt, and Hanspeter Kriesi. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 259-281.

Week 11 (May 17): Political Economy of Investment Flows

Frieden, Jeffrey. 1991. Invested Interests: The Politics of National Economic Policies in a World of Global Finance. *International Organization* 45 (4): 425-451.

Jensen, Nathan. 2003. Democratic Governance and Multinational Corporations: Political Regimes and Inflows of Foreign Direct Investment. *International Organization* 57 (3): 587-616.

Post, Alison E. 2014. Home Court Advantage: Investor Type and Contractual Resilience in the Argentine Water Sector. *Politics & Society* 42 (1): 107-132.

Simmons, Beth A. 2014. Bargaining over BITs, Arbitrating Awards: The Regime for Protection and Promotion of International Investment. *World Politics* 66 (1): 12-46.

(Recommended):

David Leblang. 2010. Familiarity Breeds Investment: Diaspora Networks and International Investment. *American Political Science Review* 104 (3): 584-600.

Tim Büthe and Helen V. Milner. 2014. Foreign Direct Investment and Institutional Diversity in Trade Agreements: Credibility, Commitment, and Economic Flows in the Developing World, 1971–2007. *World Politics* 66 (1): 88-122

Week 12 (May 24): Fair Trade and Labor Standards

Renard, Marie-Christine. 2003. Fair Trade: Quality, Market and Conventions. *Journal of Rural Studies* 19 (1): 87-96.

Preliminary Version
(February 2017)

Raynolds, Laura T., Douglas Murray, and Peter Leigh Taylor. 2004. Fair Trade Coffee: Building Producer Capacity via Global Networks. *Journal of International Development* 16: 1109-1121.

Bacon, Christopher. 2005. Confronting the Coffee Crisis: Can Fair Trade, Organic, and Specialty Coffees Reduce Small-Scale Farmer Vulnerability in Northern Nicaragua? *World Development* 33 (3): 497-511.

Elliott, Kimberly Ann, and Richard B. Freeman. 2003. *Can Labor Standards Improve Under Globalization?* Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics, chapters 1 and 2.

Mosley, Layna. 2011. *Labor Rights and Multinational Production*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapter 2.

(Recommended):

Glazer, Sarah. 2007. Fair Trade Labeling. *Congressional Quarterly Researcher* 17 (19): 433-496.

Rock, Michael T. 2003. Public Disclosure of the Sweatshop Practices of American Multinational Garment/Shoe Makers/Retailers: Impacts on their Stock Prices. *Competition and Change* 7 (1): 23-38.

PART IV: Transforming East Asia in the Era of Globalization?

Week 13 (May 31): Asian Financial Crisis

Krugman, Paul. 1994. The Myth of Asia's Miracle. *Foreign Affairs* 73 (6): 63-78.

Pempel, T.J. ed., *The Politics of the Asian Economic Crisis* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), Introduction and Conclusion, pp. 1-16, 224-238.

Haggard, Stephan. 2000. *The Political Economy of the Asian Financial Crisis*. Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, chapter 1, pp. 15-46.

Chang, Ha-joon. 1998. Korea: The Misunderstood Crisis. *World Development* 26 (8): 1555-1561.

Pepinsky, Thomas B. 2008. Capital Mobility and Coalitional Politics Authoritarian Regimes and Economic Adjustment in Southeast Asia. *World Politics* 60 (3): 438-474.

(Recommended):

Chu, Yun-han, 1999. Surviving the East Asian Financial Storm: the Political Foundation of Taiwan's Resilience. In *The Politics of the Asian Economic Crisis*, edited by T.J. Pempel. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 184-202.

Week 14 (June 7): Political Democratization and Economic Globalization in East Asia

Kim, Yun Tae. 1999. Neoliberalism and the Decline of the Developmental State. *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 29 (4): 441-461.

Wong, Joseph. 2004. The Adaptive Developmental State in East Asia. *Journal of East Asian Studies* 4: 345-362.

Ha, Yong-Chool, and Wang Hwi Lee. 2007. The Politics of Economic Reform in South Korea: Crony Capitalism after Ten Years. *Asian Survey* 47 (6): 894-914.

Chu, Yun-han. Unraveling the Enigma of East Asian Economic Resiliency: The Case of Taiwan. In *Two Crises Different Outcomes*, edited by T.J. Pempel and Keiichi Tsunekawa. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 64-89.

Tsunekawa, Keiichi. Japan: The Political Economy of Long Stagnation. In *Two Crises Different Outcomes*, edited by T.J. Pempel and Keiichi Tsunekawa. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 185-215.

(Recommended):

Pempel, T.J. 2006. A Decade of Political Torpor: When Political Logic Trumps Economic Rationality. In *Beyond Japan: The Dynamics of East Asian Regionalism*, edited by Peter J. Katzenstein and Takashi Shiraishi. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 37-62.

Pepinsky, Thomas B. 2015. Political Business and External Vulnerability in Southeast Asia. In *Two Crisis Different Outcomes*, edited by T.J. Pempel and Keiichi Tsunekawa. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 137-162.

Week 15 (June 14): Student Presentations

***** Final Research Paper Due at 12:00 pm on Monday, June 19 *****

Enjoy your summer break! ☺