

University of Georgia
INTL 4530: Globalization and Distributive Justice
Fall 2021

Instructor: Pierre Naoufal

Class time: M-W-F @ 12:40-1:30 pm

Location: MLC 153

Class Section: Call# 50912

Office: TBA

Office hours: Wednesdays from 10:30-11:30 am, and by appointment.

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Course Description

The state has historically assumed the role of redistribution within its own borders. No supranational entity has thus far been able to supersede states' authority. But globalization is testing this dynamic. As globalization renders borders more obsolete and the world population more intertwined, it also exacerbates cross-national inequalities. The following question thus arises: should wealth be redistributed from developed to developing nations? If international redistribution is sought, the organization of a global collective action among states, indispensable to undertake global redistribution is, so it seems, almost impossible to attain. And although international institutions do exist, they generally lack the necessary enforcement instruments to implement policy changes.

The following course examines globalization and the issue of redistributive justice, with a focus on the difficulty as well as possible solutions in implementing a global collective action among states. The course starts with a definition of key concepts followed by an assessment of global inequality and potential origins of those inequalities. It then seeks to demonstrate how liberal capitalism and neoliberalism have exacerbated existing global inequalities in a globalized context.

Furthermore, it has been argued that globalization weakens national welfare states through various mechanisms. If this is the case, it is imperative to understand how globalization threatens the functioning of the welfare state within national borders in order to determine if any kind of global welfare regime is even feasible. For this purpose, a number of weeks throughout the course are dedicated to the welfare state as well as what makes collective action possible at the state level.

The course also examines why, through concrete examples, global institutions are ineffective in pushing states to change their behavior, whether it be for redistributive purposes, climate change, global health or collective security. The last weeks of the class focus on possible solutions for global redistributive justice as well as the alter-globalization movement.

Course Structure and Requirements

Since this is an upper level undergraduate course with a rather limited number of students, it will be structured as a seminar, that is a discussion between instructor and students. I will give an introduction on the subject at the beginning of every week, but the majority of time will be dedicated to a discussion

based on the week's readings. Discussion will not only focus on the content of the readings but also on the argument presented by the author, how that argument relates to other assigned readings and whether or not it is convincing.

Readings and participation (20%): Since this is a seminar-structured class, I cannot stress how important it is for you to complete the readings ahead of class in order to participate effectively. You will be graded on the quality rather than the quantity of your contributions in class. I assign what I believe to be a fair reading load for a course of this level. Some weeks will be heavier in terms of reading assignments, but all still manageable for students with experience. I also expect class discussions to take place in a respectful environment. If, for any reason, you do not feel comfortable participating in class, please let me know ahead of time and I can arrange something else. All readings will be available through ELC, with the exception of the required book for this course (See below).

Attendance is NOT mandatory. If you think you already master the subject, can understand the readings by yourself, relate them to one another and do not care about the participation grade, please do not come to class.

Two analytical Papers (5% each): For weeks 5 and 6, you are required to turn in a response paper based on the week's readings in which you will discuss the strength and weaknesses of each work by comparing them with one another. These papers should be around 500 words in length, or two double-spaced pages.

Midterm and Final Exams (20% each): You will have one midterm exam and one final exam. The exams will be administered in class through a series of small essays. The exact format will be discussed in class as the exam date approaches.

Research Paper (30%): A research design is due on Thursday December 16th at noon. We will go over, in class and in detail, what a research design is. The paper's topic must be related to globalization. Other than this only requirement, you are free to choose the subject of your liking. Around the middle of the semester you will be asked to turn in a short paragraph on the general direction you think you will be taking in your design. The last two weeks of the semester will be dedicated to in class presentation, where each student will orally present their work progress to the class. Your research will have to be based on literature not covered in class, but can include works covered during the semester. Papers should be about 2500 words long, or ten double-spaced pages.

File Format upload on ELC: Please upload only .doc, .docx or pdf. files on ELC. All other file formats including links to other platforms will not be accepted.

Late assignment policy: In order to be fair to your classmates who worked hard to commit to the set deadlines, late assignments will not be accepted, unless circumstances are extenuating.

Letter grades assignment will follow the scale below:

A: 93-100	C: 73-76
A-: 90-92	C-: 70-72
B+: 87-89	D+: 67-69
B: 83-86	D: 63-66
B-: 80-82	D-: 60-62

Academic Honesty: As a University of Georgia student, you have agreed to abide by the University's academic honesty policy, "A Culture of Honesty," and the Student Honor Code. All academic work must meet the standards described in "A Culture of Honesty" found at: <http://www.uga.edu/honesty>. Lack of knowledge of the academic honesty policy is not a reasonable explanation for a violation. Please review the definition of plagiarism in the Academic Honesty Policy: https://honesty.uga.edu/Academic-Honesty-Policy/Prohibited_Conduct/. Questions related to course assignments and the academic honesty policy should be directed to the instructor.

Academic Honesty – include this statement: UGA Student Honor Code: "I will be academically honest in all of my academic work and will not tolerate academic dishonesty of others." A Culture of Honesty, the University's policy and procedures for handling cases of suspected dishonesty, can be found at www.uga.edu/ovpi.

Students with Disabilities: UGA is committed to the success of all enrolled students and strives to create an environment accessible to everyone. You may request accommodations for a disability through Disability Resource Center (DRC). DRC can be reached by visiting Clark Howell Hall, or by phone at 706-542-8719 or by visiting <http://drc.uga.edu>. Please register with the DRC before the start of classes.

Mental Health and Wellness Resources:

- If you or someone you know needs assistance, you are encouraged to contact Student Care and Outreach in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-7774 or visit <https://sco.uga.edu/>. They will help you navigate any difficult circumstances you may be facing by connecting you with the appropriate resources or services.
- UGA has several resources for a student seeking mental health services (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) or crisis support (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies>).
- If you need help managing stress anxiety, relationships, etc., please visit BeWellUGA (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) for a list of FREE workshops, classes, mentoring, and health coaching led by licensed clinicians and health educators in the University Health Center.
- Additional resources can be accessed through the UGA App.

Class Schedule and Readings

***Required book for course:** Sandler, Todd. *Global Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.

All other readings can be found on ELC, through the UGA library website, or on this syllabus where a link is provided.

Course schedule is subject to change. Students will be notified in advance if schedule is altered.

Week 1- Introduction week

Wed. Aug.18: Go over syllabus and course requirements

Fri. Aug.20: Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S. Nye Jr. "Globalization: What's new? What's not?(And so what?)." *Foreign policy* (2000): 104-119.

Kearney, Michael. "The local and the global: The anthropology of globalization and transnationalism." *Annual review of anthropology* 24.1 (1995): 547-565.

Week 2- Concepts, definitions and operationalization: What is globalization, when did it start and how to measure it?

Mon. Aug.23: Bartelson, Jens. "Three concepts of globalization." *International sociology* 15.2 (2000): 180-196.

Wed. Aug.25: Martens, Pim, and Daniel Zywiets. "Rethinking globalization: a modified globalization index." *Journal of International Development* 18.3 (2006): 331-350.

Fri. Aug.27: Hinsch, Wilfried. "Global distributive justice." *Metaphilosophy* 32.1-2 (2001): 58-78.

Week 3- Globalization, inequality and justice. Understanding whether or not global inequality is caused by the actions of the wealthier states is crucial: If it is, then the case for redistribution is strengthened.

Mon. Aug.30: Dreher, Axel, and Noel Gaston. "Has globalization increased inequality?." *Review of International Economics* 16.3 (2008): 516-536.

Williamson, Jeffrey G. "Globalization and inequality, past and present." *The World Bank Research Observer* 12.2 (1997): 117-135.

Wed. Sep.1: Bardhan, Pranab. "Does globalization help or hurt the world's poor?." *Scientific American* 294.4 (2006): 84-91.

Hurrell, Andrew, and Ngaire Woods. "Globalisation and inequality." *Millennium* 24.3 (1995): 447-470.

Fri. Sep.3: Cook, Karen S., and Karen A. Hegtvedt. "Distributive justice, equity, and equality." *Annual review of sociology* 9.1 (1983): 217-241.

Week 4 – On Origins of Inequality. In order to tackle global inequalities, understanding its potential origins is crucial.

Wed. Sep.8: Diamond, Jared M. *Guns, Germs, and Steel : the Fates of Human Societies*. New York :Norton, 2005. **Preface.**

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson. "Institutions as a fundamental cause of long-run growth." *Handbook of economic growth* 1 (2005): 385-472. Read up until Ch.4 p.21.

Fri. Sep.10: Caporaso, James A. "Dependency theory: continuities and discontinuities in development studies." *International Organization* 34.4 (1980): 605-628.

Rodrik, Dani. "Goodbye Washington Consensus, Hello Washington Confusion? A Review of the World Bank's *Economic Growth in the 1990s: Learning from a Decade of Reform*." *Journal of Economic Literature*, 44 (4) 2006: 973-987.

Week 5- Liberal capitalism, neoliberalism and the acceleration of inequality.

****First response paper due at 9:00 am on Monday Sep. 13th, to be uploaded on ELC.****

Mon. Sep.13: Freeman, Samuel. "CAPITALISM IN THE CLASSICAL AND HIGH LIBERAL TRADITIONS." *Social Philosophy and Policy*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2011, pp. 19–55.

Wed. Sep.15: Kotz, David M. "Globalization and neoliberalism." *Rethinking Marxism* 14.2 (2002): 64-79.

Quiggin, John. "Globalisation, neoliberalism and inequality in Australia." (1999): 240-259.

Fri. Sep.17: Heron, Taitu. "Globalization, neoliberalism and the exercise of human agency." *International Journal of politics, culture, and society* 20.1 (2008): 85-101.

Harris, Richard L., and Melinda J. Seid. "Critical perspectives on globalization and neoliberalism in the developing countries." *Journal of Developing Societies* 16.1 (2000): 1-26.

Week 6- Globalization and the weakening of the welfare state. The welfare state is the epitome of redistributive justice, at least at the national level. If globalization threatens national redistribution then it is difficult to see how an international redistribution system can be established.

****Second response paper due at 9:00 am on Monday Sep. 20th, to be uploaded on ELC.****

Mon. Sep.20: Genschel, Philipp. "Globalization and the welfare state: a retrospective." *Journal of European Public Policy* 11.4 (2004): 613-636.

Brady, David, and Ryan Finnigan. "Does immigration undermine public support for social policy?." *American sociological review* 79.1 (2014): 17-42.

Wed. Sep.22: Midgley, James. "Perspectives on globalization, social justice and welfare." *J. Soc. & Soc. Welfare* 34 (2007): 17.

Noël, Alain, and Jean-Philippe Thérien. "From domestic to international justice: The welfare state and foreign aid." *International organization* 49.3 (1995): 523-553.

Fri. Sep.24: Feldman, Stanley, and John Zaller. "The political culture of ambivalence: Ideological responses to the welfare state." *American Journal of Political Science* (1992): 268-307.

Kymlicka, Will, and Keith Banting. "Immigration, multiculturalism, and the welfare state." *Ethics & International Affairs* 20.3 (2006): 281-304.

Week 7- The collective action problem and the role of the state: How a global collective action among states is almost impossible to reach.

Mon. Sep.27: Sangiovanni, Andrea. "Global justice, reciprocity, and the state." *Philosophy and public affairs* (2007): 3-39.

Wed. Sep.29: Caney, Simon. "Global distributive justice and the state." *Political Studies* 56.3 (2008): 487-518.

Fri. Oct.1: Cerny, Philip G. "Globalization and the changing logic of collective action." *International organization* 49.4 (1995): 595-625.

Sandler, Todd. *Global Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.
Preface.

Week 8- Midterm week and how to write a research design.

Mon. Oct.4: Midterm review.

Wed. Oct.6: Midterm.

Fri. Oct.8: Crepaz, Markus and Shane Singh. "Edicts of Candler".

Reread with special attention to structure of article: Brady, David, and Ryan Finnigan. "Does immigration undermine public support for social policy?." *American sociological review* 79.1 (2014): 17-42.

Week 9- Global collective action (continued).

Mon. Oct.11: Sandler, Todd. *Global Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.
Chapters 1 and 2.

Wed. Oct.13: Sandler, Todd. *Global Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.
Chapter 3.

Fri. Oct.15: Sandler, Todd. *Global Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.
Chapter 5 and 10.

Week 10- A look at the state level; nationalism, the state, social capital and shared values: The glue that maintains social cohesion and allows to overcome the collective action problem? Exploration of solutions to the collective action problem within state borders shows how difficult it is to overcome the problem at the international level.

Mon. Oct.18: Renan, E. "What is a Nation? trans. Snyder IM, reprinted in Hutchinson J and Smith AD (eds) *Nationalism*." (1882): 17-18.

Breidahl, Karen N., Nils Holtug, and Kristian Kongshøj. "Do shared values promote social cohesion? If so, which? Evidence from Denmark." *European Political Science Review* 10.1 (2018): 97-118.

Wed. Oct.20: Dell, Melissa, Nathan Lane, and Pablo Querubin. "The historical state, local collective action, and economic development in Vietnam." *Econometrica* 86.6 (2018): 2083-2121.

Yamamura, Eiji. "Social capital, household income, and preferences for income redistribution." *European Journal of Political Economy* 28.4 (2012): 498-511.

Fri. Oct.22: Habyarimana, James, et al. "Why does ethnic diversity undermine public goods provision?." *American Political Science Review* 101.4 (2007): 709-725.

Week 11-Institutions can help solve collective action problems in order to implement redistributive justice. But even though international institutions do exist, they remain weak, with no suitable enforcing mechanism and are often a tool used by the more powerful nations.

Mon. Oct.25: Abbott, Kenneth W., and Duncan Snidal. "Why states act through formal international organizations." *Journal of conflict resolution* 42.1 (1998): 3-32.

Mahbubani, Kishore. "Why the United Nations is Kept Weak". *The Globalist, Rethinking Globalization*. 2013. <https://www.theglobalist.com/why-the-united-nations-is-kept-weak/>

Prakash, Asleem, and Dolsak Nives. "International Organizations and the Crisis of Legitimacy". *Open Democracy*. 2017.

<https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/openglobalrights-openpage/international-organizations-and-crisis-of-legitimacy/>

Wed. Oct.27: Sandler, Todd. *Global Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.
Chapter 4.

Claude, Inis L. "The Central Challenge to the United Nations: Weakening the Strong or Strengthening the Weak?" *States and the Global System*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 1988. 28-41.

Week 12- Practical examples of coordination problems and weak global regimes.

Mon. Nov.1: Sandler, Todd. *Global Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.
Chapter 8 and 9.

Wed. Nov.3: Sandler, Todd. *Global Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.
Chapter 6.

Wed. Nov.5: Sandler, Todd. *Global Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.
Chapter 7.

Week 13- Implementing global distributive justice: Foreign aid, dept relief and the World Trade Organization.

Mon.Nov.8: Alesina, Alberto, and David Dollar. "Who gives foreign aid to whom and why?" *Journal of economic growth* 5.1 (2000): 33-63.

Wed. Nov.10: Easterly, William. "Debt relief." *Foreign Policy* (2001): 20-26.

Chauvin, Nicolas Depetris, and Aart Kraay. "Who gets debt relief?" *Journal of the European Economic Association* 5.2-3 (2007): 333-342.

Fri. Nov.12: Moellendorf, Darrel. "The world trade organization and egalitarian justice." *Metaphilosophy* 36.1-2 (2005): 145-162.

Week 14- Alter-globalization and fairer distribution.

Mon. Nov.15: Pleyers, Geoffrey. "A brief history of the alter-globalization movement." *Books & ideas* (2013).

Steger, Manfred B., and Erin K. Wilson. "Anti-globalization or alter-globalization? Mapping the political ideology of the global justice movement." *International Studies Quarterly* 56.3 (2012): 439-454.

Wed. Nov.17: Gitlin, Todd. "Occupy's predicament: The moment and the prospects for the movement." *The British journal of sociology* 64.1 (2013): 3-25.

Fri. Nov.19: Sandler, Todd. *Global Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.
Chapter 12.

Week 15- Final Paper Presentations

One day of class: Mon. Nov.22.

Week 16- Final paper presentations continued, and Final Review.

Mon. Nov.29: Final paper presentations.

Wed. Dec.1: Final papers presentations.

Fri. Dec.3: Final exam review.

Week 16- Final Exam

Mon. Dec. 6.

****Final papers due on Thu. Dec. 16 at noon****