

LABOR & THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

Labor Studies and Employment Relations 575:363
Spring 2022

SYLLABUS

Class Meetings:

Room 115
Scott Hall
College Avenue Campus
Tuesday, 10:20am–1:20pm
[EXCEPT FIRST TWO ONLINE SESSION]

Prof. Tobias Schulze-Cleven
tobias.schulzecleven@rutgers.edu
Phone: 848-932-1740
Labor Education Center, Room 171
Office hours by appointment
(usually Tuesday, 1:30-3:30pm)

Course Overview:

This course examines the influence of the shifting global economy on employment patterns and living standards across the rich democracies. Contemporary challenges facing American workers are put into comparative perspective to delineate alternative strategies for dealing with deepening economic globalization. The course will closely examine how political and economic factors have interacted in producing globalization. Particular attention will be paid to deepening tensions between the goals of further economic integration and democratic governance.

In class discussions, we seek to answer such questions as: How has the global economy evolved? How much are growing inequalities in the labor market driven by economic globalization? Are we witnessing a global race to the bottom in social standards? What measures could be taken to improve labor market outcomes? – After taking the course, students will have a better understanding of how socio-economic systems around the world have been affected by and have engaged with the global economy.

Learning Objectives: The student is able to...

21C Core Curriculum:

- Analyze issues of social justice across local and global contexts (Goal d).

Labor Studies and Employment Relations Department:

- Analyze issues of social justice related to work across local and global contexts (Goal 8).

School of Management and Labor Relations:

- Evaluate the context of workplace issues, public policies, and management decisions (Goal V).

Additional Course Objectives from the Instructor

- Analyze the tensions between global capitalism and democratic governance.
- Improve professional competencies such as critical thinking and problem solving; verbal and written communication; and interpersonal skills.

Course Requirements:

In-Class Participation	35% of the course grade*
Midterm Exam	30%
Final Exam	35%

* “Active” contribution is about speaking up (based on reading, thinking, and good listening). This grade share is high so that I can give you credit simply for showing up (think about attendance as about 20%). Quiz grades will become part of your in-class participation grade (think of quizzes as making up 10%). There is also the option for an extra-credit paper to bring up your participation grade if so desired. In general, the different elements of the participation grade will be weighed with a view toward a student’s strengths and effort.

Required Class Materials:

Dani Rodrik. 2012. *The Globalization Paradox. Democracy and the Future of the World Economy*. New York: Norton.

Week 1: Introduction (January 18) – ONLINE

Invitation

Frank Bruni. 2018. “How to Get the Most Out of College.” *The New York Times*, August 17.

Further (voluntary) reading:

Michael Zweig. 2011. *The Working Class Majority: America’s Best Kept Secret*. Cornell: ILR Press, 7-39 (ch. 1: “The Class Structure of the United States”).

Thomas L. Friedman. 2005. *The World is Flat*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux. Excerpt.

PART I: THE EVOLUTION OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

Week 2: Early Patterns of Global Market Integration (January 25) – ONLINE

Globalization in History’s Mirror

Dani Rodrik. 2011. *The Globalization Paradox*. New York: Norton, 3-23 (ch. 1: “Of Markets and States: Globalization in History’s Mirror”).

Thinking at the Time: Liberalism

Adam Smith. 1776. *The Wealth of Nations*, very short excerpt.

John Paul Rollert. 2012. “Sleight of the ‘Invisible Hand.’” *Opinionator, New York Times*, October 21.

Week 3: The First Boom and the Collapse of Trade before World War II (February 1) – TAKE-HOME READING QUIZ!

The First Globalization

Dani Rodrik. 2011. *The Globalization Paradox*. New York: Norton, 24-46 (ch. 2: “The Rise and Fall of the First Great Globalization”).

Thinking at the Time: Marxism

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. 1848. *The Communist Manifesto*, very short excerpt.

Further (voluntary) reading:

Howard Zinn. 2005 [1980]. *A People’s History of the United States, 1492-Present*. New York: HarperPerennial, 77-102 (ch. 5: “A Kind of Revolution”).

Week 4: Deepening Trade after World War II (February 8)

The Second Globalization: Regulating Trade in a Politicized World

Dani Rodrik. 2011. *The Globalization Paradox*. New York: Norton, 67-88 (ch. 4: “Bretton Woods, GATT, and the WTO: Trade in a Politicized World”).

Thinking at the Time: Social Democracy

Sheri Berman. 2009. “The Primacy of Economics versus the Primacy of Politics: Understanding the Ideological Dynamics of the Twentieth Century.” *Perspectives on Politics* 7(3): 561-575.

Week 5: Welfare States Meet Global Value Chains (February 15)

Welfare States, including an American Variant

Christopher Howard. 2008. *The Welfare State Nobody Knows*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1-26 (Introduction & ch. 1: “She’s So Unusual”).

The Emergence of Global Value Chains

Richard Baldwin. 2016. *The Great Convergence: Information Technology and the New Globalization*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1-15 (“Introduction”).

David Weil. 2014. *The Fissured Workplace: Why Work Became So Bad for So Many And What Can be Done to Improve It*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 159-177 (ch. 7: “Supply Chains and the Fissured Workplace”).

Week 6: Liberalizing Finance (February 22) – TAKE-HOME READING QUIZ!

Financial Liberalization

Dani Rodrik. 2011. *The Globalization Paradox*. New York: Norton, 89-111 (ch. 5: “Financial Globalization Follies”).

Thinking at the Time: Putting on a Golden Straightjacket?

Thomas L. Friedman. 1999. *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 101-111.

Financial Crises, 1994 – ongoing

Dani Rodrik. 2011. *The Globalization Paradox*. New York: Norton, 112-134 (ch. 6: “The Foxes and Hedgehogs of Finance”).

There are excellent videos available online that should help you understand this material of this week. If you have not had much exposure to the role of finance in capitalism, the impact of financial liberalization and the reasons behind the ensuing financial crises, please consult:

Conversations with History: The Ascent of Money | Niall Ferguson

(<http://www.uctv.tv/shows/The-Ascent-of-Money-Conversations-with-History-15580>)

Crash! A brief history of modern global capitalism | Leo Panitch

(<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/audioslideshow/2012/nov/26/brief-history-of-global-capitalism-leo-panitch>)

Conversations with History: The Causes and Consequences of the Global Economic Collapse | Martin Wolf

(<http://www.uctv.tv/shows/Causes-and-Consequences-of-the-Global-Economic-Collapse-Conversations-with-History-16225>)

Week 7: Recasting Globalization’s Narrative (March 1)

Review

Dani Rodrik. 2018. *Straight Talk on Trade: Ideas for a Sane World Economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1-14 (ch. 1: “A Better Balance”).

Leo Panitch. 2009. “Thoroughly Modern Marx.” *Foreign Policy* (May/June): 140-145.

Branko Milanovic. 2016. *Global Inequality: A New Approach for the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 10-45 (ch. 1: “The Rise of the Global Middle Class and Global Plutocrats”).

Further (voluntary) video:

Commanding Heights, episode one (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w9ms2WOZi74>)

Week 8: In-Class Midterm Exam (March 8)

PART II: THE GLOBAL ECONOMY'S EFFECTS ON LABOR

Week 9: The Emergence of “Chimerica” (March 22)

Shifting Global Patterns of Interdependence

Stephen S. Cohen and J. Bradford DeLong. 2010. *The End of Influence: What Happens When Other Countries Have the Money*. New York: Basic Books, 91-117 (ch. 5: “Where Did All Their Money Come From?”).

Robert E. Scott and Will Kimball. 2014. “China Trade, Outsourcing and Jobs.” EPI Briefing Paper No. 385, Economic Policy Institute, Washington, DC

Week 10: The United States – Long-Standing Arrangements in Question (March 29)

Reality vs. Theory in International Trade

Dani Rodrik. 2011. *The Globalization Paradox*. New York: Norton, 47-66 (ch. 3: “Why Doesn’t Everyone Get the Case for Free Trade?”).

Dani Rodrik. 2018. *Straight Talk on Trade: Ideas for a Sane World Economy*. Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press, 123-126.

International Pressures & Changing Labor Market Structures

Richard Freeman. 2005. “What Really Ails Europe (and America): The Doubling of the Global Workforce.” *The Globalist*, June.

Gwynn Guilford. 2018. “Cost of Complacency: The Epic Mistake About Manufacturing That’s Cost Americans Millions of Jobs.” *Quartz*, May 3.

Week 11: Between Cross-National Convergence and Political Choice (April 5)

Rather than Helping “Losers” from Trade: Welfare State Retrenchment

Jacob S. Hacker. 2007. “Failing the Middle Class.” *Challenge* 50(3): 26–42.

Lawrence Mishel, John Schmitt and Heidi Shierholz. 2014. “Wage Inequality: A Story of Policy Choices.” *New Labor Forum* 23(3): 26-31.

Tensions Cross-Nationally

Wolfgang Streeck. 2011. “The Crises of Democratic Capitalism.” *New Left Review* 71(Sept/Oct), 5-29.

Week 12: What Should the Goals Be? (April 12) – TAKE-HOME READING QUIZ!

The Scope of Government-Sponsored Redistribution

Malte Luebker. 2012. "A Tide of Inequality: What Can Transfers Achieve?" In Nicolas Pons-Vignon and Phumzile Ncube, eds. *Confronting Finance*. Geneva: International Labour Organization, 97-102.

Lane Kenworthy. 2008. *Jobs with Equality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-9.

Going for "Predistribution"? Institutional Framing of Market Outcomes

Jacob S. Hacker. 2011. "The Institutional Foundations of Middle-Class Democracy." In Policy Network, ed. *Priorities for a New Political Economy: Memos to the Left*. London: Policy Network, 33-37. (Focus on the "lessons," i.e. page 35 onward)

Katrina van den Heuvel. 2012. "Predistribution: A Big, New Idea." *The Nation* blog, September 17. (1 page)

Liz Alderman and Steven Greenhouse. 2014. "Living Wages, Rarity for U.S. Fast-Food Workers, Served Up in Denmark." *The New York Times*, October 27.

Week 13: What Have We Learned? (April 19)

Prepare for Group Debates: This class believes that...

1. "Global economic forces are the most important factor behind increasing economic inequalities in the rich democracies."
2. "The best way to prevent further increases in economic inequalities is to get tough on companies and make it harder for them to offshore jobs."

On the Political Trilemma of the Global Economy

Dani Rodrik. 2011. *The Globalization Paradox*. New York: Norton, 184-207 (ch. 9: "The Political Trilemma of the World Economy").

Week 14: How to Reach the Goals? (April 26)

The Third Globalization: Liberalism Re-embedded?

Dan Breznitz and John Zysman, eds. 2013. *The Third Globalization: Can Wealthy Nations Stay Rich in the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1-27 (Introduction: "Facing the Double Bind: Maintaining a Healthy and Wealthy Economy in the Twenty-First Century").

Dani Rodrik. 2011. *The Globalization Paradox*. New York: Norton, 230-250 (ch. 11: "Designing Capitalism 3.0").

Review

Dani Rodrik. 2011. *The Globalization Paradox*. New York: Norton, 251-280 (ch. 12: "A Sane Globalization").

Appendix I – Further Information on Course Assignments & Class Rules:

IN-CLASS PARTICIPATION & ATTENDANCE

Be prepared for class and always read the assigned materials before our meetings. You are expected to bring questions and comments about the course material so that you can participate in class discussions. With much of our time spent learning through discussion, it is necessary for everybody to participate. I might ask students to use their questions to stimulate discussions and will ensure broad participation. It is critical that we respect one another's thoughts and address our comments at others' ideas, not at people themselves. This course is not a forum for demeaning or threatening language. Rather than measuring the frequency with which you speak in class, your participation grade reflects how you balance reasoning, reading, and listening. Also, do not forget to take careful notes to complement the PowerPoint slides.

Students should plan to attend every course session. If for some unavoidable reason you must miss a class, please let me know in advance through the university's absence reporting website (<https://sims.rutgers.edu/ssra/>) so that your absence will not remain unexplained. If you are late or leave early repeatedly, and if you miss class unexcused, your participation grade will suffer.

QUIZZES

There will be three short take-home quizzes during the semester (administered via Canvas). If you do the assigned readings, you should have no problem doing well on the quizzes. There will be no trick questions, nor will a complete understanding of the reading be required. Rather, the quizzes are geared to helping you engage with the provided materials by asking you to answer some very basic questions. Your performance in the quizzes will become part of your in-class participation grade.

EXAMS

The midterm exam on the material from the first half of the course will be given in-class. It will be two hours in length. You will be asked to define key terms, provide short answers to questions, and write an essay.

The final exam will be given via Canvas. It will again be two hours in length (but I will give three so that you are less stressed). You will again be able to independently pick the most suitable time for you to take it. This exam will test you on the second half of the course, and you will be expected to use what you have learned in class to advance clear arguments in two essays. I'll give you information more information about the content and structure of this exam a few weeks before the end of the semester.

GROUP DEBATES

The session on April 19 will be used for in-class group debates. Groups will be formed and time will be provided in class the week before for groups to coordinate their preparation for the debates. Your performance in the debate will become part of your in-class participation grade.

EXTRA-CREDIT PAPER ASSIGNMENT

The assignment asks you to critique the press coverage of a news story (“press critique”). Write a paper of 5-7 pages (double spaced) analyzing one particular instance of how the press/media has covered economic globalization’s impact on labor broadly conceived. Please see Appendix II for more information.

COMMUNICATION

Students are expected to check their Rutgers email accounts regularly for class announcements. Students are responsible for all information communicated to them via email by the instructor. Feel free to contact the instructor via email with questions or concerns about the course. I will do my best to get back to you within 24 hours. When emailing the instructor, always include “Labor & Democracy” in the subject line of your email.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

While I encourage students to work together to understand theories and concepts, all written work must be your own. If you cite an author or use his/her ideas, please cite properly. Plagiarized assignments or evidence of cheating will result in a failing grade in the assignment and possibly in the course. Moreover, plagiarism may result in disciplinary action by the university.

DISABILITY STATEMENT

Rutgers University welcomes students with disabilities into all of the University's educational programs. In order to receive consideration for reasonable accommodations, a student with a disability must contact the appropriate disability services office at the campus where you are officially enrolled, participate in an intake interview, and provide documentation.

If the documentation supports your request for reasonable accommodations, your campus’s disability services office will provide you with a Letter of Accommodations. Please share this letter with your instructors and discuss the accommodations with them as early in your courses as possible. To begin this process, please complete the Registration form on the ODS web site at: <https://ods.rutgers.edu/students/registration-form>.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Helpdesk: Rutgers Office of Information and Technology

Email: <https://it.rutgers.edu/help-support>

Call: 833-OIT-HELP

INTELLECUAL PROPERTY

Lectures and materials utilized in this course, including but not limited to videocasts, podcasts, visual presentations, assessments, and assignments, are protected by United States copyright laws as well as Rutgers University policy. As the instructor of this course, I possess sole copyright ownership. You are permitted to take notes for personal use or to provide to a classmate also currently enrolled in this course. Under no other circumstances is distribution of recorded or written materials associated with this course permitted to any internet site or similar

information-sharing platform without my express written consent. Doing so is a violation of the university's [Academic Integrity Policy](#).

As the instructor for this course, I have the responsibility to protect students' right to privacy. Classroom recordings of students will therefore be treated as educational records under the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA), the U.S. federal law that governs access to educational information and records. Instructors and students must provide notification if any part of online sessions are to be recorded, and such recordings cannot be circulated outside the course.

Appendix II – Extra-Credit Paper Assignment:

The paper assignment asks you to critique the press coverage of a news story. Write a paper of 5-7 pages (double spaced, 12 sized Times New Roman font, 1 inch margins) analyzing one (or two) newspaper article(s) that discuss(es)/analyze(s) the global economy's impact on labor.

The main goal of this assignment is to get you to think through the material covered in class, and to demonstrate that you can apply it outside of the immediate class context. The other goal of this assignment is to help develop your ability to write clearly and analytically. Your essay will be graded on the level of engagement with class materials, on how well it critiques the article(s), on its consideration and evaluation of different perspectives that relate to the argument(s) it is making, on the organization of the paper, and on the quality and clarity of the writing.

You are free to choose for your critique any of a variety of article formats, including a report, a commentary/editorial, or a longer analysis. You may review one newspaper's or news magazine's coverage of a story, or compare two or more sources' coverage. Articles with strong opinion content (such as op-eds) often provide the easiest targets for thorough and convincing critiques. The article you choose to critique should be contemporary, i.e. it needs to have been published after January 2010. If in doubt about whether the article falls within the scope of the assignment, please check with me.

The paper should present a coherent critique of the chosen material, grounded in the ideas discussed in the course. Central questions to address in your analysis include: Is the coverage accurate? Is it biased? If so, what is the nature of the bias? What is the frame that the article adopts? Could the same data have been framed in a different way? Do you think any important data points or contextual perspectives are missing? Do the reporters have a good understanding of politics and economics? How could the reporters improve the coverage? What would be a better way to view/interpret the material? For example, if the reporting builds on inaccurate assumptions, identify those assumptions and state why they are wrong. Feel free to suggest an alternative argument or set of assumptions. Make sure to keep in mind that there are real limits to what a single news article can cover. For example, a short reporting-style piece cannot go into the many complexities of real-world causal relations.

There is no particular organizational structure required for your critique. Be sure to properly describe the character of the material you pick for your review, but avoid an extended summary of the piece. Rather, launch into your critique and write a paper that makes a strong argument about the quality – and particularly potential weaknesses – of a piece of press coverage.

A solid press critique cites multiple examples from the analyzed coverage and demonstrates careful reading of the course material. The paper should exhibit university-level competence in grammar and style, and should properly and accurately cite all sources that are consulted in a consistent citation style.