Did “globalization” cause the Arab Spring? Are the internet, texting, Facebook and Google the major new forces for democracy in the developing world? Were the credit default swaps, sub-prime mortgages, and derivatives based on the new institutions of global capitalism, responsible for the near descent into depression of 2008?

First-wave writers about globalization offered a bewildering array of answers to questions such as: What is “Globalization?” Who benefits? Are there “victims?” Can it be stopped? A second wave of intellectuals has gone beyond these questions to better understand the enduring structures, institutions and processes of a new global era. Spurred in part by the deepest global downturn since the “great depression,” a new set of scholars now asks with renewed fervor if the processes of globalization are reversible, if we are in a phase of “de-globalization,” and if we are in a terrifyingly intensified period of growing inequality.

This seminar will inquire into whether globalization is simply another name for historical trends of long duration, interdependence, internationalization, imperialism, neo or post-imperialism, or something qualitatively new. Does globalization advance “real” democracy, or “lite” democracy, which like “lite beer” looks and smells like beer but has no body and is a shadow of the real thing? Is it true that globalization means that the conditions of life of most people in the world will worsen, not improve in our lifetimes? Why is it that “democratization” does not necessarily mean less inequality? What has happened to the promise of “civil society”? What are the paradoxes of Neo-Liberalism? We will examine studies that see globalization as the construction of diverse forms of network power; as new institutions of democratization that come from “the globalization of accountability”; and as a new form of capitalism that has produced more goods and services than any previous economic system of production and yet has great difficulties overcoming crisis of financial instability and of equitable distribution.

Objectives:
1. To critically evaluate contending conceptions of globalization.
2. To examine causative connections between the forces of globalization and galloping inequality.
3. To attempt a better understanding of the impact of globalization on the “quality” of democracy.
4. To appreciate the importance of politics and of the state.

I. Research Topics

Each seminar participant will select a research topic, and write a 20-30 page paper. The topic can be treated comparatively by country or through time within the setting of a single country. Preparation for research will involve:
a. the definition of the problem
b. the selection of one or more central hypotheses
c. a justification of the problem and hypotheses by their relation to a wider body of theory
d. the specification of the system of analysis
e. the organization and gathering of data
f. the writing-up and presentation of conclusions

Members of the seminar will be given the opportunity to present progress reports during the course of the semester and should raise special problems they encounter in their research for discussion.

II  Core Readings

The following books must be read before the scheduled time and brought to class. Preferably they should be purchased.

Jagdish Bhagwati and Arvind Panagariya, Why Growth Matters, Public Affairs, 2013

III. Supplementary Readings and Oral Reports

The seminar is to be regarded as joint discussion and work group. Supplementary readings and oral reports will be used to focus discussions and expand our inquiry into related material and/or contradictory thesis and points of view.
Topics:

I. Globalization as Neo-Liberalism.
   a. Political and Economic Systems in Conflict
   b. Definitions of capitalism, exploitation and class
   c. Post-Newtonian Technology as Key?
   d. Global malcontents and backlash against the system

Required reading:

Recommended reading:
Tom Friedman, *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century*, Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, revised, 2006

Supplementary reading:
Fernand Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life*
Peter L. Berger, *The Capitalist Revolution*
Stanley Aronowitz and Peter Bratsis, eds., *Paradigm Lost: State Theory Reconsidered*, University of Minnesota Press, 2002
Miles Kahler and David A. Lake, eds., *Politics In the New Hard Times: The Great Recession in Comparative Perspective*, Cornell, 2013

II. Conflicting Radical Perspectives
   a. Globalization as “the same old story”
   b. Globalization as “indirect control” and network theory
   c. Functions of ideology, biopolitics, and consumer sovereignty
   d. An International, Transnational Ruling Class?

**Required reading:**

**Recommended reading:**
William Greider *One World Ready or Not*, Simon & Schuster, Touchstone, 1998
David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford, 2005

**Supplementary reading:**
Ato Quayson, *Postcolonialism: Theory, Practice or Process?*, Polity, 2000
Terrence McDonough *et al., Contemporary Capitalism and Its Crisis: Social Structure of Accumulation Theory for the 21st Century*, Cambridge, 2010

III. Conflicting Conservative Perspectives
   a. Why there is too little globalization
   b. Why everybody benefits: Good Inequality and rising standards of living for all
   c. Is Oligarchy Compatible with Democracy?
   d. The Death of community
   e. The Tradeoff Between Violence and Mass political participation

**Required reading:**

**Recommended reading:**

**Supplementary reading:**
Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge, 1999

IV. Conflicting Liberal Perspectives
   a. How IMF policies brought the world to the verge of a global meltdown
b. Better to be poor in a rich country?
c. Paradoxes of Globalization
d. The Fragile Global Economy?
e. The Second Great Age of Capitalism

**Required reading:**

**Recommended reading:**


**Supplementary reading:**


V. The Incredible, Almost Magical, Productivity of Capitalism
   a. Growing Inequality or Ever Higher Standards of Living for All?
   b. The International Global Division of Labor and Power
   c. Economic and Political Institutions of Globalization
   d. Neoliberalism and “The Race to the Bottom”?

**Required reading:**

**Recommended Reading:**
Luis F. Lopez-Calva & Nora Lustig, eds., *Declining Inequality in Latin America: A Decade of Progress?*, Brookings, 2010

**Supplementary Reading**
Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and the New Wars*, Zed, 2002
J.F. Rischard, *High Noon: 20 Global Problems; 20 Years to Solve Them*, Basic, 2002

VI. Contending Definitions and Perspectives on Globalization
a. The Globalization debate
b. Sources of Contention
c. Hyperglobalizers, Skeptics, and Transformationalists
d. The WTO’s slow motion coup d’état over democratic society?

Required reading:

Recommended Reading:

Supplementary reading:
Michael Edwards and John Gaventa, eds., *Global Citizen Action,* Lynne Reinner, 2001
Kenneth M. Roberts, *Deepening Democracy? The Modern Left and Social Movements in Chile and Peru,* Stanford, 1998
Sarah Anderson, ed., *View From the South: The Effects of Globalization and the WTO on Third World Countries,* Food First, 2000
Kevin Danaher, *10 Reasons to Abolish the IMF and World Bank,* Seven Stories Press, 2001
Christopher Cramer, *Violence in Developing Countries,* Indiana, 2007
Luiz Carlos Bresser Pereira, *Globalization and Competition: Why Some Emergent Countries Succeed while Others Fall Behind,* Cambridge, 2010
Pablo Beramendi, *The Political Geography of Inequality: Regions and Redistribution,* Cambridge, 2012

VII. Global Cities and Other New Global Structures and Institutions
a. The Geography and composition of globalization
b. New forms of centralization and dispersal
c. Capital mobility and labor market formation
d. Citizens and public control

**Required reading:**

**Recommended reading:**

**Supplementary reading:**
Vito Tanzi et al., *Economic Policy and Equity*, International Monetary Fund, 1999
Orazio Attanasio et al., *Portrait of the Poor: An Assets Based Approach*, Inter-American Development Bank, 2001
Joseph S. Tolchin, ed., *Democratic Govenance and Social Inequality*, Lynne Rienner, 2002

**VIII. Globalization As Networks and Standards**

a. Complex and contentious civil society
b. The Power of sociability
c. Post-Global Systems of Control
d. All together now.
Required reading:

Recommended Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Howard Rheingold, *Smart Mobs*, Basic Books, 2002

IX. Woman and Globalization
a. Transnational Feminist networks
b. The importance of democracy
c. Women’s agency and social change
d. Poverty as capability deprivation: Just Debate and Gender Justice

Required reading:

Recommended reading:
Westview, 2010

**Supplementary reading:**
Amaryta Sen, *Development As Freedom*, Doubleday, 1999
Alan Tonelson, *The Race to the Bottom: Why a Worldwide Worker Surplus and Uncontrolled Free Trade are Sinking American Living Standards*, Westview, 2002
Howard Winant, *The World is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy Since World War II*, Basic, 2001
Cynthia Enloe, *The Curious Feminist: Searching For Women in a New Age of Empire*, University of California Press, 2004
Valentine M. Moghadam, *Globalizing Women: Transnational Feminist Networks*, Johns Hopkins, 2005
David Held and Ayse Kaya, eds., *Global Inequality*, Polity, 2007
Mona Lena Krook, *Quotas For Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide*, Oxford University Press, 2009

X. Democracy From Abroad? Network Power  
   a. Transnational Institutions and Accountability  
   b. Net Delusions  
   c. Democracy, Globalization, Ethnicity and Genocide  
   d. Transnational civil society

**Required reading:**  

**Recommended Reading:**  

**Supplementary Reading:**  
Richard Robbins, *Global Problems and the Culture of Capitalism*, Allyn and Bacon, 2002  
Lawrence E. Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington, eds., *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress*, Basic, 2000  
John A. Guindry et al., *Globalizations and Social Movements: Cultur, Power and the Transnational Public Sphere*, University of Michigan Press, 2000  
Rowman and Littlefield, 2003
Samuel Huntington, Who Are We: The Challenges to America’s National Identity, Simon & Schuster, 2004
Amy Chua, Day of Empire: How Hyperpowers Rise to Global Dominance - and Why They Fall, Anchor Books, 2009
Bo Rothstein, The Quality of Government: Corruption, Social Trust, and Inequality in International Perspective, University of Chicago Press, 2011

XI. A Political Economy of Social Policy in the Era of Globalization
   a. Building the social welfare state
   b. The Clash of economic interests
   c. Who Benefits from Education?
   d. Violence and social orders

Required reading:

Recommended Reading:

Supplementary Reading:
Obika Gray, Demeaned But Empowered: The Social Power of the Urban Poor in Jamaica, University of West Indies Press, 2004
Steven A. Cook, Ruling but Not Governing: The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria and Turkey, Johns Hopkins, 2007


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XII. Globalization as Imperialism (Omit)

a. Is Imperialism good or bad?, and thank you for asking?
b. Globalization as exploitation
c. The Institutions of American Militarism
d. Obligations and necessities of Empire

**Required reading:**


**Recommended reading:**


**Supplementary reading:**


Noam Chomsky, *Profit Over People: Neoliberalism and the Global Order*, Seven Stories, 1999


Ato Quayson, *Postcolonialism: Theory, Practice or Process?*, Polity, 2000


