

PP5311 Globalization and Public Policy

Class Timings Tuesday, 2-5 pm

Room SR3-4

Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy

National University of Singapore

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Office: OTH 3M-02

Office Hours: Mon and Thurs, 2-4 pm (or by appointment)

Course Description

This course is designed for students working in the public, private, or non-profit sectors with some background in political economy and policy making. It introduces students to the analysis of globalization – the widening and deepening of international interconnectedness –and its impacts on national policy making. Broadly, the course deals with the major issues brought forward by globalization, how we can think about them analytically, and what kinds of policy options are available to policy makers under the opportunities and constraints of globalization.

The course begins with an overview of globalization – what is it, is it new, what does it look like in historical perspective. It then goes on to examine the core of globalization studies – how globalization relates to trade, finance, the crisis of 2008, production networks, and the flow of technology and people (migration). Next, it asks a key question: does globalization lead to policy learning amongst states and does it result in policy convergence? Finally, the course focuses on less traditional topics including the effect of globalization on land use, on inequality within and between states, and on welfare policies. We conclude with the consequences of globalization for international relations – does globalization help some powers and hurt others, and what are the implications of globalization for national security policy?

Course Objectives

This course is aimed to help students:

- Understand globalization as an historical process that has increasingly blurred disciplinary distinctions between economics and politics on the one hand and between national and international politics on the other
- Appreciate the role of states and markets and other actors in globalization

- Encourage a problem-solving approach to the policy issues arising from globalization
- Appreciate the complexity of the challenges facing policy makers and of the inter-relationship between domestic politics and international politics
- Engage with a key issue of interest to them and to write a policy paper on it dealing with the economic, political, international, administrative, and/or legal consequences of globalization.

Assessment

Students will be assessed in the following manner:

Class Participation	Weekly
Presentation	Sign up for any week in the semester
Short papers (2)	Due Week 5 and Week 9
Policy paper	Due Week 13

Readings and Class Sessions

The readings for the course are mostly online. You can access them using JSTOR or the Muse Project or from various websites as indicated in the Course Structure (see below). Some will be loaded onto IVLE as scanned copies.

I have tried to keep the readings to 60-80 pages per week. The first two readings per week are compulsory; try to read the others or at least skim them. After the first lecture, the course will be conducted seminar style, with the instructor providing a brief introduction to the topic and then opening up to student presentations on the subject. The number of student presentations will depend on the number of students in the course. After the student presentation, we will open up to more general discussion amongst all the students and the instructor. When you are presenting, you are expected to have done all the readings for that week.

It is important to bear in mind that the approach here is twofold: a critical assessment of the concepts and arguments presented in the readings; and a problem solving concern in which we think about the implications for policy – for national governments and for global governance.

Participation

Active class participation not only helps students to put forward their arguments and critically engage the readings but it also gives them an opportunity to appreciate various points of views on a subject. Therefore, you are encouraged to speak up in class. Students will be graded on the quality and quantity of their

interventions in class. For example, a student with no participation at all will be graded zero. Students who participate but whose interventions suggest that they have not done the readings and who therefore do not contribute to our learning process will be given between 0-50 percent for the week. Students whose contributions critically reflect on the readings and who engage with fellow students in a meaningful discussion will get 50-100 percent for the week.

Presentation

- Making a presentation is an important skill.
- The aim is to get students to make a 10-minute presentation and to answer questions for 5 minutes from the class.
- The presentations will be graded by all the other students and by the professor.
- The presentations will analyse the issue of the week, critically engaging the readings. In addition, students are expected to bring their own insights to the issue.
- We will begin the class with an introduction to the subject by the instructor and then go to the presentation(s).

Short Papers

- The objective of the short paper is to engage with the readings for a particular week and ask what the implications of the issue are for your country: what are the policy implications for governments?
- The paper should be no more than 1500 words in length.
- Students are free to use the discussion questions to help decided how to focus the paper.
- This is not a research paper. It is primarily a thought piece, using the readings to ask what a policy maker should think about if he or she reads the same readings as you and how a policy maker might make use of the insights of the readings.
- Papers will be graded for logical analysis, critical inquiry, a clear argument and focus, and organization. Students are expected to submit papers to spell and grammar check and to document their work properly. Plagiarism is a serious offence. All papers will be assessed by the software, turnitin.com.

Policy Paper

- The length of the paper should be 4000 words.
- The idea is to get students to think about a policy issue and to lay out the options in dealing with that policy. In order to answer this question, you will probably have to “pretend” that you are a policy maker for one of the actors involved in the issue.

- The students should draw on the readings they have done on that topic, other readings done in the course, and readings from other sources to present the various policy options for a country or organization in dealing with that problem.
- They should then argue the case for the best option, as they see it. The readings are a resource. The objective is not to assess the readings. It is to use the readings to try and lay out the options and to think about the costs and benefits of various options.
- Papers will be graded for logical analysis, critical inquiry, a clear argument and focus, and organization. Students are expected to submit papers to spell and grammar check and to document their work properly. Plagiarism is a serious offence. All papers will be assessed by the software, turnitin.com.

Grading

Class participation	10%
Class presentation	10%
Short papers	20% each
Term paper	40%

Please note that NUS policy is that no more than 30 per cent of students can be in the A range.

Plagiarism and Academic Honesty

The LKY School's Academic Code of Conduct lists academic integrity as one of six important values. According to this Code, we have agreed to 'make every effort to understand what counts as plagiarism and why this is wrong'. To avoid giving the impression that you are passing off other people's work as your own, you will need to acknowledge conscientiously the sources of information, ideas, and arguments used in your paper. For this purpose, you will use the 'footnote style' according to the *Chicago Manual of Style*, the guidelines for which can be found online at http://www.dianahacker.com/resdoc/p04_c10_s2.html.

Course Structure

August 13 (Week 1 – Shopping Week): Course Introduction

August 20 (Week 2): What is Globalization?

Baylis, J., S. Smith, and P. Owens (2010), *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, Oxford University Press, Chapter 1, pp.14-35.

Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "Periodizing Globalization: Histories of Globalization," *New Global Studies*, Volume 6, Issue 2, 2012 Article 1, pp. 1-27,
<http://www.jannederveenpieterse.com/pdf/Periodizing%20Globalization.pdf>.

Giovanni Arrighi, "Globalization and the Rise of East Asia: Lessons from the Past, Prospects for the Future," *International Sociology*, March 1998: 13, pp. 59-77.

Parag Khanna, "The Future of Globalization," Chatham House talk, transcript,
<http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Meetings/Meeting%20Transcripts/150312khanna.pdf>

Nayan Chanda, "Runaway Globalization Without Governance," *Global Governance*, 14 (2008), pp. 119-125,
<http://www.fairplanet.ca/media/globalization.pdf>

"A Quick Guide to the History of Globalization,"
<http://www.sas.upenn.edu/~dludden/global1.htm>

Discussion Questions

- What is globalization?
- Is globalization new? What's different about contemporary globalization?
- How does globalization affect the way states formulate and implement their policies? What does globalization mean for conventional policy analysis?

August 27 (Week 3): Globalization and Trade (Guest speaker: Jesuthason Thampapillai)

Will Martin and Patrick Messerlin, "Why is it so Difficult? Trade Liberalization Under the Doha Agenda", *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, vol 23, no. 3, pp. 347-366, <http://users.unimi.it/olper/pdf/materiale-integrativo/Martin-Masserling-2007%20Dhoa-problems.pdf>

Jagdish Bhagwati and Peter Sutherland, "The Doha Round: Setting a Deadline, Defining a Fixed Deal," Interim Report of an Expert Group Report created by Germany, UK, Indonesia, and Turkey, January 2011,
<http://www.voxeu.org/sites/default/files/file/Trade-experts-group-final%20report-26-05-2011.pdf>

Michael Spence, “Globalization and Unemployment: The Downside of Integrating Markets,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2011.

“TPP: What is It and Why Does it Matter,” *BBC News*, March 14, 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-21782080>.

Mathew Iglesias, “Getting in Bed with Europe,” *Slate*, June 18, 2013, http://www.slate.com/articles/business/moneybox/2013/06/ttip_transatlantic_trade_and_investment_partnership_would_create_the_biggest.html -- article on the TTIP

European Commission, “Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)”, <http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/in-focus/ttip/>

“Can TTIP reshape the West?” *People’s Online Daily*, June 21, 2013, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90777/8294139.html>

Ganeshan Wignaraja, “Why the RCEP matters for Asia and the world,” *East Asia Forum*, May 15, 2013, <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2013/05/15/why-the-rcep-matters-for-asia-and-the-world/>

Discussion Questions

- What are the merits and demerits of free trade?
- Why are the main problems in getting an agreement on a free trade regime?
- Are regional and cross-regional trade agreements a good idea?

September 3 (Week 4): Globalization and Finance

Eswar S. Prasad and Raghuram G. Rajan, “A Pragmatic Approach to Capital Account Liberalization,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Volume 22, Number 3, 2008, pp. 149-172, <http://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/35252/1/566049686.pdf>

McKinsey Global Institute, “Financial Globalization: Retreat or Reset?” Executive Summary, March 2013, Executive Summary, http://www.mckinsey.com/insights/global_capital_markets/financial_globalization.

Dani Rodrik and Arvind Subramanian), “Why Did Financial Globalization Disappoint?” IMF Staff Papers, Volume 56, Number 1, March 2009, 112-138, <http://www.forum.rkba.iie.com/publications/papers/subramanian0308.pdf>

Raghuram Rajan, “Faultlines,” *Foreign Policy*, December 2010, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/11/29/fault_lines

Discussion Questions

- What are the merits and demerits of a liberalized investment regime?
- What are the main arguments against and in favour of an open capital account?
- Will the yuan become an international reserve currency like the US dollar?

September 10 (Week 5): Globalization and the Crisis of 2008 and Beyond

Raghuram Rajan, “Has Financial Development Made the World Riskier?” <http://www.kansascityfed.org/publicat/sympos/2005/PDF/Rajan2005.pdf>, the paper that in 2005 warned of the fragility of the financial system.

Mark Jickling, “Causes of the Financial Crisis,” April 9, 2010, *Congressional Research Service*, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R40173.pdf>

OECD, “The 2008 Financial Crisis– A Crisis of Globalization?” in *Economic Globalization: Origins and Consequences*, OECD Publications, 2013, <http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/docserver/download/0111111e.pdf?expires=1375327134&id=id&acname=guest&checksum=6EC2032A48CDCEFA6E060945F01F6488>

World Bank, *The MDGs after the Crisis, Global Monitoring Report 2010* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2010), chapter 4.

Discussion Questions

- Could the 2008 crisis have been prevented?
- What role did the globalization of financial transactions cause the 2008 crisis?
- What have the consequences of the 2008 crisis been on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)?

September 17 (Week 6): Globalization, Production Networks, and Regional Integration (guest speaker: Razeen Sally)

OECD-WTO, “Trade in Value-Added Concept Note,”
<http://www.oecd.org/sti/ind/49894138.pdf>

OECD-WTO, “Trade Policy Implications of Global Value Chains,”
http://www.oecd.org/sti/ind/Trade_Policy_Implications_May_2013.pdf

World Economic Forum (2012), *Shifting Geography of Global Value Chains*, a report of the World Economic Forum,
http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GAC_GlobalTradeSystem_Report_2012.pdf

Razeen Sally, “It’s Time for a 21st Century Trade Policy,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 28, 2013, http://www.ecipe.org/media/media_hit_pdfs/280513-H--A-011.pdf

Jagdish Bhagwati, “Regionalism versus Multilateralism,” *World Economy*, v. 15, no. 5, 1992, pp. 535- 556.
http://bb2sz3ek3z.search.serialssolutions.com/?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2004&ctx_enc=info%3Aofi%2Fenc%3AUTF-8&rft_id=info:sid/summon.serialssolutions.com&rft_val_fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:journal&rft.genre=article&rft.atitle=Regionalism+versus+multilateralism&rft.jtitle=The+world+economy&rft.au=Bhagwati%2C+Jagdish+Natwarlal&rft.date=1992&rft.pub=Blackwell&rft.issn=0378-5920&rft.eissn=1467-9701&rft.volume=15&rft.issue=5&rft.spage=535&rft.epage=555&rft.externalIDocID=260109398¶mdict=en-US

Discussion Questions

- How do you distinguish between globalization, regional integration, and internationalization?
- Do you agree that trade in intermediary goods is qualitatively different from trade in final goods?
- How do you compare and contrast arguments for and against regionalism?

October 1(Week 7): Globalization, International Technology, and Migration (Guest speaker: Wong Marn Heong)

Keith E. Maskus, “Encouraging International Technology Transfer”, International Centre of Trade and Sustainable Development, 2005.

Devesh Kapur, *Give Us Your Best and Brightest: The Global Hunt for Talent and Its Impact on the Developing World* (with John McHale), Center for Global Development, 2006, Chapter 1&10.

Discussion Questions

- Is the so called “brain-drain” from developing countries to the rich a problem or an opportunity?
- How can developing countries acquire modern technology?
- What is the role of developed countries in facilitating or hindering technology transfer?

October 8 (Week 8): Globalization and Policy

Diffusion/Convergence/Learning (guest speaker: Iftikhar Ahmed Lodhi)

K. Holzinger and C. Knill, "Causes and Conditions of Cross-national Policy Convergence," *Journal of European Public Policy* 12(5), 2005, pp. 775-796.

Beth A. Simmons and Z. Elkins, "The Globalization of Liberalization: Policy Diffusion in the International Political Economy." *American Political Science Review* 98(1), 2004, pp. 171–189.

Sarah M. Brooks, “Interdependent and Domestic Foundations of Policy Change: The Diffusion of Pension Privatization around the World,” *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 49, no. 2, June 2005, pp. 273-294.

Discussion Questions

- Is there a policy convergence among countries?
- What are the main channels of policy transfer and learning?
- Is globalization causing and/or speeding up policy convergence/policy transfer-learning?

October 11 (Week 9) – Globalization and Land (Tuesday, October 15 is a national holiday):

Sophia Murphy, “Land Grabs and Fragile Food Systems: The Role of Globalization,” Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, pp. 1-12, http://www.iatp.org/files/2013_02_14_LandGrabsFoodSystem_SM_0.pdf.

Derek Hall, “Land Grab, Land Control, and Southeast Asian Crop Booms,” a paper presented at the conference on Global Land Grabbing, April 2011, pp. 1-21,
http://www.iss.nl/fileadmin/ASSETS/iss/Documents/Conference_papers/LDPI/80_Derek_Hall.pdf.

Eric F. Lambin and Patrick Meyfroid, “Global Land Use Change, Economic Globalization, and the Looming Land Scarcity,”
<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3048112/>

Discussion Questions

- Is globalization linked to land use?
- Are land grabs new or is it an old phenomenon that has got worse?
- Can land grabbing be stopped or slowed down?

October 22 (Week 10): Globalization and Inequality

IMF, “Globalization and Inequality,”
<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2007/02/pdf/c4.pdf>

Aseema Sinha, “Globalization, Rising Inequality, and New Insecurities in India,” <http://www.apsanet.org/imgtest/taskforcediffineqdevsinha.pdf>

Nine Pavcnik, “Globalization and Within-Country Inequality,” WTO,
http://www.wto.org/english/res_e/booksp_e/glob_soc_sus_e_chap7_e.pdf

Joseph P Joyce, “Globalization and Inequality Among Nations,”
<http://new.wellesley.edu/sites/default/files/assets/departments/economics/files/joyce-inequal2.pdf>

Discussion Questions

- Is globalization linked to inequality?
- Has globalization increased inequality within countries?
- Is globalization shrinking the gap between rich and poor countries?

October 29 (Week 11): Globalization and the Welfare State (guest speaker: M. Ramesh)

Sarah Cook and Huck-ju Kwon, "Economic Reform and Social Protection in East Asia" paper presented at the RC19 annual conference at Florence University, 6-8 September 2007.

P. Genschel, "Globalization and the Welfare State: A Retrospective," *Journal of European Public Policy*, 11: 4 (2004), pp. 613-636.

<http://www.tandfonline.com.libproxy1.nus.edu.sg/doi/pdf/10.1080/1350176042000248052>

M. Ramesh, "Issues in Globalisation and Social Welfare in Asia," *Social Policy and Society*, 3(03)/2004, pp. 321-327.

<http://journals.cambridge.org.libproxy1.nus.edu.sg/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=228863>

Discussion Questions

- How has globalization changed the conventional understanding of sovereignty and the state?
- Can the development state survive in a globalized world?
- Is the deregulated competitive state "racing to the bottom" or to "the top"?

November 8 (Week 12): Globalization and Declining/Rising Powers (make up class for November 5)

Stephen Brooks and William Wohlforth, "Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War," *International Security*, volume 25, issue 3, Winter 2000/01, pp. 5-53,

http://belfercenter.hks.harvard.edu/publication/407/power_globalization_and_the_end_of_the_cold_war.html

Yong Deng and Thomas A. Moore, "China Views Globalization," *The Washington Quarterly*, Volume 27, Issue 3, 2004, pp. 115-136.

http://bb2sz3ek3z.search.serialssolutions.com/?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2004&ctx_enc=info%3Aofi%2Fenc%3AUTF-8&rft_id=info:sid/summon.serialssolutions.com&rft_val_fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:journal&rft.genre=article&rft.atitle=China+views+globalization%3A+Toward+a+new+great%20%80%90power+politics%3F&rft.jtitle=The+Washington

[+Quarterly&rft.au=Deng%2C+Yong&rft.au=Moore%2C+Thomas+G&rft.date=2004-06-01&rft.issn=0163-660X&rft.eissn=1530-9177&rft.volume=27&rft.issue=3&rft.spage=115&rft.epage=136&rft_id=info:doi/10.1162%2F016366004323090296&rft.externalDBID=n%2Fa&rft.externalDocID=10_1162_016366004323090296¶mdict=en-US](http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/testimonies/2005/RAND_CT244.pdf)

William Overholt, “China and Globalization,” Testimony presented to the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, May 19, 2005, http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/testimonies/2005/RAND_CT244.pdf

The World Bank, *Multipolarity: The New Global Economy*, Washington, DC, 2011, Overview, pp. 1-10, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTGDH/Resources/GDH_CompleteReport2011.pdf.

David Singh Grewal, “Network Power and Globalization,” *Ethics and International Affairs*, Volume 17, Issue 2, September 2003, pp. 89–98. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.libproxy1.nus.edu.sg/doi/10.1111/j.1747-7093.2003.tb00441.x/pdf>

Discussion Questions

- Did globalization cause the end of the Cold War and the defeat of the Soviet Union?
- How does China as a rising power look at globalization? Has China benefited from globalization?
- Is globalization leading to a new hegemony (under China), or is multipolarity more likely? Or will networks rule the world?

November 12 (Week 13): Globalization and National Security

Victor Cha, “Globalisation and the Study of International Security,” *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (2000), pp. 391-403. <http://www.jstor.org.libproxy1.nus.edu.sg/stable/pdfplus/425352.pdf>

Audrey Cronin, “Behind the Curve – Globalization and International Terrorism,” *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 3, Winter 2002/2003, pp. 30-58. http://muse.jhu.edu.libproxy1.nus.edu.sg/journals/international_security/v027/27.3cronin.pdf

TV Paul and Norinn Ripsman, "Under Pressure: Globalization and the National Security State," *Millennium*, vol. 33, 2004, pp. 355-380.

<http://mil.sagepub.com.libproxy1.nus.edu.sg/content/33/2/355.full.pdf+html>

Alex Evans, Bruce Jones, and David Steven, "The Long Crisis of Globalization: Risk, Resilience, and International Order," A report of *Brookings/CIC*,

<http://dspace.cigilibrary.org/jspui/bitstream/123456789/27382/1/Confronting%20the%20Long%20Crisis%20of%20Globalization.pdf?1>

Discussion Questions

- How, if at all, has globalization changed conceptions of national security?
- Are states more or less vulnerable?
- Is it possible to think of cooperative security rather than just national security?