

Political Science 340:001 Labor Rights in the International Economy July 2008

Kimberly Nolan Garcia, Instructor
DSH 333 M-Th 11:40-2:10

Instructor office: Political Science
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Office hours: after class until 3pm, and by appointment

Required texts:

There is no textbook for this course, all course materials are based on assigned readings listed on electronic reserves. The password for e-reserves is LOBO340. Any student can download and print these sources free of charge from the ITS and LOBO labs, or from home.

Classroom policies

Summer courses are 2.5 hours daily, Monday through Thursday. In order to successfully participate, students are expected to come to class having read the required readings, which are marked with an asterisk in the course schedule. These are the readings that will best help guide comprehension of the lecture. The other readings are assignments that will deepen your understanding of the issues of that day, and could be read if and when time and interest permits. I am *not* expecting any student to read the entire reading list for any day. I am asking that students attempt to read at least one additional article aside from the required reading. Additionally, some of these readings will be assigned to groups to help facilitate class discussion. If your topic is up on any given day, you and your group are expected to come prepared for class in order to lead the class discussion.

Class material will be presented through assigned readings and lectures, video presentations, and class discussions. Students will be graded on their performance on two exams, summaries of readings, class participation, and attendance. Students should come prepared with questions and comments on the readings and/or current events related to international economics, as group discussion will be core to the class.

Qualified students with disabilities needing appropriate academic adjustments should contact the instructor as soon as possible to ensure your needs are met in a timely manner. Handouts are available in alternative accessible formats upon request.

Students must comply with UNM academic integrity policies. Cheating, plagiarism, and academic dishonesty will not be tolerated.

Incomplete grades, withdrawals, and A+ grades will be granted only under extraordinary circumstances or at the discretion of the instructor.

Attendance policy:

Attendance is mandatory during the summer session. Students who miss lecture regularly will not perform well in this class. Remember, missing a single class is comparable to missing an entire week of school.

Attendance will be taken daily, and counts for 5% of the final grade. Students may miss three classes without penalty, but all other absences must be documented with a UNM approved excuse. If students encounter problems that prevent them from attending class, they should notify the instructor at once.

Exams:

Student comprehension of class material will be evaluated through two exams. The first exam is listed in the course schedule as Monday July 21. The second exam is on Thursday, July 31, and tests material from the last half of class. These are essay tests that require blue books.

Students are expected to take all required exams. Make-up exams will not be given. *Any absences from exams must be documented.* Students who miss exams without documentation for a UNM approved excuse will receive a 0 for that exam, and cannot pass the class.

Students may not leave the room during exams, or forfeit completing the test.

Group work for readings tasks:

The core of the course is class discussion of assigned readings on topics relating to international political economy, labor rights issues, or case studies. To facilitate the discussion, students will submit *either* a 1-2 page summary *or* a 1 page outline of one article from the set of specific topic readings their group has chosen. This means each group will choose 5 topics to lead discussion on during the course, and further, each student will submit for grade a summary of one of the readings listed for each of these 5 topics. Groups may wish to share these summaries among their members as well.

Students from the same group can outline the same reading if necessary. More than one group will be assigned a set of readings for each day.

Submission of 5 outlines or summaries is worth 100 points, 4 is worth 80 points and so on. The total value of the summaries counts towards 35% of the final grade for the course.

Late submissions will not be accepted. Students should submit these summaries typed and printed on paper, in class, for the day the text is assigned. Email submissions will not be accepted.

Grading:

Student grades will be evaluated through performance on the two exams, the readings summaries, class participation, and attendance. One extra credit assignment will be offered.

Exams: 30% each (60% total of final grade)

Summaries of Readings: 35% of final grade

Attendance 5% of final grade

Class participation: favorable/ non-favorable

Final letter grades are based on the points earned for these tasks, and grade scales will be provided after exams.

Course Schedule

Required readings are marked with asterisks ***. Other listed readings are suggested readings, fair game for student summaries.

July 7: Introduction: Models for protecting labor rights in the international economy

**Frundt, Henry. 1998. "The Debate Over Methods of Achieving Labor Rights." *Trade Conditions and Labor Rights*. Miami: University Press of Florida.

July 8: Development strategies in Latin America

**Franko, Patrice. 1999. "Import Substitution Industrialization: Looking inward for the source of growth." *The Puzzle of Latin American Economic Development*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield. Chapter 3

**Franko, Patrice. 1999. "Latin America's Debt Crisis."

Dos Santos, Theotonio. 1970. "The Structure of Dependence." *American Economic Review* 60 (2): 231-236. (excerpt)

Sklair, Holly. 1993. "The Maquilas in Global Perspective." *Assembling for Development*. La Jolla: UCSD Center for US- Mexican Studies.

July 9: The Politics of Trade

**Franko, Patrice. 1999. "Contemporary Trade Policy: Engine or Brakes for Growth?"

**Oatley, Thomas. 2006. "The World Trade Organization and the World Trade System." *International Political Economy* (2nd Edition). NY: Pearson Longman.

July 10: Foreign Direct Investment

**Oatley, Thomas. 2006. "The Politics of Multinational Corporations."

**Gordon, Michael. 2000. "Export Processing Zones." In Turner and Lowell, eds. *Transnational Cooperation among Labor Unions*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Documentary: *Life and Debt* (2001) 85 minutes

July 14, 15 : Transnational Production Models and Degraded Production

**Piore, Michael. 1997. "The Economics of the Sweatshop." In Ross, Andrew, ed. *No Sweat*. London: Verso, p135-142.

**Klein, Naomi. 2000. "The Discarded Factory." *No Logo*. London: Picador (Ch.9).

**Bair, Jennifer, and Gary Gereffi. 2002. "NAFTA and the Apparel Commodity Chains." In Bair and Gereffi, eds. *Trade and Under Development: The North American Apparel Industry After NAFTA*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Bair, Jennifer, Martha Martinez, and Gary Gereffi. 2002. "Torreon: The New Blue Jeans Capital of the World." In Bair and Gereffi, eds. *Trade and Under Development: The North American Apparel Industry After NAFTA*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press

Wark, MacKenzie. 1997. "Fashion as a Culture Industry." In Ross, Andrew, ed. *No Sweat*. London: Verso, p 227-248.

case studies:

Disney in Haiti

NLC. 1997. "An Appeal to Walt Disney." In Ross, Andrew, ed. *No Sweat*. London: Verso, 95-112.

Thai garment workers in Los Angeles

Su, Julie. 1997. "El Monte Thai Garment Workers: Slave Sweatshops." In Ross, Andrew, ed. *No Sweat*. London: Verso, 143-149.

July 16: Labor rights as human rights

**Chan, Anita. 1998. "Labor Standards and Human Rights: The Case of Chinese Workers Under Socialism." *Human Rights Quarterly* 20.4, 886-904.

Burtless, Gary. 2001. "Worker's Rights: Labor Standards and Global Trade." *Brookings Review* 19.4 10-13.

Herzenberg, Stephen. 2003. "Morality, Economics and International Labor Rights." In Compa and Diamond, eds. *Human Rights, Labor Rights and International Trade*. Philadelphia: U of Penn Press.

Arnold, Denis G. 2003. "Moral Reasoning, Human Rights and Global Labor Practices." In Hartman, Arnold and Woktuch, eds. *Rising Above Sweatshops: Innovative Approaches to Global Labour Challenges*. London: Praeger.

2nd Half of class: International Labor Rights regimes

**Leary, Virginia. 1996. "The Paradox of Worker's Rights as Human Rights." In Compa and Diamond, eds. *Human Rights, Labor Rights and International Trade*. Philadelphia: U of Penn Press.

**Elliot, Kimberly Ann and Richard B. Freeman. 2003. "The ILO to the Rescue?"

Douglas, William, John-Paul Ferguson and Erin Klett. 2004. "An Effective Confluence of Forces in Support of Worker's Rights." *Human Rights Quarterly* 26.2, 273-299.

July 17: Protectionist Arguments

**Potter, Edward. 1994. "International Labour Standards, The Global Economy and Trade." *International Labour Standards and Economic Interdependence: Essays in Commemoration of the 75th Anniversary of the ILO*. Geneva: ILO

**Elliott, Kimberly Ann. 2000. "Getting beyond NO! Promoting Worker Rights and Trade." In Schott, Jeffrey, ed., *The WTO after Seattle*. WDC: Institute for International Economics.

Elliot, Kimberly Ann and Richard B. Freeman. 2003. "Globalization vs. Labor Standards?" *Can Labor Standards Improve Under Globalization*. WDC: Institute for International Economics.

Mizala and Romaguera. 2001. "Protection and Labor Standards." In Ronald Fischer, ed. *Latin America and the Global Economy*. London: Palgrave.

2nd half of class:

The effects of "globalization" on labor rights: Quantitative Studies

***Cingranelli, David L. 2002. "Democratization, Economic Globalization, and Worker's Rights," In Edward McMahon and Thomas A.P. Sinclair, eds. *Democratic Institutional Performance: Research and Policy Perspectives*, 139-157. New York: Praeger.

Kucera, David. 2002. "Core Labour Standards and Foreign Direct Investment." *International Labour Review* 141 (1-2): 31-69.

Harrison, Ann, and Jason Scorse. 2003. "Globalization's Impact on Compliance with Labor Standards." *Brookings Trade Forum (2003)*: 45-82.

Mosley, Layna, and Saika Uno. 2007. "Racing to the Bottom or Climbing to the Top? Economic Globalization and Collective Labor Rights." *Comparative Politics* 40.8, 923-948.

Richards, David L. Donald Gelleny and David H. Sacko. 2001. "Money With a Mean Streak? Foreign Economic Penetration and Government Respect for Human Rights in Developing Countries." *International Studies Quarterly* 45.2, 219-239.

Bazillier, Remi. 2007. "Core Labor Standards and Development: Impact on Long Term Income." *World Development* 36.1, 17-38.

Neumayer, Eric, and Indra de Soysa. 2005. "Globalization and the Right to Free Association and Collective Bargaining: An Empirical Analysis." *World Development* 34.1, 31-49.

Neumayer, Eric, and Indra de Soysa. 2004. "Trade Openness, Foreign Direct Investment and Child Labor." *World Development* 33.1, 43-63.

Cingranelli, David L, and Chang-yen Tsai. 2003. *Democracy, Globalization and Worker's Rights: A Comparative Analysis*. Unpublished manuscript.

Basinger, Scott and Mark Hallerberg. 2004. "Remodeling the Competition for Capital: How Domestic Politics Erases the Race to the Bottom." *APSR* 98.2, 261-276.

Monday, July 21 Exam I, no additional class

July 22: Global winners and losers

**Ross, Robert, and Anita Chan. 2002. "From North-South to South-South: The True Face of Global Competition." *Foreign Affairs* (September/ October).

**Babson, Steve. 2002. Cross-Border Trade with Mexico and the Prospect of Worker Solidarity." *Critical Sociology* 26. 1-2, 13-35.

Thottam, Jyoti. 2003. "Where the Good Jobs are Going." *Time*. July 28, 2003.

Malkin, Elisabeth. 2008. "Re-examining NAFTA in Hopes of Curing U.S. Manufacturing." *New York Times*, April 22, 2008.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/22/business/worldbusiness/22nafta.html>

Goodman, Peter S., and Paul Blustein. 2004. "A New Pattern is Cut for Global Textile Trade. China Likely to Dominate as Quotas Expire." *Washington Post*, November 17.

Documentary: *Roger and Me* (1989) 90 mins

July 23 Public Protest: Brands, boycotts and anti-sweat campaigns

**Klein, Naomi. 2000. "New Branded World." *No Logo*. London: Picador. (ch. 1)

**Klein, Naomi. 2000. "The Brand Boomerang: The Tactics of Brand-based Campaigns." *No Logo*. London: Picador. (ch. 15)

Klein, Naomi. 2000. "The Brand Expands: How the Logo Grabbed Center Stage." *No Logo*. London: Picador. (ch. 2)

Elliot, Kimberly Ann and Richard B. Freeman. (2003). "Vigilantes and Verifiers." p 49-58 (ch3).

IRCC. 1998. "The Anti-sweatshop Movement." *The Sweatshop Quandary: Corporate Responsibility on the Global Frontier*. WDC: IRRC (ch1)

IRCC. 1998. "Nike in Indonesia: Unraveling the Controversy." *The Sweatshop Quandary: Corporate Responsibility on the Global Frontier*. WDC: IRRC (ch. 8)

Case studies

Some current consumer based campaigns are listed here: investigate one

www.maquilasolidarity.org

FLA: <http://www.fairlabor.org>

Clean clothes campaign <http://www.cleanclothes.org/>

Global exchange <http://www.globalexchange.org/>

International Labor Rights Forum <http://www.laborrights.org/>

United Students Against Sweatshops <http://studentsagainstsweatshops.org/>

Sweatshop Watch <http://www.sweatshopwatch.org/>

US LEAP <http://www.usleap.org/>

Documentary/ TV: *Behind the Swoosh* (2006), 20 mins

EXTRA!: David and Goliath (2007), 4 mins

July 24 Private Initiatives: Corporate Codes of Conduct

**Compa, Lance, and Tashia Hinchliffe Darricarrere. 2002. "Private Labor Rights Enforcement through Corporate Codes of Conduct." In Compa, Lance, and Stephen F. Diamond, eds. *Human Rights, Labor Rights and International Trade*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

**IRRC. 1998. "Lessons of History: The Sullivan, MacBride, and Ceres Principles." *The Sweatshop Quandary: Corporate Responsibility on the Global Frontier*. WDC: IRRC

Santoro, Michael A. 2003. "Beyond Codes of Conduct and Monitoring: An Organizational Integrity Approach to Global Labor Practices." *Human Rights Quarterly* 25(2):407-424

Elliott and Freeman. 2003. "When Does Doing Good do Good?" (ch 7).

Braun, Ranier, and Judy Gearhart. 2004. "Who Should Code Your Conduct? Trade Union and NGO Differences in the Fight for Worker's Rights." *Development in Practice* 12. 1-2, 183-196.

Case Studies:

Hartman, Laura P. and Richard Wokutch. 2003. "Nike, Inc. : Corporate Social Responsibility and Workplace Standard Initiatives in Vietnam." In Hartman, Arnold and Wokutch, eds. *Rising Above Sweatshops: Innovative Approaches to Global Labour Challenges*. London: Praeger (ch 8).

Radin, Tara J. 2003. "Levi Strauss and Co: Implementation of Global Sourcing and Operating Guidelines in Latin America." In Hartman, Arnold and Wokutch, eds. *Rising Above Sweatshops: Innovative Approaches to Global Labour Challenges*. London: Praeger (ch 9).

NLC. *Bangladesh: The Role of US Universities and Student Solidarity* (report). Online at www.nlcnet.org/reports.php?id=271 parts 1 and 2. Sourced 7/6/08

www.americanapparel.net Los Angeles based garment factory

July 28: Strengthening Unions: Cross-Border Labor Solidarity

**Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics: Introduction." *Activists Beyond Borders*. Ithaca: Cornell U Press

**Anner, Mark. 2003. "Defending Labor Rights Across Borders: Central American Processing Plants." In Eckstein and Wickham-Crowley, eds. *Struggles for Social Rights in Latin America*. New York: Routledge.

Frundt, Henry. 2002. "Models of Cross Border Organizing in Maquila Industries." *Critical Sociology* 26.1-2, 13-35.

Anner, Mark. 2007. "Forging New Labor Activism in Global Commodity Chains in Latin America." *ILWCH* 72 (Fall), 19-41.

Anner, Mark and Peter Evans. 2004. Building Bridges Across a Double Divide: Alliances between US and Latin American Labour and NGOs. *Development in Practice* (12.1-2): 34-44.

Film: *Bread and Roses* (2002) feature film. 120 mins

Case studies:

Frundt, Henry. 1999. "Cross-Border Organizing in the Apparel Industry: Lessons from Central America and the Caribbean." *Labor Studies Journal* (Spring), 1999.

Hathaway, Dale A. 2002. "Mexico's *Frente Autentico del Trabajo* and the Problem of Unionizing Maquiladoras." *Labor History* 43.4, 427-438.

Armbruster-Sandoval, Ralph. 2003. "Globalization and Transnational Labor Organizing: The Honduran Maquila Industry and the KIMI Campaign." *Social Science History* 27.4, 551-576.

July 29 Trade-Based Labor Rights Conditionality

**Harvey, Pharis J. 2001. "Developing Effective Mechanisms for Implementing Labor Rights in the Global Economy." *Workers in the Global Economy*. Ithaca: Cornell ILR.

**Polaski, Sandra. 2003. *Trade and Labor Standards: A Strategy for Developing Countries*. Carnegie Endowment for Peace. (Skim to summarize)

Compa, Lance. 1995. "Going Multilateral: Evolution of US Hemispheric Labor Rights Policy under GSP and NAFTA." *Connecticut Journal of International Law* 10.

a) Global trade linkages: WTO and GATT

**DeWet, Erika. 1995. Labor Standards In the Globalized Economy: The Inclusion of a Social Clause in the GATT/WTO. *Human Rights Quarterly* 17.3. 443-462.

Ehrenberg, Daniel S. "From Intention to Action: An ILO/WTO enforcement regime for International Labor Rights." In Compa, Lance, and Stephen F. Diamond, eds. *Human Rights, Labor Rights and International Trade*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

b) Unilateral Approaches: GSP and US Trade Promotion Initiatives

**Frundt, Henry. 1998. "Implementing Labor Rights Through Trade Conditions." *Trade Conditions and Labor Rights*. Miami: University Press of Florida.

Case studies:

Frundt (1998) Ch 5 and 6: Labor Petitions in El Salvador
America's Watch El Salvador GSP petition 1987

America's Watch El Salvador GSP petition 1988

Frundt (1998) Ch 8: Petitions in the Dominican Republic

Human Rights Watch. Dominican Republic GSP petition 1989

AFL-CIO. Dominican Republic GSP petition 1989

July 30 Continues....

c) Multilateral Approaches: Regional Trade Agreements

AFL-CIO. 2003. "Worker Rights and Regional Trade Pacts." *Justice For All*. p 87-92

AND, Pick a favorite trade agreement to skim:

NAFTA: p 97-108, cases optional to p 127

Mercosur's Social Labor Declaration: p128-135

CARICOM p 141-145

FTAA p 146-148

EU's Maastricht et al 153-164

APEC : 148-151

CAFTA

AFL-CIO. "Cafta weakens existing labor rights protections."
www.aflcio.org/globaleconomy

d) Bilateral trade agreements

AFL-CIO. 2003."Worker Rights and Regional Trade Pacts." *Justice For All*.

Chile-Canada agreement p 138-141

US- Chile, US-Singapore p 165-168

Special cases:

US-Jordan trade agreement:

**p 92-93 AFL-CIO report

**Greenhouse, Steven and Michael Barbaro. 2006. "An Ugly Side of Free Trade: Sweatshops in Jordan." *New York Times*, 2 May.

NLC. 2006. *US-Jordan Free Trade Agreement Descends into Human Trafficking and Involuntary Servitude*. NY: NLC. (skim to summarize)

Cambodia-US quota agreement:

** p152-153 AFL-CIO report

**Polaski, Sandra. 2004. *Cambodia Blazes New Path to Economic Growth and Job Creation*. Carnegie Papers 51.

Becker, Elizabeth. 2005. "Low-Cost and Sweatshop Free: Cambodia's Garment Makers Hold off a Vast Chinese Challenge." *New York Times* 12 May.

July 31

Final Comments on strategies for protecting labor rights in the global economy Exam II