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978-1-107-07824-6 - Free Trade and Faithful Globalization: Saving the Market

Amy Reynolds

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Free Trade and Faithful Globalization

Saving the Market

Through an analysis of Christian communities in the United States, Canada, and Costa Rica, this book analyzes how religious groups talk about the politics surrounding economic life. Amy Reynolds examines how these Christian organizations speak about trade and the economy as moral and value-laden spaces, deserving ethical reflection and requiring political action. She reveals the ways in which religious communities have asked people to engage in new approaches to thinking about the market and how they have worked to create alternative networks and policies governing economic and social life.

Amy Reynolds is an assistant professor of sociology and the coordinator of the Gender Studies Certificate Program at Wheaton College. She received her PhD in sociology from Princeton University, her MPP in public policy from Georgetown, and her BA in sociology from Harvard University. Before teaching at Wheaton, she was a visiting Fellow at Notre Dame's Kellogg Institute for International Studies. She previously worked for World Relief in El Salvador investigating the coffee industry and alternative markets. Her publications have appeared in the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* and in *Latin American Research Review*.

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Wheaton College



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Preface and Acknowledgments

In 2002, I ended up spending a semester at the Universidad CentroAmericana “José Simeón Cañas” in El Salvador. Although my Spanish proficiency could have been best described as introductory, through the classes in politics and economics there, I glimpsed some of the variation in what constitutes the social science fields. The boundaries of economics, politics, and sociology differ from place to place; the assumptions scholars share in one institution may not be those shared in another. I had not covered dependency theory in my macro-level economics class at Georgetown, but I discovered this was central to the discussions of economic theory in San Salvador.

During this time, I also was involved in an investigation of the coffee sector in Central America and in evaluating the benefits of membership in fair trade networks for farmers. Working with World Relief Corporation, a Christian relief and development agency, I became interested in issues of global trade as I witnessed how international coffee prices impacted Nicaraguan and El Salvadoran farmers. As I entered the doctoral program at Princeton, issues of trade, development, and the public role of religion occupied most of my attention. This book, which started out as a dissertation, really was born in the coffee fields.

Along the way, many people and institutions have supported and encouraged me. Princeton was a source of strong personal and institutional support. Bob Wuthnow defined what it meant to be an excellent mentor: compassionate, giving, thoughtful, and committed to developing students into scholars. His work on religion and public life has clearly guided, and continues to guide, my own career. The other members of my committee, Viviana Zelizer and Miguel Centeno, prompted me to ask the important questions, related to both life and the dissertation. I’m grateful for their scholarship on economic life, the intersection of culture and economics, globalization, and the ways that they both challenged me to think about economic life in different ways.

As an institution, Princeton provided a wealth of resources for me. The Center for the Study of Religion was critical in its economic and professional support,

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particularly from Anita Kline and Barbara Bermel. Donna DeFrancisco in the Sociology Department assisted me with a number of projects. I am also very appreciative of the administration under the leadership of President Shirley Tilgman for their efforts to encourage and support female graduate students and lead the way in encouraging family-friendly policies within academia.

Outside of Princeton, the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations at Harvard University provided financial support for my work, as did the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion. The Mustard Seed Foundation, through the Harvey Fellows Program, also provided critical resources for my work and life as a student. A visiting fellowship at the Kellogg Institute for International Studies at the University of Notre Dame was central to allowing me to refine understandings of religion, politics, and economic life within a Costa Rican context, through concentrated time to write and conversations with other colleagues studying religion and public life in Latin America. Chapter 4 is adapted from a paper previously published in the Kellogg Institute Working Paper series (2013), "With or Without CAFTA, We Need a Plan." Multiple grants from Wheaton College (including the Aldeen Grant) gave me the time and resources needed to complete this manuscript, and Provost Stanton Jones, Dean Dorothy Chappell, and the chair of the Sociology and Anthropology Department, Hank Allen, provided additional support for me along the way. I'm also very grateful to Betsy Stokes, and her careful attention to detail, for her assistance in editing the manuscript.

The staff at Cambridge University Press also helped me in the final stages. In particular, Richard Wood did a wonderful job of shepherding me through this process, from the proposal stage to the finished product. His support, encouragement, and critical advice were greatly needed. Anonymous reviewers, copy editors, and the rest of the production team were critical to the completion of the final project.

Those who have engaged in academic conversations with me along the way have shaped this work and the ways that I think about the political economy, trade, and religion. I look forward to decades of continued professional and personal relationships with such colleagues. At Princeton, this included Rebekah Massengill, Michael Lindsay, Conrad Hackett, Christine Percheski, Becky Hsu, Phillip Connor, Jim Gibbon, Carol Ann McGregor, Margarita Mooney, and LiErin Probasco. At Wheaton, I'm indebted to Christine Folch, Larycia Hawkins, Sandra Joireman, Rachel Vanderhill, Winnie Fung, and Leah Anderson for their suggestions on the manuscript as well as their encouragement. Outside of these important institutions, others have also made valuable contributions: Bob Brennaman, Bob Woodberry, Nancy Ammerman, Roman Williams, John Schmalzbauer, Jenny Trinitapoli, Kristin Geraty, Miroslav Volf, Brian Steensland, Philip Goff, Janel Bakker, Steve Clements, and David Swartz.

Lynn and Mike Reynolds have always encouraged me on my journey, and I am truly grateful for the many sacrifices they made to foster my love of learning. To my in-laws, Ruth Anne and Bill Offutt, I am thankful for the hours of childcare and thoughtful conversation they provided during critical stages of this work.

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This book would not exist had it not been for the numerous people who gave their time to talk with me about their experiences in the three religious communities under investigation. In addition to those interviewed, Therese Dineen helped me sort through almost forty years of data, allowing me access to the archives of the ecumenical justice coalitions in Canada. Christopher Iosso provided helpful information about the history and texts of the Presbyterian Church. In Costa Rica, the staff at the National Archives spent hours retrieving issues of the *Eco Católico* and photocopying hundreds of pages. I am especially thankful for Miriam de Montoya in the CECOR office, who not only facilitated my work in Costa Rica but also welcomed me into a foreign country.

This work is but one of four fruits of my labor in the last ten years. My thoughtful, talented, and resilient Adrianna Grace; the smashing, compassionate, and dramatic Emily Hope; and the energetic, inquisitive, and assertive Gabriella Joy have kept me grounded. They have made my life rich and exciting, and made the study of sociology increasingly relevant and important. My husband (and fellow sociologist), Stephen Offutt, has shared in this book's journey from its early seeds on the coffee fields of El Salvador in 2002 to its final submission in 2014. He has been my most important intellectual partner, helping me think through big theoretical questions, as well as helping me to catch yet another typo or awkward phrase. He participated in the fieldwork with me and sharpened my analysis. I'm thankful that he pushes me to live life to the fullest and reminds me of the greater purpose of our lives together.

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Abbreviations

ACN	Action Canada Network
CACM	Central American Common Market
CA4FTA	Central American 4–Canada Free Trade Agreement
CAFTA	Central America–United States Free Trade Agreement
CAFTA–DR	Central America–Dominican Republic–United States Free Trade Agreement
CCCB	Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops
CCRDO	Christian Coalition of Relief and Development Organizations
CECOR	Costa Rican Episcopal Conference of Catholic Bishops (Conferencia Episcopal de Costa Rica)
CELAM	Latin American Episcopal Conference of Catholic Bishops (Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano)
CST	Catholic social teaching
EAA	Ecumenical Advocacy Alliance
ECEJ	Ecumenical Coalition for Economic Justice
FTA	free trade agreement
FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
ICE	Costa Rican Institute of Electricity
ICCHRLA	Interchurch Coalition on Human Rights in Latin America
IFI	international financial institution
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISI	import substitution industrialization
ITO	International Trade Organization
MAI	Multilateral Agreement on Investment
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
PCUSA	Presbyterian Church (USA)
RMALC	Mexican Free Trade Network (Red Mexicana Accion frente al Libre Comercio)

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SAP	structural adjustment program
SEDAC	Central American Episcopal Secretariat of Catholic bishops (Secretariado Episcopal de América Central y Panamá)
TNC	transnational corporation
UMAVIDA	Bolivian Association Uniting Hands for Life (Asociación Boliviana Uniendo Manos por la Vida)
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
VEPS	Catholic vicariate office in San José (Vicaría Episcopal de Pastoral Social)
WARC	World Alliance of Reformed Churches
WCD	World Christian Database
WTO	World Trade Organization