

GOVERNANCE OF THE WORLD POLITICAL ECONOMY
(POLS 532, Spring 2019)
(Tuesday, 6:00-8:50)

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Office Hours: TTh 11:00-12:00
and by appointment

I. Content of Seminar: This seminar examines the governance of the world political economy. The first part will delineate the meaning and forms of its governance. The second part will focus on particular dimensions of the social purpose of its governance. It is a central assumption of this course that form and social purpose are intimately connected but that their connections can be best understood within their broader historical and political contexts.

II. Goals of Seminar:

1. Delineation and meaning of governance and political economy. *Means of assessment: Precis, facilitation of seminar discussions, class participation and essay.*
2. Dimensions of and criteria for understanding the forms of governance. *Means of assessment: Precis, facilitation of seminar discussions, class participation and essay.*
3. Dimensions of and criteria for understanding the social purpose of governance. *Means of assessment: Precis, facilitation of seminar discussions, class participation and essay.*

III. Contact Hours and External Work: The seminar will meet from 6:00pm to 8:50pm every Tuesday. Students are expected to invest 4 hours of external work every week for every credit hour.

IV. Class Etiquette and Disruptive Behavior: I fully appreciate the utility of smartphones and other electronic devices (other than those you use to take notes or read class material) but they can be disruptive. I am therefore requesting that they not be used in any fashion nor be visible in class.

V. Academic Integrity. This course adheres to the Academic Integrity Policy of the Colorado State University General Catalog and the Student Conduct Code. Colorado State University has long upheld values of academic and scholastic integrity. The General Catalog's "Policies and Guiding Principles" asserts that CSU "expects students to maintain standards of personal integrity that are in harmony with the educational goals of the institution" - citing "principles of academic honesty" as the first example. (1.6 Page 1).

VI. Evaluation. Your evaluation will be based on two review/synthetic essays (30% of your grade each); six précis/review essays (of which the five best will be counted), (3% of your grade each); and class facilitation and participation (25%). The precis should be as spaced as possible (i.e., at least two during each part of the course and avoid writing sequential precis more than once). Similarly with the three facilitations – non-sequential and at least one during each part of the course. That will help in spreading preparation even more evenly.

If you do not submit an essay or any two of the six précis you will automatically receive a failing grade in the course. If you miss one of the six required précis or one of the three required facilitation sessions I will subtract 10% from your final grade.

VII. Weekly Discussions. At the end of each seminar meeting I will provide some guidelines for the subsequent week's material. These will be brief as this is not a lecture class. All seminar participants will then have the chance to comment and add (including the reasons why they agree with what has already been said by the facilitators). Please be prepared to participate regardless of whether you are a facilitator or have written a precis. While quality of contributions is more important than quantity you should contribute every week and frequently. The value of a seminar is not only to engage issues that we feel strongly or confident about but, equally importantly, to engage issues and views on which we feel less certain. I would ask that those of you who are more comfortable talking in public to be attentive to the class dynamics.

VIII. Facilitators and Facilitation Outlines. Each week 2-3 of you will serve as facilitators. Assuming that there will be two or three facilitators each week you should plan on **three facilitations** (non-sequential and at least one during each part of the course). During those weeks you should also prepare a précis. We will start each meeting by asking the facilitators to initiate and direct the discussion. Please see guidelines below (IX). You are encouraged to go beyond them, provided this does not become a list of overlapping themes. Please avoid summaries since everyone will have read the same material. Class exercises and other imaginative forms of facilitation are welcome. It is important that you meet in advance to prepare an outline that you post on Dropbox by noon before class. Please also bring copies to distribute in class. Include your names, the date and the syllabus heading for the week. See samples in Samples Learning Module.

IX. Précis. You are expected to write **six (6) précis** of not more than 500 words each (this number includes the précis on Mazower). I will count only the five (5) best ones but you must write and submit six – three during the first part (including Mazower) and three during the second part. Please spread your précis and avoid producing two consequential ones. Distribute copies of your précis to everyone through Dropbox by noon on the day of the seminar. Précis should provide frequent and appropriate references to the readings. Please see samples in Samples Learning Module. **You should write a précis for any session that you will be missing for non-emergency reasons.**

X. Review/Synthetic Essays. You will be asked to write **two (2) review essays** of not more than 3,000 words each. The essays will aim to synthesize, interpret and contrast the readings we will be dealing with. They are not intended to be summaries of those readings. The essay topics along with suggestions and directions will be distributed well in advance. **Each essay will include a part in which you can reflect on the utility of some aspect of the literature we have discussed during the first and second parts of the seminar on your own research agenda or research interests. Since you are at different stages this will be kept flexible – helping some of you to explore possible topics and others to explore the utility of particular readings and approaches.** I will ask each one of you to read and comment on someone else's essay.

XI. Themes for Class Discussions, Facilitation Outlines, and Précis. The key goal of the seminar is for you to learn how to organize weekly readings/writings around key concepts, issues or themes while aiming to relate them to broader themes on the governance of the world political economy. Stated differently, you should view weekly readings as steps towards understanding broader themes and not as ends in themselves.

1. What is the central theme of the readings? The goal here is to organize and compare the readings around one or more key ideas, issues, questions, dimensions, debates, continuum/range, difference and so on. The fewer these are, the better. Tables and other visuals are always welcome and encouraged.
2. Are the arguments and evidence of the various authors clear and persuasive? How are they related to the central themes? What else do they bring up? Here we will go into some detail into each author's views.
3. How do the themes, issues, or concepts raised by a particular week's readings relate to previous readings or other material you are familiar with?
4. What is your view about the readings in terms of any other criterion that you find important?

XII. Readings. Chapters from books, articles from journals we do not subscribe to or other material that is not available electronically will be posted on Dropbox. The rest are from articles in journals our library subscribes to electronically and can be accessed directly.

XIII. Background Readings. Below are some references to volumes and websites that can provide you with background in International Relations, International Political Economy, and International Governance.¹

Balaam, David and Bradford Dillman (2018) *Introduction to International Political Economy*. 7th edition. Taylor and Francis.

Baylis, John, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens (eds) (2016) *The Globalization of World Politics*, 7th edition. Oxford University Press. IR

Denemark Robert (ed) (2010-) The International Studies Encyclopedia– an **invaluable source** available online through our library at: [???](#) ALL

McGlinchey, Stephen, Rosie Walters & Dana Gold (eds). 2017. *International Relations Theory*. A very accessible introduction to various theoretical approaches to international relations. At <https://www.e-ir.info/publication/international-relations-theory/> and on Dropbox. IR

Ravenhill, John (ed). 2016. *Global Political Economy*, 5th edition. Oxford University Press. IPE

Stilwell, Frank (2011). *Political Economy: The Contest of Economic Ideas*, 3rd edition. Oxford University Press. SUPERB INTRODUCTION OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Viotti, Paul and Mark Kauppi (eds) (2012) *International Relations Theory*, 5th edition. Longman. IR

Weiss, Thomas and Rorden Wilkinson (eds) 2014. *International Organization and Global Governance*. Routledge. Also available as ebook. GOVERNANCE

XIV. Other Sources

Burchill, Scott and Andrew Linklater (eds) (2013). *Theories of International Relations*, 5th edition. Palgrave Macmillan.

Carnaes, Walter, Thomas Risse and Beth Simmons (eds) (2013). *Handbook of International Relations*, 2nd edition. Sage.

Dunne, Tim, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds) (2016) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, 4th edition. Oxford University Press.

e-International Relations at <https://www.e-ir.info>. A very useful electronic source with various well crafted contributions. They also publish short textbooks that are quite useful, such as the McGlinchey et al. above.

Oxford Bibliographies at: http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/browse?module_0=obo-9780199743292

Reuss-Smit, Christian and Duncan Snidal (eds) (2008) *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*. Oxford University Press.

¹ One of the side goals of the seminar will be the creation of a larger bibliography.

SCHEDULE

Jan 22&29 About the Seminar (Goals and Operation)

The Origins and Trajectory of Governance

Mark Mazower (2013) *Governing the World: The History of an Idea 1815 to the Present*. Penguin Press.

PART I: PAREMETERS AND ARCHITECTURES²

Feb 5 The Contours of the WPE: Macro Dynamics

Pandya, Sonal (2016) Political Economy of Foreign Direct Investment: Globalized Production in the Twenty-First Century. *Annual Review of Political Science* 19: 455-475.

Lees, Nicholas (2012) The Dimensions of the Divide: Vertical Differentiation, International Inequality and North–South Stratification in International Relations Theory. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 25 (2): 209-230.

Stephen, Matthew (2014) Rising powers, global capitalism and liberal global governance: A historical materialist account of the BRICs challenge. *European Journal of International Relations* 20(4): 912-938.

Nayyar, Deepak (2016) BRICs, Developing Countries and Global Governance. *Third World Quarterly* 37 (4): 575-591.

Rodrik, Dani (2018) Populism and the Economics of Globalization. *Journal of International Business Policy* 1:12-33

February 12 The Contours of the WPE: Meso/Micro Dynamics

Bair, Jennifer (2009) Analyzing Global Economic Organization: Embedded Networks and Global Chains Compared. *Economy and Society* 37(3): 339-364.

Gereffi, Garry (2014) Global Value Chains in a Post Washington Consensus World. *Review of International Political Economy* 21(1): 9-37.

Coe, Neil M., Peter Dicken and Martin Hess (2008) Global Production Networks: Realizing the Potential. *Journal of Economic Geography* 8(3): 271-295.

Yeung, Henry Wai-chung (2014) Governing the market in a globalizing era: Developmental states, global production networks and inter-firm dynamics in East Asia. *Review of International Political Economy* 21(1): 70-101.

Mayer, Frederick and Nicola Phillips (2017) Outsourcing Governance: States and the Politics of a ‘Global Value Chain World.’ *New Political Economy* 22(2): 134-152.

² If I do not indicate that a reading is in the Dropbox then the library has the journal and you should access it directly.

Feb 19 What is Global Governance?

Murphy, Graig (2014) The Emergence of Global Governance. In *International Organization and Global Governance*, T.G. Weiss and R. Wilkinson (eds.), pp. 23-34. London: Routledge. [dropbox]

Commission on Global Governance. 1995. Chapter 1. *Our Global Neighborhood*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available at <http://www.gdrc.org/u-gov/global-neighborhood/chap1.htm>.

Dingwerth, Klaus and Philipp Pattberg. 2006. Global Governance as a Perspective on World Politics. *Global Governance* 12: 185-203.

Various Authors (2014) Controversy: Global Governance. *International Studies Quarterly* 58 (1): 207-224 (items by Weiss and Wilkinson, Murphy, Mazower and Finnemore).

Pegram, Tom and Michele Acuto (2015) Introduction: Global Governance in the Interregnum. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 43(2): 584-597.

Rogers, Charles and Peter Dauvergne (2016) The Rise of Transnational Governance as a Field of Study. *International Studies Review* 18: 415-437.

February 26: IR Theory and Global Governance [to be rescheduled]

Read the following chapters from Weiss, Thomas and Rorden Wilkinson (eds) 2014. *International Organization and Global Governance*. Routledge. [Chapters on Dropbox and also available as ebook].

Weiss, Thomas G. and Rorden Wilkinson. 2014. International Organization and Global Governance: What Matters and Why. In *International Organization and Global Governance*, T.G. Weiss and R. Wilkinson (eds.), pp. 3-18. London: Routledge. [dropbox]

[There are three more chapters on IR theory and governance in the Weiss and Wilkinson volume. Classical Liberal Internationalism was covered by Mazower; we will be reading additional articles on critical and hegemonic approaches]

Charette, Jason and Jennifer Sterling-Folker. Realism, pp. 93-104

Forsythe, David. Neoliberal Institutionalism, pp. 118-131

Tamm, Henning and Duncan Snidal. Rational Choice and Principal-Agent Theory, pp. 132-143.

Hall, Rodney Bruce. Constructivism, pp. 144-156

Cammack, Paul. Classical Marxism, pp. 169-179

Zwingel, Susanne, Elisabeth Prügl and Gülay Calgar. Feminism, pp. 180-191

March 5 Who Governs and How I

Cox, Robert W. (1983) Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations. : *Journal of International Studies* 12(2): 162-175.

Cutler, A. Claire (2001) Critical Reflections on Westphalian Assumptions of International Law and Organization: A Crisis of Legitimacy. *Review of International Studies* 27: 133-150.

Kauppi, Niilo and Mikael Madsen (2014) Fields of Global Governance: How Transnational Power Elites Can Make Global Governance Intelligible. *International Political Sociology* 8(3): 324-330. THIS IS A FORUM. PLEASE READ PP. 324-342 (Kauppi,&Madsen, Kauppi, Madsen, Seabrooke, Sending, Tsingou)

Schmidt, Vivien (2009) Bringing the Political Back into the Political Economy by Bringing the State Back in Yet Again. *World Politics* 61(3): 516-546.

Jones, Branwen Gruffydd (2013) ‘Good Governance’ and ‘State Failure’: Genealogies of Imperial Discourse. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26(1): 49-70.

Hameiri, Shahar and Lee Jones (2016) Global Governance as State Transformation. *Political Studies* 64(4): 793-810.

March 12 Who Governs and How II

Dryzek, John (2012) Global Civil Society: The Progress of Post-Westphalian Politics. *Annual Review of Political Science* 15: 101-119.

Pasha, Mustapha Kamal and David L. Blaney (1998) ‘Elusive Paradise: The Promise and Peril of Global Civil Society’, *Alternatives* 23, (4): 417-50.

Bair, Jennifer and Florence Palpacuer (2012) From Varieties of Capitalism to Varieties of Activism: The Antisweatshop Movement in Comparative Perspective. *Social Problems* 59 (4): 522-543

Fuchs, Doris (2005) Commanding Heights? The Strength and Fragility of Business Power in Global Politics. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 33(3): 771-801.

Matten, Dirk and Jeremy Moon (2008) “Implicit” and “Explicit” CSR: A Conceptual Framework for a Comparative Understanding of Corporate Social Responsibility. *Academy of Management Review* 33(2): 404-424.

Shamir, Ronen (2011) Socially Responsible Private Regulation: World-Culture or World-Capitalism? *Law and Society* 45 (2): 313-336.

March 19 Spring Break

March 26 First Assignment Due

PART II: PURPOSE

March 25 Global Democracy?

Held, David and Heikki Patomaki (2006) Problems of Global Democracy. *Theory, Culture & Society* 23 (5): 115-133.

Eckersley, Robyn (2007) From Cosmopolitan Nationalism to Cosmopolitan Democracy. *Review of International Studies* 33: 675-692.

Keohane, Robert (2015) Nominal Democracy? Prospects for Democratic Global Governance. *I.CON* 13 (2): 343-353.

Kuyper, Jonathan and John Dryzek (2017) Real, Not Nominal Global Democracy: A Reply to Robert Keohane. *I.CON* 14(4): 930-937.

Bexell, Magdalena, Jonas Tallberg and Unders Uhlin (2010) Democracy in Global Governance: The Promises and Pitfalls of Transnational Actors. *Global Governance* 16: 81-101.

Schaffer, Johann Karlsson (2012) The Boundaries of Transnational Democracy: Alternatives to the All Affected Principle. *Review of International Studies* 38(2): 321-342.

Goodhart, Michael (2005) Civil Society and the Problem of Global Democracy. *Democratization* 12 (1) 1-21.

April 2 Legitimacy and Hegemony

Take, Ingo (2012) Legitimacy in Global Governance: International, Transnational and Private Institutions Compared. *Swiss Political Science Review* 18(2): 220-248. [optional]

Bernstein, Steven (2011) Legitimacy in Intergovernmental and Non-State Global Governance. *Review of International Political Economy* 18(1): 17-51.

Krahmann, Elke (2017) Legitimizing Private Actors in Global Governance: From Performance to Performativity. *Politics and Governance* 5(1): 54-62.

Dingwerth, Klaus (2017) Field Recognition and the State Prerogative: Why Democratic Legitimation Recedes in Private Transnational Sustainability Regulation. 5(1): 75-84.

Carroll, William (2007) Hegemony and Counter-Hegemony in a Global Field. *Studies in Social Justice* 1(1): 36-66.

Ougaard, Morten (2016) The Reconfiguration of the Transnational Power Block in the Crisis. *European Journal of International Relations* 22(2): 459-482.

April 9 Accountability

Biermann, Frank and Aarti Gupta (2011a) Accountability and Legitimacy: An Analytical Challenge for Earth System Governance. *Ecological Economics* 70: 1854-1855.

Biermann, Frank and Aarti Gupta (2011b) Accountability and Legitimacy in Earth System Governance: A Research Framework. *Ecological Economics* 70: 1856-1864.

Utting, Peter (2008) The Struggle for Corporate Accountability. *Development and Change* 39: 959-975.

Scholte, Jan Aart (2011) 'Global Governance, Accountability and Civil Society,' ch 1 in Jan Aart Scholte (ed) *Building Global Democracy? Civil Society and Accountable Global Governance*. Cambridge University Press

Barnett, Michael (2016) Accountability and Global Governance: The View from Paternalism. *Regulation and Governance* 10: 134-148.

Curtin, Deidre and Linda Senden (2011) Public Accountability of Transnational Private Regulation: Chimera or Reality? *Journal of Law and Society* 38(1): 163-188.

Dar, Sagvi (2014) Hybrid Accountabilities: When Western and Non-Western Accountabilities Collide." *Human Relations* 67(2): 131-151.

April 16 The Hidden Power of Tools: Measures and Standards

Stiglitz, Joseph, Amartya Sen and Jen-Paul Fitoussi (2009) Report by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress. At http://www.stiglitz-sen-fitoussi.fr/documents/rapport_anglais.pdf

[Read Executive Summary closely; read Part I focusing on general arguments – not details. DO NOT PRINT WHOLE DOCUMENT.]

Davis, Kevin, Benedict Kingsbury and Sally Engle Merry (2012) Indicators as a Technology of Global Governance. *Law and Society Review* 46(1): 71-104.

Hansen, Hans Krause and Tony Porter (2012) What Do Numbers Do in Transnational Governance? *International Political Sociology* 6: 409-426.

Timmermans Stefan and Steven Epstein (2010) A World of Standards but not a Standard World: Toward a Sociology of Standards and Standardization. *Annual Review of Sociology* 36: 69-89.

Lohman, Larry (2009) Toward a Different Debate in Environmental Accounting: The Cases of Carbon and Cost-Benefit. *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 34 (3-4): 499-534.

Freidberg, Susanne (2013) Calculating Sustainability in Supply Chain Capitalism. *Economy and Society* 42(4): 571-596.

April 23 Inclusion and Justice

Mezzadra, Sandro and Brett Neilson (2012) Between Inclusion and Exclusion: On the Topology of Global Space and Borders. *Theory, Culture & Society* 29 (4/5): 58-75.

O'Neill, Onora (2000) Bounded and Cosmopolitan Justice. *Review of International Studies* 26: 45-60.

Fraser, Nancy (2005) Reframing Justice in a Globalizing World. *New Left Review* 36 (November-December), 69-88.

Young, Iris Marion (2006) Responsibility and Global Justice: A Social Connection Model. *Social Philosophy & Policy* 23 (1): 102-130.

Gough, J. (2010). Workers' strategies to secure jobs, their uses of scale, and competing economic moralities: Rethinking the 'geography of justice'. *Political Geography*, 29, 130-139.

Kukathas, Chandran (2006) The Mirage of Global Justice. *Social Philosophy and Policy* 23(1): 1-28.

April 30 Power and Authority

Bachrach, Peter and Morton Baratz (1962) Two Faces of Power. *American Political Science Review* 56 (4): 947-952.

Gaventa, John (1980) *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*. University of Illinois Press, ch 1. [Dropbox]

Barnett, Michael and Raymond Duvall (2005) Power in International Politics. *International Organization* 59 (1): 39-75.

Griffin, Lisa (2012) Where is Power in Global Governance? Why Geography Matters in the Theory of Governance? *Political Studies Review* 10: 208-220.

Gill, Stephen and David Law (1989) Global Hegemony and the Structural Power of Capital. *International Studies Quarterly* 33(4): 475-499.

Cutler, A. Claire (1999) Locating "Authority" in the Global Political Economy. *International Studies Quarterly* 43(1): 59-81.

Johns, Fleur (2007) Performing Power: The Deal, Corporate Rule, and the Constitution of Global Legal Order. *Journal of Law and Society* 34(1): 116-138.

May 7 TBD

May 13 (M) Second Assignment Due (noon)