

POLS 532—GOVERNANCE OF THE WORLD POLITICAL ECONOMY
Spring 2015

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Office Hours: M and T 1:30-2:30; by appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This seminar introduces students to the international relations literature on global governance, with the goal of providing a broad overview of the diverse theoretical and methodological approaches used to study this phenomenon across a variety of empirical issue areas. Students will explore the myriad ways “global governance” is conceptualized in the literature and the subsequent implications for analyzing and understanding contemporary world politics. Students will examine the different types of actors involved in global governance, both individually and in relation to one another, in order to understand whether and how power and authority are being reconfigured in the international system as well as the different modes of governing that have emerged in recent decades. Finally, students will consider different ways of evaluating global governance arrangements and discuss recent developments regarding the governance of some of the world’s most pressing issues. Students should expect to spend at least 6 hours outside of class completing readings and assignments.

Upon completion of this seminar, students will have a general orientation in the field and a strong foundation for conducting research on the issue of global governance. Specifically, students will be familiar with specific actors and institutions involved in global governance and will be able to:

- approach questions of global governance from different theoretical and methodological perspectives;
- identify the key concepts and debates that comprise this field of academic inquiry; and
- analyze and write about global governance as a social scientist.

COURSE MATERIALS

Course readings will consist of journal articles and book chapters designed to give students a broad overview of this area of study. Book chapters and journal articles not available through the CSU Libraries will be available on Canvas (noted with an * on the reading list). Otherwise, students will be expected to access readings through the CSU library website.

TOPICS AND TENTATIVE SCHEDULE

- 1/22: What is Global Governance?
- 1/29: Before Global Governance
- 2/5: IR Theory and Global Governance
- 2/12: Who Governs and How?
- 2/19: No class (ISA)/Bibliography and research proposal DUE
- 2/26: Multilateralism
- 3/5: Private Regulation and Market-Based Governance (to be rescheduled)
- 3/12: Transnational Networks and Partnerships
- 3/26: Complexity, Fragmentation and Multi-level Governance
- 4/2: Mid-term exam DUE
- 4/9: Influence and Effectiveness
- 4/16: Democracy, Accountability and Legitimacy

4/23: Equity and Justice
4/28 (TUES): Paper Drafts DUE
4/30: Student Presentations
5/5 (TUES): Peer-review comments DUE
5/7: Student Presentations
5/12: Final Paper DUE

REQUIREMENTS AND EVALUATION

1. Participation (20%): Class meetings will follow a seminar format (i.e. there will be no lectures). Regular attendance and participation will be integral to the success of the seminar. Students are expected to attend all seminar meetings having completed assigned readings and assignments and to make regular and *thoughtful* contributions to class discussions. Students should come to class prepared to discuss the major question, methodology, empirical scope and main arguments of each reading as well as compare and make connections between readings. In addition, each student is expected to lead class discussions at least twice over the course of the semester and complete a peer-review of a draft research paper. Missing more than one class meeting without a university-approved excuse will negatively affect this portion of the final grade. Students may consult with the instructor at any time for an assessment of participation.

2. Synthesis Papers (20%): Each student will write four brief (not more than 750 words) essays synthesizing and critically reflecting on the assigned readings for a given week (students may choose which weeks). This should NOT be a reading-by-reading summary. Rather, students should identify one or two central themes of the readings and situate the individual readings accordingly, highlighting similarities and differences among the readings and evaluating authors' arguments and methods. Papers should be posted on Canvas (using the discussion tool) no later than 10am the day of class. Discussion leaders are strongly encouraged to review these papers prior to class.

3. Mid-term Exam (25%): Students will complete a take-home exam consisting of two essay questions similar to those found on the PhD comprehensive exams.

4. Research Paper (35%): Each student will write a 15-20 page original research paper on a topic of your choice related to global governance. Papers must be theoretically grounded and draw on empirical evidence to generate conclusions. In other words, you should apply concepts and/or evaluate theoretical perspectives discussed in class to a specific issue in global governance. Papers may focus on a single governance institution or initiative (e.g. the United Nations or the Forest Stewardship Council), a particularly type of governance arrangement (e.g. public-private partnerships or multilateral "clubs"), specific actors (e.g. the US or Amnesty International) or a particularly type of actor (e.g. MNCs or scientific networks). Alternatively, you might focus on how a particular global issue such as terrorism, human rights or climate change is being governed. Students will also deliver a research presentation towards the end of the semester.

GUIDELINES AND GRADING FOR WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

For all writing assignments, students will be expected to use the "author-date" citation style as outlined in the *Chicago Manual of Style*. If you are unfamiliar with this style, you may wish to purchase the *Style Manual for Political Science* (\$6), which is available through the American Political Science Association (<http://www.apsanet.org>). For more detailed guidance on academic writing, see Kate L. Turabian. 2007. *A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations, 7th edition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

All written assignments will be graded as follows:

- **A:** Student demonstrates a sophisticated understanding of the material and/or offers original insights. Essay is clearly written and well-organized with appropriate documentation. For the synthesis papers, student synthesizes (rather than summarizes) assigned material. Solid graduate-level work.
- **A-/B+:** Student demonstrates a solid understanding of the material but lacks sophistication and/or original insights. Essay contains some minor problems with clarity of writing, organization and/or documentation that do not detract from the overall discussion. For the synthesis papers, student synthesizes (rather than summarizes) assigned material but has some areas of minor misunderstanding. Acceptable graduate-level work.
- **B/B-:** Student demonstrates a superficial understanding of the material. Essay contains significant problems with clarity of writing, organization and/or documentation that detract from the overall discussion. For synthesis papers, student summarizes (rather than synthesizes) assigned material or has some areas of major misunderstanding. Weak graduate-level work.
- **C+:** Student fails to demonstrate an understanding of the material; significant problems with clarity of writing, organization and documentation. Unacceptable graduate-level work.

READING ASSIGNMENTS

1/22: What is Global Governance?

What is the meaning of the term “global governance” and how does it relate to traditional understandings of world order in international relations? What is the distinction between “government” and “governance” and why is it important? What are the different ways global governance is discussed in the academic literature and policy practice?

- ❖ *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.
- ❖ *Murphy, Craig N. 2014. The Emergence of Global Governance. In *International Organization and Global Governance*, T.G. Weiss and R. Wilkinson (eds.), pp. 23-34.
- ❖ Dingwerth, Klaus and Philipp Pattberg. 2006. Global Governance as a Perspective on World Politics. *Global Governance* 12: 185-203.
- ❖ Rosenau, James N. 1995. Governance in the Twenty-first Century. *Global Governance* 1:13-43.
- ❖ 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>.
- ❖ Brand, Ulrich. 2005. Order and Regulation: Global governance as a hegemonic discourse of international politics? *Review of International Political Economy* 12 (1): 155-176.

1/29: Before Global Governance

What theoretical traditions and debates have informed current discussions of global governance? In what ways are these ideas reflected in current debates? How do current discussions respond to particular weaknesses/gaps in these earlier bodies of literature?

- ❖ Nye, Joseph S., Jr., and Robert O. Keohane. 1971. Transnational Relations and World Politics: An Introduction. *International Organization* 25 (3): 329-49.
- ❖ Cox, Robert W. 1981. Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 10(2): 126-155.
- ❖ *Bull, Hedley. 1977. Introduction and Ch. 1 in *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- ❖ Weiss, Thomas G. 2009. What Happened to the Idea of World Government? *International Studies Quarterly* 53 (2):253-71.
- ❖ Kratochwil, Friedrich, and John Gerard Ruggie. 1986. International Organization: A State of the Art on an Art of the State. *International Organization*: 753-775.
- ❖ Young, Oran. R. 1989. The Politics of International Regime Formation: Managing Natural Resources and the Environment. *International Organization*. 43(3): 349-375.

2/5: IR Theory and Global Governance

How do theories of international relations conceptualize and explain global governance? In what ways does global governance reinforce/challenge traditional theoretical understandings of world order? Which theoretical perspectives resonate/don't resonate with your own thinking about global governance?

- ❖ Read the following chapters from *International Organization and Global Governance*, T.G. Weiss and R. Wilkinson (eds.). London: Routledge:
 - *Charette, Jason and Jennifer Sterling-Folker. Realism. Pp. 93-104.
 - *Forsythe, David P. 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.

2/12: Who Governs and How?

How has the landscape of global governance changed? What types of actors govern global issues and what are their sources of authority and power? Have states lost power and authority to shape world politics in the age of global governance?

- ❖ Ruggie, John Gerard. 2004. Reconstituting the Global Public Domain: Issues, Actors, and Practices. *European Journal of International Relations*. 10(4): 499-531.
- ❖ Newell, Peter, Philipp Pattberg and Heike Schroeder. 2012. Multiactor Governance and the Environment. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*. 37: 365-387.
- ❖ *Avant, Deborah D., Martha Finnemore and Susan K. Sell, eds. 2010. *Who Governs the Globe?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ch. 1.
- ❖ *Barnett, Michael and Raymond Duvall, eds. 2005. *Power in Global Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ch. 1.
- ❖ *Strange, Susan. 1996. The Declining Authority of States. In *The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 3-15
- ❖ *Compagnon, Daniel, Sander Chan and Asyem Mert. 2010. "The Changing Role of the State." In *Global Environmental Governance Reconsidered*, F. Biermann and P. Pattberg, eds. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, pp. 237-263.

2/19: No Class (ISA)

Research Paper Assignment #1: Bibliography (see "Research Paper Guidelines" handout)

2/26: Multilateralism

How is the idea of multilateralism changing? What role does multilateralism play in governing different global issues? What are the advantages and disadvantages of governing through multilateral institutions and what types of challenges do these institutions face in the 21st century?

- ❖ Ruggie, John Gerard. 1992. Multilateralism: The anatomy of an institution. *International Organization* 46(3): 561-598.
- ❖ Fen Osler Hampson and Paul Heinbecker. 2011. The “New” Multilateralism of the Twenty-First Century. *Global Governance* 17(3): 299-310.
- ❖ Thakur, Ramesh and Luk Van Langenhove. 2006. Enhancing Global Governance through Regional Integration. *Global Governance* 12: 233-240.
- ❖ Barnett, Michael N., and Martha Finnemore. 2003. The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations. *International Organization* 53 (04):699-732.
- ❖ Cammack, Paul. 2003. The Governance of Global Capitalism: A New Materialist Perspective. *Historical Materialism* 11 (2):37-59.
- ❖ Corell, Elisabeth and Michele M. Betsill. 2001. A Comparative Look at NGO Influence in International Environmental Negotiations: Desertification and Climate Change. *Global Environmental Politics* 1(4): 86-107.

3/5: No Class (Lund Workshop)

Research Paper Assignment #2: Research Proposal (see “Research Paper Guidelines” handout)

3/12: Private Regulation and Market-Based Governance

How can we explain the rise of private regulation and market-based governance? What are some of the different types of private governance and what is the underlying logic behind this form of global governance? What specific challenges arise from private regulation and market-based governance and what are the implications of these forms of governance for world politics?

- ❖ *Hall, Rodney Bruce and Thomas J. Biersteker. 2002. The Emergence of Private Authority in the International System, *The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance*, R.B. Hall and T. J. Bierstecker, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-22.
- ❖ *Cutler, A. Claire. 2002. Private Regimes and Interfirm Cooperation. In *The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance*, R.B. Hall and T. J. Bierstecker, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 23-40.
- ❖ Fuchs, Doris. 2005. Commanding Heights? The Strength and Fragility of Business Power in Global Politics. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 33(3): 771-801.
- ❖ Vogel, David. 2008. Private Global Business Regulation. *Annual Review of Political Science*. 11: 261-282.
- ❖ Büthe, TIm. 2010. Private Regulation of the Global Economy: A (P)Review. *Business and Politics* 12(3): 2.
- ❖ Bernstein, Steven and Benjamin Cashore. 2007. Can Non-state Global Governance be Legitimate? *Governance and Regulation* 1(4): 347-371.

3/26: Transnational Networks and Public-Private Partnerships

How are networks and partnerships incorporated into notions of global governance? What is the underlying logic behind these forms of global governance? How are they similar to/different from private forms of global governance? Does a focus on networks and partnerships challenge conventional understandings of world politics?

- ❖ Börzel, Tanja A. 2011. Networks: Reified Metaphor or Governance Panacea? *Public Administration* 89: 49-63.
- ❖ Schäferhoff, Marco, Sabine Campe and Christopher Kaan. 2009. Transnational Public Private Partnerships in International Relations: Making Sense of Concepts, Research Frameworks, and Results. *International Studies Review* 11(3): 451-474.
- ❖ *Slaughter, Anne-Marie and Thomas Hale. 2010. Transgovernmental Networks. In *The Handbook of Governance*. London: SAGE, 342-351.
- ❖ Andonova, Liliana, Michele M. Betsill and Harriet Bulkeley. 2009. Transnational Climate Governance. *Global Environmental Politics*. 9(2): 52-73
- ❖ Goldman, Michael. 2007. How “Water for All!” Policy Became Hegemonic: The power of the World Bank and its transnational policy networks. *Geoforum* 38(5): 786-800.
- ❖ Sending, Ole Jacob and Iver B. Neumann. 2006. Governance to Governmentality: NGOs, States, and Power. *International Studies Quarterly* 50: 651-672.

4/2: Complexity, Fragmentation and Multi-level Governance

What theoretical and methodological tools can we use to understand and explain the emergent global governance system? How do different governance arrangements interact with one another within an issue area and with what effects? What are the implications for our understanding of world politics and the ability of the international community to address global concerns?

- ❖ Ruggie, John Gerard. 2014. Global Governance and “New Governance Theory”: Lessons from Business and Human Rights. *Global Governance* 20: 5-17.
- ❖ Orsini, Amandine, Jean-Frédéric Morin and Oran Young. 2013. Regime Complexes: A Buzz, a Boom or a Boost for Global Governance? *Global Governance* 19: 27-39.
- ❖ Drezner, Daniel. 2009. The Power and Peril of International Regime Complexity *Perspectives on Politics* 7(1): 65-70.
- ❖ Kenneth Abbott. 2012. The Transnational Regime Complex for Climate Change. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 20: 571-590.
- ❖ Biermann, Frank, Philipp Pattberg, Harro van Asselt, and Fariborz Zelli. 2009. The Fragmentation of Global Governance Architectures: A Framework for Analysis. *Global Environmental Politics* 9(4): 14-40.
- ❖ Coe, Neil M., Peter Dicken and Martin Hess. 2008. Global Production Networks: Realizing the Potential. *Journal of Economic Geography* 8: 271-295.

4/9: Influence and Effectiveness

Are global governance arrangements successful in addressing global problems? How does global governance shape world politics? What are the conditions under which different actors influence global governance? What are the methodological challenges in assessing influence and effectiveness related to global governance?

- ❖ Young, Oran R. 2011. Effectiveness of international environmental regimes: Existing knowledge, cutting-edge themes, and research strategies. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* 108(50): 19853-19860.
- ❖ *Biermann, Frank, Man-san Chan, Ayşem Mert and Philipp Pattberg. 2007. Multi-stakeholder Partnerships for Sustainable Development: Does the Promise Hold? In *Partnerships, Governance and Sustainable Development: Reflections on Theory and Practice*, P. Glasbergen, F. Biermann, and A. Mol (eds.). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elger, pp. 239-260.

- ❖ Bernstein, Steven and Benjamin Cashore. 2012. Complex Global Governance and Domestic Policies: Four pathways of influence. *International Affairs* 88(3).
- ❖ Stone, Diane. 2004. Transfer Agents and Global Networks in the “Transnationalization” of Policy. *Journal of European Public Policy* 11(3): 545-566.
- ❖ Wells, Don. 2007. Too Weak for the Job: Corporate codes of conduct, non-governmental organizations, and the regulation of international labour standards. *Global Social Policy* 7(1): 51-74.
- ❖ *Whitman, Jim. 2005. *The Limits of Global Governance*. London: Routledge, pp. 112-134.

OPTIONAL: Read Auld, Gulbrandsen and McDermott (2008) instead of Stone or Wells.

4/16: Democracy, Accountability and Legitimacy

What is the nature of democracy in a global context and how can we assess the democratic character of global governance arrangements? What are the sources of legitimacy in global governance and how does legitimacy relate to democracy in global politics? What accountability mechanisms are available in global governance and how do different actors employ these mechanisms?

- ❖ Murphy, Craig N. Oct., 2000. Global Governance: Poorly Done and Poorly Understood. *International Affairs* 76 (4): 789-803.
- ❖ Bexell, Magdalena, Jonas Tallberg, and Anders Uhlin. 2010. Democracy in Global Governance: The Promises and Pitfalls of Transnational Actors. *Global Governance* 16: 81-101.
- ❖ Dryzek, John S. and Hayley Stevenson. 2011. Global Democracy and Earth System Governance. *Ecological Economics* 70(11): 1865-1874.
- ❖ *Börzel, Tanja A., and Thomas Risse. 2005. Public-private partnerships: Effective and legitimate tools of international governance. In *Complex Sovereignty: Reconstituting Political Authority in the twenty-first century*, E. Grande and L.W. Pauly, eds. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 195-216.
- ❖ Sholte, Jan Aart. 2004. Civil Society and Democratically Accountable Global Governance. *Government and Opposition* 39(2): 211-233.
- ❖ Take, Ingo. 2013. Benchmarking International, Transnational and Private Governance in the Forest Sector. *International Studies Perspectives* 14: 150-175.

4/23: Equity and Justice

What is the role of global governance in the pursuit of equity and justice? Can global governance promote goals of equity and fairness in the world system or are they implicated in reproducing inequality? In what ways do global governance arrangements shape understandings of equity and fairness in world politics?

- ❖ Beitz, Charles R. 1999. Review: International Liberalism and Distributive Justice: A Survey of Recent Thought. *World Politics* 51 (2):269-96.
- ❖ Falk, Richard. 2000. Humane governance for the world: Reviving the quest. *Review of International Political Economy*. 7(2): 317-334.
- ❖ Kukathas, Chandran. 2006. The Mirage of Global Justice. *Social Philosophy and Policy* 23 (01):1-28.
- ❖ Gruge, Jean and Anders Uhlin. 2012. Renewing Global Governance: Demanding rights and justice in the global South. *Third World Quarterly* 33(9): 1703-1718.
- ❖ Ehreman, Timothy and Dimitris Stevis. 2014. Transparency and Environmental Equity: The International Finance Corporation’s Disclosure Practices. In *Transparency in Global*

Environmental Governance: Critical Perspectives, A. Gupta and M. Mason (eds.). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, pp. 297-320.

- ❖ Utting, Peter. 2007. CSR and equality. *Third World Quarterly* 28 (4):697 - 712.