

GOVERNANCE OF THE WORLD POLITICAL ECONOMY¹
(POLS 532, Spring 2021)
(Tuesday, 2:00-4:50)
(Final)

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Office Hours: Virtual, TBA

I. Content of Seminar:

This seminar examines the governance of the world political economy. The first part will delineate the general characteristics of the world political economy and the 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. Dimensions of world political economy and criteria for understanding its forms of governance. *Means of assessment: Precis, facilitation of seminar discussions, class participation and essay.*
2. Dimensions of and criteria for understanding the social purpose of the governance of the world political economy. *Means of assessment: Precis, facilitation of seminar discussions, class participation and essay.*

III. Logistics and Operation.

1. **Format, Contact Hours and External Work:** The seminar will meet synchronously, via ZOOM, every Tuesday from 2:00pm to 4:50pm MST. Attendance expectations are the same as a regular seminar, i.e., absences kept to the absolute minimum and for emergency reasons only. During class meetings we are going to use breakout sessions and other ways to enhance interaction. I welcome suggestions. Students are expected to invest at least 3 hours of external work every week for every credit hour.
2. **Office Hours:** I plan to have virtual office hours but I will arrange these after our first meeting. We will also hold individual meetings to discuss the various steps of your writing projects. During those meetings we can also discuss any other aspect of the seminar.
3. **Class Etiquette:** As in a regular seminar room all participants will be visible to all on Zoom and excuse themselves if needed.
4. **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

¹ This is a draft that clarifies expectations, first two weeks and most of the themes and readings that will be included. A revised version will be available by January 26.

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).

5. **Instructor's roles.** At the end of each seminar session I will provide some introductory background and key themes for the next meeting. I will also circulate an agenda ahead of each meeting. My strong preference is to allow you to run the seminars but, given the dynamics of virtual meetings I will intervene as necessary.

IV. Course Requirements and Evaluation.

1. **Precis (25%).** You are expected to write **six (6) précis** of not more than 500 words each (this number includes the precis on Mazower that you must all write). 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 (5% each). Please spread your précis and avoid producing two consequential ones, unless there is a good reason for it. Distribute copies of your precis to everyone through email by noon on the day of the seminar and post in the relevant assignment on Canvas. Precis 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.**
2. **Class facilitation and participation in weekly discussions (25%)** Each week 2 of you will serve as facilitators. Assuming that there will be two 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 (V). 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 Canvas by noon before class and email to each one in 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.
3. Regular and thoughtful **participation** is a requirement. While facilitators will facilitate each one of you must be prepared to comment on the themes of the week. We will routinely go around to hear from each one of you, even if agree with what has been said before. The expression of doubts and difficulties in understanding particular issues is as important as strong insights into them. They should all be based, however, on a strong engagement with the class material. I would ask those of you who are more comfortable talking in public to be attentive to the class dynamics. Each of you will also be asked to provide a peer evaluation/comments for each one of the synthetic essays. The timeliness and constructive nature of these synthetic comments will also be part of your evaluation. Please see guidelines below (V) and samples in Samples Learning Module.
4. **Review/Synthetic Essays (25% each).** You will be asked to write **two (2) review essays** of not more than 3,000 words each. Topics and guidelines will be distributed early during each part of the seminar. 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 for your research.**

V. Guidance for Class Discussions, Facilitation Outlines, and Precises.

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.

- a. 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. This is the most important goal task every week.
- b. *Specific Reading Summary*. What is the purpose of the reading or why did the author write it? For example, to contribute to the debates over private governance. What is the specific argument that the author makes about private governance? How does the author support her argument or what is her evidence (you should follow the reading's outline).
- c. Are the arguments and evidence of the various readings clear and persuasive? How are they related to the central theme(s) of this week? Here we will go into some detail into each author's views.
- d. 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?
- e. What is your view about the readings in terms of any other criterion that you find important?
- f. Do any of these themes or any of the readings help you with your research agenda?
- g. **'Hidden figures' theme**: Each one of you will be asked to identify important silences in the study of global governance and political economy (as well as loud presences). This does not refer to topics not covered by the seminar (given the length of time there are many). Rather, it refers to actors, issues and questions that ought to be covered and are usually not covered. Please do so with respect to weekly readings, and your synthetic essays.

VI. Class Readings.

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

VII. Background Readings.

1. Books.

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

Baylis, John, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens (eds) (2016) *The Globalization of World Politics*, 8th edition. Oxford University Press. IR

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

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

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

Ravenhill, John (ed). 2020. *Global Political Economy*, 6th edition. Oxford University Press. IPE

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

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) (2019) *International Relations Theory*, 6th edition. Rowman&Littlefield. IR

Weiss, Thomas and Rorden Wilkinson (eds) 2018. *International Organization and Global Governance*. 2nd edition. Routledge. Also available as ebook. GOVERNANCE

2. Web:

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 Canvas. IR

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.

Denemark, Robert and Renee Marlin-Bennett. 2017. *The International Studies Encyclopedia*. Oxford Reference. Available through library. OR <https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/>

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

3. Databases

There are a number of databases that our Library subscribes to that can be of use to you. It is advisable that you become familiar with them. These include the Academic Search Premier, Google Scholar, JSTOR, Web of Science and WorldCat (for books).

SCHEDULE

Jan 19&26 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: PARAMETERS AND ARCHITECTURES²

Feb 2 The Contours of the WPE: Macro Dynamics

Rosenberg, Justin (2013) The 'Philosophical Premises' of Uneven and Combined Development. *Review of International Studies* 39(3): 569-597.

Rioux, Sebastien (2016) Mind the (Theoretical) Gap: On the Poverty of International Relations Theorising of Uneven and Combined Development. *Global Society* 29 (4): 481-509.

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.

Bhambra, Gurminder, Kathryn Medien and Lisa Tilley. 2020. Theory for a Global Age: Nativism, Neoliberalism and Beyond. *Current Sociology* 68(2): 137-148.

February 9 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 and Henry Wei-Chung Yeung (2019) Global Production Networks: Mapping Recent Conceptual Developments. *Journal of Economic Geography* 19: 775-801.

Levy, David (2008) Political Contestation in Global Production Networks. *Academy of Management* 33(4): 943-963.

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 on Canvas then the library has the journal and you should access it directly.

Feb 16 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. [Canvas]

Mendly, Dorottya (2020) Global Governance and the Double Movement: A Genealogy. *Global Governance* 26: 500-521. [Canvas]

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

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

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

February 23: IR Theory and Global Governance

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

[There are four 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] [Canvas]

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

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 2 Who Governs and How I

Cox, Robert W. (1983) Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations. *Millennium: 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.

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 9 Who Governs and How II

Ruggie, John (2018) Multinationals as Global Institution: Power, Authority and Relative Autonomy. *Regulation & Governance* 12: 317-333.

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

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

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

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

Mar 16 Presentations, Discussion and Synthesis

Please be prepared to discuss how you plan to approach the first synthetic essay and comment on the ideas of your colleagues. Everybody should prepare a short ppt presentation (3-5 minutes) to be followed by 10 minutes of discussion. First group will be doctoral students, alphabetically, and then MA students, also alphabetically.

Mar 19 (F) First Essay Due (5pm)

PART II: PURPOSE OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

March 23 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.

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

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

March 30 Hegemony - Legitimacy

Cox, Robert (1981) Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory. *Millennium* 10 (2): 126-155.

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.

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

Gronau, Jennifer and Hennig Schmidkte (2015) The quest for legitimacy in world politics – international institutions' legitimation strategies. *Review of International Studies* 42: 535-557

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

April 6 Accountability: By Whom and for What?

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

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

Mason, Michael (2020) Transparency, accountability and empowerment in sustainability governance: a conceptual review. *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning*, 22 (1). 98 - 111.

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

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.

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

April 13 Spring Break

April 20 The Hidden Power of Tools: Measures and Standards

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.

Lohmann, 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.

Seabrooke, Leonard and Duncan Wigan (2015) How Activists Use Benchmarks: Reformist and Revolutionary Benchmarks for Global Economic Justice. *Review of International Studies* 45(5): 887-904.

April 27 Global Justice?

Beitz, Charles (2018) Fifty Years of Global Justice: Five Theses. *Fudan Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 12: 177-192.

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.

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

Okeja, Uchenna (2017) Introduction: Globalizing or Transcending Global Justice? *Philosophical Papers* 46(1): 1-11.

Granness, Anke (2015) Is the debate on 'global justice' a global one? Some considerations in view of modern philosophy in Africa. *Journal of Global Ethics* 11(1): 126-140.

May 4 Power and How it Works

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

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

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

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

Phillips, Nicola (2017) Power and Inequality in the Global Political Economy. *International Affairs* 93(2): 429-444.

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

May 11 Presentations, Discussion and Synthesis

Organized as with first essay but in reverse alphabetical order within each group.

May 16 (Sun) Second Essay Due (5pm)