

Sociology 924, Fall 2015

States, International Organizations, and a Global Public Sphere

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Office hours:

Mondays 11-1 and by appointment

The purpose of this seminar is 1) to read and discuss the social science literature on political sociology of globalization, and 2) further your development as a scholar of global affairs. In this class we will examine the interrelations of states, international organizations, and social movements, exploring these overarching questions:

- What is the concept of “global governance” and what are its strengths and weaknesses?
- Are national states changing due to global governance institutions? If so how?
- Do international organizations wield power of their own? If so, what is the character and scope of this power?
- How do social movements influence the politics of global governance and the allocation of sovereign powers?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of different approaches to studying international organizations?

Weekly Reading Interrogations. Each week all students in the class have to prepare short written “interrogations”, 150-300 words long, engaging some theme or problem in the reading. These interrogations should NOT be summaries or exegeses of the texts; nor should they be mini-essays with extended commentaries on the readings. The point is to pose focused questions that will serve as the basis for the seminar discussion. As you do the reading each week, think about an issue that you really want discussed and clarified, and then formulate an interrogation to set up that discussion. While you will need to explicate each question you pose – that is, lay out what you see are the issues in play in the question, explain what you mean by it, etc. – you do not need to stake out a position with respect to the issues you raise (although you can do this if you want to). The important thing is to pose a clear question that you want to discuss. It is entirely appropriate for questions to focus on ideas, arguments, or passages that you do not understand. It often turns out that questions mainly concerned with asking for clarification of some obscure formulation in the reading provoke especially good discussions in the class. What you should avoid is a list of unelaborated questions. You interrogations are due to the dropbox at learn@UW by noon on Wednesday.

This will give me time to read and organize the interrogations before distributing them to the entire class prior to our meeting. These interrogations will provide the organization for our discussions of the readings in class. Please be prepared to talk about your interrogation in class.

Term paper. All participants taking the seminar for credit are expected to write a term paper on some facet of political globalization. Ideally, this will facilitate your development of a longer

term writing project, be that a thesis or stand alone article. Papers should revolve around some historical or contemporary substantive problem -- a particular institution, movement, a particular example of state transformation, a case of a particular struggle over the state, etc. In general, therefore, while I do want papers to engage systematically with theoretical issues, I think that such theorizing should be linked to some more concrete substantive problem or puzzle.

I do want to discuss each term paper by the middle of the semester. If a paper has not been formulated by mid-semester it is very unlikely that it will be completed by the end of the semester. All students must prepare a 2-3 page statement about the topic of their term paper with an accompanying bibliography no later than October 1 (sixth week of the term). The final term papers are due by December 18, 2015. Late papers will not be accepted unless arrangements have been made in advance.

Accommodations. Please send the instructor an email by the end of the second week of the course if you are eligible for special arrangements or accommodations for testing, assignments, or other aspects of the course. This may be the case if English is your second language or you experience a physical or psychological condition that makes it difficult for you to complete assignments and/or exams without some modification of those tasks. Accommodations are provided for students who qualify for disability services through the [McBurney Center](#). Their website has detailed instructions about how to qualify: <http://www.mcburney.wisc.edu>. Provide a copy of your accommodations request (VISA) to the instructor by the end of the second week of class. We try to reserve rooms and proctors by the third week in class, so we must know of all accommodations by then.

If you wish to request a scheduling accommodation for religious observances, send an email by the end of the second week of the course stating the specific date(s) for which you request accommodation; campus policy requires that religious observances be accommodated if you make a timely request early in the term. See the university's [web page](#) for details: <https://kb.wisc.edu/page.php?id=21698>

Academic honesty. As with all courses at the University of Wisconsin, you are expected to follow the University's rules and regulations pertaining to academic honesty and integrity. The standards are outlined by the [Office of the Dean of Students](#) at <http://www.students.wisc.edu/doso/academic-integrity>

According to UWS 14, academic misconduct is defined as:

- seeks to claim credit for the work or efforts of another without authorization or citation;
- uses unauthorized materials or fabricated data in any academic exercise;
- forges or falsifies academic documents or records;
- intentionally impedes or damages the academic work of others;
- engages in conduct aimed at making false representation of a student's academic performance;
- assists other students in any of these acts.

For a complete description of behaviors that violate the University's standards as well the disciplinary penalties and procedures, please see the Office of the Dean of Students [website](#). If

you have questions about the rules for any of the assignments or exams, please ask your instructor or one of the TAs.

Departmental notice of grievance and appeal rights. The Department of Sociology regularly conducts student evaluations of all professors and teaching assistants near the end of the semester. Students who have more immediate concerns about this course should report them to the instructor or to the chair, 8128 Social Science (Pamela.oliver@wisc.edu).

Readings. This is necessarily an inter-disciplinary endeavor and so the readings draw from sociology, law, political science, and international studies.

- Any reading listed with an em-dash (—) is required.
- Any “additional resource” is optional.
- All required articles will be made available through the course website.
- Select books will also be available in electronic form.
- Many of the books are also in the library.
- If you have trouble purchasing the books for a reasonable price, please be in touch with me.

Books to purchase (digital versions will not be provided)

- Babb, Sarah. (2009) *Behind the development banks: Washington politics, world poverty, and the wealth of nations*. University of Chicago Press.
- Barnett, Michael, and Martha Finnemore. (2004) *Rules for the world: International organizations in global politics*. Cornell University Press.
- Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. (1998) *Activists beyond borders: Advocacy networks in international politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Glasius, Marlies. (2006) *The International Criminal Court: A global civil society achievement*. Routledge.
- Goldman, Michael. (2005) *Imperial nature: The World Bank and struggles for social justice in the age of globalization*. Yale University Press.
- Quark, Amy (2013). *Global rivalries: standards wars and the transnational cotton trade*. University of Chicago Press.
- Chwieroth, J. M. (2009). *Capital ideas: The IMF and the rise of financial liberalization*. Princeton University Press.
- Chorev, Nitsan. (2012) *The World Health Organization between North and South*. Cornell University Press.

Reading schedule

September 3, 2015: No readings

September 10, 2015: Global Civil Society and Governance

— Chapters 2 through 5 in Kaldor, M. (2013). *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War*. John Wiley & Sons.

— Murphy, C. N. (2015). The Last Two Centuries of Global Governance. *Global Governance*, 21(2), 189-196.

Additional Resources:

- Mazower, M. (2012). *Governing the world: the history of an idea, 1815 to the present*. Penguin.
- Weiss, T. G., & Wilkinson, R. (2014). Rethinking global governance? Complexity, authority, power, change. *International Studies Quarterly*, 58(1), 207-215.
- Lake, D. A. (2010). Rightful rules: authority, order, and the foundations of global governance. *International Studies Quarterly*, 54(3), 587-613.
- Weiss, Thomas. G. 2013. *Global Governance: why? What? Whither?*. Polity Press.

Background on approaches to the study of International Affairs:

- Archer, C. (2014). "Writings on International Organizations," pp 58-110 in *International organizations*. Routledge.
- Meyer, J. W., Boli, J., Thomas, G. M., & Ramirez, F. O. (1997). "World society and the nation-state." *American Journal of sociology*, 103(1), 144-181.

September 17, 2015: States and Global Governance: De-nationalization, Internationalization

—Cerny, Philip G. "Functional Differentiation, Globalisation and the New Transnational Neopluralism," pp. 205–227 in Mathias Albert, Barry Buzan and Michael Zürn (eds.), (2013) *Bringing Sociology to International Relations: World Politics as Differentiation Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

—Major, A. (2013). Transnational state formation and the global politics of austerity. *Sociological Theory*, 31(1), 24-48.

—Sassen, S. (2003). The participation of states and citizens in global governance. *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 10(1), 5-28.

—Shaw, Martin (1997) "The state of globalization: towards a theory of state transformation," *Review of International Political Economy*, 4:3, 497-513.

—Robinson, W. I. (2001). Social theory and globalization: The rise of a transnational state. *Theory and Society*, 30(2), 157-200.

Additional Readings:

- Cerny, Philip G. (2010). *Rethinking world politics: a theory of transnational neopluralism*. Oxford University Press.
- Chase-Dunn, C., & Inoue, H. (2012). Accelerating democratic global state formation. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 47(2), 157-175.
- Cox, R. W. (1987). *Production, power, and world order: Social forces in the making of history* (Vol. 1). Columbia University Press.
- Sassen, S. (2006). *Territory, authority, rights: From medieval to global assemblages* (Vol. 4). Princeton, NJ: Princeton university press.
- McMichael, P. (2001). "Revisiting the question of the transnational state: A comment on William Robinson's 'Social theory and globalization,'" *Theory and Society*, 30(2), 201-210.
- Block, F. (2001). "Using social theory to leap over historical contingencies: A comment on Robinson." *Theory and society*, 30(2), 215-221.

September 24, 2015: Bureaucratization and Expert Knowledge

—Barnett, Michael, and Martha Finnemore. (2004) *Rules for the world: International organizations in global politics*. Cornell University Press.

Additional Readings:

- Weber, M. (1978). "Chapter XI: Bureaucracy," pp. 956-1005 in *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Conti, J. A. (2010). Learning to dispute: repeat participation, expertise, and reputation at the World Trade Organization. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 35(3), 625-662.

October 1, 2015: Professions and Global Governance

— Peter M. Haas (1992). Introduction: epistemic communities and international policy coordination. *International Organization*, 46, pp 1-35.

— M. J. Peterson (1992). Whalers, cetologists, environmentalists, and the international management of whaling. *International Organization*, 46, pp 147-186.

— Dezalay, Yves and Bryant G. Garth (2008). "Law, Lawyers, and Empire." Pp. 718–59 in *The Cambridge History of Law in America*, edited by M. Grossberg and C. Tomlins. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

— Levi, Ron and John Hagan. (2013). "Lawyers, Humanitarian Emergencies and the Politics of Large Numbers," pp. 13-47 in Dezalay, Y., & Garth, B. (Eds.). (2013). *Lawyers and the construction of transnational justice*. Routledge.

- Mudge, S. L., & Vauchez, A. (2012). “Building Europe on a Weak Field: Law, Economics, and Scholarly Avatars in Transnational Politics.” *American Journal of Sociology*, 118(2), 449-492.
- Fourcade, M. (2006). “The construction of a global profession: The transnationalization of Economics.” *American journal of sociology*, 112(1), 145-194.

Additional Readings:

- Dezalay, Y., & Garth, B. (1995). Merchants of law as moral entrepreneurs: Constructing international justice from the competition for transnational business disputes. *Law and Society Review*, 27-64.
- Dezalay, Yves and Bryant G. Garth. (1996). *Dealing in Virtue: International Commercial Arbitration and the Construction of a Transnational Legal Order*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fourcade-Gourinchas, M., & Babb, S. L. (2002). The Rebirth of the Liberal Creed: Paths to Neoliberalism in Four Countries. *American Journal of Sociology*, 108(3), 533-579.
- Quack, S. (2007). Legal professionals and transnational law-making: A case of distributed agency. *Organization*, 14(5), 643-666.
- Sacriste, G., & Vauchez, A. (2007). The force of international law: Lawyers’ diplomacy on the international scene in the 1920s. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 32(1), 83-107.
- Vauchez, A. (2008). The force of a weak field: law and lawyers in the government of the European Union (for a renewed research agenda). *International Political Sociology*, 2(2), 128-144.

October 8, 2015: No Class [will schedule make-up session]

October 15, 2015: Transnational Social Movements

- Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. (1998) *Activists beyond borders: Advocacy networks in international politics*. Vol. 6. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Additional Readings

- Tarrow, S. (2005). *The new transnational activism*. Cambridge University Press.

Case Studies on the Politics of International Institutions

October 22, 2015: The United Nations

Everyone read the following:

— Chapters 3-7 in Eastwood, L. E. (2013). *The Social Organization of Policy: An institutional ethnography of UN forest deliberations*. Routledge.

Choose at one theme from the following:

(A) Security and Peacekeeping

—Thakur, R. 2006. “Pacific Settlement, Collective Security, and International Peacekeeping,” pp. 27-47 in *The United Nations, peace and security: from collective security to the responsibility to protect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [available online through UW library]

—Thakur, R. 2006. “The Responsibility to Protect,” pp. 244-64 in *The United Nations, peace and security: from collective security to the responsibility to protect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [available online through UW library]

— Zetter, Roger. (2015) “Protection in Crisis: Forced Migration and Protection in a Global Era.” Report by the Migration Policy Institute. Washington, DC.
<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/protection-crisis-forced-migration-and-protection-global-era>

(B) UN and Culture, Inside and Out

— Drori, G. S. (2005). United Nations’ Dedications A World Culture in the Making?. *International Sociology*, 20(2), 175-199.

— Bjerregaard, T., & Nielsen, B. (2014). Institutional maintenance in an international bureaucracy: Everyday practices of international elites inside UNESCO. *European Management Journal*, 32(6), 981-990.

— Barnett, M. N. (1997). The UN Security Council, indifference, and genocide in Rwanda. *Cultural Anthropology*, 12(4), 551-578.

(C) Human Rights

— Hafner-Burton, E. M., & Tsutsui, K. (2005). “Human Rights in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises.” *American journal of sociology*, 110(5), 1373-1411.

— Cole, W. M. (2015). “International Human Rights and Domestic Income Inequality A Difficult Case of Compliance in World Society.” *American Sociological Review*, 0003122415571582.

— Weiss, Thomas G. David P. Forsythe, Roger A. Coate, and Kelly-Kate Pease. 2013. “The United Nations and Applying Human Rights Standards” pp. 189-234 in *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Additional Readings:

- Bosco, D. L. (2009). *Five to rule them all: the UN Security Council and the making of the modern world*. Oxford University Press.
- Barnett, M. (1995). The new United Nations politics of peace: From juridical sovereignty to empirical sovereignty. *Global Governance*, 79-97.
- Weiss, T. G., & Thakur, R. (2010). *Global governance and the UN: an unfinished journey*. Indiana University Press.
- Weiss, Thomas George, David P. Forsythe, and Kelly-Kate Pease. (2013). *The United Nations and changing world politics*. 7th edition. Boulder :Westview Press.

October 29, 2015: WTO

— Quark, A. A. (2013). *Global rivalries: standards wars and the transnational cotton trade*. University of Chicago Press.

Additional Readings:

- Chorev, N. (2007). *Remaking US trade policy: From protectionism to globalization*. Cornell University Press.
- Conti, J. (2010). *Between Law and Diplomacy: The Social Contexts of Disputing at the World Trade Organization*. Stanford University Press.
- Eagleton-Pierce, M. (2013). *Symbolic Power in the World Trade Organization*. Oxford University Press.
- Hopewell, K. (2015). Different paths to power: The rise of Brazil, India and China at the World Trade Organization. *Review of International Political Economy*, 22(2), 311-338.
- Shaffer, G. (2015). How the World Trade Organization shapes regulatory governance. *Regulation & Governance*, 9(1), 1-15.
- Shaffer, G. C. (2003). *Defending interests: Public-private partnerships in WTO litigation*. Brookings Institution Press.

November 5, 2015: IMF and Global Finance

— Chwieroth, J. M. (2009). *Capital ideas: The IMF and the rise of financial liberalization*. Princeton University Press.

Additional Readings:

- Halliday, T., & Carruthers, B. (2009). *Bankrupt: global lawmaking and systemic financial crisis*. Stanford University Press.

Performativity in economic sociology:

- Callon, M. 2007. “What does it mean to say that economics is performative?”. In *Do economists make markets?*, Edited by: Mackenzie, D., Muniesa, F. and Siu, L. 311–57. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Callon, M. 1998. “The laws of the market: The economic embeddedness of economic action”. In *The laws of the market*, Edited by: Callon, M. 1–40. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Mackenzie, D. 2006. *An engine, not a camera*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Zelizer, V. 2010. *Economic lives: How culture shapes the economy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

November 12, 2015: World Bank

— Goldman, Michael. *Imperial Nature: The World Bank and struggles for social justice in the age of globalization*. Yale University Press, 2005.

November 19, 2015: The World Health Organization

— Chorev, Nitsan. (2012). *The World Health Organization between North and South*. Cornell University Press.

November 26, 2015: No Class

December 3, 2015: International Labor Organization

— Rodríguez-Piñero, Luis. (2005). *Indigenous Peoples, Postcolonialism and International Law: The ILO Regime (1919-1989)*. Oxford University Press.

December 10, 2015: International Courts

— Glasius, Marlies. (2006). *The International Criminal Court: A global civil society achievement*. Routledge.

Additional readings:

- Bosco, D. (2013). *Rough justice: The International Criminal Court in a world of power politics*. Oxford University Press.
- Sikkink, K. (2011). *The Justice Cascade: How Human Rights Prosecutions Are Changing World Politics (The Norton Series in World Politics)*. WW Norton & Company.

- Alter, K. J. (2014). *The new terrain of international law: Courts, politics, rights*. Princeton University Press.

December 17: Presentations