

Political Science 477
Advanced Topics in International Political Economy:
Political Economy of World Order
FALL 2020

Instructor: Dr. Mark Nieman

Time and Location: W 12–2pm, Online – Synchronous

Contact: mark.nieman@utoronto.ca

Student Hours: Schedule through <https://nieman.youcanbook.me> and meet via Zoom

Overview and Objectives

Despite the lack of a formal world government, international politics is relatively orderly. How are these orders built and maintained? What are the costs and benefits to global and regional powers to lead an order, or to challenge one? What are the costs and benefits to developing and middle powers to participate? This course explores the underpinnings of world order, brought about by the interactions among international status and authority, international institutions and norms, and material power, across a variety of interconnected issue areas, such as economics, security, and law. Students are introduced to the literature in a broad way, to make them familiar with the main theoretical approaches and empirical tools, related to the study of political order.

Learning Outcomes

At the end of this course, students should be able to:

- Describe analytical approaches to studying political order.
- Critically read and evaluate scholarly work.
- Apply empirical results to current cases and make educated predictions.
- Conduct and present an independent research project.

Required Texts

There is no required textbooks for this class. All books/chapters are available on Quercus and all articles through the library at <https://search.library.utoronto.ca/index>. To find articles, search the article title and verify it is correct with the author's name.

Grading

Grades are based on class participation and a multi-stage research project. All required readings should be completed prior to class. Late assignments without an approved excuse are deducted 10 percentage points of their value per day. The course follows the standard university grading scale (<https://governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/secretariat/policies/grading-practices-policy-university-assessment-and-january-1-2020>). Final grades are rounded to the nearest whole number.

Marking Scheme	
Assessment	Percentage
Class contribution	15
Discussion leader	5
Research project:	
Research question	5
Literature review	10
Theory	10
Research design	10
Research paper	45
Total	100

Participation

Participation consists of a student's class contribution and 1-time serving as discussion leader.

Class contribution: The class contribution component is dependent on your attendance and positive, thoughtful contribution to our weekly class discussion. This is a 400-level class and is treated as a seminar. This means that students are required to have read the week's assigned readings prior to class, are expected to describe the readings' theory and findings, and are able to critically discuss all readings (and complete occasional in-class assignments) as to demonstrate a mastery of the material. While I may interject to ask follow-up questions or provide background, the class will be much more valuable if you as a collective body do most of the talking.

Students that are uncomfortable or unable to participate in the synchronous class setting can earn participation points by writing short critical response papers of the assigned readings (no more than 2 pages). Response paper should engage the ideas from the readings in a critical way (critical does not necessarily imply negative), and not simply be a summary. Response papers are to be uploaded to Quercus by midnight the Sunday after class.

Discussion leader: Each week, two or three student will be assigned to serve as discussion leaders. Each student serves as a discussion leader 1 time during the semester. Discussion leaders will write 8–12 discussion questions based on the readings to guide classroom discussion (e.g., specific questions about one reading, contrasting two or more readings, tying multiple readings together). Discussion questions should be uploaded to Quercus by 5pm on

the Tuesday prior to lecture.

Research Project

Students are expected to take what they have learned in class and apply it in the form of a research paper. Students can (a) identify a shortcoming in one of the articles discussed in class and build on this work by addressing its shortcoming, (b) take the theory of one of the articles in class and apply and evaluate it for a new set of cases, or (c) create an original project related to one of the topics covered in class that better suits their interests.

The project is due in several stages (upload to Quercus by the start of class).

1. **Research Question:** Submit a one-page description of your research question, and explain how it fits with the general themes of the course. **Due September 30.**
2. **Literature Review:** Provide an annotated bibliography of at least 10 sources related to your topic. Include information on each source's theory and expectations, and note the research design and findings, if applicable. **Due October 21.**
3. **Theory and Hypothesis:** Develop a theory that explains why we observe difference outcomes related to your research question. You should clearly identify your dependent and independent variables (be sure that one of these emphasizes some aspect of international organization), the causal mechanism (i.e. the process in which the independent variables causes the dependent variable), and a testable hypothesis (i.e., what do you think is the effect of an increase/change in the independent variable on the dependent variable?). **Due November 4.**
4. **Research Design and Data Sources:** Describe how you intend to evaluate your theory and test your hypotheses. Explain your research methods (quantitative, comparative case study, process tracing, etc) and why it is appropriate to test your hypotheses. Specify the level of analysis of your data (how are the data aggregated in space and time), and detail how you conceptualize and measure your dependent and independent variables, including naming the key data sources. **Due November 18.**
5. **Research Paper.** Submit a research paper. The final product should take the form of a conference paper or journal article (i.e. written in a professional style). The research paper must: [a] clearly identify your research question (5% of paper grade), [b] briefly discuss the current state of the discipline (i.e. literature review) (10%), [c] propose how you are advancing our knowledge on the topic (i.e. your theory and hypothesis) (35%), [d] discuss and present your evidence (40%), and [e] conclude by re-evaluating the literature in light of your evidence (10%). **Due December 9.**

Course Policies

Student Responsibilities in the Learning Process: Students are expected to complete all required readings on a topic prior to completing that topic's assessment. Students are also

expected to complete all assessments on time. This means accessing the materials with sufficient time to complete assessments prior to deadlines. In the event that a student has questions concerning the material, they should formulate specific questions to ask the professor via office hours or email with sufficient time for a response prior to assessment deadlines (i.e. emailed questions should be sent at least 24 hours prior to a deadline, excluding weekends).

Classroom Conduct: Students are expected to participate in class in a thoughtful and respectful manner while in the pursuit of knowledge accumulation. Generally, this means engaging with one another's ideas and treating others as you would like to be treating as well as *not* treating others how you would *not* like to be treated. Please see university policies on freedom of speech (<https://governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/secretariat/policies/freedom-speech-statement-may-28-1992>) and discrimination and harassment (<https://governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/secretariat/policies/harassment-statement-prohibited-discrimination-and-discriminatory-harassment>).

Accommodations: Please discuss any special needs with the instructor start of the semester, for example to request reasonable accommodations if an academic requirement conflicts with your religious practices and/or observances. Those seeking accommodations based on disabilities should complete the appropriate documentation with Student Life Programs and Services (<https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/departments/accessibility-services/>).

Academic Misconduct: All acts of dishonesty in any work constitute academic misconduct. The Student Disciplinary Regulations (<https://governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/secretariat/policies/code-behaviour-academic-matters-july-1-2019>) will be followed in the event of academic misconduct.

A special note on plagiarism: plagiarism is the act of representing directly or indirectly another person's work as your own. It can involve presenting someone's speech, wholly or partially, as your; quoting without acknowledging the true source of the quoted material; copying and handing in another person's work with your name on it; and similar infractions. Even indirect quotations, paraphrasing, etc., can be considered plagiarism unless sources are properly cited.

Copyright: Course materials, including recorded lectures and slides, are the instructor's intellectual property covered by the Copyright Act, RSC 1985, c C-42. Course materials posted on Quercus are for registered students only and may not be posted to other websites or media without the express permission of the instructor. Unauthorized reproduction, copying, or use of online recordings will constitute copyright infringement.

I reserve the right to modify the syllabus to reflect the pace of the course.

Schedule

September 16: What is Order in World Politics?

Required:

Ikenberry, G. John. 2001. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*. Princeton University Press. Ch 1–2, pp 2–49.

Additional:

Rosenberg, Karen. “Reading Games: Strategies for Reading Scholarly Sources.”

McConaughy, Meghan, Paul Musgrave, and Daniel H Nexon. Beyond Anarchy: Logics of Political Organization, Hierarchy, and International Structure. *International Theory* 10(2): 181–218.

Frazier, Derrick, and Robert Stewart-Ingersoll. 2010. Regional Powers and Security: A Framework for Understanding Order within Regional Security Complexes. *European Journal of International Relations* 16(4): 731–753.

September 23: Hegemonic Stability

Required:

Ikenberry, G. John. 2001. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*. Princeton University Press. Ch 3, pp 50–79.

Kadera, Kelly M. 1999. The Power-Conflict Story: A Synopsis. *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 17(2): 149–174.

Norrlof, Carla and William C. Wohlforth. 2019. *Raison de l’Hégémonie* (The Hegemon’s Interest): Theory of the Costs and Benefits of Hegemony. *Security Studies* 28(3): 422–450.

Additional:

Lemke, Douglas. 2002. *Regions of War and Peace*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Krasner, Stephen D. 1976. State Power and the Structure of International Trade. *World Politics* 28(3): 317–347.

September 30: Effects of Hegemony

Project: Research Question due.

Required:

Mastanduno, Michael. 2009. System Maker and Privilege Taker: U.S. Power and the International Political Economy. *World Politics* 61(1): 121–154.

Gunitsky, Seva. 2014. From Shocks to Waves: Hegemonic Transitions and Democratization in the Twentieth Century. *International Organization* 68(3): 561–597.

Búzás, Zoltán I. Forthcoming. Racism and Antiracism in the Liberal International Order. *International Organization*.

Additional:

Haynes, Kyle. 2015. Decline and Devolution: The Sources of Strategic Military Retrenchment. *International Studies Quarterly* 59(3): 490–502.

Reuveny, Rafael and William R. Thompson. 2008. Uneven Economic Growth and the World Economy's North–South Stratification. *International Studies Quarterly* 52(3): 579–605.

October 7: Authority and Contractual HierarchyRequired:

Lake, David A. 2007. Escape from the State of Nature: Authority and Hierarchy in World Politics. *International Security* 32(1): 47–79.

Lanoszka, Alexander. 2013. Beyond Consent and Coercion: Using Republican Political Theory to Understand International Hierarchies. *International Theory* 5(3): 382–413.

Kang, David C. 2010. Hierarchy and Legitimacy in International Systems: The Tribute System in Early Modern East Asia. *Security Studies* 19(4): 591–622.

Additional:

Wendt, Alexander and Daniel Friedheim. 1995. Hierarchy Under Anarchy: Informal Empire and the East German State. *International Organization* 49(4): 689–721.

Musgrave, Paul and Daniel H. Nexon. 2018. Defending Hierarchy from the Moon to the Indian Ocean: Symbolic Capital and Political Dominance in Early Modern China and the Cold War. *International Organization* 72(3): 591–626.

October 14: Microfoundations of HierarchyRequired:

Henke, Marina E. 2017. The Politics of Diplomacy: How the United States Builds Multilateral Military Coalitions. *International Studies Quarterly* 61(2): 410–424.

Allen, Michael A., Michael Flynn, Carla Martinez Machain, and Andrew Stravers. 2020. Outside the Wire: U.S. Troop Deployments and Public Opinion in Host States. *American Political Science Review* 114(2): 326–341.

Weymouth, Stephen and J. Muir Macpherson. 2012. The Social Construction of Policy Reform: Economists and Trade Liberalization Around the World. *International Interactions* 38(5): 670–702.

Additional:

Levin, Don. When the Great Power Gets a Vote: The Effects of Great Power Electoral Interventions on Election Results. *International Studies Quarterly* 60(2): 189–202.

Wade, Robert Hunter. 2002. US Hegemony and the World Bank: The Fight over People and Ideas. *Review of International Political Economy* 9(2):201–229.

October 21: Hegemon–Protégé Relations

Project: Literature Review due.

Required:

McDonald, Patrick J. 2015. Great Powers, Hierarchy, and Endogenous Regimes: Rethinking the Domestic Causes of Peace. *International Organization* 69(3): 557-588.

Chyzh, Olga V. and Elena Labzina. 2018. Bankrolling Repression? Modeling Third-Party Influence on Protests and Repression. *American Journal of Political Science* 62(2): 312–324.

Norrlof, Carla. 2014. Dollar Hegemony: A Power Analysis. *Review of International Political Economy* 21(5): 1042–1070.

Additional:

Cooley, Alexander and Daniel Nexon. 2013. “The Empire Will Compensate You”: The Structural Dynamics of the U.S. Overseas Basing Network. *Perspectives on Politics* 11(4): 1034–1050

McManus, Roseanne W. and Keren Yarhi-Milo. 2017. The Logic of “Offstage” Signaling: Domestic Politics, Regime Type, and Major Power-Protégé Relations. *International Organization* 71(4): 701-733.

October 28: Interactions Within and Across Hierarchies

Required:

Mousseau, Michael. 2019. The End of War: How a Robust Marketplace and Liberal Hegemony are Leading to Perpetual World Peace. *International Security* 44(1): 160–196.

McManus, Roseanne and Mark David Nieman. 2019. Identifying the Level of Major Power Support Signaled for Protégés: A Latent Measure Approach. *Journal of Peace Research* 56(3): 364-378.

Nieman, Mark David, Carla Martinez Machain, Olga Chyzh, and Sam Bell. Forthcoming. An International Game of Risk: Troop Placement and Major Power Competition. *Journal of Politics*.

Additional:

Braumoeller, Bear F. 2012. *The Great Powers and the International System*. Cambridge University Press.

Nieman, Mark David. 2016. The Return on Social Bonds: Social Hierarchy and International Conflict. *Journal of Peace Research* 53(5): 665–679.

November 4: International Status

Project: Theory and Hypothesis due.

Required:

Renshon, Jonathan. 2016. Status Deficits and War. *International Organization* 70(3): 513–550.

Duque, Marina G. 2018. Recognizing International Status: A Relational Approach. *International Studies Quarterly* 62(3): 577–592.

Ward, Steven. 2020. Status, Stratified Rights, and Accommodation in International Relations. *Journal of Global Security Studies* 5(1): 160–178.

Additional:

Fordham, Benjamin O. 2011. Who Wants to be a Major Power? Explaining the Expansion of Foreign Policy Ambition. *Journal of Peace Research* 48(5): 587–603.

Thies, Cameron G. and Mark David Nieman. 2017. *Rising Powers and Foreign Policy Revisionism*. University of Michigan Press.

November 11: No Class–Reading Week

November 18: International Organizations as Institutions

Project: Research Design and Data Sources due.

Required:

Lipsy, Phillip Y. and Haillie Na-Kyung Lee. 2019. The IMF as a Biased Global Insurance Mechanism: Asymmetrical Moral Hazard, Reserve Accumulation, and Financial Crises. *International Organization* 73(1): 35–64.

Goldstein, Judith L., Douglas Rivers, and Michael Tomz. 2007. Institutions in International Relations: Understanding the Effects of the GATT and WTO on World Trade. *International Organization* 61: 37–67.

Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin. 2002. A Kantian System? Democracy and Third Party Conflict Resolution. *American Journal of Political Science*. 46(4): 749–759.

Additional:

Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin and Paul R. Hensel. 2007. International Institutions and Compliance with Agreements. *American Journal of Political Science* 51(4): 721–737.

Shannon, Megan, Dan Morey, and Frederick Boehmke. 2010. The Influence of International Organizations on Militarized Dispute Initiation and Duration. *International Studies Quarterly*. 54(4): 1123–1141.

November 25: International Organizations as Independent Actors

Required:

Ford, Jane. 2002. A Social Theory of Trade Regime Change: GATT to WTO. *International Studies Review* 4(3): 115-138.

Bearce, David H. and Stacy Bondanella. 2007. Intergovernmental Organizations, Socialization, and Member-State Interest Convergence. *International Organization* 61(4): 703-733.

Barnett, Michael N. and Martha Finnemore. 1999. The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations. *International Organization* 53(4): 699-732.

Additional:

Chwieroth, Jeffrey M. 2008. Normative Change from Within: The International Monetary Fund's Approach to Capital Account Liberalization. *International Studies Quarterly* 52(1): 129-158.

Pacheco-Vega, Raul and Amanda Murdie. Forthcoming. When do Environmental NGOs Work? A Test of the Conditional Effectiveness of Environmental Advocacy. *Environmental Politics*.

December 2: International Treaties and Law

Required:

Powell, Emilia Justyna, and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell. 2007. The International Court of Justice and the World's Three Legal Systems. *Journal of Politics* 69(2): 397-415.

Simmons, Beth A. 2000. International Law and State Behavior: Commitment and Compliance in International Monetary Affairs. *American Political Science Review* 94(4): 819-835.

von Stein, Jana. 2005. Do Treaties Constrain or Screen? Selection Bias and Treaty Compliance. *American Political Science Review* 99(4): 611-622.

Additional:

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

Fariss, Christopher J. 2014. Respect for Human Rights Has Improved Over Time: Modeling the Changing Standard of Accountability. *American Political Science Review* 108(2): 297-318.

December 9: Norm Adoption

Project: Research Paper due.

Required:

Fordham, Benjamin O. and Victor Asal. 2007. Billiard Balls or Snowflakes? Major Power Prestige and the International Diffusion of Institutions and Practices. *International Studies Quarterly* 51(1): 31–52.

Klotz, Audie. 1995. Norms Reconstituting Interests: Global Racial Equality and US Sanctions Against South Africa. *International Organization* 49(3): 451–478.

Acharya, Amitav. 2004. How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism. *International Organization* 58(2): 239–275.

Additional:

Ferguson, Yale H. and Richard W. Mansbach. 1996. *Politics: Authority, Identity, and Change*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina.

Nieman, Mark David. 2016. Moments in Time: Temporal Patterns in the Effect of Democracy and Trade on Conflict. *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 33(3): 273–293.