

## Syllabus: Globalization, Organizations and the State (B500001101)

SDU, BSc Market and Management  
Anthropology Fall semester 2023

### Course description:

<https://odin.sdu.dk/sitecore/index.php?a=fagbesk&id=80184&listid=13143&lang=en>

[Please read it!]

**Course responsible:** Peter Starke: [starke@sam.sdu.dk](mailto:starke@sam.sdu.dk)

### Lecturers:

- Sergey Utkin [SU]: [utk@sam.sdu.dk](mailto:utk@sam.sdu.dk)
- Kaitlin Alper [KA]: [kalp@sam.sdu.dk](mailto:kalp@sam.sdu.dk)

### Place and time:

Lecture: Thursday 14-16, see Itslearning and below schedule for session #'s

### Exercises (please check latest MMA timetable):

Group E23-1 Monday	14-16	U74
Group E23-2 Wednesday	14-16	U59
Group E23-3 Monday	14-16	U58
Group E23-4 Monday	12-14	U59

This course analyses how national and international politics affect each other in the framework of globalization. We start with a few introductory classes that will make you familiarize with key concepts such as globalization, state, international system, etc. We will then go deeper and analyze globalization as an international phenomenon as well as its impact on the state. Thus, after the **first introductory classes**, the **second part of the course** will focus on how international organizations, regimes, and norms develop in the context of globalization. We will discuss why states join collective institutions and to what effect. We will examine the role of institutions in the management of international peace or mitigation of transnational threats. We will ask what international organizations mean for the state's sovereignty, how do they work to ensure collective action and shared accountability, and to what extent they succeed or fail to achieve their goals? We will address the current state and prospects of global governance mechanisms and see how they perform in the time of multiple global crises. We will also touch upon various scholarly interpretations of the actual and plausible world order.

The **third (and last) part of the course** focuses on the impact of globalization on the state. Before being able to look at that, we ask what modern states are and what they do. It turns out that states (at least in rich countries) are welfare states. These are also the kind of state interventions where we can expect the clearest globalization effects. But what are these effects? Does economic globalization in terms of trade and capital mobility limit the ability of nation states to intervene in economy and society? Or are comprehensive welfare states rather a precondition for long-term international openness? Both views have been discussed and studied in the literature. Currently, we seem to be living through a moment of globalization backlash, even before the COVID-19 crisis hit. What are the reasons for that backlash? What are ways to address the backlash? We then turn to other impacts of globalization on the politics. Specifically, we ask, what is the effect of globalization on party politics? How do parties respond to globalization, and how do voters' preferences around internationalization, migration and economic interdependence shape partisan politics?

For each session, students will be required to read up to three mandatory articles or chapters. In the second part, it is also indicated what the topic of the main case study for the class will be, so that students who wish to do so can do some introductory research about what this institution is and what its purpose is.

## **Sessions and readings** (644 pages mandatory in total)

### **PART I: Introductory classes**

#### 1. 7 September: **Introduction** [SU & KA] – U1

Themes:

- The course, the classes, the teachers and the TAs
- The exam
- How to prepare for classes and exam
- Globalization, the national and the international

Mandatory readings:

R. Keohane and J. Nye 2000. 'Globalization: What's New? What's Not?' *Foreign Policy* 118: pp.104-119 – 15 pages.

Vowles, Jack and Georgios Xezonakis. 2016. "Introduction: Globalization and Domestic Politics." In *Globalization and Domestic Politics: Parties, Elections, and Public Opinion*. Sections 1.1-1.6, p. 1-16. Available on *Itslearning*. (16 pgs)

#### 2. 14 September: **The modern state and types of state intervention** [KA] – U47

Themes:

- Development and functions of the modern nation-state
- Social policy regimes and their developments
- State building, state sovereignty and the creation of the 'national'

Mandatory readings:

Pierson, Christopher. 2004. *The Modern State*, 2nd edition, Routledge. Chapter 1, p. 4-27. (23 pgs)

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. 2014 [1990]. Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism, in: C. Pierson, F.G. Castles, I.K. Naumann (eds): *The Welfare State Reader*, 3rd ed., Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 136-150. (15 pgs)

Supplementary readings:

Zürn, Michael and Nicole Deitelhoff. 2014. "Internationalization and the State: Sovereignty as the External Side of Modern Statehood." In *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, p. 193-218. (25 pgs)

Manow, Philip and Daniel Ziblatt. 2014. "The Layered State: Pathways and Patterns of Modern Nation State Building." In *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, p. 75-98. (23 pgs)

#### 3. 21 September: **Theorizing the International System and International Order(s)** [SU] – U46

Themes:

- IR theories
  - Realism

- Liberalism
- Constructivism
- The international system
- International order(s)

Mandatory readings:

Goldfischer, David. 2002. E.H.Carr: A 'Historical Realist' Approach for the Globalisation Era. *Review of International Studies*, 28(4), p.697 – 717 – 20 pages.

R. Keohane 2001. 'Governance in a Partially Globalized World'. *American Political Science Review* 95 (1): 1-13 – 13 pages.

R. Palan 2004. 'Constructivism and Globalisation: From Units to Encounters in International Affairs'. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 17(1): 11-23 -12 pages.

Supplementary readings:

Guzzini, Stefano. 2004 The Enduring Dilemmas of Realism in International Relations. *European Journal of International Relations*. Vol. 10 (4), p. 533 – 558

Bull 1977, *The Anarchical Society*, Chapter 1, 'The Concept of Order in World Politics'.

Wohlforth, William C. 2011. "Gilpinian Realism and International Relations." *International Relations (London)* 25 (4): 499-511.

## **PART II: Globalization and International Organization**

### 4. 28 September: **Globalization Debates** [SU] – U46

Themes:

- Global trade and communication
- Globalization and Deglobalization

Mandatory reading:

Kacowicz, Arie M., Mitrani, Mor. 2016. Why don't we have coherent theories of international relations about globalization? *Global Governance* 22, (2), p. 189-205 – 15 pages.

Kornprobst, Markus, Paul, T.V. 2021. "Globalization, Deglobalization and the Liberal International Order." *International Affairs (London)* 97 (5), p. 1305-1316 – 11 pages.

Lund, Susan, Tyson, Laura. 2018. "Globalization is Not in Retreat: Digital Technology and the Future of Trade." *Foreign Affairs*, May, 130-140 – 9 pages.

Supplementary reading:

Schmelzer, Matthias. 2017. "'Born in the Corridors of the OECD': The Forgotten Origins of the Club of Rome, Transnational Networks, and the 1970s in Global History." *Journal of Global History* 12 (1): 26-48.

Ripsman, Norrin M. 2021. "Globalization, Deglobalization and Great Power Politics." *International Affairs (London)* 97 (5): 1317-1333.

5. 5 October: **Do international institutions matter?** [SU] – U46

Themes:

- International organizations
- Global challenges

Mandatory readings:

Kratochwil, Friedrich and Ruggie, John Gerard. 1986. "International Organization: A State of the Art on an Art of the State." *International Organization* 40 (4): 753-775. – 20 pages.

R. Keohane and L.L. Martin 1995. "The Promise of Institutional Theory", *International Security*, 20(1), pp. 39-51 – 13 pages.

Driel, Melanie van, Biermann, Frank, Kim, Rakhyun E, Vijge, Marjanneke J. 2022. "International Organisations as 'custodians' of the Sustainable Development Goals?: Fragmentation and Coordination in Sustainability Governance." *Global Policy* 13 (5): 669-682. – 12 pages

Supplementary readings:

J. Mearsheimer 1995. 'The False Promise of International Institutions', *International Security*, 19(3), pp. 5-49.

6. 12 October: **Globalization, the EU and territorial organization of the state** [KA] – U46

Themes:

- Territorial organization of the state
- Theories of European Integration
- Multilevel governance transformations in a globalized world

Mandatory readings:

Pollack, Mark A. 2005. "Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 8: 357-89. (24 pgs)

Schakel, Arjan H., Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. 2014. "Multilevel Governance and the State." In *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, p. 269-285. (16 pgs)

Supplementary reading:

Marks, Gary and Liesbet Hooghe. 2008. "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus." *The British Journal of Political Science* 39: 1-23. (23 pgs)

Alesina, Alberto, and Enrico Spolaore. 1997. "On the Number and Size of Nations." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112 (4): 1027–56. (29 pgs).

\*\*\*Fall break\*\*\*

7. 26 October: **The European Union as a global actor** [SU] – U140

Themes:

- Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU
- Development assistance

Mandatory readings:

W. Jacoby & S. Meunier (2010) 'Europe and the management of globalization', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17:3, 299-317 – 18 pages.

I. Manners 2006. 'European Union 'Normative Power' and the Security Challenge', *European Security* 15(4): 405-421 – 16 pages.

J. Zielonka 2008. 'Europe as a global actor: empire by example?', *International Affairs* 84(3): 471-484 – 13 pages.

Supplementary readings:

Friis, Lykke. 2022. 'Denmark's Zeitenwende'. Available at <https://ecfr.eu/article/denmarks-zeitenwende/>.

Klose, Stephan .2023. Does the EU have friends?. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 61: 579–596.

8. 2 November: **The UN: global security in the making?** [SU] – U46

Themes:

- The UN system
- Global and regional security

Mandatory readings:

Charles A. Kupchan and Clifford A. Kupchan 1995, 'The Promise of Collective Security', *International Security* 20(1): 52-61 – 9 pages.

Lättilä, V., & Ylönen, A. 2019. United Nations Security Council reform revisited: A proposal. *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 30(1): 164-186 – 20 pages.

Supplementary readings:

Gowan, Richard. 2022. 'The Ukraine War and UN Reform'. Available at <https://www.crisisgroup.org/global/ukraine-war-and-un-reform>.

9. **9 November: Clubs and coalitions: Less bureaucracy** [SU] – U46

Themes:

- Informal institutions
- G7, G20, BRICS

Mandatory readings:

Downie, Christian. 2022. How do informal international organizations govern? The G20 and orchestration. *International Affairs*, 98(3): 953-972 – 20 pages

Engelbrekt, Kjell. 2015. Mission creep? The nontraditional security agenda of the G7/8 and the nascent role of the G-20. *Global Governance*, 21(4): 537-556 – 20 pages

Supplementary reading:

Cooper, Andrew F. and Pouliot, Vincent. 2015. "How Much is Global Governance Changing? the G20 as International Practice." *Cooperation and Conflict* 50 (3): 334-350.

Parlar Dal, Emel and Samiratou Dipama. 2022. "Rising Powers' Quest for Increased Legitimacy through IOs in an Era of Loose Multilateralism." *Contemporary Politics* 28 (5): 558-586.

---

### **PART III: Globalization and the State**

10. 16 November: **"Embedded liberalism" and compensation** [KA] – U140

Themes:

- Challenges of globalization in historical context
- Social policy development and compensation in a globalizing world
- Public support and/or opposition to economic globalization

Mandatory readings:

Frieden, Jeffrey. 2012. "The modern capitalist world economy: A historical overview." In *The Oxford Handbook of Capitalism*, p. 17. Oxford University Press. [https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/jfrieden/files/modern\\_capitalist\\_economy\\_page\\_proofs.pdf](https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/jfrieden/files/modern_capitalist_economy_page_proofs.pdf) (23 pgs)

Hays, Jude C., Ehrlich, Sean D. and Clint Peinhardt. 2005. "Government spending and public support for trade in the OECD: An empirical test of the embedded liberalism thesis." *International Organization*, 59(2), 473-494. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818305050150> (22 pgs)

Supplementary reading:

Ruggie, John G. 1982. "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order." *International Organization* 36(2): p. 379-415 (36 pgs)

Koster, Ferry. 2009. "The welfare state and globalisation: down and out or too tough to die?." *International Journal of Social Welfare* 18.2: 153-162. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1468-2397.2008.00571.x> (10 pgs)

11. 23 November: **Efficiency thesis: Neoliberalism and the "race to the bottom"** [KA] – U140

Themes:

- Welfare state retrenchment and retrenchment strategies
- Causes of retrenchment and neoliberal convergence
- Pressures of globalization on existing welfare states

Mandatory readings:

Scharpf, Fritz W. 1997. "Economic Integration, Democracy and the Welfare State." *Journal of European Public Policy* 4 (1): 18–36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/135017697344217> (18 pgs)

Swank, Duane. 2005. "Globalisation, Domestic Politics, and Welfare State Retrenchment in Capitalist Democracies." *Social Policy & Society* 4 (2):183-195. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746404002337> (13 pgs)

Wood, Adrian. 2018. "The 1990s Trade and Wages Debate in Retrospect." *The World Economy* 41(4): 975-99. (24 pgs)

Supplementary readings:

Starke, Peter, Herbert Obinger, and Francis G. Castles. 2008. "Convergence Towards Where: In What Ways, If Any, Are Welfare States Becoming More Similar?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 15 (7):975-1000. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13501760802310397> (26 pgs)

## 12. 30 November: **The crisis of the international order** [SU] – U140

Themes:

- Global crises
- Future challenges

Mandatory readings:

D.A. Lake, L.L. Martin, T. Risse 2021. "Challenges to the Liberal Order: Reflections on *International Organization*." *International Organization* 75 (2): 225–57 – 32 pp.

T. V. Paul 2021. 'Globalization, deglobalization and reglobalization: adapting liberal international order', *International Affairs*, Volume 97, Issue 5, September 2021, Pages 1599–1620 - 21 pages.

T. Flockhart 2016. 'The Coming Multi-Order World', *Contemporary Security Policy* 37(1): 3-30 – 27 pages.

Supplementary reading:

Trine Flockhart & Elena A. Korosteleva 2022. 'War in Ukraine: Putin and the multi-order world,' *Contemporary Security Policy*, 43:3, 466-481 – 16pp.

## 13. 7 December: **The globalization backlash** [KA] – U140

Themes:

- Public reactions to globalization
- Winners and losers of globalization

Mandatory:

Frieden, Jeffrey. 2019. "The political economy of the globalization backlash: Sources and implications." In Catao, L.A.V. & Obstfeld, M. (eds). *Meeting Globalization's Challenges: Policies to Make Trade Work for All*. Princeton University Press, 181-196. (16 pgs)

Walter, Stefanie. 2021. "The backlash against globalization". *Annual Review of Political Science*, 24, 421-442. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-041719-102405> (22 pgs)

Supplementary reading:

Rodrik, Dani. 2018. Populism and the Economics of Globalization. *Journal of International Business Policy*, 1-22. <https://ces.fas.harvard.edu/uploads/files/events/Populism-and-the-Economics-of-Globalization.pdf> (22 pgs)

## 14. 14 December: **Globalization and party politics** [KA] – U140

Themes:

- Electoral consequences of globalization
- Effect of globalization and Europeanization on party systems
- New fault lines of contestation under internationalization and the EU

Mandatory readings:

Piazza, James. 2001. "De-Linking Labor: Labor Unions and Social Democratic Parties under Globalization." *Party Politics* 7 (4): p. 413–35. (22 pgs)

Dancygier, Rafaela M. and Stefanie Walter. 2015. "Globalization, Labor Market Risks and Class Cleavages." In Beramendi, Pablo, Silja Hausermann, Herbert Kitschelt, and Hanspeter Kriesi, eds. *The Politics of Advanced Capitalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 133-156 (23 pgs)

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2016. "Cleavage theory meets Europe's crises: Lipset, Rokkan, and the Transnational Cleavage." [https://ces.fas.harvard.edu/uploads/files/events/Hooghe\\_Marks\\_2017\\_-\\_Cleavage-Theory-Meets-Europes-Crises\\_final-format.pdf](https://ces.fas.harvard.edu/uploads/files/events/Hooghe_Marks_2017_-_Cleavage-Theory-Meets-Europes-Crises_final-format.pdf) (31 pgs)

Supplementary reading:

Dahlberg, Matz, Edmark, Karin and Heléne Lundqvist. 2012. "Ethnic diversity and preferences for redistribution". *Journal of Political Economy*, 120(1): p. 41-76. (36 pgs)

15. 21 December: **Summary, Q&A** [SU & KA] – U140

Regular EXAM in January