

PUBLIC AFFAIRS 850 INTERNATIONAL GOVERNANCE

Fall 2009
T 1:20-3:20
Microbial Sciences Building 1510

Professor Jonathan Zeitlin
jzeitlin@wisc.edu
319 Ingraham
265-6640 (o)

Course Description

This is a core foundation course for the Masters in International Public Affairs (MIPA). The course is intended to provide students with a *conceptual and contextual framework* for understanding international public affairs in an age of globalization. It does not seek to impart specific technical skills, but rather to stimulate critical thinking and to introduce students to key issues and sources in international governance research.

The course is divided in two main parts. The first looks comparatively at recent international transformations in governance at the *national* level, focusing primarily though not exclusively on the developed democracies. In this section, we will examine topics such as the widespread movement away from Weberian bureaucracy and command-and-control regulation, the emergence of new forms of governance and public management, the sources and sustainability of institutional diversity, and the possibilities and limitations of policy transfer and cross-national learning. The second part of the course looks at recent transformations of governance at the *international* level, focusing on the challenge of globalization. In this section, we will examine the processes, practices, and prospects of global governance, analyzing the role of various types of public and private actors (such as states, international organizations, regional blocs, NGOs, multinational corporations, business associations, transgovernmental networks) across different international issue areas (such as finance, trade, development, environmental protection, and human rights), and assessing the effectiveness, accountability, and legitimacy of the ensuing governance arrangements.

Requirements and Grading

The course will be taught through a combination of lectures and discussion. You are expected to come to class having done the assigned reading and be ready to discuss it. In addition, you are expected to complete the following assignments:

1) Submit **10 brief response memos** (no more than 1 single-spaced page) on the week's readings. These memos are intended to prepare the ground for good class discussions by requiring participants to set out their initial reactions to the readings in written form. Memos should *not* summarize the readings, but should comment on specific arguments, compare the positions of different authors, raise questions of evidence or method, draw attention to particular strengths and weaknesses in the texts, and/or explore their policy implications. (Given the short length of these response memos, it will not be necessary – or possible – for students to discuss

each reading.) Each memo should also identify at least one question that you would like the class to discuss. (This should not be a purely factual question, though I will be glad to respond to such questions in class.) If your question is selected for class discussion, I will ask you to briefly introduce it. We will arrange to share these memos through email, using the class list, pubaffr850-1-f09@lists.wisc.edu. *In order for everyone to have time to read over each other's comments, these will be due on email by 6 pm on the day before the class meets (i.e. Monday).*

The response memos will not be formally marked, but together with class participation will account for 20% of your final grade.

2) Write a **critical review** (2000-2500 words or 8-10 double-spaced pages) of *one* of the following OECD reports, available online through SourceOECD, a licensed resource of the UW's Electronic Library (located in the E-Resource Gateway); copies will also be posted on Learn@UW.

Regulatory Policies in OECD Countries: From Intervention to Regulatory Governance (2002).

Modernising Government: The Way Forward (2005).

In addition to summarizing the report's main arguments and policy recommendations, your review should draw on the assigned readings from Part I of the course to develop a critical assessment. In your review, you should be sure to discuss the following questions: How far is the report's analysis of cross-national developments in governance and regulation corroborated by the findings of other comparative studies we have read in this course? To what extent are its policy recommendations supported by the comparative evidence (both internal and external to the report)? How convincingly do the OECD's current policy recommendations respond to the criticisms raised about earlier phases of reforms in regulation and public management?

Your review will be due in class or by email on Tuesday, October 27, and will account for 30% of your final grade.

3) Write a **policy report** (5,000 words or 20 typed, double-spaced pages) assessing a specific experiment in global governance, defined as an organized arrangement aimed at regulating or resolving a public problem of transnational scope. The topic of the report should be carefully selected to be manageable (e.g. the Basel II banking capital adequacy accord, not international financial regulation; the UN Global Compact, not the UN itself; the Forest Stewardship Council or the Fair Labor Association, not environmental or labor codes of conduct, etc.). Where available, your report should draw on independent accounts by academics and other external commentators as well as on official documents produced by the organization itself. Web sources in particular should be carefully identified and critically evaluated. Your report should carefully describe the origins, goals, organizational structure, and evolution of the experiment in question, paying special attention to the types of actors involved and the regulatory methods deployed. It should conclude by assessing the experiment as a contribution to global governance (using the criteria of effectiveness, accountability, and legitimacy), and recommending possible reforms or improvements.

The policy report may also be produced by a team of students working together, in which case the topic should be broader in scope and the report proportionately longer. Grading for team projects will be based both on the quality of the joint product and on the assessment that your colleagues and I make of your contribution to it.

All topics and team arrangements must be agreed with me in advance, based on a short written proposal, due in class on November 24. Your reports are due by 9am on Friday, December 18 (either by email or in my Sociology Department mailbox, 8128 Social Science), and will account for 50% of your final grade.

I regret that it is necessary to warn you that plagiarism will result in you receiving an F on the assignment and you will probably fail the course. If you have any doubt about what constitutes plagiarism consult Mary Treleven and she will refer you to relevant materials and Writing Lab classes.

Reading

The following books will be available for student purchase at the University Book Store:

B. Guy Peters, *The Future of Governing*, 2nd rev. ed. (University of Kansas Press, 2001).

Margaret P. Karns and Karen A. Migst, *International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004).

A course reader will be available for purchase at the Social Science Copy Center.

All books listed in this syllabus are also available on reserve in the Helen C. White College Library. Most journal articles can be accessed and downloaded through the UW Electronic Library. Go either to MadCat or to the Electronic Journals List (<http://www.library.wisc.edu/journals/>), look up the title, and follow the links.

I also expect you to follow current international developments by regularly reading the *Financial Times* and other relevant periodicals such as the *Economist* and *Foreign Policy*, all of which offer student subscription rates. An excellent website which features lively debate on international governance issues is www.opendemocracy.net. An abundant font of statistical information and analysis on the developed economies can be accessed through SourceOECD, available through the UW-Madison Electronic Library's E-Resource Gateway. Other international statistics, which may be useful for your reports, are available through www.nationmaster.com.

The readings for each week are arranged in a logical order, beginning with the most general and/or introductory, and should be read in that order for maximum comprehension. Items listed under Further Reading are not required, but are intended for students needing additional background or wanting to pursue a particular topic in greater depth.

Topics and Readings

1. Introductory Meeting (September 8)

A. International Transformations of Governance

2. Weberian States in Question (September 15)

Kjær, Anne Mette, 2004: "Governance in Public Administration and Public Policy: Steering Inter-Organizational Networks", in Kjær, *Governance*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 19-58.

*Peters, B. Guy, 2001: *The Future of Governing*, 2nd rev. ed., Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, ch. 1, pp. 1-22.

Suleiman, Ezra, 2003: *Dismantling Democratic States*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, chs. 1-4, pp. 13-88.

3. New Public Management and Its Pitfalls (September 22)

Pollitt, Christopher, 2002: "The New Public Management in International Perspective: An Analysis of Impacts and Effects", in Kate McLaughlin, Stephen P. Osborne, and Ewan Ferlie (eds.), *New Public Management: Current Trends and Future Prospects*, London: Routledge, 274-92.

*Peters, *Future of Governing*, chs. 2-9, pp. 23-201.

Further Reading

Suleiman, *Dismantling Democratic States*, chs, 5-7, pp. 89-187.

Pollitt, Christopher, and Geert Bouckaert, 2004. *Public Management Reforms: A Comparative Analysis*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press.

4. Regulation and Its Discontents (September 29)

Thatcher, Mark, and Alex Stone Sweet, 2002: "Theory and Practice of Delegation to Non-Majoritarian Institutions", *West European Politics* 25(1): 1-22.

Levi-Faur, David, 2005: "The Global Diffusion of Regulatory Capitalism", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 598: 12-32.

Thatcher, Mark, 2005: "The Third Force? Independent Regulatory Agencies and Elected Politicians in Europe", *Governance* 18(3): 347-73.

Stewart, Richard B., 2003: "Administrative Law in the 21st Century", *New York University Law Review* 78: 437-60.

Baldwin, Robert, 2005: "Is Better Regulation Smarter Regulation?", *Public Law*: 477-511.

5. Yom Kippur – no class meeting, begin work on mid-term assignment (October 6)

6. New Modes of Governance and Regulation: Beyond Principal-Agent and Command-and-Control Models? (October 13)

Sabel, Charles F., 2001: “A Quiet Revolution of Democratic Governance: Towards Democratic Experimentalism”, in OECD, *Governance in the 21st Century* (Paris: OECD), 121-48.

Sabel, Charles F., 2004: “Beyond Principal-Agent Governance: Experimentalist Organizations, Learning and Accountability”, in Ewald Engelen and Monika Sie Dhian Ho (eds.), *De Staat van de Democratie. Democratie voorbij de Staat* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press), 173-95,
<http://www2.law.columbia.edu/sabel/papers/Sabel.definitief.doc>.

Sabel, Charles F., and Jonathan Zeitlin, 2010: “Learning from Difference: The New Architecture of Experimentalist Governance in the European Union”, in Sabel and Zeitlin (eds.), *Experimentalist Governance in the European Union: Towards a New Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

Further Reading

Sabel, Charles F., and William H. Simon, 2004: “Destabilization Rights: How Public Law Litigation Succeeds”, *Harvard Law Review* 117(4): 1015-1101.

Sabel, Charles F., and Jonathan Zeitlin, 2008: “Learning from Difference: The New Architecture of Experimentalist Governance in the EU”, *European Law Journal* 14(3): 271-327.

7. Policy Transfer and Cross-National Learning (October 20)

Dolowitz, David, 2000: “Learning from Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy Making”, *Governance* 13: 5-24.

Jacoby, Wade, 2001: “Tutors and Pupils: International Organizations, Central European Elites, and Western Models”, *Governance* 14(2): 169-200.

Hemerijck, Anton, and Jelle Visser, 2001: “Learning and Mimicking: How European Welfare States Reform”, unpublished paper, University of Leiden/University of Amsterdam.

Zeitlin, Jonathan, 2003: “Introduction: Governing Work and Welfare in a New Economy: European and American Experiments”, in: Jonathan Zeitlin and David Trubek (eds.), *Governing Work and Welfare in a New Economy: European and American Experiments*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-30.

Radaelli, Claudio, 2004: “The Diffusion of Regulatory Impact Analysis – Best Practice or Lesson Drawing?”, *European Journal of Political Research* 43: 723-47.

B. Transformations of International Governance

8. Globalization and the Challenge of Governance (October 27)

Zürn, Michael, 2002: "From Interdependence to Globalization", in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations*, London: Sage, 235-54.

Hirst, Paul, Grahame Thompson, and Simon Bromley, 2009: *Globalization in Question*, 3rd edition, Cambridge: Polity, chs. 1-2, 8, pp. 1-67, 219-46.

Zürn, Michael, and Stefan Leibfried, 2005: "Reconfiguring the National Constellation", in Stephan Leibfried and Michael Zürn (eds.), *Transformations of the State?*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-36.

Rosenau, James, 2002: "Governance in a New Global Order", in David Held and Anthony McGrew (eds.), *Governing Globalization*, Cambridge: Polity, pp. 70-86.

9. The Pieces of Global Governance (November 3)

*Karns, Margaret P., and Karen A. Migst, 2004: *International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers), chs. 1, 2, 7; pp. 3-34, 63-96, 249-74.

10. International Organizations: Promises and Pathologies (November 10)

*Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations*, 97-144, 355-80, 402-6.

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

Stiglitz, Joseph, 2003: "Democratizing the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank: Governance and Accountability", *Governance* 16(1): 111-40.

Rodrik, Dani, 2006: "Goodbye Washington Consensus, Hello Washington Confusion?", *Journal of Economic Literature* 44: 969-83.

Miller, Clark A., 2007: "Knowledge, Reason, and the Constitution of Democratic Order in Global Governance", *Governance* 20(2): 325-57.

11. Regional Integration (November 17)

*Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations*, 145-210, 392-402.

Sbragia, Alberta, 2008: "Comparative Regionalism: What Might It Be?", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 46, annual review issue, 29-49.

Higott, Richard, 2006: “The Theory and Practice of Region: The Changing Global Context”, in Bertrand Fort and Douglas Webber (eds.), *Regional Integration in East Asia and Europe: Convergence or Divergence?*, London: Routledge, 17-38.

Wallace, Helen, 2005: “An Institutional Overview and Five Policy Modes”, in Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark Pollack (eds.), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 5th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 49-90.

Review Sabel and Zeitlin, “Learning from Difference”.

Bach, David, and Abraham L. Newman, 2007: “The European Regulatory State and Global Public Policy: Micro-Institutions, Macro-Influence”, *Journal of European Public Policy* 14(6): 827-46.

12. The World Trading and Environmental Regimes (November 24)

*Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations*, 380-86, 406-11, 459-95.

Shaffer, Gregory, 2005: “Power, Governance, and the WTO: A Comparative Institutional Approach”, in Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall (eds.), *Power in Global Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 130-60.

Howse, Robert, and Kalypso Nicolaïdis, 2003: “Enhancing WTO Legitimacy: Constitutionalization or Global Subsidiarity?”, *Governance* 16(1): 73-93.

Scott, Joanne, 2004: “International Trade and Environmental Governance: Relating Rules (and Standards) in the EU and the WTO”, *European Journal of International Law* 15(2): 307-54.

Skjaereth, Jon Birger, Olav Schram Stokke, and Jorgen Wessestaad, 2006: “Soft Law, Hard Law, and Effective Implementation of International Environmental Norms” *Global Environmental Politics* 6(3): 104-120.

13. Transnational Networks: Public, Private, Hybrid – I (December 1)

Slaughter, Anne-Marie, 2000: “Governing the Global Economy through Government Networks”, in Michael Byers (ed.), *The Role of Law in International Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 177-206.

Rongit, Karsten, and Volker Schneider, 1999: “Global Governance through Private Organizations”, *Governance* 12(3): 243-66.

Haufler, Virginia, 2003: “Globalization and Industry Self-Regulation,” in Miles Kahler and David Lake (eds.), *Governance in a Global Economy: Political Authority in Transition*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press), pp. 226-52.

Kerwer, Dieter, 2005: "Rules that Many Use: Standards and Global Regulation", *Governance* 18(4): 611-32.

Hülse, Rainer, and Dieter Kerwer, 2007: "Global Standards in Action: Insights from Anti-Money Laundering Regulation", *Organization* 14(5): 625-42.

14. Transnational Networks: Public, Private, Hybrid – II (December 8)

*Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations*, ch. 6, 10, pp. 211-48, 413-58.

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink, 1999: "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics", *International Social Science Journal* 51(1): 89-101.

Vogel, David, 2008: "The Private Regulation of Global Corporate Conduct", in Walter Mattli and Ngaire Woods (eds), *The Politics of Global Regulation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 151-88.

Abbott, Kenneth W., and Duncan Snidal, 2008: "The Governance Triangle: Regulatory Standards Institutions and the Shadow of the State", in Mattli and Woods, *The Politics of Global Regulation*, 44-88.

Overdevest, Christine, 2004: "Codes of Conduct and Standard Setting in the Forest Sector: Constructing Markets for Democracy?", *Relations Industrielles/Industrial Relations* 59(1): 172-95.

15. Putting the Pieces Together: Effectiveness, Accountability, Legitimacy? (December 15)

*Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations*, ch. 12, pp. 499-520.

Buchanan, Allen, and Robert O. Keohane, 2006: "The Legitimacy of Global Governance Institutions", *Ethics and International Affairs*, 405-37.

Steffek, Jens, 2007: "Breaking the Nation State Shell: Prospects for Democratic Legitimacy in the International Domain", in Achim Hurrelman et al. (eds), *Transforming the Golden-Age State* (Houndmills: PalgraveMacmillan), 109-29.

Cohen, Joshua, and Charles Sabel, 2005: "Global Democracy?", *NYU Journal of International Law & Politics* 37: 763-97.

Further Reading

Held, David, and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi (eds.), 2005: *Global Governance and Public Accountability* (Oxford: Blackwell).