

**Political Science 477**  
**Advanced Topics in International Political Economy:**  
**Political Economy of World Order**  
FALL 2022

**Instructor:** Dr. Mark Nieman

**Time and Location:** Wednesday 10am–12pm, 1078 Sidney Smith Hall

**Contact:** mark.nieman@utoronto.ca

**Student Hours:** Schedule through <https://nieman.youcanbook.me>,  
Location: Zoom Link

## 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. To find articles, search the article title and verify it is correct with the author's name.

## Grading

Grades are based on class engagement, weekly quizzes, and a multi-stage research project. All required readings should be completed prior to class. Late assignments without an approved excuse are deducted 5 percentage points of their value per day. The course follows the standard university grading scale, with final marks rounded to the nearest whole number.

<u>Marking Scheme</u>	
Assessment	Percentage
Course Engagement	15
Weekly Quizzes	15
<u>Research project:</u>	
Research question	5
Theory & Research Design	15
Research paper	50
Total	100

**Course Engagement:** Students are expected to make thoughtful contributions to 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.

**Weekly Quizzes:** Students complete ten open-book, open-note quizzes, through Quercus. Quizzes are due *before* class on Wednesday at 11:59am. Quizzes are composed of five multiple choice questions based on the readings for that week, and are issued for weeks 2–11.

**Research Project:** Students are expected to take what they have learned in class and apply it in the form of an empirical 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 multiple stages. The first two stages are due by the start of class, the final stage is due by midnight.

### 1. Research Question (Due September 28)

Submit a one-page description of your research question, and explain how it fits with the general themes of the course. The research question must meet the following criteria: (1) is analytical (i.e. not normative), (2) asks something general, (3) relates to a causal process

(i.e. a *why/how* question, not a *yes/no* question), and (4) is able to be evaluated empirically (i.e. using cases and/or available data, not prospective). Typically, the first paragraph outlines the specific research question, while the second paragraph describes how it relates to broader topics within international relations (i.e. why the research question matters).

## 2. Theory and Research Design (Due October 26)

Develop a theory that explains why we observe difference outcomes related to your research question. Start by describing the state of the literature related to your research question, describing at least two alternative explanations (using at least 5 sources). Building on this literature review, develop your own theory to explain your outcome of interest. Be sure to mention how your theory differs from the existing literature. 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?).

Next, describe how you intend to evaluate your theory and test your hypotheses by describing your research design. 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 (are the data aggregated at the country-year level, dyad-year, etc?), and detail how you conceptualize and measure your dependent and independent variables, including your key data sources.

## 3. Research Paper (Due December 7)

Carry out an empirical analysis to test your theoretical implications and combine with revised versions of the previous stages to draft a complete 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, [b] briefly discuss the current state of the discipline (i.e. literature review), [c] propose how you are advancing our knowledge on the topic (i.e. your theory and hypothesis), [d] describe your research design, [e] present and discuss your evidence and whether it supports your hypotheses, and [f] conclude by re-evaluating the literature in light of your evidence and discussing any policy implications. Be sure to have incorporated all feedback from the previous stages and proofread your manuscript before submitting the final version.

## Schedule

### September 14: 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:

Laubepin, Frederique. “How to Read (and Understand) a Social Science Journal Article.”

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 21: 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 28: Effects of Hegemony

#### **Project: Research Question due.**

#### Required:

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

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

Búzás, Zoltán I. 2021. Racism and Antiracism in the Liberal International Order. *International Organization*. 75(2): 440–463

Additional:

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

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

**October 5: Authority and Contractual Hierarchy**Required:

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

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

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

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 12: Microfoundations of Hierarchy**Required:

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:

Martinez Machain, Carla. 2021. Exporting Influence: US Military Training as Soft Power. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 65(2-3): 313–341.

Levin, Don. 2016. When the Great Power Gets a Vote: The Effects of Great Power Electoral Interventions on Election Results. *International Studies Quarterly* 60(2): 189–202.

## October 19: Conducting Empirical Research

### Required:

Seawright, Jason and John Gerring. 2008. Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research *Political Research Quarterly* 61(2): 294–308.

Ricks, Jacob I. and Amy H. Liu. 2018. Process-Tracing Research Designs: A Practical Guide. *PS: Political Science Politics* 51(4): 842–846.

Carson, Austin and Keren Yarhi-Milo. 2017. Covert Communication: The Intelligibility and Credibility of Signaling in Secret. *Security Studies* 26(1): 124–156.

### Additional:

Gerring, John. 2004. What is a Case Study and What Is It Good For? *American Political Science Review* 98(2): 341–354.

Thies, Cameron G. 2002. A Pragmatic Guide to Qualitative Historical Analysis in the Study of International Relations. *International Studies Perspectives* 3(4): 351–372.

McMann, Kelly, Daniel Pemstein, Brigitte Seim, Jan Teorell, and Staffan Lindberg. 2022. Assessing Data Quality: An Approach and An Application. *Political Analysis* 30(3): 426–449.

## October 26: Hegemon–Protégé Relations

### **Project: Theory and Research Design due.**

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.

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.

### Additional:

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

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.

## November 2: 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.

Nieman, Mark David, Carla Martinez Machain, Olga Chyzh, and Sam Bell. 2021. An International Game of Risk: Troop Placement and Major Power Competition. *Journal of Politics*. 83(4): 1307–1321.

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.

Additional:

Braumoeller, Bear F. 2008. Systemic Politics and the Origins of Great Power Conflict. *American Political Science Review* 102(1): 77–93.

Lascurettes, Kyle M. 2020. *Orders of Exclusion: Great Powers and the Strategic Sources of Foundational Rules in International Relations*. Oxford University Press. Ch 1–3.

## **November 9: No Class–Reading Week**

### **November 16: International Status**

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 23: International Institutions**

Required:

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

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

Nelson, Stephen C. 2014. Playing Favorites: How Shared Beliefs Shape the IMF’s Lending Decisions. *International Organization* 68(2): 297–328.

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.

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 30: 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.

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

**December 7: 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. *Polities: 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.



## 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 treated as well as *not* treating others how you would *not* like to be treated. Please see university policies on freedom of speech and discrimination and 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.

*Academic Misconduct:* All acts of dishonesty in any work constitute academic misconduct. The Student Disciplinary Regulations 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 own; quoting without acknowledging the true source of the material; copying and handing in another person's work with your name on it; and similar infractions. Even indirect quotations, paraphrasing, etc., can be 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.