

GLOBALIZATION AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

SO 1620

Tu-Th 1:00-2:20

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Department of Sociology
Maxcy 410

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Course Description

This course examines globalization as a multidimensional and open-ended process. A wide range of interpretations of globalization's impact and theories of its transformative dynamics are explored. The course takes for granted only four general propositions. First, to understand globalization it is necessary to understand the history and dynamics of capitalism as both an economic *and* social system. Second, though globalization is being driven primarily by economic forces, it is deeply and inextricably enmeshed with and mediated by social and political forces. Third, the intensity and effects of globalization are neither uniform nor linear. The impact of globalization varies dramatically across different nations, social classes and sectors, and produces a range of conflicts, reactions and recombinations. Fourth, by promoting interdependence globalization has created new opportunities and new challenges. Making the most of these opportunities (growth that is inclusive, democracies that are effective and rights that are universal) and facing the various challenges (climate change, terrorism, global diseases and new forms of inequality) requires new forms of coordination and cooperation between states, and between states, capital and civil society. This in turn calls for a new regime of global politics.

The course is accordingly divided into five broad sections. The first explores what drives globalization and in particular the transformation of contemporary capitalism. The second explores the historical and changing relationship of industrialized capitalist countries to the developing world. The third examines the social and political effects of globalization, including its impact on social structures and compacts, national sovereignty and democracy. The fourth examines countervailing forces to economic globalization, in particular reassertions of "traditional" identities, new social movements and the global democracy movement. The fifth and sixth explore the emergent and potential forms of global democracy, including new forms of extra-national authority and the power of global civil society.

The course is designed not only to engage the debate on globalization, but also to develop a wide range of social sciences concepts and analytical tools. Though the course is informed by a sociological perspective, but readings and arguments also draw extensively from political science, anthropology and economics. Whenever possible, key themes are developed through comparisons and case studies. The six broad themes of the course are summarized below:

The Capitalist World Economy: Origins and Structures

The study of society and its relationship to the market gave birth to modern sociology. Among the most prominent theorists of the rise of capitalism were Marx, Weber and Polanyi. The transition debate remains of enduring theoretical value, and provides many important lessons and conceptual tools for understanding the current stage of globalization. Examining the origins of capitalism in Western Europe offers historically and comparatively informed insights into the social, political and cultural dimensions of globalization.

Transformation in the Developing World

The outward expansion of European capitalism transformed the world and transformed social structures in the colonies, which in turn gave birth in the post-World War II era to post-colonial projects of state-led development. This period was also marked by the rapid diffusion of institutional forms. For all its transformative powers, however, capitalism has had a very uneven impact on the world. Predictions of convergence notwithstanding, the gap between the developing and developed world persists, and by some accounts has even worsened. States in the developing world have had dramatically varying degrees of success in promoting national economic development and greater social equity.

Contemporary Globalization

Capitalism has long been a driver of global interdependence. Yet, the current phase of globalization represents a qualitatively different stage in the transformation of the world economy. This stage is specifically characterized by the globalization of production, the rise of the service and information sectors, and the increasing power of global financial institutions. The technological characteristics of global production are well known. But how is global production organized and how is it governed? Specifically, we will explore the social and political forces that have propelled the shift from so-called Fordist production (underwritten by Keynesian economic policies and national social contracts) to flexible-specialization forms of production. We will also examine the role of multilateral institutions in shaping the rise of the new global order and, in particular, neo-liberal economic prescriptions, and the extent to which this has weakened the role of the traditional, sovereign, nation-state. New forms of global governance have emerged but are clearly inadequate for managing new global challenges such as climate change and terrorism.

The Social Impact of the New Global Economy

The effects of economic globalization have been anything but even and uniform. Many sectors and nations have benefited, while others find themselves increasingly marginalized and even excluded. New forms of inclusion have been accompanied by new forms of inequality and social exclusion. The increasing mobility of capital and increased head-to-head competition has weakened the relative bargaining strength of labor, and the fiscal and institutional capacity of the state to counteract the more socially disruptive effects of market-led transformation. In the developing world, the absence of safety nets, the thinness of democracy, and the persistence of social vulnerabilities have exacerbated some of the more dislocating and polarizing effects of globalization, often fueling “movements of anger”. The shift of power from representative national institutions to multilateral institutions and global economic networks threatens traditional forms of democratic accountability. Unregulated growth and insatiable first world consumption has resulted in unsustainable pressures on the global environment. And even as many cities in the developing world have found a new dynamic niche in the global economy, the political and social problems of urban governance have increased.

Challenges to Economic Globalization

The transformation of economic structures and geo-political configurations has created new opportunities as well as new tensions. We will explore a set of highly debated causal connections emphasizing variations across the developing world. Are the politicization of “traditional” identities and the resurgence of nationalism a response to Western culture and the increasing dominance of liberal capitalism? How has rapid and often unregulated economic transformation exacerbated ethnic and social tensions? Many reactions to globalization have been defensive in nature, and are often at odds with democratic principles. On the other hand, popular democratic forces, including social movements and new transnational networks of civil society organizations, have increasingly contested neo-liberal globalization. These democratically inspired movements have challenged neo-liberal policy prescriptions and their modes of implementation, and critiqued such policies as anti-democratic and harmful to the poor. Thus, while globalization has opened up new spaces for democratic politics, it has also unleashed forces that fuel conflict and may even threaten democracy. The empowerment of subordinate groups and the increasing vibrancy of civil society that has accompanied democratic transitions has also, in many instances, triggered demands for more substantive outcomes, including greater equity. In analytical terms, two different—though not necessarily exclusive—alternative projects can be identified: (1) The social-democratic response builds on the traditional politics of labor and focuses on the role of an affirmative democratic state in actively alleviating poverty, developing the national economy and managing a more equitable distribution of the gains of global integration; and (2) new social

movements, located in the resurgence of civil society, have built on new forms of association such as NGOs to cultivate universal identities (the women's, human rights and environmental movements) and to promote sustainable development and grass roots democracy.

Global Governance

The decline of the traditional source of international power and legitimacy – the sovereign nation-state – has witnessed the emergence of new structures of global governance. These structures take many forms including formal institutions backed by international law and a range of transnational practices that are more informal but nonetheless play an important role in governing global transactions. What are these structures and how do they work? Are they capable of providing the institutional foundations for global governance? Do they simply reflect the influence and power of the dominant global economic players, or do they also reflect global norms of democracy and social justice? To what extent do they support and extend the practices of global civil society? Can human rights be universally enforced?

Requirements:

Lectures and Reading: The debate on globalization is complex. It is a highly charged mix of politics, ideologies, competing theories and cultural and social values. This course is designed entirely around the principle that students come to lecture and section fully prepared. The readings cover a lot of empirical and theoretical ground from a range of academic disciplines. The details of the various cases we explore are critical to understanding and evaluating competing arguments in the debate. There is not enough time in class to review reading materials. The structure and content of lectures presumes that you have done the readings assigned for that day carefully. You must come to all lectures prepared. Regardless of class size, there will be time for discussion and you are strongly encouraged to participate. All and any questions are welcome, but especially questions that seek clarification or elaboration of lecture materials and readings.

Sections. Sections are specifically designed to allow for in-depth discussion of lecture and reading materials, as well as to explore topics of special interest. The teaching assistants will facilitate discussion, but you must come prepared to ask questions and engage with course materials. Section attendance is required and section participation and completing thought papers (see below) will count for 10% of your final grade.

Written assignments

Exams: There are four exams: three 4-5 page (double-spaced) take-home essays and one final 7-8 page take home essay. Essay questions will be handed out 5 days before papers are due. All the questions will be based exclusively on course materials. The first three essays will count for 20% of the final grade each. The final will count for 30%. The first three essays are due Feb 12, March 19 and April 23. The final is due May ???. These are exams and deadlines will be enforced. Late papers will only be accepted under *extraordinary* circumstances.

Thought papers. Seven 1 page (double spaced) papers. These are required, but not graded. They are due in section every week beginning week 3, except for those weeks when mid-term assignments are being written (Weeks 8, 12 and 14). You have one pass (a week when you don't have to submit a thought paper) to be used at your own discretion. Thought papers must be based on that week's readings and are intended to help you prepare for section and reflect more deeply on the readings. These should not be summaries, but rather commentaries on the readings that develop and/or critique arguments, draw comparisons between different authors or point to larger implications. The thought papers will not be graded, but you will receive feedback on them, especially during the first weeks of the course. The thought papers are required, and failure to submit all 7 will be reflected in your participation grade. All thought papers must be turned in to your TA at the beginning of each section, in hard copy and in person.

Prerequisites:

There are no official prerequisites for this class. The course is designed to provide an in-depth, theoretically informed and cross-disciplinary perspective on globalization, including the subfields of political economy,

institutional analysis, social movements, civil society and social theory. There is no textbook for this course and there are no overview or introductory readings. All assigned readings are original, academic contributions to the debate on globalization selected either for their theoretical or empirical contributions. The course is open to all students who are interested in this topic and are willing to meet the requirements. A background in the social sciences is helpful, especially courses on political economy, development, comparative politics or introductory economics.

Readings: 1) books 2) articles in course packet 3) web-based articles

1) The 4 required books are available from the Brown Bookstore.

Castells, Manuel. 2004. *The Power of Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2004 (second edition).

Rodrik, Dani. 1997. *Has Globalization Gone too Far?* Washington: Institute for International Economics.

Kaldor, Mary. *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War*. Polity Press. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Held, David. *Global Covenant*. Polity Press. Malden, MA: Polity Press

2) With a few exceptions, all assigned articles are contained in a course packet and are marked "*" below. The course packet comes in 2 volumes and can be obtained from Allegra at the corner of Waterman and Thayer. It is not possible to take this course without the course packet.

3) All other readings (marked "#"), including the first set of readings for September 9, are available on-line at WebCT (<https://mycourses.brown.edu/webct>) or at the indicated websites.

Course Schedule and Readings

THE CAPITALIST WORLD ECONOMY: ORIGINS AND STRUCTURES

WEEK 1

Sept 4: Introduction

WEEK 2

Sept 9: Three Theses on the Effects of Globalization

The Convergence thesis: the Earth is flat, global integration. The Polarization thesis: cultural vs. materialist theories. The Conflict thesis: the contradictions of capitalism.

(Readings available only on WebCT)

#Friedman, Thomas and Ignacio Ramonet. "Dueling Globalizations: a Debate between Thomas Friedman and Ignacio Ramonet," *Foreign Policy* Fall 1999.

(also available at

<http://www.sunysb.edu/sociology/faculty/Levy/Friedman%20and%20Ramonet.pdf> or from Jstor (4 separate articles in *Foreign Policy* Fall 1999 pp. 110-127)

#**Anne Krueger** "Supporting Globalization" Remarks at the 2002 Eisenhower National Security Conference on National Security for the 21st Century," Sept. 26, 2002.
(also available at <http://www.imf.org/external/np/speeches/2002/092602a.htm>)

#**Held et al.** "The Globalization Debate" pp. 1-28 in David Held, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt and Jonathan Perraton, (eds.) *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1999.

#**Held, David.** Preface and pp. 1-12 of Introduction in *Global Covenant*

Sept 11: The Genesis and Expansion of Capitalism

Marx as the first theorist of globalization. Defining capitalism. Production vs. exchange. What are the social conditions that makes capitalism possible? What drove the transformation to capitalism? The logic of capital and the world expansion of capitalism. What makes capitalism so dynamic and so disruptive? Capitalism and colonialism. Why classes mattered then. Do they still matter now? Is education to the new class divide.

***Marx, Karl.** Selections from *The Communist Manifesto* and *Capital: Volume I*.

***Smith, Adam.** Selections from "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," pp. 58-63 in Sharad Chari and Stuart Corbridge (ed.) *The Development Reader*. London: Routledge, 2008.

***Marx, Karl.** "The British Rule in India," pp. 64-69 in Sharad Chari and Stuart Corbridge (ed.) *The Development Reader*. London: Routledge, 2008.

***Bernstein, Henry et al.** 1992. "Capitalism and the Expansion of Europe," pp. 168-184 in Tim Allen (ed.) *Poverty and Development in the 1990s*. Oxford: the Open University.

***Cassidy, John.** "The Return of Karl Marx," *The New Yorker*.

***Brooks, David.** "Karl's New Manifesto," *The New York Times*, May 29, 2005.

WEEK 3

Sept 16: The Institutional Foundations of Capitalism

Why did Europe industrialize first? What is rationalization and why does it matter? Why the market and capitalism are not the same thing. In praise of bureaucracy. It's the institutions, stupid. The iron cage and why Weber was so depressed. Globalization as cultural and institutional diffusion.

***Weber, Max.** Selections from *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism; General Economic History and Bureaucracy*

***Collins, Randall.** "Weber's Last Theory of Capitalism: A Systematization." *American Sociological Review* 45:925-942, 1980.

Sept 18: The Myth of the Self-Regulating Market

The commodification of labor and land. Disembedded markets, laissez-faire ideology and the end of society. Countervailing forces and the rise of civil society. How the welfare state and class compromise resolved the contradictions of capitalism.

*Polanyi, Karl. Selections from *The Great Transformation: the Political and Economic Origins of Our Times*. New York: Beacon Press, 2001. pp. 35-49, 71-80, 136-157, 158-170

WEEK 4

Sept 23: Dependency Theory and Theories of the State

Theories of underdevelopment and dependency. External vs. internal explanations of underdevelopment. Structure and agency. The developmental state. Rethinking dependency theory. Why the state matters in economic development.

*Valenzuela, Samuel and Valenzuela Arturo. "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment," pp. 263-276 in Mitchell A. Seligson and John T. Passe-Smith (eds.) *Development and Underdevelopment*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998.

*Cardoso, Fernando Henrique and Enzo Faletto. "Preface to the English Edition," *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkeley: UC Press, 1979.

*Evans, Peter. "The State as Problem and Solution: Predation, Embedded Autonomy, and Structural Change," in Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman (eds.). *The Politics of Economic Adjustment: International Constraints, Distributive Conflicts, and the State*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992.

Sept 25: The Transformation of Contemporary Capitalism

The globalization of production. From the world market to the world factory. The end of Keynesianism. What is flexible specialization? How does culture matter for the new capitalism? The production off needs and the new information economy. Producer vs. retailer commodity chains. How is a commodity chain governed? Who and what is being outsourced. Why is everyone so afraid of Walmart? Why it matters for labor.

*Harvey, David. "Fordism," and "From Fordism to Flexible Accumulation," pp. 121-172 in *The Condition of Post-Modernity* Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990.

*Gereffi, Gary. "Capitalism, Development and Global Commodity Chains," pp. 211-231 in *Capitalism and Development*, Leslie Sklair (ed.) London: Routledge, 1994.

* Interview with Gary Gereffi. "Is Walmart Good For America?"

THE NEW GLOBAL (Dis)ORDER

WEEK 5

Sept 30: Neo-Liberal Globalization

Unleashing capital. The political construction of neo-liberalism.

*Harvey, David. "Neo-Liberalism and the Restoration of Class Power," pp. 1-50 in *Spaces of Global Capitalism*. London:Verso, 2006.

*Fourcade-Gourinchas, M., and S. L. Babb . 2002. "The Rebirth of the Liberal Creed: Paths to Neoliberalism in Four Countries." *American Journal of Sociology* 108 (3):533-579.

Oct 2: Governing the New Global Economy

Who governs the global economy? The new institutions of global governance. Neo-liberalism and structural adjustment. Global governance without global government. Intellectual property rights. Is there a new dependency?

*Stiglitz, Joseph. 2002. "The Promise of Global Institutions," pp. 3-22 and "Freedom to Choose," pp. 53-88 in Stiglitz, Joseph E. *Globalization and its discontents*. New York: W.W. Norton.

*Wade, Robert. 2003. "What Strategies are Viable for Developing Countries Today? The World Trade Organization and the Shrinking of the 'Development Space,'" *Review of International Political Economy* 10:621-644.

*Susan, Sell. 1999. "Multinational Corporations as Agents of Change: The Globalization of Intellectual Property Rights," pp. 169-197 in A. Claire Cutler, Virginia Haufler, and Tony Porter (eds.) *Private Authority and International Affairs*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Further Readings:

Oxfam. 2002. *Rigged Rules and Double Standards*. (for more go to <http://www.maketradeair.com>)

For a critique of the critique of neo-liberalism see T.N Srinivasan. "The Costs of a Hesitant and Reluctant Globalization: India" <http://www.econ.yale.edu/~srinivas/> ; John Williamson "A Short History of the Washington Consensus," 2004 at <http://www.iie.com/publications/papers/williamson0904-2.pdf>

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IMPACT OF THE NEW GLOBAL ECONOMY

WEEK 6

Oct 7: The end of the Social Contract?

Labor in the new global economy: convergence or divergence? Why do exporting economies have larger welfare states? How has the restructuring of global production affected labor's bargaining capacity? Why are unskilled workers losing out? Norms vs. markets. Can states protect society from market disruptions? Outsourcing and the global labor market.

Rodrik, Dani. *Has Globalization Gone too Far?*, pp. 1-48.

*Gereffi, Gary. 2005. "Lecture: An Overview of the Contemporary Global Labour Market," in *The New Offshoring of Jobs and Global Development*. ILO Social Policy Lectures, Jamaica.

Oct 9: The End of Politics?

Can the social contract be preserved? Why global capitalism needs state regulation.

Rodrik, Dani. *Has Globalization Gone too Far?*, pp. 49-85.

Held, David. "Economic Globalization," pp. 21-33 in *Global Covenant*.

WEEK 7

Oct 14: Inequality and Social Exclusion

Poverty, inequality and social exclusion. How is globalization producing new patterns of inclusion and exclusion? The denationalization of class.

*Bardhan, Pranab . 2006. "Does Globalization Help Or Hurt the World's Poor?" *Scientific American* 294 (4):84-91.

Held, David. "Globalization, Stratification and Inequality," pp. 34-54 in *Global Covenant*.

*World Bank. *World Development Report 2006: Equity and Development*. "Overview and Introduction," pp. 1-23

*Sassen, Saskia. "Emergent Global Classes," pp. 164-189 in *A Sociology of Globalization*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Oct 16: Informalization

How has globalization transformed class structures? How have domestic political forces and institutions mediated the impact of globalization? What is happening to global cities?

*Portes, Alejandro and Kelly Hoffman. "Latin American Class Structures: Their Composition and Change during the Neoliberal Era," *Latin American Research Review* 38:1:41-82, 2003.

*Davis, Mike. 2004. "Planet of Slums," *New Left Review* 26:5-34.

*Sassen, Saskia. "The Global City: Recovering Place and Social Practices," pp. 97-128 in *A Sociology of Globalization*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

WEEK 8

Oct 21: Wither the State and Democracy?

Theories of Democracy. Has globalization made the nation-state obsolete? The end of national economic development? Defining democracy. The antinomies of democracy and globalization. Is globalization hollowing out democracy?

Castells, Manuel. "A Powerless State?" pp. 303-366 in *The Power of Identity*

*Evelyn Huber; Dietrich Rueschemeyer; John D. Stephens. 1997. "The Paradoxes of Contemporary Democracy: Formal, Participatory, and Social Dimensions," *Comparative Politics*, 29:3, pp. 323-342.

Oct 23: Re-embedding the Economy: Regulating the World Economy and Social Democracy

The return of Polanyi. Can the global economy be re-embedded? Can growth, democracy and equity go together? Can social democracy survive neo-liberal globalization?

Held, David. "Introduction," p. 13-17; "The Regulation of Economic Globalization: A New Policy Mix,"

pp. 55-70; "Political Globalization," pp. 73-88; "Globalization and the Challenges to Governance," pp. 89-93 in *Global Covenant*.

***Richard Sandbrook, Marc Edelman, Patrick Heller, and Judith Teichman.** 2007. "Social Democracy in the Periphery," pp. 3-34; "Challenges of Globalization," pp. 219-231 in *Social Democracy in the Periphery*. Cambridge University Press.

COUNTERMOVEMENTS

WEEK 9

Oct 28: Project vs. Reactive Identities

Threatened communities. Reactive identities. The return of nationalism. Movements of anger and the rise of fundamentalism. The Zapatistas.

Castells, Manuel. Preface: xv-xviii; Introduction and Chapter 1: "Communal Heavens: Identity and Meaning in the Network Society," pp. 1-45; 54-70; Chapter 2: "The Other Face of the Earth: Social Movements against the Global Order," pp. 71-86 in *Power of Identity*

Oct 30: Civil Society, Politics and Reactive Movements

What do Political Islam, Hindu Nationalism and Christian Fundamentalism have in common? What is modern about religious movements? How are these movements reactions to globalization?

Castells, Manuel. "The Other Face of the Earth: Social Movements against the Global Order," pp. 108-144 in *Power of Identity*

***Lubeck, Paul M., and Bryana Britts.** 2002. "Muslim Civil Society in Urban Public Spaces: Globalization, Discursive Shifts, and Social Movements." in *Understanding the City: Contemporary and Future Perspectives*, edited by John Eade and Christopher Mele: Blackwell Publishers.

***Hansen, Thomas Blom.** 1999. "Introduction," and "Hindu Nationalism, Democracy, and Globalization," in *The Saffron Wave : Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press., 1999.

WEEK 10

Nov 4: Social Movements and Globalization

How to explain the global reach of the environmental and women's movement?

Castells, Manuel. "The Greening of the Self: the Environmental Movement" pp. 168-191, "The End of Patriarchalism" pp. 192-235; 243-261; 301-302 in the *Power of Identity*

Nov 6: Global Civil Society II

What is global civil society? Where did it come from? How and where is it having an impact?

Kaldor, Mary. Pp. 1-49 in *Global Civil Society*.

WEEK 11

Nov 11: Global Civil Society II

Kaldor, Mary. Pp. 50-108 in *Global Civil Society*.

***Harvey, David.** "Neo-Liberalism and the Restoration of Class Power," pp. 50-68 in *Spaces of Global Capitalism*. London:Verso, 2006.

Nov 13: Civil Society and Communicative Action

Civil society as the basis for democracy. The national origins of democracy. Can democracy be global? What can we learn from the EU experience? How social movements promote communicative action.

***Habermas, Jürgen.** 2001. "The Postnational Constellation," pp. 58-112 in *The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

WEEK 12

Nov 18: Norms and Power

How and when can norms shape global practices and institutions? Can there be shared norms of global justice?

***Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink.** 1998. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organizations* 52 (4):887-917.

***Fraser, Nancy.** 2008. "Reframing Justice in a Globalizing World." Pp. 252-272 in *Global Inequality*, edited by D. Held, and A. Kaya. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Nov 20: Towards a Global Politics: Global Power and the New Rules of the Game

The institutional architecture of global democracy. Global power and the problem of legitimacy. Thinking outside the nation. Bureaucrats as agents of global democracy? 9/11- return to realism and sovereignty? Is international law good for the "Third World"?

Held, David. "Sovereignty and the Changing Structure of International Law," pp. 119-136; *Liberal International Sovereignty: Achievements and Limitations* pp. 137-143 in *Global Covenant*.

***Slaugther, Anne-Marie.** 1997. "The Real New World Order." *Foreign Affairs* 76 (5):183-197.

Kaldor, Mary. "Globalization, the State and War," pp. 109-141; "September 11: the Return of the 'Outside'?" pp. 142-160.

***Rajagopal, Balakrishnan.** 2006. "Counter-Hegemonic International Law: Rethinking Human Rights and Development as a Third World Strategy." *Third World Quarterly* 27 (5):767-783.

WEEK 13

Nov 25: Transnational Actors

Can transnational activist networks build a global civil society? Why are some movements more successful than others? What resources do transnational actors have? The relationship between global institutions and transnational activists. What are the limits of global civil society? Cosmopolitan Realism.

Held, David. "The Basis of New Internationalism: Cosmopolitan Principles," pp. 170-178 in *Global Covenant*.

Castells, Manuel. "No globalization without Representation," pp. 145-167 in *The Power of Identity*.

***Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink.** 1998. "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics," *International Social Science Journal*, Mar99, Vol. 51 Issue 159, pp. 89-101.

***Beck, Ulrich.** "Strategies of Civil Society Movements," pp. 236-248 in *Power in the Global Age : A New Global Political Economy*. Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA: Polity.

WEEK 14

Dec 2: Linking the Global and the Local

Why and how the local matters. The new politics of participation and new modes of engaging the state. Local-global linkages. Can consumer boycotts work?

#Seidman, Gay. "Labor Rights as Human Rights: Regulation in the Context of a "Thinned" Nation State," pp. 15-46 in *Beyond the Boycott*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008.

***Appadurai, Arjun.** "Deep Democracy: Urban Governmentality and the Horizon of Politics," pp. 21-47 *Public Culture* 14.1, Winter 2002.

***Caldeira, T., and J. Holston .** 2005. "State and Urban Space in Brazil: From Modernist Planning to Democratic Intervention," pp. 393-416 in *Global Anthropology: Technology, Governmentality, Ethics*, edited by A. Ong, and S.J. Collier. London: Blackwell.

Dec 4: What is to be done (or not done)?

Castells, Manuel. "The Crisis of Democracy," pp. 402-418 and "Conclusion: Social Change in the Network Society," pp. 419-428 in *The Power of Identity*.

Held, David. "The Development of Global Rules," pp. 144-157; "Towards a Global Covenant: Global Social Democracy," pp. 161-169 in *Global Covenant*.

WEEK 15

Dec 9: Make-up class if required