

POL435H1/POL2335H1

**BUSINESS AND POLITICS:
POWER IN A GLOBAL WORLD**

Winter 2020

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Course meeting time: Tuesday 12-2pm
Course location: SS 581
Office hours: Tuesday 10am – 11:30am; or by appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This seminar course explores the political power of business from an international and comparative perspective. We will examine the various ways in which business can acquire and exert political power and the ways in which politics and policy can shape business power. We will draw from various disciplines, such as international and comparative political economy, global governance, management, and sociology. Topics of discussion include the role of public authority in governing business behavior, the formation of business interests and preferences, business' instrumental, structural and discursive power, corporate lobbying and agenda setting, capitalist ideology, civil society activism toward business, corporate social responsibility and transnational private governance. Throughout the course, we will pay close attention to research design, and to improving research, writing, and presentation skills.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

By the end of this course, students will be able to compare and contrast a diverse set of concepts and theories for analyzing the political role of business. They will be able to assess the validity of empirical applications of these theories and provide constructive critiques. In addition, they will be able to apply the frameworks and theories to topics of their own interest. Finally, students will

have learnt to communicate their critiques and insights in written form through short reading reflections and long research papers, and verbally through class discussions and presentations.

In order to achieve these objectives, students should attend class, complete all the required readings before class, actively participate in class discussions, and allow sufficient time to prepare for and complete assignments.

COURSE READINGS

There is no textbook for this course. All readings are available electronically on Quercus.

When chapters of e-books are assigned, I recommend students download a PDF copy of the chapter and save it on their computer, when this option is available through the library website.

ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING

ATTENDANCE AND PARTICIPATION	20%	Cumulative
READING JOURNAL	15%	Cumulative
PAPER PROPOSAL	15%	February 9, 11:59 pm
PAPER PRESENTATION	15%	March 10, 17, 24, 31
RESEARCH PAPER	35%	April 3, 11:59 pm

Attendance and Participation (20%)

This is an advanced, reading intensive course. Class attendance and participation are integral parts of this course. **Undergraduate students** are expected to have read all the assigned required readings before class, while **graduate students** are expected to have read the required and additional readings. You are encouraged to prepare questions and critical comments on the readings. In addition, you should actively participate in class discussions, which will encompass both a reflection on the readings and a more open-ended discussion. Preparing for class can include, but is not limited to:

- raising questions for clarification
- raising a topic directly related to the readings
- comparing and contrasting arguments that are made in the readings
- providing examples
- respectfully engaging in a critical and constructive discussion

Reading Journal (15%)

For weeks 2-6 and 8-9, students keep a reading journal. This will help you in preparing for class discussions. In an entry, you can highlight common themes that connect the readings, identify topics you find interesting, describe new insights, or raise questions that arise from the readings. If you want, you can take the questions that are highlighted for each week's readings in this syllabus as a guide. Each journal entry should be no longer than 500 words. The entries are graded by the end of the semester on a scale of 0-3 for each entry:

- 3: complete journal entry, which is insightful and done with great care, and is more than merely a summary of all the readings
- 2: complete journal entry that is merely a summary of all the readings
- 1: incomplete entry, entry that provides only summaries of part of the readings, or that is done without much care
- 0: missing journal entry, late journal entry, or entry done without any care or thought

Each entry should be uploaded to Quercus under the heading "Assignments / Reading Journal" by 11 am the day of the class. Late submissions will not be accepted.

Paper Proposal (15%), Paper Presentation (15%), and Research Paper (35%)

Students will write a comprehensive research paper on a topic that is directly related to the topics discussed in class. The paper can be a research paper in which you try to answer a specific research question, or an in-depth theoretical or empirical examination of a particular topic of our class.

A **paper proposal** of three pages (typed, double-spaced, 12 point font) is due on Sunday February 9, 11:59 pm. The proposal will include a research topic/question, how you intend to answer the question or approach the topic, a preliminary argument, and a preliminary bibliography. The bibliography is not counted towards the three page limit. A more detailed paper proposal outline is available on Quercus under the heading "Modules / Research paper".

I highly encourage you to discuss your topic with the instructor during office hours before this deadline.

The paper proposal should be uploaded to Quercus under the heading "Assignments / Paper proposal" in Word (or equivalent) format, not PDF.

Students will **present** their paper in class during weeks 10-13. The presentation will consist of a short outline of the paper topic and main findings, followed by a brief Q&A. You will also provide a two-page summary of your research topic and findings to distribute to the other students in our class at the latest the Friday before your presentation. You will email the summary to the

instructor and he will post it as an announcement on Quercus. More details will be provided in class.

The **research paper** (typed, double-spaced, 12 point font) is due on Friday April 3, 11:59 pm. It will be minimum 3800 words and maximum 4000 words for **undergraduate students**, and minimum 4800 words and maximum 5000 words for **graduate students**. This word count does not include footnotes and bibliography. The paper should be uploaded to Quercus under the heading “Assignments / Final paper” in Word (or equivalent) format, not PDF.

A grading rubric for the final paper is available on Quercus under “Modules / Research paper”.

You should aim to use a wide variety of sources to write your paper (at least 15 academic and non-academic articles and books). A helpful resource is the political science research guide that is available at <https://guides.library.utoronto.ca/pol> .

Please note that Wikipedia and similar user-generated websites are not considered reliable sources of information.

As a reference style, please use the APA style: in-text citations in the following format: (Author year: page); and a bibliography with full references at the end of the paper.

A useful resource on how to cite properly can be found at:
<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>

USE OF TURNITIN.COM

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

PENALTIES FOR LATE SUBMISSIONS

Students that are not able to meet the deadline for a written or oral assignment should discuss this with the instructor **before the deadline has passed**. Except when indicated otherwise, per 24 hours, the late penalty will be 10% of your grade for a written assignment (i.e., less than 24h late = minus 10%, 24-48h late = minus 20%, etc.). A missed oral assignment will need to be rescheduled, otherwise the student will receive a zero grade.

Exceptions to this policy are only possible for medical or personal emergencies. Be prepared to provide written proof as requested by the instructor (e.g., doctor's note of appointment).

ABSENCE FROM CLASS

Students that are not able to attend class for personal or medical reasons should notify the instructor before the start of the class. Be prepared to provide written proof of medical or personal emergencies as requested (e.g., doctor's note). Unexcused absence from class will result in a zero grade for that class session.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Academic integrity is essential to the pursuit of learning and scholarship in a university, and to ensuring that a degree from the University of Toronto is a strong signal of each student's individual academic achievement. As a result, the University treats cases of cheating and plagiarism very seriously. The University of Toronto's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>) outlines the behaviours that constitute academic dishonesty and the processes for addressing academic offences. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:

- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- Making up sources or facts.
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment.

In academic work:

- Falsifying institutional documents or grades.
- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including (but not limited to) doctor's notes.

All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following procedures outlined in the Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters. If you have questions or concerns about what constitutes appropriate academic behaviour or appropriate research and citation methods, you are expected to seek out additional information on academic integrity from your instructor or from other institutional resources.

In addition, a useful resource is the "How not to plagiarize" information on the following website: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>

PRIVACY AND COPYRIGHT

For reasons of privacy and protection of copyright, unauthorized video or audio recording in the classroom, and unauthorized reproduction of course material is prohibited, as outlined in the Provost's guidelines on the "Appropriate Use of Information and Communication Technology" (<https://www.provost.utoronto.ca/planning-policy/information-communication-technology-appropriate-use/>):

"The unauthorised use of any form of device to audiotape, photograph, video-record or otherwise reproduce lectures, course notes or teaching materials provided by instructors is covered by the Canadian Copyright Act and is prohibited. Students must obtain prior written consent to such recording. In the case of private use by students with disabilities, the instructor's consent must not be unreasonably withheld."

RESOURCES

Writing Centre: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/>

Student Services: <http://www.future.utoronto.ca/current-students/student-services-campus-life>

Health and Wellness: <http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/hwc>

Accessibility Services: <http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/as>

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach the instructor and/or the Accessibility Services as soon as possible. The sooner you let them know your needs the quicker they can assist you in achieving your learning goals in this course.

COMPUTER AND CELL PHONE USE

Cell phones must be turned off or silenced at the beginning of the class. Using your cell phone during class is not allowed.

You are allowed to use your computer or tablet in class to take notes, or to consult the readings. However, if you use your computer or tablet for any other purpose you will not be allowed to use the device anymore for the remainder of the class.

EMAIL POLICY

Before you send me an email, please first check the syllabus. It contains answers to many of your questions.

Only use your university email (utoronto.ca) to contact me in order to prevent the email from ending up in my spam folder. Make sure to always mention the course number in the subject line of your email.

I will attempt to respond to your email within 48 hours of receiving your message. This time frame does not apply to emails received during weekends and holidays, when it may take longer to respond.

If you have elaborate questions or concerns, I advise you to come to office hours.

Please do not submit course assignments via email, but only through Quercus.

SUSTAINABILITY

This course is recognized as a University of Toronto Green Course, which has steps in place to reduce the amount of course-generated paper, encouraging students to print multiple slides per page, double-side printing or using scrap paper.

All the assignments, outlines, and the syllabus will only be available in electronic format through Quercus. I encourage you to only print readings, assignments, or other documentation of this course when absolutely necessary.

OUTLINE

WEEK 1: January 8

INTRODUCTION TO BUSINESS AND POLITICS

WEEK 2: January 15

BUSINESS INTERESTS AND THE STATE

How are business interests formed? Are they rational and exogenous, or constructed and endogenous? What is their relationship to the national and global political economy?

Required

Hart, David M. 2010. The Political Theory of the Firm. In Coen, David, Wyn Grant, and Graham Wilson (Eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Business and Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 173-190.

Mikler, John. 2014. (Multi?)national Corporations and the State in Established Economies. In Nölke, Andreas (Ed.). *Multinational Corporations from Emerging Markets. State Capitalism 3.0*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan: 15-30.

Farrell, Henry and Abraham L. Newman. 2019. Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion. *International Security* 44(1): 42-79.

Additional

Woll, Cornelia. 2008. *Firm Interests: How Governments Shape Business Lobbying on Global Trade*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapter 1: Free-Marketees despite Themselves?: 1-19; AND Chapter 4: Basic Telecommunications Services: 62-96.

WEEK 3: January 22

BUSINESS POWER

How can we conceptualize business power? How is business power related to political power? And does business always get what it wants in politics?

Required

Fuchs, Doris. 2007. *Business Power in Global Governance*. Boulder/London: Lynne Rienner Publishers. Chapter 3: Business as an Actor in Global Governance: 43-70.

Bernhagen, Patrick. 2007. *The Political Power of Business. Structure and Information in Public Policymaking*. London/New York: Routledge. Chapter 2: Groups, Institutions, Networks, Ideology or Structural Dependence: What Drives Business Power?: 22-53.

Falkner, Robert. 2010. Business and Global Climate Governance. A Neo-pluralist Perspective. In Ougaard, Morten, and Anna Leander (Eds.). *Business and Global Governance*. Milton Park/New York: Routledge: 99-117.

Additional

Susan Strange. 1994. *States and Markets (Second Edition)*. London/New York: Continuum. Chapter 2: Power in the World Economy: 23-42.

WEEK 4: January 29

INSTRUMENTAL POWER OF BUSINESS

What are the ways in which business exerts instrumental power? Is lobbying effective for business? What is the role of corporate money in politics? And which corporate lobbies are dominant in different jurisdictions?

Required

Walker, Edward T., and Christopher M. Rea. 2014. The Political Mobilization of Firms and Industries. *Annual Review of Sociology* 40: 281-304.

Mahoney, Christine. 2008. *Brussels Versus the Beltway: Advocacy in the United States and the European Union*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press. Chapter 3: Researching Advocacy: 31-44 (skim for research design background); AND Chapter 10: Lobbying Success: 183-206.

Kreiss, Daniel, and Shannon C. McGregor. 2018. Technology Firms Shape Political Communication: The Work of Microsoft, Facebook, Twitter, and Google with Campaigns During the 2016 U.S. Presidential Cycle. *Political Communication* 35(2): 155-177.

Additional

Hanegraaff, Marcel. 2015. Interest Groups at Transnational Conferences: Goals, Strategies, Interactions and Influence. *Global Governance* 21(4): 599-620.

WEEK 5: February 5

STRUCTURAL AND DISCURSIVE POWER OF BUSINESS

How does business exert structural and discursive power in politics? How do we measure these types of power if we cannot always observe them? And how do policy makers respond to these types of power?

Required

Culpepper, Pepper D., and Raphael Reinke. 2014. Structural Power and Bank Bailouts in the United Kingdom and the United States. *Politics & Society* 42(4): 427-454.

Bell, Stephen, and Andrew Hindmoor. 2014. The Structural Power of Business and the Power of Ideas: The Strange Case of the Australian Mining Tax. *New Political Economy* 19(3): 470-486.

Wright, Christopher, and Daniel Nyberg. 2014. Creative Self-destruction: Corporate Responses to Climate Change as Political Myths. *Environmental Politics* 23(2): 205-223.

Additional

Bernhagen, Patrick, and Thomas Bräuninger. 2005. Structural Power and Public Policy: A Signaling Model of Business Lobbying in Democratic Capitalism. *Political Studies* 53(1): 43-64.

WEEK 6: February 12

BUSINESS AND CIVIL SOCIETY ACTIVISM

How and why do civil society actors target firms? Which firms are more likely to be targeted? How do firms respond and why do they respond differently? And is civil society activism effective?

Required

Bloomfield, Michael J. 2014. Shame campaigns and Environmental Justice: Corporate Shaming as Activist Strategy. *Environmental Politics* 23(2): 263-281

Bartley, Tim, and Curtis Child. 2014. Shaming the Corporation: The Social Production of Targets and the Anti-Sweatshop Movement. *American Sociological Review* 79(4): 653-679.

Dür, Andreas and Gemma Mateo. 2014. Public Opinion and Interest Group Influence: How Citizen Groups Derailed the Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement. *Journal of European Public Policy* 21(8): 1199-1217.

Additional

McAteer, Emily and Simone Pulver. 2009. The Corporate Boomerang: Shareholder Transnational Advocacy Networks Targeting Oil Companies in the Ecuadorian Amazon. *Global Environmental Politics* 9(1): 1-30.

WEEK 7: February 19

READING WEEK

NO CLASS

WEEK 8: February 26

CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND PRIVATE GOVERNANCE

How has CSR evolved and what is distinctive about private governance as CSR? What is the role of the state in private governance? And what makes CSR/private governance effective?

Required

Auld, Graeme, Benjamin Cashore, and Steven Bernstein. 2008. The New Corporate Social Responsibility. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 33: 413–435.

Berliner, Daniel and Aseem Prakash. 2015. “Bluewashing” the Firm? Voluntary Regulations, Program Design, and Member Compliance with the United Nations Global Compact. *Policy Studies Journal* 43(1): 115-138.

Hospes, Otto. 2014. Marking the Success or End of Global Multi-stakeholder Governance? The Rise of National Sustainability Standards in Indonesia and Brazil for Palm Oil and Soy. *Agriculture and Human Values* 31(3): 425-437.

Additional

Renckens, Stefan. 2019. The Instrumental Power of Transnational Private Governance: Interest Representation and Lobbying by Private Rule-Makers. *Governance*
<https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12451>.

WEEK 9: March 5

BUSINESS AND NON-WESTERN STATES

Guest speaker: Scott McKnight

How do themes we have discussed and conclusions we have drawn in this class need to be rethought when applying them to business and politics relations in non-Western countries? How do we assess the political power of state-owned enterprises in non-democratic non-Western states? And what roles do multinational corporations and states play in the developmental process of a country?

Required

Ozawa, Terutomo. 2014. Multinationals as an Instrument of Catch-up Industrialization: Understanding the Strategic Links between State and Industry in Emerging Markets. In Nölke, Andreas (Ed.). *Multinational Corporations from Emerging Markets. State Capitalism 3.0*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan: 31-52.

Jones, Lee and Yizheng Zou. 2017. Rethinking the Role of State-owned Enterprises in China's Rise. *New Political Economy* 22(6): 743-760.

Nölke, Andreas and Simone Claar. 2013. Varieties of Capitalism in Emerging Economies. *Transformation* 81/82: 33-54.

Additional

Kim, Sung-Young. 2013. East Asian Development States and Global Companies as Partners of Techno-Industrial Competitiveness. In Mikler, John (Ed.). *The Handbook of Global Companies*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell: 193-208.

WEEKS 10-13: March 10, March 17, March 24, March 31 **STUDENT PRESENTATIONS**