

PS 737
Global Governance: Transnational Organizations and Processes

Spring 2009

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Class: Thurs 1-3:25 in POT 4th floor
lib.
Office Hours: Tuesday 9-11 am
And by appointment

The purpose of the seminar is to attain an understanding of the theories, practices, and processes through which global politics are organized and social, political, and economic outcomes are “governed”. We will discover what global governance is and how it works in various issue areas. Class will consist of both mini-lectures and discussion based on assigned reading. Students are expected to read thoroughly each week's reading and be prepared to discuss the material.

Books for Purchase

Barnett, Michael and Martha Finnemore. Rules for the World. International Organizations in Global Politics. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2004. (JZ4850 B37 2004)

Karns, Margaret P. and Karen A. Mingst. International Organizations. The Politics and Processes of Global Governance. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004. (JZ4850 K37 2004)

Paris, Roland. At War's End. Building Peace After Civil Conflict. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004. (JZ5538.P37 2004) (Patterson School Students Only)

Woods, Ngaire. The Globalizers. The IMF, the World Bank and Their Borrowers. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 2006. (HG3881.5 188W66 2006)

Journal Articles. A xeroxed copy of the articles is available in POT 469. Most articles are available electronically when using a university computer. INGENTA, JSTOR, LEXUS-NEXIS, MUSE. Book Chapters. A xeroxed copy of the chapter is available in POT 469. The book from which a chapter or article is taken is also on 2 hour reserve in the Young Library. Call number is noted on the syllabus.

Grading and Assignments

1. Two short papers (2-3 pages each) addressing **one specific question** from the reading of the week. One paper will be due in the first part of the semester weeks 2-6 and one paper will be in the second part of the semester, weeks 7-13. Sign up for a specific week and for specific questions. The paper will be due in my mailbox on Wednesday before the class session. (each paper, 10%).

2. Patterson School students: Policy paper (ca. 15-20 pages) (30%). The goal of your paper is to identify some problem in world politics and design or redesign a piece of global governance to solve or reduce it. Your design may be either a new organization (IGO/ NGO) in which none has existed, or you may propose significant new changes or replacements for existing formal or informal structures. In all cases your paper must do the following: a) Present clear analysis of the global problem to be addressed, identifying causes of the problem and connecting those with your proposed solution; b) Describe the governance approach that will address that problem, including any decisionmaking structures; c) Explain why this particular design or reform is the right one for this problem both technically and politically; d) Discuss the political and technical obstacles to your proposal and why relevant actors will agree to your proposal.

3. Political Science students/ Patterson School students if desired: Research paper (ca. 20 pages) (30%). This paper will require additional research on a specific issue of interest, going beyond the reading completed in class. The topic must be approved in advance by the instructor.

For both the policy paper and the research paper, a draft is due on April 2. Students will provide two draft copies, one will be distributed to a classmate and another for the instructor. Your classmate will write a 2 page critique of your work and offer suggestions of material and approaches. Students will be graded on their critiques (10%). The critique is due April 7.

A poster session will be held the last day of the seminar. Students will bring a poster describing their policy paper or research to the seminar. Students will circulate and view the posters of all members of the seminar.

4. Final examination, based on reading and seminar discussions. Two questions comparable to those found in MA or PhD Qualifying Exams. (25%)

5. General participation in seminar and poster session of policy paper/ research (15%).

Readings and Questions

1. Global Governance Perspectives and International Relations Theory (Jan. 15): BE PREPARED FOR CLASS.

Questions to be discussed: What is global governance? Why is a global governance perspective needed? What criteria should be used to assess global governance? What are the critiques of global governance theory?

Karns and Mingst, International Organizations. Chapt 1,12,

Dingwerth, Klaus and Philipp Pattberg, "Global Governance as a Perspective on World Politics," Global Governance 12 no. 2 (2006): 185-203.

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks, "Unraveling the Central State, but How? Types of Multi-level Governance," *American Political Science Review* 97 no. 2 (May 2003), 233-243.

Bolton, John, "Should We Take Global Governance Seriously," *Chicago Journal of International Law* 1 (2000), 205-221.

2. Theoretical Approaches to Global Governance (Jan. 22)

How do the major IR theories view international institutions? How do political realists view the institutionalist approach? What do liberal institutionalist theorists contribute to the study of global governance? Compare the constructivist views with the other approaches to international organizations. What does the notion of multi-level governance add to the approaches of global governance? What are the strengths and weaknesses of using principal/ agent theory?

Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations*, Chapt 2.

Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19 no. 3 (Winter 1994/1995), 5-49

Keohane, Robert O. and Lisa L. Martin, "The Promise of Institutional Theory," *International Security* 20 no. 1 (Summer 1995), 39-51.

Barnett and Finnemore, *Rules for the World* Chpts 1,2,

Hawkins, Darren G. et al, "Delegation under Anarchy: States, International Organizations, and Principal-Agent Theory," in *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*. Ed. By Darren G. Hawkins, et al. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006, pp. 3-33. (JZ25566 D45 2006) (XEROXED)

Pieces of Global Governance

3. International Organizations and Law: Conceptual Issues (Jan. 29)

We will continue material from the last class. *What do states gain by acting through international organizations? What features of design need to be considered for global governance institutions? Discuss the utility of the concept of legalization. What are the issues of accountability, compliance, and legitimacy?*

Abbott, Kenneth W. and Duncan Snidal "Why States Act Through Formal International Organizations," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol. 42 no. 1 (Feb. 1998), 3-33.

Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson and Duncan Snidal, "The Rational Design of international Institutions," *International Organization* 55 no. 4 (Autumn 2001), 761-799.

Abbott, Kenneth et al. , "The Concept of Legalization," *International Organization* 54 no. 3 (Summer 2000), 401-419.

Grant, Ruth W. and Robert O. Keohane, "Accountability and Abuses of Power in World Politics," *American Political Science Review* 99 no. 1 (Feb. 2005), 29-43.

Chayes, Abram and Antonia Handler Chayes, "On Compliance," *International Organization* 47 no. 2 (Spring 1993), 175-205.

Hurd, Ian, "Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics," *International Organization* 53 no. 2 (Spring 1999): 379-408.

4. The United Nations (Feb. 5)

Which approach best explains UN politics? Why? What are the major issues of the UN Security Council? What are the theoretical and methodological problems of studying the Security Council?

Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations*, Chaps 3, 4

Barnett, Michael and Martha Finnemore, "Political Approaches," in *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*. Edited by Tomas Weiss and Sam Daws. Oxford Univ. Press, 2007, pp. 42-57 (JZ4970 O932007) (Xerox)

Voeten, Erik, "The Political Origins of the UN Security Council's Ability to Legitimize the Use of Force," *International Organization* 59 no. 3 (Summer 2005), 527-557.

Thompson, Alexander, "Coercion Through IOs: The Security Council and the Logic of Information Transmission," *International Organization* 60 (Winter 2006), 1-34.

5. Regional Institutions (Feb. 12)

How does the study of regionalism integrate international and domestic politics? How can we study regional integration across different geographic regions? To what extent is the EU unique from a theoretical and empirical point of view? Does membership in a regional organization lead to democratization? What do we know about that question?

Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations*, Chapt 5

Choi, Young Jong and James A. Caporaso, "Comparative Regional Integration," in Walter Carlsnaes, et al., eds. *Handbook of International Relations*. London: Sage, 2001. Pp. 480-499. (JZ1242 H365 2002)(Xerox)

Pollack, Mark A., "Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance?," *Annual Review of Political Science* 8 (2005): 357-98.

Pevehouse, Jon C., "Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization," *International Organization* 56 no. 3 (Summer 2002), 515-549.

6. NGOs and Networks (Feb. 19)

How can we differentiate between NGOs, networks, and global social movements? What factors explain the growth of NGOs? To what extent are NGOs similar to or different than other organizations? What role do non state actors play in global governance?

Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations* Chapt 6

Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists Beyond Borders. Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998, Chapt 1, pp. 1-38. (JF529 K43 1997)(Xerox)

Reimann, Kim D. "A View from the Top: International Politics, Norms, and the Worldwide Growth of NGOs," *International Studies Quarterly* 50 no. 1 (2006), 45-67.

Corell, Elisabeth and Michele M. Betsill, "Analytical Framework: Assessing the Influence of NGO Diplomats," Chapt 2 in Michele M. Betsill and Elisabeth Corell, eds. *NGO Diplomacy. The Influence of Nongovernmental Organizations in International Environmental Organizations*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008., pp. 19-43. (Xerox)

Cooley, Alexander and James Ron, "The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action," *International Security* 27 no. 1 (2002), 5-39

Global Governance in Action

7. Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding (Feb. 26).

Are IGOs effective at securing the peace? How can you analyze this question of effectiveness? What is Paris' theory of building the peace? What empirical evidence does he provide for his position? What are the methodological issues in evaluating the effectiveness of peacekeeping? How are these methodological issues being addressed?

How is the nuclear taboo a constructivist argument? What are the arguments against the notion of a nuclear taboo?

Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations* Chapt 8

Paris, Roland. *At War's End. Building Peace After Civil Conflict*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004. Patterson School Students read whole book.

Tannenwald Nina, "The Nuclear Taboo: the US and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use," *International organization* 53 no. 3 (June 1999), 433-468.

Political Science students must read the just read the following four articles. Other students take your choice.

Russett, Bruce and John Oneal, *Triangulating Peace. Democracy, Interdependence and International Organizations*. NY: W.W. Norton, 2001. Chapt 5 "International Organizations Also Reduce Conflict." Pp. 157-196. (JZ 1320 R87 2001) .

Doyle, Michael W. and Nicholas Sambanis, "International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis," *American Political Science Review* 94 no. 4 (Dec. 2000), 779-801.

Fortna, Virginia Page, "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War," *International Studies Quarterly* 48 no. 2 (June 2004), 269-292.

Gilligan, Michael and Stephen John Stedman, "Where Do the Peacekeepers Go?" *International Studies Review* 4 no. 4 (2003), 37-54.

8. Humanitarian Intervention and Humanitarianism (March 5)

What is humanitarianism? What are the advantages and disadvantages in using this term? What are the arguments in favor of and against humanitarian intervention? Humanitarian soldiers: Is this a contradiction in terms?

Barnett, Michael, "Humanitarianism Transformed," *Perspectives on Politics*, 3 no. 4 (Dec. 2005), 723-740.

Barnett and Finnemore, *Rules for the World*, Chapt 5.

Finnemore, Martha, "Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, Peter J. Katzenstein, ed. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1996, pp. 153-185. Excerpted. Xerox. (UA 10.5 85 1996)

Kuperman, Alan J., "The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the

Balkans," *International Studies Quarterly* 52 no. 1 (March 2008), 49-80.

Ayoob, Mohammed, "Third World Perspectives on Humanitarian Intervention and International Administration," *Global Governance* 10 no. 1 (2004), 99-118.

Lischer, Sarah Kenyon, "Military Intervention and Humanitarian 'Force Multiplier,'" *Global Governance* 13 no. 1 (2007): 99-118.

9. Economic Development Institutions (March 12)

Discuss the range of governance actors active in development issues. What are the implications of changing approaches to economic development? Compare the effectiveness of the various development institutions in achieving their goals. What criteria should be used? What do the MDGs and the Global Compact contribute to the development debate? Can these approaches add to or detract from the core issues of development?

Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations* Chapt 9

Woods, Ngaire. *The Globalizers. The IMF, the World Bank and Their Borrowers*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 2006 (whole book).

Barnett and Finnemore, *Rules for the World*, Chapt 3

Therien, Jean-Philippe and Vincent Pouliot, "The Global Compact: Shifting the Politics of International Development," *Global Governance* 12 no. 1 (Jan.-March 2006): 55-75.

Birdsall, Nancy, "Seven Deadly Sins: Reflections on Donor Failings," in *Reinventing Foreign Aid*. Edited by William Easterly. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2008. Pp. 515-551.

Patterson School students video for home: *Small Fortune: Microcredit and the Future of Poverty*

10. Trade Institutions (March 26)

What is the relationship between trade and economic development? How is this a disputed relationship? What has been the effect of the WTO? Is the WTO dispute settlement mechanism effective or not?

Rodrik, Dani, "The Global Governance of Trade as if Development Really Mattered.," in *Rodrik, One Economics, Many Recipes: Globalization, Institutions, and Economic Growth*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007, pp. 213-236. (Xerox) (HF1359 R63 2007).

Sutherland, Peter, "Transforming Nations: How the WTO Boosts Economies and Open Societies," *Foreign Affairs* 87 no. 2 (March-April 2008), 125-136.

Zangel, Bernhard, "Judicialization Matters! A Comparison of Dispute Resolution Under GATT and the WTO," *International Studies Quarterly* 52 no. 4 (2008), 825-854.

11. Economic Regionalism and Private Economic Governance (April 2) .

What is the argument for promoting economic regionalism? What is the evidence that regionalism is the stepping stone to globalization? Or is economic regionalism an impediment to economic globalization? What are the problems of measuring the relative degree of integration? What does the evidence about economic regionalism in Africa show? What are the strengths and weaknesses of private governance?

Ravenhill, John, "Regionalism," in *Global Political Economy* ed. By John Ravenhill. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2005, pp. 116-147. (Xerox) (HF 1359 G577 2005)

UN Economic Commission for Africa. *Assessing Regional Integration in Africa* (2004). "Measuring Progress on Integration" (Annex) (www.uneca.org/aria1/annex.pdf)

Ruggie, John. Report of the Special Report of the Secretary-General, "Business and Human Rights: Mapping International Standards of Responsibility and Accountability for Corporate Acts (Feb. 2007) . On-line: (www.business-humanrights.org/Documents/RuggieHRC2007)

Dingwerth, Klaus, "Private Transnational Governance and the Developing World: A Comparative Perspective," *International Studies Quarterly* 52 (2008), 607-634.

12. Protecting the Environment and the Global Commons (April 9)

Why is the regime approach useful for examining environmental governance? How are issues of the environment and the global commons similar? In what ways are they different? Substate actors are playing an increasingly key role in global economic governance. Explain the advantages and disadvantages of this development. What design factors must be considered for effective international environmental institutions?

Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations*, Chapt 11 .

Meyer, John W., David John Frank, Ann Hironaka, Evan Schofer, and Nancy Brandon Tuma, "The Structuring of a World Environmental Regime, 1870-1990," *International Organization* 51, 4 (Autumn 1997), 623-51.

Betsill, Michele M. and Harriet Bulkeley, "Cities and the Multilevel Governance of Global Climate Change," *Global Governance* 12, no. 2 (April-June 2006): 141-160.

Ostrom, Elinor, "Institutions and the Environment," *Institute of Economic Affairs*. 2008. (Xerox)

13. Protecting Human Rights (April 16)

Compare the relative effectiveness of global versus regional approaches to human rights governance. What roles do NGOs play in compliance with international human rights treaties? How can we measure effectiveness of international human rights obligations? International justice can be achieved in a number of different ways. Discuss the ways. What are the various advantages and disadvantages?

Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations*, Chapt 10.

Barnett and Finnemore, *Rules for the World* Chapt 4.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. and Kiyoteru Tsutsui, "Human Rights in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises," *American Journal of Sociology* 110 no. 5 (March 2005): 1373-1411.

Adveyeva, Olga, "When Do States Comply with International Treaties? Policies on Violence Against Women in Post-Communist Countries," *International Studies Quarterly* 51 no. 4 (Dec. 2007), 877-900.

Snyder, Jack and Leslie Vinjamuri, "Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice," *International Security* 28 no. 3 (Winter 2003/04): 5-44.

14. Global Governance Reform and States (April 23)

Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations*, Chapter 7.

Ikenberry, G. John, "Is American Multilateralism in Decline?" *Perspectives on Politics* 1 no. 3 (Sept. 2003), 533-550.

15. POSTER SESSION OF PROJECTS (April 30)

FINAL EXAM