

SEMINAR IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Political Science 530 / Public Affairs & Policy 630
Portland State University, Winter 2018

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Description

The international system has been called an “anarchical society”—*anarchic* because there is no authority above that of individual states; a *society* because state behavior is nevertheless influenced by norms, laws, and institutions that states create for themselves. Yet among scholars there is a great deal of debate over the real importance of international rules and institutions and the degree of order they bring to the society of states. And among policymakers in the United States and elsewhere there is disagreement over the extent to which and under what conditions governments ought to be constrained by rules and institutions in the conduct of their foreign policies.

This graduate seminar examines how global governance works. We consider the myriad ways in which states have brought order and organization to their international conduct, as well as the academic and policy debates surrounding governance in the areas of international security, trade and finance, and environmental change. We also pay attention to the evolving roles of states and state sovereignty, organized and unorganized nonstate actors, and questions of representation and accountability at the global level.

Learning Objectives

The general objective of this course is to develop the student’s capacity to critically examine problems in international organization and global governance, consider the range of possible solutions to those problems, and communicate the results of this analysis to others. These objectives are to be accomplished by exposing students to relevant literature from the field of political science, plus select readings from other disciplines such as economics, sociology, and law. By the end of the term, students should be able to:

- show a familiarity with a wide range of substantive issues in international organization and global governance;
- understand the basic functioning of the most important institutions in international society;
- articulate coherent positions on key normative debates arising from the quest for world order and global public policy; and
- design a research project on some problem related to global governance.

Requirements and Evaluation

In this course, the main workload consists of assigned reading. Assignments should be read carefully prior to the session for which they are scheduled. As this is a seminar, participation in class discussion is important to the success of the course and everyone is expected to contribute (20 percent of your course grade). During the term, you are required to make one or two brief [presentations](#) on a reading from the supplemental reading list and write two short analytic papers (15 percent each). The latter are to be critical reviews of the readings assigned for the week (5-6 pages), and are due at the beginning of class. You may choose any two weeks. The remaining 50 percent of your grade will be based on a take-home [final exam](#) distributed on the last day on class.

Readings

There are no required textbooks for this course. All required readings are available online. Unless a link is provided, students should access readings via the PSU library website (off-campus access requires logging in). For those who are interested in background or integrative reading material on international organizations, there are several options, including:

- Margaret P. Karns, Karen A. Mingst, and Kendall W. Stiles, *International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance*, 3rd ed. (Rienner, 2015)
- Tamar Gutner, *International Organizations in World Politics* (CQ Press, 2016)
- J. Samuel Barkin, *International Organization: Theories and Institutions*, 2nd ed. (Palgrave, 2013)
- Ian Hurd, *International Organizations: Politics, Law, Practice*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- Thomas G. Weis, *Governing the World? Addressing "Problems without Passports"* (Routledge 2014)
- Bob Reinalda (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of International Organization* (Routledge, 2013)

Code of Conduct

Students are responsible for being familiar with the PSU Student [Code of Conduct](#), especially the section concerning academic misconduct—that is, plagiarism or other forms of academic dishonesty. If you are unsure of the definition or consequences of academic misconduct, consult your instructor.

Because they are distracting to others, cell phones (voice or text) and MP3 players may not be used during lecture and should be turned off at the start of class. Laptops and tablets may be used to take notes, but not for email, web browsing, or social media. Electronic devices may not be used to photograph, video, or stream course lectures or discussion, but lectures may be audio recorded with permission of the instructor.

Student Resources

If you have, or think you may have, a disability that may affect your work in this class and feel you need accommodations, contact the [Disability Resource Center](#) to schedule an appointment and initiate a conversation about reasonable accommodations. The [C.A.R.E. Team](#), hosted by the Dean of Student Life, is available to consult with you regarding any issues of students in distress, including sexual misconduct.

WEEKLY SCHEDULE and ASSIGNMENTS

11 Jan What is Global Governance?

Required

- Lawrence S. Finkelstein, "What is Global Governance?" *Global Governance* 14 (September/December 1995): 367-372.
- James Rosenau, "Governing the Ungovernable: The Challenge of a Global Disaggregation of Authority." *Regulation and Governance* 1 (March 2007): 88-97.
- Thomas G. Weiss, "What Happened to the Idea of World Government." *International Studies Quarterly* 53 (2009): 253-271.

Supplemental

- Klaus Dingwerth and Philipp Pattberg. "Global Governance as a Perspective on World Politics." *Global Governance* 12 (April/June 2006): 185-203.
- Craig Campbell, "The Resurgent Idea of World Government." *Ethics and International Affairs* 22 (Summer 2008): 133-142.
- Alexander Wendt, "Why a World State Is Inevitable." *European Journal of International Relations* 9 (2003): 491-542.
- David Held, "Reframing Global Governance: Apocalypse Soon or Reform!" *New Political Economy* 2 (December 2006): 157-176.
- James Rosenau and Ernst-Otto Czempiel (eds.), *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), chap 1.
- Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall (eds.), *Power in Global Governance* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- John Gerard Ruggie, *Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an International Forum* (Columbia University Press, 1993), chap. 1.
- Robert Howse and Ruti Teitel, "Beyond Compliance: Rethinking Why International Law Really Matters." *Global Policy* 1 (May 2010): 127-136.
- Oran Young, "Regime Theory and the Quest for Global Governance." In Alice D. Ba and Matthew J. Hoffmann (eds.), *Contending Perspectives on Global Governance: Coherence, Contestation and World Order* (Routledge, 2005).
- Beth A. Simmons and Lisa L. Martin, "International Organizations and Institutions." In Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations* (Sage, 2002).

18 Jan

The Sovereign State and World Order

Required

- James Fulcher, "Globalisation, the Nation-state and Global Society." *Sociological Review* 48 (November 2000): 522-543.
- David Lake, "Rightful Rules: Authority, Order, and the Foundations of Global Governance" *International Studies Quarterly* 54 (September 2010): 687-613.
- Linda Weiss, "The State-Augmenting Effects of Globalization." *New Political Economy* 10 (September 2005): 345-353.

Supplemental

- Daniel Philpott, "Sovereignty: An Introduction and Brief History." *Journal of International Affairs* 48 (Winter 1995): 353-368.
- Saskia Sassen, "Neither Global nor National: Novel Assemblages of Territory, Authority and Rights." *Ethics and Global Politics* 1 (2008): 61-79.
- T. V. Paul and Norrin M. Ripsman, "Under Pressure? Globalization and the National Security State." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 33 (March 2004): 355-380.
- Christopher Rudolph, "Sovereignty and Territorial Borders in a Global Age." *International Studies Review* 7 (March 2005): 1-20.
- Stephen D. Krasner, "Sovereignty: An Institutional Perspective." *Comparative Political Studies* 21 (April 1988): 66-94.
- Stephen D. Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton University Press, 1999).
- Hannes Lacher, "Putting the State in its Place: The Critique of State-centrism and its Limits." *Review of International Studies* 29 (October 2003): 521-541.
- Helen Milner, "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique." *Review of International Studies* 17 (January 1991): 67-85.
- John G. Ikenberry "Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemmas of the Liberal World Order." *Perspectives on Politics* 7 (March 2009): 71-87.
- John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19 (1994/95): 5-49.
- Robert Wade, "Globalization and Its Limits: Reports of the Death of the National Economy are Greatly Exaggerated." In Suzanne Berger and Ronald Dore (eds.), *National Diversity and Global Capitalism* (Cornell University Press, 1996).
- Sean Patrick Eudaily and Steve Smith, "Sovereign Geopolitics? – Uncovering the 'Sovereign Paradox'." *Geopolitics* 13 (April 2008): 309-334.
- Susan Strange, "World Order, Non-State Actors, and the Global Casino: The Retreat of the State?" In Richard Stubbs and Geoffrey R. D. Underhill (eds.), *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order*, 3rd ed. (Oxford University Press, 2005).

25 Jan

International Society and International Organization

Required

- Adam Watson, *The Evolution of International Society: A Comparative Historical Analysis* (Routledge, 1992), chaps. 1, 17, 25, conclusion. ([pdf](#))
- Thomas Franck, "Legitimacy in the International System." *American Journal of International Law*

82 (October 1988): 705-759.

- James M. Lindsay, "The Case for a Concert of Democracies." *Ethics and International Affairs* 23 (Spring 2009): 5-11.
- Martha Finnemore, "International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and Science Policy." *International Organization* 47 (1993): 565-597.

Supplemental

- Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (Columbia University Press, 1977).
- Andrew Hurrell, *On Global Order: Power, Values, and the Constitution of International Society* (Oxford University Press, 2007), chaps. 1-2.
- Christian Reus-Smit, "The Constitutional Structure of International Society and the Nature of Fundamental Institutions." *International Organization* 51 (Autumn 1997): 555-589.
- Barry Buzan, *From International to World Society: English School Theory and the Social Structure of Globalisation* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Tim Dunne, "Global Governance: An English School Perspective." In Alice D. Ba and Matthew J. Hoffmann (eds.), *Contending Perspectives on Global Governance: Coherence, Contestation and World Order* (Routledge, 2005).
- Kenneth Abbott and Duncan Snidal, "Hard and Soft Law in International Governance." *International Organization* 54 (Summer 2000): 421-456.
- Barbara Koremenos, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal, "The Rational Design of International Institutions." *International Organization* (Autumn 2001): 761-800.
- Jamie Gaskarth, "Rising Powers, Responsibility, and International Society." *Ethics and International Affairs* 31 (Fall 2017): 287-311.
- John Boli and George M. Thomas (eds.), *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations Since 1875* (Stanford University Press, 1999).
- Kenneth W. Abbott and Duncan Snidal, "Why States Act through Formal International Organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42 (1998): 3-32.
- Beth A. Simmons, "Compliance with International Agreements." *Annual Review of Political Science* 1 (1998): 75-93.
- Judith Kelley, "International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions." *International Organization* 58 (2004): 425-457.
- Jon Pevehouse, "Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization." *International Organization* 56 (2002): 515-554.

1 Feb

Global Organizations: United Nations and Beyond

Required

- Paul Kennedy, *The Parliament of Man: The Past, Present, and Future of the United Nations* (Vintage, 2007), chap. 1. ([pdf](#))
- John Gerard Ruggie, "The United Nations and Globalization: Patterns and Limits of Institutional Adaptation." *Global Governance* 9 (July-September 2003): 301-321.
- Ramesh Thakur and Thomas G. Weiss, "United Nations 'Policy': An Argument with Three Illustrations." *International Studies Perspectives* 10 (February 2009): 18-35.
- Michael N. Barnett and Martha Finnemore, "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of

International Organizations." *International Organization* 53 (Autumn 1999): 699-732.

- Roland Vaubel, "Principal-Agent Problems in International Organizations." *Review of International Organizations* 1 (2006): 125-138.

Supplemental

- Ian Hurd, *After Anarchy: Legitimacy and Power in the UN Security Council* (Princeton University Press, 2007), chaps. 1, 5.
- Ian Hurd, "The Myths of Membership: The Politics of Legitimation in UN Security Council Reform." *Global Governance* 14 (2008): 199-217.
- Kenneth W. Abbott and Duncan Snidal, "Why States Act through Formal International Organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42 (February 1998): 3-32.
- John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars* (Princeton University Press, 2000), chaps. 1, 6.
- Stephen C. Schlesinger, *Act of Creation: The Founding of the United Nations* (Westview, 2003).
- Lisa L. Martin and Beth A. Simmons, "Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions." *International Organization* 52 (1998): 729-757.
- Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics* (Cornell University Press, 2004).
- Roland Vaubel, "A Public Choice Approach to International Organizations." *Public Choice* 51 (1986): 39-57.
- Jean-Philippe Therien and Madeleine Belanger Dumontier, "The United Nations and Global Democracy: From Discourse to Deeds." *Cooperation and Conflict* 44 (2009): 355-377.
- Peter M. Haas, "UN Conferences and Constructivist Governance of the Environment." *Global Governance* 8 (January/March 2002): 73-91.
- Tamar Gutner and Alexander Thompson, "The Politics of IO Performance: A Framework." *Review of International Organizations* 5 (2010): 227-48.
- Armin von Bogdandy and Ingo Venzke, "On the Functions of International Courts: An Appraisal in Light of Their Burgeoning Public Authority." *Leiden Journal of International Law* 26 (March 2013): 49-72.

8 Feb

Regional Organization and Governance

Required

- Jeffrey T. Checkel, "International Institutions and Socialization in Europe: Introduction and Framework." *International Organization* 59 (2005): 801-826.
- Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, "A Postfunctional Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus." *British Journal of Political Science* 39 (January 2009): 1-23.
- Sorpong Peou, "The Subsidiarity Model of Global Governance in the UN-ASEAN Context." *Global Governance* 4 (October/December 1998): 439-459.
- Daniela Donno, "Who is Punished? Regional Intergovernmental Organizations and the Enforcement of Democratic Norms." *International Organization* 64 (2010): 593-625.

Supplemental

- David Mitrany, "The Functional Approach to World Organization." *International Affairs* 24 (July 1948): 350-363.

- Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell (eds.), *Regionalism and World Politics: Regional Organizations and International Order* (Oxford University Press, 1995), chaps. 1, 11.
- Christopher Hemmer and Peter Katzenstein, "Why is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism." *International Organization* 56 (Summer 2002): 575-607.
- Gregory T. Chin, "Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: Governance Innovation and Prospects." *Global Governance* 22 (2016): 11-26.
- Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (Cornell University Press, 1998), chap. 1.
- Andrew Moravcsik, "The Origins of Human Rights Regimes: Democratic Delegation in Postwar Europe." *International Organization* 54 (Spring 2000): 217-252.
- Katerina Linos, "How Can International Organizations Shape National Welfare States: Evidence from Compliance with European Union Directives?" *Comparative Political Studies* 4 (May 2007): 547-570.
- Mark A. Pollack, "Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 8 (June 2005): 357-398.
- Anu Bradford, "The Brussels Effect." *Northwestern University Law Review* 107 (2012): 1-67.
- Jarle Trondal, Martin Marcussen and Frode Veggeland, "Re-discovering International Executive Institutions." *Comparative European Politics* 2 (2005): 232-258.
- Karl Deutsch et. al., *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience* (Princeton University Press, 1957).
- Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, "Unraveling the Central State, But How? Types of Multi-Level Governance." *American Political Science Review* 97 (2003): 233-243.
- Paul Pierson, "The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies* 29 (1996): 123-145.

15 Feb

Security Governance

Required

- Lynn Miller, "The Idea and the Reality of Collective Security." *Global Governance* 5 (July-September 1999): 303-332.
- Alex J. Bellamy, "The Responsibility to Protect- Five Years On." *Ethics and International Affairs* 24 (Summer 2010): 143-169.
- Brian C. Rathbun, "Before Hegemony: Generalized Trust and the Creation and Design of International Security Organizations." *International Organization* 65 (Spring 2011): 243-73.
- Alexandra Gheciu, "Security Institutions as Agents of Socialization? NATO and the 'New Europe'." *International Organization* 59 (Autumn 2005): 973-1012.

Supplemental

- Daniel H. Deudney, *Bounding Power: Republican Security Theory from the Polls to the Global Village* (Princeton University Press, 2006).
- Bjorn Hettne and Fredrik Soderbaum, "The UN and Regional Organizations in Global Security: Competing or Complementary Logics?" *Global Governance* 12 (July-September 2006): 227-233.
- Alex J. Bellamy, "Realizing the Responsibility to Protect." *International Studies Perspectives* 10 (2009): 111-128.
- Alexander Thompson, "Coercion through IOs: The Security Council and the Logic of Information

Transmission." *International Organization* 60 (2006): 1-34.

- Ian Johnstone, "The Role of the UN Secretary-General: The Power of Persuasion Based on Law." *Global Governance* 9 (October/December 2003): 441-458.
- Cristina G. Badescu and Linnea Bergholm, "The Responsibility to Protect and the Conflict in Darfur: The Big Let-Down." *Security Dialogue* 40 (2009): 287-309.
- Frederic Megret, "Beyond the 'Salvation' Paradigm: Responsibility to Protect (Others) vs the Power of Protecting Oneself." *Security Dialogue* 40 (2009): 575-595.
- Derek Gregory, "The Everywhere War." *Geographical Journal* 177 (September 2011): 238-250.
- Erik Voeten, "Outside Options and the Logic of Security Council Action." *American Political Science Review* 95 (2001): 845-59.
- Keith Krause "Multilateral Diplomacy, Norm Building, and UN Conferences: The Case of Small Arms and Light Weapons." *Global Governance* 8 (2002): 247-263.
- Stephanie C. Hofmann, "Overlapping Institutions in the Realm of International Security: The Case of NATO and ESDP." *Perspectives on Politics* 7 (2009): 45-52.
- Peter Andreas, "Redrawing the Line: Borders and Security in the 21st Century." *International Security* 28 (Fall 2003): 78-111.
- Virginia Page Fortna, "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace after Civil War." *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (2004): 269-292.
- Richard Price, "Emerging Customary Norms and Anti-Personnel Landmines." In Christian Reus-Smit (ed.), *The Politics of International Law* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Robert Jackson, "International Engagement in War-Torn Countries." *Global Governance* 10 (2004): 21-36.
- Stephen Krasner, "Sharing Sovereignty: New Institution for Collapsed and Failing States." In Karen Mingst and Jack Snyder (eds.), *Essential Readings in World Politics* (W. W. Norton, 2008).
- Roland Paris, "Saving Liberal Peacebuilding." *Review of International Studies* 36 (2010): 337-365.

22 Feb

Economic Governance

Required

- Miles Kahler and David A. Lake, "Governance in a Global Economy: Political Authority in Transition." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 37 (July 2004): 409-414.
- Amrita Narlikar, "New Powers in the Club: The Challenges of Global Trade Governance." *International Affairs* 86 (May 2010): 717-728.
- Eric Helleiner "A Bretton Woods Moment? The 2007-2008 Crisis and the Future of Global Finance." *International Affairs* 86 (May 2010): 619-646.
- Jean-Philippe Therien and Vincent Pouliot, "The Global Compact: Shifting the Politics of International Development?" *Global Governance* 12 (January-March 2006): 55-75.
- Martin Ravallion, "The World Bank: Why It Is Still Needed and Why It Still Disappoints." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 30 (Winter 2016): 77-94.

Supplemental

- John Gerard Ruggie, "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic System." *International Organization* 36 (Spring 1982): 379-415.
- Nitsan Chorev and Sarah Babb, "The Crisis of Neoliberalism and the Future of International Institutions: A Comparison of the IMF and the WTO." *Theory and Society* 38 (September 2009): 459-484.

- Ian Goldin and Tiffany Vogel, "Global Governance and Systemic Risk in the 21st Century: Lessons from the Financial Crisis." *Global Policy* 1 (January 2010): 4-15.
- Axel Dreher, Jan-Egbert Sturm, and James Raymond Vreeland, "Global Horse Trading: IMF Loans for Votes in the United Nations Security Council." *European Economic Review* 53 (October 2009): 742-757.
- B. Peter Rosendorff and Helen V. Milner, "The Optimal Design of International Trade Institutions: Uncertainty and Escape." *International Organization* 55 (2001): 829-857.
- Christina L. Davis, "Overlapping Institutions in Trade Policy." *Perspectives on Politics* 7 (2009): 25-31.
- Dani Rodrik, "How Far Will International Economic Integration Go?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 14 (2000): 177-186.
- David Williams, "'Development' and Global Governance: The World Bank, Financial Sector Reform and the 'Will To Govern'." *International Politics* 45 (March 2008): 212-227.
- Tony Porter, "Why International Institutions Matter in the Global Credit Crisis." *Global Governance* 15 (January-March 2009): 3-8.
- Layna Mosley, "An End to Global Standards and Codes?" *Global Governance* 15 (January-March 2009): 9-15.
- Leslie Elliott Armijo, "The Political Geography of World Financial Reform: Who Wants What and Why?" *Global Governance* 7 (2001): 379-396.
- Marc L. Busch, "Overlapping Institutions, Forum Shopping, and Dispute Settlement in International Trade." *International Organization* 61 (2007): 735-761.
- Judith Goldstein, Douglas Rivers, and Michael Tomz, "Institutions in International Relations: Understanding the Effects of the GATT and the WTO on World Trade." *International Organization* 61 (2007): 37-67.
- Axel Dreher, "IMF and Economic Growth: The Effects of Programs, Loans, and Compliance with Conditionality." *World Development* 34 (2006): 769-788.
- Stephen Gill, "Globalization, Market Civilization and Disciplinary Neoliberalism." *Millennium* 24 (1995): 399-422.

1 Mar **Environmental Governance**

Required

- Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), chap. 1. ([pdf](#))
- Liliana B. Andonova, Michele M. Betsill, and Harriet Bulkeley, "Transnational Climate Governance." *Global Environmental Politics* 9 (May 2009): 52-73.
- Robert Falkner, "The Paris Agreement and the New Logic of International Climate Politics." *International Affairs* 92 (2016): 1107-1125.
- G. Kristin Rosendal, "Impacts of Overlapping International Regimes: The Case of Biodiversity." *Global Governance* 7 (2001): 95-117.
- Paul Wapner, "Politics Beyond the State: Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics." *World Politics* 47 (April 1995): 311-340.

Supplemental

- Per-olof Busch and Helge Jörgens, "The International Sources of Policy Convergence: Explaining the Spread of Environmental Policy Innovations." *Journal of European Public Policy* 12 (October

2005): 860-884.

- Kal Raustiala, "States, NGOs and International Environmental Institutions." *International Studies Quarterly* 41 (December 1997): 719-740.
- Benjamin Cashore, "Legitimacy and the Privatization of Environmental Governance: How Non-State Market-Driven (NSMD) Governance Systems Gain Rule-Making Authority." *Governance* 14 (2002): 503-529.
- Daniel L. Nielson and Michael J. Tierney, "Delegation to International Organizations: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform." *International Organization* 57 (2003): 241-276.
- Liliana Andonova, "International Organizations Inc.: Patterns of Environmental Partnerships." In Frank Biermann, Bernd Siebenhuner, and Anna Schreyogg (eds.), *International Organizations in Global Environmental Governance* (Routledge, 2009).
- Robert O. Keohane and D. G. Victor, "The Regime Complex for Climate Change." *Perspectives on Politics* 9 (2011): 7-23.
- Scott Barrett and Michael Toman, "Contrasting Future Paths for an Evolving Global Climate Regime." *Global Policy* 1 (January 2010): 64-74.
- Tamar Gutner, "World Bank Environmental Reform: Revisiting Lessons from Agency Theory." *International Organization* 59 (2005): 773-83.
- Thomas Bernauer, Anna Kalbhenn, Vally Koubi, and Gabriele Spilker, "A Comparison of International and Domestic Sources of Global Governance Dynamics." *British Journal of Political Science* 40 (July 2010): 509-538.
- Ronald B. Mitchell, "Regime Design Matters: International Oil Pollution and Treaty Compliance." *International Organization* 48 (1994): 425-458.

8 Mar

Nonstate Actors and Global Civil Society

Required

- Mary Kaldor, "The Idea of Global Civil Society." *International Affairs* 79 (May 2003): 583-593.
- Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics." *International Social Science Journal* 51 (March 1999): 89-101.
- Diane Stone, "Global Public Policy, Transnational Policy Communities and their Networks." *Policy Studies Journal* 36 (February 2008): 19-38.
- Matthew Bolton and Thomas Nash, "The Role of Middle Power-NGO Coalitions in Global Policy: The Case of the Cluster Munitions Ban." *Global Policy* 1 (2010): 172-184.
- Jörg Friedrichs, "Global Governance as the Hegemonic Project of Transatlantic Civil Society." In Markus Lederer and Philipp S. Müller (eds), *Criticizing Global Governance* (Palgrave, 2005). ([pdf](#))

Supplemental

- Tobias Böhmelt, Vally Koubi, and Thomas Bernauer, "Civil Society Participation in Global Governance: Insights from Climate Politics." *European Journal of Political Research* 53 (2014): 18-36.
- Chadwick Alger, "The Emerging Roles of NGOs in the UN System: From Article 71 to a People's Millennium Assembly." *Global Governance* 8 (2002): 93-117.
- Andrew F. Cooper, "Beyond One Image Fits All: Bono and the Complexity of Celebrity Diplomacy." *Global Governance* 14 (July-September 2008): 265-272.
- Christopher Knill and Dirk Lehmkuhl, "Private Actors and the State: Internationalization and Changing Patterns of Governance." *Governance* 15 (2002): 41-63.

- Clay Shirky, "The Political Power of Social Media: Technology, the Public Sphere, and Political Change." *Foreign Affairs* 90 (January-February 2011): 28-41.
- Ingo K. Richter, Sabine Berking and Ralf Müller-Schmid, *Building a Transnational Civil Society: Global Issues and Global Actors* (Palgrave, 2006).
- Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activist Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Cornell University Press, 1998).
- Matthew S. Mingus, "Transnationalism and Subnational Paradiplomacy: Are Governance Networks Perforating Sovereignty?" *International Journal of Public Administration* 29 (2006): 577-594.
- Michael Edwards and John Gaventa (eds.), *Global Citizen Action* (Lynne Rienner, 2001).
- Ole Jacob Sending and Iver B. Neumann "Governance to Governmentality: Analyzing NGOs, States, and Power." *International Studies Quarterly* 50 (2006): 651-672.
- Paul Wapner, "The Normative Promise of Nonstate Actors: A Theoretical Account of Global Civil Society." In Paul Wapner and Lester Edwin J. Ruiz (eds.), *Principled World Politics: The Challenge of Normative International Relations* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).
- Peter Andreas "Illicit International Political Economy: The Clandestine Side of Globalization." *Review of International Political Economy* 11 (August 2004): 641-652.
- R. Charli Carpenter, "Governing the Global Agenda: 'Gatekeepers' and 'Issue Adoption' in Transnational Advocacy Networks." In Deborah D. Avant, Martha Finnemore, and Susan K. Sell (eds.), *Who Governs the Globe?* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Randall D. Germain and Michael Kenny (eds.), *The Idea of Global Civil Society: Politics and Ethics in a Globalizing Era* (Routledge, 2005).

15 Mar

Accountability and Representation in Global Governance

Required

- Michael Barnett, "Accountability and Global Governance: The View from Paternalism." *Regulation and Governance* 10 (2016): 134-148.
- Michael Zürn, "Global Governance and Legitimacy Problems." *Government and Opposition* 39 (2004): 260-287.
- John Glenn, "Global Governance and the Democratic Deficit: Stifling the Voice of the South." *Third World Quarterly* 29 (March 2008): 217-238.
- Jean-Christophe Graz, "How Powerful are Transnational Elite Clubs? The Social Myth of the World Economic Forum." *New Political Economy* 8 (November 2003): 321-340.

Supplemental

- Jan Aart Scholte "Civil Society and Democratically Accountable Global Governance." *Government and Opposition* 39 (April 2004): 211-233.
- David Held, "Democratic Accountability and Political Effectiveness from a Cosmopolitan Perspective." *Government and Opposition* 39 (Spring 2004): 364-391.
- David Held and Heikki Patomäki, "The Problems of Global Democracy: A Dialogue." *Theory, Culture and Society* 23 (September 2006): 115-133.
- Joshua S. Gellers, "Crowdsourcing Global Governance: Sustainable Development Goals, Civil Society, and the Pursuit of Democratic Legitimacy." *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 16 (2016): 415-432.
- Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Disaggregating Sovereignty: Towards Public Accountability of Global

Government Networks." *Government and Opposition* 39 (2004): 159-190.

- Anthony McGrew, "From Global Governance to Good Governance: Theories and Prospects of Democratizing the Global Polity." In Morton Ougaard and Richard Higgott (eds), *Towards a Global Polity* (Routledge, 2002).
- Chrystia Freeland, "The Rise of the New Global Elite." *The Atlantic* (January-February 2011).
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Materials for this course are *not* available on D2L. This syllabus is available online at <http://web.pdx.edu/~kinsella/ps530w18.pdf> and all course materials can be linked from this address.

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