

**McMaster University
Department of Political Science
Institute on Globalization and Human Condition**

**POLSCI 777 / GLOBALST 777
Global Governance
(Term 2, Winter 2017)**

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Seminars: Thursdays (11.30-2.20); Venue: KTH 732
Office hours: Thursdays (3-4.30)
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Course description:

In this course, students will review and come to understand well the concept of globalization and its implications for global governance. The course begins by offering insights into the history of globalization, and into the historical roots of contemporary global governance. Our discussions will then focus on some of the most pertinent processes associated with global governance, such as colonialism, modernization, and neoliberalism. Some of the substantive issues studied in the course will include: the structure of global economy, shifting scales in governance (such as the transition from statism to polycentrism), political processes related to the governing of mobility and citizenship in an age of globalization, emerging approaches to war and conflict, the rise of the principle of humanitarian intervention, as well as the politics of environmental challenges, and transnational networks of activism. Through an examination of various perspectives and historical traditions, students should be able to assess both the direction that global affairs is taking and the direction that global affairs ought to take.

Student evaluation:

- **Attendance and participation: 40%**
- **Critical response paper: 20%**
- **Take-home exam: 40% (DUE APRIL 13)**

1. PARTICIPATION (40%)

- **Participation and attendance: 40%**

Due to the nature of the readings, we will have to make certain that our discussions are organized and focused well so that we understand the readings. For these reasons, I am proposing a particular approach to the discussions that put a special emphasis on student leadership of the seminar and on participation.

A. Participation

Normally, the discussion of readings will be divided into two or three parts each week.

- Preparing weekly summary statements for each reading (10%)

All students will be expected to come to class with one page document for each reading. Each page will have the following components:

1. List of key concepts and terms
2. Summary statement (four sentences maximum) of the author's main argument. This statement should be written in your own words as far as possible. It should not be borrowed directly from the text of the reading.
3. Three or four issues or questions in the reading that are important and merit some discussion and that you would like to be addressed by class time permitting. Formulate these in the form of a question.

Note that all three of these components should be focused on understanding the readings well, and not on criticizing them. Criticism should only follow in class when we have a good understanding of what the author is arguing.

The *leader of the discussion* should use this principle in calling upon class members to speak:

General Note: given the relatively large size of the seminar and the short times available for discussing a reading, facilitators should ensure that every member of class wishing to make a statement is heard before a member who has already made a statement on the given topic is asked to speak again. Use this rule in each of the discussions of concepts, main argument, other questions, and strengths and weaknesses of the reading.

The leader of the discussion should begin with the following questions:

1. These are the several key concepts and terms that I noticed in the reading such as . . . Are any of these unclear to any of you? Are there any other key concepts that you noted that need to be clarified? (If one or more are unclear) Can anyone help us clarify the meaning of <problematic concept(s)>.

Advice: try to keep this part of the seminar to about 10 minutes. Use your discretion here. If a concept or term brought up is interesting but not central to the reading, then suggest that we come back to it if we have time. If a concept is integral to the argument (see below), you can reserve its discussion for when we get to the next step.

2. Would any member of the class like to give us their statement on what the main argument of the author is? Would anyone like to add something to what <the first person> has said? Do you agree or disagree that we have captured the key aspects of the argument?

Advice: Try to avoid starting off with your own statement of the argument. See if you can draw it out from members of the class first. You can add some of your own understanding as the argument proceeds. As you see the discussion being finished or

beginning to get into key issues arising from the argument, move to the third step.

3. *I would like now to identify some of the key issues that arise out of the reading and that we might discuss. One of these might be . . . Are there any others that we might take up?*

Advice: Your goal here is to get as many key issues discussed as is possible. Try to draw in members of the class who have not had a chance to speak. The aim here is to improve understanding of the reading, not to criticize it. If members move to critique, stop them and say we will do that soon. Keep an eye on your watch or the clock. You want to reserve time for a critical discussion of the reading.

4. *With our understanding of the argument and the various issues related to the argument, we can now spend a few minutes to reflect critically on the reading. Are there any points that are particularly problematic in your understanding? Are there any points that are particularly useful or persuasive?*

Advice: It is important here to ensure that members of the seminar get a chance to comment on both the weaknesses and the strengths of the given reading. Don't just concentrate on the weaknesses.

- **Allocation of the participation grade:**
 - a. Leading discussions 10% (For some thoughts on leading discussions, see Appendix B below)
 - b. Participation in seminar discussions 20% (For some information on the difference between evaluating participation and evaluating knowledge and understanding, see Appendix A below).
 - c. Handing in of summary statements 10%. These will be prepared for **each of assigned readings starting with week 3 (January 19)**, hence 10 submissions in total for the entire semester. To receive credit, these summaries must be submitted electronically prior to the class (**by Wednesday midnight before class**). Members of the class are permitted one 'heavy burden' week without losing points here. In taking a "heavy burden" week, students are not expected to hand in summaries. They should try, however, as best as possible, to do the readings and participate in the discussions. Students taking a 'heavy burden' week must inform me **by the Monday** preceding the class when they are taking the option.

B. Critical response paper (20%)

One relatively short analytical paper is required. The paper is to be **no longer than 5 pages in length (Times New Roman, 12, double spaced, and 1 inch margins)**, and must be written as a reaction/response to any of the weekly readings of the student's choice. This entails that the students choose any of the weeks on which they wish to write. **ONCE YOU HAVE SELECTED YOUR TOPIC YOU HAVE ONE WEEK TO COMPLETE THE PAPER (FOR EXAMPLE, IF YOU HAVE CHOSEN TO WRITE A PAPER ON WEEK 4 (Globalization and Global Governance), JANUARY 26, YOUR PAPER WILL BE DUE ONE WEEK AFTERWARDS, WHICH IS FEBRUARY 2.** *Late assignments will be subject to a penalty of 3 points out of a grade of 100 for every*

day they are late.

C. Take-Home Examination (40%): DUE ON APRIL 13!

At the last class, a take-home examination composed of 7 questions will be handed out. Students will be asked to answer three of these seven questions. Each answer will be limited to 1500 words.

Late submission of the exam will be subject to a penalty of 3 points out of a grade of 100 for every four hours it is late (to a maximum of 15 points).

Academic Integrity

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behaviour in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials earned are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity. Academic dishonesty is to knowingly act or fail to act in a way that results or could result in unearned academic credit or advantage. This behaviour can result in serious consequences, e.g., the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript (notation reads: “Grade of F assigned for academic dishonesty”), and/or suspension or expulsion from the university.

It is the students’ responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty, please refer to the Academic Integrity Policy, located at <http://www.mcmaster.ca/academicintegrity>

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty:

1. Plagiarism, e.g., the submission of work that is not one’s own or for which other credit has been obtained.
2. Improper collaboration in group work.
3. Copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.

Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities:

Students who require academic accommodation must contact Student Accessibility Services (SAS) to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. Academic accommodations must be arranged for each term of study. Student Accessibility Services can be contacted by phone 905-525-9140, ext. 2865 or e-mail sas@mcmaster.ca. For further information, consult McMaster University’s Policy for Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities.

Statement on Electronic Resources

In this course we will be using AvenueToLearn. Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of this course, private information such as first and last names, user names for the McMaster e-mail accounts, and program affiliation may become apparent to all other students in the same course. The available information is dependent on the technology used. Continuation in this course will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.

Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy

Effective September 1, 2010, it is the policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences that all e-mail communication sent from students to instructors (including TAs), and from students to staff, must originate from the student's own McMaster University e-mail account. This policy protects confidentiality and confirms the identity of the student. It is the student's responsibility to ensure that communication is sent to the university from a McMaster account. If an instructor becomes aware that a communication has come from an alternate address, the instructor may not reply at his or her discretion.

Email Forwarding in MUGSI:

<http://www.mcmaster.ca/uts/support/email/emailforward.html>

*Forwarding will take effect 24-hours after students complete the process at the above link

Course Modification Statement

The instructor and university reserve the right to modify elements of the course during the term. The university may change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances. If either type of modification becomes necessary, reasonable notice and communication with the students will be given with explanation and the opportunity to comment on changes. It is the responsibility of the student to check his/her McMaster email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.

Recommended book:

William D. Coleman and Alina Sajed, *Fifty Key Thinkers on Globalization*, Routledge, 2013.

CLASS READINGS:**WEEK 1 (January 5): Introduction to the course. No readings assigned.****WEEK 2 (January 12): History of Globalization: some snapshots**

- Janet Abu-Lughod, "Studying a System in Formation" (ch.1) in *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250 -1350*, Oxford University Press, 1989, pp. 3-38.
- Timothy Brook, *Vermeer's Hat: The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World*. Bloomsbury Press, 2008, ch. 1 and 6.
- Amira K. Bennison, 'Muslim Universalism and Western Globalization' in A.G. Hopkins, ed. *Globalization in World History*. New York: WW Norton, 2002.

Recommended:

Darwin, John. *After Tamerlane: The Global History of Empire*. London: Allen Lane, 2007.

Arif Dirlik, *Global Modernity: Modernity in the Age of Global Capitalism* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2007).

Ronald Findlay and Kevin H. Rourke, *Power and Plenty: Trade, War, and the World*

- Economy in the Second Millennium*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2009.
- Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson, *Globalization in Question*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Polity Press, 1999.
- A.G. Hopkins, ed. *Globalization in World History*. New York: WW Norton, 2002.
- McNeill, J.R. 2000. *Something new under the sun: an environmental history of the twentieth century world*. New York: WW Norton
- McNeill, J.R and W.H. McNeill. 2003. *The Human Web: a bird's eye view of world history*. New York: WW Norton.
- John F. Richards, *The Unending Frontier: Environmental History of the Early Modern World*. University of California, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2003.
- Samir Saul, "The Internationalization of Capital Then and Now: Comparing the Late Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in Stephen Streeeter, John Weaver and William Coleman, eds, *Empires and Autonomy: Moments in the History of Globalization*, University of British Columbia Press, 2009.

WEEK 3 (January 19): The colonial roots of global governance

- Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, Modern Reader, 1972.
- Anthony Anghie, "Decolonizing the Concept of 'Good Governance'", in Branwen Gruffydd-Jones (ed.) *Decolonizing International Relations*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2006.
- Branwen Gruffydd Jones, "Slavery, Finance and International Political Economy: Postcolonial Reflections" in Sanjay Seth (ed.), *Postcolonial Theory and International Relations: A Critical Introduction*, Routledge, 2013, pp. 49-69.

Recommended

- Aníbal Quijano, "Coloniality of power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America", in M. Moraña, E. Dussel, and C.A. Jáuregui (eds), *Coloniality at Large: Latin America and the Postcolonial Debate*, Duke University Press, pp. 181-224.
- Surendra Patel, "The Age of the Third World" *Third World Quarterly* 5: 1(1983), 58-71.
- Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History*, University of California Press, 1982.
- K.N. Chaudhuri, *Asia Before Europe: Economy and Civilization of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past. Power and the Production of History*, Beacon Press, 1995.
- W.E.B. DuBois, *The World and Africa*, Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Arif Dirlik, "Legacies: the global and the colonial", in *Global Modernity: Modernity in the Age of Global Capitalism*, Paradigm Publishers, pp. 89-132.
- Ian Baucom, "Madam Death! Madam Death! Credit, Insurance, and the Atlantic Cycle of Capital Accumulation" (ch.3), in *Specters of the Atlantic: Finance Capital, Slavery, and the Philosophy of History*, Duke University Press, 2005.

WEEK 4 (January 26): Globalization and Global Governance (1)

- Arturo Escobar, "The Problematization of Poverty: the Tale of Three Worlds and Development" in *Encountering Development: the Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, Princeton University Press, 1995 (**e-book**).

- Aihwa Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception. Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*, Duke University Press, 2006, ch. 3 and 4 (“Graduated Sovereignty” and “Zoning Technologies in East Asia”).

WEEK 5 (February 2): Globalization and Global Governance (2)

- Boaventura de Sousa Santos, “Globalizations”, *Theory, Culture & Society* 23: 2-3(2006), 393-399. (e-journal)
- Philip G. Cerny, “Paradoxes of the Competition State: The Dynamics of Political Globalization”, *Government and Opposition* 32:2 (1997), 251-274. (e-journal)
- Robbie Shilliam, “Liberalism and Fascism”
(<https://robbieshilliam.wordpress.com/2016/11/20/liberalism-and-fascism-nov-2016/>)

Recommended:

Ulrich Beck, *Power in the Global Age*. Oxford: Polity 2005.

Jacqueline Ellis. “Working Class Women theorize Globalization.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (2008), pp. 40-58.

Grewal, David Singh. *Network Power: The Social Dynamics of Globalization*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007.

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000)

Held, David, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt, Jonathan Perraton, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1999.

McKowen, Adam. *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders*. Columbia University Press, 2008.

Stiglitz, Joseph. 2002. *Globalization and its Discontents*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Taylor, Ian. "Globalisation studies and the developing world: making international political economy truly global", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 7 (2005), 1025 - 1042

John Tomlinson, *Globalization and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

Georgina Waylen, "Putting Governance into the Gendered Political Economy of Globalization", *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (2004), 557-578

Weiss, Linda. "The State Augmenting effects of globalization," *New Political Economy*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (2005), 345 – 353.

WEEK 6 (February 9): Governing trade

- Dani Rodrik, “The Political Trilemma of the World Economy” in *The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy*, W.W. Norton, 2011, pp. 184-206.
- Sarah Lyon, *Coffee and Community: Maya Farmers and Fair-Trade Markets*, University Press of Colorado, 2010, Introduction and ch. 7: “Marketing the Maya.”
- Andrew Bard Epstein, “The Colonialism of the Present”
(<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/01/indigenous-left-glen-coulthard-interview/>)

Recommended:

Kristen Hopewell, "Different paths to power: The rise of Brazil, India and China at the World Trade Organization", *Review of International Political Economy* (2014); DOI: 10.1080/09692290.2014.927387.

John Maynard Keynes, *The End of Laissez-Faire: The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, Prometheus Books, 2004 [1919].

Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, Beacon Press, 1957.

Pamela Sparr (ed.), *Mortgaging Women's Lives: Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment*, London: Zed Books, 1994.

Robert W. Cox, "Global Restructuring: Making Sense of the Changing International Political Economy" in Richard Stubbs and Geoffrey Underhill (eds), *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order*, Oxford University Press, 1994.

William Greider, *One World, ready or not? The Manic logic of global capitalism*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997.

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

James Mittelman, "Rethinking the International Division of Labor" in *The Globalization Syndrome*, Princeton University Press, 2000.

Robert Gilpin, *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Political Economic Order*, Princeton University Press, 2001.

Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents*, WW Norton, 2003.

Rorden Wilkinson, "The World Trade Organization and the Regulation of International Trade," in Dominic Kelly and Wyn Grant, eds., *The Politics of International Trade in the Twenty-First Century*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005, pp. 13-29.

Amrita Narlikar, "New Powers in the Club: The Challenges of New Trade Governance", *International Affairs* 86: 3 (2010), 717-28. (**e-journal**)

Cornel Ban and Mark Blyth, 'The BRICS and the Washington Consensus: an Introduction', *Review of International Political Economy* 20:2, 241-255. (**e-journal**)

WEEK 7 (February 16): Governance and Shifting Scales

- Jan Scholte, "Globalization and Governance: From Statism to Polycentrism" (ch. 6) in *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 185-223.
- John Ruggie (2004) "Reconstituting the Global Public Domain", *European Journal of International Relations* 10(4): 499-531. (**e-journal**)
- Saskia Sassen, *Cities in a World Economy*, Sage, 4th ed., 2012, ch. 8 ("The Urbanizing of Global Governance Challenges").

Recommended:

Bjorn Hettne, "Beyond the New Regionalism" *New Political Economy* 10(4)(2005): 543-71.

Peter Katzenstein, "American Power in World Politics" in *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium*, Cornell University Press, 2005, pp. 1-42.

Brendan Donegan. "Governmental Regionalism: Power/ Knowledge and Neoliberal Regional Integration in Asia and Latin America", *Millennium* 35:1 (2006), pp. 23-51.

Ramesh Thakur and Luk Van Langehove, "Enhancing Global Governance Through

Regional Integration” *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 12: 3 (2006): 233-40.

Kanishka Jayasuriya, “Regulatory Regionalism in the Asia-Pacific” *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 63(3)(2009): 335-47.

Vijaya Ramachandran, Enrique J. Rueda-Sabater, and Robin Kraft, “Rethinking Fundamental Principles of Global Governance: How to Represent States and Populations in Multilateral Institutions” *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions*, Vol. 22, No. 3, July 2009 (pp. 341–351).

WEEK 8 (February 23): READING WEEK!

WEEK 9 (March 2): Governing Citizenship and Migration Flows

- Saskia Sassen, *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages*. Princeton University Press, 2006, Chapter 6: "Foundational Subjects for Political Membership: Today's Changed Relation to the National State."
- Mark B. Salter, “Passports, Mobility, and Security: How smart can the border be?”, *International Studies Perspectives* 5:1 (2004), 71-91. (**e-journal**)
- Lauren Banko, “Nationality and Citizenship in Mandate Palestine” (<http://www.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2016/10/citizenship-in-mandate-palestine.html>) (**podcast**)
- Lina Mounzer, “War in Translation: Giving Voice to Women in Syria” (<http://lithub.com/war-in-translation-giving-voice-to-the-women-of-syria/#>)

Recommended:

Hannah Arendt, “The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man” in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Schocken Books, 2004).

Gil Loescher, *Beyond Charity: International Cooperation and the Global Refugee Crisis*, Oxford University Press, 1993.

Neil Bissoondath, “On the Eve of the Uncertain Tomorrows” (a short story), in *On the Eve of the Uncertain Tomorrows*, Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1990.

William Walters, “Deportation, Expulsion, and the International Police of Aliens”, *Citizenship Studies* 6:3, 2002.

David Lyon, ‘Globalizing Surveillance’, *International Sociology*, 19:2 (2004): 135-149.

Mark Duffield, “Racism, migration and development: the foundations of planetary order” *Progress in Development Studies* 6:1 (2006), 68-79.

Jef Huysmans, *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration, and Asylum in the EU*, Routledge, 2006.

Peter Nyers, *Rethinking Refugees: Beyond States of Emergency*, Routledge, 2006.

Nick Vaughan-Williams, *Border Politics: The Limits of Sovereign Power* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 1-64.

WEEK 10 (March 9): Governing War

- Sven Lindqvist, “Bombing the Savages” and ‘Bombing Into Savagery’, in *A History of Bombing*, The New Press, 2001.

- Sarah Kreps and John Kaag, “The Use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles in Contemporary Conflict: A Legal and Ethical Analysis”, *Polity* 44(2): 260-85. (e-journal)
- Shampa Biswas, “Whose Nuclear Order? A Postcolonial Critique of an Enlightenment Project” (ch.2), in *Nuclear Desire. Power and the Postcolonial Nuclear Order*, University of Minnesota Press, 2014.

Recommended:

Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and the New Wars: the Merging of Development and Security*, Zed Books, 2001.

Tarak Barkawi, “On the Pedagogy of ‘Small Wars’,” *International Affairs* 80: 1 (2004), 19-38.

Tarak Barkawi, *Globalization and War*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2005.

Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*, Stanford University Press, 2007.

Tarak Barkawi, “Orientalism, ‘Small Wars’, and Big Consequences in Korea and Iraq” *Arena*, No. 29/30 (2008), pp. 59-80.

Jamal R. Nassar, *Globalization and Terrorism: the Globalization of Dreams and Nightmares*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2009.

James Mittelman, *Hyperconflict: Globalization and Insecurity*, Stanford University Press, 2010.

WEEK 11 (March 16): Governing Aid and Intervention

- Craig Calhoun, “The Idea of Emergency: Humanitarian Action and Global (Dis)Order,” in Didier Fassin and Mariella Pandolfi, eds., *Contemporary States of Emergency: The Politics of Military and Humanitarian Interventions*, Zone Books 2010, p. 29-55.
- Eyal Weizman, “Arendt in Ethiopia” (ch.2), in *The Least of All Possible Evils: Humanitarian Violence from Arendt to Gaza*, Verso Books, 2011.
- Grery Afinogenov “How Humanitarianism Became Imperialism” (<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/09/when-humanitarianism-became-imperialism/>)

Recommended:

Tomohisa Hattori, “The Moral Politics of Foreign Aid”, *Review of International Studies* 29: 2(2003), 229-247.

Mark Duffield, “Social Reconstruction: The Reuniting of Aid and Politics” *Development*, 48 (3), (pp. 16-24), 2005.

Thomas Weiss, *Humanitarian Intervention: Ideas in Action*, Polity, 2007.

David Rieff, *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis*, Simon & Schuster, 2003.

Shashi Tharoor and Sam Daws, “Humanitarian Intervention: Getting Past the Reefs,” *World Policy Journal*, Summer 2001.

ICISS, *The Responsibility to Protect: The Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty*, IDRC Books, 2001.

Nicholas Wheeler, *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society*, Oxford University Press, 2003.

Elain Scarry, *Thinking in an Emergency*, W. W. Norton & Company 2012.

Maximilian Forte and Kyle Mcloughlin, eds., *Emergency as Security: Liberal Empire at Home and Abroad*, Alert Press 2010.

Anne Orford, "The Passions of Protection: Sovereign Authority and Humanitarian War," in Didier Fassin and Mariella Pandolfi, eds., *Contemporary States of Emergency*, p. 335-352.

Marouf Hasian, "Review Essay: Remembering the Responsibility to Protect (RP2) in 21st Century Human Rights Rhetoric," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 101:2 (2015), p. 426-438.

Alberto Toscano, "Essay Review: The Tactics and Ethics of Humanitarianism," *Humanity* 5:1 (2014), 123-147.

Talal Asad, "Reflections on Violence, Law, and Humanitarianism," *Critical Inquiry* 41:2 (2015), p. 390-427.

Eyal Weizman, *The Least of All Possible Evils: Humanitarian Violence from Arendt to Gaza*, Verso 2012.

Adir Ophir, "Disaster as a Place of Morality: The Sovereign, the Humanitarian, and the Terrorist," *Qui Parle* 16:1 (2006), p. 95-116.

Simon Reid-Henry, "Humanitarianism as Liberal Diagnostic: Humanitarian Reason and the Political Rationalities of the Liberal Will-to-Care," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 39 (2014), p. 418-431.

Anne Orford, *Reading Humanitarian Intervention: Human Rights and the Use of Force in International Law*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, ch. 6 ("Dreams of Human Rights") (e-book).

WEEK 12 (March 23): Governing the Environment

- Anna Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*, Princeton University Press, 2005, Introduction and ch. 1 ('Frontiers of Capitalism').
- Mike Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World*, Verso, 2001, Preface and ch.1 'Victoria's Ghosts', pp. 1-16, 23-59. (e-book)
- Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The Climate of History: Four Theses", *Critical Inquiry* (Winter 2009): 197-222. (e-journal)

Recommended

Sinead Bailey and Raymond Bryant, *Third World Political Ecology*, Routledge, 1997.

Bina Agarwal, "Environmental management, equity and ecofeminism: debating India's experience" in Kum-Kum Bhavnani (ed.), *Feminism and 'Race'*, Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 410-455.

Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums*, Verso, 2006.

Vandana Shiva, "Science and Politics in the Green Revolution" in *The Violence of Green Revolution: Third World Agriculture, Ecology and Politics*, Zed Books, 1991, pp. 19-60.

Victor Ferkiss (ed.), *Nature, Technology, and Society: the Cultural Roots of the Current Environmental Crisis*, NYU Press, 1993.

Bina Agarwal, *A Field of One's Own: Gender and Land Rights in South Asia*, Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Arundhati Roy, *The Cost of Living*, Modern Library, 1999.

Vandana Shiva, *Water Wars: Privatization, Pollution, and Profit*, South End Press, 2002.

Richard Peet and Michael Watts (eds), *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development, and Social Movements*, Routledge, 2nd Edition, 2004.

Vandana Shiva, *Soil Not Oil: Environmental Justice in an Age of Climate Crisis*, South End Press, 2008.

Richard Peet, Paul Robbins, and Michael Watts, "Global Nature" in Richard Peet, Paul Robbins, and Michael Watts (eds), *Global Political Ecology*, Routledge, 2011, pp. 1-48.

WEEK 13 (March 30): Transnational Advocacy/Activist Networks

- Boaventura de Sousa Santos, "The World Social Forum and the Global Left" *Politics and Society* 36:2 (2008): 247-70. (e-journal)
- Arjun Appadurai, "Deep Democracy: Urban Governmentality and the Horizon of Politics" *Public Culture* 14:10(2002): 21-47. (e-journal)
- "From Palestine to Standing Rock" (<http://blog.palestine-studies.org/2016/11/02/from-palestine-to-standing-rock/>)
- Robin D. G. Kelley, "What Does Black Lives Matter Want?" (<http://www.counterpunch.org/2016/09/02/what-does-black-lives-matter-want/>)

Recommended:

Louise Amoore (ed.) *The Global Resistance Reader*. Routledge, 2005.

Rahul Rao, *Third World Protest: Between Home and the World*, Oxford University Press, 2010.

Clifford Deaton, "The Revolution Will Not Be Occupied: Theorizing Urban Revolutionary Movements In Tehran, Prague, and Paris", *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 2014: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2014.945473>

Stephanie Chan, "Cross-Cultural Civility in Global Civil Society: Transnational Cooperation In Chinese NGOs" *Global Networks: A Journal of Transnational Affairs* 8(2)(2008): 232-52.

Alejandro Colas, "The Promises of International Civil Society: Global Governance, Cosmopolitanism, and the End of Sovereignty?" in *International Civil Society: Social Movements in World Politics*, Blackwell, 2002, 137-169.

Robert Cox, "Civil Society at the Turn of the Millennium: Prospects for an Alternative World Order" *Review of International Studies* 25:1 (1999): 3-28.

Manuel Castells, "'No Globalization Without Representation!': The Anti-Globalization Movement" in *The Power of Identity*, Blackwell, 2009, pp. 145-167. (e-book)

Paul Nelson and Ellen Dorsey, "New Rights Advocacy in a Global Public Domain" *European Journal of International Relations* 13:2 (2007): 187-216.

Richard Price, "Transnational Civil Society and Advocacy in World Politics" *World Politics* 55:4 (2003): 579-606.

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Week 14 (April 6): Course wrap-up

Appendix A: Evaluation of Participation

Part of the participation grade will come from an evaluation of how much a given class member contributed to the seminar. Remember that evaluation of participation is different from evaluation of knowledge or understanding of a set of given readings. My evaluation of your knowledge and understanding will come from the short paper and the final examination. If you wish to check out how well you are doing in your participation, you might ask yourself the following questions:

Did I initiate a topic or question?

Did I provide some information when it was needed?

Did I give some positive opinions or reactions?

Did I give some negative opinions or reactions?

Did I ask for positive or negative opinions or reactions?

Did I confront someone whom you thought was wrong?

Did I try to restate what someone else had said to ensure others and I understood?

Did I ask someone else to restate what he or she had said?

Did I give examples when they were needed?

Did I ask others to provide some examples?

Did I try to synthesize or summarize a part of the discussion?

Did I ask if someone might synthesize or summarize a part of the discussion?

Did I sponsor, encourage, help or reward others in the group?

Did I relieve tension in the group by cracking a joke or calling for a break at an appropriate time?

Appendix B: Leading a discussion

The following suggestions are adapted from Gale Rhodes and Robert Schaible, A User's Manual for Student-Led Discussions, available at:

<http://www.usm.maine.edu/~rhodes/StdLedDisc.html>

I liked the approach and it is consistent with what we are trying to achieve in the course.

Preparing to lead a discussion, you must be familiar with the assigned material. "Familiar with" is just the right phrase. You need not have mastered the material; after all, a goal of

discussion is to move everyone towards mastery, that is, to improve everyone's (even the leader's) understanding.

To prepare for discussion (leadership or participation), first read and study the assignment, underlining the more important or interesting points, and making notes in the margins. Then think about and write down some of the main issues that the author raises and a few questions pertinent to the issues. Then go back over your notes and the text and note the key concepts or terms and then try to put the author's argument into your own words.

Getting Started

Class has started and your name has been drawn from the hat. How do you begin? Simply clear your throat and begin with the questions everyone has been asked to address. Before you know it, the hard part -- getting started -- is done.

One word of caution: Start out on a positive note. Avoid beginning with an apology for being poorly prepared or for finding the reading difficult. Treat the day's topic as having real value. Openers like "I didn't get much out of this" or "I don't agree with anything the author said" will stifle, rather than promote, discussion. Remember that a time for critical evaluation will come at the end, but only after the class has worked on its understanding of the author's arguments. If you treat the readings as worthwhile, your classmates will follow your lead, join you in examining the day's assignment, and thus make your job easier.

Sustaining Discussion

Discussions, like sleepy horses, need some urging to keep them moving. A discussion leader can often keep things moving with only modest prodding, giving the class its head when things are going well. Of course, if you can contribute something useful, do so; but other kinds of comments or actions on your part can sustain the discussion just as well as an injection of insight. Here are some suggestions:

- 1) Get students to talk to each other. Ask for a response to the most recent comments. (Anyone have a response to Clara's opinion?) Or ask a specific student to respond. (Clara, do you agree with Ralph?)
- 2) Get students to defend or explain their opinions. (Marvin why do you say that? What's your evidence or reasoning?)
- 3) Encourage an exploration of differing points of view. When you hear conflicting views, point them out and get the holders of those views to discuss their differences. Perhaps ask a third person to sum up the two positions.
- 4) *Keep the class on the subject.* If you are even halfway familiar with the material, you know when the discussion is no longer connected to it. Just say so. (We've gotten pretty far from the readings; let's get back on the subject.) Or simply consult your list of questions. Any sensible response to one of your questions is bound to be pertinent.
- 5) Try to give as many persons in the class as possible a chance to speak. Keep a list of who wishes to speak. Ensure that all those who have not spoken who are on your list get to speak first before a colleague gets a chance to speak an additional time.

6) Point to a particular passage in the text relevant to a comment made by one person, or to a discussion among several. This might be a passage that challenges, or sums up and confirms, the views being expressed.

7) Don't fill every silence with your own voice. Any discussion will lapse occasionally. It is not your job as leader to avoid all silence. Some quiet periods are productive. Students who are not so quick to speak will frequently get the chance they need when others are quiet. If the silence gets too heavy, take advantage of the other students' lists of questions. (Ginny, give us one of the questions you brought to class.)

Remember, as discussion leader you do not have to be the brains for the class. You are not expected to know it all; the class is full of students who have read the same assignment that you have read. Your job is to give them a chance to talk about it and thus give others the benefits of their thinking. If any one student begins to do all the talking, gently correct this problem by bringing other students into the discussion. You are there to steer, to keep the class reasonably near the center of the path, by pulling a rein when needed, by loosening the reins when it keeps to the trail, by reining it in when it threatens to gallop away to greener subjects. If students are talking to each other about the reading material, things are going well; relax, listen, and contribute when you can.