

GLOBAL GOVERNANCE
POLSCI 777 / GLOBALST 777
Term 2, Winter 2020

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Contents

Course Description.....	3
Course Objectives.....	3
Required Materials and Texts	4
Class Format.....	4
Course Evaluation – Overview	4
Course Evaluation – Details	5
Topic statement and research proposal (10%)	5
Class participation (25%).....	6
Short paper on a week’s topic, 1500 words (20%)	6
Research paper, 5000 words, with brief presentation to the seminar (45%).....	7
Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings	9
Week 1 (Jan 8) Introduction to the course	9
Week 2 (Jan15) Historical roots of the current global order.....	9
Week 3 (Jan 22) Theoretical approaches I	10
Week 4 (Jan 29) Theoretical approaches II.....	11
Week 5 (Feb 5) Hegemonies, hierarchies, assemblages and networks	12
Week 6 (Feb 12) The G20 and the UN	14
Week 7 (Feb 19) Winter mid-term recess, NO CLASS	15
Week 8 (Feb 26) Emerging powers and the Global South.....	15
Week 9 (Mar 4) Private authority and the power of business	15
Week 10 (Mar 11) Numbers and digital technologies	16
Week 11 (Mar 18) International law	17
Week 12 (Mar 25) Global civil society and norm entrepreneurs	19
Week 13 (Apr 1) Future orders, Trump, US hegemony	20

Course Policies	21
Submission of Assignments.....	21
Grades.....	21
Late Assignments	22
Absences, Missed Work, Illness	22
Avenue to Learn	22
University Policies	22
Academic Integrity Statement.....	22
Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities.....	23
Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy	23
Course Modification	23
Research Proposal Report Form.....	24

Course Description

Along with the intense recent interest in globalization has come a great deal of discussion about global governance. To a large degree this recent discussion builds on a very long-standing interest in international institutions and law that can be traced back to theorists such as Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) or Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). After the creation of the League of Nations in 1919, interest in the formal scholarly study of international organizations enjoyed an upswing, and for the next two decades it constituted the core focus of the new academic field of International Relations. In the wake of the failure of the League of Nations to prevent World War II realism became dominant in the field of IR, but the subfield of International Organization continued to develop, both theoretically (with new approaches such as functionalism) and empirically (with studies of the United Nations for instance).

Beginning in the 1970s a new set of theoretical approaches began appearing, such as regime analysis. They tried to combine the realist recognition of the enduring importance of the state with the liberal internationalist belief in the possibility of institutionalized international cooperation. In the 1990s the rich tradition of theorizing about international institutions in the field of international relations began intermingling with a more multidisciplinary interest in global governance that had accompanied the study of globalization. As well there was a growing interest in dialogue between international relations and international law.

A major trend has been a relative shift towards greater reliance on informal and non-governmental institutions, often conceptualized as involving networks. Since World War II the global order has also been shaped by US hegemony. At present there are signs that we are living through a historic moment. These signs include US President Trump's aggressive rejection of multilateralism and abandonment of the type of leadership that has characterized the global order since World War II. In this course we explore these issues, blending the study of relevant theories and empirical cases. All those enrolled in the course will be required to do a major research paper on an aspect of global governance. By the end of the course students should expect to be familiar with the strengths and weaknesses of the major theoretical approaches that are useful in understanding global governance and to articulate these in verbal and written form.

Course Objectives

By the end of the course students should be able to:

- Use and assess key theoretical approaches to analyzing global governance.
- Have an understanding of key practical challenges associated with the contemporary global governance.
- Draw on the most relevant and recent scholarly research and primary documents (such as news articles, official documents, and policy papers from business

associations or activist organizations) to produce a research paper that makes an original contribution to knowledge.

- Express an informed perspective and engage in knowledgeable dialogue through seminar presentations and fast-paced discussion.

Required Materials and Texts

- There is no required textbook for this course, but students are required to access and read all the required readings that are listed below. Most are available from the McMaster electronic journal collections. These can be accessed by using the doi codes below, which are hyperlinked in the electronic version of this course outline. If article doi codes are not available or do not work you can also simply enter the title into the library catalogue search field and proceed from there. Book chapters and other readings not available in electronic format from the library will be posted on the Avenue to Learn site for this course.
- The field of global political economy and the theories in this course are related to the field of International Relations (IR). If you feel you lack a background or need a refresher in basic concepts in IR you can find many introductory texts in Mills Library. As well, the open-access website [e-International Relations](#) has useful publications. See for instance McGlinchey, Stephen. 2017. *International Relations*. Bristol, U.K: E-International Relations Publishing or McGlinchey, Stephen, Rosie Walters, and Christian Scheinplflug, eds. 2017. *International Relations Theory*. Bristol, U.K: E-International Relations Publishing.

Class Format

The course involves weekly three-hour seminar sessions. The seminar will start with each student commenting briefly on the week's readings. A similar "tour de table" may occur following the coffee break. The instructor will chair the discussion to ensure that each reading is discussed and that the focus and order of discussion is clear, and will provide ongoing clarifications and commentary, but otherwise the discussion will be driven by comments provided by all the seminar participants, interspersed with short prepared presentations of short papers and research papers as detailed below.

Course Evaluation – Overview

1. **Topic statement and research proposal - 5%.** Topic Statement is due Wednesday January 22; Research proposal is due Wednesday February 12. Both can be submitted in class or via email by midnight of the due date.
2. **Class participation – 25%.** Due weekly through most of the course.
3. **Short paper on a week's topic, 1500 words – 20%.** Due (via email or hard copy) the day of the seminar in which it will be presented.
4. **One research paper, 5000 words – 45%,** due via email by Wednesday April 8, midnight.

Course Evaluation – Details

Topic statement and research proposal (10%)

Topic Statement is due Wednesday January 22; Research proposal is due Wednesday February 12. Both can be submitted in class or via email by midnight of the due date.

The topic statement is a brief summary of the topic you intend to research, 300 words maximum. Its purpose is to make sure you have a topic that is doable and that fits with course themes. You should choose a topic *with current practical relevance* that involves global governance. Any of the current topics discussed in the course outline, or other similar topics, are likely to be acceptable. The following should be included in your topic statement: a tentative title, the topic, how it relates to course themes, and how your paper hopes to contribute to knowledge.

The research proposal is a more developed plan for your paper. It has two main purposes. First, it aims to make sure you have a research plan that is a good one. Second, it asks you to make use of current technologies for carrying out research on themes relevant to the course. It can be up to 3 single spaced pages with regular margins and a 12-point font, not including the bibliography.

In your research proposal you should restate your topic and indicate how hope to say something new on this topic. You should provide an interesting and informative title for your paper. You should also set out your working hypothesis or arguments and indicate why these are of interest. Comment on the concepts or theories you will draw upon in your paper. You should indicate the key developments that are relevant to your topic that have occurred **over the past two years**. You should provide evidence that you have scanned the relevant sources of information in order to ascertain the availability of information on your topic. You should do this by filling out and submitting the form which appears at the end of the course outline, and which will be posted on Avenue. Please follow the instructions in the form. This includes finding at least 20 references, including at least two for each of the categories listed in the form, which should include at least two recent news articles obtained from LexisNexis or Google; at least two relevant documents obtained from government, business or NGOs via a Google search. You do not need to provide a list of all the material you find, nor do you need to annotate your references, but you should report on your search, and construct a bibliography using the most relevant items, indicating the source of the reference. Your research topic should have sufficient recent empirical content to allow you to discuss developments over the past two years, as indicated above. You will receive one combined grade for the topic statement and research proposal.

Class participation (25%)

This component of the grade is based on active verbal participation and not simply attendance. Presentations given in connection with the assignments listed elsewhere are not included in the grading of this component. The following, in priority order, are criteria that will be used in evaluating your verbal seminar participation: (a) the degree to which you have demonstrated by your comments that you have read the assigned readings; (b) the frequency of your comments; (c) the degree to which your comments engage and respect the agenda and the comments of others; (d) the originality and insightfulness of your comments. In general, we will be following a format where you will raise your hand and be recognized by the chair before speaking. In calling on people the chair will make every effort to give priority to those who have not yet had as much chance to speak as others. There is, therefore, no reason that everyone should not be able to participate fully. Everyone is expected to read all the required readings each week. At the beginning of each class we will go around the table and each person will be expected to comment on what you found interesting, surprising, or troubling in the week's readings. Throughout the seminar you may be called upon to provide your view on any of the required readings. In this course we are reading and discussing a variety of perspectives. In engaging with any particular reading you are expected to be able to demonstrate your understanding of it on its own terms as well as to criticize it.

Sometimes some students find they have a difficult time intervening in fast-moving seminar discussions. This is a learnable skill that is an important part of graduate level training in political science. You should be sure to speak to the instructor if you are having difficulty intervening for any reason. It is important to do this early to be able to fully participate in the seminar and to avoid damage to your participation grade.

In this course the standard practice for missed classes is as follows: the best 10 of 11 classes will be used to determine your participation grade (week 1 will not be graded for participation). Therefore, one missed class will not have an effect except in increasing your risks slightly since the best 10 of 10 classes will be counted rather than the best 10 of 11. For any missed class there is the option of providing 3-4 bullet points for each reading plus 3-4 comments that you would have made in the seminar if you had attended. This can be submitted any time up to the last class.

Short paper on a week's topic, 1500 words (20%)

Due in class the week that you will present it.

By the second week of the course you will sign up to produce a paper and presentation on one of the week's topics. This should be different than your research paper topic. These papers will be distributed across the available weeks. The purpose of the paper is to complement and go beyond the week's

readings, while also acknowledging them. It should not be a summary of the readings and it should try to avoid duplicating what other seminar participants would be likely to contribute from having read the required readings. You may use any supplementary readings listed in the course outline, or others that you find from looking at bibliographies of articles on the course outline or by doing a search elsewhere. Your goal is to contribute something new to the seminar that is very relevant to it. It would be good to avoid duplication with anyone else presenting in your week. As a rough guide, you should be drawing on about 60-80 pages of reading other than required readings, about three scholarly articles. You are required to present your reading without notes. This is good practice and will make your presentation more interesting. You must submit your paper at or before the beginning of the class in which you are to present it. In your presentation you could include a question or issue that the seminar may wish to discuss. The criteria used to evaluate this assignment will be (a) your knowledge of the material; (b) does it synthesize the readings rather than summarizing them sequentially? (c) does it relate the readings to course themes rather than focusing on factors only specific to those particular readings? (d) does it provide your own analysis or criticism of the readings? (e) is the paper well written, and well-organized, focusing on an argument? (e) the degree to which presentation is new and interesting for others in the seminar, including presenting it in an engaging manner; (f) your ability to stay within the specified time limit (**six minutes**).

Research paper, 5000 words, with brief presentation to the seminar (45%)

Paper due via email by Wednesday April 8, midnight.

Your research paper should build on your proposal. In grading the paper the following criteria will be used: (a) is a thesis, argument, or statement about the originality of the contribution clearly stated at the beginning of the paper and is the paper organized around that? (b) does your conceptual discussion draw well on one or more theories or explain how you will go beyond description in analysing your topic? (c) do you go beyond the existing literature conceptually or empirically? (d) are the counter-arguments to your own position acknowledged and addressed at some point in your paper? (e) is your writing clear, engaging, and adequately proofread? (f) have you drawn on the best possible scholarly and non-scholarly sources in your paper? (g) have you brought your research up to date (including the past two years)? You do not need to include all the sources you cited in your proposal but you should be sure to use those that are most relevant.

Identifying the counter-arguments to your position is a very useful way of strengthening your argument and confirming its importance. If there are no counter-arguments imaginable then it is likely that you have an argument that is banal and uninteresting. If you challenge strong counter-arguments then your

paper will be more likely to make a valuable contribution analytically. You may start to identify counter-arguments by thinking “who would disagree with what I’m saying, and what would they argue?”. This disagreement could be over a matter of fact or over the interpretation or analysis of facts or theories. You may find counter-arguments in the scholarly literature, or in news accounts. Ideally you will be able to quote a publication or public comment to illustrate and confirm the significance and character of the counter-argument. You definitely do not need to agree with any aspect of the counter-argument—part of the purpose of identifying it is to sharpen your own arguments against it.

A purpose of theory is to link specific events, institutions, or other empirical focuses of research to more generalizable assertions about the world. As will be discussed in the course, this does not necessarily imply that it is possible to make universal generalizations that will be valid across all time and space. Nevertheless, it is generally more useful when you are writing about a particular empirical case to be able to draw lessons from it that have significance for understanding how the world works in locations beyond that case. For instance, it is great to provide insights into how a particular International Monetary Fund lending program worked, but it is even more useful if this allows you to say something about the character of the IMF as an institution, or, going even further, if it allows you to comment on the operations of power in the global political economy. Generalization involves abstraction, and the theories we will be discussing are valuable in linking particular cases to more general understandings about the global political economy. One valuable research design is to link your argument to one theoretical approach and the counter-argument to a different one, and then organize your paper as a contestation between these. This does not have to be a standard hypothesis-testing design. If you are more interested in policy design than international political economy theory then you may emphasize the novel practical implications of your analysis with a statement setting this novelty out rather than developing a hypothesis or argument, but you should still indicate the prevailing understandings that you are challenging, and you should still engage in analysis and not just description.

You will be expected to briefly present your research to the seminar. Criteria used to evaluate your presentation will include (a) your demonstrated knowledge of the material; (b) the degree to which you make your presentation new and interesting for others in the seminar, including linking it to course themes; and (c) your ability to stay within the specified time limit. Presentations will be distributed across the weeks following the submission of the research proposal, and expectations will be adjusted in accordance with the number of weeks you have had to work on the research. The presentations will be a maximum of six minutes.

Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings

Week 1 (Jan 8) Introduction to the course

Readings: none

Week 2 (Jan15) Historical roots of the current global order

Readings:

Buzan, Barry, and George Lawson. 2013. [The Global Transformation: The Nineteenth Century and the Making of Modern International Relations. *International Studies Quarterly* 57 \(3\): 620–634.](#) [14 pages]

Zala, Benjamin. 2017. "Great power management and ambiguous order in nineteenth-century international society." [*Review of International Studies* 43\(2\): 367–388.](#)

Strang, David. 1991. ["Global Patterns of Decolonization, 1500-1987."](#) *International Studies Quarterly* 35(4): 429–54.

Claude, Inis L. Jr. (1971) *Swords into Plowshares* Fourth Edition (New York: Random House), Chapter 2 "The Development of International Organization in the Nineteenth Century", pp. 21-40 [19 pages]. [On Avenue]

Optional readings:

Abramson, Scott F. 2017. "The Economic Origins of the Territorial State." *International Organization* 71(1): 97–130.

Ba, Heather. 2018. The systemic causes of financial crises in the long nineteenth century. *Business and Politics* 20 (02): 208–238.

Bilgin, Pinar. 2016. How to remedy Eurocentrism in IR? A complement and a challenge for The Global Transformation. *International Theory* 8 (03): 492–501.

Chase-Dunn, Christopher. 2013. Response to Barry Buzan and George Lawson: The Global Transformation: The 19th Century and the Making of Modern International Relations. *International Studies Quarterly* 57 (3): 635–636.

Halperin, Sandra. 1998. Shadowboxing: Weberian historical sociology vs state-centric international relations theory. *Review of International Political Economy* 5 (2): 327–339.

Helleiner, Eric. 2015. Globalising the classical foundations of IPE thought. *Contexto Internacional* 37 (3): 975–1010.

Hobson, John M. 1998. For a 'second-wave' Weberian historical sociology in international relations: a reply to Halperin and Shaw. *Review of International Political Economy* 5 (2): 354–361.

Hobson, John M. 1998. The Historical Sociology of the State and the State of Historical Sociology in International Relations. *Review of International Political Economy* 5 (2): 284–320.

- Hobson, John M. 2007. Reconstructing International Relations Through World History: Oriental Globalization and the Global–Dialogic Conception of Inter-Civilizational Relations. *International Politics* 44 (4): 414–430.
- Hobson, John M. 2009. Provincializing Westphalia: The Eastern origins of sovereignty. *International Politics* 46 (6): 671–690.
- Hobson, John M. 2013. Part 1 – Revealing the Eurocentric foundations of IPE: A critical historiography of the discipline from the classical to the modern era. *Review of International Political Economy* 20 (5): 1024–1054.
- Hobson, John M. 2013. Part 2 – Reconstructing the non-Eurocentric foundations of IPE: From Eurocentric ‘open economy politics’ to inter-civilizational political economy. *Review of International Political Economy* 20 (5): 1055–1081.
- Hobson, John. 2015. [The Eastern Origins of the Rise of the West and the “Return” of Asia](#). *East Asia* 32 (3): 239–255. [16 pages]
- Musgrave, Paul, and Daniel Nexon. 2016. The global transformation: more than meets the eye. *International Theory* 8 (03): 436–447.
- Persaud, Randolph B., and Alina Sajed. 2018. “Introduction: Race, Gender, and Culture in International Relations.” In *Race, Gender, and Culture in International Relations: Postcolonial Perspectives*, London: Routledge, 1–18.
- Phillips, Andrew. 2016. The global transformation, multiple early modernities, and international systems change. *International Theory* 8 (03): 481–491.
- Roshchin, Evgeny. 2017. “[The Hague Conferences and ‘international community’: a politics of conceptual innovation](#).” *Review of International Studies* 43(1): 177–198 [21 pages].
- Shaw, Martin. 1997. The state of globalization: towards a theory of state transformation. *Review of International Political Economy* 4 (3): 497–513.
- Shaw, Martin. 1998. The historical sociology of the future. *Review of International Political Economy* 5 (2): 321–326.
- Steffek, Jens, and Leonie Holthaus. 2018. “[The social-democratic roots of global governance: Welfare internationalism from the 19th century to the United Nations](#).” *European Journal of International Relations* 24(1): 106–129. [23 pages]
- Strang, David (1996) “Contested Sovereignty: The Social Construction of Colonial Imperialism,” in Thomas J. Biersteker and Cynthia Weber, eds., *State Sovereignty as Social Construct*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,” pp. 22-49

Week 3 (Jan 22) Theoretical approaches I

Readings:

- Hasenclever, Andreas, Peter Mayer and Volker Rittberger (2000) “[Integrating Theories of International Regimes](#)” *Review of International Studies* (January) 26(1) 1 pp. 3-33 [30 pages]. On Avenue.

Hawkins, Darren G. et al. 2006. "Delegation under Anarchy: States, International Organizations, and Principle-Agent Theory," in Darren G. Hawkins et al, *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 3-33 [30 pages]. On Avenue.

Aradau, Claudia, and Jef Huysmans. 2019. "[Assembling Credibility: Knowledge, Method and Critique in Times of 'Post-Truth.'](#)" *Security Dialogue* 50(1): 40–58.

Martin de Almagro, Maria, and Caitlin Ryan. 2019. "[Subverting Economic Empowerment: Towards a Postcolonial-Feminist Framework on Gender \(in\)Securities in Post-War Settings.](#)" *European Journal of International Relations* 25(4): 1059–79.

Note: The topic statement is due today.

Optional readings:

Keohane, Robert O. 1988. "International Institutions: Two Approaches." *International Studies Quarterly* 32(4): 379-95.

Lantis, Jeffrey S., and Carmen Wunderlich. 2018. "[Resiliency dynamics of norm clusters: Norm contestation and international cooperation.](#)" *Review of International Studies* 44(03): 570–593.

Orsini, Amandine, Jean-Frédéric Morin, and Oran Young (2013) Regime Complexes: A Buzz, a Boom, or a Boost for Global Governance?. *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*: January-March 2013, Vol. 19, No. 1, pp. 27-39 [12 pages].

Pratt, Tyler. 2018. "Deference and Hierarchy in International Regime Complexes." *International Organization* 72(03): 561–590.

Puchala, Donald J. "The Integration Theorists and the Study of International Relations", Article 37 in *Classics of International Relations*, by John A. Vasquez (Editor), Prentice Hall 1990, pp. 260-73 [13 pages]

Week 4 (Jan 29) Theoretical approaches II

Readings:

Barnett, Michael N., and Martha Finnemore. 1999. "[The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations.](#)" *International Organization* 53(04): 699–732 [33 pages].

Vandergeest, Peter, Stefano Ponte, and Simon Bush. 2015. "[Assembling sustainable territories: space, subjects, objects, and expertise in seafood certification.](#)" *Environment and Planning A* 47(9): 1907–1925. [18 pages]

Brenner, Neil, Jamie Peck, and Nik Theodore. 2010. "[After Neoliberalization?](#)" *Globalizations* 7(3): 327–345 [18 pages].

Gill, Stephen. 1995. "[Globalization, Market Civilization and Disciplinary Neoliberalism](#)," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 24:3 pp. 399-23 [24 pages].

Optional readings:

Aradau, Claudia and Rens Van Munster. 2007. "Governing Terrorism Through Risk: Taking Precautions, (un)Knowing the Future," *European Journal of International Relations*, 13(1), March, pp. 89-115. [26 pages]

Callahan, William A. 2018. "The politics of walls: Barriers, flows, and the sublime." *Review of International Studies* 44(03): 456–481.

Gamble, Andrew. 2014. "Ideologies of Governance," in Anthony Payne and Nicola Phillips eds., *Handbook of the International Political Economy of Governance*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar: pp. 13-31

Johnston, Alastair Iain. 2001. "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments." *International Studies Quarterly* 45(4): 487–515.

Larner, Wendy and William Walters. 2004. "Introduction" in eds., Wendy Larner and William Walters, eds. *Global Governmentality: Governing International Spaces*, London: Routledge. pp. 1-20 [20 pages]

Rai, Shirin M. (2008) "Analyzing Global Governance," in Shirin M. Rai and Georgina Waylen eds., *Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*, Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 19-42. [23 pages]

Rupert, Mark. 2003. "Globalising Common Sense: A Marxian-Gramscian (re-)vision of the Politics of Governance/Resistance" in David Armstrong, Theo Farrell and Bice Maiguashca eds., *Governance and Resistance in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 181-98.

Salter, Mark B. 2007. "Governmentalities of an Airport: Heterotopia and Confession," in *International Political Sociology*, 1(1) March, pp. 49-66. [17 pages]

Teubner, G., & Fischer-Lescano, A. (2004). Regime-collisions: the vain search for legal unity in the fragmentation of global law. *Michigan Journal of International Law*, 25(4), 999- 1046.

Walter, Timo. 2019. "The Road (Not) Taken? How the Indexicality of Practice Could Make or Break the 'New Constructivism.'" *European Journal of International Relations* 25(2): 538–61.

Week 5 (Feb 5) Hegemonies, hierarchies, assemblages and networks

Readings:

Wallerstein, I. 1983. [The Three Instances of Hegemony in the History of the Capitalist World-Economy](#). *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 24 (1–2): 100–108 [8 pages].

Winslett, Gary. 2019. "[Choosing among Options for Regulatory Cooperation](#)." *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 25(1): 100–122.

Bueger, Christian. 2018. "[Territory, authority, expertise: Global governance and the counter-piracy assemblage](#)." *European Journal of International Relations* 24(3): 614–637.

Abbott, Kenneth Wayne and Genschel, Philipp and Snidal, Duncan and Zangl, Bernhard. 2012. "[Orchestration: Global Governance through Intermediaries](#)" (August 6) [22 pages]

Optional readings:

Abbott, Kenneth W. and Duncan Snidal. 1998. "Why States Act Through Formal International Organizations," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 42(1), February, pp. 3-32, also in Paul F. Diehl, ed., *The Politics of Global Governance*, Third edition, (2005), Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp. 25-59.

Abbott, Kenneth W. and Duncan Snidal. 2000. "Hard and Soft Law in International Governance," *International Organization*, 54(3), Summer, pp. 421-56, also reprinted in Charlotte Ku and Paul F. Diehl, eds., *International Law: Classic and Contemporary Readings*, Second edition, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp. 51-79.

Bernstein, Steven, and Hamish van der Ven. 2017. "Best practices in global governance." *Review of International Studies* 43(3): 534–556

Chan, Stephen. 2018. "No More 'Local' Insurrection or Terrorism: The Dark Side of the Cobweb." *Global Society* 32(2): 149–161.

Coward, Martin. 2018. "[Against network thinking: A critique of pathological sovereignty](#)." *European Journal of International Relations* 24(2): 440–463 [23 pages]

Dijkstra, Hylke. 2017. "Collusion in International Organizations: How States Benefit from the Authority of Secretariats," *Global Governance* 23, pp. 601-18.

Goddard, Stacie E. 2018. "Embedded Revisionism: Networks, Institutions, and Challenges to World Order." *International Organization* 72(04): 763–97.

Gray, Julia. 2018. "Life, Death, or Zombie? The Vitality of International Organizations." *International Studies Quarterly* 62(1): 1–13.

Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri (2000) *Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press) Chapter 1.1 "World Order", pp. 3-21. [18 pages]

Lake, David. 2010. "Rightful Rules: Authority, Order and the Foundations of Global Governance," *International Studies Quarterly* 54:3, September.

- Nexon, Daniel H., and Iver B. Neumann. 2018. "Hegemonic-order theory: A field-theoretic account." *European Journal of International Relations* 24(3): 662–686.
- Slaughter, Anne-Marie. 2016. [How to Succeed in the Networked World: A Grand Strategy for the Digital Age Essays](#). *Foreign Affairs* 95: 76-89 [13 pages]
- Towns, Ann E., and Bahar Rumelili. 2017. "Taking the pressure: Unpacking the relation between norms, social hierarchies, and social pressures on states." *European Journal of International Relations* 23(4): 756–779.
- Zürn, Michael. 2017. "From constitutional rule to loosely coupled spheres of liquid authority: a reflexive approach." *International Theory* 9(02): 261–285.

Week 6 (Feb 12) The G20 and the UN

Readings:

- Cooper, Andrew and Vincent Pouliot. 2015. "[How much is global governance changing? The G20 as international practice](#)" *Cooperation and Conflict* 50:3, September, pp. 334-50 [16 pages].
- McKinney, Jared. 2018. "[How stalled global reform is fueling regionalism: China's engagement with the G20.](#)" *Third World Quarterly* 39(4): 709–726. [17 pages]
- Gehring, Thomas, and Thomas Dörfler. 2019. "[Constitutive Mechanisms of UN Security Council Practices: Precedent Pressure, Ratchet Effect, and Council Action Regarding Intrastate Conflicts.](#)" *Review of International Studies* 45(1): 120–40
- Kostakos, Georgios. 2018. "[About Form and Function: An Overview and Typology of UN Reforms Since the 1990s.](#)" *Global Society* 32(2): 176–197 [21 pages].

Note: the research proposal is due today.

Optional readings:

- Bures, Oldrich, and Jeremy Meyer. 2019. "The Anti-Mercenary Norm and United Nations' Use of Private Military and Security Companies." *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 25(1): 77–99.
- Downie, Christian. 2017. "One in 20: the G20, middle powers and global governance reform." *Third World Quarterly* 38(7): 1493–1510.
- Ralph, Jason, and Jess Gifkins. 2017. "The purpose of United Nations Security Council practice: Contesting competence claims in the normative context created by the Responsibility to Protect." *European Journal of International Relations* 23(3): 630–653.

Slaughter, Steven. 2017. "[The G20 and Global Justice: The Potential of Transnational Deliberative Democratic Theory.](#)" *Global Society* 31(4): 460–478 [18 pages].

Week 7 (Feb 19) Winter mid-term recess, NO CLASS

Week 8 (Feb 26) Emerging powers and the Global South

Readings:

Stephen, Matthew D. 2017. "[Emerging Powers and Emerging Trends in Global Governance.](#)" *Global Governance* 23(3), pp. 483-502 [18 pages].

Leveringhaus, Nicola, and Kate Sullivan de Estrada. 2018. "[Between conformity and innovation: China's and India's quest for status as responsible nuclear powers.](#)" *Review of International Studies* 44(03): 482–503 [21 pages].

Milhorance, Carolina and Soule-Kohndou, Folashade. 2017. "[South-South Cooperation and Change in International Organizations.](#)" *Global Governance* 23, pp. 461-81 [20 pages].

Mulvad, Andreas Møller. 2019. "[Xiism as a Hegemonic Project in the Making: Sino-Communist Ideology and the Political Economy of China's Rise.](#)" *Review of International Studies* 45(3): 449–70.

Optional readings:

Brazys, Samuel, and Alexander Dukalskis. 2017. "[Canary in the coal mine? China, the UNGA, and the changing world order.](#)" *Review of International Studies* 43(4): 742–764 [22 pages].

Cooper, Andrew. 2017. "Between Hub Status and Parallelism: Examining the G20-BRICS Dynamics in Global Governance." *International Organisations Research Journal* 12(2): 146–163.

Ebert, Hannes, and Tim Maurer. 2013. "Contested Cyberspace and Rising Powers." *Third World Quarterly* 34(6): 1054–1074.

Goddard, Stacie E. 2018. "Embedded Revisionism: Networks, Institutions, and Challenges to World Order." *International Organization* 72(04): 763–797.

Jacob, Suraj, John A. Scherpereel, and Melinda Adams. 2017. "Will rising powers undermine global norms? The case of gender-balanced decision-making." *European Journal of International Relations* 23(4): 780–808.

Week 9 (Mar 4) Private authority and the power of business

Readings:

Ruggie, John Gerard. 2014. "[Global Governance and 'New Governance Theory': Lessons from Business and Human Rights](#)," *Global Governance* 20(1), pp. 5-17 [12 pages].

Fuchs, Doris. 2007. *Business Power in Global Governance*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, Chapter 7, "Interpreting the Power of Business in Global Governance," pp. 159-80 [21 pages]. On Avenue.

Prakash, Aseem, and Matthew Potoski. 2007. "[Collective Action through Voluntary Environmental Programs: A Club Theory Perspective](#)." *Policy Studies Journal* 35(4): 773–792 [19 pages].

Abrahamsen, Rita, and Michael C. Williams. 2009. "[Security Beyond the State: Global Security Assemblages in International Politics](#)." *International Political Sociology* 3(1): 1–17.

Optional readings:

Abbott, Kenneth W., David Levi-Faur, and Duncan Snidal. 2017. "[Theorizing Regulatory Intermediaries: The RIT Model](#)." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 670(1): 14–35 [21 pages].

Büthe, Tim. 2010. "Global Private Politics: A Research Agenda." *Business and Politics* 12(03): 1–24.

Cassese, Sabino, Elisa D'Alterio and Maurizia De Bellis. 2012. "The Enforcement of Transnational Private Regulation: A Fictitious Oxymoron," in Fabrizio Cafaggi, ed. *Enforcement of Transnational Regulation: Ensuring Compliance in a Global World*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 331-71.

Cutler, A. Claire Virginia Haufler and Tony Porter, "The Contours and Significance of Private Authority in International Affairs," *Private Authority and International Affairs* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 333-376.

Green, Jessica F. 2014. *Rethinking private authority: agents and entrepreneurs in global environmental governance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Chapter 1, "A Theory of Private Authority," pp. 26-53.

Week 10 (Mar 11) Numbers and digital technologies

Readings:

Horstink, Lanka. 2017. "[Online Participation and the New Global Democracy: Aavaz, a Case Study](#)." *Global Society* 31(1): 101–124 [23 pages].

Tufekci, Zeynep. 2017. "[Twitter, Tear Gas, Revolution. How Protest Powered by Digital Tools Is Changing the World](#)." *Wired*. May 22, 2017.

Deibert, Ronald, and Rafal Rohozinski. 2010. "[Liberation vs. Control: The Future of Cyberspace](#)." *Journal of Democracy* 21(4): 43–57. [14 pages].

Bratton, Benjamin H. 2015. *The Stack: On Software and Sovereignty*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, Chapters 1-2, pp. 3-13 and pp. 41-51, 66-72 [26 pages]. On Avenue.

Shen, Hong. 2018. "[Building a Digital Silk Road? Situating the Internet in China's Belt and Road Initiative](#)." *International Journal of Communication* 12(0): 19. [28 pages].

Optional reading:

Broome, André, Alexandra Homolar, and Matthias Kranke. 2018. "Bad science: International organizations and the indirect power of global benchmarking." *European Journal of International Relations* 24(3): 514–539 [25 pages].

Hansen, Hans Krause and Porter, Tony (2012) "What do numbers do in transnational governance?" *International Political Sociology*. 6(4) 409-26 [17 pages].

Kelley, Judith G., and Beth A. Simmons. 2019. "Introduction: The Power of Global Performance Indicators." *International Organization* 73(3): 491–510.

Sleat, Matt. 2018. "Just cyber war?: Casus belli, information ethics, and the human perspective." *Review of International Studies* 44(02): 324–342.

Volkmer, Ingrid. 2014. *The global public sphere: public communication in the age of reflective interdependence*. Cambridge Malden: Polity.

Yeung, Karen. 2017. "[Algorithmic regulation: A critical interrogation: Algorithmic Regulation](#)." *Regulation & Governance*. [19 pages].

Week 11 (Mar 18) International law

Readings:

D'Amato, Anthony. 2010. "[Is International Law Really 'Law'?](#)" Faculty Working Papers. Paper 103, [16 pages].

Mills, Kurt, and Alan Bloomfield. 2018. "[African resistance to the International Criminal Court: Halting the advance of the anti-impunity norm](#)." *Review of International Studies* 44(01): 101–127 [26 pages].

Simmons, Beth and Allison Danner. 2011. "The International Criminal Court," in Armstrong, David, ed. *Routledge handbook of international law*. London: Routledge, pp. 239-45 [6 pages]. On Avenue.

Birdsall, Andrea. 2018. "[Drone Warfare in Counterterrorism and Normative Change: US Policy and the Politics of International Law](#)." *Global Society* 32(3): 241–62 [21 pages].

Beck, Robert J., Anthony Clark Arend, and Robert D. Vander Lugt, eds., (1996) *International Rules: Approaches from International Law and International Relations*, (New York: Oxford University Press), "Natural Law", pp. 34-7; "Legal Positivism", pp. 56-9; "The New Haven School", pp. 110-112, "The New Stream," pp. 227-9. [11 pages] On Avenue.

Optional readings:

- Arend, Anthony Clark, "Do Legal Rules Matter? International Law and International Politics" 38(2) *Virginia Journal of International Law* (1998).
- Beck, Robert J., Anthony Clark Arend, and Robert D. Vander Lugt, eds., (1996) *International Rules: Approaches from International Law and International Relations*, (New York: Oxford University Press), "Natural Law", pp. 34-7; "Legal Positivism", pp. 56-9; "The New Haven School", pp. 110-112, "The New Stream," pp. 227-9. [11 pages]
- Bode, Ingvild, and Hendrik Huelss. 2018. "Autonomous weapons systems and changing norms in international relations." *Review of International Studies* 44(03): 393–413.
- Búzás, Zoltán I. 2017. "Evading international law: How agents comply with the letter of the law but violate its purpose." *European Journal of International Relations* 23(4): 857–883.
- Charlesworth, Hilary, Christine Chinkin and Shelley Wright, 1991. "Feminist Approaches to International Law," *American Journal of International Law* 85, pp. 613-45, reprinted in Robert J. Beck et al, *International Rules: Approaches from International Law and International Relations*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 256-86.
- Claire Cutler (2002) "Law in the Global Polity" in Morten Ougaard and Richard Higgott, eds. *Towards a Global Polity* (London and New York: Routledge), pp. 58-77.
- Clark, Ian, Sebastian Kaempf, Christian Reus-Smit, and Emily Tannock. 2018. "Crisis in the laws of war? Beyond compliance and effectiveness." *European Journal of International Relations* 24(2): 319–343 [24 pages].
- Goldstein, Judith, Miles Kahler, Robert O. Keohane and Anne-Marie Slaughter, eds., (2000) "Legalization and World Politics" a special issue of *International Organization* 54(3), Summer, "Introduction" and "The Concept of Legalization" by Kenneth W. Abbott, Robert O. Keohane, Andrew Moravcsik, Anne-Marie Slaughter, and Duncan Snidal", pp. 385-419. [34 pages]
- Lall, Ranjit. 2017. "Beyond Institutional Design: Explaining the Performance of International Organizations." *International Organization* 71(2): 245–280.

- McKeown, Ryder. 2017. "International law and its discontents: Exploring the dark sides of international law in International Relations." *Review of International Studies* 43(3): 430–452.
- McWhinney, Edward. *The International Court of Justice and the Western Tradition of International Law*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands; Boston: Nijhoff, 1987
- Oran R. Young, (1999) *Governance in World Affairs* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), Chapter 5 "The Effectiveness of International Regimes", pp. 108-32 and Chapter 7, "Institutional Interplay in International Society", pp. 163-88.
- Roper, Steven D. 2018. "[Applying Universal Jurisdiction to Civil Cases: Variations in State Approaches to Monetizing Human Rights Violations](#)," *Global Governance* 24, pp. 103-118 [15 pages]
- Simmons, Beth A. 2003. "Compliance with International Agreements," in Charlotte Ku and Paul F. Diehl, eds., *International Law: Classic and Contemporary Readings*, Second edition, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp.181-99, originally published in *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 1, 1998. [18 pages]
- Sreejith, S. G. 2017. "An auto-critique of TWAIL's historical fallacy: sketching an alternative manifesto." *Third World Quarterly* 38(7): 1511–1530.

Week 12 (Mar 25) Global civil society and norm entrepreneurs

Readings:

- Finnemore, Martha and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) "[International Norm Dynamics and Political Change](#)", *International Organization* 52(4), Autumn, pp. 888-917. [29 pages].
- Kalm, Sara, Lisa Strömbom, and Anders Uhlin. 2019. "[Civil Society Democratising Global Governance? Potentials and Limitations of 'Counter-Democracy'](#)." *Global Society* 33(4): 499–519 [20 pages].
- Norman, David J. 2019. "[Transnational Civil Society and Informal Public Spheres in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime](#)." *European Journal of International Relations* 25(2): 486–510 [24 pages].
- Scholte, Jan Aart. 2004. "[Civil Society and Democratically Accountable Global Governance](#)." *Government and Opposition* 39:2, April, pp. 211-33 [22 pages].

Optional reading:

- Chesterman, Simon. 2018. "How 'Public' is Public International Law? Toward a Typology of NGOs and Civil Society Actors," *Global Governance* 24, pp. 159-68.

- de Almagro, Maria Martin. 2018. "Lost boomerangs, the rebound effect and transnational advocacy networks: a discursive approach to norm diffusion." *Review of International Studies* 44(4): 672–693 [21 pages].
- Díez García, Rubén. 2017. "The 'Indignados' in Space and Time: Transnational Networks and Historical Roots." *Global Society* 31(1): 43–64.
- Luxon, Emily Matthews, and Wendy H. Wong. 2017. "[Agenda-Setting in Greenpeace and Amnesty: The Limits of Centralisation in International NGOs.](#)" *Global Society* 31(4): 479–509 [30 pages].
- Marchand, Marianne. 2003. "Challenging Globalisation: Toward a Feminist Understanding of Resistance," in David Armstrong, Theo Farrell and Bice Maiguashca eds., *Governance and Resistance in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 145-160.
- Minami, Daisuke. 2019. "Lost in Translation: Problematizing the Localization of Transnational Activism." *European Journal of International Relations* 25(2): 511–37.
- Petrova, Margarita H. 2018. "Weapons prohibitions through immanent critique: NGOs as emancipatory and (de)securitising actors in security governance." *Review of International Studies* 44(4): 619–653.
- Rothe, Delf, and David Shim. 2018. "Sensing the ground: On the global politics of satellite-based activism." *Review of International Studies* 44(03): 414–437.

Week 13 (Apr 1) Future orders, Trump, US hegemony

Readings:

- van Noort, Carolijn. 2019. "[The Construction of Power in the Strategic Narratives of the BRICS.](#)" *Global Society* 33(4): 462–78 [16 pages].
- Drolet, Jean-François, and Michael C Williams. 2018. "[Radical conservatism and global order: international theory and the new right.](#)" *International Theory* 10(3): 285–313 [28 pages].
- Skidmore, David. 2005. [Understanding the Unilateralist Turn in U.S. Foreign Policy.](#) *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1 (2): 207–228 [21 pages].
- Fehl, Caroline, and Johannes Thimm. 2019. "[Dispensing With the Indispensable Nation?: Multilateralism Minus One in the Trump Era.](#)" *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 25(1): 23–46 [23 pages].
- Mayer, Frederick W., and Nicola Phillips. 2019. "[Global Inequality and the Trump Administration.](#)" *Review of International Studies* 45(3): 502–10 [8 pages].

Optional readings:

- Agné, Hans. 2018. "[Democratism: Towards an explanatory approach to international politics.](#)" *Review of International Studies* 44(03): 547–569 [22 pages].

- Allan, Bentley B., Srdjan Vucetic, and Ted Hopf. 2018. "[The Distribution of Identity and the Future of International Order: China's Hegemonic Prospects.](#)" *International Organization* 72(04): 839–869 [30 pages].
- Eckert, Sandra, and Tanja A. Börzel. 2012. "Experimentalist governance: An introduction: Introduction." *Regulation & Governance* 6(3): 371–377.
- Freeman, Dena. 2018. "[De-Democratisation and Rising Inequality: The Underlying Cause of a Worrying Trend.](#)" *Global Society* 32(3): 344–364 [20 pages].
- Harman, Sophie, and Sara E. Davies. 2019. "President Donald Trump as Global Health's Displacement Activity." *Review of International Studies* 45(3): 491–501.
- Jentleson, Bruce W. 2017. "[Global Governance, the United Nations and the Challenge of Trumping Trump.](#)" *Global Governance* 23:2, pp. 143-49 [6 pages].
- Lipsky, Phillip Y. 2018. "Democracy and Financial Crisis." *International Organization* 72(04): 937–968.
- Newman, Edward. 2018. "The EU Global Strategy in a Transitional International Order." *Global Society* 32(2): 198–209.
- Nye, Joseph S. Jr. 2017. Will The Liberal Order Survive: The History of an Idea Out of Order. *Foreign Affairs* 96: [i]-16
- Patrick, Stewart M. 2017. [Trump and World Order: The Return of Self-Help Trump Time.](#) *Foreign Affairs* 96: 52–59 [7 pages].
- Schmidt, Vivien A. 2017. "Britain-out and Trump-in: a discursive institutionalist analysis of the British referendum on the EU and the US presidential election." *Review of International Political Economy* 24(2): 248–269 [21 pages].
- Walter, Stefanie, Elias Dinas, Ignacio Jurado, and Nikitas Konstantinidis. 2018. "Noncooperation by Popular Vote: Expectations, Foreign Intervention, and the Vote in the 2015 Greek Bailout Referendum." *International Organization* 72(04): 969–994.
- Weiss, Thomas G. and Rorden Wilkinson. 2018. "[The Globally Governed—Everyday Global Governance.](#)" *Global Governance* 24, pp. 193-210 [17 pages].

Note: the research paper is due by midnight Wednesday April 8, midnight.

Course Policies

Submission of Assignments

Assignments will be submitted directly to the instructor in hard copy form or as an email attachment.

Grades

Grades will be based on the McMaster University grading scale:

MARK	GRADE
90-100	A+
85-90	A
80-84	A-
77-79	B+
73-76	B
70-72	B-
69-0	F

Late Assignments

For the topic statement, research proposal, and research paper, all students have the option of an extension of up to one week of the deadline specified in the course outline above. All requests for deadline extensions longer than one week must be made in advance of the assignment's original deadline, and must be accompanied by a documented justification for why a deadline extension of longer than a week is needed. Challenges such as clustering of assignments or final presentations in other courses that were announced earlier in the term should be anticipated and planned for. It is your responsibility to make contingency plans for unforeseen problems such as computer and car failures. Assignments that are completed after the extended deadline, if accepted, will be penalized by one grade point per day including Saturday and Sunday (a grade point is the interval between A+ and A, A and A-, etc.).

Absences, Missed Work, Illness

Extensions on assignments can be arranged in the event of illness or similar circumstances. All extensions must be arranged in advance of the day on which a paper is due.

Avenue to Learn

In this course we will be using Avenue to Learn. 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.

University Policies

Academic Integrity Statement

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behavior in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials you earn 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 behavior 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 your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty please refer to the [Academic Integrity Policy](#).

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 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. 28652 or e-mail sas@mcmaster.ca. For further information, consult McMaster University’s Policy for [Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities](#).

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.

Course Modification

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.

Research Proposal Report Form

Student Name: _____

Instructions: This form is to allow you to show that you consulted all the required electronic sources. You should include at least 20 references in your bibliography, including at least two for each of the categories listed in the form below, which should include at least two recent news articles obtained from LexisNexis or Google and at least two relevant documents obtained from government, business or NGOs via a Google search. In cases where your search did not turn up relevant references you should provide your search terms and any other brief relevant commentary under “Comments” to show that you did the search. You should use some numbering system so that you can make clear for each source which items in your bibliography were found using it. For instance, you could number all the items in your bibliography and you could use those numbers in this form to show that you did the search successfully. You are not expected to read or obtain all the references listed here. Part of the goal of this assignment is to provide a report on the state of the knowledge in the field and a list of relevant materials can help address that goal. If the publication looks especially useful and is not available at McMaster University, then it may be worth ordering through RACER (Inter-Library Loan).

Sources	Examined? (Y or N)	Reference Numbers	Comments
LexisNexis News			
LexisNexis Law Reviews*			
Social Sciences Citation Index, ABI/INFORM, or comparable databases			
Google Search (not Google Scholar)			
NGO and public sector websites			

**Note: it is important to make sure you search the law reviews. These may come up from a regular search. You can also restrict your search to law reviews: when you get to LexisNexis click on the “Search by Subject or Topic” tab and then on the “Law Reviews” hyperlink to access the law journals.*