

GLOBAL GOVERNANCE
POLSCI 777 / GLOBALST 777
Term 1, Fall 2022

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Course Description

An urgent and challenging question today is whether or how global governance can mobilize the political will, resources, institutional capacities, and technical expertise to address planetary-scale problems that are proliferating, accelerating, and growing in severity. The world is still divided into competitive sovereign states, making cooperation difficult. Cross-border flows, including trade, money, weapons, information, pathogens, pollution and people, create endless efforts to develop rules and other institutional arrangements to organize, protect, exploit or in some other way manage these flows and their effects. This course explores these evolving efforts, including how they are theorized, put into practice, and studied empirically.

Beginning in the 19th century a growing number of international institutions and laws were established, often with great hopes for their promise in preventing war and facilitating cross-border collaboration in health, science, economics, and many other domains. 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. In the mid-20th century the emphasis of this subfield was on formal intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) such as the United Nations or the International Monetary Fund, and the most important of today's IGOs were created at that time.

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, for instance by examining the relevance of shared norms or convergent interests among states. 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 in recent decades has been a shift towards greater reliance on informal and non-governmental institutions, often conceptualized as involving networks or assemblages.

Since World War II the global order has also been shaped by US hegemony. At present there are multiple signs that we are living through a historic moment of the waning of US hegemony and an uncertain future for the global liberal order associated with it. These signs include Brexit, the Trump administration's aggressive rejection of multilateralism and abandonment of the type of leadership that has characterized the global order since World War II, and a populist backlash in many other countries against aspects of globalization. As well we are seeing newly assertive roles by powers outside the US and its G7 allies, such as the BRICS countries. 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.

This course typically has included students with varying degrees of familiarity with international relations and global governance, including the theories that have been developed to understand these. The course has brought together students enrolled in the PhD program in Political Science, as well as many students from other disciplines such as Health Sciences. Some students have never taken social sciences courses while others have only taken social science courses. Students from across this spectrum of prior familiarity with the material have very successfully completed this course and benefitted from it. Students with no previous courses in social sciences have at times found it challenging to get up to speed on the theoretical aspects of the course. In response to a suggestion from one of these students from the winter 2022 offering of this course I will be posting some supplementary videos to fill in this background material. These will be available to all students in the course as we start the course in Fall 2022.

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 fast-paced discussion. This verbal communication is an essential learning outcome of the course and all students are expected to be able to participate in this, including responding on the spot to questions in seminar discussion in the classroom, or on Microsoft Teams if required by the evolving pandemic.

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. Please email the instructor if you have difficulty locating a reading.

- 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 Scheinpflug, eds. 2017. *International Relations Theory*. Bristol, U.K: E-International Relations Publishing.

Class Format

If the ongoing pandemic permits, the course will be meeting face-to-face for seminar sessions weekly. If we are required for public health reasons to go online, then the course will proceed with synchronous virtual seminar sessions and break-out discussions using MS Teams. An important part of the seminar will involve students being called upon to comment on the week's readings. 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 prepared presentations of short papers and research papers as detailed below. You should come to each seminar with thoughts about each reading so that you can convey them in the discussion, adjusting your remarks to the ongoing flow of discussion to acknowledge and not duplicate excessively what others have said.

Course Evaluation – Overview

1. **Topic statement and research proposal - 10%**. Topic Statement is due Friday September 30; Research proposal is due Friday October 28. Both should be submitted through Avenue to the appropriate assignment folder by 11:59 pm on the due date.
2. **Class participation – 25%**. Due weekly through most of the course.
3. **Short paper and presentation on a week's topic, 1500 words – 20%**. Due on Avenue by 11:59 pm one day prior to the day of the seminar in which it will be discussed.
4. **One research paper, 5000 words – 45%**, due on Avenue by Friday December 9, 11:59 pm.

Course Evaluation – Details

Topic statement and research proposal (10%)

Topic statement is due Friday September 30; Research proposal is due Friday October 28. Both should be submitted to the appropriate assignment folder in Avenue by 11:59 pm on 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 you hope to say something new on this topic. This should be something new for the world and not just for you. 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 Nexis Uni 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. The topic statement will account for about 5% of this combined grade.

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. To keep the discussion moving, the instructor likely will frequently directly call upon you, to ask you to make comments or answer questions. 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. During the seminar everyone will be asked to comment on all or some of the readings, to indicate what you found interesting, surprising, or troubling in the week's readings. When commenting on a reading you should aim to think about what has already been said and try to add or complement it. 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 up to three missed classes 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 on Avenue any time up to the last class.

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

Your written paper is due on Avenue by 11:59 pm one day prior to the class of the week in which 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 go beyond the week's readings, while also complementing them. It should not be a summary of the readings and it should 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 written paper by 11:59 pm the day before 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. The time limit will be calculated as follows: $(60/x)$ rounded to the nearest whole number where x =the number of students enrolled in the seminar.

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

1. Paper due on Avenue by Friday December 9, 11:59 pm.

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 discussing developments and publications that have appeared in

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. You may pre-record your presentation and make it available for the class to view at least two days in advance of the seminar, or you may present it live and synchronously in the seminar itself. 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 time limit for the research presentations will be calculated as follows: $(60/x)$ rounded to the nearest whole number where x =the number of students enrolled in the seminar.

Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings

Week 1 (September 14) Introduction to the course

Readings:

Recommended:

Overbeek, Henk, Klaus Dingwerth, Philipp Pattberg, and Daniel Compagnon. 2010. "[Forum: Global Governance: Decline or Maturation of an Academic Concept?](#)" *International Studies Review* 12(4): 696–719.

Optional:

Domínguez, Roberto, and Rafael Velázquez Flores. 2018. "[Global Governance.](#)" In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*, Oxford University Press.

Week 2 (September 21) 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]

Acharya, Amitav (2022) "[Race and racism in the founding of the modern world order.](#)" *International Affairs* 98(1), January, pp. 23-43. [20 pages]

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.
- Goodman, Sara Wallace, and Thomas B. Pepinsky. 2021. “The Exclusionary Foundations of Embedded Liberalism.” *International Organization* 75(2): 411–439.
- 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]
- McCourt, David M. 2020. “American Hegemony and International Theory at the Council on Foreign Relations, 1953–1954.” *The International History Review* 42(3): 565–588.
- Meng, Weizhan, and Weixing Hu. 2020. “Reacting to China’s rise throughout history: balancing and accommodating in East Asia.” *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 20(1): 119–148.
- Mignolo, Walter D. 2021. [“Coloniality and globalization: a decolonial take.”](#) *Globalizations* 18(5): 720–737.
- 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.
- Peterson, V. Spike. 2020. [“Family matters in racial logics: Tracing intimacies, inequalities, and ideologies.”](#) *Review of International Studies* 46(2): 177–196.
- 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
- Strang, David. 1991. [“Global Patterns of Decolonization, 1500-1987.”](#) *International Studies Quarterly* 35(4): 429–54.
- Stroikos, Dimitrios. 2020. “China, India, and the social construction of technology in international society: The English School meets Science and Technology Studies.” *Review of International Studies* 46(5): 713–731.
- Thakur, Vineet, and Karen Smith. 2021. “Introduction to the Special Issue: The multiple births of International Relations.” *Review of International Studies* 47(5): 571–579.
- Zala, Benjamin. 2017. “Great power management and ambiguous order in nineteenth-century international society.” [Review of International Studies](#) 43(2): 367–388.

Week 3 (September 28) 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.

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 at 11:59 pm on Friday September 30.

Optional readings:

Adler, Emanuel, and Alena Drieschova. 2021. "The Epistemological Challenge of Truth Subversion to the Liberal International Order." *International Organization* 75(2): 359–386.

Camacho, Alejandro E., and Robert L. Glicksman. 2021. "Designing Regulation Across Organizations: Assessing the Functions and Dimensions of Governance." *Regulation & Governance* 15: S102–S122.

Choer Moraes, Henrique. 2019. "Beyond a Seat at the Table : Participation and Influence in Global Governance." *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 25(4): 563–586.

Debre, Maria Josepha, and Hylke Dijkstra. 2021. "Institutional design for a post-liberal order: why some international organizations live longer than others." *European Journal of International Relations* 27(1): 311–339.

Deudney, Daniel, and G. John Ikenberry. 2021. "Getting Restraint Right: Liberal Internationalism and American Foreign Policy." *Survival* 63(6): 63–100.

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 (October 5) 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].

Altan-Olcay, Özlem (she/her/hers) (2022) "[Making and unmaking culture: gender experts, faith, and the international governance of gender](#)", *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 24:2, 286-309 [23 pages]

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

Búzás, Zoltán I. 2021. "[Racism and Antiracism in the Liberal International Order.](#)" *International Organization* 75(2): 440–463.

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

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

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

Murray, Christopher. 2020. "[Imperial dialectics and epistemic mapping: From decolonisation to anti-Eurocentric IR.](#)" *European Journal of International Relations* 26(2): 419–442.

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]

Orsini, Amandine, Philippe Le Prestre, Peter M Haas, Malte Brosig, Philipp Pattberg, Oscar Widerberg, Laura Gomez-Mera, et al. 2020. "Forum: Complex Systems and International Governance." *International Studies Review* 22 (4): 1008–38. <https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viz005>.

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.
- 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]
- 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 of October 10 - 14 Mid-term Recess, NO CLASS

Week 5 (October 19) 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].

Kreienkamp, Julia, and Tom Pegram. 2020. "[Governing Complexity: Design Principles for the Governance of Complex Global Catastrophic Risks](#)." *International Studies Review*, October.

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.
- Acuto, Michele and Simon Curtis (2014) *Reassembling International Theory: Assemblage Thinking and International Relations*, London: Palgrave Pivot.
- 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.
- Winslett, Gary. 2019. "[Choosing among Options for Regulatory Cooperation](#)." *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 25(1): 100–122.
- Zürn, Michael. 2017. "From constitutional rule to loosely coupled spheres of liquid authority: a reflexive approach." *International Theory* 9(02): 261–285.

Week 6 (October 26) The G20, BRICS and the UN

Readings:

Berger, Axel, Andrew F Cooper, and Sven Grimm. 2019. "[A decade of G20 summitry: Assessing the benefits, limitations and future of global club](#)

[governance in turbulent times.](#)” *South African Journal of International Affairs* 26(4): 493–504. [11 pages]

Hajnal, Peter (2022) [“Whither the G7 and G20?”](#) *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 28:2, 127-143 [14 pages]

Malone, David M., and Adam Day. 2020. [“The UN at 75: How Today’s Challenges Will Shape the Next 25 Years.”](#) *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 26(2): 236–250.[14 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]

Reinalda, Bob. 2020. [“Institutional Development of the United Nations Secretariat.”](#) *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 26(2): 325–339. [14 pages]

Walling, Carrie Booth. 2020. [“The United Nations Security Council and Human Rights.”](#) *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 26(2): 291–306. [15 pages]

Note: the research proposal is due Friday October 28 at 11:59 pm.

Optional readings:

Acharya, Amitav, and Dan Plesch. 2020. “The United Nations: Managing and Reshaping a Changing World Order.” *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 26(2): 221–235.

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.

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].

Downie, Christian. 2017. “One in 20: the G20, middle powers and global governance reform.” *Third World Quarterly* 38(7): 1493–1510.

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

Kentikelenis, Alexander, and Erik Voeten. 2021. “Legitimacy challenges to the liberal world order: Evidence from United Nations speeches, 1970–2018.” *The Review of International Organizations* 16(4): 721–754.

- 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].
- Mayer, Maximilian, and Xin Zhang. 2021. "Theorizing China-world integration: sociospatial reconfigurations and the modern silk roads." *Review of International Political Economy* 28(4): 974–1003.
- McNally, Christopher A. 2020. "Chaotic mélange: neo-liberalism and neo-statism in the age of Sino-capitalism." *Review of International Political Economy* 27(2): 281–301
- Nuruzzaman, Mohammed. 2020. "[Why BRICS Is No Threat to the Post-war Liberal World Order.](#)" *International Studies* 57(1): 51–66. [15 pages]
- 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].
- Winther, Bjarke Zinck and Lindegaard, Laura Bang. 2021. "In the name of democracy: UNSC reform at the intersection of discourse and governmentality." *Discourse & Society*, 32(2), pp.231-253.

Week 7 (November 2) China's role

Readings:

- Wang, Hongying. 2019. "[The New Development Bank and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: China's Ambiguous Approach to Global Financial Governance.](#)" *Development and Change* 50(1): 221–44.
- Chen, Muyang. 2021. "[Infrastructure finance, late development, and China's reshaping of international credit governance.](#)" *European Journal of International Relations* 27(3): 830–857.
- 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.

One of the following. A sign up sheet for these will be posted on Avenue.

- A. Zhao, Suisheng. 2021. "[Rhetoric and Reality of China's Global Leadership in the Context of COVID-19: Implications for the US-Led World Order and Liberal Globalization.](#)" *Journal of Contemporary China* 30(128): 233–48.

- B. McNally, Christopher A. 2020. "[Chaotic mélange: neo-liberalism and neo-statism in the age of Sino-capitalism.](#)" *Review of International Political Economy* 27(2): 281–301
- C. de Graaff, Nana. 2020. "[China Inc. Goes Global. Transnational and National Networks of China's Globalizing Business Elite.](#)" *Review of International Political Economy* 27(2): 208–33.
- D. Weiss, Jessica Chen, and Jeremy L. Wallace. 2021. "[Domestic Politics, China's Rise, and the Future of the Liberal International Order.](#)" *International Organization* 75(2): 635–64.

Optional readings:

- 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.
- 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].
- Chu, May. 2020. "Horses for courses: China's accommodative approach to food standard-setting in response to the internationalization of regulation." *Regulation & Governance* 14(3): 514–530.
- Cooper, Andrew. 2017. "Between Hub Status and Parallelism: Examining the G20-BRICS Dynamics in Global Governance." *International Organisations Research Journal* 12(2): 146–163.
- de Graaff, Nana, Tobias ten Brink, and Inderjeet Parmar. 2020. "China's rise in a liberal world order in transition – introduction to the FORUM." *Review of International Political Economy* 27(2): 191–207.
- Ebert, Hannes, and Tim Maurer. 2013. "Contested Cyberspace and Rising Powers." *Third World Quarterly* 34(6): 1054–1074.
- Evenett, Simon J. 2021. "Power transition and the regulatory state in large emerging markets: Norm-breaking after the global financial crisis." *Regulation & Governance* 15(3): 472–491.
- Goddard, Stacie E. 2018. "Embedded Revisionism: Networks, Institutions, and Challenges to World Order." *International Organization* 72(04): 763–797.
- Hopewell, Kristen. 2021. "Power transitions and global trade governance: The impact of a rising China on the export credit regime." *Regulation & Governance* 15(3): 634–652.
- 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.
- Knaack, Peter, and Julian Gruin. 2021. "From shadow banking to digital financial inclusion: China's rise and the politics of epistemic contestation within the

- Financial Stability Board." *Review of International Political Economy* 28(6): 1582–1606.
- Larionova, Marina, and Andrey Shelepov. 2019. "The G20 and BRICS: Engaging with international institutions for global governance." *South African Journal of International Affairs* 26(4): 643–661.
- Larson, Deborah Welch. 2019. "Status competition among Russia, India, and China in clubs: a source of stalemate or innovation in global governance." *Contemporary Politics* 25(5): 549–566.
- Li, Xinxiang, and Teerooven Soobaroyen. 2021. "Accounting, Ideological and Political Work and Chinese multinational operations: A neo-Gramscian perspective." *Critical Perspectives on Accounting* 74(Complete). https://journals.scholarsportal.info/details/10452354/v74icomplete/nfp_aia_pwacmoanp.xml (Accessed December 14, 2021).
- Liss, Jesse. 2021. "Globalization as ideology: China's effects on organizational advocacy and relations among US trade policy stakeholder groups." *Review of International Political Economy* 28(4): 1055–1082.
- Mayer, Maximilian, and Xin Zhang. 2021. "[Theorizing China-world integration: sociospatial reconfigurations and the modern silk roads.](#)" *Review of International Political Economy* 28(4): 974–1003.
- Nanni, Riccardo. 2021. "The 'China' question in mobile Internet standard-making: Insights from expert interviews." *Telecommunications Policy* 45(6). https://journals.scholarsportal.info/details/03085961/v45i0006/nfp_tqimisifei.xml (Accessed December 14, 2021).
- 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].
- van Noort, Carolijn, and Thomas Colley. 2021. "How do strategic narratives shape policy adoption? Responses to China's Belt and Road Initiative." *Review of International Studies* 47(1): 39–63.
- van Noort, Carolijn. 2019. "[The Construction of Power in the Strategic Narratives of the BRICS.](#)" *Global Society* 33(4): 462–78 [16 pages].
- Weiss, Jessica Chen, and Jeremy L. Wallace. 2021. "Domestic Politics, China's Rise, and the Future of the Liberal International Order." *International Organization* 75(2): 635–664.

Week 8 (November 9) Private authority and the power of business

Readings:

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.

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

Marques, José Carlos, and Burkard Eberlein. 2021. "[Grounding transnational business governance: A political-strategic perspective on government responses in the Global South](#)." *Regulation & Governance* 15(4): 1209–1229. [20 pages].

One of the following. A sign-up sheet will be provided on Avenue. You will be expected to explain the article to those who haven't read it.

- A. Hidayat, Nia Kurniawati, Astrid Offermans, and Pieter Glasbergen. 2018. "[Sustainable Palm Oil as a Public Responsibility? On the Governance Capacity of Indonesian Standard for Sustainable Palm Oil \(ISPO\)](#)." *Agriculture and Human Values* 35(1): 223–42.
- B. Prakash, Aseem, and Matthew Potoski. 2006. "[Racing to the Bottom? Trade, Environmental Governance, and ISO 14001](#)." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 350–64. [note: you may skim over the technical discussion of quantitative methods]
- C. Bartley, Tim. 2022. "[Power and the Practice of Transnational Private Regulation](#)." *New Political Economy* 27(2): 188–202.

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.

Cashore, Benjamin, Jette Steen Knudsen, Jeremy Moon, and Hamish van der Ven. 2021. "[Private authority and public policy interactions in global context: Governance spheres for problem solving](#)." *Regulation & Governance* 15(4): 1166–1182.

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.

- Cutler, A. Claire, and Thomas Dietz, eds. 2017. *The politics of private transnational governance by contract*. New York: Routledge.
- Grabs, Janina, Graeme Auld, and Benjamin Cashore. 2021. "Private regulation, public policy, and the perils of adverse ontological selection." *Regulation & Governance* 15(4): 1183–1208.
- 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.
- Hakelberg, Lukas, and Thomas Rixen. 2021. "Is neoliberalism still spreading? The impact of international cooperation on capital taxation." *Review of International Political Economy* 28(5): 1142–1168
- 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].
- 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].
- Simmons, Beth A., and Hein E. Goemans. 2021. "Built on Borders: Tensions with the Institution Liberalism (Thought It) Left Behind." *International Organization* 75(2): 387–410.
- Tourinho, Marcos. 2021. "The Co-Constitution of Order." *International Organization* 75(2): 258–281.

Week 9 (November 16) The global liberal order in trouble?

Readings:

- Skidmore, David. 2005. [Understanding the Unilateralist Turn in U.S. Foreign Policy](#). *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1 (2): 207–228 [21 pages].
- Börzel, Tanja A., and Michael Zürn. 2021. "[Contestations of the Liberal International Order: From Liberal Multilateralism to Postnational Liberalism](#)." *International Organization* 75(2): 282–305. [23 pages]
- Lavenex, Sandra, Omar Serrano, and Tim Büthe. 2021. "[Power transitions and the rise of the regulatory state: Global market governance in flux](#)." *Regulation & Governance* 15(3): 445–471. [26 pages]

Optional reading:

- Adler, Emanuel, and Alena Drieschova. 2021. "The Epistemological Challenge of Truth Subversion to the Liberal International Order." *International Organization* 75(2): 359–386.
- Adler-Nissen, Rebecca, and Ayşe Zarakol. 2021. "Struggles for Recognition: The Liberal International Order and the Merger of Its Discontents." *International Organization* 75(2): 611–634.

- 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].
- Ba, Heather. 2021. "Hegemonic instability: complex interdependence and the dynamics of financial crisis in the contemporary international system." *European Journal of International Relations* 27(2): 369–402.
- Börzel, Tanja A., and Michael Zürn. 2021. "Contestations of the Liberal International Order: From Liberal Multilateralism to Postnational Liberalism." *International Organization* 75(2): 282–305. [23 pages]
- Broz, J. Lawrence, Jeffrey Frieden, and Stephen Weymouth. 2021. "Populism in Place: The Economic Geography of the Globalization Backlash." *International Organization* 75(2): 464–494.
- Cha, Taesuh. 2020. "Is anybody still a globalist? Rereading the trajectory of US grand strategy and the end of the transnational moment." *Globalizations* 17(1): 60–76.
- Deudney, Daniel, and G. John Ikenberry. 2021. "Getting Restraint Right: Liberal Internationalism and American Foreign Policy." *Survival* 63(6): 63–100.
- Dingwerth, Klaus, Henning Schmidtke, and Tobias Weise. 2020. "The rise of democratic legitimation: why international organizations speak the language of democracy." *European Journal of International Relations* 26(3): 714–741.
- 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].
- Eckersley, Robyn. 2020. "Rethinking leadership: understanding the roles of the US and China in the negotiation of the Paris Agreement." *European Journal of International Relations* 26(4): 1178–1202.
- Eckert, Sandra, and Tanja A. Börzel. 2012. "Experimentalist governance: An introduction: Introduction." *Regulation & Governance* 6(3): 371–377.
- Farrell, Henry, and Abraham L. Newman. 2021. "The Janus Face of the Liberal International Information Order: When Global Institutions Are Self-Undermining." *International Organization* 75(2): 333–358.
- 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].
- Flaherty, Thomas M., and Ronald Rogowski. 2021. "Rising Inequality As a Threat to the Liberal International Order." *International Organization* 75(2): 495–523.
- Freeman, Dena. 2018. "[De-Democratisation and Rising Inequality: The Underlying Cause of a Worrying Trend.](#)" *Global Society* 32(3): 344–364 [20 pages].

- Goodman, Sara Wallace, and Thomas B. Pepinsky. 2021. "The Exclusionary Foundations of Embedded Liberalism." *International Organization* 75(2): 411–439.
- Lake, David A., Lisa L. Martin, and Thomas Risse. 2021. "[Challenges to the Liberal Order: Reflections on International Organization.](#)" *International Organization* 75(2): 225–257. [32 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].
- 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].
- Rodrik, Dani. 2020. "Putting Global Governance in Its Place." *The World Bank Research Observer* 35(1): 1–18.
- Stephen, Matthew D. 2017. "[Emerging Powers and Emerging Trends in Global Governance,](#)" *Global Governance* 23(3), pp. 483-502 [18 pages].

Week 10 (November 23) 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].
- Constable, Marianne. 2021. "[Affective Justice: The International Criminal Court and the Pan-Africanist Pushback.](#)" *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 53(3): 609–11.
- 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.

One of the following. A sign-up sheet will be provided on Avenue.

- A. Rapp, Kyle. 2020. "[Law and contestation in international negotiations.](#)" *Review of International Studies* 46(5): 672–690.
- B. Crasnic, Liorana, Nikhil Kalyanpur, and Abraham Newman. 2017. "[Networked liabilities: Transnational authority in a world of transnational business.](#)" *European Journal of International Relations* 23(4): 906–929.

Optional readings:

- 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].
- 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 at 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, Annie-Marie Slaughter, and Duncan Snidal", pp. 385-419. [34 pages]
- Haines, Fiona, and Kate Macdonald. 2020. "[Nonjudicial business regulation and community access to remedy.](#)" *Regulation & Governance* 14(4): 840–860.

- Johns, Leslie, Calvin Thrall, and Rachel L. Wellhausen. 2019. "Judicial economy and moving bars in international investment arbitration." *The Review of International Organizations* 15(4): 923–945.
- Kahraman, Filiz, Nikhil Kalyanpur, and Abraham L. Newman. 2020. "Domestic courts, transnational law, and international order." *European Journal of International Relations* 26(1_suppl): 184–208.
- 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 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.
- 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.
- Wang, Lei. 2021. "Domestic regulatory reform and transgovernmental networks: Brazil and China in the global competition regime." *Regulation & Governance* 15(3): 492–512.

Week 11 (November 30) Global civil society, digital activism, 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].

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].

Horstink, Lanka. 2017. "[Online Participation and the New Global Democracy: Avaaz, 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.

Optional reading:

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].

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].

Dellmuth, Lisa M., and Elizabeth A. Bloodgood. 2019. "[Advocacy group effects in global governance: populations, strategies, and political opportunity structures.](#)" *Interest Groups & Advocacy* 8(3): 255–269.

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.

Scholte, Jan Aart. 2004. "[Civil Society and Democratically Accountable Global Governance.](#)" *Government and Opposition* 39:2, April, pp. 211-33 [22 pages].

Week 12 (December 7) Global health governance

Readings:

Lee, Kelley, and Julianne Piper. 2020. "[The WHO and the COVID-19 Pandemic: Less Reform, More Innovation.](#)" *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 26(4): 523–533. [10 pages]

Anisin, Alexei. 2021a. "[The Contradictions of COVID-19 and the Persistence of Western Hegemony.](#)" *Politikon* 48(2): 331–346 [15 pages]

de Bengy Puyvallée, Antoine, and Katerini Tagmatarchi Storeng. 2022. "[COVAX, Vaccine Donations and the Politics of Global Vaccine Inequity.](#)" *Globalization and Health* 18(1): 26 [14 pages].

Hanrieder, Tine. 2020. "[Priorities, Partners, Politics: The WHO's Mandate beyond the Crisis.](#)" *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 26(4): 534–543. [9 pages]

Norrlöf, Carla. 2020. "[Is covid-19 a liberal democratic curse? Risks for liberal international order.](#)" *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 33(5): 799–813. [14 pages]

Optional readings:

Agostinis, Giovanni, and Kevin Parthenay. 2021. "Exploring the determinants of regional health governance modes in the Global South: A comparative analysis of Central and South America." *Review of International Studies* 47(4): 399–421.

Anderson, Emma-Louise, Laura Considine, and Amy S. Patterson. 2021. "The power-trust cycle in global health: Trust as belonging in relations of dependency." *Review of International Studies* 47(4): 422–442.

Bahr, Thurid, Anna Holzscheiter, and Laura Pantzerhielm. 2021. "[Understanding Regime Complexes through a Practice Lens: Repertoires of Interorganizational Practices in Global Health.](#)" *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 27(1): 71–94. [23 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.

Note: the research paper is due Friday December 9, 11:59 pm.

Course Policies

Submission of Assignments

Assignments will be submitted through Avenue as specified above.

Grades

Grades will be based on the McMaster University grading scale as illustrated below. For purposes of aggregating grades for individual components of the course assignments the letter grades will be expressed in grade points on the 12-point scale, with A+=12, A=11, and so on. These numerical scores are identical in value to their corresponding letter grades. If the aggregated grade point score for your overall grade for the course involves a decimal that score will be rounded to the nearest whole number and converted to the corresponding letter grade. Please note that **we will not be using percentage grades in this course**. For assignments for which a rubric is used, the score produced by the rubric will be converted into grade points, and not a percentage grade.

GRADE POINTS	LETTER GRADE
12	A+
11	A
10	A-
9	B+
8	B
7	B-
<7	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 after 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 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.

Courses with an On-Line Element

This course will be using online technologies, including Avenue to Learn, e-mail, and Microsoft Teams. Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of a course using these elements, 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 a course that uses on-line elements will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.

Online Proctoring

Some courses may use online proctoring software for tests and exams. This software may require students to turn on their video camera, present identification, monitor and record their computer activities, and/or lock/restrict their browser or other applications/software during tests or exams. This software may be required to be installed before the test/exam begins.

Authenticity / Plagiarism Detection

Some courses may use a web-based service (Turnitin.com) to reveal authenticity and ownership of student submitted work. For courses using such software, students will be expected to submit their work electronically either directly to Turnitin.com or via an online learning platform (e.g. A2L, etc.) using plagiarism detection (a service supported by Turnitin.com) so it can be checked for academic dishonesty.

Students who do not wish their work to be submitted through the plagiarism detection software must inform the Instructor before the assignment is due. No penalty will be assigned to a student who does not submit work to the plagiarism detection software.

All submitted work is subject to normal verification that standards of academic integrity have been upheld (e.g., on-line search, other software, etc.). For more details about McMaster's use of Turnitin.com please go to

www.mcmaster.ca/academicintegrity.

Copyright and Recording

Students are advised that lectures, demonstrations, performances, and any other course material provided by an instructor include copyright protected works. The Copyright Act and copyright law protect every original literary, dramatic, musical and artistic work, **including lectures** by University instructors

The recording of lectures, tutorials, or other methods of instruction may occur during a course. Recording may be done by either the instructor for the purpose of authorized distribution, or by a student for the purpose of personal study. Students should be aware that their voice and/or image may be recorded by others during the class. Please speak with the instructor if this is a concern for you.

Academic Accommodation for Religious, Indigenous or Spiritual Observances (RISO)

Students requiring academic accommodation based on religious, indigenous or spiritual observances should follow the procedures set out in the [RISO](#) policy. Students should

submit their request to their Faculty Office **normally within 10 working days** of the beginning of term in which they anticipate a need for accommodation or to the Registrar's Office prior to their examinations. Students should also contact their instructors as soon as possible to make alternative arrangements for classes, assignments, and tests.

Academic Integrity Statement

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behaviour in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials you earn are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity. **It is your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty.**

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. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty please refer to the [Academic Integrity Policy](https://secretariat.mcmaster.ca/university-policies-procedures-guidelines/), located at <https://secretariat.mcmaster.ca/university-policies-procedures-guidelines/>

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty:

- plagiarism, e.g. the submission of work that is not one's own or for which other credit has been obtained.
- improper collaboration in group work.
- copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.

Conduct Expectations

As a McMaster student, you have the right to experience, and the responsibility to demonstrate, respectful and dignified interactions within all of our living, learning and working communities. These expectations are described in the [Code of Student Rights & Responsibilities](#) (the "Code"). All students share the responsibility of maintaining a positive environment for the academic and personal growth of all McMaster community members, **whether in person or online.**

It is essential that students be mindful of their interactions online, as the Code remains in effect in virtual learning environments. The Code applies to any interactions that adversely affect, disrupt, or interfere with reasonable participation in University activities. Student disruptions or behaviours that interfere with university functions on online platforms (e.g. use of Avenue 2 Learn, WebEx or Zoom for delivery), will be taken very seriously and will be investigated. Outcomes may include restriction or removal of the involved students' access to these platforms

Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities

Students with disabilities who require academic accommodation must contact [Student Accessibility Services](#) (SAS) at 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or sas@mcmaster.ca to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. For further information, consult McMaster University's [Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities](#) policy.

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.

Extreme Circumstances

The University reserves the right to change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances (e.g., severe weather, labour disruptions, etc.). Changes will be communicated through regular McMaster communication channels, such as McMaster Daily News, A2L and/or McMaster email.

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 Nexis Uni 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 the “Reference Numbers” column on 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
Nexis Uni News			
Nexis Uni 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. The Nexis Uni database changes its format and name from time to time, but you should be able to access it as one of the data bases accessible from the main library webpage. Be sure you access both the news archive and the law review archive (see snip below).*

Guided Search

What are you interested in?

News

A Publication

Cases

Law Reviews

Company Info

Country Info

Search in all News for

Enter keywords or subjects