SIS-709-001: Foundations of Global Governance

Spring semester 2021

Mondays, 5:30 PM - 8:00 PM

Via Zoom

Instructor: Professor Miles Kahler

Office: SIS 319

Office hours (via Zoom): Wednesdays, 9:30 AM-11:30 AM and 1:30 PM- 3:30 PM and by

appointment

Email: kahler@american.edu

Office phone: 202-885-6393 [no voicemail]

Course description and objectives:

Since the end of the Cold War, new forms of global governance have proliferated. Nonstate actors and subnational governments participate directly in governance arrangements; informal formats and soft law often substitute for formal agreements. The course will examine these innovations in global governance across issue-areas, including climate change, global health, and peacebuilding. The role of the United States and other incumbent and emerging powers will be explored. Innovations will be evaluated for their effectiveness and legitimacy.

Required reading: Required reading for the course is available on the Canvas course site, either through links on the site or via library Course Reserves. Direct links for other readings are provided in the syllabus. "Additional sources" are <u>not</u> required reading; those sources are included for use in the second written assignment and for Ph.D. students who choose the option of a research paper. <u>Additional (brief) readings may be substituted throughout the course in light of developments in global politics and the foreign policies of individual states.</u>

Student learning outcomes: At the end of the course, students should

- Have obtained usable knowledge regarding different institutional formats in contemporary global governance.
- Understand the role of different actors (including emerging powers, corporations, NGOs) in global governance.
- Be able to evaluate policy outcomes and institutional performance in global governance institutions.
- Improve their ability to lead and participate in a small-group discussion.
- Improve their ability to write analytic papers and memoranda, individually or as part of a team.

Course requirements and assessment:

Ph.D. students enrolled in the course may complete a research paper (thirty double-spaced pages maximum) on a topic agreed with the instructor **OR** complete the course requirements below.

The following requirements apply to all other students in the course:

- (1) <u>Midterm paper</u> (5-7 double-spaced pages), submitted by 5 PM on Monday, <u>March 1</u>. This take-home assignment will be based on course readings and class discussions. Topics will be distributed on Monday, <u>February 22</u>.
- (2) <u>Final analytic paper or policy memorandum</u> (12-15 double-spaced pages), on a topic chosen by each student, submitted by 4 PM on Thursday, <u>April 22</u>. Research for this assignment should include sources beyond the course readings. "Additional sources" on the syllabus may provide a starting point for researching the assignment. The topic may be chosen from the issue areas discussed in the course, or another issue area that displays innovation in global governance. This assignment can be either an individual or a team effort. Instructor's approval in advance of both topic and format (individual or team) is required.
- (3) <u>Leadership of discussion</u> in one or more class sessions. In the final sessions of the course, discussion leadership may include a brief summary of the final analytic paper or policy memorandum, described in (2).
- (4) <u>Completion of the required reading for all sessions and participation in class discussions</u>. Attendance and participation in class discussions are an important part of the course. During this semester of online instruction, class participation will be evaluated primarily through the posting of discussion questions or responses on Canvas, based on the assigned reading. These posts will usually be due before specific sessions of the course. You may also be asked to lead class discussion in one or more sessions.

Grading policy:

The course grade will be based on the grades received for the midterm paper (30%), the final paper (40%), leadership of discussion (15%), and completion of reading/participation in class discussions (15%).

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Standards of academic conduct are set forth in the University's <u>Academic Integrity Code</u>. By registering, you have acknowledged your awareness of the Academic Integrity Code, and you are obliged to become familiar with your rights and responsibilities as defined by the Code. Violations of the Academic Integrity Code will not be treated lightly, and disciplinary actions will be taken should such violations occur. Please see me if you have any questions about the

academic violations described in the Code in general or as they relate to particular requirements for this course.

EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS FOR DISRUPTION OF CLASSES

In the event of an emergency, American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary from class to class, depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Canvas, while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies. In the event of an emergency, students should refer to the AU Student Portal, the AU Web site (http://www.prepared.american.edu) and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for general university-wide information, as well as contact their faculty and/or respective dean's office for course and school/ college-specific information.

STUDENT SUPPORT AT AU

AU provides numerous services to help students to be successful in their coursework: the Academic Support and Access Center, the Counseling Center, the Writing Center and the Writing Lab, and the Center for Diversity and Inclusion. Click on the name of each support service for more information.

- Academic Support and Access Center (x3360, MGC 243) In addition to using the resources available in this department, all students may take advantage of individual academic counseling, skills workshops, tutor referrals, Supplemental Instruction, and writing appointments in the Academic Support and Access Center.
- **Students with Disabilities**: If you wish to receive accommodations for a disability, please notify me with a letter from the Academic Support and Access Center. As accommodations are not retroactive, timely notification at the beginning of the semester is requested, if possible.
- Counseling Center (x3500, MGC 214) offers counseling and consultations regarding personal concerns, self-help information, and connections to off-campus mental health resources.
- Writing Center in Bender Library 1st Floor Commons offers free, individual coaching sessions to all AU students. In your 45-minute session, a student writing consultant can help you address assignments, understand the conventions of academic writing, and

learn how to revise and edit your own work. The Center offers appointments on the hour from 11 a.m. to 9 p.m. Sunday through Thursday and 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. on Fridays. Call 202-885-2991 or visit the <u>online appointments page</u> to arrange a session.

 Center for Diversity & Inclusion is dedicated to enhancing LGBTQ, Multicultural, First Generation, and Women's experiences on campus and to advance AU's commitment to respecting & valuing diversity by serving as a resource and liaison to students, staff, and faculty on issues of equity through education, outreach, and advocacy. It is located on the 2nd floor of Mary Graydon Center: 202-885-3651, email is cdi@american.edu.

ACOMMODATION FOR RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE

Students may receive accommodation in the course for the observance of a religious and/or cultural holiday. The student should notify the professor as soon as possible should such a need exist. More information about accommodations for religious and/or cultural holidays can be found at https://www.american.edu/ocl/kay/request-for-religious-accommodation.cfm.

CLASS SCHEDULE:

I. INTRODUCTION

i. January 25: Introduction: a new architecture for global governance?

- Avant, Deborah D., Martha Finnemore, and Susan K. Sell, eds. 2010. *Who Governs the Globe?*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1-25.
- Hale, Thomas, David Held and Kevin Young. 2013. *Gridlock: Why Global Cooperation is Failing When We Need It Most*. Malden MA: Polity Press: 14-48. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Kahler, Miles. 2018. "Global Governance: Three Futures." *International Studies Review*, 20, 2 (June): 239-246
- Lake, David A. 2020. "The Organizational Ecology of Global Governance." *European Journal of International Relations*: 1-24.

Additional sources:

- Abbott, Kenneth W., Jessica F. Green, and Robert O. Keohane. 2016. "Organizational Ecology and Institutional Change in Global Governance." *International Organization*. 70(2): 247-277.
- Steven Bernstein and Benjamin Cashore, "Complex Global Governance and Domestic Policies: Four Pathways of Influence," *International Affairs* 88, 3 (2012): 377-403.
- Miles Kahler and David Lake, "Globalization and Governance," in Kahler and Lake, eds., *Governance in a Global Economy*: 1-28.
- Michael Zürn, A Theory of Global Governance: Authority, Legitimacy, and Contestation. (Available as e-book, AU Library)

II. CHANGING MODES OF GOVERNANCE

ii. February 1: International organizations and their changing role in global governance

Abbott, Kenneth W., Philipp Genschel, Duncan Snidal, and Bernhard Zangl, eds. 2015. *International Organizations as Orchestrators*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 3-30, 166-188.

OR

- Tallberg, Jonas, Thomas Sommerer, Theresa Squatrito, and Christer Jönsson. 2013. *The Opening Up of International Organizations: Transnational Access in Global Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 189-234.
- Ranjit Lall. 2017. "Beyond Institutional Design: Explaining the Performance of International Organizations." *International Organization*, 71: 245-280
- Roger, Charles. 2020. *The Origins of Informality: Why the Legal Foundations of Global Governance are Shifting, and Why It Matters*. New York: Oxford University Press: 1-16, 21-50 [skim], 167-191. [Available as e-book, AU Library]

CASE: Resurrecting the WTO [read one of the following]

- Evenett, Simon J. and Richard E. Baldwin, eds. 2020. <u>Revitalising Multilateralism: Pragmatic</u> Ideas for the New WTO Director-General: 9-36; skim 39-53.
- Hillman, Jennifer. 2020. <u>"The United States Needs a Reformed WTO Now."</u> Prepared statement before the Committee on Finance, United States Senate. 29 July. [Council on Foreign Relations.]
- González, Anabel. 2020. "Memo to the World Trade Organization on How to Fight COVID-19 and Make Needed Reforms." Washington, DC: Peterson Institute for International Economics, November 16.

Additional sources:

- Barnett, Michael and Martha Finnemore. 2004. *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press: 16-44 (chapter 2). [Available as e-book in AU Library]
- Carnegie, Allison. 2015. *Power Plays: How International Institutions Reshape Coercive Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gray, Julia. 2018. "Life, Death, or Zombie? The Vitality of International Organizations," *International Studies Quarterly* 62, 1: 1-13
- Gutner, Tamar and Alexander Thompson. 2010. `The Politics of IO Performance: A Framework.' *Review of International Organizations* 5(3): 227-248.
- Hegde, Vineet, Jan Wouters, and Akhil Raina. <u>"The Demise of the Rules-Based International Economic Order?"</u> KU Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies, Working Paper No 224-November 2020.
- Johnson, Tana. 2014. Organizational Progeny: Why Governments are Losing Control over the Proliferating Structures of Global Governance. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1-26, skim 27-50. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Vabulas, Felicity and Duncan Snidal. 2013. "Organization without Delegation: Informal Intergovernmental Organizations (IIGOs) and the Spectrum of Intergovernmental Arrangements," *Review of International Organizations*, 8 (2): 193-220.

iii. February 8: International courts

- Alter, Karen J. 2014. "The New International Courts." In Karen J. Alter, *The New Terrain of International Law*. Princeton: Princeton University Press: 68-111. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Kahler, Miles. 2000. "Legalization as Strategy: The Asia-Pacific Case." *International Organization* 54, 3: 549-571 **OR**
- Chesterman, Simon. 2017. "Asia's Ambivalence about International Law and Institutions: Past, Present and Futures." *European Journal of International Law* 27, 4: 945-978.

CASE: The International Criminal Court

- Bosco, David. 2014. *Rough Justice: The International Criminal Court in a World of Power Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press: 1-22, 139-176. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Scheffer, David. 2020 "The Self-Defeating Executive Order Against the International Criminal Court," *Just Security*, 12 June.
- Jo, Hyeran and Beth A. Simmons. 2016. "Can the International Criminal Court Deter Atrocity?" *International Organization* 70 (3): 443-475.

Additional sources:

- Helfer, Laurence R. and Erik Voeten. 2014. "International Courts as Agents of Legal Change: Evidence from LGBT Rights in Europe." *International Organization*: 1-34.
- Radhakrishnan, Akila and Elena Sarver. 2020. "Trump's Chilling Blow to the ICC," Foreign Policy, 17 June.

iv. February 15: Networked global governance

- Kahler, Miles, and David A. Lake, Economic Integration and Global Governance: Why So Little Supranationalism? in *The Politics of Global Regulation*, edited by Walter Mattli and Ngaire Woods. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009, pp. 242-275. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette. 2016. "Power and Purpose in Transgovernmental Networks: Insights from the Nonproliferation Regime," in Deborah Avant and Oliver Westerwinter, eds., *The New Power Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press): 131-168. [Available as ebook, AU Library]
- Kinne, Brandon J. 2018. "Defense Cooperation Agreements and the Emergence of a Global Security Network." *International Organization* 72 (Fall): 799-837.

CASE: The central bank network and financial crisis management

- Tooze, Adam. 2018. *Crashed: How a Decade of Financial Crises Changed the World*. New York: Viking: 202-219.
- Segal, Stephanie. 2020. "Dollar Swap Lines: Welcome Support but Only Part of the Solution." CSIS, 19 March **OR**
- Collins, Christopher G., Simon Potter, and Edwin M. Truman. 2020. <u>"Enhancing Central Bank Cooperation in the COVID-19 Pandemic."</u> Peterson Institute for International Economics, 9 April.

- Broz, J. Lawrence. 2015. "The Politics of Rescuing the World's Financial System: The Federal Reserve as a Global Lender of Last Resort." *Korean Journal of International Studies*, 13, 2 (August): 323-351.
- Kahler, Miles, ed. 2009. *Networked Politics: Agency, Power, and Governance*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. [Available as e-book, AU Library]

v. February 22: Regional institutions and global governance--complement or competitor?

<u>Global Order and the New Regionalism</u>. 2016. Council on Foreign Relations Discussion Paper Series on Global and Regional Governance. Introduction by Kahler and <u>two</u> of the following: Bown, Wang, Williams.

CASES: Regional institutions in Asia and Africa [choose one of the following cases]

- a) The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, MDBs, and the World Bank
- Morris, Scott. 2016. *Responding to AIIB: U.S. Leadership at the Multilateral Development Banks in a New Era*. Council on Foreign Relations Discussion Paper. September.
- Inclusive Development International. 2020. <u>Time to Raise the Bar: Reflecting on Four Years of AIIB Projects</u>. March.
- b) Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) and the global trade regime
- "Asia-Pacific Countries Sign One of the Largest Free Trade Deals in History," Financial Times, 15 November 2020.
- Petri, Peter A. and Michael G. Plummer. 2020. <u>East Asia Decouples from the United States:</u>
 <u>Trade War, COVID-19, and East Asia's New Trade Blocs.</u> Washington DC: Peterson Institute for International Economics, Working Paper 20-9, June.
- Feigenbaum, Evan A. 2020. "Asia's Future Beyond U.S.-China Competition." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- c) Intervention and peacekeeping by African regional organizations
- Hartmann, Christof. 2017. "ECOWAS and the Restoration of Democracy in the Gambia." *Africa Spectrum* 52, 1: 85-99. **OR**
- Wilén, Nina and Paul D. Williams. 2018. "The African Union and Coercive Diplomacy: The Case of Burundi." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 56, no. 4: 673-96.

- Börzel, Tanja A. and Vera Van Hüllen, eds. 2015. *Governance Transfer by Regional Organizations: Patching Together a Global Script*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Burges, Sean W. 2015. "Revisiting Consensual Hegemony: Brazilian Regional Leadership in Question," *International Politics*, 52, 2: 193-207.

- Gómez-Mera, Laura. 2013. *Power and Regionalism in Latin America: The Politics of MERCOSUR.*Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Henning, C. Randall. 2017. *Tangled Governance: International Regime Complexity, The Troika, and the Euro Crisis*. New York: Oxford University Press. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Lichtenstein, Natalie. 2019. "AIIB at Three: A Comparative and Institutional Perspective," *Global Policy*, 10, 4 (November), pp. 582-586.

III. NEW ACTORS IN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

vi. March 1: Emerging powers and global governance

Stuenkel, Oliver. 2016. Post-Western World. Malden MA: Polity: 181-205.

Read **two** of the following:

- Kastner, Scott L., Margaret M. Pearson, and Chad Rector. 2018. *China's Strategic Multilateralism: Investing in Global Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1-8, 11-46, 173-236. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Lipscy, Phillip Y. 2017. Renegotiating the World Order: Institutional Change in International Relations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 23-34, 184-199. [Available as e-book at AU Library]
- Roberts, Cynthia, Leslie Elliott Armijo, and Saori N. Katada. 2018. *The BRICS and Collective Financial Statecraft*. New York: Oxford University Press: 67-108, 167-181 [E-book available at AU Library]
- Tokhi, Alexandros. 2019. "The Contestation of the IMF," in Matthew D. Stephen and Michael Zürn, eds., *Contested World Orders: Rising Powers, Non-Governmental Organizations, and the Politics of Authority Beyond the Nation-State*. New York: Oxford University Press: 82-123. [E-book available in AU Library]
- Walter, Andrew. 2019. <u>"Emerging Countries in Global Financial Standard Setting: Explaining Relative Resilience and its Implications,"</u> CIGI Special Report, November.

- Davis, Christina L. and Sarah Blodgett Bermeo. 2009. "Who files? Developing country participation in GATT/WTO adjudication." *Journal of Politics*, 71, 3, (July): 1033-1049.
- Kennedy, Scott, ed. 2018. *Global Governance and China: The Dragon's Learning Curve*. New York: Routledge.
- Maia, João M. E. and Matthew M. Taylor. 2015. "The Brazilian Liberal Tradition and the Global Liberal Order.," In Oliver Stuenkel and Matthew M. Taylor, eds., *Brazil on the Global Stage: Power, Ideas, and the Liberal International Order*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan: 36-55. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Global Governance. 2014. Special Section "Principles from the Periphery: The Neglected Southern Sources of Global Norms 20, 3 (July-September): 359-418.

- Gomes Saraiva, Miriam. 2016. "Brazil's Rise and Its Soft Power Strategy in South America." In Gian Luca Gardini and Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida, eds., Foreign Policy Responses to the Rise of Brazil. New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 46-61. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Olsen, Tricia and Aseema Sinha. 2013. "Linkage politics and the persistence of national policy autonomy in emerging powers: patents, profits and patients in the context of TRIPS compliance," *Business and Politics*, 15, 3: 323-356.
- Shaffer, Gregory, Aseema Sinha, and James Nedumpara. 2015. "State Transformation and the Role of Lawyers: The WTO, India, and Transnational Legal Ordering." *Law and Society Review*, 49, 3: 595-629.
- Shaffer, Gregory, Michelle Ratton Sanchez, and Barbara Rosenberg. 2008. "The Trials of Winning at the WTO: What Lies Behind Brazil's Success," University of Minnesota Law School Legal Studies Research Paper No. 08-49.
- Sinha, Aseema. 2016. *Globalizing India: How Global Rules and Markets are Shaping India's Rise to Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

vii. March 8: Corporate power and private governance [Wellness Week: readings and other assignments may be adjusted.]

- Stone Sweet, Alec, and Florian Grisel. 2017. *The Evolution of International Arbitration:*Judicialization, Governance, Legitimacy. New York: Oxford University Press: chapter 2. (Available as an e-book, AU Library)
- Mayer, Frederick and Gary Gereffi. 2010. "Regulation and Economic Globalization: Prospects and Limits of Private Governance." *Business and Politics* 12, 3: 1-25.

CASE: Global governance of labor rights and standards

Read **two** of the following:

- Bartley, Tim and Curtis Child. 2014. "Shaming the Corporation: The Social Production of Targets and the Anti-Sweatshop Movement." *American Sociological Review* 79, 4: 653-679.
- Börzel, Tanja A., Jana Hönke, and Christian R. Thauer. 2012. "Does It Really Take the State?" *Business and Politics*, 14, 3: 1-34.
- Greenhill, Brian, Layna Mosley, and Aseem Prakash. 2009. "Trade-Based Diffusion of Labor Rights: A Panel Study, 1986-2002. *American Political Science Review*, 103, 4 (November): 669-690.
- LeBaron, Genevieve and Andreas Rühmkorf. 2017. "Steering CSR Through Home State Regulation: A Comparison of the Impact of the UK Bribery Act and Modern Slavery Act on Global Supply Chain Governance." *Global Policy*, 8, Supplement 3 (May): 15-28.
- Bartley, Tim and Lu Zhang. 2018. "China and Global Labor Standards: Making Sense of Factory Certification." In Scott Kennedy, ed., *Global Governance and China: The Dragon's Learning Curve*. New York: Routledge: 228-249.

Malesky, Edmund J. and Layna Mosley. 2018. "Chains of Love? Global Production and the Firm-Level Diffusion of Labor Standards." *American Journal of Political Science*, 62,3 (July): 712-728.

- Andonova, Liliana. 2017. *Governance Entrepreneurs: IOs and the Rise of Global Public-Private Partnerships*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bartley, Tim. 2007. "Institutional Emergence in an Era of Globalization: The Rise of Transnational Private Regulation of Labor and Environmental Conditions." *American Journal of Sociology*, 113, 2: 297-351.
- Büthe, Tim. 2010. "Private Regulation in the Global Economy: A (P)Review." Business and Politics, 12, 3: 1-38.
- Büthe, Tim and Walter Mattli. 2011. *The New Global Rulers: The Privatization of Regulation in the World Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Cuyvers, Ludo and Tim de Meyer. 2012. "Market-driven Promotion of International Labor Standards in Southeast Asia: The Corporatization of Social Justice." In Axel Marx et al., eds., *Private Standards and Global Governance*. Northampton MA: Edward Elgar: 114-149.
- Hainmueller, Jens, Michael J. Hiscox, and Sandra Sequeira. 2015. "Consumer Demand for Fair Trade: Evidence from a Multistore Field Experiment." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 97 (2): 242-256.
- Haufler, Virginia. 2016. "Corporations, Governance Networks, and Conflict in the Developing World." In Deborah Avant and Oliver Westerwinter, eds., *The New Power Politics:*Networks and Transnational Security Governance. New York: Oxford University Press: 224-244. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Prakash, Aseem and Matthew Potoski. 2010. "The International Organization for Standardization as a Global Governor: A Club Theory Perspective." In Deborah Avant, Martha Finnemore, and Susan K. Sell, eds., *Who Governs the Globe?* New York: Cambridge University Press: 72-101.
- Renckens, Stefan. 2019. <u>"The Instrumental Power of Transnational Private Governance: Interest</u>
 Representation and Lobbying by Private Rule-Makers." *Governance*: 657-674.
- Renckens, Stefan. 2020. *Private Governance and Public Authority: Regulating Sustainability in a Global Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vogel, David. 2009. "The Private Regulation of Global Corporate Conduct." In Walter Mattli and Ngaire Woods, eds., *The Politics of Global Regulation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press: 151-188. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Westerwinter, Oliver. 2016. "Bargaining in Networks: Relationships and the Governance of Conflict Diamonds." In Deborah Avant and Oliver Westerwinter, eds., *The New Power Politics: Networks and Transnational Security Governance*. New York: Oxford University Press: 196-223. [Available as e-book, AU Library]

viii. March 15: NGOs and global governance

- Abbott, Kenneth W., and Duncan Snidal. 2009. "The Governance Triangle: Regulatory Standards Institutions and the Shadow of the State," in Walter Mattli and Ngaire Woods, eds., *The Politics of Global Regulation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press: 44-88. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Bob, Clifford. 2010. "Packing Heat: Pro-Gun Groups and the Governance of Small Arms." In Deborah Avant, Martha Finnemore, and Susan K. Sell, eds., *Who Governs the Globe?* New York: Cambridge University Press: 183-201.
- Carpenter, R. Charli. 2011. "Vetting the Advocacy Agenda: Network Centrality and the Paradox of Weapons Norms." *International Organization* 65, 1: 69-102.

CASE: NGOs and the promotion of human rights

Read one of the following:

- Bracic, Ana. 2016. "Reaching the Individual: EU Accession, NGOs, and Human Rights." *American Political Science Review*, 110, 3 (August): 530-546.
- Nuñez-Mietz, Fernando and Lucrecia Garcia Iommi. 2017. "Can Transnational Norm Advocacy Undermine Internalization? Explaining Immunization Against LGBT Rights in Uganda." *International Studies Quarterly* 61 (1): 196-209.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. 2013. *Making Human Rights a Reality*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 135-175. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Snyder, Sarah. 2011. Human Rights Activism and the End of the Cold War: A Transnational History of the Helsinki Network. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 115-134, 217-249. [Available as e-book, AU Library]

- Cooley, Alexander and James Ron. 2002. "The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action." *International Security*, 27, 1 (Summer): 5-39.
- Greenhill, Brian. 2015. *Transmitting Rights: International Organizations and the Diffusion of Human Rights Practices*. New York: Oxford University Press. [Available as an e-book, AU Library]
- Hildebrandt, Timothy. 2012. "Development and Division: The Effect of Transnational Linkages and Local Politics on LGBT Activism in China." *Journal of Contemporary China* 21, 77: 845-862.
- Jönsson, Christer and Jonas Tallberg. 2010. *Transnational Actors in Global Governance*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Kim, Dongwook. 2013. "International Nongovernmental Organizations and the Global Diffusion of National Human Rights Institutions." *International Organization*, 67, 3 (Summer): 505-539.

- Sierra, Jazmin and Kathryn Hochstetler. 2017. "Transnational Activist Networks and Rising Powers: Transparency and Environmental Concerns in the Brazilian National Development Bank." *International Studies Quarterly*, 61 (4): 760-773.
- Stroup, Sarah S. and Amanda Murdie. 2012. "There's No Place Like Home: Explaining International NGO Advocacy." *Review of International Organizations*, 7 (4): 425-448.
- Sikkink, Kathryn. 2016. "Human Rights," in Amitav Acharya, ed., Why Govern? Rethinking Demand and Progress in International Relations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 121-137.
- Stroup, Sarah S. 2016. *Borders Among Activists: International NGOs in the United States, Britain, and France*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Stroup, Sarah S. and Wendy H. Wong. 2017. *The Authority Trap: Strategic Choices of International NGOs*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Wong, Wendy H. 2012. *Internal Affairs: How the Structure of NGOs Transforms Human Rights*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press). [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Young, Alasdair R. 2016. "Not your parents' trade politics: the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership negotiations." *Review of International Political Economy*, 23, 3: 345-378.

IV. CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

ix. March 22: Contemporary global governance: global health

- Fidler, David P. 2010. <u>The Challenges of Global Health Governance</u>. Council on Foreign Relations Working Paper, May.
- Berman, Ayelet. "Between Participation and Capture in International Rule-Making: The WHO Framework of Engagement with Non-State Actors" (January 15, 2020).
- Huang, Yanzhong. 2018. "China and Global Health Governance." In Scott Kennedy, ed., *Global Governance and China: The Dragon's Learning Curve*. New York: Routledge: 148-180.

CASE: Reforming the World Health Organization (WHO) and global health governance

"Vaccine allocation and WHO reform take center stage as WHO executive board meets," *Devex*, 7 October 2020.

Furlong, Ashley. "Biden faces new global health world order," Politico, 13 November 2020.

And **one** of the following:

Council on Foreign Relations 2020. <u>Improving Pandemic Preparedness: Lessons from COVID-19.</u> Independent Task Force Report No. 78: 2-50 [Skim remainder]

OR

Gostin, Lawrence O., Suerie Moon, and Benjamin Mason Meier. 2020. "Reimagining Global Health Governance in the Age of COVID-19." *American Journal of Public Health*, 110, 11 (November): 1615-19.

OR

Nuzzo, Jennifer. 2021. "To Stop A Pandemic: A Better Approach to Global Health Security." *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2021.

Additional sources:

- Clinton, Chelsea and Devi Sridhar. 2017. *Governing Global Health: Who Runs the World and Why?* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dionne, Kim Yi. 2018. *Doomed Interventions: The Failure of Global Responses to the AIDS Crisis in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fidler, David P. 2001. "The Globalization of Public Health: The First 100 Years of International Health Diplomacy." *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 79: 842-849.
- Frenk, Julio and Suerie Moon. 2013. "Governance Challenges in Global Health." *New England Journal of Medicine* 368: 936-42.
- McIness, Colin et al. 2014. *The Transformation of Global Health Governance*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Moon, Suerie et al. 2015. "Will Ebola Change the Game?" *The Lancet* 386 (28 November): 2204-2221
- Patterson, Amy S. 2018. *Africa and Global Health Governance: Domestic Politics and International Structures*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press: 121-176. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Robinson, Rachel Sullivan. 2017. *Intimate Interventions in Global Health*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roemer-Mahler, Anne. 2014. "The Rise of Companies from Emerging Markets in Global Health Governance," *Review of International Studies*, 40 (5): 897-918.
- Shiffman, Jeremy. 2009. "A Social Explanation for the Rise and Fall of Global Health Issues," Bulletin of the World Health Organization 87: 608-613.
- Shiffman, Jeremy et al. 2016. "The emergence and effectiveness of global health networks: findings and future research." *Health Policy and Planning*, 31: 1109-123.

x. March 29: Contemporary global governance: climate change

Abbott, Kenneth. 2012. "The Transnational Regime Complex for Climate Change." *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*. 30 (4): 571-590.

CASE: The Paris Agreement: will the new model be effective?

Held, David and Charles Roger. 2018. "Three Models of Global Climate Governance: From Kyoto to Paris and Beyond." *Global Policy* 9, 4: 527-537.

OR

Hale, Thomas. 2020. "Catalytic Cooperation." *Global Environmental Politics* 20:4 (November): 73-98. https://doi.org/10.1162/glep-a-00561.

And **one** of the following:

- Domorenok, Ekaterina et al. 2020. "Experiments in EU Climate Governance: The Unfulfilled Potential of the Covenant of Mayors." *Global Environmental Politics*, 20, 4 (November): 122-142.
- Hale, Thomas, and Charles Roger. 2018. "Chinese Participation in Transnational Climate Governance," In Scott Kennedy, ed., *Global Governance and China: The Dragon's Learning Curve*. New York: Routledge: 250-271
- United Nations Environment Programme. 2018. *Emissions Gap Report 2018*, chapter 5 ("Bridging the gap: The role of non-state and subnational actors") available here.
- Witte, Daniel. 2020. "Business for Climate: A Qualitative Comparative Analysis of Policy Support from Transnational Companies." *Global Environmental Politics*, 20, 4 (November): 167-191.

- Aklin, Michaël and Matto Mildenberger. 2020. "Prisoners of the Wrong Dilemma: Why Distributive Conflict, Not Collective Action Characterizes the Politics of Climate Change." *Global Environmental Politics*, 20, 4 (November): 4-27.
- Allan, Bentley B. 2017. "Producing the Climate: States, Scientists, and the Constitution of Global Governance Objects." *International Organization* 71 (1): 131-162.
- Andonova, Liliana, Thomas Hale, and Charles Roger. 2018. *The Comparative Politics of Transnational Climate Governance*. London: Routledge.
- Balboa, Cristina M. 2018. *The Paradox of Scale: How NGOs Build, Maintain, and Lose Authority in Environmental Governance*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press
- Bartley, Tim. 2014. "Transnational Governance and the Re-Centered State: Sustainability or Legality?" *Regulation and Governance*, 8 (1): 93-109.
- Bernauer, Thomas, Tobias Boehmelt, and Vally Koubi. 2013. "Is there a Democracy-Civil Society Paradox in Global Environmental Governance?" *Global Environmental Politics*. 13(1): 88-107.
- Cassegard, Carl et al., eds. 2017. Climate Action in a Globalizing World: Comparative Perspectives on Environmental Movements in the Global North. New York: Routledge.
- Gampfer, Robert. 2016. "Minilateralism or the UNFCCC? The Political Feasibility of Climate Clubs." *Global Environmental Politics* 16, 3: 62-88.
- Green, Jessica F. 2014. *Rethinking Private Authority: Agents and Entrepreneurs in Global Environmental Governance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Green, Jessica. 2013. "Order out of Chaos: Public and Private Rules for Managing Carbon," Global Environmental Politics: 13, 2 (May): 1-25.
- Green, Jessica F. and Jeff Colgan. 2013. "Protecting Sovereignty, Protecting the Planet: State Delegation to International Organizations and Private Actors in Environmental Politics." *Governance* 26, 3: 473-497.
- Hadden, Jennifer. 2015. *Networks in Contention: The Divisive Politics of Climate Change.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 38-88 (chapters 2 and 3).

- Hadden, Jennifer and Lorien Jasny. 2017. "The Power of Peers: How Transnational Advocacy Networks Shape NGO Strategies in Climate Change." *British Journal of Political Science* 49 (2): 637-59: doi:10.1017/S0007123416000582
- Hale, Thomas and Charles Roger. 2013. "Orchestration and Transnational Climate Governance," *Review of International Organizations*, 9 (1): 59-82.
- Hale, Thomas. "All Hands On Deck': The Paris Agreement and Nonstate Climate Action." *Global Environmental Politics*, 16, 3 (2016): 12-22.
- Keohane, Robert O. and David G. Victor. 2011. "The Regime Complex for Climate Change." *Perspectives on Politics* 9, 1 (March): 7-23.
- Prakash, Aseem and Matthew Potoski. 2006. *The Voluntary Environmentalists: Green Clubs, ISO* 14001, and Voluntary Regulations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smeds, Emilia and Michele Acuto. 2018. "Networking Cities after Paris: Weighing the Ambition of Urban Climate Change Experimentation." *Global Policy* 9, 4 (November): 549-559.
- Thomas, Alexander. 2006. "Management Under Anarchy: The International Politics of Climate Change." Climatic Change. 78(6): 7-29.

xi. April 5: Contemporary global governance: democracy promotion and peacebuilding

Choose either democracy promotion or peacebuilding:

Democracy promotion:

- Hyde, Susan D. 2011. *The Pseudo-Democrat's Dilemma: Why Election Observation Became an International Norm*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press: 126-157, 185-210. [Available as ebook, AU Library]
- Bush, Sarah Sunn. 2015. *The Taming of Democracy Assistance: Why Democracy Promotion Does Not Confront Dictators*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 131-158.

Peacebuilding:

Campbell, Susanna. 2018. Global Governance and Local Peace: Accountability and Performance in International Peacebuilding. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: chapter 1 and either chapter 3 or 4. [Available as e-book, AU Library]

And **one** of the following:

Buntaine, Mark T., Bradley C. Parks, and Benjamin P. Buch. 2017. "Aiming at the Wrong Targets: The Domestic Consequences of International Efforts to Build Institutions," *International Studies Quarterly*, 61 (2): 471-488.

OR

Call, Charles T. and Cedric de Coning. 2017. "Conclusion: Are Rising Powers Breaking the Peacebuilding Mold?" In Charles T. Call and Cedric de Coning, eds., *Rising Powers & Peacebuilding: Breaking the Mold?* Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan: 243-272. [Available as e-book, AU Library]

OR

He, Yin. 2019. "China Rising and Its Changing Policy on UN Peacekeeping." In Cedric de Coning and Mateja Peter, eds., *United Nations Peace Operations in a Changing Global Order*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan: 253–76. [Available as e-book, AU Library]

OR

Karim, Sabrina and Kyle Beardsley. 2017. *Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping: Women, Peace, and Security in Post-Conflict States*. New York: Oxford University Press: chapters 2 and 3 [Available as an e-book, AU Library]

Additional reading:

- Barnett, Michael, Songying Fang, and Christoph Zürcher. 2014. "Compromised Peacebuilding." *International Studies Quarterly*, 58 (3): 608-620
- Bush, Sarah Sunn. 2016. "When and Why is Civil Society Support 'Made-in-America'?

 Delegation to Non-State Actors in American Democracy Promotion." Review of International Organizations 11 (3):361-385.
- Genna, Gaspare M., and Hiroi, Taeko. 2015. *Regional Integration and Democratic Conditionality: How Democracy Clauses Help Democratic Consolidation and Deepening.* New York,
 N.Y.: Routledge. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Gill, Bates and Chin-Hao Huang. 2009. *China's Expanding Role in Peacekeeping: Prospects and Policy Implications*. SIPRI Policy Paper No. 25. Stockholm: SIPRI. November.
- Goetze, Catherine. 2017. *The Distinction of Peace: A Social Analysis of Peacebuilding*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Kelley, Judith. 2012. *Monitoring Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Lake, Milli. 2017. "Building the Rule of War: Postconflict Institutions and the Micro-Dynamics of Conflict in Eastern DR Congo." *International Organization*, 71 (Spring):281-315.
- McMahon, Patrice C. 2017. *The NGO Game: Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in the Balkans and Beyond*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Pai, Nitin. 2013. "India and International Norms: R2P, Genocide Prevention, Human Rights, and Democracy." In Waheguru Pal Singh Sidhu, Pratap Bhanu Mehta, and Bruce Jones, eds., Shaping the Emerging World: India and the Multilateral Order: 303-318. [Available as ebook, AU Library]
- Pevehouse, Jon C. 2005. *Democracy from Above: Regional Organizations and Democratization*. New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511491078.
- Poast, Paul and Johannes Urpelainen. 2018. *Organizing Democracy: How International Organizations Assist New Democracies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

xii. April 12: Contemporary global governance: Combating the dark side of globalization/illicit financial flows

<u>Global Governance to Combat Illicit Financial Flows: Measurement, Evaluation, Innovation</u>. Council on Foreign Relations, October 2018. [Contributions by Kahler, Forstater, Fanusie].

- Sharman, J. C. 2017. The Despot's Guide to Wealth Management: On the International Campaign Against Grand Corruption. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press: 22-52, 178-200. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- The Clearing House, "A New Paradigm: Redesigning the U.S. AML/CFT Framework to Protect National Security and Aid Law Enforcement," February 2017.
- FinRegLab. 2020. "Assessing Federated Machine Learning's Potential for Transforming KYC/AML: A Proposal to the Central Bank of the Future Project."

CASE: Danske Bank and the failure of AML <u>OR FinCen Files</u> [Additional sources will be posted on Canvas]

Additional reading:

- Abugre, Charles et al. 2019. "Vulnerability and Exposure to Illicit Financial Flows Risk in Africa," Tax Justice Network, 20 August 2019.
- Findley, Michael G., Daniel L. Nielson, and J.C. Sharman. 2015. "Causes of Noncompliance with International Law: A Field Experiment on Anonymous Incorporation." *American Journal of Political Science* 59, 1: 146-161.
- Kirschenbaum, Joshua and Nicolas Véron. 2019. "A Major Step Toward Combating Money Laundering in Europe," PIIE, 22 November.
- Liss, Carolin and J.C. Sharman. 2015. "Global Corporate Crime-Fighters: Private Transnational Responses to Piracy and Money Laundering." *Review of International Political Economy*, 22, 4: 693-718.
- Morse, Julia C. 2019. "Blacklists, Market Enforcement, and the Global Regime to Combat Terrorist Financing." *International Organization* 73, 3 (Summer): 511-45.
- OECD. 2018. Illicit Financial Flows: The Economy of Illicit Trade in West Africa.
- Reuter, Peter. 2017. "Illicit Financial Flows and Governance: The Importance of Disaggregation." Washington DC: World Bank (Background Paper, World Development Report).
- Reuter, Peter, ed. 2012. *Draining Development? Controlling Flows of Illicit Funds from Developing Countries*. Washington DC: World Bank.
- Reuter, Peter and Edwin M. Truman. 2004. *Chasing Dirty Money: The Fight Against Money Laundering*. Washington, DC: Peterson Institute for International Economics.
- Tsingou, Eleni. 2010. "Global financial governance and the developing anti-money laundering regime: What lessons for International Political Economy?" *International Politics* 47, 6: 617-637.
- <u>Unintended Consequences of Anti-Money Laundering Policies for Poor Countries</u> 2014. Center for Global Development, CGD Working Group Report.
- Van der Does de Willebois, Emile et al.. 2011. *The Puppet Masters: How the Corrupt Use Legal Structures to Hide Stolen Assets and What to Do About It*. Washington, D. C.: World Bank and UNODC. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Woodsome, Jim and Vijaya Ramachandran. 2018. "Fixing AML: Can New Technology Help Address the De-Risking Dilemma?" Washington, DC: Center for Global Development.

xiii. April 19: Global governance in progress? cyber and migration

Choose either cyber or migration:

Cyber

- Cowhey, Peter F. and Jonathan D. Aronson. 2017. *Digital DNA: Disruption and the Challenges for Global Governance*. New York: Oxford University Press: xi-xxi, 71-122, 233-261. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Segal, Adam. 2020. "China's Vision for Cyber Sovereignty and the Global Governance of Cyberspace." In Nadège Rolland, ed., <u>An Emerging China-Centric Order: China's Vision for a New World Order in Practice</u>. Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR Special Report #87, August): 85-100.

Migration

- Kalm, Sara. 2010. "Limits to Transnational Participation: The Global Governance of Migration." In Christer Jönsson and Jonas Tallberg, eds., *Transnational Actors in Global Governance*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan: 134-154. [Available as e-book, AU Library]
- Betts, Alexander. 2013. "Regime Complexity and International Organizations: UNHCR as a Challenged Institution." Global Governance 19: 69-81.
- Pécoud, Antoine. 2020. "Narrating an Ideal Migration World? An Analysis of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration." *Third World Quart*erly: https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2020.1768065

xiv. April 26: The future of global governance innovation: domestic political divides and threats to transnational links

Kahler, Miles. 2020. "Cosmopolitans and Parochials: Economy, Culture, and Political Conflict." In J. P. Singh, ed., *Cultural Values in Political Economy*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press: 87-111. [Available as e-book, AU Library]

OR

- Pevehouse, Jon C.W. 2020. "The COVID-19 Pandemic, International Cooperation, and Populism." *International Organization* 74 Online Supplement.
- McNamara, Kathleen R. and Abraham L. Newman. 2020. "The Big Reveal: COVID-19 and Globalization's Great Transformation." *International Organization* 74 Online Supplement.

OR

Drezner, Daniel W. 2020. "The Song Remains the Same: International Relations after COVID-19." *International Organization* 74 Online Supplement.

Additional reading:

- Autor, David H., David Dorn, and Gordon H. Hanson. 2013. "The China Syndrome: Local Labor Market Effects of Import Competition in the United States." *American Economic Review* 103 (6): 2121–68.
- Richard Baldwin, *The Great Convergence: Information Technology and the New Globalization*. (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2016).
- Brexit and Public Opinion. The UK in a Changing Europe: 6-8, 21-23, 43-46.
- Chaudhry, Suparna and Andrew Heiss. 2018. "Closing Space and the Restructuring of Global Activism: Causes and Consequences of the Global Crackdown on NGOs." [Chapter 2 in Beyond the Boomerang: New Patterns in Transcalar Advocacy, eds. Christopher L. Pallas and Elizabeth Bloodgood (Tuscaloosa, AL; University of Alabama press, 2021).
- Colantone, Italo and Piero Stanig. 2018. "Global Competition and Brexit." *American Political Science Review* 112, 2: 201-218.
- Hainmueller, Jens, and Daniel J. Hopkins. 2014. "Public Attitudes toward Immigration." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 225–49
- McKinsey Global Institute. 2018. *Superstars: The Dynamics of Firms, Sectors, and Cities Leading the Global Economy*. Discussion Paper (October).