

## International Relations/Political Science

Academic year 2018-2019

**International Governance**  
**RI-SP053 - Autumn - 6 ECTS**

### Course Description

This course will explore current debates about the governance of the contemporary international system. Different institutional forms, innovations, and ad hoc arrangements for governing multilaterally will be surveyed, including both formal and informal institutional arrangements. Furthermore, we will examine the opportunities and constraints that have resulted from the proliferation of such arrangements.

### > PROFESSOR

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Tuesdays 10-12

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## Syllabus

This course will explore the evolution of global and regional institutions of multilateral governance since the League of Nations. Different institutional forms, innovations and ad hoc arrangements for governing international relations will be surveyed. We will build a foundation for the course by discussing different conceptual and theoretical debates with emphasis on different manifestations of governance structures, then we turn to a variety of actors that shape governance structures and the efficiency and purpose of international governance mechanisms.

The objectives of the course include: (1) sensitizing seminar participants to the contextual setting of theoretical and empirical work on multilateral governance and international organizations, (2) providing a basis for a sophisticated understanding of contemporary theoretical work on multilateral governance and international organizations (and a heightened ability to differentiate what is genuinely new from what is not), (3) illustrating how different conceptions of governance have emerged over the past century, (4) provoking reflection and debate on contemporary global governance challenges (e.g. the emerging authority of non-state actors and the setting up of new type of governance arrangements).

Course requirements will consist of

- active **participation** in the seminar discussions,
- **authors' defendant**,  
Once during the semester each student will be assigned the role of "authors' defendant" and should be able to defend the merits of the week's readings in class.

- **group presentations** in class,  
*The group presentations serve as a foil to discuss how the different theoretical approaches travel across IOs. Starting from week 4, three groups (covering three different IOs) will have a few minutes each after each article to present how the reading relates to “their” IO. Groups, for example, can assign one person per article to discuss their IO. We will decide together which IOs to focus on at the beginning of the course.*
- and two critical essays (5-6 pages each) as a ***final take-home examination***.

The final grade will be based on the following distribution: participation (20%), authors' defendant (10%), presentation (20%), and a final exam consisting of 2 essays (50%).

## **Week 1.**

No class.

## **Week 2.**

*How to read and discuss academic texts?*

Mearsheimer, John. 1990. "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War." *International Security* 15, 1: 5-56.

## **Week 3. Conceptions of governance and multilateralism**

*How would you define global governance and multilateralism? Why do the authors define these concepts differently? What are the implications?*

Rosenau, James. 1992. *Governance without Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1.

Ruggie, John. 1993. *Multilateralism Matters: the Theory and Praxis of an International Forum*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 1.

Martin, Lisa. 1992. "Interests, Power, and Multilateralism." *International Organization* 46, 4: 765-792.

Pouliot, Vincent. 2011. "Multilateralism as an End in Itself." *International Studies Perspectives* 12, 1: 18-26.

### *Optional*

Biersteker, Thomas. 2009. "Global Governance." In Myriam Dunn Cavelty and Victor Mauer (eds.) *Routledge Companion to Security*. New York and London: Routledge Publishers, pp. 439-451.

## **Week 4. Multilateral practices over time**

How has the multilateral practice changed over time?

Wilson, Woodrow. 1918. "The Fourteen Points speech."  
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1918wilson.html>

Schroeder, Paul. 1989. "The nineteenth century system: balance of power or political equilibrium?" *Review of International Studies* 15, 2: 135-154.

Stone, David, R. 2000. "Imperialism and Sovereignty: The League of Nations' Drive to Control the Global Arms Trade." *Journal of Contemporary History* 35, 2: 213-230.

Ikenberry, John. 2000. *After Victory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Chapters 1 and 6.

Zürn, Michael. 2017. "From Constitutional Rule to Loosely Coupled Spheres of Liquid Authority. A Reflexive Approach." *International Theory - A Journal of International Politics, Law and Philosophy* 9, 2: 261-285.

### **Week 5. Hegemony, hierarchy, unipolarity**

*What structures the international "system"? How can it be ordered and organized?*

Monteiro, Nuno P. 2011/12. "Unrest Assured. Why Unipolarity Is Not Peaceful." *International Security* 36, 3: 9-40.

Lake, David A. 1996. "Anarchy, Hierarchy, and the Variety of International Relations." *International Organization* 50, 1: 1-33.

Gilpin, Robert. 1981. *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapters 1 and 6, pp. 9-49 and 211-244.

Morrison, James Ashley. 2012. "Before Hegemony: Adam Smith, American Independence, and the Origins of the First Era of Globalization." *International Organization* 66, 3: 395-428.

#### *Optional*

Krasner, Stephen D. 1991. "Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier." *World Politics* 43, 3: 336-366.

Barnett, Michael and Raymond Duvall. 2005. "Power in International Politics." *International Organization* 59, 1: 39-75.

Kindleberger, Charles P. 1973. *The World in Depression*. Berkeley: University of California Press, Chapter 14, pp. 291-308.

### **Week 6. International regimes, institutions and organizations**

*Why do we have international arrangements?*

Krasner, Stephen. 1983. "Structural causes and regime consequences: Regimes as intervening variables." In S. Krasner (ed.) *International Regimes*. New York: Cornell University Press, Chapter 1, pp. 1-21.

Keohane, Robert. O. 1984. *After Hegemony*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, Chapters 4 and 6, pp. 49-65; 85-109.

Ruggie, John G. "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic System." *International Organization* 36, 2: 379-415.

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

*Optional*

Abbott, Kenneth W. and Duncan Snidal. 1998. "Why States Act Through Formal International Organizations." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42, 1: 3-32.

Axelrod, Robert and Robert Keohane. 1985. "Achieving Cooperation Under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions." *World Politics* 38, 1: 226-54.

Mearsheimer, John. 1994-95. "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19: 5-49.

Stein, Arthur A. 1983. "Coordination and collaboration: regimes in an anarchic world." In *International regimes*, edited by S. D. Krasner. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 115-140.

Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press.

North, Douglas C. 1990. *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**Week 7. Institutional design**

*How can international arrangements vary and why?*

Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. 2001. "The Rational Design of International Institutions." *International Organization* 55, 4: 761-799.

Abbott, Kenneth and Duncan Snidal. 2000. "Hard and Soft Law in International Governance." *International Organization* 54, 3: 421-456.

Barnett, Michael and Etel Solingen. 2007. "Designed to Fail or Failure of Design? The Origins and Legacy of the Arab League," in Amitav Acharya and Alastair Iain Johnston, eds. *Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 180-220.

Snidal, Duncan and Felicity Vabulas. 2013. "Organization without Delegation: Informal intergovernmental organizations (IIGOs)." *Review of International Organizations* 8, 2: 193-220.

*Optional*

Tsebelis, George and Geoffrey Garrett. 2001. "The Institutional Foundations of Intergovernmentalism and Supranationalism in the European Union." *International Organization* 55, 2: 357-390.

Acharya, Amitav, and Alastain Iain Johnston. 2007. "Comparing Regional Institutions: An Introduction," in *Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*, Amitav Acharya and Alastain Iain Johnston, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-31.

Kucik, Jeffrey and Eric Reinhardt. 2008. "Does Flexibility Promote Cooperation? An Application to the Global Trade Regime." *International Organization* 62, 3: 477-505.

Johnson, Tana. 2013. "Looking beyond States: Openings for international bureaucrats to enter the institutional design process." *The Review of International Organizations* 8, 4: 499-519.

Mitchell, Ronald. 1994. "Regime Design Matters: Intentional Oil Pollution and Treaty Compliance." *International Organization* 48, 3: 425-58.

Kahler, Miles. 2000. "Legalization as Strategy: The Asia-Pacific Case." *International Organization* 54, 3: 549-71.

Lepgold, Joseph. 1998. "NATO's Post-Cold War Collective Action Problem." *International Security* 23, 1: 78-106.

Stone, Randall W. 2008. "The Scope of IMF Conditionality." *International Organization* 62, 4: 589-620.

Kleine, Mareike. 2014. "Informal governance as a new research agenda in EU Studies." *Journal for European Public Policy* 21: 2.

### **Week 8. Institutional complexity**

*Why do we observe several international arrangements in one policy domain? What is the impact of these arrangements on one another?*

Raustiala, Kal, and David G. Victor. 2004. "The Regime Complex for Plant Genetic Resources." *International Organization* 58, 2: 277-309.

Gehring, Thomas and Benjamin Faude. 2014. "A theory of emerging order within institutional complexes: How competition among regulatory international institutions leads to institutional adaptation and division of labor." *Review of International Organization*, 9, 4: 471-498.

Muzaka, Valbona. 2010. "Linkages, contests and overlaps in the global intellectual property rights regime." *European Journal of International Relations* 17, 4: 755-776.

Busch, Marc L. 2007. "Overlapping Institutions, Forum Shopping, and Dispute Settlement in International Trade." *International Organization* 61, 4: 735-761.

#### *Optional*

Johnson, Tana and Johannes Urpelainen. 2012. "A Strategic Theory of Regime Integration and Separation." *International Organization* 66, 4: 645-677.

Keohane, Robert O. and David G. Victor, "The Regime Complex for Climate Change." *Perspectives on Politics*, 9:1, pp. 7-23.

Drezner, Daniel. 2009. "The Power and Peril of International Regime Complexity." *Perspectives on Politics* 7, 1: 65-70.

Biermann, Frank, Philipp Pattberg, Harro van Asselt, and Fariborz Zelli. 2009. "The fragmentation of global governance architectures: A framework for analysis." *Global Environmental Politics* 9, 4: 14-40.

Morse, Julia C. and Robert O. Keohane. 2014. "Contested Multilateralism." *The Review of International Organizations* 9, 4: 385-412.

Benvenisti, Eyal and George W. Downs. 2007. "The Empire's New Cloths: Political Economy and the Fragmentation of International Law." *Stanford Law Review* 60, 2: 595-631.

Aggarwal, Vinod K. ed. 1998. *Institutional Designs for a Complex World. Bargaining, Linkages, and Nesting*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Alter, Karen J., and Sophie Meunier. 2009. "The Politics of International Regime Complexity." *Perspectives on Politics* 7, 1: 13-24.

Jupille, Joseph, Walter Mattli and Duncan Snidal. 2013. *Institutional Choice and Global Commerce*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

### **Week 9. Regional Integration and cooperation**

*Why do some states organize multilaterally on the regional level? Why are there regional differences?*

Moravcsik, Andrew. 1993. "Preference and Power in the European Community: A liberal intergovernmentalist approach." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31, 4: 473-519.

Hooghe, Liesbet, & Marks, G. 2008. "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus." *British Journal of Political Science* 39, 1: 1-23.

Acharya, Amitav. 2004. "How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism." *International Organization* 58, 2: 239-275.

De Lombaerde, Philippe, Fredrik Soederbaum, Luk Van Langenhove and Francis Baert. 2010. "The Problem of Comparison in Comparative Regionalism." *Review of International Studies* 36: 731-753.

#### *Optional*

Hurrell, Andrew. 2007. "One World? Many Worlds? The Place of Regions in the Study of International Society." *International Affairs* 83, 1: 127-146.

Marks, Gary et al. 1996. "European Integration from the 1980s: State-Centric v. Multilevel Governance." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34, 3: 341-379.

Haas, Ernst B. 1957. *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957* (Stanford University Press). [esp . chapter 8: The Expansive Logic of Sector Integration, pp. 283-317; and pp. 520-527.]

Cho, Il Hyun and Seo-Hyun Park. 2014. "Domestic Legitimacy Politics and Varieties of Regionalism in East Asia." *Review of International Studies* 40, 3: 583-606.

Checkel, Jeffrey. 2016. "Regional Identities and Communities," in *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism*, ed. Tanja Börzel and Thomas Risse. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 559-78.

Risse, Thomas and Tanja Börzel, eds. 2016. "Theorizing Regionalism. Cooperation, Integration and Governance," in *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 41–63.

Söderbaum, Fredrik and Alberta Sbragia. 2010. "EU studies meets the New Regionalism: What can be gained from dialogue?" *Journal of European Integration* 32, 6: 563- 682.

Haftel, Yoram Z. 2007. "Designing for Peace: Regional Integration Arrangements, Institutional Variation, and Militarized Interstate Disputes." *International Organization* 61, 1: 217-237.

Fioramonti, Lorenzo and Frank Mattheis. 2016. "Is Africa Really Following Europe? An Integrated Framework for Comparative Regionalism: An Integrated Framework for Comparative Regionalism." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 54, 3: 674–90.

Fawcett, Louise and Helene Gandois. 2010. "Regionalism in Africa and the Middle East: Implications for EU Studies." *Journal of European Integration* 32, 6: 617-36.

### **Week 10. Organizational agency and behavior**

*Who are "international organizations"? What kind of preferences do they have? How do different actors interact with one another?*

Beach, Derek. 2004. "The unseen hand in treaty reform negotiations: the role and influence of the Council Secretariat." *Journal of European Public Policy* 11, 3: 408–439.

Nielson, Daniel L. and Michael J. Tierney. 2003. "Delegation to International. Organizations: Agency Theory and. World Bank Environmental Reform." *International Organization* 57, 2: 241-276.

Barnett, Michael N. and Martha Finnemore. 1999. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations." *International Organization* 53, 4: 699-732.

Reinalda, Bob & Bertjan Verbeek. 2014. "Leadership of International Organizations," in Paul 't Hart & R.A.W. Rhodes (eds), *Oxford Handbook of Political Leadership*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 595-609.

#### *Optional*

Pollack, Mark A. 2003. *The engines of European integration: delegation, agency, and agenda setting in the EU*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Johnson, Tana and Johannes Urpelainen. 2014. "International Bureaucrats and the Formation of Intergovernmental Organizations: Institutional Design Discretion Sweetens the Pot." *International Organization* 68, 1: 175-208.

Martinez-Diaz, Leonardo. 2009. "Boards of directors in IOs: A framework for understanding the dilemmas of institutional design." *Review of International Organizations* 4, 4: 383.

Finnemore, Martha. 1996. *National Interests in International Society*. (New York: Cornell University) Chapter 4 (Norms and Development: The World Bank and Poverty), pp. 89-127.



Zürn, Michael, Martin Binder, Matthias Ecker-Ehrhardt. 2012. "International Authority and Its Politicization". *International Theory - A Journal of International Politics, Law and Philosophy* 4, 1: 69-106.

### **Week 11. Transnational networks, civil society and private-public partnerships**

*What is the impact of actors that are not completely "in" IOs?*

Johnson, Tana. 2016. "Cooperation, co-optation, competition, conflict: international bureaucracies and non-governmental organizations in an interdependent world." *Review of International Political Economy* 23, 5: 737-767.

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics: Introduction." *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Carpenter, R. Charli. 2010. "Governing the Global Agenda: gatekeepers and issue adoption in transnational advocacy networks." In: Deborah Avant, Martha Finnemore and Susan K. Sell (eds) *Who Governs the Globe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), chapter 8.

Andonova, Liliana B. 2010. "Public-Private Partnerships for the Earth: Politics and Patterns of Hybrid Authority in the Multilateral System." *Global Environmental Politics* 10, 2: 25-53.

#### *Optional*

Hall, Rodney and Thomas Biersteker. 2003. *The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1, pp. 3-21; Chapter 10, pp. 203-222.

Heiss, A, and Tana Johnson. 2016. "Internal, Interactive, and Institutional Factors: A Unified Framework for Understanding International Nongovernmental Organizations." *International Studies Review* 18, 3: 528-541.

Buthe, T. and Mattli, W. 2011. *The New Global Rulers: The Privatization of Regulation in the World Economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, Chapter 2.

Turner, Scott. 1998. "Global Civil Society, Anarchy and Governance: Assessing an Emerging Paradigm." *Journal of Peace Research* 35, 1: 25-42.

### **Week 12. Democracy, legitimacy and accountability**

*How democratic are IOs? Based on what standard(s) should we judge them?*

Buchanan, Allen and Robert O. Keohane. 2006. "The legitimacy of global governance institutions." *Ethics and International Affairs* 20, 4: 405-437.

Hurd, Ian, 1999. "Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics." *International Organization* 53, 2: 379-390.

Moravcsik, Andrew. 2004 "Is there a 'Democratic Deficit' in World Politics? A Framework for Analysis." *Government and Opposition* 39, 2: 336-363.

Dingwerth, Klaus. 2005. "The Democratic Legitimacy of Public-Private Rule-Making: What can we learn from the World Commission on Dams?" *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 11, 1: 65-83.

### *Optional*

Keohane, Robert O. 2005. "Global Governance and Democratic Accountability." In Rorden Wilkinson ed., *The Global Governance Reader*, Routledge, pp. 120-137.

Grant, Ruth W. and Robert O. Keohane. 2005. "Accountability and Abuses of Power in World Politics." *American Political Science Review* 99, 1: 29-43.

Chapman, Terrence. 2009. "Audience Beliefs and International Organization Legitimacy." *International Organization* 63, 4: 733-764.

Esty, Daniel. 2002. "The World Trade Organization's Legitimacy Crisis." *World Trade Review* 1, 1: 722

Woods, Ngaire and Amrita Narlikar. 2001. "Governance and the Limits of Accountability." *International Social Science Journal*.

Urpeleinen, Johannes and Christopher L. Pallas. "NGO Monitoring and the Legitimacy of International Cooperation." *Review of International Organizations*.

Voeten, Eric. 2005. "The Political Origins of the UN Security Councils Ability to Legitimize the Use of Force." *International Organization* 59, 3: 527-57.

Goodhart, Michael. 2005. "Civil Society and the Problem of Global Democracy." *Democratization* 12, 1: 1-21.

### **Week 13. Performance, effectiveness, and compliance**

*What are the major effects of IOs? How do we assess them?*

Simmons, Beth. 1998. "Compliance with International Agreements." *Annual Review of Political Science* 1: 75-93.

Downs, George W., David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom. 1996. "Is the Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation?" *International Organization* 50: 379-406.

Thompson, Alex and Tamar Gutner. 2010. "The Politics of IO Performance: A Framework." *Review of International Organizations* 5, 3: 227-48.

Checkel, Jeffrey. 2001. "Why Comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change." *International Organization* 55: 553-588.

### *Optional*

Gray, Julia, and Jonathan B. Slapin. 2012. "How effective are preferential trade agreements? Ask the experts." *The Review of International Organizations* 7, 3: 309-333.

von Stein, Jana. 2006. "Do Treaties Constrain or Screen? Selection Bias and Treaty Compliance." *The American Political Science Review* 99, 4: 611-622.

Drezner, Daniel W. 2000. "Bargaining, Enforcement, and Multilateral Sanctions: When Is Cooperation Counterproductive?" *International Organization* 54, 1: 73-102.

Gilligan, Michael J. 2006. "Is Enforcement Necessary for Effectiveness? A Model of the International Criminal Regime." *International Organization* 60: 935-967.

Kelley, Judith. 2004. "International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions." *International Organization* 58: 425-457.

Dai, Xinyuan. 2005. "Why Comply? The Domestic Constituency Mechanism. *International Organization*." 59, 2: 363-398.

Tallberg, Jonas. 2002. "Paths to Compliance: Enforcement, Management, and the European Union." *International Organization* 56, 3: 609-643.

Mitchell, Ronald. 1994. "Regime Design Matters: Intentional Oil Pollution and Treaty Compliance." *International Organization* 48, 3: 425-58

Chayes, Abram and Antonia Handler Chayes. 1993. "On Compliance." *International Organization* 47: 175-205.

#### **Week 14. Final(ly) exam**