

POLITICS OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

**Political Science Department
University of Toronto**

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Course #: POL343Y1
Term: Fall 2011-Winter 2012
Day: Monday
Time: 6pm-8pm
Location: Sidney Smith Hall, Room 2108

COURSE DESCRIPTION

The concept of global governance has grown in importance during the last two decades. It pertains to the emergence of an international society, in which states and other international actors increasingly must make collective decisions on how to address global problems and issues. We will start by examining what drives the current demand for global governance structures. We will then identify and explore some of the contested concepts of global governance, while getting equipped with the theoretical tools to study the phenomenon. The various concepts of global governance will be applied to a number of policy issues, such as state and human security, trade and finance, environment, and corporate social responsibility. In examining our case studies we will focus on the effectiveness (or a lack thereof) of global governance as well as how its form, authority, power, and constitutive origins determine the success or failure of international initiatives.

COURSE READINGS

There are no required textbooks for this course. All articles listed on the syllabus should be available online through the UofT Library Portal. They form the core material for class discussions and exams. In order to prepare well for your exams, try to understand the main points of all the readings as well as similarities and contrasts between the arguments made by different authors. You are expected to come to class having absorbed the basic substance of the required readings enabling you to discuss and raise questions about them. I might occasionally assign additional materials for you to familiarize with before class, such as short articles or case studies. All such readings will be announced in class and posted on the Blackboard.

I-CLICKERS

In the absence of required readings for purchase, I would ask all students to obtain a simple i-Clicker gadget to assist with participation in-class. These can be purchased at the University Bookstore, and should be brought to each class. The purpose of using this system is to make the classes more interactive, promote student engagement and discussion during lectures, and to help me gauge students' comprehension of the material. We will use i-clickers every class session.

COURSE WEBSITE

The course website on **Blackboard** will be accessible through: <https://portal.utoronto.ca>. The Blackboard site may be used to post additional course materials, such as case studies, further readings, or handouts. Posting of such materials will be announced in class or via email.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

Grading: Your final letter grade is based on a 100 point scale with the following weights:

Task	Weight	Due date
Mid Term Test	30%	December 5, 2011
Writing Project	30%	March 12, 2011
Final Exam	40%	Spring Final Exam Period

Mid-Term and Final Tests (30 and 40 points): both will be a closed-book, closed-notes tests. The topics covered by each test, as well as the tests' format, will be elaborated during the lectures ahead of time. The focus of the final exam will be on the second half of the semester. However, the information you learn in the first semester might be useful in answering final exam questions. You will not be penalized for not bringing up the material from the first semester, but you can enrich your answers if you review those articles in a comparative perspective with the second half of the course.

Term Writing Project (30 points): On **March 12th**, 2012, each student is required to submit one of the following written assignments: *Research Paper* or *Policy Paper*. By **6:10pm** on March 12th the paper should be submitted in **both** hard copy format in class **and** in electronic format on the **turnitin.com** website. The login and password details for this course on turnitin.com are: class ID: 4337033; password: POL343Y1. Late papers should be submitted to the Department of Political Science and turnitin.com and will be subject to **2** point reduction per day.

Both Research and Policy Papers must be a 5-7 page long work which answers a specific question regarding global governance. Papers will be evaluated according to the criteria below, as well as clarity, comprehensiveness, analytical logic and consistency, and writing style. Paper formatting should be 1.5 lines spacing in 11pt Times New Roman font with 1-inch margins. Students should keep all draft work and hard copies of their submitted assignments at least until the marked assignments have been returned.

The key components of a successful *Research Paper* are: a non-trivial research question stemming from a puzzle, identification of the debate in the literature regarding this specific question (not the topic in general), students' own hypothesis/hypotheses (the more original the better) in answering the question and its/their substantiated proof(s). A choice of an interesting and timely issue or problem is a plus but not a necessity. For additional information on how to craft a scholarly argument, see Teresa Pelton Johnson, "Writing for International Security: A Contributor's Guide," *International Security* 16(2), 1991, pp. 171-180, also available online at http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/156/writing_for_international_security.html

A *Policy Paper* should discuss a specific current problem in global governance and propose a solution. Policy papers differ from research papers in that the former are problem-solving rather than explanatory. They aim to illuminate a particular issue and provide prescriptions based on a balanced analysis of two or more policy options. The key components of a successful policy paper are: an interesting and timely issue or problem, an analytical overview of the background to the issue, a critical evaluation of 2-3 existing measures to deal with it in the area of global governance according to some clearly specified criteria (*effectiveness* and *efficiency*), and a suggestion of alternative policy option(s) based on the analysis.

More detailed instructions on how to write research and policy papers will be offered by the Instructor in class on **September 26th**. Please make your best effort to attend this lecture.

If you wish to enhance your writing skills, you might find some of the following resources helpful:

- a) U of T Writing Centers, Courses, Help: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources;>

- b) *On Writing Well* by William Zinsser;
- c) *The Elements of Style* by William Strunk and E. B. White;
- d) *The Careful Writer* by Theodore M. Bernstein.

OTHER RULES AND REGULATIONS

Plagiarism will not be tolerated on any written assignment. Plagiarism means attempting to pass off someone else's research or writing as your own. It is very easy to catch, so don't risk your grade or your academic reputation. To avoid any unintentional instance of plagiarizing you may familiarize yourself with the guidelines offered by the University of Toronto writing center available at: www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources.

Students agree that by taking this course all required papers will be subject to submission for textual similarity review to Turnitin.com for the detection of plagiarism. All submitted papers will be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site. If, as a student, you object to using turnitin.com, before you start working on your project you must see the course instructor to establish appropriate alternative arrangements for submission of your written assignments.

Extensions and Missed Tests: Extensions for papers and scheduling of make-up tests will only be granted for a "good reason" under very special circumstances and only in advance of the assignment due date in case of the paper. Having work responsibilities, multiple assignments/exams in this and other classes, or "being stressed" do not qualify as "good reasons." *For an extension to be granted, you must show documentation of your reason for requesting an extension* (e.g, doctor's note, hospital records).

ACCESSIBILITY NEEDS

The U of T is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible: disability.services@utoronto.ca or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>

TENTATIVE COURSE OUTLINE

Part 1: Theoretical Foundations of Global Governance

September 12 (Class 1): Introduction

No readings assigned

Optional:

(available on Blackboard) "The Challenges of Global Governance," Chapter 1 in Margaret Karns and Karen Mingst, *International Organizations: Politics and Processes of Global Governance* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010), pp. 3-33 (30)

September 19 (Class 2): Context: Governing World Politics in an Era of Globalization

John Ikenberry, "The Future of the Liberal World Order," *Foreign Affairs* 90.3 (2011)

Christopher Chase-Dunn & Kirk S. Lawrence, "The Next Three Futures, Part One: Looming Crises of Global Inequality, Ecological Degradation, and a Failed System of Global Governance," *Global Society*, 25:2, 2011, pp. 137-153

Anne-Marie Slaughter, "The Real New Order," *Foreign Affairs* 76.5 (September-October 1997), pp. 183-97 (14)

Optional:

Nayan Chanda, "Runaway Globalization without Governance," *Global Governance* 14.2 (April-June 2008), pp. 119-125 (6)

September 26 (Class 3): IR Theories and Global Governance

Kenneth Abbott and Duncan Snidal, "Why States Act Through Formal International Organizations," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (February 1998), pp. 3-32 (29)

(Blackboard) Beth Simmons and Lisa Martin, 2002, "International Organizations and Institutions," Chapter 10 in Walter Carlsnaes, Beth A. Simmons, Thomas Risse (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations* (Sage Publications), pp. 192-211 (19)

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52 (4), 1998, pp. 889-909 (10)

Optional:

David Long and Frances Woolley, "Global Public Goods: Critique of a UN Discourse," *Global Governance* 15.1 (Jan-March 2009), pp. 107-122 (15)

October 3 (Class 4): International Law and Norms

(online) Richard Price, "Emerging Customary Norms and Anti-Personnel Landmines," Ch. 5 in Christian Reus-Smit (ed.), *The Politics of International Law* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 106-130 (24)

Jean-Frédéric Morin, "The Life-Cycle of Transnational Issues: Lessons from the Access to Medicines Controversy," *Global Society*, 25:2 (2011), 227-247

Keith Krause "Multilateral Diplomacy, Norm Building, and UN Conferences: the Case of Small Arms and Light Weapons," *Global Governance*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2002), pp. 247-263 (16)

Optional:

Harold Jacobson and Edith Brown Weiss, "Strengthening Compliance with International Environmental Accords," *Global Governance*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1995), pp. 119-148 (29)

October 10 (No Class: Thanksgiving)

October 17 (Class 5): The United Nations

Peter Wallensteen, "Representing the World: A Security Council for the 21st Century," *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (1994), pp. 63-75 (12)

Ruben Mendez, "Financing the United Nations and the International Public Sector: Problems and Reform," *Global Governance*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1997), pp. 283-310 (27)

Thomas G. Weiss, Tatiana Carayannis and Richard Jolly, "The "Third" United Nations," *Global Governance* 15.1 (Jan-March 2009), p. 123 (20)

Optional:

Barry O'Neill, "Power and Satisfaction in the United Nations Security Council," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40 (2), 1996, pp. 219-237 (18)

October 24 (Class 6): Regional Organizations

William Drozdiak, "The Brussels Wall: Tearing Down the EU-NATO Barrier," *Foreign Affairs* 89.3 (2010)

Zbigniew Brzezinski, "An Agenda for NATO: Toward a Global Security Web," *Foreign Affairs* 88.5 (Sept-Oct 2009), pp. 2-21 (19)

Anders Fogh Rasmussen, "NATO After Libya," *Foreign Affairs* 90.4 (2011)

Bjorn Hettne and Fredrik Soderbaum, "The UN and Regional Organizations in Global Security: Competing or Complementary Logics?" *Global Governance* 12.3 (July-Sept 2006), pp. 227-233 (6)

Optional:

David Martin Jones; Mark L. R Smith; "Making Process, Not Progress: ASEAN and the Evolving East Asian Regional Order," *International Security* (July 2007), 32 (1), pg. 148-184 (36)

Amitav Acharya, "ASEAN at 40: Mid-Life Rejuvenation?" *Foreign Affairs*, August 15, 2007

October 31 (Class 7): Non-State Actors: Networks, Social Movements, NGOs

(Blackboard) Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, "Human Rights Advocacy Networks in Latin America," Ch. 3 in *Activists Beyond Borders*, pp. 103-120 ONLY

Noha Shawki, "Issue Frames and the Political Outcomes of Transnational Campaigns: A Comparison of the Jubilee 2000 Movement and the Currency Transaction Tax Campaign," *Global Society*, 24:2 (2010), 203-230, pp. 211-230 ONLY

Andrew S. Natsios "NGOs and UN System in Humanitarian Emergencies: Conflict or Cooperation?" *Third World Quarterly*
<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~db=all~content=t713448481~tab=issueslist~branches=16-v1616.3> (September 1995), pp. 405-20 (15)

Optional:

Garrett Wallace Brown, "Multisectoralism, Participation, and Stakeholder Effectiveness: Increasing the Role of Non-State Actors in the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria," *Global Governance* 15.2 (April-June 2009), p. 169 (9)

November 7 (No Class): November Break

November 14 (Class 8): Human Rights

David Kaye, "Who's Afraid of the International Criminal Court?" *Foreign Affairs* 90.3 (2011), pp.118-129

Ramesh Thakur, "Human Rights: Amnesty International and the United Nations," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 31, No. 2, 1994, pp. 143-160 (17)

Giovanni Mantilla, "Emerging International Human Rights Norms for Transnational Corporations," *Global Governance* 15.2 (April-June 2009), p. 279(20)

November 21 (Class 9): Transnational Organized Crime

(Blackboard) UNODC (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime), "Trafficking in Persons to Europe for Sexual Exploitation," (UNODC Report, 2010), pp. 1-11 (10)

(Blackboard) Phil Williams, "Drug Trafficking, Violence, and the State in Mexico," Op-Ed for the Strategic Studies Institute, April 2009

(Blackboard) Phil Williams, "Organized Crime and Cybercrime: Synergies, Trends, and Responses."

November 28 (Class 10): Energy, Water and Food

Gilles Carbonnier, Fritz Brugger, Jana Krause, "Global and Local Policy Responses to the Resource Trap Special Issue: The Governance of Extractive Resources," *Global Governance* 17.2 (2011), pp. 247-264

Joyeeta Gupta, Claudia Pahl-Wostl, and Daniel Petry, "Governance and the Global Water System: a theoretical exploration," *Global Governance* 14.4 (2008), p. 419

Ross Talbot and Wayne Moyer, "Who Governs the Rome Food Agencies?" *Food Policy*, 12 (4), 1987, pp. 349-364 (15)

December 5 (Class 11): Mid-Term Test (in class)

January 9 (Class 12): Armed Conflict: Prevention

James Habyarimana, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel Posner, Jeremy Weinstein, et al., "Is Ethnic Conflict Inevitable? Parting Ways Over Nationalism and Separatism," *Foreign Affairs*, Jul/Aug 2008, Vol. 87, No. 4, pp. 138-151(13)

Alice Ackermann, "The Idea and Practice of Conflict Prevention," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 40, No. 3, 2003, pp. 339-347 (8)

Erica Downs and Suzanne Moloney, "Getting China to Sanction Iran," *Foreign Affairs* 90.2 (2011), pp. 15-21

January 16 (Class 13): Arms Control: Nuclear, Biological, Chemical and Space Weapons

Bruce Blair, Matt Brown, Richard Burt, Josef Joffe, and James Davis, "Can Disarmament Work?" *Foreign Affairs* 90.4 (2011), pp.173-178

Graham Allison, "Nuclear Disorder: Surveying Atomic Threats," *Foreign Affairs* 89.1 (2010)

Gregory L. Schulte, "Stopping Proliferation Before it Starts: How to Prevent the Next Nuclear Wave," *Foreign Affairs* 89.4 (July-Aug. 2010)

(online) Rebecca Johnson, "Security without Weapons in Space: Challenges and Options," *Disarmament Forum: Making Space for Security?* No. 1 (2003), pp. 53 – 66, at: <http://www.unidir.ch/pdf/articles/pdf-art2155.pdf>

Optional:

(online) Theresa Hitchens, "Developments in Space: Movement towards Space Weapons?" Paper presented to a workshop on "Outer Space and International Security: Options for the Future," Oct. 29, 2003, at: <http://www.cdi.org/pdfs/space-weapons.pdf>

January 23 (Class 14): Armed Conflict: Response

Alex J. Bellamy, "Realizing the Responsibility to Protect," *International Studies Perspectives*, Issue 10 (2009), pp. 111-128 (17)

Morton Abramowitz and Thomas Pickering, "Making Intervention Work: Improving the UN's Ability to Act," *Foreign Affairs* 87.5 (Sept-Oct. 2008), pp. 100-109 (9)

Astri Suhrke, "Virtues of a Narrow Mission: The UN Peace Operation in Nepal," *Global Governance* 17.1 (2011), pp. 37-56 (20)

Optional:

Lynn Miller, "The Idea and the Reality of Collective Security," *Global Governance*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1999), pp. 303-332 (29)

January 30 (Class 15): Armed Conflict: Immediately After

Achim Wennman, "Breaking the Conflict Trap - Addressing the Resource Curse in Peace Processes," *Global Governance* 17.2 (2011), pp. 264-279

Alexandra Checiu, "Divided Partners: The Challenges of NATO-NGO Cooperation in Peacebuilding Operations," *Global Governance* 17.1 (2011), pp. 95-114 (19)

M. J. Williams, "(Un)Sustainable Peacebuilding: NATO's Suitability for Postconflict Reconstruction in Multiactor Environments," *Global Governance* 17.1 (2011), pp. 115-134 (20)

February 6 (Class 17): Terrorism

Daniel Byman, "Terrorism After the Revolutions," *Foreign Affairs* 90.3 (2011), pp. 48-54

Robert Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97.3 (2003), pp. 343-361 (18)

Philip Gordon, "Can the War on Terror Be Won?" *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2007, pp. 53-66 (13)

Optional:

Martha Crenshaw, "Explaining Suicide Terrorism: A Review Essay," *Security Studies* 16.1 (January 2007), pp. 133-162 (29)

February 13 (Class 18): Human Security

(Blackboard) Fen Osler Hampson, "Promoting the Safety of Peoples: Controlling Small Arms," Chapter 6 in Fen Osler Hampson, *Madness in the Multitude: Human Security and World Disorder* (Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 98-124 (26)

(Blackboard) Benjamin Valentino, "From Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the Twentieth Century," in Karen Mingst and Jack Snyder, *Essential Readings in World Politics* (W. W. Norton & Company, 2008), pp. 368-388 (20)

Optional:

Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwanda Tragedy Happen," *The Atlantic Monthly* (Sept. 2001), pp. 84-108 (24)

February 20 (No Class: Family Day)

February 27 (Class 19): Trade

Susan Schwab, "After Doha," *Foreign Affairs* 90.3 (2011)

(Blackboard) Philippe Sands, "Good Trade, Bad Trade, Cheap Shrimp," Chapter 5 in Philippe Sands, *Lawless World: America and the Making and Breaking of Global Rules* (Allen Lane Publisher, 2005), pp. 95-116 (21)

Keisuke Iida, "Is WTO Dispute Settlement Effective?" *Global Governance* 10.2 (2004), pp. 207-225 (18)

Optional:

“Weighing Up the WTO,” *Economist*, 11/23/2002, Vol. 365, Issue 8300

“Is There Any Point to the WTO?” *Economist*, 8/6/2005, Vol. 376, Issue 8438

“In the Twilight of Doha,” *Economist*, 7/29/2006, Vol. 380, Issue 8488

March 5 (Class 20): Finance

Nancy Birdsall and Francis Fukuyama, “The Post-Washington Consensus,” *Foreign Affairs* 90.2 (2011)

Leslie Elliott Armijo, “The Political Geography of World Financial Reform: Who Wants What and Why?” *Global Governance*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (2001), pp. 379-396 (17)

(*Blackboard*) Axel Dreher, Jan-Egbert Sturm, and James Raymond Vreeland, “Global Horse Trading: IMF Loans for Votes in the United Nations Security Council,” *European Economic Review*, Volume 53, Issue 7, October 2009, pp. 742-747 (6) **ONLY**

Ngaire Woods, “Making the IMF and the World Bank More Accountable,” *International Affairs*, Volume 77, Issue 1 (January 2001), pp. 83–100 (17)

Optional:

Liaquat Ahamed, “Currency Wars, Then and Now,” *Foreign Affairs* 90.2 (2011)

Tony Porter, “Why International Institutions Matter in the Global Credit Crisis,” *Global Governance* 15.1 (Jan-March 2009), pp. 3-8 (5)

March 12 (Class 21): Development

Paper Due in Class and in Turnitin by 6pm

Eric Neumayer, “The Determinants of Aid Allocation by Regional Multilateral Development Banks and United Nations Agencies,” *International Studies Quarterly* 47 (2003), pp. 101-122 (21)

March 19 (Class 22): Corporate Social Responsibility

Christine Batruch, “Does Corporate Social Responsibility Make a Difference,” *Global Governance* 17.2 (2011), pp. 155-159

Matthew S. Winters and John Gould, “Betting on Oil: The World Bank’s Attempt to Promote Accountability in Chad,” *Global Governance* 17.2 (2011), pp. 229-246

Matthias Hofferberth, Tanja Brühl, Eric Burkart, Marco Fey & Anne Peltner, “Multinational Enterprises as “Social Actors”—Constructivist Explanations for Corporate Social Responsibility,” *Global Society*, 25:2 (2011), 205-226

Optional:

Lee Tavis, “Corporate Governance and the Global Social Void,” *William Davidson Working Paper* Number 450, October 2001 (skim):

<http://www.wdi.umich.edu/files/Publications/WorkingPapers/wp450.pdf>

March 26 (Class 23): Environment

Deborah Avant, "Conserving Nature in the State of Nature: the politics of INGO policy implementation," *Review of International Studies* (2004), 30, 361–382

Convention on Biological Diversity

United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

Kyoto Protocol

April 2 (Class 24): Conclusion: Dilemmas of Global Governance in the 21st Century

Jorge G. Castañeda, "Not Ready for Prime Time," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 89, Issue 5 (Sep/Oct 2010)

Chadwick Agler, "Thinking About the Future of the UN System," *Global Governance*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1996), pp. 335-360 (25)

(online) Jan Aart Scholte, "Civil Society and Democratically Accountable Global Governance," *Government and Opposition*, Vol.39, No.2 (2004), pp.211–33 (20), at: <http://www.hapinternational.org/pool/files/aartscholteaccountable.pdf>

Optional:

(online) Edward Luck, "Reforming the United Nations: Lessons from a History of Progress," *International Relations Studies and the United Nations Occasional Papers*, No. 1, 2003, URL: <http://www.reformwatch.net/fitxers/58.pdf>

April 11-30 (April Examination period): Final Exam