

PS 737
Global Governance: Transnational Organizations and Processes

Spring 2013

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Class meetings: Tuesday,
9:30-12 noon

Class: in POT 4th floor lib.
Office Hours: TBD
And by appointment

The purpose of the seminar is to attain an understanding of the theories, practices, and processes through which global politics are organized and social, political, and economic outcomes are “governed”. We will discover what roles international institutions (both IGOs and NGOs) play in global governance is and its effects in various issue areas. Class will consist of both mini-lectures and discussion based on assigned reading. Students are expected to read thoroughly each week's reading and be prepared to discuss the material.

Books for Purchase

Diehl, Paul F. and Daniel Druckman. *Evaluating Peace Operations*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2010.

Karns, Margaret P. and Karen A. Mingst. *International Organizations. The Politics and Processes of Global Governance*. 2nd edition. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2010. Make sure you have second edition, substantially revised.

Roodman, David. *Due Diligence. An Impertinent Inquiry into Microfinance*. Baltimore, MD: Brookings Institution Press, 2012.

If you have not read this book, you will need to do so for this seminar.
Banerjee, Abhijit V. and Esther Duflo. *Poor Economics. A Radical Rethinking of the Way to Fight Global Poverty*. New York: PublicAffairs, 2011

Journal Articles. A xeroxed copy of the articles is available in POT 469. Most articles are available electronically when using a university computer. INGENTA, JSTOR, LEXUS-NEXIS, MUSE. I have electronic copies of many articles and will e-mail them to you.

Grading and Assignments

1. One short analytical papers (2-3 pages single space) addressing **an issue** from **two readings** selected among the topics addressed. This paper must be written based on weeks 2-7. You will sign up for a specific week. The paper (in MS WORD) must be posted on the class listserv by Monday noon before the class session. The purpose of this memo is to build your reading and writing skills. Three objectives should be met:

First, what are the driving questions and arguments that connect these articles? Second, what are the two or three primary points that you want to pull out of the articles? Third, what is your professional assessment of the arguments made from a theoretical, methodological, and policy approach? (10%).

2. Mini-group project on specific regional organizations in Week 4. The following organizations will be included: ASEAN, APEC, African Union, Arab League, Organization of American States, Mercosur, Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Each group will have 12 minutes to present. (10%).

3. IOs/ Non-state actors at a Glance Paper (15%). Each student will be responsible for preparing and sharing a three page (single spaced) essay on a specific international organization once during the semester. Students will sign up for their papers at the beginning of the semester. These papers will be presented throughout the semester. These essays should address fundamental questions about the organization. How has the organization changed over time and why? What tools of influence does the organization have? What are the major limitations of its effectiveness? What are the major issues on its agenda? You are responsible for posting your paper to the class via the class listserv by 12 noon on the Monday before class. This assignment is NOT for POLITICAL SCIENCE DOCTORAL STUDENTS.

3. Students have a choice between two types of papers:

Policy paper (ca. 15-pages) (25%). The goal of your paper is to identify some problem in world politics and design or redesign a piece of global governance to solve or reduce it related to the topic in your major. The Council of Foreign Relations website *Global Monitor* provides good ideas. Your design may be either a new organization (IGO/ NGO, program) in which none has existed, or you may propose significant new changes or replacements for existing formal or informal structures. In all cases your paper must do the following: a) Present clear analysis of the global problem to be addressed, identifying causes of the problem and connecting those with your proposed solution; b). Describe the governance approach that will address that problem, including any decisionmaking structures; c) Explain why this particular design or reform is the right one for this problem both technically and politically; d) Discuss the political and technical obstacles to your proposal and why relevant actors will agree to your proposal.

OR

Research paper (ca. 15 pages) (25%). This paper will require additional research on a specific issue of interest related to the core subject. The topic must be approved in advance by the instructor.

6. Final examination, based on reading and seminar discussions. Two questions comparable to those found in MA or PhD Qualifying Exams. (25%).

7. General participation in seminar and in-class quizzes (15%). This is a graduate seminar and both attendance and active participation is expected.

University Mandated Information

Student Learning Outcomes. Students will acquire a broad knowledge of international organizations. Students will master the analytical and methodological tools necessary to understand these developments.

Academic Integrity. Students shall not plagiarize, cheat, or falsify or misuse academic records. Complete information can be found at <http://www.uky.edu/Ombud>. It is important that you review this information as all ideas borrowed from others need to be properly credited.

Disabilities: Any student with a disability who is taking this course and needs classroom or exam accommodations should contact the Disability Resource Center, 257-2754. jkarnes@uky.edu.

Major Religious Holidays. Notify the instructor in writing of anticipated absences due to such holidays.

Readings and Questions

1. Global Governance and International Relations Theory (Jan. 15): .

Questions to be discussed: What is global governance? What criteria should be used to assess global governance? What are the critiques of global governance theory? How do the major IR theories view international institutions? How do political realists view the institutionalist approach? What do liberal institutionalist theorists contribute to the study of global governance? Compare the constructivist views with the other approaches to international organizations

Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations*. Chapt 1, 2, 12

Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19 no. 3 (Winter 1994/1995), 5-49

Keohane, Robert O. and Lisa L. Martin, "The Promise of Institutional Theory," *International Security* 20 no. 1 (Summer 1995), 39-51.

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

2. International Organizations and Law: Core Concepts (Jan. 22)

What features of design need to be considered for international institutions? What are the strengths and weaknesses of using principal/agent theory? What are the issues of accountability, compliance, and legitimacy? How can international organization performance be analyzed?

Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson and Duncan Snidal, "The Rational Design of International Institutions," *International Organization* 55 no. 4 (Autumn 2001), 761-799.

Hawkins, Darren G. et al, "Delegation under Anarchy: States, International Organizations, and Principal-Agent Theory," in *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*. Ed. By Darren G. Hawkins, et al. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006, pp. 3-33.

Grant, Ruth W. and Robert O. Keohane, "Accountability and Abuses of Power in World Politics," *American Political Science Review* 99 no. 1 (Feb. 2005), 29-43.

Chayes, Abram and Antonia Handler Chayes, "On Compliance," *International Organization* 47 no. 2 (Spring 1993), 175-205.

Gutner, Tamar and Alexander Thompson, "The Politics of IO Performance: A Framework," *Review of International Organization* (2010) 5:227-248

3. The United Nations (Jan. 29)

Which approach best explains UN politics? Why? What are the major issues of the UN Security Council? What are the major criticisms of the UN?

Quiz on basics of UN system.

Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations*, Chapt 3, 4

Barnett, Michael and Martha Finnemore, "Political Approaches," in *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*. Edited by Thomas Weiss and Sam Daws. Oxford Univ. Press, 2007, pp. 42-57

Voeten, Erik, "The Political Origins of the UN Security Council's Ability to Legitimize the Use of Force," *International Organization* 59 no. 3 (Summer 2005), 527-557.

McDonald, Kara XC. And Stewart M. Patrick, UN Security Council Enlargement and U.S. Interests. Council on Foreign Relations, Special Report no. 59 (Dec. 1010).

May be downloaded at

<http://www.cfr.org/un/un-security-council-enlargement-us-interests/p23363>

Stewart Patrick blogs on UN and global governance issues in "The Internationalist"

Organizations at a Glance: UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO); UNESCO; WHO

4. Regional Institutions (Feb. 5)

How does the study of regionalism integrate international and domestic politics? How can we study regional integration across different geographic regions? To what extent is the EU unique from a theoretical and empirical point of view? You need to be able to compare organizations across regions.

Quiz on the European Union.

Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations*, Chapt 5

Pollack, Mark A., "Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance?," *Annual Review of Political Science* 8 (2005): 357-98.

Mockli, Daniel "The Strategic Weakening of Debt-Ridden Europe," in Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich, Strategic Trends 2012.
<http://www.sta.ethz.ch/Strategic-Trends-2012/The-strategic-weakening-of-debt-ridden-Europe>

McNamara, Kathkleen R., "Constructing Authority in the European Union," In *Who Governs the Globe?* Deborah Avant, Martha Finnemore, Susan Sell, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 153-179.

Regional Organizations at a Glance: Group presentations on regional organizations (see above)

5. NGOs and Networks (Feb. 12)

How can we differentiate between NGOs, networks, and global social movements? What factors explain the growth of NGOs? What roles do non state actors play in global governance? To what extent are NGOs similar to or different than other organizations? What are the advantages and disadvantages of using the concept of networks to study NGOs? Is there a global civil society?

Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations* Chapt 6

Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists Beyond Borders. Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998, Chapt 1, pp. 1-38.

Cooley, Alexander, "Outsourcing Authority: How Project Contracts Transform Global Governance Networks," in *Who Governs the Globe?* Deborah Avant, Martha Finnemore, Susan Sell, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 238-265.

Bob, Clifford, "Packing Heat: Pro-Gun Groups and the Governance of Small Arms," In *Who Governs the Globe?* Deborah Avant, Martha Finnemore, Susan Sell, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 183-201

Dryzek, "Global Civil Society: The Progress of Post-Westphalian Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science*. 2012.

Organizations at a Glance: Save the Children; Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation; Open Society Institute; GAVI Alliance

6. Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding (February 19).

Discuss the range of peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities undertaken by global governance actors. Are IGOs effective at securing the peace? How can you analyze this question of effectiveness? What are the methodological issues in evaluating the effectiveness of peacekeeping? How are these methodological issues being addressed? How is the nuclear taboo a constructivist argument? What are the arguments against the notion of a nuclear taboo?

Quiz on basics of peacekeeping

Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations* Chapt 8

New Horizon Progress Report no. 1, 2010. Available at <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/newhorizon.pdf>

Diehl and Druckman, *Evaluating Peace Operations*. Read whole book.

Annual Review of Global Peace Operations
http://www.cic.nyu.edu/peacekeeping/docs/gpo_2012.pdf

Gheciu, Alexandra, "Divided Partners: The Challenges of NATO-NGO Cooperation in Peacebuilding Operations," *Global Governance* 17 (2011), 95-113.

Tannenwald Nina, "The Nuclear Taboo: the US and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use," *International Organization* 53 no. 3 (June 1999), 433-468.

Organizations at a Glance: International Crisis Group; Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe; International Atomic Energy Agency; Kimberley Process

7. Humanitarian Intervention and Humanitarianism (February 26)

What is humanitarianism? What are the advantages and disadvantages in using this term? What are the arguments in favor of and against humanitarian intervention? Humanitarian soldiers: Is this a contradiction in terms?

Barnett, Michael, "Humanitarianism Transformed," *Perspectives on Politics*, 3 no. 4 (Dec. 2005), 723-740.

Finnemore, Martha, *The Purpose of Intervention. Changing Beliefs About the Use of Force*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2003. Chapt 3, pp. 52-84.

Pape, Robert A. "When Duty Calls: A Pragmatic Standard of Humanitarian

Intervention,” *International Security* 37 no. 1 (Summer 2012): 41-80. Reply by Gareth Evans and Ramesh Thakur, “Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) *International Security* 37:4 (Spring 2013).

Ayoob, Mohammed, "Third World Perspectives on Humanitarian Intervention and International Administration,” *Global Governance* 10 no. 1 (2004), 99-118.

Lischer, Sarah Kenyon, , "Military Intervention and Humanitarian 'Force Multiplier,'" *Global Governance* 13 no. 1 (2007): 99-118.

Organizations at a Glance: International Committee of the Red Cross; Catholic Relief Services; UN High Commissioner for Refugees; Doctors Without Borders

8. Protecting Human Rights (March 5)

Compare the relative effectiveness of global versus regional approaches to human rights governance. What roles do NGOs play in compliance with international human rights treaties? How can we measure effectiveness of international human rights obligations? International justice can be achieved in a number of different ways. Discuss the ways. What are the various advantages and disadvantages?

Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations*, Chapt 10.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. and Kiyoteru Tsutsui, "Human Rights in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises," *American Journal of Sociology* 110 no. 5 (March 2005): 1373-1411.

Snyder, Jack and Leslie Vinjamuri, "Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice," *International Security* 28 no. 3 (Winter 2003/04): 5-44.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. and James Ron, “Seeing Double: Human Rights Impact through Qualitative and Quantitative Eyes,” *World Politics* 61 no. 2 (April 2009), 360-401.

Blanchfield, Luisa, “The United Nations Human Rights Council: Issues for Congress,” Congressional Research Service, RL33608, 26 Jan. 2011.
<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33608.pdf>

Organizations at a Glance: Amnesty International; European Court of Human Rights; Human Rights Watch; Anti-Slavery International; International Migration Organization; Rugmark

9. The International Financial Institutions (IFIs) —The IFIs (March 19)

Discuss the range of governance actors active in development issues. What are the

implications of changing approaches to economic development? How is development measured by the IFIs? What do the IFI's do to enhance development? To what extent are IFIs political institutions? What are the major criticisms of the IFIs? How does development discourse impact policy?

Quiz on basic information of the World Bank and IMF

Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations* Chapt 9

Birdsall, Nancy and Francis Fukuyama, "The Post-Washington Consensus: Development after the Crisis," *Foreign Affairs*, 90 no. 2 (March/ April 2011), 45-53.

Rudra, Nita, "Why International Organizations Should Bring Basic Needs Back In," *International Studies Perspectives* 10 no. 2 (May 2009), 129-150.

Stone, Randall W. *Controlling Institutions. International Organizations and the Global Economy* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. Chapt 4 "Informal Governance in the IMF," pp. 51-79

Copelovitch, Mark S. "Master or Servant? Common Agency and Political Economy of IMF Lending," *International Studies Quarterly* 54 no. 1 (March 2010), 49-77

Jost, Thomas and Franz Seitz, "The Role of the IMF in the European Debt Crisis," HAW im Dialog. Diskussionspapier Nr. 32 (Jan. 2012)
http://www.haw-aw.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Aktuelles/Veroeffentlichungen/WEN-Diskussionspapier/wen_diskussionspapier32.pdf

World Bank Group, "Modernizing the World Bank Group. An Update. Executive Summary only, pp. 6-11.
<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/DEVCOMINT/Documentation/22885417/DC2011-0005%28E%29Modernization.pdf>

Organizations at a Glance: Inter-American Development Bank; UN Conference on Trade and Development; Asian Development Bank

10. Economic Development Institutions: Micro-Finance Institutions and Foreign Aid (March 26)

To what extent do microfinance institutions lift people from poverty, enhance freedom, and building institutions? What are the strengths and weaknesses of microinsurance? What are the major economic and political issues with foreign aid? Where does the money go?

Roodman, David. *Due Diligence. An Impertinent Inquiry into Microfinance*. Whole book.

Wright, Joseph and Matthew Winters, "The Politics of Effective Foreign Aid," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2010), 13: 61-80.

Easterly, William and Tobias Pfutze, "Where Does the Money Go? Best and Worst

Practices in Foreign Aid,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 22 no. 2 (Spring 2008, 29-52

Birdsall, Nancy, “Seven Deadly Sins: Reflections on Donor Failings,” in *Reinventing Foreign Aid*. Edited by William Easterly. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2008. Pp. 515-551. (Xerox)

Natsios, Andrew, “The Clash of the Counter-bureaucracy and Development,” Center for Global Development Essay (July 2010). Available at www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/1424271

Organizations at a glance Center for Global Development; Kiva

11. Trade Institutions and Private Governance Schemes (April 2)

What is the relationship between trade and economic development? How is this a disputed relationship? What has been the effect of the WTO? Is the WTO dispute settlement mechanism effective or not? What is the argument for promoting economic regionalism? Is regionalism a stepping stone to globalization or is it an impediment to economic globalization? What are the strengths and weaknesses of private economic governance?

Rodrik, Dani, "The Global Governance of Trade as if Development Really Mattered.," in Rodrik, *One Economics, Many Recipes: Globalization, Institutions, and Economic Growth*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007, pp. 213-236.

Ravenhill, John, "Regionalism," in *Global Political Economy*, 3rd ed. John Ravenhill, ed. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2011, Chapt 6.

Stone, Randall W. *Controlling Institutions. International Organizations and the Global Economy* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. Chap. 5 The World Trade Organization, pp. 80-103.

Organizations at a Glance: Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative; Southern African Development Community; Transparency International

12. Protecting the Environment and the Global Commons (April 9)

What is the evidence that the multilateral institutions have adopted environmental agendas? Why have states chosen this approach? Why is the regime approach useful for examining environmental governance? Will this work for climate change? Substate actors are playing an increasingly key role in global economic governance. Explain the advantages and disadvantages of this development. What design factors must be considered for effective international environmental institutions?

Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations*, Chapt 11 .

Center for American Progress, “Doha Climate Summit Ends with Long March to 2015.” <http://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/DohaClimate-1.pdf>

Keohane, Robert O. and David G. Victor, “The Regime Complex for Climate Change,” *Perspectives on Politics* 9 no. 1 (March 2011), 7-23.

Ostrom, Elinor, “Nested Externalities and Polycentric Institutions: Must We Wait for Global Solutions to Climate Change Before Taking Actions at Other Scales?” *Economic Theory* 49 (2012): 353-369.

TBA reading on international rivers

Organizations at a Glance: Forest Stewardship Council; Rainforest Action Network; World Wide Fund for Nature; Marine Stewardship Council ; Carbon Disclosure Project

14. Policy Evaluation Practices: Drawing Lessons from Development and Beyond (April 16)

Compare the ways that institutions and programs are evaluated. What lessons can we learn by using randomized experiments in development? What are the problems in using that methodology? What factors does USAID consider in evaluations? How does evaluation in peacekeeping differ?

Review: Banerjee, Abhijit V. and Esther Duflo. *Poor Economics. A Radical Rethinking of the Way to Fight Global Poverty.* New York: PublicAffairs, 2011

USAID Evaluation Policy. Evaluation. Learning from Experience. (January 2011). <http://transition.usaid.gov/evaluation/USAIDEvaluationPolicy.pdf>

Hulme, David, “Impact Assessment Methodologies for Microfinance: Theory, Experience and Better Practice.” *World Development* 28 no. 1 (2000), 79-98

Review: Diehl, Paul F. and Daniel Druckman. *Evaluating Peace Operations.*

Liese, Andrea and Marianne Beisheim, “Transnational Public-Private Partnerships and the Provision of Collective Goods in Developing Countries,” *Governance Without a State? Policies and Politics in Areas of Limited Statehood*, ed. By Thomas Risse, NY: Columbia University Press, 2011, pp. 115-143.

15. Review (April 23)

Regularly scheduled exam.