



Module Name: Global Governance
Module Code: PUBLG114
Teaching: 10 hours of lectures, 10 hours of seminars
Credits: 30
Assessment: Unseen 2 hour examination (50%)
One 3,000 word essay (50%)
Essay Deadline/s: Tuesday 13th January 2015 (by 2pm)
Lecturer: Dr. Tom Pegram
Office Hours: 2-4pm, Thursday during term time

***PUBLG114 is a core module for the MSc Global Governance and Ethics (MSc GGE) Programme. For this reason PUBLG114 is only available to MSc GGE students.**

USEFUL LINKS

Lecture and Seminar Times:
Online Timetable at www.ucl.ac.uk/timetable

Extenuating Circumstances
<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/spp/intranet/pg/assessment/extenuating-circumstances>

Penalties for Late Submission and Overlength Essays
<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/spp/intranet/pg/assessment/essays/#tabs-5>

Essay Submission Information
<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/spp/intranet/pg/assessment/essays/#tabs-1>

Examinations
<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/spp/intranet/pg/assessment/examinations>

Plagiarism and Turnitin
<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/spp/intranet/pg/assessment/plagiarism-turnitin>

PUBLG114: Global Governance

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Office hours: 2-4pm, Thursday (term time)

Term 1: 2014-15

Lecture: Tuesday 2-3pm

Seminar Group 1: Tuesday 3-4pm

Seminar Group 2: Tuesday 4-5pm

Course Description

Theoretical innovations and world developments have combined to ensure that the field of global governance features prominently in the study of global politics. Although few dispute its importance, what global governance actually means and how it works in practice remains in question. This module enables students to critically examine the conventional wisdom and as a result gain a more critical understanding of global governance – both in theory and practice. A range of theoretical perspectives on global governance is surveyed, mapping a shift from an organising principle of anarchy to one of complex governance. Additionally, we examine how global governance works in practice, with a focus on what is being governed, how and by whom, and the extent to which global governance objectives match outcomes when applied to major global challenges. The course examines a variety of global policy domains to assess how scholarship is adapting to, and making sense of, contemporary developments in this fast-moving arena, including health, human rights, the internet, and the environment, among others.

The field of global governance is potentially vast in application. This course is designed to give students a deeper appreciation of how global governance works (or not) and how a complex arena of global political interaction may be approached in a theoretically-informed systematic manner. The emphasis of this module is on critical reflection and context (as opposed to detailed functionalist analysis of issue-areas). The focus is on questions of how global governance came into being, how it is changing over time, and the constraints and opportunities posed for public and private actors engaged in advancing (or resisting) global public policy objectives. Policy domains have been selected due to their illustrative value and generally lower coverage elsewhere.

Part I of the course begins by surveying different theoretical approaches to understanding global governance. There is a particular focus on alternative structural forms, locations of power, codification of governance rules (be they *hard* law or *soft* standards), and the panoply of authority relationships and actors engaged in management, monitoring and enforcement activities at the global level. We then turn our attention in Part II to applying theoretical frameworks to a range of global public policy challenges, emphasising origins, functions and causal effects across regulatory domains. The course concludes by interrogating possible future scenarios for global governance.

Course aims

The course is designed to accomplish the following goals:

- Introduce students to the main issues and trends in global governance research and practice, with particular reference to form, actors, authority, power and origins, and effects
- Provide students with a good grasp of the state of research in the field of global governance
- Enhance students' abilities to critically evaluate theory and its application to major global policy areas

Learning outcomes

On successful completion of this course, students should be able to:

- Describe the key assumptions which distinguish contemporary theories of global governance from each other and in relation to international relations theory more broadly
- Analyse the purpose, coherence and fit of contemporary approaches to global governance as they apply to major global policy domains
- Identify the objectives, interactions and contradictions of global governance actors (state, private and civil society)
- Critically evaluate and offer new insights on the processes, practice and politics of global governance and international organisations
- Demonstrate key skills and attributes associated with study at Masters level such as excellent communication and informed independent thinking

Teaching and Learning Strategy

The course is taught through weekly lectures and seminars. Each weekly session will involve a lecture of about 50 minutes, and a 50 minute seminar. Attendance at both sessions is required; any absences must be accounted for.

The lectures provide the major contours of the debate surrounding that week's topic, the objective being to clarify the underlying framework and convey the principle ideas and key concepts while providing guidance for student-centred learning. The lectures seek to provide both an introduction to the area and a critical perspective to stimulate discussion and further reflection. The seminars are intended to deepen critical engagement with the lecture topic – and specifically to facilitate *student* participation and engagement. Moodle will be integral to the course. If you have any problems with logging in or using Moodle then you should email me. However, if you're unfamiliar with Moodle, you should also take a look through the UCL support pages, which can be found here:

<http://moodle.ucl.ac.uk/course/category.php?id=13>

Course Requirements

Students are required to prepare for lectures and seminars with the help of *Required and Recommended Readings* – please see the section below (Reading) for more details on this. Over the duration of the course each student will be expected to:

- i. Attend every lecture and prepare for each seminar task
- ii. Be actively using Moodle
- iii. Be active participants in seminars, including production of assigned memos
- iv. Take a two hour examination
- v. Write one 3,000 word essay.

Lectures

In lectures, I will provide an overview of each week's material and then students are to do the assigned readings for the seminar on the same material the following week. Dates on the course schedule correspond to the lectures, not the seminars. Thus, on 30 September, I will give the lecture on The Global Governance and International Organizations in Theory and we will discuss the seminar questions in light of the readings in the group seminar on 7 October. Seminar groups will be allocated on the first day.

Seminars and Presentation

You must come fully prepared for seminars and be ready to contribute to the seminars either by answering the questions specified under each topic heading or by giving a short presentation in your allocated week. Seminar participation generally requires contributing to class discussion, including listening to others, and demonstrating a sound knowledge of readings through constructive in-class commentary and/or questions on seminar presentations. Required and recommended readings are indicated, with other readings included for additional consultation for seminar preparation, as well as exam and essay revision.

Seminars will revolve around discussion and student presentations, and presentations will be assigned on the first day. Individual or groups of students will give a presentation responding to the seminar task as stipulated for each week and each student is expected to present at least once. Students are expected to synthesise the specified grey material alongside class readings and apply them to the task in the group presentation assignment. Students should usually prepare a presentation of no more than 10 minutes in PowerPoint format.

The point of group presentations is to link theories and concepts to contemporary and concrete examples in a concise and well-organized manner. There is a separate guidelines document on student presentations on Moodle which all students must read.

Assessment Method

The course is assessed by a two hour examination and one 3,000 word essay. The set essay questions will be distributed in the second week of the course, via Moodle.

- The essay is due at 2pm on Tuesday 13 January 2015

The course is assessed by one 3,000 word essay due Tuesday 13 January 2015 at 2pm. For the essay, you will choose to answer one question among four, distributed at the start of class in October. A good essay will not only demonstrate solid

understanding of course material, but will also integrate the readings by making a persuasive argument that is amply supported by evidence from the readings.

****Please** read the instructions on the essay submission format in your Student Handbook you were given at the beginning of the year – there is a very specific format to follow to ensure that your essays remain anonymous and processed without extra unnecessary problems for the departmental administrators!

In addition, essays must be:

- i. Double-spaced (or at least 1.5x)
- ii. Page-numbered
- iii. Correctly referenced, and
- iv. Have a full bibliography.

This section of the website also includes the essay grading scheme which might prove of use when considering how well you've answered the question: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/spp/intranet/pg/assessment/essays/#tabs-4>.

There is also a useful website as part of UCL's Key Skills webpage: http://www.ucl.ac.uk/keyskills/resources/Grid/communication_skills/writlink. Please take the time to look at some of the resources available.

Plagiarism: Every year there are a few students who think that they can get away with plagiarising other people's work. Please do not. It is invariably obvious when students have plagiarised; they are caught. You should be aware that SPP and UCL take a very dim view of plagiarism. More importantly, it is dishonest: it is a form of cheating and a form of stealing. So, *please* make sure that you double-check your notes on plagiarism from your *Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods* course so that there can be no 'accidental' oversights!

You should note that UCL has now signed up to use a sophisticated detection system (Turnitin) to scan work for evidence of plagiarism, and the Department intends to use this for assessed coursework. This system gives access to billions of sources worldwide, including websites and journals, as well as work previously submitted to the Department, UCL and other universities.

Please note: you are required to submit one electronic copy for marking via Turnitin. A hard copy is not required. Please follow the guidelines for the paper and electronic submission of essays *carefully!* Details of how to do this can be found on the intranet, here: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/spp/intranet/pg/assessment/essays#tabs-1>.

The essay cover sheets should, again, be downloaded from the student intranet: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/spp/intranet/pg/forms/index>.

Reading

The reading list, below, identifies the required and recommended readings for each session's lecture and seminar, as well as highlighting the main issues to be

addressed that week. The reading load is fair and each student should ensure that they have read at a minimum the required readings prior to class. They are strongly encouraged to also read the recommended readings. Students may be called upon to explicate, elaborate and critique (not simply summarise) the claims of key authors as well as formulate an answer to the questions which accompany each week's readings. The readings provide a sound foundation for each week's topic. However, they are not exhaustive and students are encouraged to research relevant materials that are not listed here – including non-academic practitioner and policy-based sources.

Further readings serve as a resource for researching a topic related to the course for your assessed essay. However, autonomous research should also form part of your learning strategy at Masters level and will be key to producing a high-quality essay. Useful gateways to further insight include Google Scholar as well as leading academic journals in the field such as *Global Policy*, *International Organization*, and *Global Governance*. Students should also make an effort to link readings to past week's content, current events and to their own interests in the field of global governance.

IMPORTANT: The course promises to be a stimulating experience. You should approach this as a challenging graduate seminar. The expectation is that you will devote the time and energy necessary to work through the material in a *deliberate* and *critical* fashion, in taking the assignment seriously, and in making informed contributions in seminar discussions.

General Reading:

The following titles provide an excellent overview of global governance and the many issues that fall within its scope. It is recommended that you purchase the Weiss and Wilkinson (2014) volume. Alternatively, UCL library does have a number of copies in stock. No book covers every aspect of the topic but each provides valuable insight and will be a helpful resource as general reference material as we proceed through the module:

Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds.) *Global Governance and International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2014)

Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall (eds.), *Power in Global Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Deborah Avant, Martha Finnemore, and Susan Sell (eds.). *Who Governs the Globe?*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Internet Sources:

You may also find the following internet links a useful source of inspiration in deepening your engagement with course materials:

Theory

Theory Talks: <http://www.theory-talks.org/>

Conversations with History: <http://conversations.berkeley.edu/>

Blogs

David Bosco 'The Multilateralist': <http://bosco.foreignpolicy.com/dbosco>

Daniel Drezner 'Global Politics, Economics and Pop Culture':
<http://drezner.foreignpolicy.com/>

Richard Falk 'Citizen Pilgrimage': <http://richardfalk.wordpress.com/>

Simon Davies 'The Privacy Surgeon': <http://www.privacysurgeon.org/blog/>

Public Policy

EconTalk with Russ Roberts: <http://www.econtalk.org/>

Brookings Institute 'Global Governance':
<http://www.brookings.edu/research/topics/global-governance>

The National Interest 'Global Governance': <http://nationalinterest.org/topic/global-governance>

Global Fund to fight AIDS, TB and Malaria: <http://www.theglobalfund.org/en/>

Global Health Policy (Center for Global Development):
<http://blogs.cgdev.org/globalhealth/>

Open Global Rights: <http://www.opendemocracy.net/openglobalrights>

Global Policy Forum: www.globalpolicy.org

Global Compact: <http://www.unglobalcompact.org/>

Data

World Bank Governance and Ant-Corruption:
<http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.asp>

Universal Human Rights Index: <http://uhri.ohchr.org/>

Bertelsmann Transformation Index: <http://www.bti-project.de/>

Human Development Index: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/hdi/>

Corruption Perceptions Index: <http://www.transparency.org/research/cpi/overview>

Course Outline

PART I

- Lecture 1** Global Governance and International Organisations in Theory
- Lecture 2** Power in Global Governance
- Lecture 3** Global Regime Architecture
- Lecture 4** Global Governance and Civil Society
- Lecture 5** Law and Global Governance

PART II

- Lecture 6** Global Human Rights Governance
- Lecture 7** World Communications and Internet Governance
- Lecture 8** Global Environmental Governance
- Lecture 9** Global Health Governance
- Lecture 10** What is global governance and what is it good for (revisited)

Lecture 1: Global Governance and International Organizations in Theory

30 September 2014

Seminar questions:

- What is global governance and what is it good for (Weiss & Wilkinson 2014)?
- Does global governance offer an alternative organising principle to anarchy (Barnett & Sikkink 2010)?
- What is the difference between problem-solving and critical theory (Cox 2014)?

Seminar task: Are today's states able to – or will they be allowed to – provide the public goods we now demand?

Martin Wolf, 'The world's hunger for public goods', *The Financial Times*, 24 January 2012:

<http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/517e31c8-45bd-11e1-93f1-00144feabdc0.html#axzz35JQam6d9>

Required reading:

Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson, 'Rethinking Global Governance? Complexity, Authority, Power, Change', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 58, 2014, pp. 207-215.

Michael Barnett and Kathryn Sikkink, 'From International Relations to Global Society', in C. Reus-Smit and D. Snidal, *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 62-83.

Robert W. Cox, 'Critical Theory', in: Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds.) *Global Governance and International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 157-68.

Recommended reading:

Amitav Acharya, 'Post-hegemonic multilateralism', in: Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds.) *Global Governance and International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 192-204.

David P. Forsythe, 'Neoliberal Institutionalism', in: Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds.) *Global Governance and International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 118-131.

Further reading:

Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds.) *Global Governance and International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2014), Part III.

James Rosenau, 'Governance in the Twenty-first Century', *Global Governance*, vol. 1, no. 1, Winter 1995, pp. 13-43.

Klaus Dingwerth and Philipp Pattberg, 'Global Governance as a Perspective on World Politics', *Global Governance*, vol. 12, no. 2, April 2006, pp. 185-203.

Lisa Martin and Beth Simmons, 'Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions', *International Organization*, vol. 52, no. 4, Autumn 1998, pp. 729-757.

Andrew Hurrell, 'The Theory and Practice of Global Governance: The Worst of all Possible Worlds?', *International Studies Review*, vol. 13, 2011, pp. 144-154.

Craig N. Murphy, 'Global Governance: Poorly Done and Poorly Understood', *International Affairs*, vol. 76, no. 4, October 2000, pp. 789-803.

John Ruggie, 'Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution', *International Organization*, vol. 46, no. 3, Summer 1992, pp. 561-598.

Oran Young, 'International Regimes: Problems of Concept Formation', *World Politics*, vol. 32, no. 3, April 1980, pp. 331-356.

Lisa Martin, 'Interests, Power, and Multilateralism', *International Organization*, vol. 46, no. 4, Autumn 1992, pp. 765-792.

Lecture 2: Power in Global Governance

7 October 2014

Seminar questions:

- How are international organizations 'both of authority and in authority' (Barnett & Duvall 2014)?
- How should power disparities be addressed in governance methods (Keohane 2001)?
- What steps are required to arrive at a better understanding of how power is exercised in global governance (Lake 2010)?

Seminar task: Where is power located in this account of the IMF?

'Straight Talk (with Christine Lagarde): Fragmentation Risks', *Finance & Development*, September 2012, vol. 49, no. 3:

<https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2012/09/straight.htm>

Required reading:

Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall, 'International Organizations and the Diffusion of Power', in: Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds.) *Global Governance and International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 48-59.

Robert Keohane, 'Governance in a Partially Globalized World', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 95, no. 1, March 2001, pp. 1-13.

David Lake, 'Rightful rules: Authority, order and the foundations of global governance', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 54, September 2010, pp. 687-613

Recommended reading:

Susan K. Sell, 'Who Governs the Globe?', in: Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds.) *Global Governance and International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 73-85.

Michael N. Barnett and Martha Finnemore, 'The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations', *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 4, 1999, pp. 699-732.

Further reading:

Bessma Momani, 'Global financial governance', in: Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds.) *Global Governance and International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 539-551.

Kevin Davis, Benedict Kingsbury and Sally Engle Merry, 'Indicators as a Technology of Global Governance', *Law & Society Review*, vol. 46, no. 1, pp. 71-104.

Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall, 'Power in International Politics', *International Organization*, vol. 59, no. 1, Winter 2005, pp. 39-75.

Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, 'Is global democracy possible?' *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 17, no. 3, 2011, pp. 519-542.

A. Iain Johnston, 'Treating International Institutions as Social Environments', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 45, December 2001, pp. 487-516.

Ian Hurd, 'Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics', *International Organization*, vol. 53, Spring 1999, pp. 379-408.

Peter Haas, 'When does Power Listen to Truth? A Constructivist Approach to the Policy Process', *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 11, no. 4, 2004, 569-92.

Rodney Bruce Hall, 'Moral Authority as a Power Resource', *International Organization*, vol. 51, no. 4, Autumn 1997, pp. 591-622.

Andrew Hurrell, 'Power and Legitimacy in Global Governance', Session 4, Conference on Global Governance, Princeton University, February 2006:
http://www.princeton.edu/~pcglobal/conferences/normative/papers/Session4_Hurrell.pdf

Lecture 3: Global Regime Architecture

14 October 2014

Seminar questions:

- What are the formalities of global governance (Held 2014)?
- What are the consequences of fragmented governance architectures (Biermann et al. 2009)?
- Can the concept of orchestration enhance our understanding of the global human rights architecture (Abbott et al. 2012)?

Seminar task: is the governance architecture for the management of the high seas an example of synergistic, cooperative or conflictive fragmentation?

'In deep water', *The Economist*, 22 February 2014:

<http://www.economist.com/news/international/21596990-humans-are-damaging-high-seas-now-oceans-are-doing-harm-back-deep-water>

Required reading:

David Held, 'The Diffusion of Authority', in: Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds.) *Global Governance and International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 60-72.

Frank Biermann et al., 'The Fragmentation of Global Governance Architectures: A Framework for Analysis', *Global Environmental Politics*, vol. 9, no. 4, November 2009, pp. 14-40.

Kenneth W. Abbott et al., 'Orchestration: Global Governance through Intermediaries' (August 6, 2012), available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2125452>

Recommended reading:

Kenneth W. Abbott and Duncan Snidal, 'Why States Act through Formal International Organizations', *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 42, no. 1, 1998, pp. 3-32.

Katherine Marshall, 'Global Development Governance', in: Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds.) *Global Governance and International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 564-579.

Further reading:

Ronald B. Mitchell and Patricia Keilbach, 'Situation Structure and Institutional Design: Reciprocity, Coercion, and Exchange', *International Organization*, vol. 55, no. 1, 2001, pp. 1019-1040.

David G. Victor and Kal Raustiala, 'The regime complex for plant genetic resources', *International Organization*, vol. 32, no. 2, April 2004, pp. 147-54.

Gráinne De Búrca, Robert Keohane and Charles Sabel, 'New Modes of Pluralist Global Governance', New York University Public Law and Legal Theory Working Papers, Paper 386, 2013

Abram Chayes and Antonia Chayes, 'On Compliance', *International Organization*, vol. 47, no 2, Spring 1993, pp. 175-205.

George Downs, et al., 'Is the Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation?' *International Organization*, vol. 50, 1996, pp. 379-406

Alexander Wendt, 'Driving With the Rearview Mirror: On the Rational Science of Institutional Design', *International Organization*, vol. 55, no. 1, pp. 1019-1049.

Karen Alter and Sophie Meunier, 'The Politics of International Regime Complexity', *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 7, no. 1, March 2009, pp. 13-24.

Darren Hawkins et al., (eds.), 'Delegation under anarchy', in D. Hawkins et al. (eds.) *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Ch. 1.

Thomas Bernauer et al., 'A Comparison of International and Domestic Sources of Global Governance Dynamics', *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 40, no. 3, July 2010, pp. 509-38.

Rita Abrahamsen, 'The Power of Partnerships in Global Governance', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 8, 2004, pp. 1453-1467.

Lecture 4: Global Governance and Civil Society

21 October 2014

Seminar questions:

- What is civil society and what are its goals (Scholte 2014)?
- How are TANS shaping the transnational discourse on human rights (Keck and Sikkink 1998)?
- Does the rise of non-state actors represent a transfer of power away from states (Neumann and Sending 2006)?

Seminar task: how have non-state actors in Guatemala sought to employ 'the boomerang effect' in pursuit of justice for genocide victims? What are the structures and networks that they have sought to access and with what (intended) effect?

Owen Bowcott, 'Guatemalan lawyer travels to US to press Rios Montt genocide conviction', *The Guardian*, 4 November 2013:

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/04/guatemala-jose-efrain-rios-montt-genocide>

Required reading:

Jan Aart Scholte, 'Civil Society and NGOs', in: Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds.) *Global Governance and International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 322-334.

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998) Ch. 1.

Iver B. Neumann and Ole Jacob Sending, 'Governance to Governmentality: Analyzing NGOs, States, and Power', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 50, no. 3, September 2006, pp. 651-672.

Recommended reading:

R. Charli Carpenter, 'Governing the global agenda: "gatekeepers" and "issue adoption" in transnational advocacy networks', in D. Avant et al. (eds.), *Who Governs the Globe?* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 202-37.

Anne-Marie Slaughter, 'The Real New World Order', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 76, no. 5, Sept Oct 1997, pp. 183-97.

Further reading:

Rodney Bruce Hall and Thomas J. Biersteker, 'The emergence of private authority in global governance', in R. B. Hall and T. J. Biersteker (eds.) *The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), Ch 1.

Mary Kaldor, 'The Idea of Global Civil Society', *International Affairs*, vol. 79, no.3, 2003, pp. 583-593: <http://www.jstor.org/pss/3569364>

Richard Price, 'Transnational Civil Society and Advocacy in World Politics' (Review Article), *World Politics*, vol. 55, no. 4, July 2003, pp. 579-606:
http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/world_politics/v055/55.4price.pdf

Sydney Tarrow, 'Transnational Politics: Contention and Institutions in International Politics', *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 4, 2001, pp. 1-20.

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, 'International Norm Dynamics and Political Change', *International Organization*, Vol. 52 No. 4, 1998

Jutta Joachim, 'Framing Issues and Seeking Opportunities: The UN, NGOs, and Women's Rights', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 45, no. 1, 2003, pp. 27-57.

Julie Mertus, 'From Legal Transplants to Transformative Justice: Human Rights and the Promise of Transnational Civil Society', *American University International Law Review*, vol. 14, no. 5, 1999, pp. 1335-89.

Lecture 5: Law and Global Governance

28 October 2014

Seminar questions:

- How might we distinguish between soft and hard law (Abbott and Snidal 2000)?
- Are binding rules and enforcement measures necessary for effective governance (Ku 2014)?
- What is the difference between global and international regulation (Shany 2009)?

Seminar debate:

The motion: “*This house believes that the Ruggie Principles will undermine efforts to strengthen the legal accountability of corporations for human rights abuses.*”

Hugh Williamson, ‘Conflict zone pressure rises on companies’, *Financial Times*, 12 January 2011:

<http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/d4530e7a-1e45-11e0-bab6-00144feab49a.html#axzz35JQam6d9>

Hugh Williamson, ‘Rights groups slam UN plan for multinationals’, *Financial Times*, 17 January 2011:

<http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/36f72370-2226-11e0-b91a-00144feab49a.html#axzz35JQam6d9>

John Ruggie, ‘Bizarre response by human rights groups to UN framework plan’, *Financial Times*, 19 January 2011:

<http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/629fbc0-2361-11e0-8389-00144feab49a.html?siteedition=uk#axzz35JQam6d9>

The Ruggie Principles:

<http://www.business-humanrights.org/media/documents/ruggie/ruggie-guiding-principles-21-mar-2011.pdf>

Required reading:

Kenneth and Snidal, ‘Hard and Soft Law in international Governance’, *International Organization*, vol. 54, no. 3, Summer 2000, pp. 421-56.

Charlotte Ku, ‘The Evolution of International Law’, in: Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds.) *Global Governance and International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 35-47.

Yuval Shany, ‘No longer a weak department of power? Reflections on the emergence of a new international judiciary’, *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 20, no. 1, 2009, pp. 73-91.

Recommended reading:

Robert O. Keohane et al., 'Legalized Dispute Resolution: Interstate and Transnational', *International Organization*, vol. 54, no. 3, Summer 2000, pp. 457-88.

Kal Raustiala, 'Form and Substance in International Agreements', *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 99, July 2005, pp. 581-614.

Further reading:

John Ruggie, 'Global Governance and "New Governance Theory": Lessons from Business and Human Rights', *Global Governance*, vol. 20, no. 1, Jan-Mar 2014, pp. 5-17.

Janina Satzer, 'Explaining Decreased Use of International Courts—The Case of the ICJ', *Review of Law and Economics*, vol. 3, no. 1, January 2007, pp. 11-36.

Catia Gregoratti, 'UN-Business Partnerships', in: Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds.) *Global Governance and International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 309-322.

Eric A. Posner and Miguel F. P. Figueiredo, 'Is the International Court of Justice Biased?' *Journal of Legal Studies*, vol. 34, June 2005, pp. 599-630.

Adam M. Smith, "'Judicial Nationalism" in International Law: National Identity and Judicial Autonomy at the ICJ', *Texas International Law Journal*, vol. 40, 2005, pp. 198-232.

Alex Stone Sweet, 'The New Lex Mercatoria and Transnational Governance', *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 13, August 2006

Benvenisti and Downs, 'The Empire's New Clothes: Political Economy and the Fragmentation of International Law', *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 60, no. 2, 2007, pp. 595-631.

Jonas Tallberg, 'Paths to Compliance: Enforcement, Management, and the European Union', *International Organization*, vol. 56, August 2002, pp. 609-643

Charles Lipson, 'Why are Some International Agreements Informal?' *International Organization*, vol. 45, no. 4, Autumn 1991, pp. 495-538.

Robert Z. Lawrence, *Crimes & Punishments? Retaliation under the WTO* (Peterson Institute Press, 2003), pp. 1-12

Lecture 6: Global Human Rights Governance

4 November 2014

Seminar questions:

- Does the UN play an effective role in the promotion and protection of human rights (Mertus 2014)?

- What is the role of NHRIs in global human rights governance (Pegram 2015)?
- How does domestic politics inform the effects of international human rights standards (Simmons 2009)?

Seminar guest lecture 14 November 2014: Brian Burdekin, former UN Assistant Secretary General and Special Advisor on National Human Rights Institutions to the High Commissioner for Human Rights (1995-2003)

Seminar task: Is it always better to have an NHRI than not?

Myanmar human rights commission recognises Kachin abuses:

<http://www.dvb.no/news/human-rights-commission-recognises-kachin-abuses/23194>

2013 ANNI Report on the Performance and Establishment of National Human Rights Institutions in Asia:

<http://www.forum-asia.org/uploads/books/2013/ANNI%202013-FINAL.pdf>

Required reading:

Julie Mertus, 'Human Rights in Global Governance', in: Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds.) *Global Governance and International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 466-76.

Thomas Pegram, 'Global human rights governance and orchestration: national human rights institutions as intermediaries', *European Journal of International Relations*, forthcoming 2015.

Beth Simmons, *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009), Intro and Conclusion

Recommended reading:

Ryan Goodman and Thomas Pegram. 2012. 'Introduction: National human rights institutions, State Conformity, and Social Change', in Ryan Goodman and Thomas Pegram (eds.), *Human Rights, State Compliance, and Social Change* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

Mark Lagon and Ryan Kaminski, 'The Global Human Rights Regime: Assessing and Renovating the Architecture'. In: M. Lagon and A. Arend (eds.) *Human Dignity and the Future of Global Institutions* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2014)

Further reading:

Forsythe, D. 'Global application of human rights', in David Forsythe, *Human Rights in International Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 2012, 3rd edition), Chapter 3

Freedman, Rosa, 'New Mechanisms of the UN Human Rights Council,' *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights*, vol. 29, no. 3, 2013, pp. 289-32.

Katerina Linos and Thomas Pegram, 'What happens when soft law hardens? National human rights institutions and the international human rights system', Goodman and Beth Simmons (eds.) *Implementing Commitments: The Domestic Effects of Human Rights Treaty Ratification* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2015)

Oona Hathaway, 'Do Human Rights Treaties Make a Difference? Human Rights Treaties and the Problem of Compliance', *Yale Law Journal*, vol. 111, 2002, pp. 1932-2042.

Xinyuan Dai, 'The 'compliance gap' and the efficacy of international human rights institutions' in T. Risse et al., *The Persistent Power of Human Rights* (Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Robert Howse and Ruti Teitel, 'Beyond Compliance: Rethinking Why International Law Really Matters', *Global Policy*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 127-138.

Emilie Hafner-Burton and James Ron, 'Seeing Double: Human Rights Impact through Qualitative and Quantitative Eyes' (Review Article), *World Politics*, vol. 61, no. 2, April 2009, pp. 360-401.

Emilie Hafner-Burton, *Making Human Rights a Reality*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

James Vreeland, 'Political Institutions and Human Rights: Why Dictatorships Enter into the United Nations Convention Against Torture', *International Organization*, vol. 62, no. 1, January 2008, pp. 65-101.

Goodman, R. & D. Jinks, 'Measuring the Effects of Human Rights Treaties', *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2003, pp. 171-183.

Lecture 7: World Communications and Internet Governance

11 November 2014

Seminar questions:

- Who participates in internet governance structures and policy creation (Drezner 2004)?
- What legal and regulatory frameworks affect cross-border information flows (Solum and Chung 2004)?
- What are the rationales for (and against) some form of control or influence (Werbach 2008)?

Seminar task: Can efforts such as the Chatham House Global Commission on Internet Governance help preserve a single world wide web?

Joseph Nye, 'The Regime Complex for Managing Global Cyber Activities', *Global Commission on Internet Governance*, no. 1, May 2014:

http://www.cigionline.org/sites/default/files/gcig_paper_no1.pdf

Required viewing:

‘Meet the seven people who hold the keys to worldwide internet security’:

<http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2014/feb/28/seven-people-keys-worldwide-internet-security-web>

Required reading:

Daniel W. Drezner, ‘The Global Governance of the Internet: Bringing the State Back In’, *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 119, no. 3, 2004, pp. 477-98.

Kevin D. Werbach, ‘The Centripetal Network: How the Internet Holds Itself Together, and the Forces Tearing it Apart’, *UC Davis Law Review*, vol. 42, April 2008, pp. 343-412.

Lawrence Solum and Minn Chung, ‘The Layers Principle: Internet Architecture and the Law’, *University of San Diego Public Law Research*, Paper No. 55, 2004, pp. 1-114 (especially pp. 3-52)

Recommended reading:

Craig Warkentin and Karen Mingst, ‘International Institutions, the State and Global Civil Society in the Age of the World Wide Web’, *Global Governance*, vol. 6, no. 2, April-June 2000, pp. 237-257.

Definition of internet governance here:

Report of the Working Group on Internet Governance:

<http://www.wgig.org/docs/WGIGREPORT.pdf>

Further reading:

‘Global Laws’, in J. Goldsmith and T. Wu, *Who Controls the Internet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 163 -177.

Mark Lemley et al. ‘Don’t Break the Internet’, *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 64, December 2011, p. 34-38.

J. Villasenor, ‘Recording everything: digital storage as an enabler of authoritarian governments’, Center for Technology Innovation, Brookings Institution, Washington D.C., 14 December 2011

Manuel Castells, ‘Communication, Power and Counter-power in the Network Society’, *International Journal of Communication*, vol. 1, 2007, pp. 238-266.

Yochai Benkler, ‘Emergence of the Networked Public Sphere’, in Y. Benkler, *The Wealth of Networks* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), Ch. 7.

John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt (eds.), *Networks and Netwars* (RAND Corporation, 2001).

Clay Shirky, 'The Political Power of Social Media: technology, the public sphere, and political change', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 90, no. 1, Jan-Feb 2011

Kenneth Neil Cukier, 'The Next Internet Governance Battles', in W. Kleinwächter (ed.), *The Power of Ideas: Internet Governance in a Global Multi-Stakeholder Environment* (Druckerei J. Humburg Gmb, 2007), pp. 285-96.

Dan L. Burk, 'Privacy and Property in the Global Datasphere', *Minnesota Legal Studies Research Paper*, No. 05-17, April 28, 2005, pp. 1-11.

Geoffrey Herrera, 'The Politics of Bandwidth: International Political Implications of a Global Digital Information Network', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 28, January 2002, pp. 93-122.

Lecture 8: Global Environmental Governance

18 November 2014

Seminar questions:

- What is the most noticeable feature of global environmental governance (DeSombre 2014)?
- What are the causes of policy conflict in global environmental governance (Biermann 2012)?
- What are the merits of managing a regime complex as opposed to crafting a comprehensive climate agreement (Keohane and Victor 2011)?

Seminar debate:

The motion: *"This house believes that the prospects for a 'grand global bargain' capable of coordinating global environmental policies have never been stronger."*

The Financial Times, 'Compelling case for global deal on climate, says UN', 14 January 2014:

<http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/ccff3330-7d27-11e3-a579-00144feabdc0.html#axzz35JQam6d9>

Required reading:

Elizabeth R. DeSombre, 'Global Environmental Governance', in: Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds.) *Global Governance and International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 580-592.

Robert O. Keohane & David G. Victor, *The Regime Complex for Climate Change, Perspective on Politics*, vol. 9, no. 1, March 2011, pp. 7-23.

F. Biermann et al., 'Navigating the Anthropocene: Improving earth system governance', *Science and Government*, vol. 335, no. 6074, March 2012, pp. 1306-7.

Recommended reading:

Liliana Anodnova et al., 'Transnational Climate Governance', *Global Environmental Politics*, vol. 9 no. 2, May 2009, pp 52-73.

Matthew Hoffman, 'Climate Change', in: Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds.) *Global Governance and International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 605-617.

Further readings:

Paul Wapner, 'Politics Beyond the State: Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics', *World Politics*, vol. 47, April 1995, pp. 311-340.

Peter J. Taylor and Frederick H. Buttel, 'How do we know we have Global Environmental Problems? Science and the globalization of environmental discourse', *Geoforum*, vol. 23, no. 3, 1992, pp. 405-416

M. Schäferhoff et al., 'Transnational public-private partnerships in international relations: making sense of concepts, research frameworks, and results', *International Studies Review*, vol. 11, no. 3, September 2009, pp. 451-74.

David John Frank et al., 'The Nation-State and the Natural Environment over the Twentieth Century', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 65, no. 1, February 2000, pp. 96-116.

Rosaleen Duffy, 'Non-governmental organisations and governance states: The impact of transnational environmental management networks in Madagascar', *Environmental Politics*, vol. 15, no. 5, November 2006, pp. 731-49.

Sebastian Oberthür and Thomas Gehring, 'Institutional interaction in global environmental governance: The case of the Cartagena Protocol and the World Trade Organisation', *Global Environmental Politics*, vol. 6, no. 2, May 2006, pp. 1- 31.

Robert Falkner, 'Private Environmental Governance and International Relations: Exploring the Links', *Global Environmental Politics*, vol. 3, no. 2, May 2003, pp. 72-87.

Per-Olof Busch and Helge Jorgends, 'The International Sources of Policy Convergence: Explaining the Spread of Environmental Policy Innovations', *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 12, no. 5, October 2005, pp. 860-84.

Frank Alcock, 'Conflicts and Coalitions within and across the ENGO Community', *Global Environmental Politics*, vol. 8, no. 4, November 2008, pp. 66-91

Scott Barrett and Michael Toman, 'Contrasting Future Paths for an Evolving Global Climate Regime', *Global Policy*, vol. 1, no. 1, January 2010, pp. 64-74.

Graeme Auld, 'Assessing Certification as Governance: Effects and Broader Consequences for Coffee', *The Journal of Environment Development*, vol. 19, no. 2, June 2010, pp. 215-241.

Kal Raustiala, 'States, NGOs and International Environmental Institutions', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 41, 1997, pp. 719-740.

Lecture 9: Global Health Governance

25 November 2014

Seminar questions

- Is a move from unstructured plurality to organised unity in global health governance possible and/or desirable (Fidler 2007)?
- What are the governance trade-offs of vertical interventions that address specific diseases (Harman 2014)?
- How are profit-driven diseases challenging global public health governance (Tanaka et al. 2014)?

Seminar task: To what extent are multilateral focal actors, such as the WHO, capable and willing to steer profit-driven disease regulation towards a more optimal global health outcome?

Sonja Tanaka et al., 'Non-communicable Diseases: Global epidemics; global determinants; global solutions?', Background paper for UCL workshop: Private Authority, Health Policy, Law and Regulation, 18 June 2014

UCL workshop report: Private Authority, Health Policy, Law and Regulation, 18 June 2014: [URL to be provided]

Sarah Hawkes and Tom Pegram, 'Lifestyle diseases make global health promotion more difficult than ever', *The Conversation*, 18 June 2014:

<https://theconversation.com/lifestyle-diseases-make-global-health-promotion-more-difficult-than-ever-28074>

Required reading:

Sophie Harman, 'Global Health Governance', in: Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds.) *Global Governance and International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 656-667.

David Fidler, 'Architecture amidst Anarchy: Global Health's Quest for Governance', *Global Health Governance*, vol. 1, no. 1, January 2007, pp. 1-17.

Sonja Tanaka et al., 'Non-communicable Diseases: Global epidemics; global determinants; global solutions?', Background paper for UCL workshop: Private Authority, Health Policy, Law and Regulation, 18 June 2014.

Recommended reading:

David Fidler, 'The Challenges of Global Health Governance', *Council on Foreign Relations*, May 2010.

Sonia Shah, 'How Private Companies are transforming the Global Public Health Agenda: A New Era For the World Health Organization' *Foreign Affairs*, November 2011.

Further reading:

Susan K. Sell, 'Who Governs the Globe?', in: Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (eds.) *Global Governance and International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 73-85.

Sophie Harman, 'Institutions of Global Health Governance', in *Global Health Governance* (London: Routledge, 2012), Ch. 2.

Laurie Garret, 'Do No Harm: The Global Health Challenge', *Foreign Affairs*, January-February 2007, pp. 14-38.

Nora Ng and Jennifer Prah Ruger, 'Global Health Governance at a Crossroads' (review article), *Global Health Governance*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2011, pp. 1-37.

Kelley Lee et al., 'Bridging the Divide: Global Governance of Trade and Health', *The Lancet*, vol. 373, no. 9661, January 2009, pp. 416-422

Richard Smith and Landis MacKellar, 'Global public goods and the global health agenda: problems, priorities and potential', *Globalization and Health*, vol. 3, no. 9, September 2007, pp. 1-7.

Garrett Wallace Brown, 'Multisectorialism, Participation, and Stakeholder Effectiveness: Increasing the Role of Non-State Actors in the Global Fund for Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria', *Global Governance*, vol. 15, no. 2, April-June 2009, pp. 169-77.

Erin R. Graham, 'International Organizations as Collective Agents: Fragmentation and the Limits of Principal Control at the World Health Organization', *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 19, no. 1, March 2013

Ilona Kickbusch et al., 'Global Health Diplomacy: the need for new perspectives, strategic approaches and skills in global health', *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, March 2007.

D. Stuckler and M. McKee, 'Five metaphors about global health policy', *The Lancet*, vol. 372, no. 9633, July 2008, pp. 95-97.

Walter Mattli and Ngaire Woods, 'In Whose Benefit? Explaining Regulatory Change in Global Politics', in W. Mattli and N. Woods (eds.), *The Politics of Global Regulation* (Princeton University Press, 2009), Ch. 1

Lecture 10: What is global governance and what is it good for (revisited)

2 December 2014

Lecture questions:

- Global governance: what have we learnt (Weiss and Wilkinson 2014)?
- What are the emerging positive and negative trends in global governance (Weiss 2013)?
- What can global governance research tell us about our shared goals for governing globally (Finnemore 2014)?

Seminar task: exam and essay revision session (please come to the seminar with questions)

Required reading:

Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson, 'Rethinking Global Governance? Complexity, Authority, Power, Change', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 58, 2014, pp. 207-215.

Thomas Weiss 2013 'Global Governance: A "Philadelphia Moment":

http://oneearthfuture.org/sites/oneearthfuture.org/files//documents/publications/Weiss_Philadelphia-Moment_1.pdf

Martha Finnemore, 'Dynamics of Global Governance: Building on What We Know', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 58, 2014, pp. 207-215.

Further reading:

John Ikenberry, 'The Future of the Liberal World Order', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 90, no. 3, May-June 2011, pp. 56-68.

David Held, 'Restructuring global governance: cosmopolitanism, democracy and the global order', *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*, vol. 37, no. 3, 2009, pp. 535-547.

Bernstein et al., 'Complex global governance and domestic policies: four pathways of influence', *International Affairs*, vol. 88, no. 3, May 2012, pp. 585-604.

Randall Schweller, 'Ennui Becomes Us', *The National Interest*, Jan/Feb 2010.

John Ruggie, 'Reconstituting the Global Public Domain', *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 10, no. 4, December 2004, pp. 499-531.

Kal Raustiala, 'The Architecture of International Cooperation: Transgovernmental Networks and the Future of International Law', *Virginia Journal of International Law*, vol. 43, no. 1, Fall 2002, pp. 2-26 and pp. 70-92

Nayan Chanda, 'Runaway Globalization without Governance', *Global Governance*, vol. 14, no. 2, April-June 2008, pp. 119-25.

Kimberly Ann Elliott et al., 'Assessing Globalization's Critics: 'Talkers are No Good Doers???'', *Institute for International Economics* working paper, May 2002:
<http://www.iie.com/publications/wp/02-5.pdf>

Charlotte Ku and Paul F. Diehl, 'Filling In the Gaps: Extrasystemic Mechanisms for Addressing Imbalances between the International Legal Operating System and the Normative System', *Global Governance*, vol. 12, no. 2, Apr-June 2006, p. 161-83.

Alexander Wendt, 'Why a World State is Inevitable', *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 9, no. 4, December 2003, pp. 491-542.