Global Governance

Autumn 2011
Professor John Kirton
Wednesday 2:00-4:00 pm
Room UC67
Office: Munk School of Global Affairs, Room 209N
Email: john.kirton@utoronto.ca • Tel: (416) 946-8953
Office Hours: Monday 2:00-4:00 pm and by appointment
Version of August 23, 2011

This course explores the operation and reform of contemporary global governance, as it addresses the critical challenges of our time. It focuses on the current work of the major intergovernmental organizations that have developed since 1944-45, in their relationship with informal plurilateral institutions, national and subnational governments, firms and markets, and civil society actors of all kinds. It examines how and how well these organizations and their stakeholders work in solving pressing global problems, and how their operations and architecture can be improved, in particular through better mechanisms for accountability to foster implementation, monitoring and effectiveness in securing the intended results to have the problem solved.

The first part of the course reviews the growth of intergovernmentally organized global governance since the foundations of the current firmament were established in 1944-45, and the key concepts and performance dimensions of effectiveness, legitimacy and accountability. The second part uses these concepts to examine how central contemporary global problems are governed by the core multilateral organization designed to address them, and by the many institutional competitors, colleagues and stakeholders involved. The key policy problems include finance, macroeconomics, trade, development, labour, food and agriculture, health, climate change, human rights, democratization and globalization as a whole. Topics can be adjusted or added to as students' interest and the available literature suggest.

The course seeks to teach students how these intergovernmental organizations and associated actors operate, why they work the way they do, and how they realistically can be improved by conscious action and agents to better secure the outcomes they and others want. Of particular importance is the professional skill of designing and operating accountability mechanisms, from the inside and the outside of the organizations, to enhance their effectiveness in reaching the desired results and the legitimacy they possess. In this context it is further designed to develop skills in coordination among intergovernmental institutions, and in consultation among intergovernmental organizations and civil society (with national governments and market actors also relevant in most cases).

During the course, an effort will be made to provide opportunities for students to interact with currently serving or recently retired practitioners, either inside or outside the class, in order to enhance the in-course learning experience and to assist with internship and career plans.

This course will be of particular interest to those who wish to work in, influence and improve intergovernmental institutions.

Requirements

Each student will be responsible for:

1. A report on the accountability mechanisms employed by the major organization(s) and stakeholder(s) in the policy area the student has selected for the presentation and research essay. This 2,000-word report is due, in paper and electronic form, at the start of class on Wednesday, October 12, 2011, and represents 25% of the course grade;
2. The presentation and chairing in one seminar, often in association with others, for 10%. (Topics for presentation and the essay will be selected in the second week of the class, on September 21, 2011.)
3. A major research report, with recommendations for reform, of 4,000 words based on your presentation. This assignment is due, in paper and electronic form, at the start of class on Friday, December 2, 2011 (i.e., two days after the last class), for 50%.
4. Active participation in all seminars, for 15%.

The late penalty is 2% of assignment grade per calendar day, including weekends (without eligible causes, as approved by the instructor).

Required Texts

The required texts are each edited volumes that combine contributions from scholars and practitioners, from the major global policy disciplines of political science, economics and management studies, and that lead from analysis to policy recommendations. Students should focus first on their treatment of multilateral organizations in various key policy areas.

Freytag, Andreas, John Kirton, Razeen Sally and Paolo Savona, eds. (2011), *Securing the Global Economy: G8 Global Governance for a Post-Crisis World* (Farnham: Ashgate). ("*Securing*")

Kirton, John, Marina Larionova and Paolo Savona, eds. (2010), *Making Global Economic Governance Effective: Hard and Soft Law Institutions in a Crowded World* (Aldershot: Ashgate). (*"Making"*)

Key Reference Works

Bradford, Colin and Johannes Linn (2007), *Global Governance Reform: Breaking the Stalemate* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press).

Hale, Thomas and David Held, eds. (2011), *Handbook of Transnational Governance: Institutions and Innovations* (Cambridge UK: Polity Press). (*"Handbook"*)

Held, David and Anthony McGrew, eds. (2002), *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance* (Cambridge UK: Polity Press).

Jolly, Richard, Louis Emmerij and Thomas Weiss (2005), *The Power of UN Ideas: Lessons from the First 60 Years* (New York: United Nations Intellectual History Project, CUNY Graduate Center).
Mackenzie, Heather (2009), *Democratizing Global Governance: Ten Years of Case Studies and Reflections by Civil Society Activists* (Delhi: Mosaic Books).
Nye, Joseph S. and John D. Donahue, eds. (2000), *Governance in a Globalizing World* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press).
Weiss, Thomas G. and Ramesh Thakur, eds. (2010), *Global Governance and the UN: An Unfinished Journey* (Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press).

The weekly readings and most of the background readings will be available on reserve at the Trinity College Library at the Munk School.

Key Journals

Global Governance
International Organization

Weekly Seminars

*An asterisk beside a publication refers to a background book.

1. Introduction and Overview (September 14)

What is global governance? Why do we need to learn more about it? How can we best do so in this course?

Kirton, John, Marina Larionova and Paolo Savona, *Making,* ch. 1-3.

PART A: Performance: Concepts and Patterns

2. Institutionalization in Global Governance (September 21)

How did formal intergovernmental multilateral organizations emerge and evolve, particularly after 1944-45 (Weiss)? How well have they operated (Barnett and Finnemore)? How did "regime complexes" and the inter-relationships among the component intergovernmental institutions do so (Raustiala and Victor)? How did informal plurilateral intergovernmental institutions, especially those at the summit level, do so, and with what effect (Kirton, Larionova and Savona)? How did civil society emerge, evolve, interrelate with and exert influence on the intergovernmental institutions (Alger)?

Barnett, Michael N. and Martha Finnemore (1999), "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations," *International Organization* 53: 699-732.
Kirton, John Marina Larionova and Paolo Savona, *Making*, ch. 1-3 (if you missed it last week).

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

Weiss, Thomas (2009), "What Happened to the Idea of World Government," *International Studies Quarterly* 53 (June): 253-271.

Alger, Chadwick (2002), "The Emerging Roles of NGOs in the UN System: From Article 71 to a People's Millennium Assembly," *Global Governance* 8: 93-117. Also in John Kirton, ed. (2009), *International Organization* (Farnham: Ashgate), pp. 409-435.

*Kirton, John, ed. (2009), *International Organization* (Farnham: Ashgate).

3. Effectiveness in Global Governance (September 28)

What are the major tasks that intergovernmental institutions perform? What dimensions of their performance are the most important? How can they best be assessed? Among the many tasks and dimensions, why might compliance with and implementation of their commitments by their members and outsiders have pride of place? What causes effective performance, compliance and implementation? How can they be improved?

Chayes, Abram and Antonia Handler Chayes (1993), "On Compliance," *International Organization* 47: 75-205.

Bernauer, Thomas (1995), "The Effect of International Environmental Institutions: How We Might Learn More," *International Organization* (Spring): 351-377.

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

Kirton, John (forthcoming), *G20 Governance for a Globalized World* (Farnham: Ashgate). Manuscript available at Trinity College Library. Chapter 2.

*Chayes, Abram and Antonia Handler Chayes (1998), *The New Sovereignty: Compliance with International Regulatory Agreements* (Boston: Harvard University Press).

*Kokotsis, Eleanore (1999), *Keeping International Commitments: Compliance, Credibility and the G7, 1988-1995* (New York: Garland). Conclusion.

4. Accountability in Global Governance (October 5)

What are major accountability mechanisms that intergovernmental institutions employ, for implementation, "enforcement," monitoring, assessment and correction? How well does each work in improving performance? Why do they affect performance the way they do? How do independent accountability processes from other institutions and civil society influence and improve the performance of the intergovernmental institutions?

Kirton, John, Marina Larionova and Paolo Savona, *Making,* ch. 5, 13-14.

Buchanan, Allen and Robert O. Keohane (2006), "The Legitimacy of Global Governance Institutions," *Ethics and International Affairs* 20(4): 405-417.

Grant, Ruth W. and Robert O. Keohane (2005), "Accountability and Abuses of Power in World Politics," *American Political Science Review* 99 (February): 29-41.

Grigorescu, Alexandra (2010), "The Spread of Bureaucratic Oversight Mechanisms Across Intergovernmental Organizations," *International Studies Association* 54 (September): 871-886.

Keohane, Robert O. and Joseph Nye Jr. (2003), "Redefining Accountability for Global Governance," in Miles Kahler and David Lake, eds., *Governance in a Global Economy: Political Authority in Transition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), pp. 386-411.
Woods, Ngaire (2003), "Holding Intergovernmental Institutions to Account," *Ethics and International Affairs* 17(1): 69-80.

5. Legitimacy in Global Governance (October 12)
[Accountability Report Due]

Legitimacy is defined most generally as either "right rule" or "the right to rule." This transitional session focuses on legitimacy as a way to integrate our assessment of the effectiveness and accountability of global governance as a basis for our specific exploration of global governance in particular policy areas. It considers in turn what is legitimacy is global governance, where does it arise, what effects does it have and how is it enhanced.

Bernstein, Steven (2011), "Legitimacy in Intergovernmental and Non-state Global Governance," *Review of International Political Economy* 18(1): 17-51.
Bodansky, D. (1999), "The Legitimacy of International Governance: A Continuing Challenge for International Environmental law?" *American Journal of International Law* 93(3): 596-624.
Buchanan, Allen, and Robert O. Keohane (2006). "The Legitimacy of Global Governance Institutions," *Ethics and International Affairs* 20(4):405-37.
Frank, Thomas M. (2006), "The Power of Legitimacy and the Legitimacy of Power: International Law in an Age of Power Disequilibrium," *American Journal of International Law* 100(1): 88-106. Also in John Kirton, ed., (2009) *Global Law* (Farnham: Ashgate), pp. 459-479.
*Breitmeier, Helmut (2008), *The Legitimacy of International Regimes* (Farnham: Ashgate).

Part B: Assessment of Issue Areas and Institutions

Seminars selected from the list below:
October 19
October 26
November 2
November 9
November 16
November 23
November 30

Main Menu
The policy areas listed cover the major contemporary challenges requiring global governance and the major intergovernmental institutions at work in the world today. They embrace a range of configurations, from areas where there has long been a single, established, highly capable multilateral organization claiming centrality for the area (e.g.,

International Monetary Fund, World Bank, World Health Organization, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade/World Trade Organization, International Labour Organization), through those where there appear to be a configuration of claimants of different kinds (e.g., food and agriculture, climate, security), to those where there appears to be no central claimant as an intergovernmentally institutionalized global governor (e.g., energy, terrorism, cyberspace) and those where an informal plurilateral institution claims centrality (e.g., democratization, globalization). Beyond the "main menu" lie several areas that could be considered.

The policy areas on the main menu are listed below, together with the relevant chapter(s). authored by both scholars and practitioners, from the "Required Text" and "Key Reference Works" to begin your reading and research. These chapters focus initially on implementation and compliance, as the critical link between performance and accountability, and on the relationship of the core multilateral organization with informal plurilateral ones. They also provide an overview of the relevant actors involved in the governance of the area. A full reading list for each topic will be provided once the specific subject for the seminars are selected, in consultation with the instructor and the presenters.

1. Finance and the International Monetary Fund

Fauver, Robert (2010), "Finance, Macroeconomics and the Multilateral Organization-G8 Connection," *Making*, pp. 109-114.
Germain, Randall (2011), "Financial Stability Board," *Handbook*, pp. 50-54.
*Vines, David and Christopher Gilbert, eds. (2004), *The IMF and Its Critics: Reform of Global Financial Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
*Fratianni, Michele, Paolo Savona and John Kirton, eds. (2002), *Governing Global Finance: New Challenges, G7 and IMF Contributions* (Aldershot: Ashgate).

2. Macroeconomics and the International Monetary Fund and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

Savic, Ivan, "Financial Crisis, the International Monetary Fund and the G8," *Making,* pp. 89-107.
*Savona, Paolo, John Kirton and Chiara Oldani, eds. (2011), *Global Financial Crisis: Global Impact and Solutions* (Farnham: Ashgate). ("*Crisis*")

3. Development and the World Bank

Kirton, John, Nikolai Roudev and Laura Sunderland, "Finance and Development Compliance in the G8: The IMF and World Bank Role," *Making,* pp. 89-108.
Adefuye, Ade, "Development, the Commonwealth and the G8," *Making,* pp. 115-124.
Sally, Razeen, "Escape Clauses and Social Clauses as Threats to the World Trade Organization," *Securing,* pp. 47-63
Rugman, Alan, "Multinational Enterprises from Emerging Markets," *Securing,* pp. 63-82.
Freytag Andreas and Gernot Pehnelt, "Debt Relief for Developing Countries," *Securing,* pp. 83-96.

Pehnet, Gernot, "The Political Economy of China's Aid Policy in Africa," S*ecuring*, pp. 97-115.

Hale, Thomas, "World Bank Independent Inspection Panel," *Handbook,* pp. 148-154.

Bradlow, Daniel and Andria Naudu Fourie, "Independent Accountability Mechanisms at Regional Development Banks," *Handbook* pp. 122-137.

*Fratianni, Michele, John Kirton and Paolo Savona, eds. (2007), *Financing Development: G8 and UN Contributions* (Aldershot: Ashgate).

4. Trade and the World Trade Organization

MacLaren, Roy, "Trade, the World Trade Organization and the Doha Development Agenda," *Making,* pp. 125-129.

Oldani, Chiara and Paolo Savona, "Multilateral Rule-Based Trade and Exchange Rate Regimes," *Securing,* pp. 25-40.

Langhammer, Rolf, "Escape Clauses and Social Conditions as Threats to the World Trade Organization," *Securing,* pp. 41-45.

*Kirton, John, ed., *Global Trade* (Farnham: Ashgate).

5. Health and the World Health Organization

Kirton, John, Nikolai Roudev, Laura Sunderland, Catherine Kunz and Jenilee Guebert, "Health Compliance in the G8 and APEC: The World Health Organization's Role," *Making,* pp. 217-229.

Katsikas, Dimitrios, "International Conference on Harmonization of Technical Requirements for the Registration of Pharmaceutical Products," *Handbook*, pp. 88-93.

MacKenzie, Ross, "The Framework Convention Alliance," *Handbook,* pp. 157-160.

Hanefeld, Johanna, "Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria," *Handbook,* pp. 161-166.

Koenig-Archibugi, Mathias, "Global Polio Eradication Initiative," *Handbook*, pp. 166-175.

Holzscheiter, Anna, "International Health Partnership and IHP+" *Handbook*, pp. 189-194.

*Kirton, John, ed., *Global Health* (Farnham: Ashgate).

*Cooper, Andrew, John Kirton and Ted Schrecker, eds. (2007), *Governing Global Health: Challenge, Response Innovation* (Farnham: Ashgate).

6. Information, Communications and Cyberspace and the International Telecommunication Union

Stephens, Gina, "Information and Communication: G8 Institutionalization and Compliance in the DOT Force," *Making,* pp. 201-217.

Koppell, Jonathan, "Internet Corporation for Assigned Names," *Handbook,* pp. 176-181.

7. Energy

Panova, Victoria, "Energy Security: The International Energy Agency and the G8," *Making,* pp. 155-174.

Florini, Ann, and Benjamin K. Sovacool (2009), "Who Governs Energy? The Challenges Facing Global Energy Governance," *Energy Policy* 37: 5,239-5,248.

Karlsson-Vinkhuyzen, Sylvia (2010), "The United Nations and Global Energy Governance: Past Challenges, Future Choices," *Global Change, Peace and Security* 22(2): 175-195.
Ostry, Sylvia, "Energy Security and Sustainable Development: The WTO and the Energy Charter Treaty," *Making,* pp. 131-138.
Simonia, Nodari, "Energy Security: Russia, the European Union and the G8," *Making,* pp. 139-154.
*Lesage, Dries, Thijs Van de Graaf and Lirsten Westphal (2010), *Global Energy Governance in a Multipolar World* (Farnham: Ashgate).

8. Climate Change, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the United Nations Environment Programme

Zaelke, Durwood, Kenneth Markowitz and Meredith R. Koparova, "International Network for Environmental Compliance and Enforcement," *Handbook,* pp. 94-100.
Kim, Eun-Hee and Thomas Lyon, "Carbon Disclosure Project," *Handbook,* pp. 213-218.
Green, Jessica, "Carbon Offsets," *Handbook,* pp. 371-376.
Streck, Charlotte, "Financing Mechanisms for Climate Change Mitigation," *Handbook,* pp. 377-383.
*Najam, Adil, Mihaela Papa and Nadaa Taiyab (2006), *Global Environmental Governance: A Reform Agenda* (Winnipeg: International Institute for Sustainable Development).
*Biermann, Frank and Steffen Bauer, eds. (2005), *A World Environment Organization: Solution of Threat for Effective International Environmental Governance?* (Aldershot: Ashgate).

9. Human Rights and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees

Morgera, Elisa, "OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprise," *Handbook,* pp. 314-321.
Pitts, Chip, "Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights," *Handbook*, pp. 257-365.

10. Security, the United Nations Security Council and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Wintrobe, Ronald, "Globalization and Violence," *Securing,* pp. 117-134.
Frohlich, Manuel, "Changing Conceptions of Security and the G8," *Securing*, pp. 135-152.
Kirton, John, "G8 Sanctioning Success," *Securing,* pp. 153-177.
*Thakur, Ramesh (2006), *The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to the Responsibility to Protect* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press).
*Kirton, John and Radoslava Stefanova, eds. (2004), *The G8, the United Nations and Conflict Prevention* (Aldershot: Ashgate).

11. Democratization and the G7/G8

Freytag, Andreas, John Kirton, Razeen Sally and Paolo Savona, eds. *Securing*, ch. 1.
Kirton, John (2010), "The Group of Eight's Legacy, Limitations and Lessons," in Colin Bradford and Won-hyuk Lim, eds., *The New Dynamics of Summitry: Innovations for*

G20 Summits (Washington and Seoul: Brookings Institution Press and Korea Development Institute).

*Fratianni, Michele, Paolo Savona and John Kirton, eds. (2005), *New Perspectives on Global Governance: Why America Needs the G8* (Aldershot: Ashgate).

12. Globalization and the G20

Kirton, John, "The Group of Twenty," *Handbook,* pp. 55-60.

*Bradford, Colin and Won-hyuk Lim, eds. (2010), *The New Dynamics of Summitry: Innovations for G20 Summits* (Washington and Seoul: Brookings Institution Press and Korea Development Institute).

*Kirton, John (forthcoming), *G20 Governance for a Globalized World* (Farnham: Ashgate). Manuscript available at Trinity College Library.

Additional Possibilities for Policy Areas

Labour and the International Labour Organization
Food and Agriculture and the Food and Agriculture Organization, International Fund for Agriculture and Development, World Food Programme
Education and UNESCO
Crime and Corruption and INTERPOL

Students will prepare and distribute to their colleagues and the instructor two weeks in advance of their seminar and updated/adjusted bibliography of the key works to read before the class.

Framework for the Report on Accountability Mechanisms

This 2,000-word "Report on Accountability Mechanisms" employed by the major organization(s) and stakeholder(s) in the policy area you have selected for your presentation and research essay is due at the start of class on Wednesday, October 12, 2011.

1. Executive Summary of one page written in a clear, direct style highlighting your central argument and recommendations in a way that is clear and that will induce the reader to continue reading the rest of the paper.
2. What is you policy area and the core intergovernmental institution(s)?
3. What are major mechanisms for implementation, monitoring, assessment and correction that the core intergovernmental institution and its key associates employ?
4. What are the purposes, process and personnel of the mechanisms?
4. When and why was each first introduced and improved?
5. How well does each work in improving performance?
6. Why do they affect performance the way they do?
7. Policy Recommendations: What realistic changes in accountability mechanisms would you suggest and why?
8. Appendix: Add the most appropriate indicators and data sets to monitor and assess progress in performance, particularly in reaching the intended results.

Framework for Subject-Specific Seminar Presentations and Research Essays

This 4,000-word Major Research Report with Reform Recommendations is based on your presentation and the instructors and students' responses to it and suggestions for improvement. It is due at the start of class on Friday, December 2, 2011 (i.e., two days after the last class), for 50% of the final grade.

A. Executive Summary of one page written in a clear, direct style highlighting your central argument and recommendations in a way that is clear and that will induce the reader to continue reading the rest of the paper.

B. The Problem and Policy Responders:
1. What is the global problem, its growth, importance and urgency?
2. What intergovernmental institutions and other actors are engaged in addressing it?
3. What, if any is/are the core or major multilateral organization(s) or other institutions that have or claim the central role in shaping the global governance response?

C. The Governance Organizations' Response Repertoire
1. What is their mission, mandate and organizational culture?
2. What are their resources, in personnel, money and instruments?
3. What is their governance structure and organizational procedures?

D. The Response
1. How have they been responding or performing?
2. What alternatives do they have?
2. What has led them to the particular choices made?

E. The Results
1. How effective has their response been?
2. How legitimate has their work been?

E. Accountability Mechanisms
1. What accountability mechanisms have they used?
2. How accountable have they been, in what ways, whom and to what effect?

(This section is a synthesis and revision of the "Report on Accountability Mechanisms" you prepared on October 12, 2011, which you will revise in the light of the instructor's and students' comments and your reconsideration of the accountability mechanism in the full context of your analysis in this larger assignment.)

G. Reforms
1. What reforms would you make to the policy, practices, personnel and structure of the major institution), how, for what purpose and to what effect?
2. How and by whom would they be put into effect?

H. Appendix

The governance structure, staff, budget, offices and instruments of the major intergovernmental organization(s) in the policy area.