This course explores the changing forms of governance in the international system. It focuses on regimes in particular policy or issue areas. Regimes are defined as explicit principles and rules or implicit norms guiding the actions of states and individuals, together with institutions and organizations expressing these rules or norms. Key regimes are in the issue areas of climate change, health and infectious disease, finance, energy, trade, development, food, investment, intellectual property, labour, biodiversity, communications, human rights, crime and corruption, migration, terrorism and arms control.

The course identifies the content, causes, consequences and changes of the regimes prevailing in each era for individual issue areas, as well as contested or failed regime projects. Although each regime has a specific chronology, six broad historical periods are common: the rise of the Westphalian inter-state system and global empires in the 16th-18th centuries; the rise of British hegemony and an open global economy in the mid-19th century; the League of Nations-centered system of 1919-1939; the rise of post World War II institutions from the 1940’s; the crises of the 1970s which led to new projects for global governance, and the current post cold war, globalizing era. This historical regime analysis provides a foundation for identifying alternative possibilities for future, twenty-first century regimes.

In exploring these alternatives, the course focuses on both institutions and ideas and the two distinct combinations that have arisen in the post world war two period. The first is the “hard law” multilateral organizations of the Bretton Woods-United Nations system with the values of exclusive, territorial sovereignty, non-interference and “embedded liberalism” at the core. The second is the “soft law”, informal, plurilateral institutions, including the revival of 19th century concert arrangements centered in the G7/G8 Summits arising in the 1970s. Alternatives include new global networks and projects articulated by advocates of new North-South relations, and transnational movements of environmental activists, women and indigenous peoples.

In the first part of the course students will lead discussions of the assigned readings. All students are asked to prepare their own questions and enter fully into the discussion. In the second part of the course students will present their own research into the creation, content, causes, consequences and changes of global regimes in a particular issue area of their interest, using this historical approach and inquiring into possible futures via the UN/G8 framework or alternative ones. Visiting instructors will provide interdisciplinary and intercultural breadth.
In each issue area, the history should include the following periods and aspects:

1. The content of the regime – the principles, rules, norms, and decision-making procedures (institutions) of the earliest regime (or precedents to the present regime), how it ended or changed, and the content and changes in subsequent regimes. (Whatever the issue area, there is usually something important, often under a different name or implicit, as early as the nineteenth century and often before);
2. The principles, norms, rules and institutions of the most recent regime and its tensions. (This will usually include postwar institutions, such as East-West and Third World/First World, later North-South, relations, and UN and G7/G8 institutions, as well as specific institutions for the regime);
3. The causes of regime continuity and change;
4. The distributional consequences of the regime for states or groups of states, and for social categories, such as class, race, culture, and notably, gender.
5. Probable or possible future orders, considering (among others if you choose) the principles embedded in the UN and G8.


Grading Scheme

Each student will present a preliminary report on their regime analysis to the seminar and complete the report as an essay for the major assignment. The essay should be about 5,000 words and is worth 50% of the overall grade. The seminar presentation of the report and ongoing participation is worth 30%. Students are requested to assign and make available two weeks in advance of their presentation one or two article-length readings that will help the others prepare for their seminar. Please provide copies for the professor(s). Students should arrange individual meetings with the instructor early in the term and submit a one-page proposal with a preliminary bibliography by the sixth seminar.

The remaining 20% of the mark is based on four one-page assignments related to the weekly readings during the first six seminars. You must hand in an assignment for the second seminar (on hegemony), plus for three other weeks of your own choosing. If you hand in more, your top four grades count. These written exercises are to help focus discussion and create a common intellectual culture. These readings together provide the conceptual framework for regime analyses and will help students prepare for their presentations and essays.

The weekly one-pager consists of a summary and one or two brief questions opened by the readings. The summary should try to capture what the author is arguing and on what basis. Note that this is a summary or abstract, not a critique. The questions, on the other hand, need not be central to the author but should reflect your own knowledge and concerns, including critical queries about, for instance, what is missing.
Schedule

September 11. Introduction: Global Governance in an Interdisciplinary Perspective

September 18: Hegemony and Epochal Transitions


Recommended:

Arrighi, Giovanni and Beverly Silver (1999), Chaos and Governance in the Modern World-System (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press). “Conclusion,” plus chapter(s) most interesting to you.


September 25. Realist, Liberal Institutionalist, Constructivist and Historical-Materialist Approaches


Recommended:


**October 2. Regime Analysis: Explicit and Implicit Structures**


Recommended:


**October 9. The United Nations in Historical Context**


Recommended (taking up themes of civil society/social movements and ideas):


**October 16. The G8 in Historical Context**


Recommended:


**October 23. Finding Gender**

Dobson, Hugh (2008), “Where are the Women at the G8?” G8 Information Centre, www.g8.utoronto.ca


**October 30. Imagining Futures**


Held, Chapter 12, pp. 267-86. (if possible get basic concepts from chapters 7-11 as background to Held’s proposal for UN reform)


Recommended: Commission on Global Governance (1995), *Our Global Neighbourhood* (focus on your issue area)

**Remaining Classes: Student Presentations**

November 06:
November 13:
November 20:
November 27
December 04:

Student Presentations of Issue Areas: Readings to be assigned by presenters at least two weeks ahead. Presenters please provide a copy for Professor Kirton and for the Trinity Library course reserve collection.

Students are encouraged to speak to Professor Kirton early in the term to discuss issue areas and appropriate readings. The paper is to be a “regime analysis” of the sort published in *International Organization*; however, it is to take up the specific “governance issues” presented in this course, specifically, the relevance of UN, G7/8, and other institutions for your regime. By way of examples, you may wish to read:


Articles on your topic in the journal *International Organization*

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**Appendix**

Essay and Seminar Presentation Guidelines (Expanded version of the list on page 2):

1. a. What were the first principles, norms, rules and institutions regulating your issue area and when did they come into being? Was the regime contested? Was an alternative available, whether named or not? What state, inter-state, private sector, social movement, or other actors were involved? If there was no early regime, what precedents can you identify? To identify the source of, or precursors to, a regime, it may be important in some cases to look back several centuries.
b. At what points did the regime go into crisis or change? What were the major causes of regime change, understood in relation to one or more theories in course readings?

2. a. What were/are the principles, norms rules and institutions regulating your issue in the late 20th century? When and how did they come into being? Was the regime contested? Was an alternative available, whether named or not? What state, inter-state, private sector, social movement, or other actors were involved? Discussion of the rules, norms, and institutions of the most recent regime and its tensions will usually refer to postwar institutions, such as East-West and Third World/North-South relations, UN institutions and G7/8, as well as features specific to the issue.

b. Did the regime change or is it changing? Why? What tensions, new actors, or other features were/are involved in the change? What was the timing of change, especially related to the changes of the 1970s (Détente, North-South, G7, new centers of economic growth)?

3. a. What are the social bases and distributional consequences of the prevailing regime, at the international and domestic levels? These can be assessed on an inter-state, inter-regional (e.g., North-South), intranational social class, racial, regional, cultural, or other basis. How do these distributional consequences promote regime stability, instability, social cohesion and change?

b. What are the gender relationships implicit in regimes? What would change if the often ignored activities of women were given a more consequential place in scholarly analysis and in public policy (NB: We are not looking for speculation regarding the behaviour of men and women in the same roles but for widening the perspective to include “invisible” women’s roles, and the degree of polarization of gender roles implicit when women are absent).

4. What future orders are probable, possible and desirable? This analysis should include the alternative regimes currently in political contest. Please consider whether the UN/G8 focus works for your issue, or what is important as well or instead. Please also consider (dis)order that might come with a sudden step-level transformation. If you wish, you may offer prescriptions as to how your preferred alternatives may be brought into being and by whom.

In preparing your research essays, and selecting the articles you will ask the class to read for your presentation, you should consider, in the first instance, articles in the major relevant scholarly journals in political science and related disciplines, as follows:

International Organization
Global Governance
International Studies Quarterly
International Affairs
International Security
Mershon International Studies Review
World Development
Studies in Political Economy
Review of International Organizations
Review of International Political Economy
New Left Review
Millennium
Journal of World Systems Research