

JPD 2232S  
**Global Governance**  
Spring 2011  
Professor John Kirton  
Wednesday 10.00-12.00  
UC 330

Office: Munk School of Global Affairs, Room 209N, (416) 946-8953,  
john.kirton@utoronto.ca

Office Hours: Monday 2:00-4:00PM and by appointment

This course explores the changing forms and effectiveness of global governance. It focuses on intergovernmental regimes in particular issue areas, with regimes defined as explicit or implicit principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures guiding the actions of states and non-state actors, together with institutions and organizations expressing these principles and rules. Key issue areas include climate change, health, finance, development, energy, trade, food, investment, intellectual property, labour, biodiversity, communications, migration, human rights, crime, terrorism, arms control and regional security.

The course identifies the changing causes, content, compliance and consequences of the regimes prevailing for key individual issue areas, especially after the rise of the United Nations and Bretton Woods organizations from the 1940s, the more informed institutions for global governance arising from the crises of the 1970s and those of the current post-Cold War, globalizing, post-9/11 era.

A particular focus is the difference between two types of international institutions: 1) the formal “hard law,” broadly multilateral organizations of the Bretton Woods–United Nations system with their core values of exclusive, territorial sovereignty, non-interference and “embedded liberalism” at the core, and 2) the informal “soft law,” plurilateral, often summit-level institutions, including the revival of 19th-century concert and club arrangements centered in the G7/G8 summits since 1975 and the G20 summits since 2008. Also relevant are multi-level global networks from governmental actors, private authorities and civil society.

In the first part of the course students will lead and participate in discussions of the assigned readings. In the second part students will present their own research on the creation, content, compliance, consequences, causes and reform of global regimes in a particular issue area of their interest.

In each issue area, the analysis should include:

1. The changing 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;
2. The causes of regime creation, content, continuity and change;
3. The regimes’ compliance, accountability mechanisms, effectiveness and distributional consequences for states, and social categories such as class, race, culture, and gender.

4. Policy recommendations for consequential actors for regime reform that will feasibly and realistically help bring desired outcomes about.

### **Course Textbook (Required for Purchase):**

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

### **Grading Scheme**

1. Part 1 – seminar presentation chairing (perhaps with a partner) and participation 25% of final grade.
2. Part 2 – participation and paper presentation (perhaps with a partner) 25%. Students should assign and make available two weeks in advance of their presentation two article-length readings that will help the others prepare for their seminar. Please provide copies for the instructor(s). Students should arrange an early meeting with the instructor and submit a one-page proposal with a preliminary bibliography by the fifth seminar.
3. Final Research Essay 50% of final grade – a research paper of 5,000 words on your chosen regime due at the end of the course.

Some of the key readings listed below are readily available in:

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

John Kirton with Jelena Madunic, eds. (2009), *Global Law* (Farnham: Ashgate).

### **Schedule (\* = background reading)**

#### **1. January 12: Introduction: Global Governance in an Interdisciplinary Perspective**

#### **2. January 19: Hegemonic Transition and International Institutionalization**

Arrighi, Giovanni and Beverly Silver (1999), “Hegemonic Transitions: Past and Present,” *Political Power and Social Theory* 13: 239-75, or for the enthusiastic, Giovanni, Arrighi and Beverly Silver (1999), *Chaos and Governance in the Modern World-System* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).

Duffield, John (2007), “What Are International Institutions?” *International Studies Review* 9 (Spring): 1-22.

Ikenberry, John (2001), *After Victory: Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press). Chapter 1, “The Problem of Order,” pp.3-20.

Ruggie, John (1993), “Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations,” *International Organization* 47 (Winter): 139-74.

\*Zakaria, Fareed (2009), *The Post-American World: And the Rise of the Rest* (New York: Penguin).

### **3. January 26: Core Concepts and Approaches**

John Kirton, Marina Larionova and Paolo Savona, eds. (2010), *Making Global Economic Governance Effective: Hard and Soft Law Institutions in a Crowded World* (Farnham: Ashgate), Chapters 1-3.

Abbott, Kenneth, Robert Keohane, Andrew Moravcsik, Anne-Marie Slaughter, and Duncan Snidal (2000), "The Concept of Legalization." *International Organization* vol. 54 (Summer): 401-420.

Ikenberry, John (2001), *After Victory: Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press). Chapter 2 "Varieties of Order," and Chapter 3 "An Institutional Theory of Order Formation."

Krasner, Stephen (1983), "Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables," in Stephen Krasner, ed., *International Regimes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), pp. 1-22, 355-368.

Ruggie, John (1983), "International Regimes, Transactions and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order," in Stephen Krasner, ed., *International Regimes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), pp. 195-232.

Keohane, Robert and Joseph Nye (1989), *Power and Interdependence* (Boston: Harvard University Press), Second Edition, pp. 63-85, 99-162, 279-282.

Pettinger, Mary, ed. (2007), *The Social Construction of Climate Change: Power, Knowledge, Norms, Discourses* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 1-21, 235-246.

### **4. February 2: The Hard Law United Nations Galaxy**

John Kirton, Marina Larionova and Paolo Savona, eds. (2010), *Making Global Economic Governance Effective: Hard and Soft Law Institutions in a Crowded World* (Farnham: Ashgate), Chapter 4, plus other chapters relevant to your essay.

Ikenberry, John (2001), *After Victory: Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), Chapter 6 "The Settlement of 1945" (pp. 163-213). Chapters 4 and 5 are useful background material.

Ikenberry, John (2003), "Is American Multilateralism in Decline?" *Perspectives on Politics* 1: 533-550.

Barnett, Michael N. and Martha Finnemore (1999), "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations," *International Organization* 53: 699–732.

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.

Weiss, Thomas and Ramesh Thakur (2010), *Global Governance and the UN: An Unfinished Journey* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press) – useful for essays.

## **5. February 9: The Soft Law G8 and G20, Plurilateral Institutions**

Kirton, John, Marina Larionova and Paolo Savona, eds. (2010), *Making Global Economic Governance Effective: Hard and Soft Law Institutions in a Crowded World* (Farnham: Ashgate), Chapters 15, 16.

Kirton, John (2010), "The G20 Finance's Global Governance Network," in Alan Alexandroff and Andrew Fenton Cooper, eds., *Rising States, Rising Institutions: Can the World Be Governed?* (Washington : Brookings Institution Press).

Alexandroff, Alan and John Kirton (2010), "The "Great Recession" and the Emergence of the G-20 Leaders' Summit," in Alan Alexandroff and Andrew Fenton Cooper, eds., *Rising States, Rising Institutions: Can the World Be Governed?* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press).

Beeson, Mark and Stephen Bell (2009), "The G20 and International Economic Governance: Hegemony, Collectivism, or Both?" *Global Governance* 15, pp. 67-86.

Stephen (1998), "Structural Changes in Multilateralism: The G7 Nexus and the Global Crisis," in Michael Schechter, ed. *Innovation in Multilateralism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan for United Nations University Press), pp. 113-65.

Payne, Anthony (2008), "The G8 in a Changing Global Economic Order," *International Affairs* 84 (3): 519-533.

Friedmann, Harriet (2001), "The World Social Forum at Porto Alegre and the People's Summit at Quebec City: A View from the Ground," *Studies in Political Economy* 66 (Autumn): 85-105.

\*Bayne, Nicholas (2005), *Staying Together: The G8 Summit Confronts the 21st Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate), Chapters 1, 14.

\*Helleiner, Gerald (2001), “Markets, Politics, and Globalization: Can the Global Economy Be Civilized?” *Global Governance* 7 (July-September): 243-264. Also in United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, United Nations, 10th Raul Prebisch Lecture, 2000.

\*Kirton, John (Forthcoming), *G20 Governance in a globalizing World* (Farnham: Ashgate)—manuscript available at Trinity College John Graham Library.

## **6. February 16: Enhancing Compliance, Accountability and Effectiveness**

Kirton, John, Marina Larionova and Paolo Savona, eds. (2010), *Making Global Economic Governance Effective: Hard and Soft Law Institutions in a Crowded World* (Farnham: Ashgate). Chapters 5, 13-14.

Chayes, Abram and Antonia Handler Chayes (1993), “On Compliance,” *International Organization*, 47: 75–205. The enthusiastic may wish to consult Chayes, Abram and Antonia Handler Chayes (1998), *The New Sovereignty: Compliance with International Regulatory Agreements* (Boston: Harvard University Press).

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.

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

## **Remaining Classes: Student Presentations**

March 2:  
March 9:  
March 16:  
March 23  
March 30  
April 6:

Student Presentations of Issue Areas (for a general model see the published version of previous course essays):

Steven Hoffman (2010), “The Evolution, Etiology and Eventualities of the Global Health Security Regime,” *Health Policy & Planning*. August. <[heapol.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/czq037?ijkey=oJj7l6Qz0MHYTjm&keytype=ref](http://heapol.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/czq037?ijkey=oJj7l6Qz0MHYTjm&keytype=ref)>

Laura Barnett (2002), “Global Governance and the Evolution of the International Refugees Regime,” *International Journal of Refugee Law* 14 (2/3): 238-261.

## Essay and Seminar Presentation Guidelines

### 1. **Introduction.**

What is the problem (the global governance challenge), the competing schools of thought among scholars on this subject/issue area, the puzzles that arise from these existing accounts and your thesis that provides a better account of what happened, why, and to what effect?

### 2. **Regime Content and Change**

- a. What were the first principles, norms, rules and institutions regulating your issue area and when did they come into being? Which were central and contested? Which international institutions were involved in this “regime complex”?
- b. At what points, especially after 1945, did the regime go into crisis or change to generate particular successive regimes? What tensions, new actors, or other features were/are involved in the change?

### 3. **Causes of Regime Change**

What were the major causes of regime change, from different levels of analysis, understood in relation to the course readings and the issue-specific literature?

### 4. **Compliance, Accountability, Effectiveness and Distributional Consequences**

- a. How much, how and why did key actors comply with the regime, and what available implementation, monitoring, enforcement, support, and other hard and soft law incentives and mechanisms affected compliance and ultimate regime effectiveness?
- b. What are the social bases and distributional consequences (including burden sharing, costs and benefits) of the prevailing regime, at the international and domestic levels, on an inter-state, inter-regional (e.g., North-South), intra-national social class, racial, regional, cultural or other basis. How do these promote regime stability, instability, social cohesion and change?

### 5. **Policy Recommendations.** Given your analysis, what policy recommendations would you make, to what consequential actors, to bring about the change you normatively prefer, in the policies produced by the regime and/or in the global governance arrangement itself? In particular, how could compliance, accountability, effectiveness and equity be improved?

In preparing your 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

In addition to the books listed above, useful material on your particular regime can be found in major edited collections, including:

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

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

Nye, Joseph and John Donahue, eds. (2000), *Governance in a Globalizing World*, (Washington: Brookings Institution Press).

Scholte, Jan Arte (2000), *Globalization: A Critical Introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).

You should also consult the Internet. Evaluate your sources particularly carefully. Ronald Deibert, "Virtual Resources: International Relations Research Resources on the Web," *International Organization* 52 (Winter 1998): 211-223; Peter Hajnal, eds. (1997), *International Information: Documents, Publications and Electronic Information of International Governmental Organizations, 2nd Edition* (Englewood: Libraries Unlimited); G8 Information Centre, [www.g8.utoronto.ca](http://www.g8.utoronto.ca) and G20 Information Centre, [www.g20.utoronto.ca](http://www.g20.utoronto.ca).