

# PSci 618/GGov 652 Non-State Actors in Global Governance

Winter 2013

Wednesdays, 9:30-12:20

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**Office Hours:** Wednesdays 12:30-2:20 and by appointment

**Course Description and Objectives:** Non-state actors is a broad political category that includes everything from ordinary citizens – in social movements, non-governmental organizations, and networks of various kinds – to economic actors like multinational corporations and labor unions to criminal and terrorist networks. This is a course about the roles they play in global governance. To talk of global governance almost presumes the importance of these kinds of actors, as otherwise one could simply study governments of various kinds. As we will see, however, there is an equally wide range of interpretations of non-state actors, which are grounded in different understandings of the nature of the modern world and the contours of authority and power in it. We begin with a pair of sessions that examines these interpretations in the abstract, drawing on literatures from sociology, economics, and political science. The next major part of the course introduces the large literature that takes on basic descriptive questions such as how non-state actors organize themselves, the purposes of their participation in global governance, and their strategies for influence. A final section uses two main categories to evaluate the participation of non-state actors in global governance. Effectiveness is measured through both successful and unsuccessful cases. The ability of non-state actors to hold others accountable is matched with questions about to whom and whether non-state actors are themselves accountable. The course is meant to give students an overview of this category of actors and their impact, but the assignments allow them to develop deeper knowledge of particular actors and their participation in global governance.

## **University Regulations:**

### **Cross-listed courses:**

Please note that a cross-listed course will count in all respective averages no matter under which rubric it has been taken. For example, a PHIL/PSCI cross-list will count in a Philosophy major average, even if the course was taken under the Political Science rubric.

### **Academic Integrity:**

**Academic Integrity:** In order to maintain a culture of academic integrity, members of the University of Waterloo are expected to promote honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility.

**Discipline:** A student is expected to know what constitutes academic integrity, to avoid committing academic offences, and to take responsibility for his/her actions. A student who is unsure whether an action constitutes an offence, or who needs help in learning how to avoid offences (e.g., plagiarism, cheating) or about “rules” for group work/collaboration should seek guidance from the course professor, academic advisor, or the Undergraduate Associate Dean. When misconduct has been found to have occurred, disciplinary penalties will be imposed under Policy 71 – Student Discipline. For information on categories of offenses and types of penalties, students should refer to Policy 71 - Student Discipline, <http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy71.htm>.

**Grievance:** A student who believes that a decision affecting some aspect of his/her university life has been unfair or unreasonable may have grounds for initiating a grievance. Read Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances, Section 4, <http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy70.htm>.

**Appeals:** A student may appeal the finding and/or penalty in a decision made under Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances (other than regarding a petition) or Policy 71 - Student Discipline if a ground for an appeal can be established. Read Policy 72 - Student Appeals, <http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy72.htm>.

**Academic Integrity website (Arts):** [http://arts.uwaterloo.ca/arts/ugrad/academic\\_responsibility.html](http://arts.uwaterloo.ca/arts/ugrad/academic_responsibility.html)

**Academic Integrity Office (uWaterloo):** <http://uwaterloo.ca/academicintegrity/>

**Turnitin.com:** Plagiarism detection software (Turnitin) will be used to screen assignments in this course. This is being done to verify that use of all material and sources in assignments is documented. In the first week of the term, details will be provided about the arrangements for the use of Turnitin in this course. [DELETE IF YOU ARE NOT USING TURNITIN. Note: students must be given a reasonable option if they do not want to have their assignment screened by Turnitin. See: <http://uwaterloo.ca/academicintegrity/Turnitin/index.html> for more information.]

### **Accommodation for Students with Disabilities:**

**Note for students with disabilities:** The Office for Persons with Disabilities (OPD), located in Needles Hall, Room 1132, collaborates with all academic departments to arrange appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities without compromising the academic integrity of the curriculum. If you require academic accommodations to lessen the impact of your disability, please register with the OPD at the beginning of each academic term.

### **Texts:**

Kahler, Miles, ed. 2009. *Networked Politics: Agency, Power, and Governance*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Smith, Jackie. 2008. *Social Movements for Global Democracy*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

**Other readings:** Most of the readings can be obtained electronically through the University of Waterloo’s electronic journals system and/or will be available through its “eReserves” system: <http://www.ereserves.uwaterloo.ca/ereservesSearch.cfm>. They are listed under the course number.

## Course Requirements, Expectations, and Standards:

### Assignments:

#### *Assignment #1:*

Seminar participation (30% of the final grade). Since this is a seminar, your thoughtful participation in class is critical for the course's success. You are expected to complete all readings and attend all seminars. Half of the points for participation are for attending class and participating in class discussions. The other half of the points are for weekly readings reports. These reports should be one-page single spaced in length. They should not summarize the readings individually, but discuss a common theme or debate in the readings. They should be analytical, not just descriptive. If you are not on track to receive full credit for this part of the course, I will let you know by the time of the term break.

#### *Assignment #2:*

Paper #1 (15% of the final grade) For this 5-page double-spaced paper, choose a pair of scholarly articles and/or book chapters about a specific non-state actor (e.g., Amnesty International, the Carter Center) or a fairly specific category of non-state actors (e.g., international human rights organizations, non-state election monitors) – approved by me. *Comparatively* review the articles with respect to the following dimensions: what is the nature, purpose, and rationale of the research; what kind of evidence is presented; what is the overall argument about the non-state actor and how well is it developed and supported by the evidence provided? Overall, what are the strengths and weaknesses of the pieces and how would you reconcile any conflicting claims? This paper is due on **January 30**, at the beginning of class. Late papers will receive penalties of 3% per day, including weekends. This paper is meant to help you begin thinking and researching about the non-state actors you will research for subsequent assignments. It also introduces the mode of analysis you should be using for all readings you do for the course.

#### *Assignment #3:*

Paper #2 (55% of the final grade) The final assignment for the course is a 15-20 (double-spaced) page research paper that uses the class themes and issues to guide research on a related topic. This paper should depart from one or more of the approaches we have studied in class, as applied to a particular empirical case or puzzle. You should do additional research beyond the class readings for your paper. Additional information will follow. The paper is due on **Thursday, April 11**, at 5 p.m. It may be turned into my office or sent electronically. Late papers will not be penalized, but will receive fewer comments.

### Schedule:

#### ***1. Contending Theoretical Perspectives on Non-State Actors in Global Governance***

##### **January 9 Course introduction**

Introduction to the course – no readings.

##### **January 16 Viewing Non-State Actors through IR Theory**

Krasner, Stephen D. 1995. Power Politics, Institutions, and Transnational Relations. In *Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions*, ed. T. Risse-Kappen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 257-279.

Nye, Jr., Joseph S. and Robert O. Keohane. 1971. Transnational Relations and World Politics: A Conclusion. *International Organization* 25(3): 721-748.

Ruggie, John Gerard. 2004. Reconstituting the Global Public Domain – Issues, Actors, and Practices. *European Journal of International Relations* 10(4): 499-531. (cont.)

Kahler, Miles. 2009. Networked Politics: Agency, Power, and Governance. Kahler, Ch. 1.  
Cutler, A. Claire. 1999. Locating "Authority" in the Global Political Economy. *International Studies Quarterly* 43(): 59-81.

### **January 23 Global Civil Society, Social Movements, and International Contention**

Wapner, Paul. 1995. Politics Beyond the State: Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics. *World Politics* 47(3): 311-340.  
Clark, Ann Marie, Elisabeth J. Friedman, and Kathryn Hochstetler. 1998. The Sovereign Limits of Global Civil Society. *World Politics* 51(1): 1-38.  
Price, Richard. 2003. Review: Transnational Civil Society and Advocacy in World Politics. *World Politics* 55(4): 579-606.  
Smith, Jackie. 2008. Contested Globalizations. Smith, Ch. 1.  
Tarrow, Sidney. 2001. Transnational Politics: Contention and Institutions in International Politics. *Annual Review of Political Science* 4: 1-20.

## **2. Transnational Organization, Purposes, and Action**

### **January 30 Principled Networks – Paper #1 due**

Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Read 2 of 4 empirical chapters.

### **February 6 Strategic Framing and its Power Dimensions**

Busby, Joshua William. 2007. Bono Made Jesse Helms Cry: Jubilee 2000, Debt Relief, and Moral Action in International Politics. *International Studies Quarterly* 51(2): 247-275.  
Lake, David A. and Wendy H. Wong. The Politics of Networks: Interests, Power, and Human Rights Norms. Kahler, Ch. 7.  
Berkovitch, Nitza and Neve Gordon. 2008. The Political Economy of Transnational Regimes: The Case of Human Rights. *International Studies Quarterly* 52(4): 881-904.  
Ron, James, Howard Ramos, and Kathleen Rodgers. 2005. Transnational Information Politics: NGO Human Rights Reporting, 1986-2000. *International Studies Quarterly* 49(3): 557-588.  
Sell, Susan K. and Aseem Prakash. 2004. Using Ideas Strategically: The Contest Between Business and NGO Networks in Intellectual Property Rights. *International Studies Quarterly* 48(1): 143- 175.

### **February 13 Well Beyond Liberalism: Clandestine and/or Violent Non-State Actors**

Kenney, Michael. 2009. Turning to the "Dark Side": Coordination, Exchange, and Learning in Criminal Networks. Kahler, Ch, 5.  
Manjikian, Mary McEvoy. 2010. From Global Village to Virtual Battlespace: The Colonizing of the Internet and the Extension of Realpolitik. *International Studies Quarterly* 54: 381-401.  
Kahler, Miles. 2009. Collective Action and Clandestine Networks: The Case of al Qaeda. Kahler, Ch. 6.  
Hassner, Ron. 2011. Blasphemy and Violence. *International Studies Quarterly* 55(): 23-45.  
Horowitz, Michael C. 2010. Nonstate Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism. *International Organization* 64(1): 33-64.

## **February 20 - "Spring" Break – no class**

### **February 27 Economic Globalization: Contending Agent Networks**

Smith, Jackie. 2008. *Social Movements for Global Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Chs. 2-6, 9-10.

### **March 6 Economic Globalization: The Power of Economic Non-State Actors**

- Hurrell, Andrew. 2005. Power, Institutions, and the Production of Inequality, ch. 2 of *Power in Global Governance*, ed. Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall (Cambridge University Press): 33-58.
- Sinclair, Timothy J. 2001. The Infrastructure of Global Governance: Quasi-Regulatory Agencies and the New Global Finance. *Global Governance* 7: 441-451.
- Mosley, Layna and David Andrew Singer. 2008. Taking Stock Seriously: Equity-Market Performance, Government Policy, and Financial Globalization. *International Studies Quarterly* 52(2): 405-425.
- Bernhagen, Patrick and Neil J. Mitchell. 2010. The Private Provision of Public Goods: Corporate Commitments and the United Nations Global Compact. *International Studies Quarterly* 54: 1175-1187.
- Newell, Peter. 2008. The Political Economy of Global Environmental Governance. *Review of International Studies* 34(): 507-529.

### **March 13 Economic Globalization and Private Self-Governance: Potential and Limits**

- Büthe, Tim. 2010. Private Regulation in the Global Economy: A (P)Review. *Business and Politics* 12(3): 1-38.
- Cashore, Benjamin. 2002. Legitimacy and the Privatization of Environmental Governance: How Non-State Market-Driven (NSMD) Governance Systems Gain Rule-Making Authority. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions* 15(4): 503-529.
- Gillies, Alexandra. 2010. Reputational Concerns and the Emergence of Oil Sector Transparency as an International Norm. *International Studies Quarterly* 54(): 103-126.
- Jochnik, Chris. 1999. Confronting the Impunity of Non-State Actors: New Fields for the Promotion of Human Rights. *Human Rights Quarterly* 21: 56-79.

### **Thursday, February 25 – Paper # 2 due**

#### **3. Assessing Non-State Actors and their Role in Global Governance**

##### **March 20 Conditions of Effective Mobilization**

- Hawkins, Darren. 2004. Explaining Costly International Institutions: Persuasion and Enforceable Human Rights Norms. *International Studies Quarterly* 48(4): 779-804.
- Yanacopulos, Helen. 2009. Cutting the Diamond: Networking Economic Justice. Kahler, Ch. 4.
- True, Jacqui and Michael Mintrom. 2001. Transnational Networks and Policy Diffusion: The Case of Gender Mainstreaming. *International Studies Quarterly* 45(1): 27-57.
- Sundstrom, Lisa McIntosh. 2005. Foreign Assistance, International Norms, and NGO Development: Lessons from the Russian Campaign. *International Organization* 59(2): 419-449.
- Barnett, Michael. 2009. Evolution Without Progress? Humanitarianism in a World of Hurt. *International Organization* 63(4): 621-663.
- Carpenter, R. Charli. 2007. Studying Issue (Non-)Adoption in Transnational Advocacy Networks. *International Organization* 61(3): 643-667.
- Hochstetler, Kathryn. 2002. After the Boomerang: Environmental Movements in the La Plata River Basin. *Global Environmental Politics* 2(4): 35-57.

##### **March 27 Accountability**

- Scholte, Jan Aarte. 2004. Civil Society and Democratically Accountable Global Governance. *Government and Opposition* 39(2): 211-233.
- Nelson, Paul. 1997. Deliberation, Leverage, or Coercion? The World Bank, NGOs, and Global Environmental Politics. *Journal of Peace Research* 34(4): 467-470.
- Cooley, Alexander and James Ron. 2002. The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Activism. *International Security* 27(1): 5-39. (cont.)

Büthe, Tim, Solomon Major, and André de Mello e Souza. 2012. The Politics of Private Foreign Aid: Humanitarian Principles, Economic Development Objectives, and Organizations Interests in NGO Private Aid Allocation. *International Organization* 66(): 571-607.

Stein, Janice Gross. 2009. The Politics and Power of Networks: The Accountability of Humanitarian Organizations. Kahler, Ch. 8.

Cowhey, Peter and Milton Mueller. 2009. Delegation, Networks, and Internet Governance. Kahler, Ch. 9.

**April 3 No class – work on papers**

**Thursday, April 11 – Paper #3 due**