

NON-STATE ACTORS AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Yale University
INRL 650a
Fall 2012

Tuesdays 9:25-11:15
Location: 77 Prospect St, A001

Professor Susan Hyde

Office Hours: Weds., 1:30-3:30, 77 Prospect St, C120. [Make an appointment here.](#)

A map of my office location is available here: <http://hyde.research.yale.edu/contact.htm>

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Themes:

What are non-state actors and what role do they play in global governance? How can international politics be understood without an exclusive focus on state-centric theories? How do non-state actors influence international politics and domestic politics? Can we treat all non-state actors as similar in international relations theory? What theoretical framework is most useful to analyze non-state actors? When and how do they matter? Can we understand international politics without attention to non-state actors?

The goal of the course is to explore international relations theory as it pertains to the study of non-state actors, such as international organizations, transnational corporations, NGOs, transnational advocacy networks, and terrorist networks. Issues of global governance will be central. Students will develop a working knowledge of some of the major issue areas surrounding non-state actors in international relations. In addition, students will complete a 1-semester research project on a subject of their choice, with some of the course devoted to research design.

Requirements

1) Participation: This course will be conducted in a seminar format, with students taking responsibility for leading much of the discussion. All students should be prepared to contribute to each class discussion by informally bringing questions that stem from the readings. Please bring notes on the readings. Because it is a seminar, laptops are strongly discouraged. Each student will be charged with facilitating the class discussion (beginning with a 10 minute presentation) for at least one week.

2) Reading Critiques: In addition, you will be expected to sign up for two weeks in which you submit a 3-5 page critical discussion of the reading. Each of your pieces must be distributed to everyone the evening before class. These statements should facilitate discussion, rather than summarize the reading. For most students, making one provocative point as your thesis and supporting it with reference to the readings is an effective strategy. Both reading critics must be completed on or before week 7 of the semester.

3) Final Paper: The final paper is on a course-related topic of your choice, subject to my approval. Papers should be in the neighborhood of 20 pages in length, not including the bibliography. You are encouraged to consult with the instructor about your topic.

You are required to pose a research question, develop a hypothesis, collect evidence that enables you to answer your question (or propose how you would do so if it is not feasible in the course timeframe), and present your findings in a coherent, well-argued paper. Submission of the paper is broken down into four deadlines (included in the syllabus below), all of which will count toward your final grade.

1. Submit a paper topic and research question (One paragraph or less.)
2. Submit your revised research question, proposed answer, proposed causal mechanism, and type of evidence you plan to use to evaluate your answer. (Up to three pages.)
3. Submit the literature review (max 10 pages double spaced).
4. Submit the final paper.

The final paper is due on the last day of reading period. Please submit the paper to me electronically AND deliver a hard copy to my box in the Political Science department (First floor of RKZ behind the reception desk).

Grades will be determined using the following guidelines:

Seminar Participation & Presentation(s): 25%

Two 3-5 page critiques: 30%

Long Paper (15-20 pages): 45%

Finally, please familiarize yourself with the University's policy on cheating, plagiarism, and documentation. It is your responsibility to understand and abide by this policy. If you do not understand what constitutes cheating or plagiarism, or are uncertain about whether something qualifies as cheating or plagiarism, please ask.

Required Texts, Available from Yale Bookstore:

David Lake, *Hierarchy in International Relations*, 2009, Cornell University Press.

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

Rodney Bruce Hall and Thomas Biersteker, *The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance*. (Also available electronically through Yale Library as an e-book).

W. Phillips Shively. 2011. *The Craft of Political Research*. Eighth edition.

Additional required reading consists of a number of journal articles and book chapters. A number of these readings are available online. PDFs are available on the classes v2 server. All articles are available for free, but you may need to access the readings from a Yale University computer or through Yale's proxy server. All readings not available from one of the required books are also available from Tyco copies. This option is intended to save time for those not

wanting to download or print the readings each week.
(<http://www.tyco.com/content/academicinfo/yale.aspx>).

The selected texts were chosen to represent the major positions and theories of non-state actors in politics today. They provide a wide range of views and differ in both the form of evidence they provide and their persuasiveness. As a whole, the selection is designed to demonstrate the diverse approaches to the study of non-state actors, and to encourage critical evaluation of existing academic literature. Keeping the following questions in mind when reading should help focus your attention on the big picture: What is the argument the author is trying to make and why might this be important? What are the strengths and weaknesses of the argument? How convincing is their use of evidence? What are possible counter-arguments that could be made? What does this tell us about current events involving non-state actors?

All readings marked with a “b.” are from an assigned book, listed above. Readings marked with an “e.” are available electronically on the classes*v2 server AND in hard copy for purchase from Tyco.

1. September 6: Introduction and Defining Non-State Actors

e. Nye, Joseph S. “Scholars on the Sidelines”. *The Washington Post*. April 13, 2009.

2. September 13: The International System

b. Shively, Chapters 1-2, *The Craft of Political Research*.

e. Bull, Hedley. 1977. *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. Chapters 1 and 2, pages 1-50.

e. Gourevitch, Peter. 1978. “The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics.” *International Organization*. 34.4: 881-912.

e. Spruyt, Hendrick. 1994. “Institutional Selection in International Relations: State Anarchy as Order. *International Organization*, 48: 527-557

e. Waltz, Kenneth. 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. Ch. 5, pp. 79-101.

3. September 20: Governance I

b. Shively, Chapter 3, *The Craft of Political Research*.

b. Deborah Avant, Martha Finnemore, and Susan Sell, “Who Governs the Globe?” In Avant, Finnemore, and Sell

b. Stephen Kobrin. “Economic Governance in an Electronically Networked Global Economy” in Hall and Biersteker, Chapter 3.

b. Lake, *Hierarchy*, Introduction.

e. Kahler and Lake, *Governance in a Global Economy*, Chapter 1.

e. Keohane, Robert. 2001. “Governance in a Partially Globalized World.” *American Political Science Review* 95(1): 1-13.

e. Milner, Helen. “Power, Interdependence, and Nonstate Actors in World Politics.”

e. Guidelines for Writing a Research Article (in Progress) --handout in week 3

4. September 27: Hierarchy

b. Shively, Chapter 4-5, *The Craft of Political Research*.

b. Lake, Chapters 2-5, *Hierarchy in International Relations*.

5. October 4: Authority.

b. Shively, Chapter 6, *The Craft of Political Research*.

b. Hall, Rodney Bruce and Thomas Biersteker. "The Emergence of Private Authority in the International System." In Hall and Biersteker, 3-22.

b. McNamara, Kathleen, "Constructing Authority in the European Union." In Avant, Finnemore, and Sell, Chapter 6.

b. Louis Pauly, "Global Finance, Political Authority, and the Problem of Legitimation." In Hall and Biersteker, Chapter 4.

b. Saskia Sassen, "The State and Globalization" in Hall and Biersteker, Chapter 5.

e. Gourevitch and Lake. "Evaluating and Enhancing the Credibility of Non-Governmental Organizations." Forthcoming.

[Paper Topic and Research Question Due]

6. October 11: International Cooperation

b. Shively Chapter 7-8, *The Craft of Political Research*.

e. Barnett, Michael and Martha Finnemore. 1999. "The Politics, Power and Pathologies of International Organizations." *International Organization*. 53.4: 699-732.

e. Keohane and Martin, "The Promise of Institutional Theory" *International Security*. 20.1. 1995. pages 39-51.

e. Walter Mattli, "Public and Private Governance in Setting International Standards." Chapter 8 in Kahler and Lake.

e. Mearsheimer, John J.. "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security*. 19, 3. (1994/95) pages 5-49.

e. Mitchell, Ron. "The Influence of International Institutions: Institutional Design, Compliance, Effectiveness, and Endogeneity."

7. October 18: Governance (cont.) & Money

b. Shively Chapter 9-10, *The Craft of Political Research*.

b. Phil Williams, "Transnational Organized Crime and the State" in Hall and Biersteker, Chapter 8.

b. Charli Carpenter, "Governing the Global Agenda: "Gatekeepers" and "Issue Adoption" in Transnational Advocacy Networks. In Avant, Finnemore, and Sell, Chapter 8.

b. Alex Cooley, "Outsourcing Authority: How Project Contracts Transform Global Governance Networks." In Avant, Finnemore, and Sell, Chapter 9.

e. Evans, Peter. 1997. "The Eclipse of the State? Reflections on Stateness in an Era of Globalization." *World Politics*. 50.1: 62-87.

e. Mosley, Layna "Attempting Global Standards: National Governments, International Finance, and the IMF's Data Regime." *Review of International Political Economy* 10 (May 2003): 331-362.

e. Simmons, Beth. "The International Politics of Harmonization: The Case of Capital Market Regulation," *International Organization* 55 (Summer 2001): 589-620.

[LAST CHANCE FOR READING CRITIQUE]

8. October 25: Human Rights

- b. Allison Danner and Erik Voeten. "Who is Running the International Criminal Justice System?" Chapter 2 in Avant, Finnemore and Sell.
- e. Hafner-Burton, Emilie. "Sticks and Stones: Naming and Shaming and the Human Rights Enforcement Problem." *International Organization*. 2008.
- e. Keck and Sikkink 1998. Chapters 1 and 3. *Activists Beyond Borders*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- e. Lake and Powell, "International Relations: A Strategic-Choice Approach." In *Strategic Choice and International Relations*.
- e. Robinson, Piers. 1999. "The CNN Effect: Can the News Media Drive Foreign Policy" *Review of International Studies*.

[Research question and proposed answer due]

9. November 1: The Environment

- e. Auld, Graeme. "Assessing Certification as Governance: Effects and Broader Consequences for Coffee." *The Journal of Environment Development* 19, no. 2 (June 1, 2010): 215-241.
- e. Cashore, Benjamin, Graeme Auld, Steven Bernstein, and Constance McDermott. "Can Non-state Governance Ratchet Up Global Environmental Standards? Lessons from the Forest Sector." *Review of European Community and International Environmental Law (RECIEL)* 16 (July 2007): 158-172.
- e. Keck, Margaret and Katherine Sikkink. 1998. "Environmental Advocacy Networks" Keck and Sikkink, 121-168.
- e. Raustiala, Kal. "States, NGOs and International Environmental Institutions." *International Studies Quarterly*. 1997. 41. pages 719-740.
- e. Wapner, Paul. "Politics Beyond the State: Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics," *World Politics* 47 (April 1995): 311-340.

10. November 8: Violence

- b. Bernedette Muthien and Ian Taylor "The Return of the Dogs of War? The Privatization of Security in Africa" in Hall and Biersteker, Chapter 9.
- b. Virginia Haufler, "Corporations in Zones of Conflict: Issues, Actors, and Institutions." Chapter 4 in Avant, Finnemore, and Sell.
- b. Clifford Bob, "Packing Heat: Pro-Gun Groups and the Governance of Small Arms" In Avant, Finnemore, and Sell, Chapter 7.
- e. Adamson, Fiona. "Globalization, Transnational Political Mobilization, and Networks of Violence". *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 18:1. 31-48.
- e. Stanger, Allison and Mark Eric Williams. "Private Military Corporations: Benefits and Costs of Outsourcing Security." *Yale Journal of International Affairs*. 2006.

[Literature Review Due]

11. November 15: Terrorism

- b. Mark Juergensmeyer, "The Global Dimensions of Religious Terrorism" in Hall and Biersteker, Chapter 6.

- e. Bloom, Mia. "Terror 101: The Transnational Contagion Effects of Suicide Bombing." In *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror*. 2005.
- e. Lindberg, Tod. "How to Fight a Superpower." *The Weekly Standard*.
- e. Pape, Robert A (2003) "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97 (3): 343-61
- e. Ashworth, Scott, Joshua D. Clinton, Adam Meirowitz, and Kristopher W. Ramsey (2008) "Design, Inference, and the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 102 (2): 269-73.
- e. Sanders, Thomas M. "Transnational Terror and Organized Crime: Blurring the Lines." SAIS Review.

[Fall Recess November 18-November 27]

12. November 29: Development

- b. Tamar Gutner, When "Doing Good" Does Not: The IMF and the Millennium Development Goals." In Avant, Finnemore, and Sell, Chapter 10.
- e. Easterly, William. "The Cartel of Good Intentions: The Problem of Bureaucracy in Foreign Aid" *The Journal of Policy Reform*. 2002. pages 40-49.
- e. Flores, Tom and Irfan Nooruddin, 2009. "Democracy under the Gun: Understanding Postconflict Economic Recovery." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.
- e. Kamat, Sangeeta. "NGOs and the New Democracy - The False Saviors of International Development" *Harvard International Review*.
- e. Nooruddin, Irfan and Joel Simmons. 2006. "The Politics of Hard Choices: IMF Programs and Government Spending". *International Organization*.

13. December 6: International Accountability

- b. Biersteker and Hall, Chapter 10.
- b. Avant, Finnemore and Sell. Conclusion (Chapter 13).
- e. Miles Kahler and David A. Lake, Globalization and Changing Patterns of Political Authority Chapter 16 in Kahler and Lake.
- e. Keohane, Robert and Joseph S. Nye. Jr. "Redefining Accountability for Global Governance." In Lake and Kahler.
- e. Krasner, Stephen. "Power, Politics, Institutions, and Transnational Relations." In *Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions*. Edited by Thomas Risse-Kappen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- e. Stone, Randall, "Institutions, Power, and Interdependence." Chapter 2 in Milner and Moravcsik.

[Final papers due December 16, hard copies before 5pm]