GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Academic year 2022/2023 – Spring Semester

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

The objective of this course is to examine the creation, adjustment, and implementation of different rules and regimes that govern social, political, and economic relationships in an increasingly globalized world and that collectively constitute the architecture of 'global governance'. Global governance, to borrow John Ruggie's expression, is about 'how the world hangs together' or, as described by the Commission for Global Governance, it is the manner in which 'individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs'.

Indeed, at present there is a whole range of issues that are, by their very nature, borderless and that require collective action at the global level - climate change, infectious diseases and pandemics, famines and food insecurity, migration, terrorism, transnational crime, trade and financial transactions, humanitarian emergencies, and many others. And there exist numerous actors involved in regulating and managing these processes. To begin with, we have traditional actors such as states and public international organisations (the United Nations, the World Trade Organisation, the World Health Organisation), regional organisations and trade blocs (the European Union, the African Union, the Association of South-East Asian Nations) or semi-formalized groupings of states (the G-7, G-20 or Group of 77). However – and this is one of the main reasons for the development of the concept of 'global governance' as an alternative to 'international relations', 'international organisation' or 'international regimes' – in recent decades there has been an unprecedented proliferation of non-state entities, cooperative and regulatory arrangements, various networks and regime complexes that increasingly form an integral part of global governance: non-governmental organisations (OXFAM, Amnesty International, Greenpeace), business firms (in particular, large multinational corporations, digital platforms and tech giants), various private foundations and philanthropies (Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation or Chan & Zuckerberg Initiative), and even individuals (in particular celebrities or very wealthy individuals and entrepreneurs). In addition, there is a growing number of different public-private partnerships and multi-level governance

arrangements that bring together both public and private actors, most often to deal with specific issues (the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization or the Global Fund). In short, at the core of the concept of 'global governance' resides the observation that despite the absence of a world government, the world is, nevertheless, governed.

However, there are many conflicting interests and opposing views on how to address different concerns and problems, and when we think of global governance – as is commonly done in mainstream academia and in various policy-making circles – as a means to further collective interests and pursue the collective good, it is important to ask ourselves: how exactly are these 'collective' interests and goods defined? Do the solutions adopted distribute the benefits and costs fairly, or do they operate to the advantage of some and to the disadvantage of others? What kind of possible solutions have been left off the table and why? In short, it is important to approach the notion of 'global governance' – both theoretically and substantively – in a critical manner and to examine the potential role of power asymmetries, dominant ideologies, resource inequalities, etc. in setting the agenda and in shaping the outcome of different arrangements. This is the approach taken in this course.

As regards the organisation of the course, it is structured as follows: in sessions 1-3 we explore various *theoretical* issues (the notions of 'globalization' and 'global governance', the approaches to international cooperation, the concept of 'network', etc.) that we will need to better understand the nature of various *actors*, examined in sessions 4-7 (such as the United Nations, civil society organisations, business enterprises and regional organisations) as well as specific *issues*, covered in sessions 9-12 (global health, environmental governance, food security and transnational crime networks).

Overall, the course provides students with theoretical background and substantive knowledge of various global governance arrangements and issues, and invites them to critically evaluate their organisation and functioning.

GENERAL READINGS AND MATERIALS

BOOKS:

The texts indicated below provide a broad overview of various theoretical and substantive issues that will be covered in more depth in the course.

- Acharya, A. (2018) *Constructing Global Order: Agency and Change in World Politics*, Cambridge: CUP.
- Barnett, M., and Duvall, R. (eds.) (2005) *Power in Global Governance*, Cambridge: CUP.
- Barnett, M., et al. (eds.) (2022) *Global Governance in a World of Change*, Cambridge: CUP
- Baylis, S., et al. (2020) (eds.) *The Globalization of World Politics*, Oxford: OUP.
- Lechner, F., and Boli, J. (eds.) (2019) *The Globalization Reader*, Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Michie, J. (ed.) (2019) *The Handbook of Globalisation*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Odinius, D. (2021) *Institutionalised Summits in International Governance: Promoting and Limiting Change*, London: Routledge.
- Stone, D., and Moloney, K. (eds.) (2019) *The Oxford Handbook of Global Policy and Transnational Administration*, Oxford: OUP.
- Weiss, T., and Wilkinson, R. (2018) *International Organization and Global Governance*, London: Routledge.

Assessment

- Individual paper (3000 words) (50% of the final grade).
- Extended outline of the individual paper (2 pages) (10% of the final grade).
- Mid-term open-book (online) exam (40% of the final grade).

The due date for each assessment will be communicated to students in class.

Course structure

Session 1: Globalization and Global Governance

The objective of this session is to discuss the notion of the 'global': what exactly do we mean when use this term? What, so to speak, is 'global' about globalization, that is, is there really anything *qualitatively* different that this term expresses and that cannot be fully grasped using previously used concepts such as 'international', 'world', 'inter-state', etc.? Or, to put it differently, is the novelty of globalization overstated? We will ask similar questions with respect to the notion of 'global governance': for example, what is different between the study of 'international relations' and the study of 'global governance'? What exactly is the subject-matter of 'Global Governance'?

Essential Readings

Globalization

- McGrew, A. (2020) "Globalization and Global Politics," in Baylis, J., et al. (eds.) *The Globalization of World Politics*, Oxford: OUP.
- Axford, B. (2013) *Theories of Globalization*, Cambridge: Polity (Ch. 1).

Global Governance

- Murphy, C. (2018) "The Emergence of Global Governance," in Weiss, T., and Wilkinson, R. (eds.) *International Organization and Global Governance*, London: Routledge.
- Barnett, M., et al. (2022) "Introduction: The Modes of Global Governance," in Barnett, M., et al. (eds.) *Global Governance in a World of Change*, Cambridge: CUP.
- Koenig-Archibugi, M. (2010) "Understanding the Global Dimensions of Policy," *Global Policy* 1(1): 16-28.

Additional Readings

- Barnett, M., and Sikkink, K. (2008) "From International Relations to Global Society," in Reus-Smit, C., and Snidal, D. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, Oxford: OUP.
- Dhawan, N., and Randeria, S. (2013) "Perspectives on Globalization and Subalternity," in Huggan, G. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Postcolonial Studies*, Oxford: OUP.
- Dingwerth, K., and Pattberg, P. (2006) "Global Governance as a Perspective on World Politics," *Global Governance* 12(2): 185-203.
- Held, D., and McGrew, A. (2007) *Globalization/Anti-Globalization: Beyond the Great Divide*, Cambridge: Polity (Ch. 1-2).
- Hirst, P., et al. (2009) *Globalization in Question: The International Economy and the Possibilities of Governance*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hirst, P., and Thompson, G. (2019) "The Future of Globalisation," in Michie, J. (ed.) *The Handbook of Globalisation*, Northampton: Edward Elgar.
- James, P., and Steger, M. (2014) "A Genealogy of 'Globalization': The Career of a Concept," *Globalizations* 11(4): 417-434.
- Kacowicz, A. (2012) "Global Governance, International Order, and World Order," in Levi-Faur, D. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Governance*, Oxford: OUP.

- Kahler, M., and Lake, D. (2003) "Globalization and Governance," in Kahler, M. and Lake, D. (eds.) *Governance in a Global Economy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press (pp. 1-15).
- Koenig-Archibugi, M. (2019) "Global Governance," in Michie, J. (ed.) *The Handbook of Globalisation*, Northampton: Edward Elgar.
- Krasner, S. (2004) "Globalization, Power and Authority," in Mansfield, E., and Sisson, R. (eds.) *The Evolution of Political Knowledge: Democracy, Autonomy, and Conflict in Comparative and International Politics*, Columbus: Ohio State University.
- Lopez-Claros, A. (2020) *Global Governance and the Emergence of Global Institutions for the 21st Century*, Cambridge: CUP (Ch. 1-2).
- Robertson, R. (2012) "Globalisation or Glocalisation?" *Journal of International Communication* 18(2): 191-208.
- Rodrik, D. (2020) "Why Does Globalization Fuel Populism? Economics, Culture, and the Rise of Right-Wing Populism" *NBER*, Working Paper No. 27526, July.
- Rosenau, J. (1995) "Governance in the Twenty-first Century," *Global Governance* 1(1): 13-43.
- Rosenberg, J. (2002) *The Follies of Globalization Theory: Polemical Essays*, London: Verso.
- Sassen, S. (2018) "Researching the Localizations of the Global," in Juergensmeyer, M., et al. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Global Studies*, Oxford: OUP.
- Scholte, J. (2007) "Defining Globalization," *The World Economy* 31(11): 1471-1502.
- Steger, M. (2018) "What Is Global Studies?" in Juergensmeyer, M., et al. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Global Studies*, Oxford: OUP.
- Woodward, R. (2019) "Governance in a Globalised World", in Michie, J. (ed.) *The Handbook of Globalisation*, Northampton: Edward Elgar.

Session 2: Approaches to International Cooperation

The aim of this class is to examine the assumptions and propositions of the main theoretical approaches in International Relations (IR) – Realism, Liberal Institutionalism and Constructivism – and, in particular, their analysis of state cooperation. This, in turn, will prepare the ground for the analysis of different cooperative arrangements (particularly, international public organisations) covered in subsequent sessions. The questions that we raise in this class include the following: How, and why, are states sometimes able to cooperate with one another? Are international organizations simply by-products of, and vehicles for, the interests of powerful states? To understand the origins and persistence of international cooperative arrangements, should we focus on interests, or institutions, or ideas? To what extent do existing IR paradigms help us understand contemporary cross-border cooperation and governance?

Essential Readings

Realism

- Dunne, T., and Schmidt, B. (2020) "Realism," in Baylis, J., et al. (eds.) *The Globalization of World Politics*, Oxford: OUP.
- Mearsheimer, J. (1994) "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19(3): 5-49.

Liberal Institutionalism

- Johnson, T., and Heiss, A. (2018) "Liberal Institutionalism," in Weiss, T., and Wilkinson, R. (eds.) *International Organization and Global Governance*, London: Routledge.
- Keohane, R., and Martin, L. (1995) "The Promise of Institutionalist Theory," *International Security* 20(1): 39–51.

Constructivism

- Barnett, M. (2020) "Social Constructivism," in Baylis, J., et al. (eds.) *The Globalization of World Politics*, Oxford: OUP.
- Wendt, A. (1992) "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization* 46(2): 391-425.

Additional Readings

- Adler, E. (1997) "Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics," *European Journal of International Relations* 3(3): 319-363.
- Axelrod, R. (1984) *The Evolution of Cooperation*, New York: Basic Books.
- Baldwin, D. (ed.) (1993) *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate*, New York: Columbia University.
- Barnett, M., and Duvall, R. (2005) "Power in Global Governance," in Barnett, M., and Duvall, R. (eds.) *Power in Global Governance*, Cambridge: CUP (pp.1-23).
- Charrette, J., and Sterling-Folker, J. (2018) "Realism," in Weiss, T., and Wilkinson, R. (eds.) *International Organization and Global Governance*, London: Routledge.
- Finnemore, M., and Sikkink, K. (1998) "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52(4): 887-917.

- Donnelly, J. (2005) "Realism" in Burchill, S., et al. (eds.) *Theories of international relations*, Houndmills: Palgrave.
- Guzzini, S. (2000) "A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations* 6(2): 147-182.
- Hurrell, A. (2007) *On Global Order: Power, Values, and the Constitution of International Society,* Oxford: OUP (Ch.1).
- Keohane, R. (1984) *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press (Ch. 6).
- Keohane, R. (2001) "Governance in a Partially Globalized World," *American Political Science Review* 95(1): 1-13.
- Lake, D. (2011) "Why 'isms' are Evil: Theory, Epistemology, and Academic Sects as Impediments to Understanding and Progress," *International Studies Quarterly* 55(2): 465-480.
- Mearsheimer, J. (2019) "Bound to Fail: The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order", *International Security* 43(4): 7-50.
- Park, S. (2018) "Constructivism," in Weiss, T., and Wilkinson, R. (eds.) *International Organization and Global Governance*, London: Routledge.
- Reus-Smit, C. (2005) "Constructivism" in Burchill, S. et al. (eds.) *Theories of International Relations*, Houndmills: Palgrave.
- Stein, A. (1982) "Coordination and Collaboration: Regimes in an Anarchic World," *International Organization* 36(2): 299-324.
- Waltz, K. (1979) *Theory of International Politics*, New York: McGraw-Hill (esp. Ch. 6).
- Waltz, K. (1999) "Globalization and Governance," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 32(4): 693-700.
- Wohlforth, W. (1998) "Reality Check: Revising Theories of International Politics in Response to the End of the Cold War," *World Politics* 50(4): 650-680.
- Wohlforth, W. (2008) "Realism" in Reus-Smit, C. and Snidal, D. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, Oxford: OUP.

Session 3: Networks and Governance

This session addresses the concept of 'network' that has become highly prominent in the analysis of various links and cooperative arrangements among different actors of global governance. Indeed, both public and private actors are increasingly organised in the form of complex webs of relations with each other that are most often informal and non-hierarchical. The notion of 'network' is employed to attempt to make sense of this new development in governance structures. We will examine three types of networks: transnational networks of civil society activists, transnational governmental

networks, and transnational business networks or 'transnational capitalist class'. The examples of questions that will discussed in this class include: In the context of global governance, what is a network, and how exactly does it differ from other arrangements (in particular, markets and bureaucracies or hierarchies)? How do transnational networks of advocates shape the regulation of public goods? How do transnational networks of governmental actors influence the regulation of public goods? What is the 'transnational capitalist class', and how do connections between its members structure governance at the global level, if at all? Finally, how transparent, accountable, and democratic is governance through networks?

Essential Readings

Conceptualizing Networks

- Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, M. (2018) "Global Governance Networks," in Nicoll Victor, J., et al. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Networks*, Oxford: OUP

Networks of Transnational Advocates

- Murdie, A., et. al. (2018) "How Does the "Network" Work? Reflections on Our Current Empirical Scholarship on Transnational Advocacy Networks" in Evans, P., and Rodríguez-Garavito, C. (eds.) *Transnational Networks Advocacy: Twenty Years of Evolving Theory and Practice*, Bogota: Dejusticia.

Networks of Public Officials

- Slaughter, A-M., and Hale, T. (2011) "Transgovernmental Networks," in Bevir, M. (ed.) (2011) *The Sage Handbook of Governance*, London: Sage.

Networks of Capital

- Robinson, W., and Sprague-Silgado, J. (2018) "The Transnational Capitalist Class," in Juergensmeyer, M., et al. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Global Studies*, Oxford: OUP.

Networks and Power

- Kahler, M. (2015) "Networked Politics: Agency, Power, and Governance," in Kahler, M. (ed.) *Networked Politics: Agency, Power, and Governance*, Ithaca: Cornell University.

Additional Readings

- Biermann, F. and Siebenhüner, B. (2013) "Problem Solving by International Bureaucracies: The Influence of International Secretariats on World Politics," in Reinalda, B. (ed.) *Routledge Handbook of International Organization*, London: Routledge.
- Carroll, W. (2013) *The Making of a Transnational Capitalist Class: Corporate Power in the Twenty-First Century*, London: Zed Books.
- Castells, M. (2010) *The Rise of the Network Society*, Oxford: Wiley (Preface to the 2010 Edition).
- Cogburn, D. (2017) *Transnational Advocacy Networks in the Information Society: Partners or Pawns?* London: Palgrave.
- DeMars, W. (2015) *NGOs and Transnational Networks: Wild Cards in World Politics*, London: Pluto Press.
- Gaus, A. (2019) "Transnational Policy Communities and Regulatory Networks as Global Administration," in Stone, D., and Moloney, K. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Global Policy and Transnational Administration*, Oxford: OUP.
- Gill, S. (2017) "Transnational Class Formations, European Crisis and the Silent Revolution," *Critical Sociology* 43(4/5): 635-51.
- Hall, N., et al. (2020) "Transnational Advocacy and NGOs in the Digital Era: New Forms of Networked Power," *International Studies Quarterly* 64(1): 159-167.
- Harris, J. (2013) "Translateral Politics, Class Conflict, and the State," *Globalizations* 10(5): 731-46.
- Henriksen, L., and Seabrooke, L. (2020) "Elites in Transnational Policy Networks," *Global Networks* 21: 217-237.
- Keck, M., and Sikkink, K. (1998) *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, Ithaca: Cornell University (esp. pp. 1-37).
- Kim, R. (2019) "Is Global Governance Fragmented, Polycentric, or Complex? The State of the Art of the Network Approach," *International Studies Review* 2(4): 903-931.
- Knoke, D., and Kostiuchenko, T. (2018) "Power Structures of Policy Networks," in Nicoll Victor, J., et al. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Networks*, Oxford: OUP.
- Manulak, M., and Snidal, D. (2022) "The Supply of Informal International Governance Hierarchy plus Networks in Global Governance," in Barnett, M., et al. (eds.) *Global Governance in a World of Change*, Cambridge: CUP.
- Nicoll Victor, J., et al. (2018) "Introduction: The Emergence of the Study of Networks in Politics," in Nicoll Victor, J., et al. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Networks*, Oxford: OUP.
- Podolny, J., and Page, K. (1998) "Network Forms of Organization," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24(1): 57-76.

- Powell, W. (1990) "Neither Market nor Hierarchy: Network Forms of Organisation," *Research in Organizational Behavior* 12: 295-336.
- Slaughter, A-M. (2004) *A New World Order*, Princeton: Princeton University.
- Thurner, P. (2018) "Networks and European Union Politics," in Nicoll Victor, J., et al. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Networks*, Oxford: OUP.
- Verdier, P-H. (2009) "Transnational Regulatory Networks and Their Limits," *Yale Journal of International Law* 34(1): 113-172.

Session 4: The United Nations

The United Nations is the largest and the most universal international organisation today. In addition to fulfilling its central function of maintaining international peace and security, it has become an essential actor in a whole range of areas (development, environment, migration, trade, health, drugs, terrorism, law, rights, etc.). However, particularly in recent years, it has been severely criticised for various shortcomings in the manner in which it operates, and for different failures to perform its role effectively. Our discussion will be guided by the following questions: From an analytic perspective, is it better to think of the United Nations a single actor, or as a collection of international organizations? Do the activities of the UN reflect global opinion, or the voices of powerful member states? What are the organizational limitations of the UN? And we will focus on one specific issue – UN peacekeeping operations – to discuss these questions in more concrete terms using the example of peacekeeping as a focus of attention. What does the evolution of UN peacekeeping tell us about the relationship between political dynamics within the UN and political outputs of the organization?

Essential Readings

Overview of the Organisation

- Curtis, D., and Taylor, P. (2020) "The United Nations," in Baylis, J., et al. (eds.) *The Globalization of World Politics*, Oxford: OUP.

Strengths and Shortcomings of the UN

- Weiss, T. (2012) *What's Wrong with the United Nations and How to Fix It*, Cambridge: Polity (Ch. 3).

- Winther, B. (2020) "A Review of the Academic Debate about United Nations Security Council Reform," *The Chinese Journal of Global Governance* 6(1): 71-101.

The UN and Peacekeeping

- Williams, P., and Bellamy, A. (2018) "UN Security Council and Peace Operations," in Weiss, T., and Wilkinson, R. (eds.) *International Organization and Global Governance*, London: Routledge.
- Williams, P. (2020) "The Security Council's Peacekeeping Trilemma," *International Affairs* 96(2): 479-499.

Additional Readings

- Barnett, M., and Finnemore, M. (1999) "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations," *International Organization* 53(4): 699-732.
- Beardsley, K., and Schmidt, H. (2012) "Following the Flag or Following the Charter? Examining the Determinants of UN Involvement in International Crises, 1945–2002," *International Studies Quarterly* 56(1): 33-49.
- Chesterman, S. (2018) "Humanitarian Intervention and R2P," in Weiss, T., and Wilkinson, R. (eds.) *International Organization and Global Governance*, London: Routledge.
- Clark, A., et al. (1998) "The Sovereign Limits of Global Civil Society: A Comparison of NGO Participation in UN World Conferences on the Environment, Human Rights, and Women," *World Politics* 51(1): 1-35.
- Claude, I. (1963) *Swords Into Plowshares*, New York: Random House.
- De Coning, C., and Peter, M. (eds.) (2019) *United Nations Peace Operations in a Changing Global Order*, London: Palgrave.
- Fung, C. (2016) "What Explains China's Deployment to Un Peacekeeping Operations?" *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 16(3): 409-441.
- Galtung, J. (1969) "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," *Journal of Peace Research* 6(3): 167-191.
- Gordenker, L. (2018) "The UN System," in Weiss, T., and Wilkinson, R. (eds.) *International Organization and Global Governance*, London: Routledge.
- Hanhimaki, J. (2008) *The United Nations: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: OUP (Ch. 2).
- Jennings, K. (2019) "Conditional Protection? Sex, Gender, and Discourse in UN Peacekeeping," *International Studies Quarterly* 63: 30-42.
- Luck, E. (2009) "Principle Organs," in Dawes, S. and Weiss, T. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*, Oxford: OUP

- Peterson, M. (2018) "The UN General Assembly," in Weiss, T., and Wilkinson, R. (eds.) *International Organization and Global Governance*, London: Routledge.
- Richmond, O. (2019) *Peacebuilding in the United Nations*, Berlin: Springer.
- Sandler, T. (2017) "International Peacekeeping Operations: Burden Sharing and Effectiveness," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(9): 1875-1897.
- Trent, J., and Schnurr, L. (2018) *A United Nations Renaissance: What the UN Is, and What It Could Be*, Leverkusen: Verlag Barbara Budrich.
- United Nations (2017) *Basic Facts About the United Nations*, New York: United Nations Department of Public Information.
- Uzonyi, G. (2020) *Finding Soldiers of Peace: Three Dilemmas for Un Peacekeeping Missions*, Georgetown: Georgetown University (Ch. 1).
- Weiss, T. (2009) "What Happened to the Idea of World Government," *International Studies Quarterly* 53(2): 253-271.
- Weiss, T. (2010) *Global Governance and the UN: An Unfinished Journey*, Ithaca: Indiana University Press.

Session 5: Civil Society and Social Activism

In this class we look at the realm of global civil society. The growth of actors operating in the field of civil society in the last several decades has been phenomenal: there now exists tens of thousands of different NGOs, grass-root organisations, social movements, various private associations, philanthropic foundations, expert communities, etc. that participate in global governance at various levels. While these actors are generally seen in a highly positive light, a number of questions concerning their operation and legitimacy have arisen: How representative, accountable, and transparent they actually are? How do they select the issues that they seek to defend or promote? Is their contribution to global governance as significant as it is often believed to be? Is global civil society still a timely concept? We will also examine the role of new information and communication technology in the operation of civil society actors.

Essential Readings

Global Civil Society

- Scholte, J. (2018) "Civil Society and NGOs," in Weiss, T., and Wilkinson, R. (eds.) *International Organization and Global Governance*, London: Routledge.
- Joachim, J. (2020) "NGOs in World Politics," in Baylis, J., et al. (eds.) *The Globalization of World Politics*, Oxford: OUP.

Civil Society and Government

- Bernhard, M. (2020) "What Do We Know about Civil Society and Regime Change 30 Years after 1989?" *East European Politics* 36(3): 341-362.
- Glasius, M., et al. (2020) "Illiberal Norm Diffusion: How Do Governments Learn to Restrict Nongovernmental Organizations," *International Studies Quarterly* 64(2): 453-468.

Social Activism and Technology

- Deibert, R. (2020) "The Road to Digital Unfreedom: Three Painful Truths about Social Media," *Journal of Democracy* 30(1): 25-39.

Additional Readings

- Anderson, K., and Rieff, D. (2005) "'Global Civil Society': A Sceptical View," in Anheier, H., et al. (2005) (eds.) *Global Civil Society 2004/5*, London: Sage.
- Bennett, L., and Segerberg, A. (2012) "The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics," *Information, Communication and Society* 15(5): 739-768.
- Boli, J. and Thomas, G. (1999) "INGOs and the Organization of World Culture," in Boli, J. and Thomas, G. (eds.) *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875*, Stanford: Stanford University.
- Clarke, G. (2019) "The New Global Governors: Globalization, Civil Society, and the Rise of Private Philanthropic Foundations," *Journal of Civil Society* 15(3): 197-213.
- Couldry, N. (2015) "The Myth of 'Us': Digital Networks, Political Change and the Production of Collectivity," *Information, Communication and Society* 18(6): 608-626.
- Diamond, L. (2010) "Liberation Technology," *Journal of Democracy* 21(3): 69-83.
- Gilmore, J. (2019) "Looking Downward: Ethics, Foreign Policy and the Domestic Politics of Protection," *International Politics* 56(2): 175-193.
- Hale, T. (2020) "Transnational Actors and Transnational Governance in Global Environmental Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science* 23: 203-220.
- Kaldor, M. (2003) *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War*, Cambridge: Polity (esp. Ch. 1).
- Keck, Margaret E., and Sikkink, K. (1999) "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics," *International Social Science Journal* 51(159): 89-101.
- Krawczyk, K. (2019) "International NGOs, Transnational Civil Society, and Global Public Policy: Opportunities and Obstacles in the Twenty-First Century," in Stone, D., and Moloney, K. (2019) *The Oxford Handbook of Global Policy and Transnational Administration*, Oxford: OUP.

- Meyer, J. (2010) "World Society, Institutional Theories, and the Actor," *Annual Review of Sociology* 36: 1-20.
- Miller, V. (2017) "Phatic Culture and the Status Quo: Reconsidering the Purpose of Social Media Activism," *Convergence* 23(3): 251-269.
- Pallas, C. (2012) "Identity, Individualism, and Activism beyond the State: Examining the Impacts of Global Citizenship," *Global Civil Society* 26(2): 169-189.
- Pallas, C. (2017) "Inverting the Boomerang: Examining the Legitimacy of North-South-North Campaigns in Transnational Advocacy," *Global Networks* 17(2): 281-299.
- Reimann, K. (2006) "A View from the Top: International Politics, Norms and the Worldwide Growth of NGOs," *International Studies Quarterly* 50(1): 45-67.
- Sikkink, K. (2005) "Patterns of Dynamic Multilevel Governance and the Insider-Outsider Coalition," in Della Porta, D., and Tarrow, S. (eds.) *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Tarrow, S. (2005) *The New Transnational Activism*, Cambridge: CUP.
- Tenove, C. (2019) "Networking Justice: Digitally-Enabled Engagement in Transitional Justice by the Syrian Diaspora," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42(11): 1950-1969.
- Willetts, P. (2011) *Non-Governmental Organizations in World Politics: The Construction of Global Governance*, London: Routledge.

Session 6: Corporations and Multi-Stakeholder Governance

In this class we discuss the role of business enterprises in global governance. The starting point for our analysis is the concept of 'corporate social responsibility': is it a viable and a reliable governance mechanism? Should commercial actors be encouraged to engage in socially responsible activities, or should they follow Milton Friedman's dictum that 'the only social responsibility of business is to make profits'? We will then consider the notion of 'multi-stakeholder governance' which refers to various governance arrangements that bring together private and public actors (and which are often referred to as 'public-private partnerships'): Is it better for states and markets to perform global governance functions separately, or via different multi-stakeholder partnerships? What contribution, if any, do such arrangements actually make to global governance?

Essential Readings

CSR and Global Governance

- Friedman, M. (1970) "The Social Responsibility of Business is to Increase its Profits," *New York Times Magazine*, September 13.

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- Hira, A. (2020) "The Hollow Core: Breakdowns in Global Governance of CSR," *Global Affairs*, 6(4-5): 461-479.

Multi-Stakeholder Governance

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Additional Readings

- Beisheim, M., et al. (2018) "INGOS and Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships," in Draude, A., et al. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Governance and Limited* Statehood, Oxford: OUP.
- Beisheim, M., et al. (2010) "Global Governance through Public-Private Partnerships," in Enderlein, H., et al. (eds) *Handbook on Multi-level Governance*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
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- Yaziji, M., and Doh, J. (2009) *NGOs and Corporations: Conflict and Collaboration*, Cambridge: CUP.

Session 7: Regional Integration and Multilevel Governance

Regionalism is another dimension of global governance that cannot be overlooked. Various regional bodies – with widely diverging degrees of integration and delegation of powers from member states to supranational bodies – have become crucial actors in global governance. They manage, in particular, commercial relations among members, as well as with non-member states and other regions, and often deal with numerous other issues (security, environment, health, etc.). How to explain the development of regional organisations, that is, why do states create different these regional blocks and arrangements? Does regionalism further challenge the role of nation-states, or do these bodies, on the contrary, serve as tools for their member states? Does regional integration promote or hinder trade? Furthermore, how effective are the resulting overlapping and multi-level

jurisdictions and authorities – national and regional (supranational) – in dealing with various governance problems?

Essential Readings

Regionalism

- Best, E., and Christiansen, T. (2020) "Regionalism in International Affairs," in Baylis, J., et al. (eds.) *The Globalization of World Politics*, Oxford: OUP.
- Kahler, M. (2017) "Regional Challenges to Global Governance," *Global Policy* 8(1): 97-100.
- Chopin, T., and Lequesne, C. (2021) "Disintegration Reversed: Brexit and the Cohesiveness of the EU27," *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 29(3): 419-431.

Multilevel Governance

- Hooghe, L., and Marks, G. (2020) "A Postfunctionalist Theory of Multilevel Governance," *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 22(4): 820-826.
- Noferini, A., et al. (2019) "Cross-Border Cooperation in the EU: Euregions amid Multilevel Governance and Reterritorialization," *European Planning Studies* 28(1): 35-56.

Additional Readings

- Cerny, P. (1995) "Globalization and the Changing Logic of Collective Action," *International Organization* 49(4): 595-625.
- Friedrichs, J. (2012) "East Asian Regional Security: What the ASEAN Family Can (Not) Do," *Asian Survey* 52(4): 754-776.
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- Herbst, J. (2007) "Crafting Regional Cooperation in Africa," in Acharya, A., and Johnston, A. (eds.) *Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge: CUP.
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- Katzenstein, P. (2005) *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

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- Krapohl, S. (2020) "Games Regional Actors Play: Dependency, Regionalism, and Integration Theory for the Global South," *Journal of International Relations and Development* 23: 840-870.
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- Ravenhill, J. (2016) "Regional Integration in Africa: Theory and Practice," in Levine, D., and Nagar, D. (eds.) *Region-Building in Africa: Political and Economic Challenges*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Rosamond, B. (2018) "The European Union," in Weiss, T., and Wilkinson, R. (eds.) *International Organization and Global Governance*, London: Routledge.
- Saurugger, S., and Terpan, F. (2016) *Crisis and Institutional Change in Regional Integration*, London: Routledge.
- Schimmelfennig, F. (2018) "Regional Integration Theory," in Thompson, W. (ed.) *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*: Oxford: OUP.
- Schneider, C. (2017) "The Political Economy of Regional Integration," *Annual Review of Political Science* 20: 229-248.
- Solingen, E. (2015) *Comparative Regionalism: Economics and Security*, London: Routledge.
- Walter, S. (2020) "The Mass Politics of International Disintegration," CIS Working Paper 105, https://ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/cis-dam/CIS_2020/WP%20105%20Walter.pdf.
- Zürn, M. (2020) "Unravelling Multi-Level Governance Systems," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 22(4): 784–791.

Session 8: Mid-term Exam

This is an open-book exam that will take place online.

Session 9: Global Health Governance

The Covid-19 pandemic has underscored the importance of a collective approach to health at the global level. However, it should not be forgotten that the spread of pathogens and infectious diseases

is not the only issue that global health governance needs to address. There are other threats to health that require cross-border governance – obesity, antimicrobial resistance, smoking, opioid abuse, and others. In addition, the ability of individual states to deal with health problems is inseparable from financial resources, expertise, education and training, infrastructure and logistics – in short, from the level of the country's economic and social development, as well as political stability. In this respect, when we study global health governance we inevitably address issues such as trade (and, in particular, property rights that restrict access to many available treatments), investment, foreign aid, technology transfer, etc. The questions discussed include the following: Do intellectual property rights constitute the best ways to assure the advancement of global health? Who defines what constitutes a global health priority? Is global health best regulated through international cooperation, private regulation, or combinations thereof?

Essential Readings

Globalization and Global Health

- Harman, S. (2018) "Global Health Governance," in Weiss, T., and Wilkinson, R. (eds.) *International Organization and Global Governance*, London: Routledge.
- Moon, S. (2022) "Global Health: A Centralized Network Searching (in Vain) for Hierarchy," in Barnett, M., et al. (eds.) (2022) *Global Governance in a World of Change*, Cambridge: CUP

Politics of Global Health

- Wolf, K., and Scholz, S. (2017) "Health Before Patents: Challenging the Primacy of Intellectual Property Rights", in Gertheiss, S., et al. (eds.) *Resistance and Change in World Politics: International Dissidence*, Cham: Palgrave.
- Sridhar, D., and Woods, N. (2013) "Trojan Multilateralism: Global Cooperation in Health," *Global Policy* 4(4): 325-335.
- O'Manique, C. (2018) "Responses to Recent Infectious Disease Emergencies: A Critical Gender Analysis," in O'Manique, C., and Fourie, P. (eds.) *Global Health and Security: Critical Feminist Perspectives*, New York: Routledge.

Additional Readings

- Abbott, F. (2018) "Health and Intellectual Property Rights," in Burci, G., and Toebes, B. (eds.) *Research Handbook on Global Health Law*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

- Baxter, D., and Casady, C. (2020) "Proactive and Strategic Healthcare Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) in the Coronavirus (Covid-19) Epoch," *Sustainability 12*, doi:10.3390/su12125097
- Buse, K., and Harmer, A. (2007) "Seven Habits of Highly Effective Global Public-Private Health Partnerships: Practice and Potential," *Social Science & Medicine* 64(2): 259-271.
- Chorev, N. (2013) "Restructuring Neoliberalism at the World Health Organization," *Review of International Political Economy* 20(4): 627-666.
- Dodgson, R., et al. (2019) "Global Health Governance: A Conceptual Review," in Lechner, F., and Boli, J. (eds.) (2019) *The Globalization Reader*, Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell.
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- Frenk, J., et al. (2014) "From Sovereignty to Solidarity: A Renewed Concept of Global Health for an Era of Complex Interdependence," *The Lancet* 383(9911): 94-97.
- García-Dorado, S., et al. (2019) "Economic Globalization, Nutrition and Health: A Review of Quantitative Evidence," *Globalization and Health* 15, https://doi.org/10.1186/s12992-019-0456-z
- Labonté, R., et al. (2011) "The Growing Impact of Globalization for Health and Public Health Practice," *Annual Review of Public Health* 32: 263-283.
- Lasso, G. (2020) "Medical Populism and the COVID-19 Pandemic," *Global Public Health* 5(10): 1417-1429
- Lee, K., et al. (2009) "Bridging the Divide: Global Governance of Trade and Health," *The Lancet* 373(9661): 416-422.
- Meier, B., et al. (2020) "Advancing Human Rights through Global Health Governance," in Gostin, L., and Meier, B. (eds.) *Foundations of Global Health and Human Rights*, Oxford: OUP.
- Muennig, P., and Su, C. (2013) *Introducing Global Health : Practice, Policy, and Solutions, Somerset*, John Wiley & Sons (esp. Introduction and Ch.1).
- Palmujoki, E. (2019) "Competing Norms and Norm Change: Intellectual Property Rights and Public Health in the World Trade Organization," in Knudsen, T., and Navari, C. (eds.) *International Organization in the Anarchical Society: The Institutional Structure of World Order*, Cham: Palgrave.
- Paul, E., et al. (2020) "COVID-19: Time for Paradigm Shift in the Nexus between Local, National and Global Health", *BMJ Global Health* 5, http://dx.doi.org/10.1136/bmjgh-2020-002622
- Ruger, J. (2020) "Positive Public Health Ethics: Toward Flourishing and Resilient Communities and Individuals," *The American Journal of Bioethics* 20(7): 44-54.
- Shiffman, J. (2017) "Four Challenges that Global Health Networks Face," *International Journal of Health Policy Management* 6(4): 183-189.

- Tausch, A. (2016) "Is Globalization Really Good for Public Health?" *The International Journal of Health Planning and Management* 31(4): 511-36.
- Wallace, R. (2016) *Big Farms Make Big Flu*, New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Wallace, R., et al. (2020) "COVID-19 and Circuits of Capital," *Monthly Review* 72(1).

Session 10: Environmental Governance and Climate Change

The environment is another issue that – alongside local and regional policies – clearly requires a global approach. At the same time, the extent to which different states and populations are affected, as well as the urgency of the problems that they face, vary significantly (for example, the needs of island states, threatened by mounting water levels, or states facing rapid desertification or prolonged droughts, are not the same as the concerns of states that are primarily affected by unusually higher or lower temperatures in a specific season). More importantly, the ecological footprints of states – the extent to which they contribute to the environmental degradation – differ to an extraordinary extent and depend, in turn, on their economic and developmental resources and objectives. In this class we will examine various attempts to overcome this divergence of interests and degrees of historical and present responsibility for environmental damage with a special focus on climate change. We will examine instruments such as the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Climate Agreement and assess their effectiveness. We will also touch upon the role of various non-state actors and multi-level forms of governance in dealing with climate change.

Essential Readings

Environmental Governance

- Vogler, J. (2020) "Environmental Issues," in Baylis, J., et al. (eds.) *The Globalization of World Politics*, Oxford: OUP.

Climate Change

- Hoffmann, M. (2018) "Climate Change," in Weiss, T., and Wilkinson, R. (eds.) *International Organization and Global Governance*, London: Routledge.

Climate Change Agreements

- Dimitrov, R., et al. (2019) "Institutional and Environmental Effectiveness: Will the Paris Agreement Work? *WIREs Climate Change* 2019;e583. doi:10.1002/wcc.583.

- Tørstad, V. (2020) "Participation, Ambition and Compliance: Can the Paris Agreement Solve the Effectiveness Trilemma?" *Environmental Politics* 29(5): 761-780.

Non-State Actor Commitments

- Kuramochi, T., et al. (2020) "Beyond National Climate Action: The Impact of Region, City, and Business Commitments on Global Greenhouse Gas Emissions," *Climate Policy* 20(3): 275-291.

Additional Readings

- Almer, C., and Winkler, R. (2017) "Analyzing the Effectiveness of International Environmental Policies: The Case of the Kyoto Protocol," *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management* 82: 125-151.
- Andonova, L., and Mitchell, R. (2010) "The Rescaling of Global Environmental Politics," *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 35: 255-282.
- Axelrod, R., and VanDeveer, S. (eds.) (2020) *The Global Environment: Institutions, Law, and Policy*, Thousand Oaks: CQ Press.
- Bond, P. (2018) "Environmental Critique," in Juergensmeyer, M., et al. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Global Studies*, Oxford: OUP.
- Broberg, M. (2020) "Interpreting the UNFCCC's Provisions on 'Mitigation' and 'Adaptation' in Light of the Paris Agreement's Provision on 'Loss and Damage'," *Climate Policy* 20(5): 527-533.
- Brun, A. (2016) "Conference Diplomacy: The Making of the Paris Agreement," *Politics and Governance* 4(3): 115-123.
- Dauvergne, P. (2011) "Globalization and the Environment," in Ravenhill, J. (ed.) *Global Political Economy*, Oxford: OUP.
- DeSombre, E., and Li, A. (2018) "Global Environmental Governance," in Weiss, T., and Wilkinson, R. (eds.) *International Organization and Global Governance*, London: Routledge.
- Dimitrov, R. (2016) *The Paris Agreement on Climate Change: Behind Closed Doors*, *Global Environmental Politics* 16(3): 1-11.
- Dorsch, M., and Flachsland, C. (2017) "A Polycentric Approach to Global Climate Governance," *Global Environmental Politics* 17(2): 45-64.
- Green, J. (2017) "Blurred Lines: Public-Private Interactions in Carbon Regulations," *International Interactions* 43(1): 103-128.
- Hale, T. (2016) "'All Hands on Deck': The Paris Agreement and Nonstate Climate Action," *Global Environmental Politics* 16(3): 12-22.

- Hamilton, C. (2018) "Climate Change," in Juergensmeyer, M., et al. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Global Studies*, Oxford: OUP.
- Hardin, G. (1968) "Tragedy of the Commons," *Science* 162(3859): 1243-48.
- Heubaum, H. (2022) *Global Climate and Energy Governance: Towards an Integrated Architecture*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- IPCC (2019) *Global Warming of 1.5 °C*, Geneva: IPCC, https://www.ipcc.ch/site/assets/uploads/sites/2/2019/05/SR15_SPM_version_report_LR.pdf
- Levin, K. (2012) "Overcoming the Tragedy of Super Wicked Problems: Constraining Our Future Selves to Ameliorate Global Climate Change," *Policy Sciences* 45(2): 123-152.
- Luterbacher, U., and Sprinz, D. (eds.) (2018) *Global Climate Policy: Actors, Concepts, and Enduring Challenges*, Cambridge: MIT Press.
- O'Neill, K. (2017) *The Environment and International Relations*, Cambridge: CUP.
- Shishlov, I., et al. (2016) "Compliance of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol in the First Commitment Period," *Climate Policy* 16(6): 768-782.

Session 11: Migration Governance

This session examines another issue that is by its very nature cross-border – human migration – and the existing legal and political mechanisms that govern it. We will focus, in particular, on migrants that seek asylum in host countries, and the main characteristics of the existing regime that regulates asylum. One of the key characteristics of the core existing legal instruments is the distinction between asylum seekers that flee political oppression or violence (persecution based on political opinion, ethnicity, religion, etc.) – and who can legitimately pretend to acquire asylum – and those that leave their countries as a result of non-political threats (environmental degradation, poverty, unemployment, criminal violence, etc.) and who are not automatically protected by refugee law and various specialized international organizations. The questions that arise in this respect include the following: Who is a refugee? Is the existing definition of a refugee – in the context of climate change, growing criminal violence, human trafficking, etc., that currently fall outside the protections of core legal instruments – still viable? Should the global refugee regime be reformed?

Essential Readings

Who is a Refugee?

- Haddad, E. (2008) "The Refugee in International Society," Cambridge: CUP (pp. 1-46).
- Estévez, A. (2020) "Refugees and Forced Migration," in Baylis, J., et al. (eds.) *The Globalization of World Politics*, Oxford: OUP.

The Current Refugee Regime

- Crawley, H., and Setrana, S. (2021) "The Limits of the 'Global Refugee Regime'," in Carmel, E., et al. (eds.) *Handbook on the Governance and Politics of Migration*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Hammerstad, A. (2014) "The Securitization of Forced Migration," in Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E., et al, (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Refugees and Forced Migration Studies*, Oxford: OUP.

Reforming the Refugee Regime

- Betts, A. (2015) "The Normative Terrain of the Global Refugee Regime," *Ethics and International Affairs* 29(4): 363-375.
- Aleinikoff, T., and Zamore, L. (2019) *The Arc of Protection: Reforming the International Refugee Regime*, Stanford University Press ("Conclusion: Reform").

Additional Readings

- Barnett, M. (2014) "Refugees and Humanitarianism," in Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E., et al, (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Refugees and Forced Migration Studies*, Oxford: OUP.
- Betts, A., and Loescher, G. (eds) (2010) *Refugees in International Relations*, Oxford: OUP.
- Chan, S. (2018) "Migration," in Juergensmeyer, M., et al. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Global Studies*, Oxford: OUP.
- Cornelius, W., et al. (eds.) (2004) *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E., et al. (2014) "Introduction: Refugee and Forced Migration Studies in Transition," in Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E., et al, (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Refugees and Forced Migration Studies*, Oxford: OUP.
- Gattrell, P. (2015) *The Making of the Modern Refugee*, Oxford: OUP.
- Hepburn, H., and Simon. R. (2013) *Human Trafficking Around the World: Hidden in Plain Sight*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kaya, S. (2019) "Refugees," in Romaniuk, S., and Marton, P. (2020) *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Global Security Studies*, London: Palgrave.
- Koser, K. (2016) *International Migration: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: OUP.
- Koser, K. (2018) "Refugees and Migrants," in Weiss, T., and Wilkinson, R. (eds.) *International Organization and Global Governance*, London: Routledge.

- Loescher, G., and Loescher, A. (1994) *The Global Refugee Crisis: A Reference Handbook*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.
- Orchard, P. (2015) *A Right to Flee: Refugees, States, and the Construction of International Cooperation*, Cambridge: CUP.
- Owen, F. (2021) "Global Justice and the Governance of Transnational Migration," in Weber, L., and Tazreiter, C. (eds) *Handbook of Migration and Global Justice*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Marfleet, P. (2006) *Refugees in a Global Era*, New York: Palgrave.
- Parreñas, R. (2015) *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration, and Domestic Work*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Sassen, S. (2014) *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy*, Cambridge: Belknap Press.
- Shacknove, E. (1985) "Who is a Refugee?" *Ethics* 95(2): 274-284.
- Susan, M., and Weerasinghe, S. (2018) "Global Migration Governance: Existing Architecture and Recent Developments," in IOM World Migration Report 2018, IOM: Geneva. https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr_2018_en_chapter5.pdf
- Zetter, R. (2007) "More Labels, Fewer Refugees: Remaking the Refugee Label in an Era of Globalization," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20(2): 172-19.
- Zetter, R., and Morrissey, J. (2014) "The Environment-Mobility Nexus: Reconceptualizing the Links between Environmental Stress, (Im)mobility, and Power," in Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E., et al, (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Refugees and Forced Migration Studies*, Oxford: OUP.

Session 12: Transnational Crime

In the last several decades, economic globalization, along with the rise of new communication technologies, have led to a real paradigm shift in the operation of organized crime: from territorial (and often ethnicity-based) modes of functioning to operations in the form of a chain of trans-border connected networks that transcend territorial boundaries and establish links among groups with various ethnic backgrounds and nationalities. These networks have an increasing impact on trade, economic development, state governments, and state security. In this respect, it is not surprising that the dominant approach to transnational crime has become characterized by its increasing 'securitization' – the construction of crime as an existential security threat that, in turn, justifies measures that focus on punishment and enforcement, rather than on social and economic roots of crime. We will examine these dilemmas with a particular focus on drugs, which used to be approached by political authorities as a health issue, but which is now addressed in predominantly security terms (as 'war on drugs'). This leads to heavier sentences, increased rates of incarceration,

and even military operations; yet, the problem of drugs persists with such measures proving largely ineffective and, the same time, causing various negative social consequences and damages.

Essential Readings

Conceptualizing Transnational Organized Crime

- Madsen, F. (2018) "Transnational Criminal Networks," in Weiss, T., and Wilkinson, R. (eds.) *International Organization and Global Governance*, London: Routledge.

'Securitisation' of Crime

- Carrapiço, H. (2012) "Transnational Organized Crime as a Security Concept," in Allum, F., and Gilmour, S. (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Transnational Organized Crime*, London: Routledge.
- McDermott, J. (2018) "Militarisation of the Drug War in Latin America: A Policy Cycle Set to Continue?" in Reitano, T., et al. (eds.) *Militarised Responses to Transnational Organised Crime*, Cham: Palgrave.

'De-securitisation' of Crime

- Másmela, C., and Tickner, A. (2017) "Desecuritizing the 'War on Drugs'," in Suárez, M. (ed.) *Power Dynamics and Regional Security in Latin America*, London: Palgrave.
- Felbab-Brown, V. (2018) "A State-Building Response to Organized Crime, Illicit Economies, Hybrid Threats, and Hybrid Governance", in Comolli, V. (ed.) *Organized Crime and Illicit Trade: How to Respond to This Strategic Challenge in Old and New Domains*, Cham: Palgrave.

Additional Readings

- Albanese, J. (2015) *Organized Crime: From the Mob to Transnational Organized Crime*, Amsterdam: Elsevier (Ch. 1).
- Antonopoulos, G., and Papanicolaou, G. (2018) *Organized Crime: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: OUP.
- Boeri, M. (2018) *Hurt: Chronicles of the Drug War Generation*, Los Angeles: University of California Press.

- Brown, S., and Hermann, M. (2020) *Transnational Crime and Black Spots: Rethinking Sovereignty and the Global Economy*, London: Palgrave.
- Felbab-Brown, V. (2019) "The Crime-Terror Nexus and its Fallacies," in Chenoweth, E., et al. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism*, Oxford: OUP.
- Harfield, C. (2012) "Human Rights and the Policing of Transnational Organized Crime," in Allum, F., and Gilmour, S. (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Transnational Organized Crime*, London: Routledge.
- Jakobi, A. (2017) "Global Norms and US Foreign Policy Change: the Governance of Transnational Crime," *International Politics*, 54(6): 683-697.
- Jakobi, A. (2018) "The Crime Scene: What Lessons for International Security?" in Gheciu, A., and Wohlforth, W. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook Of International Security*, Oxford: OUP.
- Jakobi, A. (2018) "Governing Illicit Finance in Transnational Security Spaces: the FATF and Anti-Money Laundering," *Crime, Law and Social Change* 69:173-190.
- Kassab, H., and Rosen, J. (2019) *Illicit Markets, Organized Crime, and Global Security* Cham: Palgrave (Ch. 1-2).
- Liss, C., and Sharman, J. (2015) "Global Corporate Crime-Fighters: Private Transnational Responses to Piracy and Money Laundering," *Review of International Political Economy* 22(4): 693-718.
- Madsen, F. (2009) *Transnational Organized Crime*, Abingdon: Routledge (esp. pp. 25-56).
- Mittelman, J. (2018) "Global Organized Crime," in Lechner, F., and Boli, J. (eds.) (2019) *The Globalization Reader*, Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell.
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