



College of Europe
Collège d'Europe

Brugge



Natolin

European Political and Governance Studies

Academic Year: 2022-2023

Professor: Catherine HOEFFLER

Academic Assistant: Miguel SILVA

OPTIONAL COURSE

INTERNATIONAL GOVERNANCE: ACTORS, MECHANISMS AND CHALLENGES

Course objectives

An important number of issues, among which for instance climate change, humanitarian interventions and the working conditions of garment or care workers, are no longer regulated by states and/or at the national level only. Norms such as international agreements and corporate codes of conduct apply beyond national borders. They shape what governments can or want to do, how firms produce and sell products across the globe, as well as how people live every day, or alternatively, die. Interdependence has risen and with it, the attempts at regulating those issues which national governments cannot handle alone. However, the questioning of NATO's relevance, the COVID-19 pandemic and the international politics of vaccine production and distribution that unfolded, or else the invasion of Ukraine stand as examples of how international governance in different policy domains is currently being challenged.

This course serves as an introduction to the analysis of international (and global) governance, understood in broad terms as these organizations and regulations by which a variety of actors engage in regulating societies beyond the nation state. While they retain major influence in the international system, states are indeed no longer – if they ever were – the only or most influential actors. States must cooperate with one another, but also cooperate and negotiate with private actors such as firms, NGOs or transnational networks. Similarly, national policies based on states' authority and coercive resources are hardly useful when private actors can take the exit route and avoid national regulations or when problems require coordinated action. International governance has expanded greatly over the last decades, based on ever more complex institutions, instruments and rules, including numerous actors, state and non-state actors, and covering an ever-larger set of policy domains. While post-Second World War institutions form the basis of liberal multilateral cooperation, other organisations, state-led or private, have emerged, challenging or complementing pre-existing frameworks. Attempts to regulate issues characterized by high interdependence raise hard questions with important political implications: Who governs when nobody governs? In the absence of state-like authority, how to cooperate, decide on common rules and implement them? What is the future of international governance?

This course is articulated around five sections, which will be analysed throughout the semester (Six hours per section):

- 1) What is international governance?
- 2) Who governs international governance? Actors and power relations
- 3) Organizations, processes and instruments of international governance
- 4) Legitimacy and challenges
- 5) Thematic applications: fields of international governance; conclusions

This course aims to provide empirical knowledge about the forms and workings of international governance, as well as analytical skills to enable the students to interrogate, analyse and potentially ultimately engage with these dynamics.

Course structure

This course combines different teaching methods. Sessions will include lecturing time as well as discussions between students and the Professor. Students are required to do the preparatory readings in order to critically engage in class discussions. Class discussions can take different forms and can be based on different materials (pros/cons debate, comparison of scientific texts, analysis of policy materials). Depending on their availability and sanitary conditions, experts may intervene on particular policy topics. At the end of the semester, students will do an oral presentation in class on their governance area. Students are strongly encouraged to attend and prepare well sessions, in order to make the most of the course: it is organised in a way to promote exchanges and discussions, not as a pure lecture. Course material will be uploaded on the College intranet.

Assessment

This course requires students to participate actively in class (through discussions and a collective oral presentation in class), to write a short paper and to pass a final written examination*.

1) **Active oral participation in class** (10%): Students are warmly encouraged to arrive on time, attend class and participate *actively* and in a *constructive manner* in class discussions.

2) **Written assignment: Analytical paper** (20%): Each student will have to submit a written assignment in the semester. This written assignment will focus on one of these course sections: actors and power relations, organizations and instruments, or legitimacy. The student will have to answer a few questions in the paper, dealing with topics covered in the preparatory readings *and* in class discussions. Questions will be given beforehand. The written assignment is meant to allow students to critically assess what they understood and took away from one specific section, as well as to formulate their own position on certain issues. It should be *2000-2500 words long*, footnotes included, bibliography excluded. Students should send their paper to the Course Assistant (miguel.gomessilva@coleurope.eu) within a *14-day period* following the course (for instance: course on March 13 > paper due on March 27, at 11.59 pm).

3) **Oral thematic presentation** (20%): Students are required to prepare and give an oral presentation in class, in group, on a field of governance or a more precise issue (case study), to be determined with the Course Assistant and Professor at the beginning of the course. Examples of them could be collective security (use of force, peacemaking, etc), environmental governance

(climate change, deforestation, etc). The presentation takes place at the end of the semester, during session 5. The presentation is organized in two parts. The first part should be descriptive: it presents the main actors, historical developments, organisations and rules in place. The second part addresses one or two questions dealt with throughout the semester, applied to the case study - for instance, what is the impact of private actors, how to explain poor/successful implementation, or else, why is an agreement (TTIP) or an IO (IMF) being criticized as being illegitimate? The presentation lasts approximately 15 minutes: depending on the number of students, duration will vary between 12 and 20 minutes. The first part should last no more than half the presentation's duration. More details will be given about duration and content at the beginning of the semester.

4) **Oral final exam** (50%): The final exam will take the form of one question to be answered orally in 10 minutes, followed by questions for 10 minutes. The student will have 15 minutes to prepare his/her answer. Questions will be broad: they will not make it necessary for students to know specific aspects of the course by heart but will require students to reflect on and articulate various aspects of the course to formulate their analysis. The final exam will be based on readings and course material (discussions, experts' presentations, oral presentations, class exercises, etc). Questions following the presentation will focus on the student's presentation, as well as on other parts of the course.

Assessment at second attempt: During the second examination session, the course is assessed 100% on the basis of a written resit exam.

**The grading modalities may be subject to change depending on the evolution of the sanitary situation.*

Note:

1/ Submission: Papers can only be submitted once. Only the first version received will be assessed.

2/ Referencing: Rules regarding referencing/plagiarism applying to the thesis also apply to the essays/papers.

Any written work submitted by a student is assessed on its originality as well as the depth and breadth of research undertaken. (It follows that plagiarism, self-plagiarism, collusion and the falsification of data are all prohibited.) No written work (even if it is not strictly academic e.g. policy brief, memo, etc.) can consist of assembling existing texts, unless the sources used are clearly indicated. If an exercise does not provide for the possibility of indicating sources, verbatim reproduction of an existing document is prohibited.

3/ Word limit:

a) All footnotes must be included in the word count, but annexes, cover page and the bibliography are excluded.

b) Tables should be in word format and will be counted as part of the word count. Graphs can be in pdf or image format.

4/ Language: all papers must be submitted in the language of the course.

5/ Penalties:

- a) Regarding the non-respect of the word limit: 1 point will be subtracted from the mark that would have been awarded for every 100 words (or part thereof);
- b) Regarding late submissions: for every 24 hours of delay, or part thereof, after the specified submission deadline, 2 points will be deducted from the final mark of the paper.

Course outline

This course is articulated around five sections, which will be analysed throughout the semester.

S1. International governance: what is it?

The first section presents the foundational elements of the course: How to define international governance and global governance? How to locate them historically? Why have states engaged in cooperation and designed multilateral institutions?

Essential readings:

- Rosenau, James (1992), "Governance, order, and change in world politics", In Rosenau, J., Czempiel, E.-O., *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1, p. 1-29.

Further readings:

- Mazower, Mark (2012), *Governing the World. The History of an Idea*, Penguin Books, London, Prolog & Chap 1.

S2. Who governs international governance? Actors and power relations

The second section deals with the core question of power relations: who governs (when nobody does)? Given the lack of central authoritative power at the international level, who are the actors that matter in global governance? This section will highlight the variety of actors involved beyond the public/private dichotomy. It will provide a framework to analyse when (at what stage) and how different actors can influence international governance.

Essential readings:

- Mearsheimer, John J. 1994. 'The False Promise of International Institutions'. *International Security* 19(3):5–49. doi: 10.2307/2539078.
- Barnett, Michael N., and Martha Finnemore. 1999. 'The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations'. *International Organization* 53(4):699–732.
- Haufler, Virginia. 2009. 'The Kimberley Process Certification Scheme: An Innovation in Global Governance and Conflict Prevention'. *Journal of Business Ethics* 89(S4):403–16. doi: 10.1007/s10551-010-0401-9.
- 1 applied reading (tbc)

Further readings:

- Carpenter, R. Charli. 2007. 'Setting the Advocacy Agenda: Theorizing Issue Emergence and Nonemergence in Transnational Advocacy Networks'. *International Studies Quarterly*

51(1):99–120.

- Martin, Lisa. 1992. "Interests, Power, and Multilateralism." *International Organization* 46, 4: 765-792.
- Nielson, Daniel L. and Michael J. Tierney. 2003. "Delegation to International Organizations: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform." *International Organization* 57, 2: 241-276

S3. Organizations, processes and instruments of international governance

The third section seeks to shed light onto how international governance works: it serves as an introduction to the organisations, processes and instruments of international governance. To do so, it focuses on a number of key features of international governance, such as for instance compliance (do actors respect the rules and why?), issue linkages (when two different issues are being tied together, e.g. migrations and security), institutional overlap (the existence of different organisations with comparable mandate/membership/resources) and regime complexity (what happens when different international organisations claim competence over the same issue?). Those dynamics are particularly important to understand current political conflicts and the future of multilateral cooperation.

Essential readings:

- Abbott, Kenneth W., and Duncan Snidal. 2000. 'Hard and Soft Law in International Governance'. *International Organization* 54(3):421–56. doi: 10.1162/002081800551280.
- Berliner, Daniel, and Aseem Prakash. 2015. "Bluewashing" the Firm? Voluntary Regulations, Program Design, and Member Compliance with the United Nations Global Compact: "Bluewashing" the Firm? *Policy Studies Journal* 43(1):115–38. doi: 10.1111/psj.12085.
- Alter, Karen, and Sophie Meunier. 2009. 'The Politics of International Regime Complexity'. *Perspectives on Politics* 7(01):13–24. doi: 10.1017/S1537592709090033.
- 1 Applied reading (tbc)

Further readings:

- Muzaka, Valbona. 2011. 'Linkages, Contests and Overlaps in the Global Intellectual Property Rights Regime'. *European Journal of International Relations* 17(4):755–76. doi: 10.1177/1354066110373560.
- Reus-Smit, Christian, ed. 2004. *The Politics of International Law*. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Simmons, Beth A. 1998. 'Compliance with International Agreements'. *Annual Review of Political Science* 1(1):75–93. doi: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.1.1.75.

S4. Legitimacy and challenges

The fourth section interrogates issues of legitimacy of international governance and the various challenges international organisations and rules are currently facing. While democratic political regimes are supposed to find their legitimacy in elections, international rules and organisations do not: are they therefore illegitimate? What are the definitions of legitimacy that do, can or should apply to international governance? The latter has indeed been met with rising opposition, be it from transnational social movements (think anti-G7 summits), or from anti-globalization sentiments or anti-capitalist political views hold by citizens and national political parties. But

organisations and rules of international governance are also being opposed by some governments challenging existing institutional arrangements (for instance, China). A thorough understanding of international governance therefore requires to take a serious look into these challenges and their implications for the future of multilateral cooperation.

Essential readings:

- (group 1) Moravcsik, Andrew. 2004. 'Is There a "Democratic Deficit" in World Politics? A Framework for Analysis'. *Government and Opposition* 39(2):336–63. doi: 10.1111/j.1477-7053.2004.00126.x.
- (group 1) Steffek, Jens. 2003. 'The Legitimation of International Governance: A Discourse Approach'. *European Journal of International Relations* 9(2):249–75. doi: 10.1177/1354066103009002004.
- (group 2) Chimni, B. S. 2004. 'International Institutions Today: An Imperial Global State in the Making'. *European Journal of International Law* 15(1):1–37. doi: 10.1093/ejil/15.1.1.
- (group 2) Cutler, A. C. 2010. 'The Legitimacy of Private Transnational Governance: Experts and the Transnational Market for Force'. *Socio-Economic Review* 8(1):157–85. doi: 10.1093/ser/mwp027.
- 1 applied reading (tbc)

TO DO :

- All: each student should gather, read and be ready to discuss two publications (relevant commentary/article/report, etc.) about the liberal order and its contemporary evolutions. To be discussed on S5.

Further readings:

- Bernstein, Steven, and Benjamin Cashore. 2007. 'Can Non-State Global Governance Be Legitimate? An Analytical Framework'. *Regulation & Governance* 1(4):347–71. doi: 10.1111/j.1748-5991.2007.00021.x.
- Buchanan, Allen, and Robert O. Keohane. 2006. 'The Legitimacy of Global Governance Institutions'. *Ethics & International Affairs* 20(04):405–37. doi: 10.1111/j.1747-7093.2006.00043.x.
- Hurd, Ian. 1999. 'Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics'. *International Organization* 53(2):379–408. doi: 10.1162/002081899550913.
- Scharpf, Fritz W. 2009. 'Legitimacy in the Multilevel European Polity'. *European Political Science Review* 1(02):173. doi: 10.1017/S1755773909000204.
- Scholte, Jan Aart. 2007. 'Civil Society and the Legitimation of Global Governance'. *Journal of Civil Society* 3(3):305–26. doi: 10.1080/17448680701775796.

S5. Thematic applications: fields of international governance

The fifth section will be devoted to the presentation and discussion of specific issue areas of international governance. Students will gather in different groups, each tackling a different question/policy field such as climate change/environment, anti-terrorism/security, gender equality/gender and LGBTQI+, Covid/health. Each group will be asked to present its theme, based on the categories and questions provided by the first four sections: 1) What is international governance in the field of climate change? 2) What are the main actors involved? Who governs? 3) Elaborate on one or two noteworthy organizational features, for instance the type of

instruments used to regulate carbon emissions and its efficiency 4) What are the challenges to existing institutions? How legitimate are they and in what sense?

Essential readings:

- The readings gathered in S4 will be made available to all and open for discussion

TO DO :

- Prepare your oral presentations

Bibliography*

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette, and Stephanie C. Hofmann. 2020. 'Of the Contemporary Global Order, Crisis, and Change'. *Journal of European Public Policy* 27(7):1077–89. doi: 10.1080/13501763.2019.1678665.

Guzzini, Stefano, ed. 2012. *The Diffusion of Power in Global Governance: International Political Economy Meets Foucault*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mazower, Mark. *Governing the world: the history of an idea*. New York: The Penguin Press, 2012.

Orsini, Amandine, et al.. 2020. 'Forum: Complex Systems and International Governance'. *International Studies Review* 22(4):1008–38. doi: 10.1093/isr/viz005.

Rosenau, James N., and Ernst Otto Czempiel, eds. 1992. *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Weiss, Thomas G., Wilkinson, Rorden. *International organization and global governance*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2018.

**This bibliography has been put together by the Professor. The formatting of the references does not necessarily correspond to the referencing rules applicable in the Department.*

Biographical note

Dr Catherine Hoeffler is an associate professor in political science at Sciences Po Bordeaux/Centre Emile Durkheim (on leave) and currently a Jean Monnet Fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre, European University Institute. She holds a doctorate in political science from Sciences Po Paris/Centre d'Etudes Européennes et de Politique Comparée. She has held various positions and visiting professorships, such as at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies/Global Governance Centre, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, Université de Montréal, and ESPOL Lille. At the intersection of comparative political economy, EU studies and public policy analysis, she works on regional integration in defence and security, with a particular focus on defence industrial policies and market integration in defence. She also works on the construction of FDI and trade as security threats in the context of great power competition. She has published among others in the *Journal of European Public Policy*, *Politique Européenne*, *Journal of Legislative Studies* and other academic journals, as well as two handbooks on public policy analysis.