

**Graduate Seminar (IR):  
Actors, Institutions and Global Governance**

Fall 2022

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Jacobs University Bremen

**Course Overview**

This course has four aims: (1) to make sure that all of you have a thorough, basic understanding of International Relations theory; (2) to introduce you to a cutting-edge institutional theory; (3) to help you understand which actors, institutions and perspectives typically abound, and clash, when attempts are made to resolve pressing global issues; and (4) to offer you better insight into why efforts to resolve pressing international issues frequently end in failure, and which changes need to be made to international institutions in order to remedy this. Though the course has its fair share of theory, empirical applications and examples will be offered and discussed every class. By the end of the course, you should also have a better understanding of the debates about the most pressing international issues of today, such as climate change, development aid, and terrorism.

**Assessment & Evaluation**

	<u>6 Credit Points</u>	<u>9 Credit Points</u>
Weekly Quiz	30%	30%
Midterm Exam	70%	40%
Final Exam	--	30%

For the *6 credit points version* of this course, you have to take the midterm exam, as well as the weekly (multiple choice) quizzes throughout the entire term. For the *9 credit points version*, you have to take the final, take home exam as well. The final exam will be handed out during the last class on 21 December 2022 and will have to be returned (via email) on 12 January 2023 (at noon).

The readings may at times be a bit on the heavy side, but I promise that they will be worth your while. I have done my best to pick the most interesting and readable books and articles. You will be required to finish all the required readings in advance. (Please note: the “background readings” are *recommended* only). In order to help you get motivated, I will test your knowledge of the literature with a brief and very simple multiple-choice quiz every class throughout the semester. This is a graduate seminar, and class participation will be much appreciated. The mid-term exam follows the “UK format”. That is to say, it will consist of a number of wide-ranging questions, only a few of which will need to be answered. These answers will have to come in the form of a short essay (written during the exam itself). The final exam will be of a “take home” nature and will apply to the cultural theory pioneered by anthropologist Dame Mary Douglas, the approach that we will look in the second part of the class (after the mid-term exam).

## **Course Schedule**

### **Class 1: Introduction to the Course**

*Reading:* Peter Marcus Kristensen, 'International Relations at the End: A Sociological Autopsy', *International Studies Quarterly* (Vol. 62, No. 2 2018), pp. 245-59.

*Background reading:* Torbjorn L. Knutsen, *A History of International Relations Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992); Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea, 1815 to the Present* (London: Penguin, 2012).

### **Class 2: The Inter-Paradigm Debate I: Realism vs. Neo-Functionalism**

*Readings:* Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), chapter 3, 'From Universality to Equilibrium'; Stephen D. Krasner, 'Realism, Imperialism and Democracy: A Response to Gilbert', *Political Theory* (Vol. 20, No. 1, 1992), pp. 38-52; Inis Claude, Jr., *Swords into Ploughshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization* (New York: Random Books, third rev. ed., 1964), chapter 17.

*Strongly recommended:* Jeppe Tranholm-Mikkelsen, 'Neo-functionalism: Obstinate or Obsolete? A Reappraisal in the Light of the New Dynamism of the EC', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* (Vol. 20, No. 1, 1991), pp. 1-22.

*Background readings:* Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* (Barnes & Noble, 2006); E.H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939* (New York: Harper, 1964); Hans Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), pp. 4-15; Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics* (New York: Scribner, 1932); Raymond Aron, *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations* (New York: Doubleday, 1967); Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1979); Kenneth N. Waltz, 'More May Better', in Scott Kagan and Kenneth Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons* (New York: Norton, 2003); David Mitrany, *A Working Peace System* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1944); David Mitrany, 'The Functional Approach to World Organization', *International Affairs* (Vol. 23, No. 3, 1948), pp. 350-63; Leon N. Lindberg, *The Political Dynamics of European Economic Integration* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1963); Leon N. Lindberg and Stuart A. Scheingold, *Europe's Would-Be Polity* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1970); Ernst B. Haas, *The Uniting of Europe* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1968); Philippe C. Schmitter, 'A Revised Theory of Regional Integration', *International Organization* (Vol. 24, No. 4, 1970), pp. 836-68.

### **Class 3: The Inter-Paradigm Debate II: Liberalism (or Pluralism)**

*Readings:* Sir Norman Angell, *The Great Illusion: A Study of the Relation of Military Power in Nations to Their Economic and Social Advantage* (London: Heinemann, 1913), pp. 4-49 & 261-95; Neta Crawford, 'A Security Regime among Democracies: Cooperation among Iroquois Nations', *International Organization* (Vol. 48, No. 3, 1994), pp. 345-85; Thomas C. Walker, 'A Circumspect Revival of Liberalism: Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye's, *Power and Interdependence*', in Henrik Bliddal, Casper Sylvest and Peter Wilson (eds), *Classics in International Relations: Essays in Criticism and Appreciation* (London: Routledge, 2013).

*Background readings:* Richard W. Mansbach, Yale H. Ferguson and Donald E. Lampert, *The Web of World Politics: Non-State Actors in the Global System* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1976); Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, Jr., *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1977); James N. Rosenau, *The Study of Global Interdependence: Essays on the Transnationalization of World Affairs* (London: Frances Pinter, 1980); Richard Rosecrance, *The Rise of the Trading State: Commerce and Conquest in the Modern World* (New York: Basic Books, 1986); Michael W. Doyle, 'Liberalism and World Politics,' *American Political Science Review* (Vol. 80, No. 4, 1986), pp. 1151-69; John O'Neill, Frances H. O'neal, Zeev Maoz and Bruce Russett, 'The Liberal Peace: Interdependence, Democracy, and International Conflict, 1950-1985', *Journal of Peace*

*Research* (Vol. 33, No. 1, 1996), pp. 11-28; Eric Gartzke, 'The Capitalist Peace', *American Journal of Political Science* (Vol. 51, No. 1, 2007), pp. 166-91.

#### **Class 4: The Inter-Paradigm Debate III: Structuralism (or Neo-Marxism)**

*Readings:* Theotonio Dos Santos, 'The Structure of Dependence', *American Economic Review*, (Vol. 60, No. 2, 1970), pp. 231-236; Immanuel Wallerstein, 'Dependence in an Interdependent World: The Limited Possibilities of Transformation within the Capitalist World Economy', *African Studies Review* (Vol. 17, No. 1, 1974); Thomas Piketty, 'About Capital in the Twenty-First Century', *American Economic Review* (Vol. 105, No. 5, 2015), pp. 48-53.

*Background readings:* Vladimir Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (London: Pluto Press, 1996); Samir Amin, *Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1977); Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978); Andre Gunder Frank, *Dependent Accumulation and Underdevelopment* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979); Robert W. Cox, *Production, Power and World Order* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987); Stephen Gill, *American Hegemony and the Trilateral Commission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Stephen Gill, 'Towards a Postmodern Prince? The Battle in Seattle as a New Moment in the New Politics of Globalisation', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* (Vol. 29, No. 1, 2000), pp. 131-40; Immanuel Wallerstein, *World Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); Noam Chomsky, *Failed States: The Abuse of Power and the Assault on Democracy* (New York: Henry Holt, 2006).

#### **Class 5: After the Inter-Paradigm Debate I: Rationalism & Neoliberal Institutionalism**

*Readings:* James Fearon, 'Rationalist Explanations for War', *International Organization* (Vol. 49, No. 3, 1995), pp. 379-414; Robert Axelrod and Robert O. Keohane, 'Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions', *World Politics* (Vol. 38, No. 1, 1985), pp. 226-54.

*Background readings:* Fritz Scharpf, *Games Real Actors Play: Actor-Centered Institutionalism in Policy Research* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997); Helen Milner, *Interests, Institutions and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); David Lake and Robert Powell (eds), *Strategic Choice and International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); Barbara Koremenos, Charles Lipson and Duncan Snidal (eds), *Rational Design: Explaining the Form of International Institutions, special issue of International Organization* (Vol. 55, No. 4, 2001); Peter M. Haas, Robert O. Keohane and Marc Levy, *Institutions for the Earth: Sources of Effective International Environmental Protection* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993).

#### **Class 6: After the Inter-Paradigm Debate II: Constructivism**

*Readings:* Alexander Wendt, 'Anarchy Is What States Makes of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics', *International Organization* (Vol. 46, No. 2, 1992), pp. 391-425; Michael N. Barnett and Martha Finnemore, 'The Politics, Power and Pathologies of International Organizations', *International Organization* (Vol. 53, No. 4, 1999), pp. 699-732; David E. Hofmann, 'How Gorbachev Evolved into a Radical Proponent of Change', *Washington Post* (8 September 2017), at: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/how-gorbachev-evolved-into-a-radical-proponent-of-change/2017/09/08/d4b23cfa-86a4-11e7-a94f-3139abce39f5\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/how-gorbachev-evolved-into-a-radical-proponent-of-change/2017/09/08/d4b23cfa-86a4-11e7-a94f-3139abce39f5_story.html)

*Background readings:* Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (New York: Garden City, 1966); Peter Katzenstein (ed.), *The Culture of National Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett (eds), *Security Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

#### **Class 7: After the Inter-Paradigm Debate III: Post-Structuralism**

*Readings:* James Der Derian, 'War as Game', *Brown Journal of International Affairs* (Vol. 10, No. 1, 2003), pp. 37- 48; David Campbell, 'Poststructuralism', in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds), *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Roland Bleiker and Amy Kay, 'Representing AIDS/HIV in Africa: Pluralist Photography and Local Empowerment', *International Studies Quarterly* (Vol. 51, 2007), pp. 139-63.

*Background readings:* Richard K. Ashley, 'Untying the Sovereign State: A Double Reading of the Anarchy Problematique', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* (Vol. 17, No. 2, 1988), pp. 227-62; James Der Derian and Michael Shapiro, *International/Intertextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 1989); Rob B.J. Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Jean Baudrillard, *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995); James Der Derian, *Virtuous War: Mapping the Military-Industrial-Media-Entertainment Network* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2001).

### **Class 8: After the Inter-Paradigm Debate IV: Feminism**

*Readings:* Constance Grady, 'The Waves of Feminism, and Why People Keep Fighting about Them, Explained', *Vox* (20 March 2018), at: <https://www.vox.com/2018/3/20/16955588/feminism-waves-explained-first-second-third-fourth>; 30 September 2020); Susanna Rustin, 'Feminists Like Me Aren't Anti-Trans – We Just Can't Discard the Idea of "Sex"', *The Guardian* (30 September 2020), at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/sep/30/feminists-anti-trans-idea-sex-gender-oppression>; Carol Cohn, 'Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals', *Signs* (Vol. 12, No. 4, 1987), pp. 687-718; J. Ann Tickner, 'Feminist Perspectives on 9/11', *International Studies Perspectives* (Vol. 3, 2002), pp. 333-50; Francis Fukuyama, 'Women and the Evolution of World Politics', *Foreign Affairs* (Vol. 77, No. 5, 1998), pp. 24-40.

*Background readings:* Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Cynthia H. Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989); J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); V. Spike Peterson (ed.), *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992).

### **Class 9: After the Inter-Paradigm Debate IV: Postcolonial and Non-Western IR approaches**

*Readings:* Siba N. Grovogui, 'Postcolonialism' in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds), *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) Katerina Dalacoura, 'Homosexuality as Cultural Background in the Middle East: Culture and Postcolonial International Theory', *Third World Quarterly* (Vol. 35, No. 7, 2014), pp. 129-306; Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan, 'Why Is There No Non-Western International Relations Theory? Ten Years on', *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* (Vol. 17, 2017), pp. 341-70.

*Background readings:* Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978); Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies* (London: Penguin, 2004); Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (eds), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (London: Macmillan, 1988); Sanjay Seth, 'Postcolonial Theory and the Critique of International Relations', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* (Vol. 40, No. 1, 2011), pp. 167-83; Pinar Bilgin, 'Thinking Past "Western IR"', *Third World Quarterly* (Vol. 29, No. 1, 2008), pp. 5-23; J. Ann Tickner, 'Knowledge is Power: Challenging IR's Eurocentric Narrative', *International Studies Review* (Vol. 18, No. 1, 2016), pp. 157-59; Yong-Soo Eun, *What Is at Stake in Building "Non-Western" International Relations Theory?* (London: Routledge, 2018).

### **Class 10 (Nov. 30<sup>th</sup>): Midterm Exam**

### **Class 11: After after the Inter-Paradigm Debate: A Cultural Theory of International Relations**

*Readings:* Daniel W. Drezner, 'Where Have All the Big International Relations Theories Gone?', *Washington Post* (14 September 2016); Perri 6, 'Introduction', in Perri 6 and Gerald Mars (eds), *The Institutional Dynamics of Culture: The New Durkheimians* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Marco Verweij, Mary Douglas, Richard J. Ellis, Christoph Engel, Frank Hendriks, Susanne Lohmann, Steven Ney, Steve Rayner and Michael Thompson, 'Clumsy Solutions for a Complex World: The Case of Climate Change', *Public Administration* (Vol. 84, No. 4, 2006), 817-843; Marco Verweij, *Clumsy Solutions for a Wicked World: How to Improve Global Governance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 56-57 & Appendix A.

*Background readings:* Mary Douglas, 'Cultural Bias', *Occasional Paper No. 35* (London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1978); Mary Douglas, *How Institutions Think* (London: Routledge, 1987); Aaron Wildavsky, 'Choosing Preferences by Constructing Institutions: A Cultural Theory of Preference Formation', *American Political Science Review* (Vol. 81, No. 1, 1987), pp. 3-21; Michiel Schwarz and Michael Thompson, *Divided We Stand: Redefining Politics, Technology and Social Choice* (Philadelphia; PE: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990); Steve Rayner, 'Risk Analysis and Cultural Theory', in Sheldon Krinsky and Dominic Golding (eds), *Social Theories of Risk* (Westport, CN: Praeger, 1992); Brendon Swedlow (ed.), *A Cultural Theory of Politics*, Symposium of *PS: Politics and Political Science* (Vol. 44, No. 4, 2011); Verweij, M., Senior T. J., Domínguez D. J. F. & Turner R. (2015). Emotion, rationality and decision-making: How to link affective and social neuroscience with social theory. *Frontiers in Neuroscience*, 9:332. doi: [10.3389/fnins.2015.00332](https://doi.org/10.3389/fnins.2015.00332)

### **Class 12: A Cultural Theory of International Relations, Continued: Hierarchy**

*Readings:* Mary Douglas, 'A Feeling for Hierarchy', in James L. Heft (ed.), *Believing Scholars: Ten Catholic Intellectuals* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005); Dipak Gyawali, 'Hype and Hydro (and, at Last, Some Hope) in the Himalaya', in Marco Verweij and Michael Thompson (eds), *Clumsy Solutions for a Complex World: Governance, Politics and Plural Perceptions* (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

*Background reading:* Marco Verweij, Petya Alexandrova, Henrik Jacobsen, Pauline Beziat, Diana Branduse, Yonca Dege, Jakob Hensing, James Hollway, Lea Kliem, Gabriela Ponce, Inga J. Reichelt and Mareile Wiegmann, 'Four Galore? On the Overlap among 40 Highly Cited Social Science Typologies', *Sociological Theory* (Vol. 38, No. 3, 2020), pp. 263-294; Steven Ney & Marco Verweij, 'Exploring the Contributions of Cultural Theory for Improving Public Deliberations about Complex Policy Problems', *Policy Studies Journal* (Vol. 42, No. 4, 2014), pp. 620-43.

### **Class 13: A Cultural Theory of International Relations, Continued: Individualism**

*Readings:* Christopher Hood, *The Art of the State: Culture, Rhetoric and Public Management* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), chapter 5; Michael Intriligator, Janine R. Wedel and Catherine H. Lee, 'What Russia Can Learn from China in Its Transition to a Market Economy', in Marco Verweij and Michael Thompson (eds), *Clumsy Solutions for a Complex World: Governance, Politics and Plural Perceptions* (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Dennis J. Coyle, 'The Theory That Would Be King', in Dennis J. Coyle and Richard J. Ellis (eds), *Politics, Policy, and Culture* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994).

### **Class 14: A Cultural Theory of International Relations, Continued: Egalitarianism & Fatalism**

*Readings:* Steve Rayner, 'The Perception of Time and Space in Egalitarian Sects: A Millenarian Cosmology', in Mary Douglas (ed.), *Essays in the Sociology of Perception* (London: Routledge, 1982); Marco Verweij, *Clumsy Solutions for a Wicked World: How to Improve Global Governance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), chapters 3 & 5; James Hollway and Claudio Pardo Enrico, 'Finding Fatalism, or, How to Take Cynics Seriously,' paper presented at the second Mary Douglas Workshop (London: University College London, 2012).

*Strongly recommended:* Japheth Nkiriyehe Kwiringira, Paulino Ariho, Henry Zakumumpa, James Mugisha, Joseph Rujumba, and Marion Mutabazi Mugisha, 'Livelihood Risk, Culture, and the HIV Interface: Evidence from Lakeshore Border Communities in Buliisa District, Uganda', *Journal of Tropical Medicine* (Vol. 2019, 2019), doi: [10.1155/2019/6496240](https://doi.org/10.1155/2019/6496240).