

Transnational Authority in World Politics, MPhil Seminar, Michaelmas 2022-2023.

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Global governance is no longer the preserve of states and international organizations (IOs). Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) and civil society actors (CSO) have expanded their influence and inputs into the making and implementation of global policy and through the delivery of essential public goods that governments and IOs are unable or unwilling to provide. Through advocacy, protest and policy advice, as contractors for service delivery, standard-setters, and monitors or enforcers of domestic and international laws, NGOs have become increasingly influential actors in global politics. Their voice and action increases pluralism, but also raises questions of effectiveness, accountability and legitimacy. The first 4 weeks of the course will examine theories and practices of transnational activism and reflect on different types of influence-seeking; from agenda-setting and 'inside' lobbying to mass protest, strategic litigation, and direct action. Weeks 5 and 6 will focus on the impact of transnational activism in two domains of global politics; human rights and the environment. The final week looks at current opportunities and challenges posed by new social media and information technologies and by the rise of right-wing populism.

In addition to the readings listed below students are strongly encouraged to visit organizational websites of NGOs and CSOs to learn about current initiatives and campaigns.

I. The Rise of Transnational Politics - Thinking Theoretically about Transnational Actors in World Politics

Charnovitz, Steve. 1997. "Two Centuries of Participation: NGOs and International Governance." *Michigan Journal of International Law*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 184-286.

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Cornell University Press), Chapter 1: "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics," pp. 1-36.

Price, Richard. 1998. "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines," *International Organization*, vol. 52, no. 3, pp. 613-644.

Neumann, Iver B. and Ole Jacob Sending. 2006. "Governance to Governmentality: Analyzing NGOs, States, and Power." *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 50, no. 3, pp. 651-672.

Tarrow, Sidney. 2005. *The New Transnational Activism* (Cambridge University Press), Chapter 2: 'Internationalism and Contention', pp. 15-34, and Chapter 9: "Building Transnational Coalitions", pp. 161-180.

Tallberg, Jonas, Thomas Sommerer, Theresa Squatrito and Christer Jönsson. 2013. *The Opening up of International Organizations. Transnational Access in Global Governance* (Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1: 'Introduction', pp. 1-21, and Chapter 2: "Explaining Transnational Access to International Organizations, Theories and Hypotheses", pp. 22-52.

Anderson, Kenneth and David Rieff. 2004. "'Global Civil Society': A Sceptical View," In Anheier, Helmut, M. Glasius, and Mary Kaldor, Eds., *Global Civil Society 2004/5* (London: Sage), Chapter 1, pp. 1-12.

Further Reading:

Keohane, Robert O. and Joseph S. Nye. 1977. "Realism and Complex Interdependence." In *Power and Interdependence* (Addison Wesley Longman), Chapter 2, pp. 20-33

Khagram, Sanjeev, James Riker and Kathryn Sikkink, eds. 2002. *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks and Norms* (University of Minnesota Press).

Finnemore, Martha and Kathryn Sikkink. 2005. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* vol. 52, no. 4.

Tallberg, Jonas, Lisa Dellmuth, Hans Agné and Andreas Duit. 2018. "NGO Influence in International Organizations: Information, Access and Exchange." *British Journal of Political Science* vol. 48, no. 1, pp. 213-38.

Kaldor, Mary. 2003. *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War* (Cambridge University Press), Chapter 4, 'Social Movements, NGOs and Networks', pp. 78-108.

Busby, Joshua. 2007. "Bono Made Jesse Helms Cry: Jubilee 2000, Debt Relief, and Moral Action in World Politics," *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 51, no. 2, pp. 247-275.

Tallberg, Jonas. 2015. "Orchestrating Enforcement: International Organizations Mobilizing Compliance Communities." In *International Organizations as Orchestrators*, ed. Kenneth Abbott, Philipp Genschel, Duncan Snidal and Bernhard Zangl (Cambridge University Press), pp. 166-188.

Kaiser, Karl. 1971. "Transnational Relations as a Threat to the Democratic Process." *International Organization*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 706-720.

II. Who Speaks for Global Civil Society? Power and Agenda-Setting Among NGOs

Bob, Clifford. 2010. "The Market for Human Rights". In *Advocacy Organizations and Collective action*, edited by A. Prakash and M. Gugerty (Cambridge University Press), pp.133-154 OR Merchants of Morality, *Foreign Policy*, Vol. 129, pp. 36-45, March/April 2002

Carpenter, Charli. 2011. "Vetting the Advocacy Agenda: Networks, Centrality and the Paradox of Weapons Norms". *International Organization*, vol. 65, no. 1, pp. 69-102 OR Carpenter. 2007. "Setting the Advocacy Agenda: Issues and Non-Issues Around Children and Armed Conflict," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 51, no. 1.

Thrall, Trevor, Dominik Stecula and Diana Sweet. 2014. "May We Have Your Attention Please? Human-Rights NGOs and the Problem of Global Communication". *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 135-159.

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, M. and Laura Breen. (x.) "Targeting Deadly Weapons: Issue-adoption and Campaign Structure in Transnational Disarmament Campaigns." (to be distributed by course leader).

Wong, Wendy. 2012. *Internal Affairs. How the Structure of NGOs Transforms Human Rights* (Cornell University Press), "Introduction", pp. 1-27, and Chapter 2: "The Importance of Organizational Structure", pp. 53-83.

Further Reading:

Bob, Clifford. 2005. *The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media, and International Activism*. New York: Cambridge.

Bolton, Matthew and Thomas Nash. 2010. "The Role of Middle Power-NGO Coalitions in Global Policy: The Case of the Cluster Munitions Ban". *Global Policy*, no. 2, pp. 172-184.

Goddard, Stacie E. 2009. "Brokering Change: Networks and Entrepreneurs in International Politics." *International Theory*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 249-281.

Carpenter, Charli, Duygulu, Sirin, Montgomery, Alexander, and Rapp, Anna. 2014. "Explaining the Advocacy Agenda". *International Organization* vol. 68, no. 2, pp. 449-70.

Mitchell, G. and Schmitz, H. (2014). "Principled instrumentalism: A theory of transnational NGO behavior." *Review of International Studies* vol. 40, no. 3, pp. 487-504

III. Changing the World through Regulation and Standard-Setting

Hall, Rodney B., and Thomas J. Biersteker, Eds. 2002. *The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance*. (Cambridge University Press), 'Introduction', pp.1-2, Chapter 1: 'The Emergence of Private Authority in the International System', pp. 3-22, and Chapter 2: 'Private international regimes and interfirm cooperation', pp. 23-40

Mattli, Walter and Tim Büthe. 2005. "Global Private Governance: Lessons from a National Model of Setting Standards in Accounting," *Law and Contemporary Problems* vol. 68, no. 3, pp. 213-

Green, Jessica F. 2013. "Governors of the Market: The Evolution of Entrepreneurial Authority." In Green, *Rethinking private authority: Agents and entrepreneurs in global environmental governance* (Princeton University Press), ch. 3, pp. 78-103.

Vogel, David. 2008. "Private global business regulation." *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 11, pp. 261-282.

Further Reading:

Dingwerth, Klaus and Philipp Pattberg. 2009. "World Politics and Organizational Fields: The Case of Transnational Sustainability Governance," *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 15, no.4, pp. 707-744.

Peter Dauvergne and Genevieve LeBaron. 2014. *Protest, Inc.: The Corporatization of Activism* (Polity).

Hauffer, Virginia. 2017. "Governing Conflict through Transnational Corporations: The Case of Conflict Minerals" In David Malet and Miriam J. Anderson, Eds. *Transnational Actors in War and Peace. Militants, Activists, and Corporations in World Politics* (Georgetown University Press).

Berliner, Daniel, and Aseem Prakash. 2015. "'Bluewashing' the firm? Voluntary regulations, program design, and member compliance with the United Nations Global Compact." *Policy Studies Journal* vol. 43, no. 1, pp. 115-138.

Gereffi, Gary, Ronie Garcia-Johnson, and Erika Sasser. 2001. "The NGO-Industrial Complex." *Foreign Policy* (Washington, D.C.) no. 125, pp. 56-65.

IV. Taking the Gloves Off – Direct Action, Mass Protest, Strategic Litigation

Grant, Wyn. 2001. "Pressure Politics: From 'Insider' Politics to Direct Action?" *Parliamentary Affairs* (https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Wyn_Grant/publication/31014133_Pressure_Politics_From_'Insider'_Politics_to_Direct_Action/links/568cffb008ae197e426b6ab5/Pressure-Politics-From-Insider-Politics-to-Direct-Action.pdf).

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, M. and T, Phelps Bondaroff. 2014. "From Advocacy to Confrontation: Direct Enforcement by Environmental NGO." *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 58, no. 2, pp. 348-61.

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, M. and Jason C. Sharman. 2019. "Enforcers Beyond Borders. Transnational NGOs and Enforcement of International Law," *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 17, no. 4, (<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/perspectives-on-politics/article/enforcers-beyond-borders-transnational-ngos-and-the-enforcement-of-international-law/BB3570687DDE8F22C23785E749BD30A4>)

Dancy, Geoff and Verónica Michel. 2016. "Human Rights Enforcement from Below: Private Actors and Prosecutorial Momentum in Latin America and Europe." *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 60, no. 1), pp. 173-88.

Gwynn, Maria Antonia. 2018. "Legal Developments in the Enforcement of International Environmental Commitments." Global Economic Governance Working Paper, No. 138, University of Oxford.

Further Reading

Eric A. Posner, 2007. "Climate Change and International Human Rights Litigation: A Critical Appraisal," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, vol. 155.

Heather Alberro. 2018. "Radical environmentalists are fighting climate change – so why are they persecuted?" (<https://theconversation.com/radical-environmentalists-are-fighting-climate-change-so-why-are-they-persecuted-107211>).

Extinction Rebellion: "[A Declaration of International Non-Violent Rebellion Against the World's Governments for Criminal Inaction on the Ecological Crisis](#)" (PDF). Extinction Rebellion. April 2019. Archived from [the original](#) (PDF) on 2018-11-28.

Raffi Khatchadourian, *Neptune's Navy*, *The New Yorker*, Nov. 5, 2007, p 56

Brian Doherty. 2002. *Ideas and Action in the Green Movement* (Routledge), Chapter 6: 'Ecological Direct Action Groups.'

Zelko, F. 2004. "Making Greenpeace: The development of Direct-Action Environmentalism in British Columbia." *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly*.

Hansen, Ann. 2001. *Direct Action: Memoirs of an Urban Guerrilla*. (Toronto: Between the Lines).
<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/jun/27/doctors-call-for-nonviolent-direct-action-over-climate-crisis>

Michel, Veronica and Kathryn Sikkink. 2013. "Human Rights Prosecutions and the Participation Rights of Victims in Latin America." *Law and Society Review* vol. 47, no. 4, pp. 873-907.

Ryngaert, Cedric. 2013. "Tort Litigation in Respect of Overseas Violations of Environmental Law Committed by Corporations." *McGill International Journal of Sustainable Development Law and Policy*, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 245-60.

Danner, Allison and Erik Voeten. 2010. "Who is running the international criminal justice system?" in *Who Governs the Globe?* (Cambridge University Press).

V. Transnational Politics of Human Rights

Risse, Thomas, Stephen C. Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink. 1999. *The Power of Human Rights*. Introduction (Cambridge University Press), Chapters 1: The socialization of international human rights norms into domestic practice: introduction, p. 1-38, and Chapter 8: International HR norms and domestic change, pp.234-278.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie. 2008. "Sticks and Stones: Naming and Shaming the Human Rights Enforcement Problem." *International Organization* vol. 62, no. 4, pp. 689-716.

Amanda Murdie & David Davis. 2012. "Shaming and Blaming: Using Events Data to Assess the Impact of Human Rights NGOs." *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 56, no. 1.

Laurence Helfer. 2002. "Over-legalizing Human Rights: International Relations Theory and the Commonwealth Caribbean Backlash Against Human Rights Regimes." *Columbia Law Review* 102, pp. 1832-1911,

Further Reading:

James L. Cavallaro & Emily J. Schaffer. 2004. "Less as More: Rethinking Supranational Litigation of Economic and Social Rights in the Americas", *Hastings Law Journal* 56, pp. 217-282.

Cullen S. Hendrix and Wendy H. Wong, "When Is the Pen Truly Mighty? Regime Type and the Efficacy of Naming and Shaming in Curbing Human Rights Abuses", *British Journal of Political Science*, 43 (3), July 2013, pp. 651-67.

William Korey. 1998. "To Light a Candle: Amnesty International and the 'Prisoners of Conscience,'" In *NGOs and the University Declaration of Human Rights*, (Palgrave), pp. 159-180.

Alex de Waal. 2015. "Genealogies of Transnational Activism" in *Advocacy in Conflict*, edited by Alex de Waal (London: Zed Books).

Aryeh Neier, "The Attack on Human Rights Watch," *The New York Review of Books*, November 2, 2006.

Editorial, "The Credibility Watch," *The New York Sun*, October 19, 2006.

Gerald Steinberg, "Watching the Watchers, Part Two," *The New York Sun*, March 20, 2007.

Latifah Azan, "Is Human Rights Watch Too Close to the US Government?" fpif.org.

VI. Protecting the Global Environment: An International Public Good?

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. "Environmental Advocacy Networks," In Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders* (Cornell University Press), Chapter 4, pp. 121-163

McAteer, Emily and Simon Pulver. 2009. The Corporate Boomerang: Shareholder Transnational Advocacy Networks Targeting Oil Companies in the Ecuadorian Amazon. *Global Environmental Politics*, vol. 9, no. 1, p.1-30.

Andonova, Liliana B. 2010. "Public-Private Partnerships for the Earth: politics and patterns of hybrid authority in the multilateral system". *Global Environmental Politics*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 25-53.

Bäckstrand, Karin, J.W. Kuyper, Björn-Ola Linner, and Eva Lövbrand. 2017. "Non-state actors in the new landscape of international climate cooperation." *Environmental Politics*, Vol. 26, No. 4, pp. 561-579.

Further Reading

Protest for a future: Composition, mobilization and motives of the participants in Fridays For Future climate protests on 15 March, 2019 in 13 European cities. Edited by Mattias Wahlström, Piotr Kocyba, Michiel De Vydt and Joost de Moor.
https://eprints.keele.ac.uk/6536/1/Protest%20for%20a%20future_GCS%2015.03.19%20Descriptive%20Report-2.pdf

Mathieu Blondeel, Jeff Colgan, Thijs Van de Graaf . 2019 What Drives Norm Success? Evidence from Anti-Fossil Fuel Campaigns. *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 19, Number 4, November 2019, pp. 63-84

Newell, Peter. 2008. "Civil Society, Corporate Accountability and the Politics of Climate Change," *Global Environmental Politics*, vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 122-153.

Khagram, Sanjeev. "Restructuring the Global Politics of Development: The Case of India's Narmada Valley Dams." In *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks and Norms*. Ed. Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink (University of Minnesota Press, 2002), Chapter 10.

Wapner, Parul 2002. "Horizontal Politics: Transnational Environmental Activism and Global Cultural Change," *Global Environmental Politics*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 37-62.

VII. New Challenges and Opportunities: New Technologies; the Rise of Right Wing Politics and Staying in Business

Manuel Castells. 2012. *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age* (Polity) read: 'Opening: Networking Minds, Creating Meaning, Contesting Power (and any other chapters you fancy).

Malcolm Gladwell. 2010. "Small Change: Why the revolution will not be tweeted," *The New Yorker*, Oct 4, 2010.

Hall, Nina, Hans Schmitz, and Michael Dedmon. 2020. "[Transnational Advocacy and NGOs in the Digital Era: What's Changing and Why?](#)", *International Studies Quarterly*, 64 (1), March 2020, pp. 159 - 167.

Bob, C., 2013. "The Global Right Wing and Theories of Transnational Advocacy. The *International Spectator*, vol. 48, no. 4, pp. 71–85.

Amnesty International. 2019. Laws Designed to Silence: The global crackdown on CSOs <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/ACT3096472019ENGLISH.PDF>

Recommended

Seva Gunitsky, 2015. "Corrupting the Cyber-Commons: Social Media as a Tool of Autocratic Stability." *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 42–54.

Bob, Clifford. 2010. "Packing Heat: Pro Gun Groups and the Governance of Small Arms." In *Who Governs the Globe?* edited by Deborah Avant, Martha Finnemore, and Susan K. Sell. (Cambridge University Press), pp. 183-202

Stephen Gent, Mark Crescentzi, Elizabeth Menninga and Linday Reid. 2015. "The Reputation Gap." *International Theory*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 426–463.

Stroup, Sarah S. and Wong, Wendy. 2017. *The Authority Trap: Strategic Choices of International NGOs* (Cornell University Press), chapter 1, pp. 1-23.

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