

POLI 421 – Transnational Politics (3 credits)
Winter 2024

Instructor: Dr. Mark Paradis

Email: mark.paradis@concordia.ca

Office Hours: Mondays from 16:15-17:30 in H-1125-28; immediately after class in H-1213

Class Time: Fridays from 8:45-11:30

Class Location: MB 3.435

This seminar examines the activities of non-state actors, including NGOs, social movements, corporations, and individuals, and their roles in creating global society, building international institutions, and shaping foreign policy. While many theories have been proposed to address aspects of transnational politics, this course is not organized around them. Instead, we will embrace analytical eclecticism as we explore important actors and issues in the study of transnational politics. After an introduction to transnational politics and the spread of norms, we will explore the role of transnational actors, including international organizations (IGOs and NGOs), regional organizations, international civil society, multinational corporations, transnational terrorists, and transnational organized crime. We will also explore multiple transnational issues, including technology and civil society, environmental politics, corporate responsibility, private transnational regulation, and transnational violence.

COURSE FORMAT

The course will be held in-person. Since this course is a seminar, attendance is required. Students are expected to follow all public health guidelines that are in place at the time.

COMMUNICATIONS POLICY

For emails with the instructor, every effort will be made to respond within 24 hours on weekdays. On weekends, the delay may be longer. For emails, you are expected to:

1. Include the course number and purpose of the email in the email subject.
2. Do not send follow-up emails within 24 hours or on weekends. If you do, both the original and follow-up emails will be ignored.
3. If your email is asking about facts found directly in the syllabus, it will be ignored (for example, asking about the date of the midterm). The syllabus is made available to all students, and it is disrespectful to expect the instructor to look up something when you are unwilling to do so.
4. Do not send messages through Moodle. I almost never check Moodle messages.

COURSE READINGS

All course readings will be posted on Moodle for download. Since this is a summer class, I've tried to keep the reading load manageable. I have also tried to select a mixture of classic pieces and cutting edge new research. For most topics, I have included a list of required readings and

optional readings. For the optional readings, students will only be responsible for the portion of the readings covered in lectures.

REQUIREMENTS

Participation: 15%

This class is a seminar. Other than the first day of class, there will be no lectures. Therefore, attendance and participation are extremely important. Each week, students should come to class having read the assigned readings and prepared to discuss the topic of the week.

Weekly Questions: 15%

Each week, students will submit three (3) discussion questions based on the readings. These questions must be submitted on Moodle by 10pm the night before the class. Ideally, questions won't focus on a single reading, but will build links between multiple readings (although, questions on single readings may be acceptable). Each student must submit questions for 8 of the 11 classes.

Discussion Leadership: 10%

In order to help structure the discussion each week, 1-2 students will be responsible for leading the discussion. When leading discussions, students should take extra care in doing the readings. The weekly questions are available in order to help you structure the discussion. You may use none, some, or all of the questions to structure a coherent discussion.

Response Papers: 20%

Twice during the semester, students will submit a 5-7 page (double-spaced) critical response paper to the readings for the chosen week. Papers should *briefly* summarize the readings and then discuss areas of strength, weakness, or opportunity for growth in the literature. Response papers are due the week after the topic is discussed in class. You may not submit a response paper for the weeks you are discussion leader.

Research Paper: 40%

Students will write a 20-page research paper on a topic of their choice. Papers can either be a) empirical papers or b) a critical review of the literature on a particular topic. Empirical papers require the selection of a research puzzle, the identification of a theory that could explain this puzzle (not an entire paradigm), and provide evidence that tests the proposed theory. Critical review papers *do not* simply summarize the literature on the topic. Instead, it critically analyzes the literature and suggests a typology, areas of possible synthesis, critical weaknesses, or avenues for future research. Papers must be double-spaced with normal margins. References lists and appendices do not count towards the page limit. Papers are due on April 12 by the start of class.

LATE POLICY

Papers must be submitted by the end of class on August 16. Papers that are not turned in on time will be penalized 5% per day. Late papers will not receive any comments and will not be accepted more than a week late. If you are having any problems in handling the course load, please speak to me ASAP. There are more solutions available if you approach me early.

RE-GRADES

If you believe that your grade on an assignment does not reflect the quality of your work, it is your right to request a re-grade. However, you must follow these steps:

1. You must wait 7 days before requesting a re-grade.
2. You must submit a written statement detailing why you believe your grade should be changed. You should point to specific areas of your exam/paper that you believe were graded unfairly AND explain why.
3. I will then re-grade your ENTIRE assignment. I reserve the right to RAISE or LOWER your grade.
4. After the re-grade, if you still believe that your grade is unfair, you must then follow the Department's procedures for re-grades.

CHANGES TO THE SYLLABUS

I reserve the right to amend the schedule of meetings and assignments listed in this syllabus as might become necessary based on events throughout the semester. Any changes to the syllabus will be announced and students will receive an amended syllabus in writing. Copies of the most up to date syllabus can be found on the course website on Moodle.

SCHEDULE

Friday, January 19

Introduction to the Course

Risse, Thomas. 2010. "Transnational Actors and World Politics." In *Corporate Ethics and Corporate Governance*, edited by Walter Ch. Zimmerli, Klaus Richter, and Markus Holzinger, 251-286. New York: Springer.

Friday, January 26

Introduction to Transnational Politics

Nye, Joseph S. and Robert O. Keohane. 1971. "Transnational Relations and World Politics: An Introduction." *International Organization* 25 (3): 329-349.

Tarrow, Sidney. 2001. "Transnational Politics: Contention and Institutions in International Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 4: 1-20.

Fox, Jonathan. 2005. "Unpacking 'Transnational Citizenship.'" *Annual Review of Political Science* 8: 171-201.

Bexell, Magdalena, Jonas Tallberg, and Anders Uhlin. 2010. "Democracy in Global Governance: The Promises and Pitfalls of Transnational Actors." *Global Governance* 16 (1): 81-101.

Büthe, Tim. 2010. "Global Private Politics: A Research Agenda." *Business and Politics* 12 (3): 1-24.

Friday, February 2

Transnational Norms

Finnemore, Martha and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. "International Norms Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 52 (4): 867-917.

Checkel, Jeffrey T. 2001. "Why Comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change." *International Organization* 55 (3): 553-588.

Risse, Thomas. 2000. "'Let's Argue!': Communicative Action in World Politics." *International Organization* 54 (1): 1-39.

Acharya, Amitav. 2004. "How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism." *International Organization* 58 (2): 239-275.

Schmidt, Vivien A. 2008. "Discursive Institutionalism: The Explanatory Power of Ideas and Discourse." *Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 303-326.

Friday, February 9

International Organizations

Cronin, Bruce. 2002. "The Two Faces of the United Nations: The Tension between Intergovernmentalism and Transnationalism." *Global Governance* 8 (1): 53-71.

Barnett, Michael N. and Martha Finnemore. 1999. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations." *International Organization* 53 (4): 699-732.

Alter, Karen J. and Sophie Meunier. 2009. "The Politics of International Regime Complexity." *Perspectives on Politics* 7 (1): 13-24.

Abbott, Kenneth W. and Duncan Snidal. 2010. "International Regulation without International Government: Improving IO Performance through Orchestration." *Review of International Organizations* 5 (3): 315-44.

Martha Finnemore and Michelle Jurkovich. 2014. "Getting a Seat at the Table: The Origins of Universal Participation and Modern Multilateral Conferences." *Global Governance* 20: 361-373.

Friday, February 16

Regional Organizations

Checkel, Jeffrey T. 2005. "International Institutions and Socialization in Europe: Introduction and Framework." *International Organization* 59 (4): 801-826.

Deutschmann, Emanuel, Jan Delhey, Monika Verbalyte, and Auke Aplowski. 2018. "The Power of Contact: Europe as a Network of Transnational Attachment." *European Journal of Political Research* 57 (4): 963-988.

Vines, Alex. 2013. "A Decade of African Peace and Security Architecture." *International Affairs* 89 (1): 89-109.

Haacke, Jurgen and Paul D. Williams. 2008. "Regional Arrangements, Securitization, and Transnational Challenges: The African Union and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations Compared." *Security Studies* 17 (4): 775-809.

Briceño-Ruiz, José and Andrea Ribeiro Hoffmann. 2015. "Post-Hegemonic Regionalism, UNASUR, and the Reconfiguration of Regional Cooperation in South America." *Canadian Journal of Latina American and Caribbean Studies* 40 (1): 48-62.

Friday, February 23

Transnational Civil Society (Theory)

Lipschutz, Ronnie. 1992. "Reconstructing World Politics: The Emergence of Global Civil Society." *Millennium – Journal of International Studies* 21(3): 389-420.

Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink. 1999. "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics." *International Social Science Journal* 51 (159): 89-101.

Batliwala, Srilatha. 2002. "Grassroots Movements as Transnational Actors: Implications for Global Civil Society." *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 13(4): 393-409.

Cross, Mai'a K. Davis. 2013. "Rethinking Epistemic Communities Twenty Years Later." *Review of International Studies* 39 (1): 137-160.

Koinova, Maria. 2017. "Beyond Statist Paradigms: Socio-Spatial Positionality and Diaspora Mobilization in International Relations." *International Studies Review* 19 (4): 597-621.

Friday, March 1

Reading Week (No Class)

Friday, March 8

Transnational Civil Society (Practice)

Price, Richard. 1998. "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines." *International Organization*. 52 (3): 613-644.

Kirchhof, Astrid Mignon and Jan-Henrik Meyer. 2014. "Global Protest against Nuclear Power: Transfer and Transnational Exchange in the 1970s and 1980s." *Historical Social Research* 39 (1): 165-190.

Bair, Jennifer and Florence Palpacuer. 2012. "From Varieties of Capitalism to Varieties of Activism: The Antisweatshop Movement in Comparative Perspective." *Social Problems* 59 (4): 522-43.

Steger, Manfred B. and Erin K. Wilson. 2012. "Anti-Globalization or Alter-Globalization? Mapping the Political Ideology of the Global Justice Movement." *International Studies Quarterly* 56 (3): 439-454.

Hussain, Mazammil M. and Philip N. Howard. 2013. "What Best Explains Successful Protest Cascades? ICTs and the Fuzzy Causes of the Arab Spring." *International Studies Review* 15 (1): 48-66.

Friday, March 15

Technology and Transnational Civil Society

Diamond, Larry. 2010. "Liberation Technology." *Journal of Democracy* 21 (3): 69-83.

Deibert, Ronald and Rafal Rohozinski. 2010. "Liberation vs. Control: The Future of Cyberspace." *Journal of Democracy* 21 (4): 43-57.

Bode, Leticia. 2016. "Political News in the News Feed: Learning Politics from Social Media." *Mass Communication and Society* 19 (1): 24-48.

Gunitsky, Seva. 2015. "Corrupting the Cyber-Commons: Social Media as a Tool of Autocratic Stability." *Perspectives on Politics* 13 (1): 42-54.

Rød, Espen Geelmuyden and Nils B. Weidmann. 2015. "Empowering Activists or Autocrats? The Internet in Authoritarian Regimes." *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (3): 338-351.

Friday, March 22

Violent Non-State Actors

Adamson, Fiona B. 2005. "Globalisation, Transnational Political Mobilisation, and Networks of Violence." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 18 (1): 31-49.

Salehyan, Idean. 2008. "No Shelter Here: Rebel Sanctuaries and International Conflict." *Journal of Politics* 70 (1): 54-66.

Chenoweth, Erica. 2013. "Terrorism and Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 355-378.

Asal, Victor, Brian Nussbaum, and D. William Harrington. 2007. "Terrorism as Transnational Advocacy: An Organizational and Tactical Examination." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 30 (1): 15-39.

Boot, Max. 2009. "Pirates, Then and Now: How Piracy was Defeated in the Past and Can be Again." *Foreign Affairs* 88 (4): 94-107.

Andreas, Peter. 2011. "Illicit Globalization: Myths, Misconceptions, and Historical Lessons." *Political Research Quarterly* 126 (3): 403-425.

Friday, March 29

Good Friday (No Class)

Friday, April 5

Multinational Corporations

Eden, Lorraine. 1991. "Bringing the Firm Back In: Multinationals in International Political Economy." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 20 (2): 197-224.

Spar, Debora L. and Lane T. La Mure. 2003. "The Power of Activism: Assessing the Impact of NGOs on Global Business." *California Management Review* 45 (3): 78-101.

Fridell, Maria, Ian Hudson, and Mark Hudson. 2008. "With Friends Like These: The Corporate Response to Fair Trade Coffee." *Review of Radical Political Economics* 40 (8): 8-34.

Bloomfield, Michael J. 2014. "Shame Campaigns and Environmental Justice: Corporate Shaming as Activist Strategy." *Environmental Politics* 23 (2): 263-281.

Schaferhoff, Marco, Sabine Campe, and Christopher Kaan. 2009. "Transnational Public-Private Partnerships in International Relations: Making Sense of Concepts, Research Frameworks, and Results." *International Studies Review* 11 (3): 451-474.

Friday, April 12

Transnational Regulations (PAPER DUE)

Vogel, David. 2008. "Private Global Business Regulation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 261-282.

Fuchs, Doris and Agni Kalfagianni. 2010. "The Causes and Consequences of Private Food Governance." *Business and Politics* 12 (3): 1-36.

Bartley, Tim. 2007. "Institutional Emergence in an Era of Globalization: The Rise of Transnational Private Regulation of Labor and Environmental Conditions." *American Journal of Sociology* 113 (2): 297-351.

Potoski, Matthew and Aseem Prakash. 2005. "Green Clubs and Voluntary Governance: ISO 14001 and Firms' Regulatory Compliance." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (2): 235-248.

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* 43 (1): 115-138.

Tuesday, April 16

Environmental Politics

Newell, Peter, Philipp Pattberg, and Heike Schroeder. 2012. "Multifactor Governance and the Environment." *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 37: 365-387.

Newell, Peter. 2008. "The Political Economy of Global Environmental Governance." *Review of International Studies* 34(3): 507-529.

Gutner, Tamar. 2005. "Explaining the Gaps between Mandate and Performance: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform." *Global Environmental Politics* 5 (2): 10-37.

Gordon, David J. 2013. "Between Local Innovation and Global Impact: Cities, Networks, and the Governance of Climate Change." *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 19 (3): 288-307.

van der Ven, Hamish. 2014. "Socializing the C-Suite: Why Some Bix-Box Retailers are 'Greener' than Others." *Business and Politics* 16 (1): 31-63.

INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

Content belonging to instructors shared in online courses, including, but not limited to, online lectures, course notes, and video recordings of classes remain the intellectual property of the faculty member. It may not be distributed, published or broadcast, in whole or in part, without the express permission of the faculty member. Students are also forbidden to use their own means of recording any elements of an online class or lecture without express permission of the instructor. Any unauthorized sharing of course content may constitute a breach of the Academic Code of Conduct and/or the Code of Rights and Responsibilities. As specified in the Policy on Intellectual Property, the University does not claim any ownership of or interest in any student IP. All university members retain copyright over their work.

PLAGIARISM

Department of Political Science Statement on Plagiarism

The Department of Political Science has zero tolerance for plagiarism.

1. What is plagiarism? The University defines plagiarism as "the presentation of the work of another person, in whatever form, as one's own or without proper acknowledgement" (Concordia Undergraduate Calendar 2020-2021, section 17.10.3 (<https://www.concordia.ca/academics/undergraduate/calendar/current/17-10.html>)). Plagiarism is an academic offence governed by the Code of Conduct (Academic). To find out more about how to avoid plagiarism, see the Concordia University Student Success Centre at: <https://www.concordia.ca/students/success.html>

2. What are the consequences of being caught? Students caught plagiarizing are subject to the following sanctions: (a) a written reprimand; (b) a piece of work be re-submitted; (c) an examination be taken anew; (d) a grade reduction or grade of zero for the piece of work in question; (e) a grade reduction or failing grade for the course; (f) a failing grade and ineligibility for a supplemental examination or any other evaluative exercise for the course; (g) the obligation to take and pass courses of up to twenty-four (24) credits in addition to the total number of credits required for the student's program; (h) suspension for a period not to exceed six (6) academic terms. Suspensions shall entail the withdrawal of all University privileges, including the right to enter and be on University premises; (i) expulsion from the University. Expulsion entails the permanent termination of all University privileges. In the case of a student who has already graduated, the only two available sanctions are (i) a notation on the student's academic record that he or she has been found guilty of academic misconduct; or (ii) a recommendation to Senate for the revocation of the degree obtained. (Undergraduate Calendar, p. 58). Complete regulations can be found in section 17.10.3 of the Undergraduate Calendar.
3. See also The Political Science Department's "Resources on Avoiding Plagiarism" at: <https://www.concordia.ca/artsci/polisci/student-life/students.html#plagiarism> and the full (and updated) Academic Code of Conduct here: <http://www.concordia.ca/content/dam/common/docs/policies/official-policies/Academic-Code-Conduct-2015.pdf>.

EXTRAORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES

For undergraduate courses & courses that are cross-listed with graduate courses:

In the event of extraordinary circumstances and pursuant to the [Academic regulations - Concordia University](#) - Concordia University, the University may modify the delivery, content, structure, forum, location and/or evaluation scheme. In the event of such extraordinary circumstances, students will be informed of the changes.

STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES

Concordia University is working to create inclusive learning environments. Please notify me if there are aspects of the instruction or design of this course that result in disability-related barriers to your participation. You are also encouraged to contact the Access Centre for Students with Disabilities (ACSD) as soon as possible so that this office can assist with the necessary accommodations.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

As a professor, one of my responsibilities is to help create a safe learning environment for my students and for the campus as a whole. If you have experienced sexual harassment, sexual violence or discrimination, Concordia's Sexual Assault Resource Centre provides information available resources: <https://www.concordia.ca/students/sexual-assault.html>.

