

Contestation of Global Governance (7,5 ECTS) Spring Term, 2025

PhD-level course at the Stockholm Graduate School on Global Governance

Course Convenors: Lisa Dellmuth
Lecturers: Antoinette Scherz
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Course Outline

In this class, we will discuss cutting-edge research from interdisciplinary scholars, covering various fields, including international law, International Relations, philosophy, political science, and psychology. Students will both gain a broader understanding of global governance research and go more in-depth in the analysis of specific strands of the literature. We will discuss the theoretical perspectives, main arguments, findings, and methodological approaches of the covered research. There are seven seminars and, additionally, a reading list complementing the covered research. The first six seminars cover theories, empirical evidence, and methods, whereas the final seminar serves to discuss the final research paper. Students will write two literature reviews on two seminars and a final research paper. Active participation and preparation of the seven session is required for this course.

Learning Outcomes

Upon successful completion of this course, students will have a comprehensive understanding of contemporary global governance research, enabling in-depth analysis and critical evaluation, effective communication, research proficiency, and the application of knowledge in the field, leading to the following key learning outcomes:

- Gain a comprehensive understanding of contemporary global governance research, covering various fields and theoretical perspectives, and develop critical evaluation skills to assess theories, methodologies, findings, and implications.
- Analyze specific strands of global governance literature in depth, integrating knowledge from presentations, reading materials, and discussions to synthesize a holistic understanding of the field.
- Enhance communication skills by actively participating in class discussions, presenting research findings, and articulating insights coherently and persuasively.

- Apply theoretical concepts, methodological approaches, and interdisciplinary perspectives learned in class to critically analyze real-world political phenomena, policy issues, and demonstrate an interdisciplinary understanding of global governance.

Assessment

Participants in the course will be assessed by the quality in which they:

- Participate actively in seminars, which includes having readings completed in time
- Produce a short “memo” (1-2 pages) to be written in advance and send ca. 24 hours to the course participants before two of the seminars. The memos should discuss, not just summarize, the literature from your perspective and answer the question of how you would apply the specific disciplinary perspective to your PhD thesis. It should also contain questions that can be discussed by the group. You should present your memo within a maximum of 5 minutes in the seminar.
- Produce a longer final paper of ca. 5000 words (excl. references) on a topic agreed with the course directors. The paper can be co-authored among PhD students of the course and should be written in the style of a journal article. Substantively, the paper should be clear in the disciplinary approach/es adopted and engage with the course literature of several seminars. The paper should be submitted no later than 16 June 2025.

Attendance

For a survey course such as this – covering a wide theoretical terrain in fairly short time – attendance at every seminar is important. Students are allowed to miss no more than two seminars under extraordinary circumstances, and ideally those should be approved in advance. A make-up assignment consisting of a 4-page text summarizing the readings and applying them to your topic should be submitted on the day of the seminar, or as soon as possible thereafter.

Course Schedule

Before we begin, a brief clarification: “Optional” is an optional reading. Each seminar has about 80 pages of reading plus about 20 pages of optional readings.

Theme	Instructor	Date/Time/Place
1. Global Governance as a Field of Research	Jonas	3 Feb, 15-17:00
<p><i>This session discusses the long-standing tradition of studying global governance across disciplines. It provides an overview of prominent research problems, research questions, definitions, and research approaches to global governance, and also touches on the policy relevance of the field. It introduces the research theme on the contestation of global governance.</i></p>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Barnett, M. N., Pevehouse, J.C.W., and Raustiala, K. (2022). Introduction: The Modes of Global Governance. In M. N. Barnett, J.C.W. Pevehouse, and K. Raustiala (eds.) <i>Global Governance in a World of Change</i>, 1-47. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. • Tallberg, J., Bäckstrand, K., Scholte, J.A., and Sommerer, T. (2023) <i>Global Governance: Fit for Purpose?</i> Ch. 1. SNS Democracy Council 2023. Stockholm: SNS. Internet: sns-democracy-council-2023-global-governance--fit-for-purpose.pdf 		

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dunoff, J. L., (2017) The Law and Politics of International Organizations. In J.K. Cogan, I. Hurd, and I. Johnstone (eds), <i>The Oxford Handbook of International Organizations</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Internet: https://doi.org/10.1093/law/9780199672202.003.0003. • Tallberg, J., Walter, S., and Zürn, M. (2024) The Contestation of International Organizations: Patterns, Drivers, and Consequences. Unpublished paper. 		
2. The Politics of Global Governance Contestation	Faradj	17 February, 15-17:00
<p><i>This session features a broad tent of approaches, including institutional, political economy, and public opinion approaches, to understanding the politics of contestation of global governance and the role of different actors and institutions.</i></p>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chaudoin, S. (2023). How international organizations change national media coverage of human rights. <i>International Organization</i>, 77(1), 238-261. • Dellmuth, L., & Tallberg, J. (2020). Why national and international legitimacy beliefs are linked: Social trust as an antecedent factor. <i>The Review of International Organizations</i>, 15(2), 311-337. • Ecker-Ehrhardt, M. (2014). Why parties politicise international institutions: On globalisation backlash and authority contestation. <i>Review of International Political Economy</i>, 21(6), 1275-1312. • Hirschmann, G. (2021). International organizations' responses to member state contestation: from inertia to resilience. <i>International Affairs</i>, 97(6), 1963-1981. • <u>Optional</u>: Thomas, H., & Anner, M. (2023). Dissensus and Deadlock in the Evolution of Labour Governance: Global Supply Chains and the International Labour Organization (ILO). <i>Journal of Business Ethics</i>, 184(1), 33-49. 		
3. The Philosophy of Global Governance Contestation	Antoinette	17 March 15-17:00
<p><i>This session discusses philosophical approaches relevant for the study of global governance, with a specific focus on democracy, fairness, equality, and affectedness. It touches on the grounds on which global governance can be critiqued and how contestation can be justified.</i></p>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peter, F. (2020). The grounds of political legitimacy. <i>Journal of the American Philosophical Association</i>, 6(3), 372–390. • Buchanan, A., & Keohane, R. O. (2006). The legitimacy of global governance institutions. <i>Ethics & International Affairs</i>, 20(4), 405–437. • Christiano, T. (2020). The arbitrary circumscription of the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court. <i>Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy</i>, 23(3), 352–370. • Lu, C. (2018). Cosmopolitan justice, democracy, and the world state. In L. Cabrera (Ed.), <i>Institutional cosmopolitanism</i> (pp. 232–252). Oxford University Press. • <u>Optional</u>: Scherz, A. (2021). Tying legitimacy to political power: Graded legitimacy standards for international institutions. <i>European Journal of Political Theory</i>, 20(4), 631–653. 		
4. The Legal Contestation of Global Governance	Mark	3 April, 15-17:00
<p><i>This session discusses theories and methods in the study of international law, with an application on the question of legal contestation of global governance, for instance via non-compliance, withdrawal from international courts, and using legal norms.</i></p>		

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alter, K.J. (2023). The Contested Authority and Legitimacy of International Law - The State Strikes Back, in Daase, Deitelhoff and Witt (eds.), <i>Rule in International Politics</i>, Cambridge University Press. https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/rule-in-international-politics/contested-authority-and-legitimacy-of-international-law/22E47A6209564BFCED1BA72AFFEF832F- Koskenniemi, M. (2004). International Law and Hegemony: A Reconfiguration. <i>Cambridge Review of International Affairs</i>, 17(2), 197–218. http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/0955757042000245852 Lieblich, E. (2021). How to Do Research in International Law? A Basic Guide for Beginners. <i>Harvard International Law Journal Online</i>, 62. https://harvardilj.org/2021/01/how-to-do-research-in-international-law-a-basic-guide-for-beginners/ Galbraith, J. (2013). Treaty Options: Towards a Behavioral Understanding of Treaty Design. <i>Virginia Journal of International Law</i>, 53(2). https://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2456&context=faculty_scholarship Aalberts, T., & Gammeltoft-Hansen, T. (2018). Conclusion, in Aalberts and Gammeltoft-Hansen (eds), <i>The Changing Practices of International Law</i>, Cambridge University Press. https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/changing-practices-of-international-law/conclusion/105B3C977CFB929D9C96DB790271F132 alternative: https://research.vu.nl/files/80860313/Conclusion_The_dark_side_of_legalization.pdf 		
5. The Political Psychology of Global Governance Contestation	Lisa	28 April, 15-17:00
<p><i>This session discusses theories and methods in psychology focusing on cognitive processes with relevance to global governance. Applications are emotions, heuristic decision-making, fact resistance, information processing, and their role in political attitude formation. These applications are discussed against the backdrop of global governance contestation.</i></p>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kertzer, J., Tingley, D. (2018). Political psychology in international relations: Beyond the paradigms. <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i>, 21, 319–339. https://www.annualreviews.org/content/journals/10.1146/annurev-polisci-041916-020042 Brutger, R., Clark, R. (2023). At what cost? Power, payments, and public support of international organizations. <i>Review of International Organizations</i> 18, 431–465. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11558-022-09479-9 Kertzer, J.D., & Rathbun, B.C. (2015). Fair is fair: Social preferences and reciprocity in international politics. <i>World Politics</i> 67, 613–655. Renshon, J. (2015). Losing face and sinking costs: Experimental evidence on the judgment of political and military leaders. <i>International Organization</i> 69:659–695. Optional: Ecker-Erhardt, M., Dellmuth, L., & Tallberg, J. (forthcoming). Ideology and legitimacy in global governance. <i>International Organization</i>. 		
6. Final Paper Session	Lisa	19 May, 13-17:00
<p><i>This session offers a forum for discussing individual course paper drafts with the entire group. They should be emailed to all course participants 48 hours prior to the seminar.</i></p>		