

Summer school of the ECPR Standing Group on International Relations

Stockholm University

Stockholm University Graduate School of International Studies (SIS)

Department of Economic History

Department of Political Science

7-14 June 2017

Legitimacy and effectiveness in regional and global governance

Coping with the challenges of trans-boundary policy challenges is a topical issue of the current global agenda and the object of a vivid debate among scholars. Global crises with regard to climate change, food, health, finance, or the economy have sparked debates about the role of legitimacy and effectiveness in adequately and rapidly responding to regional and global policy challenges.

Legitimacy is a fundamental political principle, shaping the viability and effectiveness of non-governmental, governmental, or hybrid global governance institutions. *Effectiveness* in global governance requires adequate and rapid responses to policy challenges. Both legitimacy and effectiveness are related to one another and to other central concepts in global governance such as democracy, authority, and public opinion. In the International Relations (IR) literature, legitimacy and effectiveness have been explored by different theoretical paradigms, diverse methodologies, and various empirical questions. In the empirical IR literature, there are burgeoning debates about the study and measurement of legitimacy and effectiveness through novel theoretical lenses such as social psychology and through innovative methods such as survey experiments.

The ECPR Summer School on International Relations provides encompassing courses on various aspects of legitimacy and effectiveness in regional and global governance. Through a variety of courses taught by renowned IR scholars, students will learn about research on legitimacy and effectiveness at the forefront of IR from various epistemological, theoretical, and methodological perspectives. The summer school covers critical, normative, and positive approaches and offers advanced training in the latest theoretical approaches and cutting-edge quantitative and qualitative methods applied in IR. It encompasses a wide range of issue areas in global governance such as environmental governance, finance and monetary affairs, humanitarian aid, security, and internet governance. In addition, the summer school will connect students to an international forum of researchers and enable them to build an academic network with other junior and senior scholars in IR. Students will have the opportunity to present and discuss their own research to get feedback from the instructors and the other students.

Faculty

Academic Program

Lisa Maria Dellmuth, Stockholm University

Manuela Moschella, Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa

Piki Ish-Shalom, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Local organization

Jonatan Stiglund, Stockholm University

Lecturers

Stefanie Bailer, University of Basel

Power, negotiations, and success in the European Union and global climate governance

Simone Dietrich, University of Essex

External actors, democracy-promotion, and local government legitimacy

Mark Rhinard, Stockholm University

The effectiveness of regional and global security governance

Jan Aart Scholte, University of Gothenburg

The critical study of legitimation and delegitimation in global governance

Jonas Tallberg, Stockholm University

The positive study of legitimacy in global governance

Michael Zürn, Berlin Social Science Center (WZB)

Authority and legitimacy in global governance

Program

June 7: Arrival

18:00 Welcome Reception and Dinner

Part I: Effectiveness

June 8: The effectiveness of regional and global security governance (Mark Rhinard)

09:00 – 12:00 Regional and global security governance in comparative perspective

12:00 – 13:00 Lunch Break

13:00 – 15:00 Measuring and studying security effectiveness

15:00 – 15:30 Coffee Break

15:30 – 17:30 Feedback session

June 9: Power, negotiations and success in the European Union and global climate governance (Stefanie Bailer)

09:00 – 12:00 Theory and evidence

12:00 – 13:00 Lunch Break

13:00 – 15:00 Analyzing international negotiations: Measuring positions, strategies and success with different methods

15:00 – 15:30 Coffee Break

15:30 – 17:30 Feedback session

June 10: External actors, democracy-promotion, and local government legitimacy (Simone Dietrich)

09:00 – 11:30 Substantive topic: Foreign aid and democratic change

Methods: TSCS, instrumental variable estimation

11:30 – 12:30 Lunch Break

12:30 – 15:00 Substantive topic: Foreign aid and local government legitimacy

Methods: (Informational) experiments

15:00 – 15:30 Coffee Break

15:30 – 17:30 Feedback session

June 11: Day off

Part II: Legitimacy

June 12: Authority and legitimacy in global governance (Michael Zürn)

9:00 – 12:00 What is authority and legitimacy? Which theoretical relevance does it have?

12:00 – 13:00 Lunch Break

13:00 – 15:00 The study of authority and legitimacy in practice: How to study recognition?

15:00 – 15:30 Coffee Break

15:30 – 17:30 Feedback session

June 13: The critical study of legitimation and delegitimation in global governance (Jan Aart Scholte)

9:00 – 12:00 Theory and method

12:00 – 13:00 Lunch Break

13:00 – 15:00 Case study: Hegemony in global internet governance

15:00 – 15:30 Coffee Break

15:30 – 17:30 Feedback session

19:00 Summer school dinner

June 14: The positive study of legitimacy in global governance (Jonas Tallberg)

9:00 – 12:00 Theory and method

12:00 – 13:00 Lunch Break

13:00 – 15:00 Application: Survey experiments on legitimacy and legitimation

15:00 – 15:30 Coffee Break

15:30 – 17:30 Feedback session

Registration

Requirements

The summer school is open to PhD students, research master students and advanced master students from political science, international relations, public administration or related areas. A basic requirement is that all applicants should have completed introductory courses in political and administrative sciences or international relations at the BA-level.

Participants are expected to present their own research in the form of a research paper (6,000 to 8,000 words research paper or book chapter), and to discuss another participant's paper. Exceptionally we will also accept project proposals or research plans. Students should send their papers to jonatan.stiglund@ekohist.su.se by May 29, 2017.

Required application materials

CV

Recommendation letter by advisor

Research paper abstract (up to 500 words)

All material should be sent to jonatan.stiglund@ekohist.su.se by April 24, 2017.

Decisions on admission will be made on May 1, 2017.

Costs

Participants can choose between two packages. The first package includes participation in the summer school only (250,00 EUR per person). The second package includes participation in the summer school as well as accommodation in a hotel in central Stockholm (700,00 EUR per person).

ECTS-points

Upon completion of all parts of the summer school (attendance, paper presentation, and discussion), students are awarded a certificate for 7.5 ECTS-points.

Contact

jonatan.stiglund@ekohist.su.se

Literature

Part I: Effectiveness

June 8: The effectiveness of regional and global security governance (Mark Rhinard)

Introduction to Regional Security Cooperation

Bailes, A. and Cottey, A. (2006) 'Regional security cooperation in the early 21st century' in SIPRI Yearbook 2006: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 15 pp.

Kacowicz, A and Press-Barnathan, G (2016) 'Regional Security Governance' in The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism, by Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse (eds). Oxford: Oxford University Press. 38 pp.

Frameworks for Measuring Effectiveness/Performance

Barnett, M.N. & Finnemore, M. (1999) The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations. *International Organization*, 53(4), pp.699–732. 33 pp.

Gutner, T. & Thompson, A., (2010) 'The politics of IO performance: A framework' *Review of International Organizations*, 5(3), pp.227–248. 21 pp.

Kirchner, E. and Domínguez, R. (2011) 'Regional Organization and Security' In E. J. Kirchner and R. Domínguez (eds.), *The Security Governance of Regional Organizations*. Abingdon: Routledge, 1-28. 28 pp.

Applications for Discussion (select one text below to critique in line with the frameworks above; if you find another text, outside this list, feel free to discuss with the instructor).

Rationalist I: Levgold, J. (1998) 'NATO's post-cold war collective action problem' *International Security*, 23(1), pp.78–106. 28 pp.

Rationalist II: Wagner, W. (2003) 'Why the EU's common foreign and security policy will remain intergovernmental: a rationalist institutional choice analysis of European crisis management policy', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10(4), pp.576–595. 18 pp.

Sociological I: Barnett, M. (1997) 'The UN Security Council, Indifference, and Genocide in Rwanda.' *Cultural Anthropology*, 12(4): 551–78. 27 pp.

Functional I: Kirchner, E. and Domínguez, R. (2011) 'The Performance of Regional Organizations in Security Governance' In E. J. Kirchner and R. Domínguez (eds.), *The Security Governance of Regional Organizations*. Abingdon: Routledge, 300–331. 31 pp.

June 9: Power, negotiations and success in the European union and global climate governance (Stefanie Bailer)

Arregui, J and R Thomson (2009) States' bargaining success in the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy* 16(5): 655-676.

Bailer, Stefanie (2004) Bargaining Success in the European Union. *European Union Politics* 5(1): 99-123.

Bailer, Stefanie (2012) Strategy in the climate change negotiations: do democracies negotiate differently? *Climate Policy* 12(5): 534-551.

McKibben, Heather Elko (2013) The Effects of Structures and Power on State Bargaining Strategies. *American Journal of Political Science* 57(2): 411-427.

Tallberg, Jonas (2008) Bargaining power in the European Council. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 46(3): 685-708.

June 10: External actors, democracy-promotion, and local government legitimacy (Simone Dietrich)

Morning session

Angrist, Joshua and Jorn-Steffen Pischke: *Mostly Harmless Econometrics*. Chapters 1-4 (background reading).

Dietrich, Simone and Joseph Wright. 2015. Foreign Aid Allocation Tactics and Democratic Change in Africa. *Journal of Politics* 77(1): 216-234.

Afternoon session

Dietrich, Simone and Matthew Winters. 2016. Foreign Aid and Government Legitimacy. *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 2(2): 164-171.

Dietrich, Simone, Minhaj Mahmud, and Matthew Winters. 2016. Foreign Aid, Foreign Policy, and Government Legitimacy: Experimental Evidence from Bangladesh. Unpublished Manuscript (available from authors).

Sacks, Audrey. 2012. Can Donors and Non-State Actors Undermine Citizens' Legitimizing Beliefs? <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/11997>.

Part II: Legitimacy

June 12: Authority and legitimacy in global governance (Michael Zürn)

Hurd, Ian (2008), *After anarchy: Legitimacy and power in the United Nations Security Council* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press), Intro and Conclusion.

Lake, D. A. (2009), *Hierarchy In International Relations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press), Chap. 1.

Rauh, Christian and Michael Zürn. Legitimation Dynamics in Global Governance: Civil society evaluations of the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO in the international business press. Unpublished paper.

Rocabert, Jofre, Frank Schimmelfennig, Thomas Winzen, Loriana Crasnic. The Rise of International Parliamentary Institutions: Authority and Legitimation. Unpublished paper.

Zürn, Michael, From constitutional rule to loosely coupled spheres of liquid authority: a reflexive approach, in: International Theory, forthcoming.

June 13: The critical study of legitimation and delegitimation in global governance (Jan Aart Scholte)

Cox, R.W., 'Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method', Millennium, 12 (1983), 162-75.

Jessop, B. and N.-L. Sum, 'Towards a Cultural International Political Economy: Post-Structuralism and the Italian School', in M. de Goede (ed.), International Political Economy and Post-Structural Politics (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006), 157-76.

Krishna, S., Globalization & Postcolonialism: Hegemony and Resistance in the Twenty-First Century (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009).

Scholte, J.A., 'Complex Hegemony: The IANA Transition in Global Internet Governance', forthcoming, 40pp.

June 14: The positive study of legitimacy in global governance (Jonas Tallberg)

Bernauer, Thomas and Robert Gampfer. 2013. Effects of Civil Society Involvement on Popular Legitimacy of Global Environmental Governance. Global Environmental Change 23 (2): 439-449.

Binder, Martin and Monika Heupel. 2015. The Legitimacy of the UN Security Council: Evidence from Recent General Assembly Debates. International Studies Quarterly 59(2): 238-250.

Dellmuth, Lisa M. and Jonas Tallberg. 2016. Elite Communication and Popular Legitimacy in Global Governance. Unpublished paper.

Johnson, Tana. 2011. Guilt by Association: The Link between States' Influence and the Legitimacy of Intergovernmental Institutions. Review of International Organizations 6(1): 57-84.

Tallberg, Jonas and Michael Zürn. 2016. The Legitimacy and Legitimation of International Organizations. Unpublished paper.