

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
Department of International Relations

Spring Semester 2013 Course Offering CAS IR/PO 333

Non-State Actors in International Relations

Class Hours: Monday, Wednesday, Friday 11-12 PM

Location: PSY B51

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Office Hours: Wednesday 2-5 PM and by email appointment

Non-State Actors in International Relations: IR 333

Professor Kaija E. Schilde

IR 333 is a course about the role of non-state actors in international relations. International relations have generally been considered the domain of states. Non-state actors have had increasingly visible and prominent roles in global governance, international policy, and transnational activism that cross the boundaries of public and private and national and international. These non-state actors range from subnational or supranational governments, NGOs, religious groups, violent groups, for-profit security firms, to social movements and grassroots organizations. Their international or transnational roles come from a variety of sources, including the privatization of state authority and policymaking, the globalization of activism, and the transnational links between actors in domestic politics.

The first part of the course evaluates the history, definition, emergence, and distinctions between different non-state actors, as well as the theoretical literature on understanding transnational activism and private authority. It will also address the normative issues that have emerged from the growth of non-state actors in international politics. The second part of the course evaluates specifics of non-state actors in world politics, including their authority, power, and influence on politics or policies. The third part of the course surveys the different actors and groups we consider key non-state actors in world politics. The fourth part of the course reviews the role non-state actors have had in various issue and policy areas, such as environmental politics, human rights, development, and standards.

Requirements

Attendance, discussion, and course readings are all essential parts of your success in the course. The material covered in lectures does not duplicate what is assigned in the reading material.

Your course grade will be calculated based on:

1. Weekly REQUIRED readings of approximately 100-120 pages per week
2. Blackboard discussion questions (15% of grade)
3. Attendance and participation in class discussions (20% of the grade)
4. Non state actor group policy memo and presentation (20% of grade)
5. Midterm (20% of grade)
6. Final (25% of grade)

Exams

Two exams (midterm and final) will be given covering assigned readings and lecture material. Make up exams *will not* be given without a dean's excuse in which case an oral make up will be administered. *No exceptions to the policy will be made.*

Attendance and Participation

Attendance is required for success in this course. There will be some lecture material and powerpoint slides, but the majority of the course material will be communicated in an interactive manner outside of the lecture material. Failure to attend class will also be reflected in the participation grade.

Participation credit is given based upon the degree to which a student contributes positively to discussion of material during question and answer and discussion sessions. Students who rarely, or never, speak in discussion will receive no participation credit.

A key element of your grade (15%) will also be based on submitting one discussion question or comment about the reading material to blackboard before 10 AM the day of the class. If there is no reading assigned for that day, no blackboard comment/question is necessary. Discussion questions will not be graded other than to note participation, unless the comment clearly indicates the student has not read the material, which will result in no participation point.

ADD/DROP

The College of Arts and Sciences (CAS) Dean's Office has requested that you be informed of the following: The last day you may drop the course without a W grade is Thursday, February 21, 2013. The last day you may drop the course with a W grade is Friday, March 29, 2013.

Academic Honesty

Without exception, students are expected to adhere to the Boston University CAS Academic Code. Please read the Boston University Academic Conduct Code. Accordingly, all instances of academic dishonesty will be reported to the CAS Academic Conduct Committee. Please see <http://www.bu.edu/cas/students/undergrad-resources/code/>

Readings

Readings are REQUIRED and do not reinforce or duplicate lecture or in-class material. There are about 20-40 pages of reading per class session, usually in the form of a book chapter or article. Supplemental readings are listed under recommended readings.

After completing the reading for the class, please log into blackboard and submit a question about the reading.

There are five books required for purchase. Many of the assigned readings are from this list of books. Used copies of some of the books are affordable and readily available from online sources such as Amazon.com or Half.com. Multiple copies are also available on reserve at the library. Any assigned readings that are not from these six books are available on electronic sources or on the course Blackboard site.

1. Clunan, Anne, and Trinkunas Harold, eds. *Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty*. Stanford Security Studies, 2010.
2. Josselin, Daphné and William Wallace, eds. *Non-State Actors in World Politics*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
BU Library Online Version:
<http://site.ebrary.com.ezproxy.bu.edu/lib/bostonuniv/docDetail.action?docID=10038996>
3. Bob, Clifford. *The Marketing of Rebellion*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005
4. Avant, Deborah, Martha Finnemore, Susan Sell. *Who Governs the Globe?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

5. Mandel, Robert. *Dark logic: transnational criminal tactics and global security*. Stanford Security Studies, 2010.

Color Code of Assigned Readings:

Red=Readings from course books

Green= Readings available through email or blackboard

Black=link provided to reading

Introduction

Introduction to Non-State Actors in International Relations. 1/18

Mathews, Jessica T. "Power Shift." *Foreign Affairs* (New York) vol.76 no.1 (Jan/Feb 1997): 50-66.

What/Who are International Non-State Actors? 1/23

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. "Transnational advocacy networks in international and regional politics." *International Social Science Journal* 51.159 (2002): 89-101.

Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), Chapter 2 (blackboard)

Recommended:

Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink. "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics: Introduction." In Keck and Sikkink, 1998: 1-38.

Willets, Peter. "What is a Non-Governmental Organization?" in *Knowledge for Sustainable Development: Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems*, Vol. 3, UNESCO Publishing, 2002.

<http://www.staff.city.ac.uk/p.willets/CS-NITWKS/NGO-ART.HTM>

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

Martens, Kerstin. "Mission Impossible: Defining Nongovernmental Organizations," *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 13(3), 2002, 271-285.

Florini, Ann. *The Third Force: The Rise of Transnational Civil Society* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000), pp. 7-15.

Boli, John and George M. Thomas, eds., *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), Chapter 1.

Huw, David. "Transnational advocacy in the eighteenth century: transatlantic activism and the anti-slavery movement." *Global Networks* 7,3 (2007): 367-382.

Charnovitz, Steve. 'Emergence (1775-1918)' section in "Two Centuries of Participation: NGOs and International Governance." *Michigan Journal of International Law* vol.18 no.2 (Winter 1997): 183-212.

Theorizing Non-State Actors in International Relations 1/25

Josselin, Daphné and William Wallace. "Non-State Actors in World Politics: A Framework." In Josselin and Wallace, eds., 2001: 1-14.

Halliday, Fred. "The Romance of Non-State Actors," in Josselin and Wallace, p. 21-20.

Clunan, Ann and Harold Trikonas. "Conceptualizing Ungoverned Spaces," in Clunan and Trikonas, p. 17-30.

Recommended:

- Wapner, Paul. "The Normative Promise of Nonstate Actors: A Theoretical Account of Global Civil Society," in Wapner and Ruiz, eds. *Principled World Politics*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2000: 261-274. (will email or post to Blackboard)
- Risse-Kappen, Thomas. "Bringing Transnational Relations Back in: Introduction," in *Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures, and International Institutions*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995: 3-33.
- Orenstein, Mitchell and Hans Peter Schmitz. "The New Transnationalism and Comparative Politics," *Comparative Politics* 38, 4 (2006), 479-500.

Transnational Civil Society, Activism, and Policymaking

Hot or Not? NGOs, Activist Networks, and the Global Marketplace for Ideas 1/28

Bob, Clifford. *The Marketing of Rebellion*. Chapters 1 & 2, p. 1-53.

Class Discussion: Nigeria Ogoni Case and Zapatista Case 1/30

Bob, Clifford. *The Marketing of Rebellion*. Chapter 3, p. 54-116.

OR

Bob, Clifford. *The Marketing of Rebellion*. Chapter 4, p. 117-177.

Ideas, Framing, and Agenda Setting 2/1

Carpenter, R. Charli. "Governing the global agenda: "gatekeepers" and "issue adoption" in transnational advocacy networks," In Avant, Deborah, Martha Finnemore, Susan Sell. *Who Governs the Globe?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Sell, Susan K. and Aseem Prakash, Using Ideas Strategically: The Contest Between Business and NGO Networks in Intellectual Property Rights. *International Studies Quarterly* 48,1 (2004): 143-75.

Recommended:

Carpenter, R. Charli. Studying Issue (Non)Adoption in Transnational Advocacy Networks. *International Organization* 61,3 (2007): 643-667.

Joachim, Jutta. "Framing Issues and Seizing Opportunities: The UN, NGOs, and Women's Rights." *International Studies Quarterly* vol.47 no.2 (June 2003): 247-274.

Carpenter, R. Charli. "'Women, Children and Other Vulnerable Groups': Gender, Strategic Frames and the Protection of Civilians as a Transnational Issue." *International Studies Quarterly* vol.49 no.2 (June 2005): 295-334.

Hawkins, Darren. Explaining Costly International Institutions: Persuasion and Enforceable Human Rights. *International Studies Quarterly* 48,4: 779-804.

McIntosh Sundstrom, Lisa. Foreign Assistance, International Norms, and NGO Development: Lessons from the Russian Campaign. *International Organization* 59,2 (2005): 419-449.

Dimitrov, Radoslav. Knowledge, Power, and Interests in Environmental Regime Formation, *International Studies Quarterly* 47,1 (2003): 123-50.

Global Civil Society: Landmines, Conflict Diamonds, and Debt Relief Cases 2/4

(read two)

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

Le Billion, Philippe. "Fatal Transactions: Conflict Diamonds and the (anti) Terrorist Consumer," *Antipode*. 38,4 (2006): 778-801.

Busby, Joshua. "Bono Made Jesse Helms Cry: Jubilee 2000, Debt Relief, and Moral Action in World

Politics,” *International Studies Quarterly* 51,2 (2007): 247-275.

Recommended

Yanacopolus, Helen. Cutting the Diamond: Networking Economic Justice. Chapter 4 in Kahler, *Network Politics*.

Barnett, Michael. Evolution Without Progress? Humanitarianism in a World of Hurt. *International Organization* 63,4 (2009): 621-663.

Unexpected Transnational Activism 2/6

Bob, Clifford. "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. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Dietrich, John. "The Politics of PEPFAR: The President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief." *Ethics & International Affairs*. Volume 21, Issue 3, pages 277–292, Fall 2007.

Recommended:

Finnemore, Martha. "The Rules of War and the War of Rules," Chapter 6 in John Boli and George M. Thomas, Eds., *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.

Discussion 2/8

Democracy, Private Authority and Global Governance

International Organizations and Global Governance 2/11

Avant, Deborah, Martha Finnemore, and Susan K. Sell. "Introduction" in *Who Governs the Globe?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Gutner, Tamar. "When "doing good" does not: the IMF and the Millennium Development Goals." In Avant, Deborah, Martha Finnemore, Susan Sell. *Who Governs the Globe?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Recommended:

Yearbook of International Organizations. 46th edition. Brussels: Union of International Associations, 2009/10.

Barnett, Michael N. and Martha Finnemore. "The Politics, Power and Pathologies of International Organizations." *International Organization* vol.53 no.4 (Autumn 1999): 699-732.

Hawkins, Darren, David Lake, Daniel L. Nielson, and Michael E. Tierney, eds. *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

International Authority and Democratic Accountability 2/13

Kaiser, Karl. "Transnational Relations as a Threat to the Democratic Process." *International Organization* vol.25 no.3 (Special Issue, Summer 1971): 706-720.

Eizenstat, Stuart E. "Nongovernmental Organizations as the Fifth Estate." *Seton Hall Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations* vol.5 no.2 (Summer/Fall 2004): 15-28.

Recommended

Kahler, Miles. "Global Governance Redefined." Paper presented at The Conference on Globalization, the State, and Society Washington University School of Law St. Louis, 13-14

November 2003.

- Grant, Ruth W. and Robert O. Keohane. "Accountability and Abuses of Power in World Politics." *American Political Science Review* vol.99 no.1 (February 2005): 29-43.
- Murphy, Craig N. *International Organization and Industrial Change: Global Governance since 1850*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994: 1-11, 46-49, 62-64, 68-73, 82-85, 190 (Figure 5), and 106-108.
- Keohane, Robert O. and Joseph S. Nye. "Redefining Accountability for Global Governance." In *Governance in a Global Economy*, edited by Miles Kahler and David Lake. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003: 386-411.
- Slaughter, Anne-Marie. "Legislators: Lagging Behind." In *A New World Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004: 104-130.
- Kahler, Miles and David A. Lake. "Globalization and Changing Patterns of Political Authority." In *Governance in a Global Economy*, edited by Miles Kahler and David Lake. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003: 412-438.

Film -- Getting Out of Business: Privatization and the Modern State 2/15

Private Authority and Democratic Accountability 2/20

- Pauly, Louis W. "Global finance, political authority, and the problem of legitimation." *CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS* 85 (2002): 76-90.
- Verkuil, Paul R. "Outsourcing and the Duty to Govern." Cardozo Legal Studies Research Paper No. 149; Cardozo Legal Studies Research Paper No. 149. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=871455>

Recommended

- Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists Beyond Borders*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998, Chapter 6.
- Büthe, Tim. "Governance through Private Authority? Non-State Actors in World Politics." *Journal of International Affairs* (New York) vol.58 no.1 (Fall 2004): 281-290.
- Verkuil, Paul. *Outsourcing Sovereignty: Why Privatization of Government Functions Threatens Democracy and What We Can Do about It*. Cambridge University Press, 2007
- Stanger, Allison. *One Nation Under Contract: The Outsourcing of American Power and the Future of Foreign Policy*. Yale University Press, 2009.
- Cutler, A. Claire, Virginia Haufler, and Tony Porter, eds. *Private Authority and International Affairs*. Chapter 1.
- Gugerty, Mary Kay. "Self-Regulation and Voluntary Programs Among Nonprofit Organizations." In *Voluntary Programs: A Club Theory Perspective*, edited by Matthew Potoski and Aseem Prakash. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009: 259-277.
- Mattli, Walter and Tim Büthe. "Global Private Governance: Lessons From a National Model of Setting Standards in Accounting." *Law and Contemporary Problems* vol.68 no.3&4 (Summer/Autumn 2005): 225-262.
- Charnovitz, Steve. 'Analyzing NGO Participation' section in "Two Centuries of Participation: NGOs and International Governance." *Michigan Journal of International Law* vol.18 no.2 (Winter 1997): 268-286.

Authority, Legitimacy, and International Governance 2/22

- Börzel, Tanja A., and Thomas Risse. "Public-private partnerships: Effective and legitimate tools of international governance." *Reconstituting Political Authority. Complex Sovereignty and the Foundations*

of Global Governance, Toronto (2005): 195-216.
Cutler, A. Claire. "The legitimacy of private transnational governance: experts and the transnational market for force." *Socio-Economic Review* 8.1 (2010): 157-185.
Haufler, Virginia. "International diplomacy and the privatization of conflict prevention." *International Studies Perspectives* 5.2 (2004): 158-163.

Discussion 2/25

NO CLASS 2/27

MIDTERM 3/1

Transnational Economic Actors

Transnational MNCs and Global Policy 3/4

Haufler, Virginia. "Corporations in zones of conflict: issues, actors, and institutions." In Avant, Deborah, Martha Finnemore, Susan Sell. *Who Governs the Globe?* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
Cooley, Alexander. "Outsourcing authority: how project contracts transform global governance networks." In Avant, Deborah, Martha Finnemore, Susan Sell. *Who Governs the Globe?* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Recommended:

Cerny, Philip. "From Iron Triangles to Golden Pentangles?: Globalizing the Policy Process" *Global Governance* 7, 4 (2001): 397-410.
DeTomassi, David Anthony. "The Multinational Corporation and Global Governance: Modeling Global Public Policy Networks. *Journal of Business Ethics*. 71 (2007): 321-34.
Borzal, Tanja and Thomas Risse. "Public-Private Partnerships: Effective and Legitimate Tools of Global Governance? In Grande, Edgar and Louis Pauly, eds. *Complex Sovereignty*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2007.
Ougaard, Morten. Private Institutions and Business Power in Global Governance. *Global Governance* 14,3 (2008): 387-403.

Presentation: MNC case

Corporate Social Responsibility and Self-Regulation 3/6

UNGC, Overview of the UN Global Compact; Ten Principles; and Global Compact Governance. Available at: <http://www.unglobalcompact.org/AbouttheGC/>
Ruggie, John. The Theory and Practice of Learning Networks: Corporate Social Responsibility and the Global Compact. Available at: <http://www.greenleafpublishing.com/content/pdfs/jcc05rugg.pdf>
Thérien, Jean-Philippe and Vincent Pouliot, The Global Compact: Shifting the Politics of International Development? *Global Governance* 12 (2006): 55-75.

Recommended:

Blowfield, Michael and Jędrzej George Frynas, Setting new agendas: Critical perspectives on Corporate Social Responsibility. *International Affairs*, 81,3 (2005): 499-513.
Soederberg, Susanne. Taming Corporations or Buttressing Market-Led Development? : a Critical

Assessment of the Global Compact. *Globalizations*, 4, 4 (2007): 500-513.
UN Global Compact:
http://www.unglobalcompact.org/NewsAndEvents/Academic_Literature.html
Smith, Jackie. *Social Movements for Global Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.

Presentation: Corporate Social Responsibility Case

Discussion 3/8

Private Policy Regulation 3/18

Knill, Christopher and Dirk Lehmkuhl, Private actors and the state: internationalization and changing patterns of governance. *Governance* 15,1 (2002): 41-63.

Clapp, Jennifer. "The privatization of global environmental governance: ISO 14000 and the developing world." *Global Governance* (1998): 295-316.

Haufler, V. New forms of governance: certification regimes as social regulations of the global market, Meidinger et al.(2003), 237-248

Recommended:

Bernstein, Steven and Benjamin Cashore, "Non-State Global Governance: Is Forest Certification a Legitimate Alternative to a Global Forest Convention?" in John Kirton & Michael J. Trebilcock, eds., *Hard Choices, Soft Law: Voluntary Standards in Global Trade, Environment, and Social Governance*. London: Ashgate, 2004: 33-63.

Sanjeev Khagram, James Riker, and Katherine Sikkink, *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements: Networks and Norms*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.

Reinecke, Wolfgang H. The Other World Wide Web: Global Public Policy Networks. *Foreign Policy* (Winter 1999/2000).

Presentation: Private environmental governance/regulation

Internet Governance 3/20

Chapters 11-13, Clunan and Trinkunas

Presentation: Internet governance

Discussion 3/22

International Politics and Development Policy Networks

Development and NGOs 3/25

Cooley, Alexander, and James Ron. "The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action." *International Security* vol.27 no.1 (Summer 2002): 5-39.

Petra, James and Henry Veltmeyer. "NGOs in the Service of Imperialism." In *Globalization Unmasked: Imperialism in the 21st Century*. London: Zed Books, 2001: 128-138.

Recommended:

Chabbot, "Development INGOs," Chapter 6 in John Boli and George M. Thomas, Eds.,
Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875.
Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.

Pogge, Thomas. "Real World Justice." *Journal of Ethics* vol.9 no.1-2 (January 2005): 29-53.

Boserup, Ester. "Economic Change and the Roles of Women." In *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*, edited by Irene Tinker. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990: 14-24.

Neumayer, Eric. "The Determinants of Aid Allocation by Regional Multilateral Development Banks and United Nations Agencies." *International Studies Quarterly* vol.47 no.1 (March 2003): 101-122.

Stiglitz, Joseph. "Globalization and Its Discontents: How to Fix What's Not Working." Lecture delivered at the Institute for Development Policy and Management, University of Manchester, UK, on 4 April 2001 (<http://idpm.man.ac.uk/stiglitz.html> (1 July 2003)).

Moyo, Dambisa. *Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How There is A Better Way for Africa*. London: Allen Lane, 2009.

Presentation: Development/environmental politics and NGOs

MNCs and the Development Industry 3/27

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

Anna Lindley, Between 'Dirty Money' and 'Development Capital': Somali Money Transfer Infrastructure Under Global Scrutiny. *African Affairs* 108,433 (2009): 519-539.

Recommended:

Fieldhouse, David. "A 'New Imperial System'? The Role of the Multinational Corporation Reconsidered." In *Imperialism and After: Continuities and Discontinuities*, edited by Wolfgang Mommsen and Jürgen Osterhammel. London: Allen & Unwin, 1986: 225-240.

Tarzi, Shah M. "Third World Governments and Multinational Corporations: Dynamics of Host's Bargaining Power." *International Relations: The Journal of the David Davies Memorial Institute* (London) vol.10 no.3 (May 1991): 237-249.

Presentation: Development/environmental politics and MNCs

Discussion 3/29

Diasporas, Remittances, and Development 4/1

Østergaard-Nielsen, Eva. "Diasporas in World Politics." In Josselin and Wallace, eds., 2001: 218-234.

Presentation: Transnational diaspora politics or remittances

Film 4/3 & 4/5

Domestic and Supranational Courts as International Actors 4/8

Danner, Allison and Erik Voeten. "Who is running the international criminal justice system?" in Avant, Deborah, Martha Finnemore, Susan Sell. *Who Governs the Globe?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Putnam, Tonya L. "Courts Without Borders: Domestic Sources of U.S. Extraterritoriality in the Regulatory Sphere." *International Organization* vol.63 no.3 (Summer 2009): 459-490.

Recommended:

"International Criminal Court" from: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Brussels: Union of International Associations, 2009/10.

Kelley, Judith. "Who Keeps International Commitments and Why? The International Criminal Court and Bilateral Non-surrender Agreements." *American Political Science Review* vol.101 no.3 (August 2007): 573-589.

Burley, Anne-Marie and Walter Mattli. "Europe Before the Court: A Political Theory of Legal Integration." *International Organization* vol.47 no.1 (Winter 1993): 41-76.

Helfer, Laurence R., Karen J. Alter, and M. Florencia Guerzovich. "Islands of Effective International Adjudication: Constructing and Intellectual Property Rule of Law in the Andean Community." *American Journal of International Law* vol.103 no.1 (January 2009): 1-47.

Presentation: International Criminal Court

Religious Groups as International Political Actors 4/10

Ryall, David. "The Catholic Church as a Transnational Actor." In Josselin and Wallace, eds., 2001: 41-58.

Dalacoura, Katerina. "Islamist Movements as Non-State Actors and their Relevance to International Relations." In Josselin and Wallace, eds., 2001: 235-248.

Recommended:

Berger, Julia. "Religious Non-Governmental Organizations: An Exploratory Analysis." *International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* vol.14 no.1 (March 2003): 15-39.

Presentation: Transnational or international religious group case

Discussion 4/12

Nonstate Security Actors

The privatization of force I: Privatized Security Companies and Mercenaries 4/17

Recommended:

Abrahamsen, Rita and Michael C Williams, "Security Beyond the State: Global Security Assemblages in International Politics" *International Political Sociology* 3,1 (2009): 1-17.

Shearing, Clifford and Les Johnston, *Governing Security*. Routledge 2004.

Johnston, Les. *The Rebirth of Private Security* (London: Routledge 1992)

Special Issue, "Security Beyond the State: The Privatization of Security in Africa", *International Relations*, 21 (July 2007).

Special Issue, "Global/Local: The Contours of Private Security In Contemporary Africa", *Review of African Political Economy* 35,118 (2008).

Presentation: Private security company or mercenary

The privatization of force II: Privatized Military Companies 4/18

Avant, Deborah, Max Boot, and Jorg Friedrichs and Cornelius Friesendorf, *The Mercenary Debate*. *The American Interest* (May-June 2009).

Singer, Peter. "Outsourcing War." *Foreign Affairs* vol.84 no. (March/April 2005): 119-132.

Singer, Peter. *Can't Win with'em, Can't go to War without'em: Private Military Contractors and Counterinsurgency*. Brookings Institution, 2007.

Recommended:

Avant, Deborah. *The Market for Force* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Avant, Deborah. The emerging market for private military services and the problems of regulation.

In Simon Chesterman and Chia Lenhardt, eds. *From Mercenaries to Market: The Rise and Regulation of Private Military Companies*. Oxford University Press, 2007: 181-195.

Drohan, Madeleine. *Making a Killing: How and why corporations use armed force to do business*. Toronto: Random House, 2003.

Isenberg, David. *Shadow Force*. New York: Praeger, 2008.

Owen, Patricia. Distinctions, distinctions: Public and private force. *International Affairs* 85,5 (2008): 977-990.

Percy, Sarah. *Mercenaries: History of a norm in international relations*. Oxford University Press, 2007.

Singer, Peter. *Corporate Warriors*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Verkuil, Paul. *Outsourcing Sovereignty*. Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Cockayne, James. "Make or buy?: Principle-agent theory and the regulation of private military companies." In Chesterman and Lenhardt, eds. *From Mercenaries to Market*, 196-216.

Presentation: Private Military Company or conflict

Discussion session 4/19

Warlords and Clandestine Actors 4/22

Reno, William. Persistent Insurgencies and Warlords: Who is Nasty, who is Nice, and Why?" Chapter 3, Clunan and Trinkunas.

Marten, Kimberly. "Warlordism in Comparative Perspective." *International Security* vol.31 no.3 (Winter 2006/07): 41-73.

Reno, William. Clandestine Economies, Violence and States in Africa. *Journal of International Affairs* 53,2 (2000): 433-460.

Recommended:

Francois Calas and Pierre Salignon. *Afghanistan: from 'Militant Monks' to Crusaders,*" in Fabrice Weissman, Ed., *In the Shadow of 'Just Wars'*. Cornell University Press, 2004, pp. 66-87.

Duffield, Mark. *Global Governance and the New Wars*. London: Zed, 2000.

Reno, William. *Warlord Politics and African States*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999.

Volkov, Vadim. *Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Presentation: Warlord case

Trafficking and Alternative Economies 4/24

Zaitseva, Lyudmila. Nuclear Trafficking in Ungoverned Spaces and Failed States. Chapter 10, Clunan and Trinkunas.

Felbab-Brown, Vanda. Rules and Regulations in Ungoverned Spaces: Illicit Economies, Criminals, and Beligerents.

Presentation: Human, Sex, or Criminal Trafficking

Transnational Terrorism 4/26

Bloom, Mia M. "Terror 101: The Transnational Contagion Effects of Suicide Bombing." In *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005: 120-141.

Recommended:

Kahler, Miles. "Collective Action and Clandestine Networks: The Case of Al Qaeda." In *Networked Politics: Agency, Power, and Governance*, edited by Miles Kahler. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009: 103-124.

Knorr Cetina, Karin. "Complex Global Microstructures: The New Terrorist Societies", *Theory, Culture, and Society* 22,5 (2005): 213-234.

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette and Calvert Jones, "Assessing the Dangers of Illicit Networks: Why al-Qaida May Be Less Dangerous Than Many Think." *International Security* 33,2 (2008): 7-44.

Sageman, Marc. *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

Presentation: Transnational Terrorism network or tactics

Transnational Organized Crime 4/29

Mandel, Robert. *Dark logic: transnational criminal tactics and global security*. Stanford Security Studies, 2010.

Recommended:

Kenney, Michael. "Turning to the 'Dark Side': Coordination, Exchange, and Learning in Criminal Networks." Chapter 5 in Kahler, *Network Politics*.

Glenny, Misha. *McMafia: A Journey Through the Global Criminal Underworld*. New York: Knopf, 2008.

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