The MGIMO School of Government and International Affairs

Norms and Normative Governance in World Politics

Undergraduate Course Syllabus

Instructor
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Moscow – 2022

This syllabus is designed in accordance with the MGIMO Educational Standard for the Bachelor's Program in International Affairs (program track *Government, International Politics and Law*).

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Course Description

        This course explores the role international norms play in world politics. It reveals some of the limitations of the Realist and Liberal International Relations paradigms and argues that Constructivism offers the best insights in explaining change in the international system. We will explore both theoretically and practically several key questions: What is the difference between a norm and a rule? How have norms changed international relations over the last 50 years? Why are norms created and by whom? Who promotes new norms and what are their interests in doing so? Do norms change over time, from their conception to their implementation? What tools and strategies are used to diffuse norms? What opposition do norms encounter during each phase of their life cycle? How effective are norms at bringing about change? Can normative governance backfire and be counterproductive?

        We begin by considering how international norms are an essential part of the Constructivist theory of International Relations and reviewing different perspectives on their ability to bring about change in the international system. We study the main phases of the life of a norm (emergence, diffusion, internalisation), promotion mechanisms (framing, naming and shaming, socialisation, grafting), challenges to norms (contestation, decay, reversibility and death) and actors involved (various typologies of transnational networks). We use the theoretical concepts to explain real life situations through a detailed analysis of case studies pertaining to a number of different spheres: the environment, higher education, arms control, cyber-security and pandemics.

This course was created for second year students of the BA in International Affairs. The course is designed to help students develop their critical thinking abilities, understand the link between International Relations theory and real-life problems and learn how to write an original research paper.

The class has for three main goals:

- To provide students with an understanding of current trends in Constructivism, the leading IR theory among scholars worldwide

- To show that IR theory has serious empirical consequences and that norms can change both perceptions and reality

- To teach students the benefits of using primary sources in research and developing their own original research

The course consists of eight seminars and eight lectures. The lectures focus on providing academic materials and seminars are interactive and allow students to practice their new skills and explore different topics.

Requirements and Grading

There are four graded elements in this course. The elements and their percentage weightings in the final grade, follow:

- In-class tests (20%),
- In-class topic presentation (20%),
- Research paper (20%),
- Grade for class participation (10%)
- Final examination (30%)

In-class tests: The two in-class tests will cover both reading and lecture material for the first and second halves of the course. You can find the dates for these in the course schedule. Unexcused missed tests will be marked as zero.

In-class topic presentation: Students will make in groups of two or three 15-minute presentations on the topics indicated in the course schedule. The presentations should be in PowerPoint format, offer an original analysis of the topic and be based on academic articles. The additional readings for the lecture and seminar offer a starting point to guide students in the selection of appropriate material. Failure to turn up to give a presentation without a medical note and forewarning will be marked as zero.

Research paper: This course focuses on the development by each student of an individual research project devoted to an international norm they have selected. Students can select a norm from any sphere related to International Relations and focus of any phase of norm development (from emergence to implementation). The topic must be submitted to the lecturer for approval by end of March.
The complete research paper will be handed in by the 15th of May. The research paper presents the findings of each student on their topic, comprises a reference list and is 10 pages long (standard margins, double spaced). Papers will not be accepted after the deadline without a serious and documented medical reason. Papers should be written in clear and correct prose. All sources must be properly cited in APA format.

Additional Assessment criteria for the paper:
Strength and clarity of argument: the paper should present an argument in an organized and coherent manner and follow it through. Summarizing someone else's ideas or reiteration of primary material is insufficient. The answer must address the question asked.
Conceptual clarity: the exam answers should demonstrate a clear understanding of concepts presented in the lectures. The concepts should be used consistently throughout the paper.
Critical analysis: the paper should be based on analysis, rather than reproduction of the relevant literature.

The grade for class participation: It takes into account attendance, participation in seminars, preparation for lectures, timeliness and general curtesy to the lecturer and fellow students. All compulsory readings and materials for preparing presentations are available on google drive.

Final examination: Students will have two hours to analyse in written two topics directly related to the subject matter of the course. The examination will assess students' ability to use the fundamental concepts presented in the course and articulate their own ideas around case-studies and topics discussed in class.

The numerical scale for each graded element of the course is listed below. The letter grades will be calculated on the basis of the weighted average score across the four elements of the course. Please note that the weighted average score will not be rounded up.

90-100 A
82-89   B
75-81   C
67-74   D
60-66   E
<60   F

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is considered a severe violation and an indication of incompetence in the course. Plagiarism is understood as the making of one's text using compilation method for other people's publications, even when they are connected with their own phrases and sentences. Collective performance of individual tasks is unacceptable. Proven plagiarism will receive an F-mark regardless of the fulfilment of all other requirements.

Learning outcomes

Upon completion of the course, students should be able to:
- Define international norms and explain their place in the Constructivist theory of International Relations.
- Identify an international norm against a general background.
- Evaluate and discuss critically the role of international norms in shaping global politics.
- Cite and use critically the main concepts from norm theory
- Research and write competently an undergraduate research paper
- Communicate with other students and get effectively involved in group projects

Course content

Part I Transnational Norms in International Relations

Lecture 1: Norms in Constructivist Theory
- Constructivist theory at a glance: social structures and governance
- Norms categories and regimes
- Norm interplay, norm life-cycles and implementation challenges

Seminar 1: Norm cycles and dynamics
- Identifying a norm in International Relations
- Relations between domestic and international norms
- Different scenarios of norm emergence and diffusion
- Case of banning landmines and norm cascades
*Student presentation: The norm on women's suffrage**

Compulsory materials:
Read 'Social Constructivism' by Michael Barnett
Watch lecture by Martha Finnemore on Constructivism
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hdjr2VwwinA&t=1206s

Additional materials:
Acharya, A. (2004). How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and
    Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism. *International Organization*, 58(2), 239-
    275.
Breitmeier, H., Young, O. R., Zürn, M., (2006). *Analyzing International Regimes: From Case
    Study to Database*. MIT Press, Cambridge.
Cortell, A. P., & Davis Jr, J. W. (2000). Understanding the domestic impact of international
    norms: A research agenda. *International Studies Review*, 2(1), 65-87.
Davydov, Y., (2002). *Norms against force: the problem of world governance*. Moscow:
    Institute of the US and Canada.
Finnemore, M., & Sikkink, K. (1998). International Norm Dynamics and Political
    Change. *International Organization, 52*(4),* (especially p 895-886)
    https://home.gwu.edu/~finnemor/articles/1998_norms_io.pdf
Young, O.R., (1986). International Regimes: Toward a New Theory of Institutions. *World
    Politics*, 39:1.

Lecture 2: Transnational Networks for Political Change
  • Typology of transnational networks
  • Norm adoption and the 'implementation gap'
  • Transnational Advocacy Networks for norm diffusion
  • Transnational Experience and Expertise Networks for norm implementation

Seminar 2: TANs and TEENs for norm diffusion and implementation
  • Structure and activities of Transnational Advocacy Networks
  • The 'boomerang effect': international allies for domestic pressure
  • Information, symbolic and leverage politics
*Student presentation: Human Rights Advocacy in Latin America**

Compulsory materials:
Read 'NGOs in World Politics' by J. Joachim
Watch commentary by Katherine Sikkink on Networks
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nzIAIPl_vhk

Additional materials:
Carpenter, R. C. (2007). Setting the advocacy agenda: Theorizing issue emergence and
    nonemergence in transnational advocacy networks. *International Studies
    Quarterly*, 51(1), 99-120.
Crowley-Vigneau, A., Baykov, A. (2020). Transnational Expertise and Experience Networks
    and Russia's Environmental policies. *Mezhdynarodnye Protsessy*, Том 18, № 1 (60),
    cc. 106–118. DOI: http://doi.org/10.17994/IT.2020.18.1.60.6
Haas, P.M. (1992). Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination.
    International Organization 46(01): 1-35.
Hopf, T. (2010). The logic of habit in International Relations. *European Journal of
    International Relations,* 16(4), 539–561. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066110363502

Keck M.E., Sikkink, K. (1998) *Activists Beyond Borders, Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. New York: Cornel University Press* (Chapter 3).

Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. (2018). Transnational advocacy networks in international and regional politics. *International Social Science Journal*, *68*(227–228), 65–76.

Marsh, D., & Smith, M. (2000). Understanding policy networks: towards a dialectical approach. *Political studies*, *48*(1), 4-21. https://doi.org/10.1111/issj.12187

Risse, T., Ropp, S. C., & Sikkink, K. (1999). The Socialization of International Human Rights Norms into Domestic Practice: Introduction.

Sikkink, K. (2013). The United States and torture: Does the spiral model work? In T. Risse, S. Ropp, & K. Sikkink (Eds.), *The Persistent Power of Human Rights: From Commitment to Compliance* (Cambridge Studies in International Relations, pp. 145-163). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139237161.012*

Part II Social Activism on Environmental issues

Lecture 3: Framing Climate Change
- Four scenarios for the emergence of environmental awareness
- A history of perceptions of climate change
- From a legal regime to a threat to international security
- NGO persuasion and coercion: environmental campaigning

Seminar 3: Transnational actors and discourse shaping
- NGOs empowering local communities
- 'Naming and Shaming' national governments: the case of the Dongria tribe
- Climate justice as a frame to forge alliances with vulnerable countries
- The new United Nations politics of loss and damage

Student presentation: The transition to renewable energy: a new norm?

Compulsory materials:
Read 'Environmental Issues' by John Vogler
Watch Video by Amnesty International: 'Mine- Story of the sacred mountain'
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R4tuTFZ3wXQ

Additional materials:
Allan, J. I., & Hadden, J. (2017). Exploring the framing power of NGOs in global climate politics. *Environmental Politics*, *26*(4), 600-620.

Barrett, S., Environment and Statecraft – The Strategy of Environmental Treaty-Making (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 360.

Depledge, J., 'The Opposite of Learning: Ossification in the Climate Change Regime', Global Environmental Politics, 6(1), 2006, pp. 1–22.

IRENA's Eenergy transition support to strengthen Climate Action. https://www.irena.org/-/media/Files/IRENA/Agency/Publication/2021/Nov/IRENA_Energy_Transition_Climate_Action_2021.pdf *

Murthy, S. L. (2019). States and Cities as Norm Sustainers: A Role for Subnational Actors in the Paris Agreement on Climate Change. *Va. Envtl. LJ*, *37*, 1.

Nolan, J. M. (2021). Social norm interventions as a tool for pro-climate change. *Current Opinion in Psychology*.

Sparkman, G., Howe, L., & Walton, G. (2021). How social norms are often a barrier to

addressing climate change but can be part of the solution. *Behavioural Public Policy*, *5*(4), 528-555.

Peel, J., & Osofsky, H. M. (2018). A rights turn in climate change litigation?. *Transnational Environmental Law*, *7*(1), 37-67.

Lecture 4: Case study on combatting flaring in the Oil and Gas Industry
- Implementation challenges in the transition to sustainability
- Regional implications of the climate change regime
- The national adoption and localization of norms
- Exploring framing strategies

Seminar 4: Framing and grafting
- Climate change reversal, mitigation, adaptation
- Pattern of international adoption of an anti-plastic bag norm
- Diffusion patterns of uncodified norms
- Structural, instrumental and discursive power

Student presentation: The norm on the protection of the ozone-layer *
First in-class test

Compulsory materials:
Clapp, J., & Swanston, L. (2009). Doing away with plastic shopping bags: international patterns of norm emergence and policy implementation. *Environmental politics*, *18*(3), 315-332.

Browse the World Bank's GGFR website: determine the origins, mission and means of the partnership: https://www.worldbank.org/en/programs/gasflaringreduction

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

Albrecht, F., & Parker, C. F. (2019). Healing the ozone layer: The Montreal Protocol and the lessons and limits of a global governance success story. In *Great policy successes* (pp. 304-322). Oxford University Press.*

Cass, L. R. (2016). Measuring the domestic salience of international environmental norms: climate change norms in American, German and British climate policy debates. In *The social construction of climate change* (pp. 47-74). Routledge.

Eder, L. V., Provornaya, I. V., & Filimonova, I. V. (2019). Problems of Rational Use of Associated Petroleum Gas in Russia. *Geography and Natural Resources*, *40*(1), 9–14. https://doi.org/10.1134/s1875372819010025

Epstein, C. (2006). The making of global environmental norms: endangered species protection. *Global Environmental Politics*, *6*(2), 32-54.

Young, O. (1999). *Governance in World Affairs*. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press.

Part III Security beyond a Realist Approach

Lecture 5: Arms Control and Norm Resilience
- Achievements of norms regulating conventional armaments
- The rise and decay of the nuclear taboo
- Landmines and norm resilience

- The weapons of mass destruction category
- Norm reversibility, linkage and grafting

Seminar 5: The Chemical Weapons Taboo
- The origins of the norm against the use of chemical weapons
- The monitoring of chemical warfare by the UN
- The use of chemical weapons and erosion of the taboo
- Does confirmation of violation without punishment encourage noncompliance?

Student presentation: Rogue states: Norm breakers or norm makers? The case of Iran*

Compulsory materials:
Price, Richard M. 2019. 'Syria and the Chemical Weapons Taboo.' *Journal of Global Security Studies* 4 (1): 37-52.

Watch 'A brief history of chemical weapons'
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5XM3mPVMlGw&t=79s

Additional materials:
Deitelhoff, Nicole, and Lisbeth Zimmermann. 2020. "Things we lost in the fire: How different types of contestation affect the validity of international norms." *International Studies Review* 22 (1): 51-76.

Hanson, Marianne. 2018. "Normalizing zero nuclear weapons: The humanitarian road to the Prohibition Treaty." *Contemporary Security Policy* 39 (3): 464-86.

Horowitz, Michael C. 2016. "The ethics & morality of robotic warfare: assessing the debate over autonomous weapons." *Daedalus* 145 (4): 25-36.

Katzenstein, Peter J. ed. 1996. *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Knopf, Jeffrey W. 2018. "After diffusion: Challenges to enforcing nonproliferation and disarmament norms." *Contemporary Security Policy.* 39 (3): 367-98.

Panke, Diana, and Ulrich Petersohn. 2016. "Norm challenges and norm death: The inexplicable?" *Cooperation and Conflict* 51 (1): 3-19.

Wunderlich, C. (2020). *Rogue States as Norm Entrepreneurs*. Springer International Publishing. (Chapters 1, 6 ,7)*

Lecture 6: Cyber-Security and Norm Creation
- The ramifications of norm cultivation
- Cyberattacks: economic, humanitarian and national security stakes
- A process-oriented analysis of norm dynamics
- Case of the Shamoon virus

Seminar 6: Norm decay and the collapse of the UN cyber-norm process
- Benefits and limits to a normative regulation of the cyber-space
- Multi-stakeholder and multilateral models of governance
- Cybersecurity versus information security: two worldviews?
- Validity/ application/ emergence/ access contestation
- The UN group of governmental experts (UNGGE) on cyber issues

Student presentation: Stuxnet and cyberwarfare*

Compulsory materials:
Maurer, T. (2020). A Dose of Realism: The Contestation and Politics of Cyber Norms. *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, *12*(2), 283-305.

Watch the talk delivered at MGIMO by Martha Finnemore on cybersecurity
    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4lstpuWw85o

Additional materials:
Finnemore, Martha, and Duncan B. Hollis. 2016. "Constructing norms for global
    cybersecurity." *American Journal of International Law* 110 (3): 425-79.
Grigsby, A. (2017). The end of cyber norms. *Survival*, *59*(6), 109-122.
Kurowska, X. (2019). The politics of cyber norms: Beyond norm construction towards
    strategic narrative contestation.
Lindsay, J. R. (2013). Stuxnet and the limits of cyber warfare. *Security Studies*, *22*(3), 365-
    404.*
Mačák, K. (2017). From cyber norms to cyber rules: re-engaging states as law-makers. *Leiden
    Journal of International Law*, *30*(4), 877-899.
Tikk-Ringas, E. (2016). International cyber norms dialogue as an exercise of normative
    power. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, 47-59.

Part IV Normative approaches to Educational and Health Issues

Lecture 7: International norm implementation in Higher Education
- Identifying non-codified international norms
- The international norm on world-class universities
- International organizations and norm outcomes: the role of the World Bank
- Russia's Project 5-100 and Priorities 2030

Seminar 7: 'Antipreneurs' and norm contestation
- Norm entrepreneurs versus antipreneurs
- Temporal context of norm diffusion 'windows of opportunity'
- Overcoming resistance, cheating and roll-back
- Local content policies in Higher education
Student presentation: Contestation of the norm of global education

Compulsory materials:
Lo, W. Y. W., & Hou, A. Y. C. (2019) 'A farewell to internationalisation? Striking a balance
    between global ambition and local needs in higher education in Taiwan'. *Higher
    Education*, 1-14.
Watch UCA Public Lecture: The Challenge of Establishing World-Class Universities in
    Emerging Countries https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yL63ApJWARU

Additional materials:
Bloomfield, A. (2016) 'Norm antipreneurs and theorising resistance to normative
    change'. *Review of International Studies*, *42*(2), 310.*
Crowley-Vigneau, A., Istomin, I. A., Baykov, A. A., & Kalyuzhnova, Y. (2021).
    Transnational Policy Networks and Change through Internationalization (The
    Record of Project 5-100). *Polis: Journal of Political Studies*, (5).*
Deitelhoff, N., & Zimmermann, L. (2020) 'Things we lost in the fire: how different types of
    contestation affect the robustness of international norms'. *International Studies
    Review*, *22*(1), 51-76.
Gill, R. (2016) 'Breaking the silence: The hidden injuries of neo-liberal
    academia'. *Feministische Studien*, *34*(1), 39-55.

Kniazev, E. (2002) 'Coping with the New Challenges in Managing a Russian
        University'. *Higher Education Management and Policy*, *14*(1), 109–126.
Maesse, J. (2017) 'The elitism dispositif: hierarchization, discourses of excellence and
        organizational change in European economics'. *Higher Education*, *73*(6), 909-927.
Marginson, S., & van der Wende, M. (2007) 'To Rank or To Be Ranked: The Impact of
        Global Rankings in Higher Education'. *Journal of Studies in International
        Education*, *11*(3–4), 306–329.

Lecture 8: Norms and Pandemics
- Building global health security with the International Health Regulations
- Case study of SARS and new disease diplomacy
- Swine flu and the International Infectious Disease Control Regime
- Global health problems and collected values

Seminar 8: Shaping emerging norms
- An international norm still to be defined?
- Costs and benefits of being a norm creator in times of pandemics
- Case-study of UK Covid 19 response
- Vaccinations, infection rates and new bargaining chips in global politics

Presentation: Covid 19 as an opportunity for international cooperation*
Second in-class test

Compulsory materials:
Fazal, T. (2020). Health Diplomacy in Pandemical Times. *International
        Organization, 74*(S1), E78-E97. doi:10.1017/S0020818320000326

Additional materials:
Greer, S. L., King, E. J., da Fonseca, E. M., & Peralta-Santos, A. (2020). The comparative
        politics of COVID-19: The need to understand government responses. *Global public
        health*, *15*(9), 1413-1416.
Johnson, T. (2020). Ordinary patterns in an extraordinary crisis: How international relations
        makes sense of the COVID-19 pandemic. *International Organization*, *74*(S1), E148-
        E168.
Lipscy, P. Y. (2020). COVID-19 and the Politics of Crisis. *International
        Organization*, *74*(S1), E98-E127.
Mukhtar, S. (2021). Psychology and politics of COVID-19 misinfodemics: Why and how do
        people believe in misinfodemics?. *International Sociology*, *36*(1), 111-123.
Roberts, A. (2020). Pandemics and politics. *Survival*, *62*(5), 7-40.
Taghizade, S., Chattu, V. K., Jaafaripooyan, E., & Kevany, S. (2021). COVID-19 pandemic
        as an excellent opportunity for Global Health Diplomacy. *Frontiers in Public
        Health*, *9* *. https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC8310918/