

1st Term Seminar 2021-2022

Multilateral cooperation and institutional complexity

Organised by **Stephanie Hofmann**

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Course Description and Objectives

Over the last decades, the number of international organizations has grown rapidly across policy domains such as security, trade, human rights, cyber, or development aid. Not only have new organizations been created but existing ones also expanded their scope. In crisis management, for example, we observe not only the UN, but also the EU, NATO, OSCE, AU, ECOWAS, IGAD - just to name a few. Trade is governed through the WTO, regional organizations and many other PTAs. As a result, what has been governed through relatively disconnected international treaties and agreements before, is today subject to overlapping institutions and so-called regime complexes. In this seminar, we ask whether this growth in institutions has transformed the ways in which we think of global governance and multilateral cooperation? In addressing this question, more questions arise such as: Why have some international organizations proliferated and expanded while others have not? Which actors push for what kind of institutional change? Do we observe differences across policy domains and/or regions? We will examine these questions by reviewing advanced theoretical and empirical scholarship on international organizations.

In this seminar, we first revisit theoretical and conceptual debates on international institutions and global governance. We do so to distill key assumptions and mechanisms on which current theories might still rest. Second, we discuss different sets of institutional forms (e.g. formal and informal institutions, multistakeholder institutions) and actors (e.g. IO bureaucracy, nonstate actors) to gain a better understanding of the governance space. Finally, we turn to the recent debate on regime / institutional complexity. We examine whether and under what conditions the existing assumptions and mechanisms still hold in a densely institutionalized space. We will also engage with the questions of how different actors influence and are influenced by this complexity as well as debate what impact this complexity has on global governance and multilateral cooperation at large.

With a focus on regime / institutional complexity, we move away from studying institutions in isolation from one another and only focusing on few rich, resourceful and powerful institutions. Instead, we will gain a more nuanced understanding of when, where and how institutions can make a difference (for a few actors or many).

Schedule

This seminar takes place on Tuesdays at 15:00-17:00

The full list of seminar sessions is the following:

Tuesday	5 th October	Seminar room 2, Badia
Tuesday	12 th October	Seminar room 2, Badia
Tuesday	19 th October	Seminar room 2, Badia
Tuesday	26 th October	Seminar room 2, Badia
Tuesday	2 nd November	Seminar room 2, Badia
Tuesday	9 th November	Seminar room 2, Badia
Tuesday	16 th November	Seminar room 2, Badia
Tuesday	23 rd November	Seminar room 2, Badia
Tuesday	30 th November	Seminar room 2, Badia
Tuesday	7 th December	Seminar room 2, Badia

Course requirements consist of

- **Complete the readings and active participation** in the seminar discussions and debates, e.g. contributing to addressing broader issues and questions underlying the readings, identifying strengths and problems with theory & research design as well as discussing potential room for revisions.
- **authors' defendant (1x)**, that is, defend the merits of the week's readings in class.
- **memo** in response to a week's readings (1x). This memo should range from 3-4 double-spaced pages and should be circulated to the entire class via email no later than one day before class. It should **develop and support an argument** around a particular theme of the week's readings **instead of summarizing** them. Making reference to previous weeks' readings (if applicable) is a plus.
- **2-3 discussion questions (2x)** with a short explanation of why these questions occurred to you. Please circulate these questions to the entire class via email no later than one day before class.

Authors' defendant, memo and discussion questions must be completed on separate weeks. To receive credit for this seminar, you must get a pass on each of them.

Readings

Week 1. Introductions

Ikenberry, G. John. 2018. "The End of Liberal International Order?" *International Affairs* 94,1: 7-23.

Week 2. Global governance & multilateralism

Stephen, Matthew D. 2017. "Emerging Powers and Emerging Trends in Global Governance." *Global Governance* 23, 3: 483-5502.

Degaldo Wise, Raul. 2018. "Is there a space for counterhegemonic participation? Civil society in the global governance of migration." *Globalizations* 15, 6: 746-761.

Pouliot, Vincent. 2011. "Multilateralism as an End in Itself." *International Studies Perspectives* 12, 1 : 18-26.

Martin, Lisa. 1992. "Interests, Power, and Multilateralism." *International Organization* 46, 4: 765-792.

If you have not read them (in a long time), please skim:

Rosenau, James. 1992. *Governance without Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1.

Further readings, in case this topic interests you:

Biersteker, Thomas. 2009. "Global Governance." In Myriam Dunn Cavelty and Victor Mauer (eds.) *Routledge Companion to Security*. New York and London: Routledge Publishers, pp. 439-451.

Zürn, Michael. 2018. *A Theory of Global Governance. Authority, Legitimacy, and Contestation*. Cambridge: Oxford University Press.

Chanda, Nayan. 2008. "Runaway Globalization without Governance." *Global Governance* 14, 2: 119-125.

Stone, David, R. 2000. "Imperialism and Sovereignty: The League of Nations' Drive to Control the Global Arms Trade." *Journal of Contemporary History* 35, 2: 213-230.

Wilson, Woodrow. 1918. "The Fourteen Points speech."
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1918wilson.html>

Ruggie, John. 1993. *Multilateralism Matters: the Theory and Praxis of an International Forum*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 1.

Schroeder, Paul. 1989. "The nineteenth century system: balance of power or political equilibrium?" *Review of International Studies* 15, 2: 135-154.

Finnemore, Martha. 2014. "Dynamics of Global Governance: Building on What We Know." *International Studies Quarterly* 58, 1: 221-4.

Weiss, Thomas and Rorden Wilkinson. 2014. "Rethinking Global Governance? Complexity, Authority, Power, Change." *International Studies Quarterly* 58, 1: 207-15.

Downs, George W., David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom. 1998. "Managing the Evolution of Multilateralism." *International Organization* 52, 2: 397-419.

Shanks, Cheryl, Harold K. Jacobson, and Jeffrey H. Kaplan. 1996. "Inertia and Change in the Constellation of International Governmental Organizations, 1981-1992." *International Organization* 50, 4: 593-627.

Liebowitz, S. J. and Stephen E. Margolis. 1995. "Path Dependence, Lock-In, and History." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 11, 1: 205-26.

Carter, David B., and Randall W. Stone. 2015. "Multilateralism and Democracy: The Case of Vote Buying in the United Nations General Assembly." *International Organization* 69, 1: 1-33.

Kuziemko, Ilyana and Eric Werker. 2006. "How Much Is a Seat on the Security Council Worth? Foreign Aid and Bribery at the United Nations." *Journal of Political Economy* 114, 4: 905-30.

Week 3. International institutions and designs

Johnston, Alastair Iain. 2001. "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments." *International Studies Quarterly* 45, 4: 487-515.

Rathbun, Brian. 2011. "Before Hegemony: Generalized Trust, International Cooperation and the Design of International Organizations." *International Organization* 45, 2: 243-273.

Barnett, Michael and Etel Solingen. 2007. "Designed to Fail or Failure of Design? The Origins and Legacy of the Arab League," in Amitav Acharya and Alastair Iain Johnston, eds. *Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 180-220.

Snidal, Duncan and Felicity Vabulas. 2013. "Organization without Delegation: Informal intergovernmental organizations (IIGOs)." *Review of International Organizations* 8, 2: 193-220.

If you have not read them (in a long time), please skim:

Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. 2001. "The Rational Design of International Institutions." *International Organization* 55, 4: 761-799.

Keohane, Robert. O. 1984. *After Hegemony*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, Chapters 4 and 6, pp. 49-65; 85-109.

Further readings, in case this topic interests you:

Abbott, Kenneth and Duncan Snidal. 1998. "Why States Act Through Formal International Organizations." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42, 1: 3-32.

Axelrod, Robert and Robert Keohane. 1985. "Achieving Cooperation Under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions." *World Politics* 38, 1: 226-54.

Mearsheimer, John. 1994-95. "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19: 5-49.

Erik Voeten. 2019. "Making Sense of the Design of International Institutions." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22: 147-63.

Ruggie, John G. "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic System." *International Organization* 36, 2: 379-415.

Tsebelis, George and Geoffrey Garrett. 2001. "The Institutional Foundations of Intergovernmentalism and Supranationalism in the European Union." *International Organization* 55, 2: 357-390.

Acharya, Amitav, and Alastair Iain Johnston. 2007. "Comparing Regional Institutions: An Introduction," in *Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*, Amitav Acharya and Alastair Iain Johnston, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-31.

Orfeo Fioretos. 2017. "Institutions and Time in International Relations" in *International Politics and Institutions in Time*. Oxford University Press.

Abbott, Kenneth and Duncan Snidal. 2000. "Hard and Soft Law in International Governance." *International Organization* 54, 3: 421-456.

Kucik, Jeffrey and Eric Reinhardt. 2008. "Does Flexibility Promote Cooperation? An Application to the Global Trade Regime." *International Organization* 62, 3: 477-505.

Johnson, Tana. 2013. "Looking beyond States: Openings for international bureaucrats to enter the institutional design process." *The Review of International Organizations* 8, 4: 499-519.

Mitchell, Ronald. 1994. "Regime Design Matters: Intentional Oil Pollution and Treaty Compliance." *International Organization* 48, 3: 425-58

Kahler, Miles. 2000. "Legalization as Strategy: The Asia-Pacific Case." *International Organization* 54, 3: 549-71.

Leggold, Joseph. 1998. "NATO's Post-Cold War Collective Action Problem." *International Security* 23, 1: 78-106.

Kleine, Mareike. 2014. "Informal governance as a new research agenda in EU Studies." *Journal for European Public Policy* 21: 2.

Haftel, Yoram and Stephanie C. Hofmann. 2017. "Institutional Authority and Security Cooperation within Regional Economic Organizations." *Journal of Peace Research* 54, 4: 484-498.

Duffield, John S. 2003. "The Limits of Rational Design." *International Organization* 57(2): 411-30.

Week 4. Membership, withdrawal and IO death

Davis, Christina and Meredith Wilf. 2017. "Joining the Club: Accession to the GATT/WTO." *Journal of Politics* 79, 3: 964-978.

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette. 2018. "Death of international organizations. The organizational ecology of intergovernmental organizations, 1815-2015." *Review of International Organizations*

Ravndal, Ellen J. 2020. "Colonies, semi-sovereigns, and great powers: IGO membership debates and the transition of the international system." *Review of International Studies* 46: 278-298.

Inken von Borzyskowski and Felicity Vabulas. 2019. "Hello, Goodbye: When do States Withdraw from International Organizations?," *The Review of International Organizations*

Further readings, in case this topic interests you:

Gray, Julia. 2018. "Life, Death, or Zombie? The Vitality of International Organizations." *International Studies Quarterly* 62, 1: 1-13.

Stone, Randall W. 2008. "The Scope of IMF Conditionality." *International Organization* 62, 4: 589-620.

Zürn, Michael. 2021. "How Non-Majoritarian Institutions Make Silent Majorities Vocal. A Political Explanation of Authoritarian Populism". *Perspectives on Politics*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1537592721001043>.

Broz, J. Lawrence, Zhiwen Zhang, and Gaoyang Wang. 2020. "Explaining Foreign Support for China's Global Economic Leadership." *International Organization* 74, 3: 417-452.

Schneider, Christina. 2011. "Weak States and Institutionalized Bargaining Power in International Organizations." *International Studies Quarterly* 55, 2: 331-355.

Kahler, Miles. 1992. "Multilateralism with Small and Large Numbers." *International Organization* 46, 3: 681- 708.

Keohane, Robert O. 1969. "Lilliputians' Dilemmas: Small States in International Politics." *International Organization* 23, 2: 291-310.

Panke, Diana. 2010. "Small states in the European Union: structural disadvantages in EU policy-making and counter-strategies." *Journal of European Public Policy* 17, 6: 799-817.

Week 5. International bureaucracy, PPPs & NGOs

Johnson, Tana. 2016. "Cooperation, co-optation, competition, conflict: international bureaucracies and non-governmental organizations in an interdependent world." *Review of International Political Economy* 23, 5: 737-767.

Carpenter, R. Charli. 2010. "Governing the Global Agenda: gatekeepers and issue adoption in transnational advocacy networks." In: Deborah Avant, Martha Finnemore and Susan K. Sell (eds) *Who Governs the Globe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), chapter 8.

Andonova, Liliana B. 2010. "Public-Private Partnerships for the Earth: Politics and Patterns of Hybrid Authority in the Multilateral System." *Global Environmental Politics* 10, 2: 25-53.

Littoz-Monnet, Annabelle. 2017. "Expert Knowledge as a Strategic Resource: International Bureaucrats and the Shaping of Bioethical Standards." *International Studies Quarterly* 61, 3: 584-595.

If you don't know them, please skim:

Nielson, Daniel L. and Michael J. Tierney. 2003. "Delegation to International Organizations: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform." *International Organization* 57, 2: 241-276.

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

Further readings, in case this topic interests you:

Pollack, Mark A. 2003. *The engines of European integration: delegation, agency, and agenda setting in the EU*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Beach, Derek. 2004. "The unseen hand in treaty reform negotiations: the role and influence of the Council Secretariat." *Journal of European Public Policy* 11, 3: 408-439.

Johnson, Tana and Johannes Urpelainen. 2014. "International Bureaucrats and the Formation of Intergovernmental Organizations: Institutional Design Discretion Sweetens the Pot." *International Organization* 68, 1: 175-208.

Reinalda, Bob & Bertjan Verbeek. 2014. "Leadership of International Organizations," in Paul 't Hart & R.A.W. Rhodes (eds), *Oxford Handbook of Political Leadership*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 595-609.

Bartely, Tim. 2018. "Transnational Corporations and Global Governance." *Annual Review of Sociology* 145-165.

Martinez-Diaz, Leonardo. 2009. "Boards of directors in IOs: A framework for understanding the dilemmas of institutional design." *Review of International Organizations* 4, 4: 383.

Finnemore, Martha. 1996. *National Interests in International Society*. (New York: Cornell University) Chapter 4 (Norms and Development: The World Bank and Poverty), pp. 89-127.

Zürn, Michael, Martin Binder, Matthias Ecker-Ehrhardt. 2012. "International Authority and Its Politicization". *International Theory - A Journal of International Politics, Law and Philosophy* 4, 1: 69-106.

Hall, Rodney and Thomas Biersteker. 2003. *The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1, pp. 3-21; Chapter 10, pp. 203-222.

Heiss, A, and Tana Johnson. 2016. "Internal, Interactive, and Institutional Factors: A Unified Framework for Understanding International Nongovernmental Organizations." *International Studies Review* 18, 3: 528-541.

Büthe, Tim and Walter Mattli. 2011. *The New Global Rulers: The Privatization of Regulation in the World Economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, Chapter 2.

Turner, Scott. 1998. "Global Civil Society, Anarchy and Governance: Assessing an Emerging Paradigm." *Journal of Peace Research* 35, 1: 25-42.

Krisch, Nico. 2014. "The Decay of Consent: International Law in an Age of Global Public Goods." *American Journal of International Law* 108: 1-40.

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics: Introduction." *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Week 6. Regime complexity – structure, actors, strategies

Biermann, Frank, Philipp Pattberg, Harro van Asselt, and Fariborz Zelli. 2009. "The fragmentation of global governance architectures: A framework for analysis." *Global Environmental Politics* 9, 4: 14–40.

Hofmann, Stephanie C. 2019. "The Politics of Overlapping Organizations: Hostage-taking, Forum shopping, and Brokering." *Journal of European Public Policy* 26,6: 883-905.

Drezner, Daniel. 2009. "The Power and Peril of International Regime Complexity." *Perspectives on Politics* 7, 1: 65-70.

Henning, Randall. 2017. *Tangled Governance: International Regime Complexity, the Troika, and the Euro Crisis*. Oxford University Press, Chapter 1.

Further readings, in case this topic interests you:

Keohane, Robert O. and David G. Victor. 2011. "The Regime Complex for Climate Change." *Perspectives on Politics* 9, 1: 7-23.

Orsini, Amandine, Jean-Frederic Morin and Oran Young. 2013. "Regime Complexes: A Buzz, a Boom, or a Boost for Global Governance?" *Global Governance* 19, 1: 27-39.

Busch, Marc L. 2007. "Overlapping Institutions, Forum Shopping, and Dispute Settlement in International Trade." *International Organization* 61, 4: 735-761.

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

Benvenisti, Eyal and George W. Downs. 2007. "The Empire's New Cloths: Political Economy and the Fragmentation of International Law." *Stanford Law Review* 60, 2: 595-631.

Aggarwal, Vinod K. ed. 1998. *Institutional Designs for a Complex World. Bargaining, Linkages, and Nesting*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Jupille, Joseph, Walter Mattli and Duncan Snidal. 2013. *Institutional Choice and Global Commerce*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hofmann, Stephanie C. 2011. "Why Institutional Overlap Matters: CSDP in the European Security Architecture." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49, 1: 101-120.

Helfer, Laurence. 2009. "Regime Shifting in the Intellectual Property System." *Perspectives on Politics* 7, 1: 39-44.

Week 7. Regime complexity – contestation

Muzaka, Valbona. 2010. "Linkages, contests and overlaps in the global intellectual property rights regime." *European Journal of International Relations* 17, 4: 755-776.

Frederick Heussner, Xenia Lanzendörfer, Andreas Kruck, and Bernhard Zangl. 2016. "Imperfect Adaptation. How the WTO and the IMF Adjust to Shifting Power Distributions among their Members." *The Review of International Organization* 11, 2: 171-196.

Raustiala, Kal, and David G. Victor. 2004. "The Regime Complex for Plant Genetic Resources." *International Organization* 58, 2: 277-309.

Morse, Julia C. and Robert O. Keohane. 2014. "Contested Multilateralism." *The Review of International Organizations* 9, 4: 385-412.

Further readings, in case this topic interests you:

Zürn, Michael. 2017. "From Constitutional Rule to Loosely Coupled Spheres of Liquid Authority. A Reflexive Approach." *International Theory - A Journal of International Politics, Law and Philosophy* 9, 2: 261-285.

Krisch, Nico. 2011. "Who is Afraid of Radical Pluralism? Legal Order and Political Stability in the Postnational Space." *Ratio Juris* 24: 386-412.

Urpelainen, Johannes and Thijs van de Graaf. 2015. "Your Place or Mine? Institutional Capture and the Creation of Overlapping International Institutions." *British Journal of Political Science* 45, 4: 799 .

Haftel, Yoram and Stephanie C. Hofmann. 2019. "Rivalry and Overlap: Why Regional Economic Organizations Encroach on Security Organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63, 9: 2180-2206.

Week 8. Regime complexity – division of labor, coordination and cooperation

Gehring, Thomas and Benjamin Faude. 2014. "A theory of emerging order within institutional complexes: How competition among regulatory international institutions leads to institutional adaptation and division of labor." *Review of International Organization*, 9, 4: 471-498.

Abbott, Kenneth W. and Duncan Snidal. 2010. "International regulation without international government: Improving IO performance through orchestration." *The Review of International Organizations* 5, 3: 315-344.

Pratt, Tyler. 2018. "Deference and Hierarchy in International Regime Complexes." *International Organization* 72, 3: 561-590.

Morin, Jean-Frédéric and Amandine Orsini. 2013. "Regime Complexity and Policy Coherency: Introducing a Co-adjustments Model." *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*. 19, 1: 41-51.

Further readings, in case this topic interests you:

Zürn, Michael and Benjamin Faude. 2013. "Commentary: On Fragmentation, Differentiation, and Coordination." *Global Environmental Politics* 13, 3: 119–130.

Faude, Benjamin and Michal Parizek. 2020. "Contested multilateralism as credible signaling: how strategic inconsistency can induce cooperation among states." *Review of International Organizations*.

Morin, Jean-Frédéric, Joost Pauwelyn, and James Hollway. 2017. "The Trade Regime as a Complex Adaptive System: Exploration and Exploitation of Environmental Norms in Trade Agreements." *Journal of International Economic Law* 20, 2: 365–90.

Heldt, Eugénia C. and Henning Schmidtke 2019. "Explaining coherence in international regime complexes: How the World Bank shapes the field of multilateral development finance." *Review of International Political Economy* 26, 6: 1160-1186.

Abbott, Kenneth W., Jessica F. Green, and Robert O. Keohane. 2016. "Organizational Ecology and Institutional Change in Global Governance." *International Organization* 70, 2: 247-277.

Axelrod, Mark. 2014. "Clash of the treaties: Responding to institutional interplay in European Community-Chile swordfish negotiations." *European Journal of International Relations* 20,4: 987-1013.

Colgan, Jeff D., Robert O. Keohane and Thijs Van de Graaf. 2012. "Punctuated equilibrium in the energy

regime complex." *Review of International Organizations* 7: 117-143.

Week 9. Differences across regions and policy domains

Kang, David C. 2020. "International Order in Historical East Asia: Tribute and Hierarchy Beyond Sinocentrism and Eurocentrism." *International Organization* 74: 65-93.

Hooghe, Liesbet, & Marks, G. 2008. "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus." *British Journal of Political Science* 39, 1: 1-23.

Lipsky, Phillip Y. 2015. "Explaining Institutional Change: Policy Areas, Outside Options, and the Bretton Woods Institutions." *American Journal of Political Science* 59, 2: 341-356.

Johnson, Tana and Johannes Urpelainen. 2012. "A Strategic Theory of Regime Integration and Separation." *International Organization* 66, 4: 645-677.

Further readings, in case this topic interests you:

regions

Lenz, Tobias. 2021. *Interorganizational Diffusion in International Relations: Regional Institutions and the Role of the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hurrell, Andrew. 2007. "One World? Many Worlds? The Place of Regions in the Study of International Society." *International Affairs* 83, 1: 127-146.

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

Cho, Il Hyun and Seo-Hyun Park. 2014. "Domestic Legitimacy Politics and Varieties of Regionalism in East Asia." *Review of International Studies* 40, 3: 583-606.

Checkel, Jeffrey. 2016. "Regional Identities and Communities," in *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism*, ed. Tanja Börzel and Thomas Risse. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 559-78.

Donno, Daniela. 2010. "Who Is Punished? Regional Intergovernmental Organizations and the Enforcement of Democratic Norms." *International Organization* 64, 4: 593-625.

Risse, Thomas and Tanja Börzel, eds. 2016. "Theorizing Regionalism. Cooperation, Integration and Governance," in *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 41-63.

Hofmann, Stephanie C. and Frédéric Mérand. 2012. "Regional organizations à la Carte: the Effects of Institutional Elasticity." In T.V. Paul, ed. *International Relations Theory and Regional Transformation*, pp. 133-157. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Söderbaum, Fredrik and Alberta Sbragia. 2010. "EU studies meets the New Regionalism: What can be gained from dialogue?" *Journal of European Integration* 32, 6: 563- 682.

Haftel, Yoram Z. 2007. "Designing for Peace: Regional Integration Arrangements, Institutional Variation, and Militarized Interstate Disputes." *International Organization* 61, 1: 217-237.

Fioramonti, Lorenzo and Frank Mattheis. 2016. "Is Africa Really Following Europe? An Integrated Framework for Comparative Regionalism: An Integrated Framework for Comparative Regionalism." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 54, 3: 674–90.

Fawcett, Louise and Helene Gandois. 2010. "Regionalism in Africa and the Middle East: Implications for EU Studies." *Journal of European Integration* 32, 6: 617-36.

Kacowicz, Arie. 2018. "Regional Governance and Global Governance: Links and Explanations." *Global Governance* 24: 61-79.

policy domains

Sagan, Scott. 2004. "The Problem of Redundancy Problem: Why More Nuclear Security Forces May Produce Less Nuclear Security." *Risk Analysis* 24, 4: 935-46.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. 2009. "The Power Politics of Regime Complexity: Human Rights Trade Conditionality in Europe." *Perspectives on Politics* 7, 1: 33-7.

Davis, Christina L. 2009. "Overlapping Institutions in Trade Policy." *Perspectives on Politics* 7, 1: 25-31.

Milewicz, Karolina, James Hollway, Claire Peacock, and Duncan Snidal. 2018. "Beyond Trade: the Expanding Scope of the Non-Trade Agenda in Trade Agreements." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62, 4: 743–73.

Lipsky, Phillip Y. 2017. *Renegotiating the World Order. Institutional Change in International Relations.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gomez-Mera, Laura. 2015. "Regime complexity and global governance: The case of trafficking in persons." *European Journal of International Relations* 22, 3: 566-595.

Week 10. Conclusions

Faude, Benjamin and Felix Große-Kreul. 2020. "Let's Justify! How Regime Complexes Enhance the Normative Legitimacy of Global Governance." *International Studies Quarterly* 64, 2: 431-439.

Kuyper, Jonathan W. "Global democratization and international regime complexity." *European Journal of International Relations* 20, 3: 620-646.