

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books and Book Chapter

- Bergsten, C. F. et al. 2008. "China's Challenge to the Global Economic Order", in *China's Rise: Challenges and Opportunities*. Washington, DC: United Book Press.
- Bull, H. 1977. *The Anarchical Society: A Study in World Politics*. London: Macmillan Press.
- Chestnut, S. and Johnston, A. L. 2009. "Is China Rising?", in *Global Giant: Is China Changing the Rules of the Game?*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Copper, J. 2016. "China's Foreign Aid and Investment Diplomacy in Other Regions—Europe, the Middle East, Latin America, and Oceania", in *China's Foreign Aid and Investment Diplomacy, Volume III: Strategy Beyond Asia and Challenges to the United States and the International Order*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Deng, Y. 2008. *China's Struggle for Status: The Realignment of International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Diamond, L. 2019. "China's Stealth Offensive", in *Ill Winds: Saving Democracy from Russian Rage, Chinese Ambition, and American Complacency*. New York: Penguin Press.
- Duroselle, J. B. 1959. "French Diplomacy in the Postwar Period", in *Diplomacy in a Changing World*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Flynn, S. E. 2003. "The False Conundrum. Continental Integration versus Homeland Security", in *The Rebordering of North America. Integration and Exclusion in a New Security Context*. London: Routledge.
- Gungwu, W. and Yongnian, Z. 2008. *China and the New International Order*. London: Routledge.
- Habermas, J. 2001. "The Postnational Constellation", in *Political Essays*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Halper, S. A. 2010. *The Beijing Consensus: How China's Authoritarian Model Will Dominate the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Basic Books.

- Hurrell, A. 2007. *On Global Order: Power, Values, and the Constitution of International Society*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ikenberry, G. J. 2001. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Infantino, F. 2016. *Outsourcing border control. Politics and practice of contracted visa policy in Morocco*. New York: Springer.
- Jones, C. 2018. *China's Challenge to Liberal Norms: The Durability of International Order*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Koslowski, R. 2019. *Global Mobility Regimes*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Leimgruber, M. and Schmelzer, M. 2017. "From the Marshall Plan to Global Governance: Historical Transformation of the OEEC/OECD, 1948 to Present", in *The OECD and the International Political Economy Since 1948*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mahon, R. and McBride, S. 2008. "Introduction", in *The OECD and Transnational Governance*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Mau, S. et al. 2012. *Liberal States and the Freedom of Movement: Selective Borders, Unequal Mobility*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mazarr, M. et al. 2016. *Understanding the Current International Order*. Santa Monica: RAND.
- Murray, M. 2018. *The Struggle for Recognition in International Relations: Status, Revisionism, and Rising Powers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nielson, J. and Cattaneo, O. 2003. "Current Regimes for the Temporary Movement of Service Providers: Case Studies of Australia and the United States", in *Moving People to Deliver Service*. Washington D.C.: World Bank and Oxford University Press.
- Nye, J. 2002. *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Paus, E. et al. 2009. "China Rising: A Global Transformation?", in *Global Giant: Is China Changing the Rules of the Game?*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Plumtre, Wynne A.F. 1977. *Three decades of decision: Canada and the world monetary system 1944-75*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

- Porter, T. and Webb, M. 2008. "Role of the OECD in the Orchestration of Global Knowledge Networks", in *The OECD and Transnational Governance*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Ranke, L. V. 1973. "The Great Powers", in *The Theory and Practice of History*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Ruckert, A. 2008. "Making Neo-Gramscian Sense of the Development Assistance Committee: Towards an Inclusive Neoliberal World Development Order", in *The OECD and Transnational Governance*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Schmelzer, M. 2014. "A Club of the Rich to Help the Poor? The OECD, "Development", and the Hegemony of Donor Countries", in *International Organizations and Development, 1945-1990*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Scholte, J. A. 2001. "Global Trade and Finance", in *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Smythe, E. 1998. "The Multilateral Agreement on Investment: A Charter of Rights for Global Investors or Just Another Agreement?", in *Canada Among Nations 1998: Leadership and Dialogue*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Stein, J.G. 2013. "Threat Perception in International Relations", in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Torpey, J. C. 2018. *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship, and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press..
- Wild, J. and Wild, K. L. 2016. "Selecting and Managing Entry Modes", in *International Business: The Challenges of Globalization*. London: Pearson.
- Williamson, J. 1990. "What Washington Means by Policy Reform", in *Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened*. Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics.
- Wolfe, R. 2008. "From Reconstructing Europe to Constructing Globalization: The OECD in Historical Perspective", in *The OECD and Transnational Governance*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Wright, Q. 1942. *A Study of War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Zolberg, A. R. 2006. *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Journal Articles

- Biao, Xiang. 2003. Emigration from China: A Sending Country Perspective. *International Migration*, 41 (3), pp. 21-48.
- Bolewski, W. and Rietig, C. M. 2008. The Cultural Impact on China's New Diplomacy. *The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, 9, pp. 83-96.
- Breslin, S. 2013. China and the Global Order: Signaling Threat or Friendship?. *International Affairs*, 89 (3), pp. 615-634.
- Galchu, J. 2018. The Beijing Consensus versus the Washington Consensus: The Dilemma of Chinese Engagement in Africa. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 12 (1), pp. 1-9.
- Greenhill, B. 2008. Recognition and Collective Identity Formation in International Politics. *European Journal of International Relations*, 14(2), pp. 343-368.
- Gulzau, F. et al. 2016. Regional mobility spaces? Visa waiver policies and regional integration. *International Migration*, 54 (6), pp. 164-180.
- Gustafsson, K. 2015. Recognising Recognition through Thick and Thin: Insights from Sino-Japanese Relations. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 51 (3), pp. 255-271.
- Czaika, M. et al. 2018. The Global Evolution of Travel Visa Regimes. *Population and Development Review*, 00 (0), pp. 1-34.
- Ikenberry, G. J. 2018. The End of Liberal International Order?. *International Affairs*, 94 (1), pp. 7-23.
- Jiabao, W. 2004. Carrying Forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in the Promotion of Peace and Development. *Chinese Journal of International Law*, 3 (2), pp. 363-368.
- Koslowski, R. 2014. Visa Policy, Security, and Transatlantic Relations. *Studia Diplomatica*, 67 (3), pp.15-31.

- Laube, L. 2019. The Relational Dimension of Externalizing Border Control: Selective Visa Policy in Migration and Border Diplomacy. *Comparative Migration Study*, 7 (29), pp. 1-22.
- Li, Xin, et al. 2009. Redefining Beijing Consensus: Ten Economic Principles. *China Economic Journal*, 2 (3), pp. 297-311.
- Luedtke, A. et al. 2010. The Politics of Visa. *The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, pp. 147-162.
- Mau, S. et al. 2015. The global mobility divide: How visa policies have evolved over time. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41, (8) pp. 1192-1213.
- Maull, H. W. 2019. The Once and Future Liberal Order. *Survival*, 61 (2), pp. 7-32.
- McKeown, Adam. 2010. Chinese emigration in global context, 1850–1940. *Journal of Global History*, 5, pp. 95-124.
- Mearsheimer, J. J. 2019. Bound to Fail: The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order. *International Security*, 43 (4), pp. 7-50.
- Miller, M. C. 2016. The Role of Beliefs in Identifying Rising Powers. *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 9 (2), pp. 211-238.
- Mlambo, C. et al. 2016. China-Africa Relations: What Lies Beneath?. *The Chinese Economy*, 49, pp. 257-276.
- Monshipouri, M. et al. 2011. China's Rising Power: Economic Growth vs. Freedom Deficit. *Journal of Human Rights*, 10 (3), pp. 290-310.
- Neumayer, E. 2006. Unequal Access to Foreign Spaces: How States Use Visa Restrictions to Regulate Mobility in a Globalized World. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 31 (1), pp. 72-84.
- Rich, T. S. 2009. Status for Sale: Taiwan and the Competition for Diplomatic Recognition. *Issues & Studies*, 45 (4), pp. 159-188.
- Strömbom, L. 2014. Thick Recognition: Advancing Theory on Identity Change in Intractable Conflicts. *European Journal of International Relations*, 20 (1), pp.168-191.
- Sulaiman, L.A. et al. 2014. The Structural Adjustment Program in Developing Economies: Pain or Gain? Evidence from Nigeria. *Public and Municipal Finance*, 3 (2), pp. 41-48.

- Wendt, A. 2003. Why a World State is Inevitable. *European Journal of International Relations*, 9 (4), pp. 491-542.
- Williams, L. 1971. The Overpopulation Concept and the Latin Americanist Geographer. *Publication Series* (Conference of Latin Americanist Geographers), 1, pp. 119-123.
- Woodward, R. 2004. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. *New Political Economy*, 9 (1), pp. 113-127.
- Xuetong, Y. 2006. The Rise of China and Its Power Status. *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 1, pp. 5-33.

Official Documents

- Director of National Intelligence. 2019. *Statement for the Record: Worldwide Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community* [online]. Available in <https://www.dni.gov/files/ODNI/documents/2019-ATA-SFR---SSCI.pdf> [accessed on 28 June 2020].
- Domenech, D. 2019. *United States' Interest in the Freely Associated States* [online]. Available in <https://www.doi.gov/ocl/freely-associated-states> [accessed on 15 May 2020].
- ESTA Visa USA. 2020. *What is the difference between ESTA and VISA?* [online]. Available in <https://www.estavisaus.org/esta-questions/difference-esta-visa> [accessed on 15 May 2020].
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China. 2019. *Introduction to Passport* (Graphic Version) [online]. Available in http://cs.mfa.gov.cn/zggmcg/hz/hzjj_660445/t1200748.shtml [accessed on 28 April 2019].
- New Zealand Immigration. 2020. *Information about NZeTA* [online]. Available in <https://www.immigration.govt.nz/new-zealand-visas/apply-for-a-visa/about-visa/nzeta> [accessed on 15 May 2020].
- PRC State Council. 2011. *China's Foreign Aid (2011)* [online]. Available in http://english.www.gov.cn/archive/white_paper/2014/09/09/content_281474986284620.htm [accessed on 7 February 2020].

- Visa Waiver Program. 2020. *Visa Waiver Program* [online]. Available in <https://travel.state.gov/content/travel/en/us-visas/tourism-visit/visa-waiver-program.htm> [accessed on 15 May 2020].
- Xi Jinping, 2017. Report [online]. *19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China*. Great Hall of the People, Beijing. 18 October 2017. Available in http://www.bjreview.com/Nation/201710/t20171023_800107996.html [accessed on 23 February 2020].

Online Articles

- Das, S. 2019. *China's Evolving Exchange Rate Regime* [online]. Available in <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WP/Issues/2019/03/07/Chinas-Evolving-Exchange-Rate-Regime-46649> [accessed on 3 February 2020].
- Dollar, D. 2016. *China as a Global Investor* [online]. Asia Working Group Paper 4. Available in https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/China-as-a-Global-Investor_Asia-Working-Paper-4-2.pdf [accessed on 28 February 2019].
- Glasser, B. 2019. *China as a Selective Revisionist Power in the International Order* [online]. Available in https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2019_21.pdf [accessed on 3 February 2020].
- Ginsburg, S. 2008. *Visa Process Should Be Strengthened as an Antiterrorism Tool*. Migration Policy Institute [online]. Available in http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/SGinsburgTestimony_02282008 [accessed on 19 May 2020].
- Kundnani, H. 2017. *What is the Liberal International Order?*. The German Marshall Fund of the United States Policy Essay [online]. Available in <http://www.gmfus.org/publications/what-liberal-international-order> [accessed on 3 October 2019].
- Liang, Xiaojun. 2016. *China is Not Ready to Become a Great Power* [online]. Available in <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/china-not-ready-become-great-power-17694> [accessed on 22 March 2019].

- Roth, K. 2019. *China's Global Threat to Human Rights* [online]. Available in <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/china-global-threat-to-human-rights> [accessed on 15 March 2020].
- Shambaugh, D. 2013. *China as a Global Power: Understanding Beijing's Competing Identities* [online]. Available in https://www.risingpowersinitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/PolicyReport_Feb2013_ChinaGlobalPower.pdf [accessed on 22 March 2019].
- Strutner, S. 2014. "Not All Passport are Created Equal, As This Map Will Tell You", *Huffington Post*, 30 January [online]. Available in https://www.huffpost.com/entry/passports-map_n_5536914 [accessed on 28 February 2019].

Organization Reports

- Ctrip and China Tourism Academy Joint-Report. 2018. *2017 China Outbound Tourism Travel Report* [online]. Available in <https://www.chinatravelnews.com/images/201802/fc66f776a9111201.pdf> [accessed on 28 February 2019].
- Henley and Partner Passport Index. 2019. *Global Ranking* [online]. Available in <https://www.henleypassportindex.com/global-ranking> [accessed on 28 February 2019].
- OECD, 2019. *Development Assistance Committee* [online]. Available in <http://www.oecd.org/dac/development-assistance-committee/> [accessed on 29 February 2020].
- OECD. 2019. *Convention on the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development* [online]. Available in <https://www.oecd.org/general/conventionontheorganisationforeconomicco-operationanddevelopment.htm> [accessed on 23 January 2020].
- OECD. 2019. *Discover the OECD* [online]. Available in [oecd.org/about](http://www.oecd.org/about) [accessed on 20 January 2020].
- OECD. 2019. *Raising the Bar* [online]. Available in <http://www.oecd.org/about/document/raising-the-bar.pdf> [accessed on 22 January 2020].

- OECD. 2020. *Net ODA* (Indicator) [online]. Available in <https://data.oecd.org/oda/net-oda.htm> [accessed on 19th February 2020].
- Passport Index. 2019. *About* [online]. Available in <https://www.passportindex.org/about.php> [accessed on 28 February 2019].
- Passport Index. 2019. *Global Passport Power Rank 2019* [online]. Available in <https://www.passportindex.org/byRank.php> [accessed on 28 February 2019].
- The Economist Intelligence Unit. 2019. *Democracy Index 2018: Me too? Political Participation, Protest and Democracy* [online]. Available in <https://www.eiu.com/n/democracy-index-2018/> [accessed on 16 May 2020].
- Trade Union Advisory Committee, 2018. *OECD Membership and the Values of the Organisation* [online]. Available in <https://tuac.org/news/oecd-membership-and-the-values-of-the-organisation/> [accessed on 18 June 2020].
- UNWTO. 2019. *International Tourism Highlights* [online]. Available in <https://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284421152> [accessed in 29 April 2020].
- World Bank. 2019. *Data* [online]. Available in <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/EN.ATM.CO2E.PC?locations=CN> [accessed on 28 April 2019].
- World Bank. 2019. *The World by Income* [online]. Available in <https://datatopics.worldbank.org/world-development-indicators/the-world-by-income-and-region.html> [accessed on 15 May 2020].
- World Economic Forum. 2006. *Trade Winds: Chinese Investment in Africa* [online]. Available in <http://www.weforum.org/sessions/summary/trade-winds-chinese-investment-africa> [accessed on 29 February 2020].

Thesis and Dissertation

- Coggins, Bridget L. 2006. *Secession, Recognition & the International Politics of Statehood. Dissertation.* Ohio: The Ohio State University.
- Treistman, J. 2017. *The Preemptive Paradox: The Rise of Great Powers & Management of the International System. Dissertation.* New York: Syracuse University.

Zhang, Rui. 2017. How China Struggles for International Recognition: An Explanation from Chinese Face Culture. *PhD Thesis*. Ghent, Belgium: Ghent University.

Working Paper

Chi-Yung, N. and Whalley, J. 2005. Visas and Work Permits: Possible Global Negotiating Initiatives, *CESifo Working Paper* No. 1614.

Lindberg, T. 2014. Making Sense of the ‘International Community’. *Council on Foreign Relations Working Paper*, January 2014.

Poot, J. 2009. Trans-Tasman Relations, Transnationalism and Economic Development in Australasia. *Motu Working Paper* 09-05. Auckland: Motu Economy and Public Policy Research.

Wolfe, R. 1993. The Making of the Peace, 1993: A Review of Canadian Economic Diplomacy at the OECD. *Economic and Trade Policy Branch Working Paper*. Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada.