

**The University of Chicago  
Harris School of Public Policy Studies**

PPHA 39801: Spring 2015 SYLLABUS

**International Organizations in Theory and in Practice**

Professor: Dr. Felicity Vabulas  
Email: fvabulas@uchicago.edu  
Classes: Mondays and Wednesdays, 1:30pm – 2:50pm  
Office Hours: Wednesdays from 2:50pm – 3:50pm in office 181

**Course Description**

This seminar introduces students to the theoretical frameworks, empirical cases, and cutting-edge debates in the field of international organizations (IOs). The seminar is structured in three parts. First, we will focus on the different theoretical perspectives in International Relations scholarship for understanding international organizations. Second, the seminar will examine the effects of international organizations on world politics. Third, we will look at examples of different kinds of international organizations and how they work “in the real world”. Overall the seminar will address key questions such as: How do IOs foster interstate cooperation and state compliance? How do IOs shape state interests and identities? Why do IOs often fail? How should we think about the pathologies of IOs as global bureaucracies? How do IOs influence NGOs and their strategies? We will close by discussing gaps in the literature and potential avenues for future research.

**Course Goals**

At the end of the International Organizations in Theory and in Practice class, students will be able to:

- 1) Describe the key arguments of different theoretical paradigms surrounding why international organizations exist and what they accomplish in world politics
- 2) Integrate, apply, and critique theoretical frameworks about international organizations to real-world examples of international organizations and the challenges they face
- 3) Propose and present an achievable research design to answer an original question related to international organizations

**Requirements**

The requirements of the class include:

**1) Response paper (20%)**

Students should prepare a response paper that critically analyzes the set of readings for one class (no more than 4 pages, 1 inch margins, Times New Roman 12 point font, double-spaced). The response paper should be uploaded to Chalk as a Word document by midnight on the day before the class material is to be discussed (e.g., if you will critique readings for Monday January 5th, your paper is due by midnight on Sunday January 4th). You will sign up for a session during the first class. The response paper

should demonstrate familiarity with and discuss critically the required readings for the next class. The best papers will establish some sort of relationship with other readings you have done for the course.) The response paper should not summarize the reading but instead, the response paper should focus on analyzing the strengths and weakness of the chosen reading(s) and highlight open research agendas that are motivated by the reading.

Addressing the following questions will help you write your paper:

- a) *What is the research question? Is it interesting or puzzling? How does it link to the broader IO literature?*
- b) *What theory does the author propose to answer the question? What are the strengths and weaknesses of the theoretical argument?*
- c) *How does the author test the theory? Is the test appropriate?*
- d) *How well has the author answered his/ her question? Are there any alternative explanations for the author's findings? Could the theory be better tested?*
- e) *What research ideas did you gather from the readings? How can we pursue these (be specific about the data you would need and challenges that might arise.)*

## 2) “Fix This Challenge Via an International Organization”: Paper and Presentation (25%)

Students should find a recent (2013-2015) newspaper or magazine article (from a publication like Foreign Policy Magazine, The Economist, The Wall Street Journal, BBC, The NY Times, etc.) that discusses an international organization and a potential challenge facing the IO. Students should prepare a paper that addresses why the IO is faced with this challenge, whether you think the IO is qualified to face the challenge, and what institutional changes might be necessary for the IO to (better) handle the challenge.

Specifically, papers should address the following:

- a) *Introduce the IO: provide historical background, membership information, and overview of the IO. What is the IO's mandate generally?*
- b) *Challenge facing the IO: How is the IO expected to handle this issue (or is this outside the purview of the organization?)*
- c) *Are there existing overlapping institutions/ organizations that might also address this problem? If yes, how are solutions being coordinated if at all? Are the overlapping institutions helpful/ harmful in this setting? Why is this particular IO the one being utilized?*
- d) *Do you think a solution by the IO is feasible? That is, how might the IO reasonably “fix” this challenge? What are the constraints to the IO handling this problem (technical, political, institutional, etc.)*
- e) *How will this challenge affect the future of the IO? Might another institutional option (that does not currently exist) be a better fit? If so, describe it. Why hasn't this kind of institutional solution been set up already (consider things like path dependency, domestic politics, budgetary constraints, great power politics, etc.)*

Papers are to be no more than 5 pages, 1 inch margins, Times New Roman 12 point font, double-spaced and uploaded to Chalk as a Word document by **Midnight on Sunday April 26th**. Please include the full text of the article at the front of your paper, and the citation (even if this is a website) for where you found the article. You are welcome to use existing articles as background for your paper, but (1) please cite them accordingly

and (2) remember that this is not a research paper but an original paper synthesizing your own unique ideas.

On the first day of class, you will sign up for a **presentation date between Monday April 27th and the end of the course**. 2-3 people will present per class. You will have a ten minute timeslot: 6 minutes for your material and 4 minutes for Q&A. You should present the main findings from your paper. Email slides to Felicity by noon on the day of your presentation.

### **3) Research Design (final paper) (35%)**

Students should prepare a research design of 15 pages in length (Times New Roman 12 point font, double-spaced) on an original topic involving international organizations. The paper can either address a policy question related to international organizations or be theoretical in nature. Either type of paper should present the research question, review and analyze current research on the issue, develop a theory to answer the question, derive testable hypotheses, and develop a research design to evaluate the hypotheses empirically, describing the data that can be used to test the hypothesis or identifying case studies.

Students must secure the Professor's approval of their topic no later than **Wednesday May 13th** by attending office hours. Papers must be submitted no later than **9am Monday June 1st**, uploaded to Chalk as a **Word document**.

You will present your paper during the last two class sessions. Any PowerPoint or other slides should also be sent to the Professor by **9am Monday June 1st** to ensure a seamless flow during class. You will have 5 minutes to present, then 3 minutes for Q&A. Due to the tight timeframe, these guidelines will be strictly adhered to. (Timing may be adjusted according to the number of students in the class).

### **4) Participation (20%)**

I expect active participation from all students. Be prepared for class by having done the readings and come ready to ask a question or two. Also, think about how you can relate the readings to real-world events. You can bring in (or email to the group/ Felicity) relevant newspaper articles that discuss applications of the week's reading.

On days that you have prepared a response paper, be prepared for the instructor to ask you to elaborate on the key ideas from your response paper in class, in order to kickoff discussions.

During many classes, I will present the class with a controversial topic related to the week's readings and I will ask you to **"think-pair-share"** with your neighbor. You will then be asked to present your consensus (or disagreement) on the topic with the class.

There are two opportunities for student presentations during the quarter. You should not only come prepared to present your own material but actively participate in the Q&A sessions following the presentations, providing valuable feedback to your classmates.

The purpose of class discussions is to allow students to freely exchange ideas. It is imperative to remain respectful of all viewpoints and positions and, when necessary, agree to respectfully disagree.

### **Course Materials**

I have purposefully kept book requirements to a minimum and focused mainly on journal articles. However, we will read several chapters from the following books:

- Keohane, Robert. 1984. *After Hegemony*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Margaret Karns and Karen Mingst. 2009. *International Organizations: The Politics and Process of Global Governance*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

## **PART I. THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

### **Week 1**

#### **Monday March 30<sup>th</sup> - Introduction and Liberal/ Institutional Theories**

- Keohane, Robert. 1984. *After Hegemony*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1, 4, 6.
- Abbott, Kenneth W. and Duncan Snidal. 1998. "Why States Act through Formal International Organizations," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 42(1), pp. 3-32.

#### **Wednesday April 1<sup>st</sup> - Realist/Power-based Theories**

- Stephen Krasner. 1991. Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier. *World Politics* 43(3), pp. 336-66.
- John Mearsheimer. 1995. The False Promise of International Institutions. *International Security* 19(3), pp. 5-49.

### **Week 2**

#### **Monday April 6<sup>th</sup> - Social/Constructivist Theories**

- Finnemore, Martha. 1993. "International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and Science Policy," *International Organization* 47(4), pp. 565-597.
- Kelley, Judith. 2004. "International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions." *International Organization* 58(3), pp. 425-457.
- Gheciu, Alexandra. 2005. "Security Institutions as Agents of Socialization? NATO and the 'New Europe'." *International Organization* 59(4), pp. 973-1012.

#### **Wednesday April 8<sup>th</sup> – Organizational and Principal-Agent Theories**

- Ness, Gayl and Steven Brechin. 1988. "Bridging the Gap: International Organizations as Organizations." *International Organization*. 42(2), pp. 245-73.
- Barnett, Michael and Martha Finnemore. 1999. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations." *International Organization*, 53(4): pp. 699-732.
- Nielson, Daniel L. and Michael J. Tierney. 2003. "Delegation to International Organizations: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform." *International Organization*, 57, pp. 241-276.

### **Week 3**

#### **Monday April 13<sup>th</sup> – Historical Patterns and Institutional Design**

- Pevehouse, Jon, Timothy Nordstrom, and Kevin Warnke. 2004. "Intergovernmental Organizations, 1815-2000: A New Correlates of War Data Set." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 21(2), pp. 101-119.
- Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson and Duncan Snidal. 2001. "The Rational Design of International Institutions." *International Organization*, 55(4), pp. 761-799.
- Wendt, Alexander. 2001. "Driving with the Rearview Mirror: On the Rational Science of Institutional Design." *International Organization*, 55(4), pp. 1019-1049.

### **Wednesday April 15<sup>th</sup> – Forum Shopping**

- Rosendal, G. Kristin. 2001. Impacts of Overlapping International Regimes: The Case of Biodiversity. *Global Governance*, 7, pp. 95-117.
- Alter, Karen J. 2006. “Nested and Overlapping Regimes in the Transatlantic Banana Dispute.” *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13: 3, pp. 362-382.
- Davis, Christina L. 2009. “Overlapping Institutions in Trade Policy.” *Perspectives on Politics*, 7: 1, pp. 25-31

### **Week 4**

#### **Monday April 20<sup>th</sup> – Domestic Politics and International Organizations**

- Pevehouse, Jon. 2002. “Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization.” *International Organization*, 56: pp. 515-54.
- Dai, Xinyuan. 2005. “Why Comply? The Domestic Constituency Mechanism.” *International Organization*, 59, pp. 363-398.
- Simmons, Beth A. and Allison Danner. 2010. “Credible Commitments and the International Criminal Court.” *International Organization* 64(2), pp. 225-256.

### **PART II: THE EFFECTS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

#### **Wednesday April 22<sup>nd</sup> - The Compliance Debate**

- Chayes, Abram and Antonia Handler Chayes. 1993. “On Compliance,” *International Organization* 47: 2 (1993), pp. 175-205.
- Downs, George W., David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom. 1996. “Is the Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation?” *International Organization* 50(3), pp. 379-406.
- Von Stein, Jana. 2005. “Do Treaties Constrain or Screen? Selection Bias and Treaty Compliance.” *American Political Science Review*, 99(4), pp. 611-622.

### **Week 5**

#### **“Fix This Challenge Via an International Organization”**

**\*\*\*PAPER DUE – SUNDAY APRIL 26TH, MIDNIGHT\*\*\***

#### **Monday April 27<sup>th</sup> – International Organizations and The Liberal Peace**

- O’Neal, John R., and Bruce Russett. 1999. “The Kantian Peace: The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885–1992.” *World Politics*, 52(1), pp. 1–37.
- Boehmer, Charles, Erik Gartzke and Timothy Nordstrom. 2004. “Do Intergovernmental Organizations Promote Peace?” *World Politics*, 57(1): pp. 1-38.
- Pevehouse, Jon and Bruce Russett. 2006. “Democratic International Governmental Organizations Promote Peace.” *International Organization*, 60, pp. 969-1000.

#### **Wednesday April 29<sup>th</sup> – Good Governance and Democratic Deficits**

- Moravcsik, A. 2004. Is there a 'democratic deficit' in World Politics? A Framework for analysis. *Government and opposition*, 39(2), 336-363.
- Nye Jr, J. S. 2001. Globalization's Democratic Deficit-How to Make International Institutions More Accountable. *Foreign Aff.*, 80, 2.
- Woods, N. 1999. Good governance in international organizations. *Global Governance*, 39-61.

## Week 6

### **Monday May 4<sup>th</sup> – IOs, Legitimacy, and Information Transmission**

- Hurd, Ian. 2002. "Legitimacy, Power, and the Symbolic Life of the UN Security Council." *Global Governance*, 8, pp. 35-51.
- Thompson, Alexander. 2006. "Coercion Through IOs: The Security Council and the Logic of Information Transmission." *International Organization*, 60, pp. 1-34.
- Chapman, Terrence L. 2009. "Audience Beliefs and International Organization Legitimacy." *International Organization*, 63, pp. 733-64.

## **PART III: APPLICATIONS**

### **Wednesday May 6<sup>th</sup> – The United Nations**

- 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(5), pp. 905-930.
- Voeten, Eric. Why no UN Security Council Reform? Lessons for and From Institutional Theory. In: Dimitris Bourantonis (ed) *Multilateralism and Security Institutions in the Era of Globalization*. Pp. 288-305.
- Voeten, Eric. 2000. Clashes in the Assembly. *International Organization* 54(2), pp. 185-215.

## Week 7

### **Monday May 11<sup>th</sup> – International Trade Institutions**

- Pelc, Krzysztof. 2011. "Why do Some Countries Get Better WTO Accession Terms than Others?" *International Organization* 65(4): 639-672.
- Goldstein, Judith L., Douglas Rivers and Michael Tomz. 2007. "Institutions in International Relations: Understanding the Effects of the GATT and the WTO on World Trade." *International Organization*, 61, pp. 37-67.
- Pelc, Krzysztof. 2012. "Googling the WTO: What Search Engine Data Tell Us About the Political Economy of Institutions" *International Organization*, 67(3).

### **Wednesday May 13<sup>th</sup> – International Human Rights Organizations**

**\*\*\*Secure Professor's approval of Research Paper topic by Wednesday May 13th (email or office hours)\*\*\***

- Karns & Mingst – Chapter 10: Protecting Human Rights
- Voeten, Eric. 2007. The Politics of International Judicial Appointments: Evidence from the European Court of Human Rights. *International Organization* 61: 669-701
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie and Kiyoteru Tsutsui. 2005. “Human Rights in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises.” *American Journal of Sociology*, 110(5).

## Week 8

### **Monday May 18<sup>th</sup> – The European Union**

- Pollack, Mark. 2005. “Theorizing the European Union.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 8: 357-398.
- McNamara, Kathleen R. 2008. A Rivalry in the Making? The Euro and International Monetary Power. *International Political Economy* 15(3), pp. 439-459.
- Kleine, M. (2013). Knowing your limits: Informal governance and judgment in the EU. *The review of international organizations*, 8(2), 245-264.

### **Wednesday May 20<sup>th</sup> – The Environment and Development**

- Karns & Mingst – Chapter 9: Promoting Human Development and Economic Well-being and Chapter 11: Protecting the Environment
- Vreeland, James Raymond. 2007. The Politics of IMF Conditional Lending. *World Economics* 8(3): 185-93
- Kilby, Christopher. 2008. The Political Economy of Conditionality: An Empirical Analysis of World Bank Enforcement.

## Week 9

### **Monday May 25<sup>th</sup> – NO CLASS DUE TO MEMORIAL DAY**

### **Wednesday May 27<sup>th</sup>– Peace and Security**

- Karns and Mingst: Chapter 8 – The Search for Peace and Security
- Doyle, Michael and Nicholas Sambanis. 2000. “International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis.” *American Political Science Review*, 94(4), pp. 779-801.
- Fortna, Virginia Page. 2003. “Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace.” *International Organization*, 57: 2, pp. 337-372.

## Week 10

### **\*\*RESEARCH PAPER AND PRESENTATION SLIDES DUE BY 9AM MONDAY JUNE 1ST, REGARDLESS OF WHICH DAY YOU ARE PRESENTING\*\***

### **Monday June 1<sup>st</sup> – STUDENT PRESENTATIONS**

### **Wednesday June 3<sup>rd</sup> – STUDENT PRESENTATIONS**