

Professor Phillip Y. Lipsky  
email: phillip.lipsky@utoronto.ca  
Office Hours: Sign up on Quercus  
Office: 1 Devonshire Place, Room 262S

**TOPICS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS III:  
Theories of International Organization  
POL466H1S / POL2207HS  
Winter, 2019-2020  
Tuesday 10:00 - 12:00, TC 22**

Course Description

Since the end of World War II, there has been an explosion in the number, scope, and complexity of international organizations. International organizations, such as the United Nations, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and World Bank now play critical roles across a wide range of policy issues. Why have international organizations proliferated and expanded since the mid-20th century? How do these organizations shape the international system? Why do states sometimes conduct foreign policy through international organizations, while other times preferring traditional means? Why do some international organizations evolve over time, while others resist change? What are some of the pathologies and problems of contemporary international organizations? We will examine these questions by reviewing advanced theoretical and empirical scholarship on international organizations.

Learning Objectives

By the end of this class, you should have a clear understanding of the role of international institutions in international relations, as well as contemporary debates about their functions, politicization, and efficacy. You will learn to approach major questions about international institutions and their role from a social scientific perspective. You will also gain direct experience in social scientific research, developing testable hypotheses to be evaluated using information and data obtained from primary and secondary sources.

Course Requirements

**Research Outline (10%)** (500 words + references, due March 3): You will select an international organization or issue area that interests you and identify a salient puzzle based on a review of existing work. You will then submit a brief summary of your preliminary hypotheses, empirical strategy, and relevant literature.

**Research Paper (30%)** (2500-3000 words, due April 3): The final paper should be written as a grant proposal that contains the following elements: 1. research puzzle and overview of existing literature on your topic; 2. a description of your theory and hypotheses; 3. preliminary empirical

evidence (qualitative or quantitative) that speaks to your hypotheses; 4. a research plan that describes what type of empirical evidence you will need to collect to evaluate your hypotheses.

**Class Presentation (10%):** During the final week of class (March 31 or April 3), you will present your research project to the class.

**In-class Participation (30%):** Attendance and active participation in class discussion is essential. Unexcused absences will result in a 5% reduction in the in-class participation grade. Excused absences must be cleared with the instructor before the beginning of class.

**Online Participation (20%):** Every week, each student is required to make one original post and at least one reply to the online bulletin board on Quercus. The original post should demonstrate clear engagement with the readings for the week. The original post should be posted no later than 5 p.m. the day before class. The reply should be posted by the night before class (and in no case later than the beginning of class) so others have a chance to review the postings before class discussion.

### Late Submissions

For the sake of fairness to students completing their assignments on time, late assignments will receive a 5% reduction after the deadline has passed. Thereafter, an additional 5% will be deducted each additional day the assignment is late.

### Readings

All readings will be made available online on Quercus. No purchases are necessary.

### Accessibility Needs

If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible ([www.accessibility.utoronto.ca](http://www.accessibility.utoronto.ca)). It is not uncommon for university students to experience a range of health and mental health issues that may result in barriers to achieving their academic goals. The University of Toronto offers a wide range of services that may be of assistance. You are encouraged to seek out these resources early and often.

On Campus: Your college Registrar's Office, and / or Dean of Students' Office  
Student Life - <http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca>  
Health and Wellness Centre - <http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/hwc>  
Off-Campus: Good2Talk - a post-secondary (24/7) helpline (1-866-925-5454).

### Academic Integrity

All students, faculty and staff are expected to follow the University's guidelines and policies on academic integrity. For students, this means following the standards of academic honesty when

writing assignments, collaborating with fellow students, and writing tests and exams. Ensure that the work you submit for grading represents your own honest efforts. Plagiarism—representing someone else's work as your own or submitting work that you have previously submitted for marks in another class or program—is a serious offence that can result in sanctions. Speak to me for advice on anything that you find unclear. To learn more about how to cite and use source material appropriately and for other writing support, see the U of T writing support website at <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca>. Consult the Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters for a complete outline of the University's policy and expectations. For more information, please see <http://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/osai> and <http://academicintegrity.utoronto.ca>.

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

#### Course Schedule:

#### **Week 1 (1/7): Introduction**

Lisa Martin and Beth Simmons. 1998. "Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions." *International Organization* 52(4): 729-57

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

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

#### **Week 2 (1/14): Rationalist Theories of International Institutions**

Robert Keohane. 1984. *After Hegemony*. Princeton University Press, Chapters. 4-6 (pp. 49-109).

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

James Fearon 1998. "Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation," *International Organization* 52 (2): 269-305.

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

Randall Stone. 2011. *Controlling Institutions*. Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1 & 2.

### **Week 3 (1/21): Critiques and Non-Rationalist Theories**

John Mearsheimer. 1994/5. "The False Promise of International Institutions" *International Security* 19 (3): 5-49.

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

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

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

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

### **Week 4 (1/28): Information**

Alexander Thompson. 2006. "Coercion through IOs: The Security Council and the Logic of Information Transmission." *International Organization* 60 (1): 1-34.

Tana Johnson. 2015. "Information revelation and structural supremacy: The World Trade Organization's incorporation of environmental policy." *The Review of International Organizations* 10 (2): 207-229.

Judith G. Kelley and Beth A. Simmons. 2014. "Politics by Number: Indicators as Social Pressure in International Relations." *American Journal of Political Science* 59 (1): 55-70.

David Stasavage. 2004. "Open-Door or Closed-Door? Transparency in Domestic and International Bargaining." *International Organization* 58: 667-703.

Allison Carnegie and Austin Carson. 2018. "The Spotlight's Harsh Glare: Rethinking Publicity and International Order." *International Organization*. 72 (3): 627-57.

### **Week 5 (2/4): Bias**

James Raymond Vreeland and Axel Dreher. 2014. *The Political Economy of the United Nations Security Council*. Cambridge University Press, Chapter 5.

Paul Novosad and Eric Werker. 2019. "Who runs the international system? Nationality and leadership in the United Nations Secretariat." *The Review of International Organizations* 14 (1): 1-33.

Phillip Y. Lipsky and Haillie Na-Kyung Lee. 2019. "The IMF as a Biased Global Insurance Mechanism: Asymmetrical Moral Hazard, Reserve Accumulation, and Financial Crises." *International Organization* 73 (1): 35-64.

Heidi Hardt and Stéfanie von Hlatky. 2020. "NATO's About-Face: Adaptation to Gender Mainstreaming in an Alliance Setting." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 5 (1): 136-159.

Andrew Kydd, "Which Side Are You On? Bias, Credibility, and Mediation," *American Journal of Political Science* 47, No. 4. (October 2003): 597-611.

### **Week 6 (2/11): International Organizations and Domestic Politics**

Liliana Botcheva and Lisa Martin, "Institutional Effects on State Behavior: Convergence and Divergence," *International Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (March 2001): 1-26

Jon Pevehouse. "Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization." *International Organization* 56, no. 3 (Summer 2002): 515-549.

Songying Fang and Erica Owen. 2011. "International Institutions and Credible Commitment of Non-democracies." *Review of International Organizations* 6: 141-162.

Todd Allee and Paul Huth. 2006. "Legitimizing Dispute Settlement: International Legal Rulings and Domestic Political Cover." *American Political Science Review* 100 (2): 219-234.

Laurence R. Helfer and Erik Voeten. 2014. "International Courts as Agents of Legal Change: Evidence from LGBT Rights in Europe." *International Organization* 68(1): 77-110.

### **Week 7 (2/18): Reading Week, No Class**

### **3/3: Research Proposal Deadline**

### **Week 8 (3/3): Regime Complexity**

Kal Raustiala and David Victor. "The Regime Complex for Plant Genetic Resources." *International Organization* 58, no. 2 (2004):277-309.

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

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

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

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

### **Week 9 (3/10): Contestation and Renegotiation**

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

Joseph Jupille, Walter Mattli, and Duncan Snidal. 2013. *Institutional Choice and Global Commerce*. Cambridge University Press, Chapter 2.

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

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, 2016, 171-196.

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

### **Week 10 (3/17): Membership, Death, Withdrawal**

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

J. Lawrence Broz, Zhiwen Zhang, and Gaoyang Wang. 2018. "Explaining Foreign Support for China's Global Economic Leadership." *International Organization* (forthcoming)

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

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

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

**Week 11 (3/24): No Class (Prepare for in-class presentations)**

**Week 12**

**3/31: In-Class Presentations**

**4/3: In-Class Presentations**

**Deadline: Final Essay (4/3)**