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TOPICS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS III:

Theories of International Organization

POL466H1S / POL2207HS

Winter, 2021-2022

Tuesday 2:00pm - 4:00pm, online synchronous and TC 24

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 Delivery

Initially, the class will be conducted online. Synchronous discussions will take place during the scheduled class time using Zoom. The current expectation is that the class will switch to in-person learning when university health guidelines allow, with no hybrid option. Asynchronous work will require the use of Quercus and Perusall.

Course Format

1. For each week of class, I will post readings relevant to the theme of the week. Student are required to complete the readings prior to the scheduled class time.
2. Readings will be completed using Perusall, an online collaborative platform that allows students to use annotation to engage and learn from each other (this will be active starting in week 2). Perusall annotations will be incorporated into the final mark as indicated below.
3. We will convene as a class during the regular scheduled time to discuss the readings for the week. Attendance during this synchronous portion is required.
4. Students will complete a research paper as described below.

Course Requirements

Participation:

In Class (30%): Attendance and active participation in class discussion is essential. Please come to class prepared to discuss the assigned readings.

Online (20%): Students are required to use the online annotation tool Perusall. Perusall allows students to interact and learn from each other as they complete the assigned readings. Students should aim to complete a minimum of 3 high-quality annotations per reading to receive full credit for this component (more is encouraged). Annotations must be completed prior to our scheduled class time to receive credit.

- a. To set up Perusall, create an account at <https://perusall.com/> and use access code LIPSCY-ECNPT
- b. General Instructions about using Perusall: [link](#)

Research Project:

Outline (10%) (500 words + references, due March 4): 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 the relevant literature, your preliminary hypotheses, and empirical strategy.

Paper (40%) (3750-5000 words, due April 8): 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. During the final two weeks of class, you will have an opportunity to present your research project to the class and receive feedback.

Absences and Late Submissions

I recognize the extraordinary circumstances created by COVID-19 and will be understanding in regards to absences and late assignments. However, students are expected to participate in every session and submit assignments on time. You should clear absences or late assignments with me beforehand unless it is impossible to do so. In cases where there is no consultation and approval, I may impose the standard penalty of a 5% reduction in the final grade for each unexcused absence and a reduction of 10% for each day an assignment is late.

Readings

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

Course Recording

The class will not be recorded. It is important that you participate in real time to interact with your classmates.

Additional Information

Please see the end of the syllabus for additional information and resources.

Course Schedule:

Week 1 (1/11): 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 (1/18): 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 (1/25): Critiques and Non-Rationalist Theories

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

Emilie Hafner-Burton and Christina J. Schneider. 2019. "The Dark Side of Cooperation: International Organizations and National Corruption." *International Studies Quarterly* 63(4): 1108–1121.

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.

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

Week 4 (2/1): 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.

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

Week 5 (2/8): 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. Lipscy 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.

Week 6 (2/15): 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

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.

2/22: Reading Week, No Class

Week 7 (3/1): 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.

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).

3/4: Research Outline Deadline

Week 8 (3/8): 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. Lipscy. 2015. “Explaining Institutional Change: Policy Areas, Outside Options, and the Bretton Woods Institutions.” *American Journal of Political Science* 59 (2): 341-356.

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

Week 9 (3/15): Membership, Death, Withdrawal

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

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 10 (3/22): Global Response to COVID-19

Tanisha M. Fazal. "Health Diplomacy in Pandemic Times" *International Organization*.

Tana Johnson. "Ordinary Patterns in an Extraordinary Crisis: How International Relations Makes Sense of the COVID-19 Pandemic." *International Organization*.

Jon C.W. Pevehouse. 2020. "The COVID-19 Pandemic, International Cooperation, and Populism." *International Organization*.

Daniel W. Drezner. 2020. "The Song Remains the Same: International Relations After COVID-19." *International Organization*

Week 11 (3/29): In-Class Presentations

Week 12 (4/5): In-Class Presentations

Deadline: Final Essay (4/8)

Additional Information

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is essential to the pursuit of learning and scholarship in a university, and to ensuring that a degree from the University of Toronto is a strong signal of each student's individual academic achievement. As a result, the University treats cases of cheating and plagiarism very seriously. The [University of Toronto's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters](#) outlines the behaviours that constitute academic dishonesty and the processes for addressing academic offences. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:

- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor in all relevant courses
- Making up sources or facts
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment

On tests and exams:

- Using or possessing unauthorized aids
- Looking at someone else's answers during an exam or test
- Misrepresenting your identity

In academic work:

- Falsifying institutional documents or grades
- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including (but not limited to) doctor's notes

All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following procedures outlined in the *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters*. If you have questions or concerns about what constitutes appropriate academic behaviour or appropriate research and citation methods, please reach out to me. Note that you are expected to seek out additional information on academic integrity from me or from other institutional resources (for example, the [University of Toronto website on Academic Integrity](#)).

Plagiarism

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University's plagiarism detection tool for a 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 tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support &

Innovation web site (<https://uoft.me/pdt-faq>).

Equity, Diversity and Inclusion

The University of Toronto is committed to equity, human rights and respect for diversity. All members of the learning environment in this course should strive to create an atmosphere of mutual respect where all members of our community can express themselves, engage with each other, and respect one another's differences. U of T does not condone discrimination or harassment against any persons or communities.

Students with Disabilities or Accommodation Requirements

The University provides academic accommodations for students with disabilities in accordance with the terms of the Ontario Human Rights Code. This occurs through a collaborative process that acknowledges a collective obligation to develop an accessible learning environment that both meets the needs of students and preserves the essential academic requirements of the University's courses and programs.

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. If you have a disability that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or the Accessibility Services office: [Accessibility Services on the St. George campus](#)

Health and Mental Health Issues

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).

Family Care Responsibilities

The University of Toronto strives to provide a family-friendly environment. You may wish to inform me if you are a student with family responsibilities. If you are a student parent or have family responsibilities, you also may wish to visit the Family Care Office website at familycare.utoronto.ca.

Religious Accommodations

The University provides reasonable accommodation of the needs of students who observe religious holy days other than those already accommodated by ordinary scheduling and statutory holidays. Students have a responsibility to alert members of the teaching staff in a timely fashion to upcoming religious observances and anticipated absences and instructors will make every reasonable effort to avoid scheduling tests, examinations or other compulsory activities at these times.

Please reach out to me as early as possible to communicate any anticipated absences related to religious observances, and to discuss any possible related implications for course work.

Specific Medical Circumstances

For 2022 S-term, a Verification of Illness (also known as a "doctor's note") is temporarily not required. Students who are absent from academic participation for any reason (e.g., COVID, cold, flu and other illness or injury, family situation) and who require consideration for missed academic work should report their absence through the online absence declaration. The declaration is available on ACORN under the Profile and Settings menu. Students should also advise their instructor of their absence.

If an absence extends beyond 14 consecutive days, or if you have a non-medical personal situation preventing you from completing your academic work, you should connect with your College Registrar. They can provide advice and assistance reaching out to instructors on your behalf. If you get a concussion, break your hand, or suffer some other acute injury, you should register with Accessibility Services as soon as possible.