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School of Diplomacy and International
Relations

Spring 2021

DIPL 6002 International Organizations

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DIPL 6002: International Organizations

Professor Martin S. Edwards

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Student Hours: Th 10-1 / F 9-11 or by appointment

All student meetings conducted through MS Teams

Course Objectives:

International Organizations (be they IGOs or NGOs) are often poorly understood, but they serve very real and important functions in our world. International relations would be profoundly different if they did not exist. Our goal in this class is three-fold. First, we will trace the evolution of studies that address why international organizations are created. Second, we will discuss the functions that international organizations serve and the factors that shape their effectiveness. Third, we will apply this theoretical knowledge to empirical research on international organizations in the fields of political economy, security, the environment, and human rights.

It is worth stressing that this is a graduate level course on International Organizations. We will not be reviewing the design of individual IOs *per se*. Our concern is more to better understand the theoretical and empirical scholarship on international organizations: to understand why IOs are created, why they look the way they do, and how we better understand (both theoretically and empirically) the influence that they have.

Course Materials:

One required textbook has been ordered for this course. Later edition of Keohane have identical text of the book, and they will suffice.

Robert O. Keohane. 1984. *After Hegemony*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
(ISBN: 0-691-02228-3).

Note: Students have also found the following **optional** text a good source for background material.

Margaret P. Karns, Karen A. Mingst, and Kendall W. Stiles *International Organizations: The Politics and Process of Global Governance*. Lynne Rienner, 3rd Edition, 2015.
(ISBN: 978-1-62637-151-4)

Articles will be available for downloading through the Blackboard page for this course.

Student Learning Outcomes:

By the end of the semester, students should have acquired knowledge and understanding of key concepts, models, theories, and debates involved in the study of contemporary international organizations and the social science research process. Students should also have developed the skills to: collect, sort, and evaluate information; analyze complex situations and synthesize

information; integrate different fields of study in analysis of a complex world; and communicate effectively in oral and written form.

Evaluation:

Your grade in this class will be based on the following:

Three Short Papers (45% of grade, as follows)

Week Two Paper (15%)

Week Four Paper (15%)

Week Eight Paper (15%)

Two Research Analysis Papers written over Weeks Ten-Thirteen (15% each)

Take-home Final Examination (25%)

Procedures:

This class meets synchronously. Class sessions will be conducted using Microsoft Teams. Meetings during Student Hours will be held using Microsoft Teams.

COVID Ground Rules:

I recognize that we are teaching and learning during a pandemic, and that we are all coping with a great deal. Along the way in this class, I am certain to make mistakes. I ask for your patience. I will be patient as well. If you encounter issues at any time, please reach out and I can be of assistance. I cannot fix problems that I am unaware of.

Other Course Policies:

Coronavirus Safety: In accordance with the Seton Hall pledge, students must wear a mask in class, maintain required social distancing, and not come to class if you are ill. No mask, no class. The pledge can be found here: <https://www.shu.edu/health-intervention-communication/seton-hall-pledge.cfm>

Late work: Students who anticipate not being able to complete an assignment on time should inform me as soon as possible. Because I need to return assignments promptly, I can only grant extensions of up to 24 hours following notification. These extensions will be penalized up to 20% of the letter grade.

Academic Integrity: Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration and will result in a failing grade for the course and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. See university and school standards for academic conduct here:

<http://www13.shu.edu/offices/student-life/community-standards/upload/Seton-Hall-University-Student-Code-of-Conduct.pdf>

<http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>

Students should review the folder with academic integrity resources on Blackboard.

Participation: Students are expected to be actively involved in learning in this class. I will rely heavily on in-class discussion and will employ the Socratic method from time to time as a means of drawing out discussion.

A Note on Citation Formats: Papers should utilize one of the *Chicago Manual of Style* citation formats: Author-Date or Notes and Bibliography. The guidelines for these formats are in a folder on the course Blackboard page.

Policy on Paper Submission: All assignments must be submitted online. More information on how to do this is available at http://blogs.shu.edu/techtips/files/safeassign_student.pdf

Accommodation: It is the policy and practice of Seton Hall University to promote inclusive learning environments. If you have a documented disability you may be eligible for reasonable accommodations in compliance with University policy, the Americans with Disabilities Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, and/or the New Jersey Law against Discrimination. Please note, students are not permitted to negotiate accommodations directly with professors. To request accommodations or assistance, please self-identify with the Office for Disability Support Services (DSS), Duffy Hall, Room 67 at the beginning of the semester. For more information or to register for services, contact DSS at (973) 313-6003 or by e-mail at DSS@shu.edu.

Incompletes: Incompletes will be given only in exceptional cases for emergencies. Students wishing to request a grade of Incomplete must provide documentation to support the request accompanied by a Course Adjustment Form (available from the Diplomacy Main Office) to the professor *before* the date of the final examination. If the incomplete request is approved, the professor reserves the right to specify the new submission date for all missing coursework. Students who fail to submit the missing course work within this time period will receive a failing grade for all missing coursework and a final grade based on all coursework assigned. Any Incomplete not resolved within one calendar year of receiving the Incomplete or by the time of graduation (whichever comes first) automatically becomes an “FI” (which is equivalent to an F). It is the responsibility of the student to make sure they have completed all course requirements within the timeframe allotted. Please be aware that Incompletes on your transcript will impact financial aid and academic standing.

Student Resources:

Library Resources: I do not expect outside readings to complete any writing assignment in this class. Please note the following: 1) Wikipedia is not acceptable as a valid source of information and as such should not be cited;¹ 2) If you have library questions, you should discuss them with Diplomacy’s library liaison, Lisa DeLuca (lisa.deluca@shu.edu).

Please review these additional library resources:

- Graduate Services Guide (General for all programs): <https://library.shu.edu/gradservices/>
- Diplomacy Graduate Remote Research Guides: <https://library.shu.edu/diplomacy-remote>

CAPS: As part of our commitment to the health and well-being of all students, Seton Hall University’s Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) offers initial assessments,

¹ <http://chronicle.com/wiredcampus/article/1328/wikipedia-founder-discourages-academic-use-of-his-creation>

counseling, crisis intervention, consultation, and referral services to the SHU community. The CAPS office is located on the second floor of Mooney Hall, room 27. Appointments can be made in-person or by calling 973-761-9500 during regular business hours, Monday-Friday, 8:45 a.m. - 4:45 p.m. In case of a psychological emergency, call CAPS (973-761-9500) at any time to speak to a crisis counselor. For more information, please visit: <https://www.shu.edu/counseling-psychologicalservices/index.cfm>

University Writing Resources: The University Writing Center, located on the 3rd floor of the library, offers a number of resources to help you succeed. These include the following:

- One-on-one meetings with a tutor to discuss your writing. You can meet with a graduate student or a professor. Sign up for appointments here: <http://blogs.shu.edu/studenttoolkit/the-writing-lab/>
- An Online Writing Lab (OWL) in which you submit a paper and receive written feedback on it within 48 hours. For more information: <http://academic.shu.edu/owl/front.htm>

Please note that there are further resources on writing in a folder on Blackboard.

Additional Resources:

You will need to keep up with current events. Students often ask me what I read. A list of blogs and reporters that I follow that focus on international organizations appears below:

- [PassBlue https://www.passblue.com/](https://www.passblue.com/)
- Colum Lynch's columns in *Foreign Policy* <https://foreignpolicy.com/author/colum-lynch/>
- The Monkey Cage column in the *Washington Post* <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/>
- [Stewart Patrick's blog](https://www.cfr.org/blog/internationalist) at Council on Foreign Relations <https://www.cfr.org/blog/internationalist> and his columns at *World Politics Review* <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/authors/1904/stewart-m-patrick>
- [Security Council Report https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/](https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/)
- Center for UN and Global Governance Studies [Permanent Observer](https://blogs.shu.edu/unstudies/) blog <https://blogs.shu.edu/unstudies/>

Please note the collection of other helpful links here: <https://library.shu.edu/intrela>

Schedule of Assignments:

January 28

Week One: Introduction

He, Kai, T. V. Paul, and Anders Wivel. "Introduction: International Institutions and Peaceful Change." *Ethics & International Affairs* 34, no. 4 (2020): 457-459.

February 4**Week Two: Regime Theory****PAPER DUE**

Keohane, Robert O. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and discord in the world political economy*. Princeton University Press, 1984 or 2005. Chapters 1-6.

Rochester, J. Martin. "The rise and fall of international organization as a field of study." *International Organization* (1986): 777-813.

Recommended: Karns, Mingst, and Stiles, Chapter Two.

Questions to consider:

- We think of Keohane as the intellectual father of neoliberal institutional IR theory. What is that?
- Is the intellectual turn toward regimes promising? Why or why not?

February 11**Week Three: From Regimes to Legalization**

Abbott, Kenneth W., Robert O. Keohane, Andrew Moravcsik, Anne-Marie Slaughter, and Duncan Snidal. "The concept of legalization." *International Organization* (2000): 401-419.

Abbott, Kenneth W., and Duncan Snidal. "Hard and soft law in international governance." *International Organization* (2000): 421-456.

Shaffer, Gregory C., and Mark A. Pollack. "Hard versus soft law in international security." *BCL Rev.* 52 (2011): 1147-2011.

Questions to consider:

- How do international organizations emerge from international law?
- How do differences in international law shape what international organizations look like?
- What are the tradeoffs in different types of international law? When will hard law or soft law be chosen?
- How are the choices of NGOs for hard or soft law and the choices of states different?
- How can international law be used strategically?

February 18**PAPER DUE****Week Four: Building Institutions**

Abbott, Kenneth W., and Duncan Snidal. "Why states act through formal international organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42, no. 1 (1998): 3-32.

Barnett, Michael N., and Martha Finnemore. "The politics, power, and pathologies of international organizations." *International Organization* 53, no. 4 (1999): 699-732.

Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. "The rational design of international institutions." *International Organization* 55, no. 4 (2001): 761-799.

Gilligan, Michael J. "Is there a broader-deeper trade-off in international multilateral agreements?" *International Organization* (2004): 459-484.

Recommended: Karns, Mingst, and Stiles, Chapters Three and Four.

Questions to consider:

- What are the advantages of creating an IGO?
- What explains why IGOs look the way that they do?
- What are the limits of institutional design using a Rationalist approach?

February 25

Week Five: Norms and IO

Finnemore, Martha. "International organizations as teachers of norms: the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and science policy." *International Organization* (1993): 565-597.

Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. "International norm dynamics and political change." *International Organization* (1998): 887-917.

Hurd, Ian. "The strategic use of liberal internationalism: Libya and the UN sanctions, 1992-2003." *International Organization* (2005): 495-526.

Questions to consider:

- Must one only use Constructivist arguments to study norms? Why or why not?
- How do IGOs use norms? When and where are these efforts likely to be successful? What policy implications follow?
- How are IGOs themselves shaped by norms?

March 4

Week Six: Non-Governmental Organizations

Charnovitz, Steve. "Two centuries of participation: NGOs and international governance." *Mich. J. Int'l L.* 18 (1996): 183-286.

Clark, Ann Marie, Elisabeth J. Friedman, and Kathryn Hochstetler. "The sovereign limits of global civil society: a comparison of NGO participation in UN world conferences on the environment, human rights, and women." *World Politics*. 51 (1998): 1-39.

Cooley, Alexander, and James Ron. "The NGO scramble: Organizational insecurity and the political economy of transnational action." *International Security* 27, no. 1 (2002): 5-39.

Grigorescu, Alexandru, and Çağlayan Başer. "The choice between intergovernmentalism and nongovernmentalism: Projecting domestic preferences to global governance." *World Politics* 71, no. 1 (2019): 88-125.

Recommended: Karns, Mingst, and Stiles, Chapter Six.

Questions to consider:

- Why are NGOs created?
- In what ways do NGOs interact with IGOs?
- Has the growth of civil society transformed how we should think about international relations, or are we still comfortable with states as the primary actors?

March 11**Week Seven: Role of Domestic Politics**

Goldstein, Judith, and Lisa L. Martin. "Legalization, trade liberalization, and domestic politics: a cautionary note." *International Organization* (2000): 603-632.

Mansfield, Edward D., and Jon C. Pevehouse. "Democratization and International Organizations." *International Organization* 60, no. 1 (2006): 137-167.

Von Borzyskowski, Inken, and Felicity Vabulas. "Hello, goodbye: When do states withdraw from international organizations?." *The Review of International Organizations* 14, no. 2 (2019): 335-366.

Copelovitch, Mark, and Jon CW Pevehouse. "International organizations in a new era of populist nationalism." *Review of International Organizations* (2019): 1-18.

Questions to consider:

- How does studying domestic politics help us to better understand the demand for delegation to IGOs?
- How does studying domestic politics complicate studying IGO effectiveness?

March 18***PAPER DUE*****Week Eight: The Problem of Compliance**

Simmons, Beth A. "Compliance with international agreements." *Annual Review of Political Science* 1, no. 1 (1998): 75-93.

Chayes, Abram, and Antonia Handler Chayes. "On compliance." *International Organization* (1993): 175-205.

Downs, George W., David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom. "Is the good news about compliance good news about cooperation?." *International Organization* (1996): 379-406.

Checkel, Jeffrey T. "Why comply? Social learning and European identity change." *International Organization* 55, no. 3 (2001): 553-588.

Questions to consider:

- How do we explain variations in a state's ability of comply with international agreements?
- What research design problems make studying compliance difficult?

March 25**Week Nine: Orchestration and Money**

Abbott, Kenneth W., Philipp Genschel, Duncan Snidal, and Bernhard Zangl. "Orchestration: Global Governance through Intermediaries" Chapter One in Abbott, Genschel, Snidal, and Zangl (Eds.). (2015). *International Organizations as Orchestrators*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Abbott, Kenneth W., and Steven Bernstein. "The high-level political forum on sustainable development: Orchestration by default and design." *Global Policy* 6, no. 3 (2015): 222-233.

Graham, Erin R. "Money and multilateralism: how funding rules constitute IO governance." *International Theory* 7 (2015): 162.

Questions to consider:

- How have UN funding practices changed over time and what implications follow for the effectiveness of UN agencies?
- How does the scholarship on orchestration help us to better understand the influence of IOs?
- What barriers are there to the effectiveness of the HLPF? How can we make it work better?

April 1 NO CLASS – Holy Thursday**April 8****Week Ten: IOs and IPE**

Nooruddin, Irfan, and Joel W. Simmons. "The politics of hard choices: IMF programs and government spending." *International Organization* (2006): 1001-1033.

Davis, Christina L. "International institutions and issue linkage: Building support for agricultural trade liberalization." *American Political Science Review* (2004): 153-169.

Gould, Erica R. "Money talks: Supplementary financiers and international monetary fund conditionality." *International Organization* (2003): 551-586.

Simmons, Beth A. "International law and state behavior: Commitment and compliance in international monetary affairs." *American Political Science Review* (2000): 819-835.

Recommended: Karns, Mingst, and Stiles, Chapters Eight and Nine.

Questions to consider:

- For each paper: What's the role of international organizations? What do they do? What's the argument? How is it tested?
- What are the bigger lessons of this paper for how international organizations work?
- How do the papers for each week speak to each other?
- How do the papers for this week connect with readings from previous weeks?

April 15**Week Eleven: IOs and Security**

Simmons, Beth A. "Capacity, commitment, and compliance: International institutions and territorial disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46, no. 6 (2002): 829-856.

Rutherford, Kenneth R. "The evolving arms control agenda: Implications of the role of NGOs in banning antipersonnel landmines." *World Politics* (2000): 74-114.

Thompson, Alexander. "Coercion through IOs: The Security Council and the logic of information transmission." *International Organization* (2006): 1-34.

Doyle, Michael W., and Nicholas Sambanis. "International peacebuilding: A theoretical and quantitative analysis." *American Political Science Review* (2000): 779-801.

Recommended: Karns, Mingst, and Stiles, Chapter Eight.

Questions to consider:

- For each paper: What's the role of international organizations? What do they do? What's the argument? How is it tested?
- What are the bigger lessons of this paper for how international organizations work?
- How do the papers for each week speak to each other?
- How do the papers for this week connect with readings from previous weeks?

April 22**Week Twelve: IOs and Environment**

Mitchell, Ronald B. "Regime design matters: intentional oil pollution and treaty compliance." *International Organization* (1994): 425-458.

Raustiala, Kal, and David G. Victor. "The regime complex for plant genetic resources." *International Organization* (2004): 277-309.

Ringquist, Evan J., and Tatiana Kostadinova. "Assessing the effectiveness of international environmental agreements: The case of the 1985 Helsinki Protocol." *American Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 1 (2005): 86-102.

Nielson, Daniel L., and Michael J. Tierney. "Delegation to international organizations: Agency theory and World Bank environmental reform." *International Organization* (2003): 241-276.

Recommended: Karns, Mingst, and Stiles, Chapter Eleven.

Questions to consider:

- For each paper: What's the role of international organizations? What do they do? What's the argument? How is it tested?
- What are the bigger lessons of this paper for how international organizations work?
- How do the papers for each week speak to each other?
- How do the papers for this week connect with readings from previous weeks?

April 29**Week Thirteen: IOs and Human Rights**

Moravcsik, Andrew. "The origins of human rights regimes: Democratic delegation in postwar Europe." *International Organization* (2000): 217-252.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., and Kiyoteru Tsutsui. "Human rights in a globalizing world: The paradox of empty promises." *American journal of sociology* 110, no. 5 (2005): 1373-1411.

Neumayer, Eric. "Do international human rights treaties improve respect for human rights?." *Journal of conflict resolution* 49, no. 6 (2005): 925-953.

Edwards, Martin S., Kevin M. Scott, Susan Hannah Allen, and Kate Irvin. "Sins of Commission? Understanding Membership Patterns on the United Nations Human Rights Commission." *Political Research Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (2008): 390-402.

Recommended: Karns, Mingst, and Stiles, Chapter Ten.

Questions to consider:

- For each paper: What's the role of international organizations? What do they do? What's the argument? How is it tested?
- What are the bigger lessons of this paper for how international organizations work?
- How do the papers for each week speak to each other?
- How do the papers for this week connect with readings from previous weeks?

May 6***Final Exam Distributed*****Week Fourteen: Concluding Reflections**

Grant, Ruth W., and Robert O. Keohane. "Accountability and abuses of power in world politics." *American Political Science Review* (2005): 29-43.

Johnson, Tana. "Ordinary Patterns in an Extraordinary Crisis: How International Relations Makes Sense of the COVID-19 Pandemic." *International Organization*, 2020, 1–21.

Vreeland, James Raymond. "Corrupting International Organizations." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22 (2019): 205-222.

Particulars on Assignments:

Short Papers

Critical thinking is essential in this class. To aid this, we will have short writing assignments (no more than 5 pages of text) that focus on the readings in Weeks Two, Four, and Eight. All submissions are due via upload to Blackboard by the start of class that week. Please use 1" margins and 12 point fonts, and remember to use Chicago Manual of Style for citations. No outside reading is necessary for these assignments. You will want to review the writing tips on the next page.

Week Two: Imagine that Robert Keohane was writing *After Hegemony* in 2021. Would it still be an optimistic work? Why or why not? What does this tell us more broadly about the state of neoliberal institutional international relations theory?

Week Four: What are the key points of contrast between Abbott and Snidal and Barnett and Finnemore? What does this tell us about the state of debate between rival international relations paradigms?

Week Eight: Where do compliance problems actually come from? Which scholar or scholars make the best arguments? How essential is enforcement to compliance?

Research Analysis Papers

You will pick two articles assigned for the weeks 10 through 13, and write short papers on each article analyzing and extending the research. These papers will be 4 pages maximum, double-spaced with 1" margins and 12 point fonts, and remember to use Chicago Manual of Style for citations. Please upload your submission to Blackboard by the start of class for that week.

The assignment is to answer the following questions for each article:

- 1) What is the outcome that the author is trying to explain?
- 2) How does this paper connect with previous readings in this class?
- 3) What is the author's argument?
- 4) What are the alternative explanations for this outcome?
- 5) What are the policy implications of these findings?
- 6) Identify one problem with the design of this study. How could this study be improved?

Take Home Final Exam

Each student will prepare a 15 page minimum final exam which will consist of an essay question based on course material. The final will be handed out in class on May 6, and will be due to me electronically by 12 noon on **May 13**.

NOTE: All assignments must be submitted online through Blackboard. Instructions are at the following URL: http://blogs.shu.edu/techtips/files/safeassign_student.pdf

A Refresher Guide to Paper Writing:

Your grade in this class will be based in part on your answers to assigned paper topics. Students tend to make recurring mistakes in their writing. The comments below are based on these recurring mistakes, and are a clue as to what I will be looking for in reading your answers. Disciplined writing is a professional skill. Remember: unclear writing reflects unclear thinking!

Problem One: Framing the Question.

After I hand out the paper topic, do not panic. The key issues that you need to concern yourself are the following:

- What does this question ask?
- What doesn't the question ask?
- What should an answer look like?

The impulse to just start writing is always there. Do not do this. Figure out what the question does and does not ask. Too often well-intentioned students get in trouble because their paper is simply off-topic. Make an OUTLINE of what your argument will look like. DOUBLECHECK that your outline fits what is asked. Make sure that you have an argument. If you do not have an argument, then your submission will be more summary than analysis, and that is not what I am looking for.

Problem Two: Organization.

This is a key trouble spot. You will not read a single paper in this class where the thesis is not immediately apparent. I will ask you to make arguments, and your paper should have a thesis. Tell the reader what you are going to argue and make those points. And note that this is not the same as repeating the prompt back to the reader. As suggested above, outlining your answer before you write is strongly recommended.

Problem Three: Use of Examples and Evidence.

Diplomacy students know a lot about current and historical events, but a danger is a type of name dropping in which the example is disconnected from the point the author wishes to make. This produces sentences that are equivalent to "You know, like in the Cuban Missile Crisis." This reader is not omniscient. If you don't elaborate the point (i.e., tell the reader HOW this example fits the argument) it suggests that you are not sure how it fits.

Problem Four: The Conclusion.

Related to point #2 above, students are often so harried that they get to the end and stop rather than wrap up with a conclusion that reiterates and reinforces the main point, or ties the essay to broader themes. This can be a liability. A strong intro and conclusion is what will distinguish A papers from B ones. Introductions and conclusions are important, and they are often neglected. Once you finish the paper, reread the introduction and conclusion: did you make an argument, or did you merely complete an assignment?