

**INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND COOPERATION**  
**POLI 7502:0001, FALL 2024**  
**W 2:30 – 5:20 PM, 103 SH**

**INSTRUCTOR:**

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**COURSE DESCRIPTION:**

Realists argue that the defining characteristic of the international system is anarchy or the lack of a centralized world government. Yet international politics is orderly and highly organized. The codified rules and regulations that create order in world politics, as well as the authority relationships that manage, monitor, and enforce these rules can be termed global governance. This includes a wide variety of arrangements, such as informal norms, ordering principles, treaties, international institutions and regimes, international organizations, and law. This course examines the sources of order and global governance in international relations theoretically and empirically, focusing on force, power, institutions, and norms. A variety of substantive areas of global governance are examined including international security, international law/legalization, the environment, international trade, and human rights.

**COURSE REQUIREMENTS:**

Your final grade will be determined based on your performance on class participation (25%), weekly papers (25%), and a research paper (50%).

**1) Class Participation (25%)**

The quality of a graduate level seminar depends largely on the efforts of the students. I expect that you will come to class each week prepared to discuss the required readings. Obviously, it is impossible to participate in a seminar discussion if you are not in attendance. I expect no absences in the course, and I encourage you to discuss any circumstances with me that will preclude you from attending class.

To prepare for class discussions, keep in mind the following points:

- a) What is the research question?
- b) What is the researcher's theoretical argument? What assumptions underlie this theory? How does the argument fit into the literature? What does it tell us that we don't know?
- c) Evaluation of the theory:
  - If the theory is tested, what consequences are tested, how are concepts measured, and what methods are used? Do these make sense?
  - Is there any evidence that supports the theory? Is there evidence that falsifies it? What might you expect to see that would make you think the theory might be 'wrong'? Does the author provide you with enough of a structure to say this? In other words, is the theory falsifiable?

- d) What conclusions does the researcher draw? Does the researcher fully examine the policy implications of the theory? What are the most significant research findings?
- e) To what degree do you think the researcher has answered his/her question? Is this a good example of research? Why or why not? What are the possibilities for related research? How can the research be extended or applied elsewhere?
- f) How do the selections we read this week fit together? How do they fit into the course as a whole? Are we seeing progress in this research area?

## 2) Response Papers (25%)

Throughout the semester, you will submit a total of 3 one-page critiques of the weekly readings. You can use single-spacing, one-inch margins, and no smaller than 11-point font. Pick at least two related readings and discuss those in your critique. To ensure these assignments are distributed over course topics, I will have students sign up for writing weekly papers.

## 3) Research Paper (50%)

Choose a research question that falls in the topical areas covered in this class and write a research paper addressing this question. The final product should take the form of a conference paper or journal article. Your paper cannot reproduce (in whole or in part) any of your previous work in a substantive course so talk to me if this is an issue. The paper should be about 20-30 pages in length and be written in the professional style of the American Political Science Association. Your research paper should a) clearly identify your research question, b) review and synthesize the relevant literature, c) develop a theoretical argument and derive testable hypotheses, d) develop a research design to evaluate the hypotheses empirically, and e) present an empirical evaluation of the hypotheses (using either statistical analysis of existing data sets or qualitative analysis of a few cases). You may use whatever methodology you feel is most appropriate to the issue and which you feel qualified to implement. I will not be impressed by incompetent quantitative analysis, nor will I penalize competent historical or case-study approaches.

The paper will be due in several stages (on ICON):

Friday, September 27<sup>th</sup>, Research Question (5%) (due at 5:00pm): Submit a one-page typed description of your research question and explain how it fits into the general topical themes for the course. Provide an initial bibliography of at least 15 sources.

Monday, October 28<sup>th</sup>, Research Design (10%) (due at 11:59pm): Submit five to seven typed pages (with a bibliography) that identify your research question, review the literature relevant to your question, begin development of the theory/hypotheses, discuss the method of analysis you intend to employ, and describe any data or historical sources you will use to evaluate your hypotheses.

Monday, November 25<sup>th</sup>, First Draft (15%) (due at 11:59pm): Submit the initial draft of your paper, with all key parts of the paper included (introduction, theory, research design, analysis, conclusion, references). Each draft will be read by the instructor and two other students in the class. The instructor will assign the student discussants for each paper. The two papers each student will discuss will be distributed via email by Tuesday, November 26<sup>th</sup>. Note that this deadline is the Monday of fall break, so feel free to submit it earlier if you so desire.

Monday, December 9<sup>th</sup>, Reviews (20%) (due at 11:59pm): Each student will write a typed review commenting on two other students' papers in the class. The reviewers will be assigned "blindly", so that the authors do not know who reviewed their papers. The reviews should take the form of a journal review, where you make specific recommendations about how to improve the paper. More detailed instructions (including examples) are available on ICON. After students receive the reviews, we will use the class period on 12/7 for students to present their project briefly to other students and get feedback/help with any issues they are dealing with.

Thursday, December 19<sup>th</sup>, Final Draft (50%) (due at 11:59pm): Submit your final paper along with a memo responding to the reviewers' comments in the previous round. I will take into consideration how well you responded to others' criticisms when assigning a final grade. I will not accept any late papers under any circumstances! The final paper grade is based on the weighted component grades for each portion of the paper (research question, research design, first draft, reviews, and final draft).

### **CLASS SCHEDULE**

Many of the course readings will be posted on ICON. Otherwise, you can search for the article using <http://scholar.google.com>. I will provide electronic copies of book chapters on ICON.

### **SECTION I: COOPERATION & ORDER IN WORLD POLITICS**

#### **Week #1 (August 28<sup>th</sup>): Order in World Politics**

##### Required:

- Bull, Hedley. 2002. *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics, Third Edition*. London: Macmillan. Chapters 1, 3, & 5
- Tang, Shipping. 2016. "Order: A Conceptual Analysis." *Chinese Political Science Review* 1(1): 30-46.
- Hurd, Ian. 1999. "Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics." *International Organization* 53(2): 379-408.
- Goh, Evelyn. 2019. "Contesting Hegemonic Order: China in East Asia." *Security Studies* 28(3): 614-644.

##### Recommended:

- Buzan, Barry. 1993. "From International System to International Society: Structural Realism and Regime Theory Meet the English School." *International Organization* 47(3): 327-52.
- Buzan, Barry. 2004. Chapter 1 of *From International to World Society? English School Theory and the Social Structure of Globalisation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Dunne, Tim. 1999. "A British School of International Relations." Pp. 395-424 in Jack Hayward, Brian Barry, and Archie Brown (eds.), *The British Study of Politics in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Finnemore, Martha. 2001. "Exporting the English School?" *Review of International Studies* 27(3): 509-513.
- Hurrell, Andrew. 2007. *On Global Order: Power, Values, and the Constitution of International Society*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Keene, Edward. 2002. *Beyond the Anarchical Society: Grotius, Colonialism, and Order in World Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Linklater, Andrew and Hidemi Suganami. 2006. *The English School of International Relations: A Contemporary Assessment*. Cambridge University Press.

- Onuf, Nicholas Greenwood. 1979. "International Legal Order as an Idea." *The American Journal of International Law*, 73(2): 244-266.
- Philpott, Daniel. 1995. "Sovereignty: An Introduction and Brief History." *Journal of International Affairs* 48(2): 353-368.
- Tang, Shiping. 2018. "China and the Future International Order(s)." *Ethics & International Affairs* 32(1): 31-43.
- Waever, Ole. 1998. "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations." *International Organization* 52(4): 687-727.
- Wrong, Dennis. 1994. *The Problem of Order: What Unites and Divides Society*. Free Press.

## **Week #2 (September 4<sup>th</sup>): No Class, APSA Conference**

## **Week #3 (September 11<sup>th</sup>): Coercive Power & Order**

### Required:

- Thompson, William R. 1988. *On Global War: Historical-Structural Approaches to World Politics*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press. Chapter 3
- Midlarsky, Manus I, ed. 1993. *Handbook of War Studies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Pages 171-194 (Kugler & Organski)
- Levy, Jack S. and William R. Thompson. 2010. "Balancing on Land and at Sea: Do States Ally against the Leading Global Power?" *International Security* 35 (1): 7–43.
- Lake, David A. 2007. "Escape from the State of Nature: Authority and Hierarchy in World Politics." *International Security* 32(1): 47-79.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2012. "Gender, Structure, and War: What Waltz Couldn't See." *International Theory* 4(1): 1-38.
- Brown, Owen R. 2024. "The Underside of Order: Race in the Constitution of International Order." *International Organization* 78(1): 38–66.

### Recommended:

- Bially Mattern, Janice, and Ayşe Zarakol. 2016. "Hierarchies in World Politics." *International Organization* 70(3): 623–654.
- Braumoeller, Bear F. 2012. *The Great Powers and the International System*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bull, Hedley. 2002. *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics, Third Edition*. London: Macmillan.
- Carr, Edward Hallett. 1939. *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Gilpin, Robert. 1981. *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goddard, Stacie. 2018. "Embedded Revisionism: Networks, Institutions, and Challenges to World Order." *International Organization* 72(4): 763-797.
- Gruber, Lloyd. 2000. *Ruling the World: Power Politics and the Rise of Supranational Institutions*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Ikenberry, G. John. 2015. "Between the Eagle and the Dragon: America, China, and Middle State Strategies in East Asia." *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 131(1): 9-43.
- Ikenberry, G. John and Daniel H. Nexon. 2019. "Hegemony Studies 3.0: The Dynamics of Hegemonic Orders." *Security Studies* 28(3): 395–421.
- Kadera, Kelly M. 2001. *The Power-Conflict Story: A Dynamic Model of Interstate Rivalry*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

- Kindleberger, Charles P. 1986. "International Public Goods without International Government." *The American Economic Review* 76: 1-13.
- Lake, David A. 2010. "Rightful Rules: Authority, Order, and the Foundations of Global Governance." *International Studies Quarterly* 54(3): 587-613.
- Lake, David A. 2009. *Hierarchy in International Relations*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press.
- Lake, David A. 1993. "Leadership, Hegemony, and the International Economy: Naked Emperor or Tattered Monarch with Potential?" *International Studies Quarterly* 37: 459-489.
- Lin, Alex Yu-Ting. 2024. "Contestation from Below: Status and Revisionism in Hierarchy." *International Studies Quarterly* 68(3).
- Mearsheimer, John J. 2001. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: Norton.
- Modelski, George. 1987. *Long Cycles in World Politics*. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press.
- Morgenthau, Hans. 1967. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. New York: Knopf.
- Nieman, Mark David. 2016. "The Return on Social Bond: Social Hierarchy and International Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 53(5): 665-679.
- Organski, A.F.K. 1968. *World Politics, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition*. New York: Knopf.
- Organski, A.F.K. and Jacek Kugler. 1980. *The War Ledger*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Security Studies* 2019, Issue 3, Dynamics of Hegemonic Orders, edited by G. John Ikenberry and Daniel H. Nexon
- Waltz, Kenneth. 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

#### **Week #4 (September 18<sup>th</sup>): Liberalism/Neoliberal Institutionalism**

##### Required:

##### *Neoliberal Institutionalism*

- Simmons, Beth A. and Lisa L. Martin. 2002. "International Organizations and Institutions". Pages 192-211 in Carlsnaes, Walter, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

##### *Liberal Institutions/Norms*

- Oneal, John R., Frances H. Oneal, Zeev Maoz, and Bruce M. Russett. 1996. "The Liberal Peace: Interdependence, Democracy, and International Conflict, 1950-1985." *Journal of Peace Research* 33(1): 11-28.
- Ikenberry, G. John. 2001. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*. Princeton University Press. Chapter 3
- Gunitsky, Seva. 2014. "From Shocks to Waves: Hegemonic Transitions and Democratic Transitions in the Twentieth Century." *International Organization* 68(3): 561-597.
- Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin. 2002. "A Kantian System? Democracy and Third-Party Conflict Resolution." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(4): 749-759.

##### *Challenges*

- Parmar, Inderjeet. 2018. "The US-Led Liberal Order: Imperialism by Another Name?" *International Affairs* 94(1): 151-172.
- Lake, David A., Lisa L. Martin, and Thomas Risse. 2021. "Challenges to the Liberal Order: Reflections on International Organization." *International Organization* 75(2): 225-257.

##### Recommended:

- Archarya, Amitav. 2017. "After Liberal Hegemony: The Advent of a Multiplex World Order."

- Ethics & International Affairs* 32(1): 271-285.
- International Organization*, Issue 2, Spring 2021, "Challenges to the Liberal International Order: International Organization at 75", special issue.
- Jacobson, Harold K., William M. Reisinger, and Todd Mathers. 1986. "National Entanglements in International Governmental Organizations." *American Political Science Review*, 80(1): 141-159.
- Kadera, Kelly M., Mark J.C. Crescenzi, and Megan L. Shannon. 2003. "Democratic Survival, Peace, and War in the International System." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(2): 234-247.
- Keohane, Robert O. 1984. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton University Press.

### **Week #5 (September 25<sup>th</sup>): Security Institutions**

#### Required:

##### *Alliances*

- Leeds, Brett Ashley, Andrew G. Long, and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell. 2000. "Reevaluating Alliance Reliability: Specific Threats, Specific Promises." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44(5): 686-699.
- Leeds, Brett Ashley. 2003. "Alliance Reliability in Times of War: Explaining State Decisions to Violate Treaties." *International Organization* 57: 801-827.

##### *Laws of Warfare*

- Fazal, Tanisha M. 2013. "The Demise of Peace Treaties in Interstate Wars." *International Organization* 67(4): 695-724.
- Prorok, Alyssa K. and Benjamin J. Appel. 2013. "Compliance with International Humanitarian Law: Democratic Third Parties and Civilian Targeting in Interstate War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(4): 713-740.

##### *UNSC/NATO*

- Voeten, Erik. 2005. "The Political Origins of the UN Security Council's Ability to Legitimize the Use of Force." *International Organization* 59(3): 527-557.

##### *IGOs, Peace Treaties, and Cooperation*

- Boehmer, Charles, Erik Gartzke, and Timothy Nordstrom. 2004. "Do Intergovernmental Organizations Promote Peace?" *World Politics* 57(1): 1-38.
- Fortna, Virginia Page. 2003. "Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace." *International Organization* 57: 337-372.

#### Recommended:

- Anderson, Christopher C., Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, and Emily Schilling. 2016. "Kantian Dynamics Revisited: Time Varying Analyses of Dyadic IGO-Conflict Relationships." *International Interactions* 42(4): 644-676.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Paola Galano Toro, Luc Girardin, and Guy Schvitz. 2023. "War Did Make States: Revisiting the Bellicist Paradigm in Early Modern Europe." *International Organization* 77(2): 324-62.
- Crescenzi, Mark J.C., Jacob D. Kathman, Katja B. Kleinberg, and Reed M. Wood. 2012. "Reliability, Reputation, and Alliance Formation." *International Studies Quarterly* 56(2): 259-274.
- Fang, Songying, Jesse Johnson, and Brett Ashley Leeds. 2014. "To Concede or to Resist? The Restraining Effect of Military Alliances." *International Organization* 68(4): 775-809.

- Fazal, Tanisha M. 2018. *Wars of Law: Unintended Consequences in the Regulation of Armed Conflict*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Gartzke, Erik and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2004. "Why Democracies May Be Less Reliable Allies." *American Journal of Political Science* 48(4): 775-595.
- Gartzke, Erik A., and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2022. "Ties that Bias in International Conflict: A Spatial Approach to Dyadic Dependence from Alliance Ties and Inbetweenness." *International Studies Quarterly* 66(1): sqab082.
- Gheciu, Alexandra. 2005. "Security Institutions as Agents of Socialization? NATO and the 'New Europe'." *International Organization* 59(4): 973-1012.
- Kinne, Brandon J. 2024. "Network Context and the Effectiveness of international Agreements." *International Studies Quarterly* 68(3).
- Kinne, Brandon. 2018. "Defense Cooperation Agreements and the Emergence of a Global Security Network." *International Organization* 72(4): 799-837.
- Leeds, Brett Ashley. 2003. "Do Alliances Deter Aggression? The Influence of Military Alliances on the Initiation of Militarized Interstate Disputes." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(3): 427-439.
- Leeds, Brett Ashley, Michaela Mattes, and Jeremy S. Vogel. 2009. "Interests, Institutions, and the Reliability of International Commitments." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(2): 461-476.
- Mattes, Michaela. 2012. "Reputation, Symmetry, and Alliance Design." *International Organization* 66(4): 679-707.
- Mattes, Michaela. 2012. "Democratic Reliability, Precommitment of Successor Governments, and the Choice of Alliance Commitment." *International Organization* 66(1): 153-172.
- Morrow, James D. 2000. "Alliances: Why Write Them Down?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 63-83.
- Morrow, James D. 2007. "When Do States Follow the Laws of War?" *American Political Science Review* 101(3): 559-572.
- Poast, Paul. 2012. "Does Issue Linkage Work? Evidence from European Alliance Negotiations, 1860-1945." *International Organization* 66(2): 277-310.

## **Week #6 (October 2<sup>nd</sup>): The Logic of Collective Action & the Demand for Cooperation**

### Required:

- Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Chapters 1-2
- Oye, Kenneth. 1985. "Explaining Cooperation under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies." *World Politics* 38(1): 1-24.
- Fearon, James D. 1998. Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation. *International Organization* 52 (2): 269-305.
- March, James G. and Olsen, Johan P. 1998. "The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders." *International Organization* 52(4): 943-969.
- Ostrom, Elinor. 2000. "Collective Action and the Evolution of Social Norms." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 14(3): 137-158.
- Panke, Diana. 2015. Lock-in Strategies in International Negotiations: The Deconstruction of Bargaining Power. 2015. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 43 (2): 375-391.

### Recommended:

- Axelrod, Robert. 1984. *The Evolution of Cooperation*. Basic Books.
- Axelrod, Robert and Robert O. Keohane. 1985. "Achieving Cooperating Under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions." *World Politics*, 38(1): 226-254.
- Coase, R.H. 1974. "The Lighthouse in Economics." *The Journal of Law and Economics* 17: 357-376.
- Conybeare, John A.C. 1980. "International Organization and the Theory of Property Rights." *International Organization*, 34: 307-334.
- Hardin, Garrett. 1968. "The Tragedy of the Commons." *Science* 162: 1243-1248.
- Hooghe, Liesbet, Tobias Lenz, and Gary Marks. 2019. *A Theory of International Organization*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Hurd, Ian. 2022. The Case Against International Cooperation. *International Theory* 14 (2): 263-284.
- Kinne, Brandon J. 2013. "Network Dynamics and the Evolution of Cooperation." *American Political Science Review* 107(4): 766-785.
- Morrow, James D. 1994. "Modeling the Forms of International Cooperation: Distribution versus Information." *International Organization*, 48(3):387-423.
- North, Douglass. 1991. "Institutions." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 5(1): 97-112.
- Ostrom, Elinor. 1998. "A Behavioral Approach to the Rational Choice Theory of Collective Action: Presidential Address." *American Political Science Review* 92(1): 1-22.
- Shepsle, Kenneth A. and Mark S. Bonchek. 1997. *Analyzing Politics: Rationality, Behavior, and Institutions*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company. Chapters 8-10
- Taylor, Michael. 1987. *The Possibility of Cooperation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wendt, Alexander. 1994. "Collective Identity Formation and the International State." *American Political Science Review*, 88(2): 384-396.

### **Week #7 (October 9<sup>th</sup>): Institutional Design and Compliance**

#### Required:

##### *Purpose/Design of Institutions/IGOs*

- Abbott, Kenneth W. and Duncan Snidal. 1998. "Why States Act through Formal International Organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 42(1): 3-32.
- Voeten, Erik. 2019. "Making Sense of the Design of International Institutions." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22(1): 147-163.
- Sommerer, Thomas, Theresa Squatrito, Jonas Tallberg, and Magnus Lundgren. 2022. "Decision-Making in International Organizations: Institutional Design and Performance." *Review of International Organizations* 17(4): 815-845.
- Johnson, Tana and Johannes Urpelainen. 2014. "International Bureaucrats and the Formation of Intergovernmental Organizations: Institutional Design Discretion Sweetens the Pot." *International Organization* 68(1): 177-210.

##### *Informal Governance*

- Vabulus, Felicity and Duncan Snidal. 2013. "Organization without Delegation: Informal Intergovernmental Organizations (IIGOs) and the Spectrum of Intergovernmental Arrangements." *The Review of International Organizations* 8:193-220.

##### *Treaty Compliance*

- Chayes, Abram and Antonia Handler Chayes. 1993. "On Compliance." *International Organization* 47(2): 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): 379-406.

Recommended:

- Barnett, Michael N. and Martha Finnemore. 1999. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations." *International Organization* 53(4): 699-732.
- Billerbeck, Sarah von. 2020. "Mirror, Mirror on the Wall:" Self-Legitimation by International Organizations." *International Studies Quarterly* 64(1): 207-219.
- Buzas, Zoltan I. 2018. Is the Good News About Law Compliance Good News About Norm Compliance? The Case of Racial Equality. *International Organization* 72 (2): 351-385.
- Chapman, Terrence. 2009. "Audience Beliefs and International Organization Legitimacy." *International Organization* 63(4): 733-764.
- Claude, Inis. 1966. "Collective Legitimization as a Political Function of the United Nations." *International Organization*, 20(3): 367-379.
- Cowhey, Peter F. 1993. "Domestic Institutions and the Credibility of International Commitments: Japan and the United States." *International Organization* 47(2): 299-326.
- Duffield, John S. 2003. "The Limits of Rational Design." *International Organization* 57(2): 411-430.
- Fang, Songying. 2008. "The Informational Role of International Institutions and Domestic Politics." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 304-321.
- Fearon, James D. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization* 49(3): 379-414.
- Dixon, Jennifer M. 2017. "Rhetorical Adaptation and Resistance to International Norms." *Perspectives on Politics* 15(1): 83-99.
- Gaubatz, Kurt Taylor. 1996. "Democratic States and Commitment in International Relations." *International Organization* 50(1): 109-139.
- Gilligan, Michael J. 2004. "Is There a Broader-Deeper Tradeoff in Multilateral Agreements?" *International Organization* 58(3): 459-484.
- Guzman, Andrew T. 2005. The Design of International Agreements. *The European Journal of International Law* 16 (4): 579-612.
- Haftel, Yoram Z., and Tobias Lenz. 2022. "Measuring Institutional Overlap in Global Governance." *The Review of International Organizations* 17(2): 323-347.
- Hurd, Ian. *International Organizations: Politics, Law, Practice*. 4th ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- Kegley, Charles W., Jr. and Gregory A. Raymond. 1990. *When Trust Breaks Down: Alliance Norms and World Politics*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.
- Keohane, Robert O. and Lisa L. Martin. 1995. "The Promise of Institutionalist Theory." *International Security* 20(1): 39-51.
- Koremenos, Barbara. 2001. "Loosening the Ties that Bind: A Learning Model of Agreement Flexibility." *International Organization* 55(2): 289-325.
- Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. 2001. "The Rational Design of International Institutions." *International Organization* 55(4): 761-799.
- Koremenos, Barbara and Duncan Snidal. 2003. "Moving Forward, One Step at a Time." *International Organization*, 57(2): 431-444.
- Krasner, Stephen. 1991. "Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier." *World Politics* 43:336-366.

- Leeds, Brett Ashley. 1999. "Domestic Political Institutions, Credible Commitments, and International Cooperation." *American Journal of Political Science* 43(4): 979-1002.
- Martin, Lisa L. and Beth A. Simmons. 1998. "Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions." *International Organization* 52(4): 729-757.
- Mansfield, Edward D. and Jon Pevehouse. 2006. "Democratization and International Organizations." *International Organization* 60(1): 137-167.
- McGillivray, Fiona and Alastair Smith. 2000. "Trust and Cooperation through Agent-Specific Punishments." *International Organization* 54(4): 809-824.
- Mearsheimer, John J. 1994-95. "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19(3): 5-49.
- Mitchell, Ronald B. 1998. "Sources of Transparency: Information Systems in International Regimes." *International Studies Quarterly* 42(1): 109-130.
- Mitchell, Ronald B. and Patricia M. Keilbach. 2001. "Situation Structure and Institutional Design: Reciprocity, Coercion, and Exchange." *International Organization* 55: 891-917.
- Pevehouse, Jon. 2003. "Democratization, Credible Commitments, and Joining International Organizations." In Daniel W. Drezner (ed.), *Locating the Proper Authorities: The Interaction of International and Domestic Institutions*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Powell, Robert. 2002. "Bargaining Theory and International Conflict." *Annual Review of Political Science* 5: 1-30.
- Reinsberg, Bernhard and Oliver Westerwinter. 2023. "Institutional Overlap in Global Governance and the Design of Intergovernmental Organizations." *The Review of International Organizations* 18(1): 693-724.
- Rochester, J. Martin. 1986. "The Rise and Fall of International Organization as a Field of Study." *International Organization* 40(4): 777-813.
- Russett, Bruce and John Oneal. 2001. *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Shannon, Megan, Daniel Morey, and Frederick J. Boehmke. 2010. "The Influence of International Organizations on Militarized Dispute Initiation and Duration." *International Studies Quarterly* 54(4): 1123-1141.
- Shannon, Vaughn P. 2000. "Norms are what states make of them: The political psychology of norm violation." *International Studies Quarterly* 44(2): 293-316.
- Simmons, Beth A. 1998. "Compliance with International Agreements." *Annual Review of Political Science* 1: 75-93.
- Slantchev, Branislav L. 2003. "The Power to Hurt: Costly Conflict with Completely Informed States." *American Political Science Review* 47(1): 123-135.
- Sommerer, Thomas and Jonas Tallberg. 2019. "Diffusion Across International Organizations: Connectivity and Convergence." *International Organization* 73(2): 399-433.
- Talberg, Jonas. 2002. "Paths to Compliance: Enforcement, Management, and the European Union." *International Organization* 56(3): 609-643.
- Vabulus, Felicity and Duncan Snidal. 2013. "Organization without Delegation: Informal Intergovernmental Organizations (IIGOs) and the Spectrum of Intergovernmental Arrangements." *The Review of International Organizations* 8:193-220.

## Week #8 (October 16<sup>th</sup>): Environmental Institutions

### Required:

- Haas, Peter M. 1989. "Do Regimes Matter? Epistemic Communities and Mediterranean Pollution Control." *International Organization* 43(3): 377-404.
- Mitchell, Ronald B. 1994. "Regime Design Matters: Intentional Oil Pollution and Treaty Compliance." *International Organization*, 48(3): 425-458.
- Brochmann, Marit. 2012. "Signing River Treaties: Does it Improve Cooperation?" *International Interactions* 38(2): 141-163.
- Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin and Neda A. Zawahri. 2015. "The Effectiveness of Treaty Design in Addressing Water Disputes." *Journal of Peace Research* 52(2): 187-200.
- Spilker, Gabriele, and Vally Koubi. 2016. "The Effects of Treaty Legality and Domestic Institutional Hurdles on Environmental Treaty Ratification." *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 16 (2016): 223-238.
- Ovodenko, Alexander. 2016. "Regional Water Cooperation: Creating Incentives for Integrated Management." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60(6):1071-1098.
- Laurens, Noémie, James Hollway, and Jean-Frédéric Morin. 2023. "Checking for Updates: Ratification, Design, and Institutional Adaptation." *International Studies Quarterly* 67(3): sqad049.

### Recommended:

- Bernauer, Thomas, Anna Kalbhenn, Vally Koubi, and Gabriele Spilker. 2013. "Is there a 'Depth versus Participation' Dilemma in International Cooperation?" *The Review of International Organizations* 8(4): 477-497.
- Bernauer, Thomas. 1995. "The Effect of International Environmental Institutions: How We Might Learn More." *International Organization* 49: 351-377.
- Downs, George. 2000. "Constructing Effective Environmental Regimes." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 25-42.
- Helm, Carsten and Detlef Sprinz. 2000. "Measuring the Effectiveness of International Environmental Regimes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44(5): 630-652.
- Hensel, Paul R., Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, and Thomas E. Sowers II. 2006. "Conflict Management of Riparian Disputes." *Political Geography* 25: 383-411.
- Jacobson, Harold and Edith Brown Weiss. 1995. "Strengthening Compliance with International Environmental Accords." *Global Governance* 1(2): 119-149.
- Mitchell, Ronald. 1994. *Intentional Oil Pollution at Sea: Environmental Policy and Treaty Compliance*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Mitchell, Ronald B., Liliana B. Andonova, Mark Axelrod, Jörg Balsiger, Thomas Bernauer, Jessica F. Green, James Hollway, Rakhyun E. Kim, and Jean-Frédéric Morin. 2020. "What We Know (and Could Know) About International Environmental Agreements." *Global Environmental Politics* 20(1): 103-121.
- Mitchell, Ronald and Patricia Keilbach. 2001. "Situation, Structure, and Institutional Design: Reciprocity, Coercion, and Exchange." *International Organization* 55(4): 891-917.
- Nemeth, Stephen C., Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, Elizabeth A. Nyman, and Paul R. Hensel. 2014. "Ruling the Sea: Managing Maritime Conflicts through UNCLOS and Exclusive Economic Zones." *International Interactions* 40(5): 711-736.
- Ringquist, Evan and Tatiana Kostadinova. 2005. "Assessing the Effectiveness of International Environmental Agreements: The Case of the 1985 Helsinki Protocol." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(1): 86-102.

- Roberts, J. Timmons, Bradley C. Parks, and Alexis A. Vásquez. 2004. "Who Ratifies Environmental Treaties and Why? Institutionalism, Structuralism and Participation by 192 Nations in 22 Treaties." *Global Environmental Politics* 4(3): 22–64.
- von Stein, Jana. "The International Law and Politics of Climate Change: Ratification of the United Nations Framework Convention and the Kyoto Protocol." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52(2): 243-268.
- Ward, Hugh. 2006. "International Linkages and Environmental Sustainability: The Effectiveness of the Regime Network." *Journal of Peace Research* 43(2): 149-166.
- Young, Oran R. 1999. *Governance in World Affairs*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Young, Oran R. (ed.) 1999. *The Effectiveness of International Environmental Regimes: Causal Connections and Behavioral Mechanisms*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

### **Week #9 (October 23<sup>rd</sup>): Economic Institutions**

#### Required:

- Milgrom, Paul, Douglass North and Barry Weingast. 1990. "The Role of Institutions in the Revival of Trade: The Law Merchant, Private Judges, and the Champagne Fairs." *Economics and Politics* 2: 1-23.
- Simmons, Beth A. 2000. "International Law and State Behavior: Commitment and Compliance in International Monetary Affairs." *American Political Science Review*, 94(4): 819-835.
- Goldstein, Judith L., Douglas Rivers, and Michael Tomz. 2007. "Institutions in International Relations: Understanding the Effects of the GATT and WTO on World Trade." *International Organization*, 61: 37-67.
- Büthe, Tim, and Helen V. Milner. 2008. "The Politics of Foreign Direct Investment into Developing Countries: Increasing FDI through International Trade Agreements?" *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4): 741-762.
- Allee, Todd and Clint Peinhardt. 2011. "Contingent Credibility: The Impact of Investment Treaty Violations on Foreign Direct Investment." *International Organization* 65(3): 401-432.
- Dreher, Axel, Jan-Egbert Sturm, and James Raymond Vreeland. 2009. "Global Horse Trading: IMF Loans for Votes in the United Nations Security Council." *European Economic Review* 53(7): 742-757.
- Clark, Richard and Lindsay R. Dolan. 2020. "Pleasing the Principal: U.S. Influence in World Bank Policymaking." *American Journal of Political Science* 65(1): 36-51.

#### Recommended:

- Blaydes, Lisa. 2004. "Rewarding Impatience: A Bargaining and Enforcement Model of OPEC." *International Organization* 58(2): 213-237.
- Busch, Marc and Eric Reinhardt. 2003. "Developing Countries and GATT/WTO Dispute Settlement." *Journal of World Trade* 37(4): 719-735.
- Carnegie, Allison. 2014. "States Held Hostage: Political Hold-Up Problems and the Effects of International Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 108(1): 54-70.
- Castle, Matthew A. 2024. "Renegotiating in Good Faith: How International Treaty Revisions can Deepen Cooperation." *The Review of International Organizations* 19(2): 217-241.
- Chaudoin, Stephen. 2014. "Audience Features and the Strategic Timing of Trade Disputes." *International Organization* 68(4): 877-911.

- Colgan, Jeff D. 2014. "The Emperor Has No Clothes: The Limits of OPEC in the Global Oil Market." *International Organization* 68(3): 599-632.
- Davis, Christina L. 2012. *Why Adjudicate? Enforcing Trade Rules in the WTO*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Drezner, Daniel W. 2000. "Bargaining, Enforcement, and Multilateral Sanctions: When is Cooperation Counterproductive?" *International Organization* 54(1): 73-102.
- Goldsmith, Jack L. and Eric A. Posner. 2005. *The Limits of International Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 5
- Grieco, Joseph M., Christopher F. Gelpi, and T. Camber Warren. 2009. "When Preferences and Commitments Collide: The Effect of Relative Partisan Shifts on International Treaty Compliance." *International Organization* 63 (2): 341-355.
- Guzman, Andrew. 2004. "Global Governance and the WTO." *Harvard International Law Journal* 45: 303-351.
- Haftel, Yoram Z. and Alexander Thompson. 2006. "The Independence of International Organizations: Concept and Applications." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50(2): 253-275.
- Karreth, Johannes. 2018. "The Economic Leverage of International Organizations in Interstate Disputes." *International Interactions* 44(3): 463-490.
- Kucik, Jeffrey, and Sergio Puig. 2022. "Do International Dispute Bodies Overreach? Reassessing World Trade Organization Dispute Ruling." *International Studies Quarterly* 66(4).
- Mansfield, Edward D. and Jon C. Pevehouse. 2000. "Trade Blocs, Trade Flows, and International Conflict." *International Organization* 54(4): 775-808.
- Mansfield, Edward D., Helen V. Milner, and B. Peter Rosendorff. 2002. "Why Democracies Cooperate More: Electoral Control and International Trade Agreements." *International Organization* 56(3): 477-513.
- Martin, Lisa L. 1993. "Credibility, Costs, and Institutions: Cooperation on Economic Sanctions." *World Politics* 45(3): 406-432.
- Martin, Lisa L. 1992. "Institutions and Cooperation: Sanctions during the Falkland Islands Conflict." *International Security* 16(4): 143-177.
- Poulsen, Lauge N. Skovgaard. 2020. Beyond Credible Commitments: (Investment) Treaties as Focal Points. *International Studies Quarterly* 64 (1): 26-34.
- Rosendorff, B. Peter and Helen V. Milner. 2001. "The Optimal Design of International Trade Institutions: Uncertainty and Escape." *International Organization* 55(4): 829-857.
- Simmons, Beth A. and Andrew Guzman. 2002. "To Settle or Empanel? An Empirical Analysis of Litigation and Settlement at the WTO." *Journal of Legal Studies* 31(1): S205-S235.
- Smith, James McCall. 2000. "The Politics of Dispute Settlement Design: Explaining Legalism in Regional Trade Pacts." *International Organization* 54(1): 137-180.
- Steinberg, Richard H. 2002. "In the Shadow of Law or Power? Consensus-Based Bargaining and Outcomes in the GATT/WTO." *International Organization* 56(2): 339-374.
- Stone, Randall W. 2011. *Controlling Institutions: International Organizations and the Global Economy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- von Stein, Jana. 2005. "Do Treaties Constrain or Screen? Selection Bias and Treaty Compliance." *American Political Science Review* 99(4): 611-622.
- Response: Simmons, Beth A. and Daniel J. Hopkins. 2005. "The Constraining Power of International Treaties: Theory and Methods." *American Political Science Review* 99(4): 623-31.

Vreeland, James. 2003. *The IMF and Economic Development*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Yarbrough, Beth V. and Robert M. Yarbrough. 1992. *Cooperation and Governance in International Trade*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

### **Week #10 (October 30<sup>th</sup>): United Nations/Regional Organizations**

#### *United Nations*

- Thompson, Alexander. 2006. "Coercion Through IOs: The Security Council and the Logic of Information Transmission." *International Organization* 60 (Winter): 1-34.
- Kim, Yooneui. 2023. "A Network Analysis of Naming and Shaming in the Universal Periodic Review." *International Interactions* 49(3): 287-314.
- Nie, Mintao. 2023. "IOs' Selective Adoption of NGO Information: Evidence from the Universal Periodic Review." *The Review of International Organizations* 18(1): 27-59.
- Chelotti, Nicola, Niheer Dasandi, and Slava Jankin Mikhaylov. 2022. "Do Intergovernmental Organizations have a Socialization Effect on Member State Preferences? Evidence from the UN General Debate." *International Studies Quarterly* 66(1): sqab069.
- Turco, Linnea R. 2024. "Speaking Volumes: Introducing the UNGA Speech Corpus." *International Studies Quarterly* 68(1): sqae001.

#### *Regional IOs*

- Debre, Maria J. 2022. "Clubs of Autocrats: Regional Organizations and Authoritarian Survival." *The Review of International Organizations* 17(3): 485-511.
- Cottiero, Christina. 2023. "Protection for Hire: Cooperation through Regional Organizations." *International Studies Quarterly* 67(4): sqad082.

#### Recommended:

Milton, Daniel, Amira Jadoon, and Jason Warner. 2022. "Needs or Symbols? The Logic of United Nations Counterterrorism Treaty Ratification." *International Studies Quarterly* 66(1): sqab076.

Vreeland, James R. 2019. "Corrupting International Organizations." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22: 205–222.

### **Week #11 (November 6<sup>th</sup>): Norms**

#### Required:

- Hurd, Ian. 2008. "Constructivism," pp. 298-316 in Christian Reut-Smit and Duncan Snidal (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*.
- Wendt, Alexander. 1999. *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 6-7
- Fearon, James D. and Alexander Wendt. 2002. "Rationalism v. Constructivism: A Skeptical View." Pp. 52-72 in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Finnemore, Martha and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 52(4): 887-917.

- Weyrauch, David Benjamin, and Christoph Valentin Steinert. 2022. “Instrumental or Intrinsic? Human Rights Alignment in Intergovernmental Organizations.” *The Review of International Organizations* (2022): 1-27.

Recommended:

- Axelrod, Robert. 1986. “An Evolutionary Approach to Norms.” *American Political Science Review*, 80: 1095-1111.
- Bearce, David H. and Stacy Bondanella. 2007. “Intergovernmental Organizations, Socialization, and Member-State Interest Convergence.” *International Organization* 61(4): 703-733.
- Brechin, Steven R. and Gayl D. Ness. 2013. “Looking Back at the Gap: International Organizations as Organizations Twenty-Five Years Later.” *Journal of International Organizations*.
- Busby, Joshua William. 2007. Bono Made Jesse Helms Cry: Jubilee 2000, Debt Relief, and Moral Action in International Politics. *International Studies Quarterly* 51 (2): 247-275.
- Duque, Marina G. 2018. “Recognizing International Status: A Relational Approach.” *International Studies Quarterly* 62(3): 577–592.
- Finnemore, Martha. 1993. “International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and Science Policy.” *International Organization* 47: 565-597.
- Hooghe, Liesbet. 2005. “Several Roads Lead to International Norms, but Few via International Socialization: A Case Study of the European Commission.” *International Organization* 59: 861-898.
- Johnston, Alastair Ian. 2001. “Treating International Institutions as Social Environments.” *International Studies Quarterly* 45(4): 487-515,
- Johnston, Alastair Iain. 2019. “China in a World of Orders: Rethinking Compliance and Challenge in Beijing's International Relations.” *International Security* 44(2): 9–60.
- Katzenstein, Peter J. (ed). 1996. *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Kelley, Judith. 2008. “Assessing the Complex Evolution of Norms: The Rise of International Election Monitoring.” *International Organization* 62(2): 221-255.
- Klotz, Audie. 1995. “Norms Reconstituting Interests: Global Racial Equality and US Sanctions against South Africa.” *International Organization* 49(3): 451–478.
- Meyer, John W. 2010. “World Society, Institutional Theories, and the Actor.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 36:1-20.
- Morrow, James D. 1994. “Modeling the Forms of International Cooperation: Distribution versus Information.” *International Organization* 48(3):387-423.
- Meyer, John W., John Boli, George M. Thomas, and Francisco O. Ramirez. 1997. “World Society and the Nation-State.” *American Journal of Sociology* 103(1): 144–181.
- Oksamytna, Kseniya and Sarah von Billerbeck. 2024. “Race and International Organizations.” *International Studies Quarterly* 68(2): sqae010.
- Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ostrom, Elinor. 2014. “Collective Action and the Evolution of Social Norms.” *Journal of Natural Resources Policy Research* 6(4): 235-252.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank. 2001. The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the

- Eastern Enlargement of the European Union. *International Organization* 55 (1): 47-80.
- Schenoni, Luis L., Gary Goertz, Andrew P. Owsiak, and Paul F. Diehl. 2024. "The Saavedra Lamas Peace: How a Norm Complex Evolved and Crystallized to Eliminate War in the Americas." *International Studies Quarterly* 68(2): sqae047.
- Tannenwald, Nina. 2007. *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons since 1945*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Taninchev, Stacy Bondanella, 2015. "Intergovernmental Organizations, Interaction, and Member State Interest Convergence." *International Interactions* 41(1): 133-157.
- Tourinho, Marcos. 2021. "The Co-Constitution of Order." *International Organization* 75(2): 258-281.
- Towns, Ann E. 2010. *Women and States: Norms and Hierarchies in International Society*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Wendt, Alexander. 1992. "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46(2): 391-425.

### **Week #12 (November 13<sup>th</sup>): Human Rights Institutions**

#### Required:

- Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1999. "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics." *International Social Science Journal* 51(159): 89-101.
- Simmons, Beth A. 2009. *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 3-4
- Lupu, Yonatan. 2013. "The Informative Power of Treaty Commitment: Using the Spatial Model to Address Selection Effects." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(4): 912-925.
- Jo, Hyeran and Beth A. Simmons. 2016. "Can the International Criminal Court Deter Atrocity?" *International Organization* 70(3): 443-475.
- Haglund, Jillienne. 2019. "International Institutional Design and Human Rights: The Case of the Inter-American Human Rights System." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 36(6): 608-625.
- Gallagher, Maryann E., Deepa Prakash & Zoe Li. 2020. "Engendering Justice: Women and the Prosecution of Sexual Violence in International Criminal Courts." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 22(2): 227-249.
- Greenhill, Brian. 2010. "The Company You Keep: International Socialization and the Diffusion of Human Rights Norms." *International Studies Quarterly* 54(1): 127-145.

#### Recommended:

- Búzás, Zoltan. 2018. "Is the Good News About Law Compliance Good News About Norm Compliance? The Case of Racial Equality." *International Organization* 72(2): 351-385.
- Donnelly, Jack. 1986. "International Human Rights: A Regime Analysis." *International Organization* 40(3): 599-642.
- Eldredge, Cody D. and Megan Shannon. 2022. "Social Power and the Politics of Reservations and Objections in Human Rights Treaties." *International Studies Quarterly* 66(1) sqab054.
- Gildea, Ross James. 2024. "Explaining the Selection Dilemma in Human Rights INGOs." *International Studies Quarterly* 68(2): sqae041.
- Goldsmith, Jack L. and Eric A. Posner. 2005. *The Limits of International Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 4

- Goodman, Ryan and Derek Jinks. 2003. "Measuring the Effects of Human Rights Treaties." *European Journal of International Law* 14(1): 171-183.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie, Laurence R. Helfer, and Christopher J. Fariss. 2011. "Emergency and Escape: Explaining Derogations from Human Rights Treaties." *International Organization* 65(4): 673-707.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. 2005. "Trading Human Rights: How Preferential Trade Agreements Influence Government Repression." *International Organization* 59: 593-629.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. 2008. "Sticks and Stones: Naming and Shaming the Human Rights Enforcement Problem." *International Organization* 62(4): 689-716.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. and Kiyoteru Tsutsui. 2005. "Human Rights in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises." *The American Journal of Sociology* 110(5): 1373-1411.
- Hathaway, Oona A. 2002. "The Cost of Commitment." *Stanford Law Review* 55: 1821-1862.
- Hathaway, Oona A. 2002. "Do Human Rights Treaties Make a Difference?" *The Yale Law Journal* 111(8): 1935-2042.
- Keith, Linda Camp. 1999. "The United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: Does it Make a Difference in Human Rights Behavior?" *Journal of Peace Research* 36: 95-118.
- Linos, Katerina and Tom Pegram. 2016. "The Language of Compromise in International Agreements." *International Organization* 70(3): 587-621.
- Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin and Emilia Justyna Powell. 2011. *Domestic Law Goes Global: Legal Traditions and International Courts*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 2000. "The Origins of Human Rights Regimes: Democratic Delegation in Postwar Europe." *International Organization* 54(2): 217-252.
- Naurin, Daniel and Oyvind Stiansen. 2020. The Dilemma of Dissent: Split Judicial Decisions and Compliance with Judgments from the International Human Rights Judiciary. *Comparative Political Studies* 53 (6): 959-991.
- Neumayer, Eric. 2005. "Do International Human Rights Treaties Improve Respect for Human Rights?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(6): 925-953.
- Powell, Emilia J. and Jeffrey K. Staton. "Domestic Judicial Institutions and Human Rights Treaty Violation." *International Studies Quarterly* 53(1): 149-174.
- Risse, Thomas, Stephen Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink. 1999. *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sikkink, Kathryn. 1993. "Human Rights, Principled Issue-Networks, and Sovereignty in Latin America." *International Organization* 47: 411-441.
- Simmons, Beth A. and Allison Danner. 2010. "Credible Commitments and the International Criminal Court." *International Organization* 62(1): 225-256.
- Vreeland, James Raymond. 2008. "Political Institutions and Human Rights: Why Dictatorships Enter into the United Nations Convention Against Torture." *International Organization* 62(1): 65-101.
- Wallace, Geoffrey P.R. 2013. "International Law and Public Attitudes Towards Torture: An Experimental Study." *International Organization* 67(1): 105-140.

## Week #13 (November 20<sup>th</sup>): Cooperation in International Law

### Required:

- Abbott, Kenneth W., Robert O. Keohane, Andrew Moravcsik, Anne-Marie Slaughter, and Duncan Snidal. 2000. "The Concept of Legalization." *International Organization* 54(3): 401-419.
- Goldsmith, Jack L. and Eric A. Posner. 2005. *The Limits of International Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 1-2
- Blake, Daniel J. 2013. "Thinking Ahead: Government Time Horizons and the Legalization of International Investment Agreements." *International Organization* 67(4): 797-827.
- Ginsburg, Tom. 2020. "Authoritarian International Law?" *American Journal of International Law* 114(2): 221-260.
- Gasteringer, Markus, and Henning Schmidtke. 2023. "Measuring Precision Precisely: A Dictionary-Based Measure of Imprecision." *The Review of International Organizations* 18(3): 553-571.
- Kreutzer, Willow and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell. "2024. "The Three R's of CEDAW Commitment: Ratification, Reservation, and Rejection." *International Interactions* 50(3): 418-447.

### Recommended:

- Special issue of *International Organization* on legalization, 54(3)
- Abbott, Kenneth W. and Duncan Snidal. 2000. "Hard and Soft Law in International Governance." *International Organization* 54(3): 421-456.
- Alter, Karen J. 1998. "Who are the 'Masters of the Treaty'? European Governments and the European Court of Justice." *International Organization* 52: 121-147.
- Alter, Karen J., Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, and Laurence R. Helfer. 2019. "Theorizing the Judicialization of International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly* 63(3): 449-463.
- Chaudoin, Stephen. 2014. "Promises or Policies? An Experimental Analysis of International Agreements and Audience Reactions." *International Organization* 68(1): 235-256.
- Chayes, Abram and Antonia Handler Chayes. 1998. *The New Sovereignty*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Garrett, Geoffrey, R., Daniel Keleman, and Heiner Schulz. 1998. "The European Court of Justice, National Governments, and Legal Integration in the European Union." *International Organization* 52: 149-176.
- Guzman, Andrew T. 2008. *How International Law Works*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jo, Hyeran. 2015. *Compliant Rebels*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Kahler, Miles. 2000. "The Causes and Consequences of Legalization." *International Organization* 54(3): 661-683.
- Kelley, Judith. 2007. "Who Keeps International Commitments and Why? The International Criminal Court and Bilateral Nonsurrender Agreements." *American Political Science Review* 101(3): 573-589.
- Keohane, Robert. 1997. "International Relations and International Law: Two Optics." *Harvard International Law Journal* 38(2): 487-502.
- Mattli, Walter and Anne-Marie Slaughter. 1998. "Revisiting the European Court of Justice." *International Organization* 52: 177-209.
- Onuf, Nicholas Greenwood. 1979. "International Legal Order as an Idea." *The American*

- Journal of International Law*, 73(2): 244-266.
- Raustiala, Kal. 2005. "Form and Substance in International Agreements." *American Journal of International Law* 99(3): 581-614.
- Slaughter, Anne-Marie, Andrew S. Tulumello, and Stepan Wood. 1998. "International Law and International Relations Theory: A New Generation of Interdisciplinary Scholarship." *American Journal of International Law* 92(3): 367-397.
- Stone Sweet, Alec and Thomas L. Brunell. 2013. "Trustee Courts and the Judicialization of International Regimes." *Journal of Law and Courts* 1(1): 61-88.
- Wallace, Geoffrey P.R. 2013. "International Law and Public Attitudes Toward Torture: An Experimental Study." *International Organization* 67(1): 105-140.
- Zangl, Bernhard. 2008. "Judicialization Matters! A Comparison of Dispute Settlement Under GATT and the WTO." *International Studies Quarterly* 52(4): 825-854.
- Zvobgo, Kelebogile, Wayne Sandholtz, and Suzie Mulesky. 2020. "Reserving Rights: Explaining Human Rights Treaty Reservations." *International Studies Quarterly* 64(4): 785-797.

**Week #14 (November 27<sup>th</sup>): No Class, Thanksgiving break**

**Week #15 (December 4<sup>th</sup>): International Institutions and Conflict Management**

Required:

- Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin and Paul R. Hensel. 2007. "International Institutions and Compliance with Agreements." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(4): 721-737.
- Wiegand, Krista E. and Emilia Justyna Powell. 2011. "Past Experience, Quest for the Best Forum, and Peaceful Attempts to Resolve Territorial Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(1): 33-59.
- Huth, Paul K., Sarah E. Croco, and Benjamin J. Appel. 2013. "Bringing Law to the Table: Legal Claims, Focal Points, and the Settlement of Territorial Disputes Since 1945." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(1): 90-103.
- Davis, Christina L. and Julia C. Morse. 2018. "Protecting Trade by Legalizing Political Disputes: Why Countries Bring Cases to the International Court of Justice." *International Studies Quarterly* 62(4): 709-722.
- Hansen, Holley, Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, and Stephen C. Nemeth. 2008. "IO Mediation of Interstate Conflicts: Moving Beyond the Global vs. Regional Dichotomy." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52(2): 295-325.
- Fortna, Virginia Page. 2004. "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace after Civil War." *International Studies Quarterly* 48(2): 269-292.

Recommended:

- Allee, Todd and Paul K. Huth. 2006. "Legitimizing Dispute Settlement: International Legal Rulings as Domestic Political Cover." *American Political Science Review* 100(2): 219-234.
- Carter, David E., Rachel L. Wellhausen, and Paul K. Huth. 2019. "International Law, Territorial Disputes, and Foreign Direct Investment." *International Studies Quarterly* 63(1): 58-71.
- Chayes, Antonia. 2008. "How American Treaty Behavior Threatens National Security." *International Security* 33(1): 45-81.
- Davis, Christina L. and Julia C. Morse. 2018. "Protecting Trade by Legalizing Political Disputes:

- Why Countries Bring Cases to the International Court of Justice.” *International Studies Quarterly* 62(4): 709–722.
- Dorussen, Han and Hugh Ward. 2008. “Intergovernmental Organizations and the Kantian Peace: A Network Perspective.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52(2): 189-212.
- Doyle, Michael W. and Nicholas Sambanis. 2000. “International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis.” *American Political Science Review* 94(4): 779-801.
- Fausett, Elizabeth and Thomas J. Volgy. 2010. “Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) and Interstate Conflict: Parsing Out IGO Effects for Alternative Dimensions of Conflict in Postcommunist Space.” *International Studies Quarterly* 54(1): 79-101.
- Fischer, Dana D. 1982. “Decisions to Use the International Court of Justice: Four Recent Cases.” *International Studies Quarterly* 26(2): 251-277.
- Gent, Stephen E. and Megan Shannon. 2010. “The Effectiveness of International Arbitration and Adjudication: Getting into a Bind.” *Journal of Politics* 72(2): 366–80.
- Hultman, Lisa, Jacob Kathman, and Megan Shannon. 2013. “United Nations Peacekeeping and Civilian Protection in Civil War.” *American Journal of Political Science* 57(4): 875–891.
- Huth, Paul K., Sarah E. Croco, and Benjamin J. Appel. 2011. “Does International Law Promote the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes? Evidence from the Study of Territorial Conflicts Since 1945.” *American Political Science Review* 105(2): 415–36.
- Kinne, Brandon J. 2013. “IGO Membership, Network Convergence, and Credible Signaling in Militarized Disputes.” *Journal of Peace Research* 50(6): 659-676.
- Lee, Hoon and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell. 2012. “Foreign Direct Investment and Territorial Disputes.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56(4): 675– 703.
- Lundgren, Magnus. 2015. “Conflict Management Capabilities of Peace-Brokering International Organizations, 1945-2010: A New Dataset.” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* Online first.
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## **Week #16 (December 11<sup>th</sup>): In-Class Presentations**

This course is through the Department of Political Science. The DEO is Brian Lai, 343 Schaeffer Hall, [brian-lai@uiowa.edu](mailto:brian-lai@uiowa.edu).

### **Academic Honesty and Misconduct**

All students in CLAS courses are expected to abide by the [college's standards of academic honesty](#). Graduate academic misconduct must be reported to the Graduate College according to Section F of the [Graduate College Manual](#).

### **Student Complaints**

Students with a complaint about a grade or a related matter should first discuss the situation with the instructor and/or the course supervisor (if applicable), and finally with the DEO (Chair) of the department, school or program offering the course. Sometimes students will be referred to the department or program's Director of Graduate Studies (DGS). Graduate students should contact the [CLAS Dean's Office](#) when additional support is needed.

### **Drop Deadline for this Course**

You may drop an individual course before the drop deadline; after this deadline you will need collegiate approval. You can look up the drop deadline for this course [here](#). When you drop a course, a "W" will appear on your transcript. The mark of "W" is a neutral mark that does not affect your GPA. To discuss how dropping (or staying in) a course might affect your academic goals, please contact your Academic Advisor. Directions for adding or dropping a course and other registration changes can be found on the [Registrar's website](#). Undergraduate students can find policies on dropping CLAS courses [here](#). Graduate students should adhere to the [academic deadlines](#) and policies set by the Graduate College.

### **Communication: UI Email**

Students are responsible for all official correspondences sent to their UI email address (uiowa.edu) and must use this address for any communication with instructors or staff in the UI community. For the privacy and the protection of student records, UI faculty and staff can only correspond with UI email addresses.

### **Mental Health Resources and Student Support**

Students are encouraged to be mindful of their mental health and seek help as a preventive measure or if feeling overwhelmed and/or struggling to meet course expectations. Students are encouraged to talk to their instructor for assistance with course-related concerns. For additional mental health support, please see the guidance and resources at [mentalhealth.uiowa.edu](http://mentalhealth.uiowa.edu), including the 24-7 [UI Support and Crisis Line](#).

Additionally, the Office of the Dean of Students can help students navigate personal crisis situations. They can provide one-on-one support, help with identifying options, and access to [basic needs resources \(such as food, rent, childcare, etc.\)](#). Student Care and Assistance: 132 IMU, [dos-assistance@uiowa.edu](mailto:dos-assistance@uiowa.edu), or 319-335-1162 and more info: [dos.uiowa.edu/assistance](http://dos.uiowa.edu/assistance)

### **[University Policies](#)**

#### **[Accommodations for Students with Disabilities](#)**

The University is committed to providing an educational experience that is accessible to all students. If a student has a diagnosed disability or other disabling condition that may impact the student's ability to complete the course requirements as stated in the syllabus, the student may seek accommodations through [Student Disability Services](#) (SDS). SDS is responsible for making [Letters of Accommodation \(LOA\)](#) available to the student. The student must provide an LOA to the instructor as early in the semester as possible, but requests not made at least two weeks prior to the scheduled activity for which an accommodation is sought may not be accommodated. The LOA will specify what reasonable course accommodations the student is eligible for and those the instructor should provide.

#### **[Free Speech and Expression](#)**

#### **[Absences for Religious Holy Days](#)**

#### **[Classroom Expectations](#)**

#### **[Non-discrimination](#)**

#### **[Sexual Harassment/Misconduct and Supportive Measures](#)**

#### **[Sharing of Class Recordings \(if appropriate\)](#)**