

PS: 395 INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND NATIONAL POLICY

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Office Hours:
 For this seminar:

Course Goals & Format

International organizations are designed to facilitate cooperation between states, addressing problems and issues that affect all nations, the global commons and humanity in general. But for the goals of international organizations to be achieved, usually a change of domestic policy is needed. This seminar examines the questions of if, when and how international actors influence national policy so as to promote objectives of international institutions and altruistic or self-interested actors.



This course is designed as a capstone research seminar for the political science major. Students will write an original research paper, and the entire course is oriented around helping students undertake this paper. You will get the most out of this seminar if you start your project immediately, so that you can read the seminar readings through the lens of your research question. Reading is light, and I have focused on readings that help you see *how* international organizations try to influence political actors, providing tools you can apply in your research. Each participant will contribute to the breadth of our understanding. The different topics and findings of our seminar participants will help us see how international influence varies across issues and target countries.

This seminar also has a heavy emphasis on speaking and presentational skills. You will be making three presentations and preparing three memos as part of the class. The presentations and memos are designed to advance your research, to practice distilling information for an audience, and to teach the rest of the seminar about what you are learning. Collectively we will examine what contributes to effective writing and presentation styles, meaning styles that convince a reading and listening audience.

ASSIGNMENTS AND ASSESSMENT

Participation (40%) includes:

- Regular attendance, preparation to discuss the readings, and class participation
- Three short memos that come directly from your research project and prepare you and your audience for your oral presentation. (Described further at end of syllabus)
- Three class presentations related to your project (Described further at end of syllabus)
- Written Peer reviews—Turned in by person receiving the review. Make sure that the peer reviewer's name is clearly indicated on the review.
- Self-reflections of memos, presentations, and final paper

Seminar paper (60%)- Due Monday December 7 by 2pm on Canvas

Your main project for this course will be a seminar paper. This can be an individual paper (18-22 pages), or a co-authored paper if there are two students interested in the same topic and willing to work together (25-30 pages). The paper will pick an issue that an international organization is addressing, describe the international organization's policy and the tools the IO is using to elicit

compliance with the agreement, and explore the influence of the IO on one country's policy. Group papers will include more country cases (one per group member), and a comparison of what happened across the cases. The issue is for you to choose- a list of suggested topics is on blackboard. As the seminar progresses, we will work together to select a country case that makes sense given the issue and your research. Or you can select a country, and we can work backwards to select an issue. Note that this is a **research paper**. From the very beginning you should be researching scholarly analyses of your issue. (For more, see Assignments and Due Dates)

On Due Dates, Attendance, and Deadlines

In the real world deadlines are deadlines, and you are expected to pull your own weight and turn in quality work. You owe it to your colleagues to get your work to them in time for them to read it. You owe it to the seminar to be present at every meeting, to be fully prepared, and to be ready when your turn comes to make a presentation. Our schedule is too tight to delay presentations. If you are able to arrange to trade places with another participant in another presentation group, you may reschedule a presentation. If you are not able to trade places, and you miss your presentation, you will be given a zero as a grade. Late assignments will have a penalty of 1/3 grade for each day late. This penalty will be waived only in exceptional circumstances.

READINGS FOR PURCHASE

Chayes, Abram, and Antonia Handler Chayes. 1995. *The New Sovereignty: Compliance with International Regulatory Agreements*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Case study book cb443 available at:

http://www.guisd.org/page_3_product.cfm?ProductID=1252&MenuCategory=5

Fox Baker, Annette "Guatemala, Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy" *Pew Case Studies in International Affairs* no. 430.

Letovsky, Robert and Brian Dwyer "Protecting Endangered Species: U.S. Trade Policy and the Cases of China and Taiwan" *Pew Case Studies in International Affairs* no. 218.

Starred readings are on Canvas on the weekly page.

SCHEDULE WITH READING ASSIGNMENTS

WEEK 1: Introduction to the Seminar/ Picking an issue to research (Sept 22-24)

Tuesday:

- Introduction
- Discuss which issues to we expect to be easier or harder?
- Consider the research topic list.
- Overview of paper, memos & presentations

Thursday: Why work through an international organization, rather than a country acting on its own? How does one government influence another? How are IOs different?

- Discuss readings (below)
- Examples of memos & speaking skills.

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

We also want to figure out how what IOs do is different than what governments do. Towards this end, spend some time on these foreign policy websites- From Denmark: <http://um.dk/en/danida-en/> and USAID <http://www.usaid.gov/>

WEEK 2: International Institutions as Coordinating Devices (Sept 29-Oct 1)

International institutions don't have many resources of their own. They have no coercive powers. Rarely do they give away money, and they can't actually force anyone to do anything. So how do international organizations have any impact? How are the many activities of IOs that you read about contributing to shaping national policies?

Tuesday: Why do nations cooperate with each other? When will nations cooperate with each other? Keohane, Robert. *After Hegemony*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984. (p.49-109)

Thursday: Library training and individual meetings Library B238

WEEK 3: Why the “problem structure” of your issue shapes what can be and is done to address the problem (Oct 6-8)

A key concept is that the nature of the “problem” shapes the nature of the “solution.” Compare the problem of avoiding pedestrian deaths to the problem of avoiding death by the measles? Why are these different problems? What is required to “solve” each of these problems?

Tuesday: How the nature of the problem structures the design of the solution

Readings:

Arthur Stein. 1982. "Coordination and collaboration: regimes in an anarchic world" *International Organization* 36 (2): 115-140.

Mitchell, Ronald. 1994. "Regime Design Matters: Intentional Oil Pollution and Treaty Compliance." *International Organization* 48 (3): 425-58.

Thursday: Memos & Presentation I by Group A.

WEEK 4: Direct & Indirect IO efforts to influence international and national policy: the good and the bad (Oct 13-15)

Last week focused on the mechanics of IO influence. Good mechanics are necessary for IOs to achieve their goals, but they are not sufficient. Politics and power shape the context in which IOs operate. Power dynamics often warp the achievements of even well intentioned and well-crafted policies, even where it is clear that the country would benefit by following IO policies.

Tuesday: How IOs exert influence (or not)

Martha Finnemore “International organizations as the teachers of Norms: UNESCO and Science policy” *International Organization* 47 (4) 1993: 565-597

Barnett, Michael N. 2009. Evolution Without Progress? Humanitarianism in a World of Hurt. *International Organization* 63 (4):621-663

Haas, Peter M., Robert O. Keohane, and Marc A. Levy. 1993. Institutions for the Earth: Sources of Effective International Environmental Protection, Global Environmental Accords Series. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. Conclusion, p. 397-426

Thursday: Memos & Presentation I by Group B.

[Note: I need to reschedule this session. We will work together to find an alternative meeting time]

WEEK 5: Compliance is not the goal; rather effectiveness is the goal (Oct 20-22)

This week we introduce a key idea: following the rules (compliance) is not the same thing as effectiveness. The implication is profound. IO's can be effective even where there is not 100% compliance, and ineffective even if there is 100% compliance. We use these readings to become more sophisticated analysts, and to better understand why IOs are often not ineffective.

Tuesday: Do states even intend to comply? What is effectiveness and how does it matter?

Readings:

Raustiala, Kal. "Compliance & Effectiveness in International Regulatory Cooperation." *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* 32 (2000) 387-440. (p. 387-427 only)

Simmons, Beth. 2009. *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter on "Theories of Commitment." P. 57-111

Thursday: How do you assess and show that an IO is effective?

- Preparing for second round of memos presentations.
- Preparing for the final paper: proper citations for research papers, the Case Study method, process tracing and counterfactual analysis.

Gerring, John "What is a Case Study and What is it Good for?" *American Political Science Review* 98 (2) 341-353.

Collier, David "Understanding Process Tracing" *PS* 2011, 823-29

Levy, Jack "Counterfactuals and Case Studies" in the *Oxford Handbook on Political Methodology* 2008. P. 627-44.

Lipson, Charles 2004. *Doing Honest Work in College (How to prepare citations, avoid plagiarism, and achieve real academic success)* Chapter 3 & 4.

Note: I will be available to meet on Friday to talk about selecting a country case study

WEEK 6: Enforcement v. Management approaches to compliance Warning: Heavy reading! (Oct 27-27)

IO's cannot really wield sticks. This week we figure out how inducements, instead of or in conjunction with enforcement tools, promote IO objectives.

Tuesday: Sticks and stones are not necessarily the best approach

Chayes, Abram, and Antonia Handler Chayes. 1995. *The New Sovereignty: Compliance with International Regulatory Agreements*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 63-67

Drezner, Daniel W. 2000. Bargaining, Enforcement and Multilateral Sanctions: When is Cooperation Counterproductive? *International Organization* 54 (1):73-102.

Chayes, Abram, and Antonia Handler Chayes. 1995. *The New Sovereignty: Compliance with International Regulatory Agreements*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. P. 109-249 (read for the categories of management tools and how they work—the case studies are not important)

Thursday Presentation II Group B

WEEK 7: Mobilizing Social Pressure on States (Nov. 3-5)

Governments rarely care about pleasing an IO. Instead, they care about pleasing local actors and powerful external actors. This week we consider how pressure is exerted on states.

Tuesday: How IOs influence state policy—by mobilizing societal interests

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists Beyond Borders : Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998. (All read Intro from p. 8 & Conclusion. We will divide the issue area chapters)

Methods Discussion about counterfactual analysis

Thursday: Presentation II: Group A.

WEEK 8: Thinking forward to your paper (Nov 10-12)

Two Case studies on a state and an international policy: Lets figure out from these cases whether foreign actors could influence a national policy or behavior.

Tuesday:

Fox Baker, Annette “Guatemala, Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy” *Pew Case Studies in International Affairs* no. 430.

Thursday:

Letovsky, Robert and Brian Dwyer “Protecting Endangered Species: U.S. Trade Policy and the Cases of China and Taiwan” *Pew Case Studies in International Affairs* no. 218.

Discussion about final memos & presentations- please download and read handout on blackboard.

Individual Progress Meetings

WEEK 9 : Professor Alter out of town (Nov 19-21)**WEEK 10: November 24**

Tuesday:

Readings:

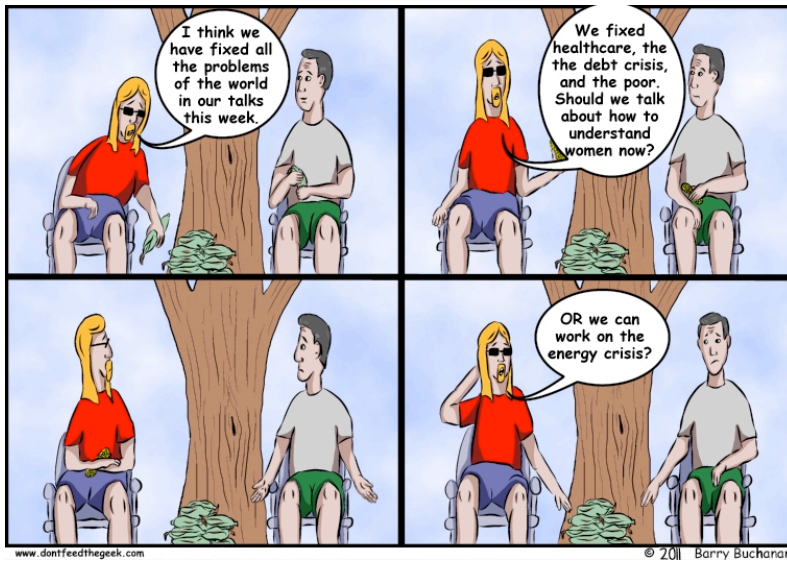
Packing heat: pro-gun groups and the governance of small arms, by Clifford Bob
When ‘doing good’ does not: the IMF and the Millennium Development Goals by Tamar Gutner, in Avant, Finnemore and Sell. 2010. *Who Governs the Globe* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

“Epilogue” in Miles, Edward L., Arild Underdal, Steinar Andresen, Jorgen Wettestad, Jon Birger Skjaereth, and Elaine Carlin. 2002. *Environmental Regime Effectiveness: Confronting Theory with Evidence*. Cambridge MA: M.I.T. Press.

WEEK 11: Make up during reading week- Presenting our Research Findings - (Dec 1-3)

Tuesday: Final Presentations (Volunteers) + Discussion about variation across research topics.

Final papers due December 7



CALENDAR OF ASSIGNMENTS & DUE DATES

1. Pick your topic. Week 2

October 2- E-mail about the issue area you will be researching. You are welcome to include thoughts about a country case, but this isn't required.

2. Memo 1: Produce a memo and a presentation about your issue area. Weeks 3 & 4

The Memo/Pamphlet: A 2 page memo or pamphlet that explains in compelling terms the nature of the problem you are investigating. We will discuss examples in class. A draft of the memo is due on Canvas two days before your presentation. I will give you feedback, and the revised memo/pamphlet should be handed out before your presentation. Please bring one copy for each person.

The Presentation: A 5 minute presentation that informs and convinces potential donors about the importance of your issue/cause. The presentation should be informative, substantive and convincing. Dress for the presentation. *Be prepared to answer questions from the audience.*

Your peers will be providing instant feedback, answering the following questions:

- 1) What was the main point you took away from the presentation?
- 2) Which aspect of the issue is still unclear to you?
- 3) What aspects of the presentation and memo are especially strong?
- 4) What might be improved for the next presentation

3. Memo II: Research on international actors and their efforts. Weeks 6 & 7

Which actors are trying to influence the policy choices? What are they doing to try to influence policy? You should focus on the main international actors involved, those who are doing the most to address the issue.

The Memo: This time your memo (2-4 pages) will give us information about the international efforts to address your policy. Examples are on Canvas. We should learn about the key international actors addressing your issue and what these actors are doing. You should do more than list their policies. You should actually explain the organization's strategy, and how programs and actions are aimed at addressing the problem. If two or more of you are drawing on the same organization, you might work on these memos together. The goal is to apply the theoretical materials to your topic. Using analytical categories (but not per se jargon), tell us the tools that IOS are *actually using* to influence the outcome.

The Presentation: You will give us a 5-6 minute presentation on the organization you have researched in conjunction with your project. For the presentation, pretend you are an outside evaluator of the effectiveness of the organization. The presentation should tell us a bit about the history of the organization, the nature of decision-making in the organization, the tools the organization has to influence national policy, and some of the problems the organization faces both internally and in terms of influencing national policy. Be frank about the politics within the organization and among nation states. The presentation should be organized, clear, and well delivered. Be prepared to answer questions about your organization.

Group B memo II Oct 29 Tuesday 9am. Peer review comments due back Tuesday evening. We will try to meet Wednesday for feedback and to discuss your presentation.

Group B Presentation II Oct 31 In class: Distribute revised memo to class and present 5 minute presentation on the issue area. *Email self-reflection due that night!*

Group A memo II Nov 5 Tuesday 9am. Peer review comments due back Tuesday evening. We will try to meet Wednesday for feedback and to discuss your presentation.

Group A Presentation II Nov. 7 In class: Distribute revised memo to class and present 5 minute presentation on the issue area. *Email self-reflection due that night!*

Peer review comments should be completed by Thursday evening after the session. E-mail them to your partners, and bring a copy to me Tuesday.

4. Memo III: Presentation of Research Week 9 (or reading week)- We shall set the due dates together

Third Memo

Two page memo that summarizes the issue, assesses the international efforts, explains why there was change or no change in state behavior. The memo should draw some lessons from your study, highlighting particular features of your issue and country that significantly shaped what happened. This will help us to compare across issues and countries. These will be distributed and read in advance.

Presentation: Conclusions The final presentation should be 5-7 minutes. It should not repeat what is in the memo, or what you covered in other presentations, but rather tell us conversationally what you found... Was your case a success or failure (perhaps explain or tell a story that shows us the success or the failure)? Why was your case a success or failure? What was the most surprising thing you discovered in your research? (your surprise is likely our surprise--- so we take shared joy in knowing) What lessons do you take from your study? What lessons do you think others might learn from your research? (here your personal connection to the material will make the presentation compelling).

5. Final Paper 17-22 pages (12 point font, double spaced, 1 inch margins). Due December 7 at 2pm, on Canvas

The paper should have gone through peer review. Please turn in the paper that was peer reviewed, the peer review comments, and the final revised paper.

Breakdown of paper grading:

Writing, organization, clarity, conciseness of paper	20%
Argument, analysis, research, use of evidence & proper citations	40%

You are free to organize the paper as you like. Below is just an optional suggestion.

- 1) Introduction-(1-2 pages)- tell us the punch line up front- what lesson will your paper show? What argument will you develop? Provide a roadmap to the papers sections and arguments, so that we can see where the paper is going
- 2) *The problem of xxx* The Nature of the policy issue- (your memo I & III should give you a sense of what to cover here) (2-4 pages)
- 3) *YYY effort to address xxxx* International organizations and the tools they have to influence national policy (2-4 pages) (a discussion of the policies and tools the IO used- from your memos II & III- but make it focused on the 2-4 key tools- and their effectiveness, not on the IO per se, and not a laundry list of everything done.)

- 4) *The Politics of xxx in zzz* What did the country do? Were the tools at all effective? (5-6 pages for one, 10-12 for team projects)
- 5) *Some lessons from yyys experience addressing xxx in country zzz*: Lessons from your study: summary of the findings, was your case typical or exceptional? Does your case supports or undermines literature on international organizations, policy recommendations etc. (2-5 pages)

Remember: Internet research is helpful, but internet research and newspaper articles are not a substitute for looking at scholarship on the topic. The bibliography should therefore include books and journal articles that you consulted, as well as theoretical literature that you apply in the analysis.