

## Political Science 442: International Organization

Northwestern University  
Spring 2016  
Friday 2-4:50 PM  
Scott Hall 201 (Ripton Room)

Prof. Stephen Nelson  
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### Course Overview

Political Science 442 is a seminar devoted to understanding the organization of world politics. It is not strictly about international organizations (IOs), though a number of readings focus on behavior of IOs and their roles in shaping world politics. Rather, the seminar focuses on how different analytical traditions explain elements of the social organization of world politics. The readings explore organizational forms, stability and change, efficacy and dysfunction, among other themes in the study of world politics.

The seminar is targeted to PhD students in political science, though graduate students from other fields and ambitious and well-prepared undergraduates are welcome. Forewarned is forearmed: the reading load is heavy, and I expect that each member of the course will be prepared to discuss each of the readings.

If there are readings/topics that you would like to cover that are not on this version of the syllabus, please bring them to my attention. I also reserve the right to make changes (with the caveat that you will have plenty of warning if I choose to shuffle readings around). The syllabus is an outline, not a contract, and it is subject to change.

### Course Requirements and Grading

Active and thoughtful engagement with the material is essential to success in this course. There are four ways in which I try to measure your engagement with and mastery of the course material:

- (1) *Participation* in the course discussion will account for **25%** of your final grade. The reading load is substantial and the course will be driven by discussions rather than lectures. For these reasons I strongly urge that you come regularly, on time, and well prepared – you must keep up with the readings and be ready to contribute to the conversation.
- (2) All students are required to serve as the *authors' defendant* in one course meeting. During the week in which you have been assigned the role of authors' defendant, you will be stepping into the shoes of an author of one of the readings assigned for the seminar; you will be responsible for presenting the main arguments and

- evidence in the reading and will be expected to be prepared to respond to tough questions about the reading that are raised by me or the other members of the group. Your performance as authors' defendant will account for **10%** of your grade.
- (3) Each student will write two *critical memos* that outlines the main argument(s) in one or a set of readings and provides an incisive critique of the material. The critical memos should be submitted via email to me no later than **8 PM** the evening before the meeting in which the reading(s) appear. The memos should be in the range of 3-5 pages. The critical memos account for **25%** of the final course grade.
  - (4) For the remaining **40%** of your course grade you have two options: (a) you may choose to submit a 15-20 page research proposal that outlines a puzzle that falls within the purview of the class, situates the puzzle in the relevant literature, develops a theoretical argument and observable implications, and sketches how you plan to conduct the research necessary to shed light on the puzzle (what kind of research design will allow you to answer the motivating question?); (b) alternatively, you may write essays based on two field exam-style questions. Like the field exam, you will get the questions and have a short time period in which to compose your responses. Unlike the field exam you will have access to your readings and notes and will not be expected to go much beyond the course readings in constructing your answers.

The due date for the final paper is **Wednesday, June 8**. I should have the paper in my hand by **5:00 PM** on that day. Papers that are submitted after the deadline will be penalized by a half grade (from a B+ to a B, for example) for each 12-hour period that passes after the announced deadline. Barring unusual and challenging personal circumstances, I expect that all students in the course will complete the requirements on time.

If you choose the exam option, we will work out a day and time during finals week in which you will be receive the questions. You will then have 36 hours to complete and submit your essays.

### **Recommended Readings**

There is a lengthy list of "additional, recommended" readings following the assigned readings for each week's seminar meeting. The purpose of the recommendations for additional reading on each topic covered in the seminar is to help you (assuming that you are a PhD student in political science) assemble a reading list as you prepare for the qualifying exam in the IR subfield.

## Course Schedule and Reading List

Week 1 (April 1): anarchy as an ordering principle of world politics?

### *Required readings*

- Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Addison-Wesley, 1979 [reissued by Waveland Press, 2010]): pp. 60-78, 88-101, 111-114.
- Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization* 46, 2: pp. 391-425.
- Jack Donnelly, "The Elements of the Structures of International Systems," *International Organization* 66, 4 (2012): pp. 609-43.
- Martha Finnemore, "Legitimacy, Hypocrisy, and the Social Structure of Unipolarity: Why Being a Unipole Isn't All Its Cracked up to Be," *World Politics* 61, 1 (January 2009): pp. 58-85.

### *Additional, recommended readings*

- Helen Milner, "The assumption of anarchy in international relations theory: a critique," *Review of International Studies* 17, 1 (1991): pp. 67-85.
- Ian Hurd, "Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics," *International Organization* 53, 2 (1999): pp. 379-408.
- Robert Jervis, *System Effects: Complexity in Political and Social Life* (Princeton University Press, 1997): pp. 103-124.
- David Lake, "Escape from the State of Nature: Authority and Hierarchy in World Politics," *International Security* 32, 1 (Summer 2007): pp. 47-79.
- Daniel H. Nexon, "The Balance of Power in the Balance," *World Politics* 61, 2 (2009): 330-59.
- Neta C. Crawford, "A Security Regime among Democracies: Cooperation among Iroquois Nations," *International Organization* 48, 3 (Summer 1994): pp. 345-85.
- Daniel H. Deudney, "The Philadelphian System: Sovereignty, Arms Control, and the Balance of Power in the American States-Union, Circa 1787-1861," *International Organization* 49, 2 (Spring 1995): pp. 191-228.
- Hendrik Spruyt, "Institutional Selection in International Relations: State Anarchy as Order," *International Organization* 48, 4 (Autumn 1994): pp. 527-557.
- Jack Snyder, "Anarchy and Culture: Insights from the Anthropology of War," *International Organization* 56, 1 (2002): pp. 7-45.
- Jonathan Mercer, "Anarchy and Identity," *International Organization* 49, 2 (Spring 1995): pp. 229-252.

## Week 2 (April 8): the concept of power in the study of international organization

### *Required readings*

Susan Strange, *States and Markets* (Pinter Publishers, 1988), pp. 23-42.

David Spiro, *The Hidden Hand of American Hegemony: Petrodollar Recycling and International Markets* (Cornell University Press, 1999): pp. 1-48.

Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall, "Power in International Politics," *International Organization* 59, 1 (2005): pp. 39-75.

Helen M. Kinsella, "Securing the Civilian: Sex and Gender in the Laws of War," In Barnett and Duvall, eds. *Power in Global Governance* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 249-272.

### *Additional, recommended readings*

Rodney Bruce Hall, "Moral Authority as a Power Resource," *International Organization* 51, 4 (1997): pp. 591-622.

Stephen Krasner, "Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier," *World Politics* 43, 3 (April 1991): pp. 336-366.

Lloyd Gruber, *Ruling the World: Power Politics and the Rise of Supranational Institutions* (Princeton University Press, 2000).

David A. Baldwin, "Power and International Relations," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons, eds. *Handbook of International Relations* (Sage, 2013).

Stefano Guzzini, "The Concept of Power: A Constructivist Analysis," *Millennium* 33, 3 (June 2005): pp. 495-521.

### Week 3 (April 15): rules and roles in international orders

#### *Required readings*

- Friedrich Kratochwil, *Rules, Norms, and Decisions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989): pp. 45-94.
- James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, "The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders," *International Organization* 52, 4 (1998): pp. 943-70.
- Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force* (Cornell University Press, 2003): pp. 1-51.
- Mlada Bukovansky, "American Identity and Neutral Rights from Independence to the War of 1812," *International Organization* 51, 2 (March 1997): pp. 209-243.
- Rebecca Adler-Nissen, "Stigma Management in International Relations: Transgressive Identities, Norms, and Order in International Society," *International Organization* 68, 1 (January 2014): pp. 143-176.

#### *Additional, recommended readings*

- Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (Columbia University Press, 1977).
- Andrew Hurrell, "International society and the study of regimes: a reflective approach," in Volker Rittberg, ed. *Regime Theory and International Relations* (Oxford University Press, 1993): pp. 49-72.
- Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society* (Cornell University Press, 1996).
- Kai Aldersen, "Making Sense of State Socialization," *Review of International Studies* 27 (2001): pp. 415-33.
- Alastair Ian Johnston, "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments," *International Studies Quarterly* 45, 4 (December 2001): pp. 487-515.
- Trine Flockhart, "'Complex Socialization': A Framework for the Study of State Socialization," *European Journal of International Relations* 12, 1 (2006): pp. 89-118.
- David H. Bearce and Stacey Bondanella, "Intergovernmental Organizations, Socialization, and Member-State Interest Convergence," *International Organization* 61, 4 (2007): pp. 703-33.
- Emanuel Adler and Vincent Pouliot, "International Practices," *International Theory* 3, 1 (2011): 1-36.

## Week 4 (April 22): leadership, international institutions, and cooperation

Charles P. Kindleberger, "Dominance and Leadership in the International Economy: Exploitation, Public Goods, and Free Rides," *International Studies Quarterly* 25, 2 (June 1981): pp. 242-254.

Robert Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 5-10; 65-109.

Emanuel Adler and Peter M. Haas, "Conclusion: Epistemic Communities, World Order, and the Creation of a Reflective Research Program," *International Organization* 46, 1 (Winter 1992): pp. 367-390.

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

### *Additional, recommended readings*

Duncan Snidal, "The Limits of Hegemonic Stability," *International Organization*, 39, 4 (1985): pp. 579-614.

Kenneth A. Oye, ed. *Cooperation under Anarchy* (Princeton University Press, 1986).

James N. Rosenau, "Before Cooperation: Hegemons, Regimes, and Habit-Driven Actors in World Politics," *International Organization* 40, 4 (Autumn 1986): pp. 849-894.

Robert O. Keohane, "International Institutions: Two Approaches," *International Studies Quarterly* 32, 4 (December 1988): pp. 379-396.

Kenneth Abbott and Duncan Snidal, "Why States Act through Formal International Institutions," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42, 1 (February 1998): pp. 3-32.

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

Brian Rathbun, "Before Hegemony: Generalized Trust and the Creation and Design of International Security Organizations," *International Organization* 65, 2 (Spring 2011): pp. 243-273.

John G. Ruggie, "Multilateralism: the Anatomy of an Institution," *International Organization* 46, 3 (Summer 1992): pp. 561-598.

Stephen D. Krasner, "Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables," in Stephen D. Krasner, ed. *International Regimes* (Cornell University Press, 1983): pp. 1-22.

Oran Young, "Regime Dynamics: the Rise and Fall of International Regimes," in Stephen D. Krasner, ed. *International Regimes* (Cornell University Press, 1983), pp. 93-114.

Jack Donnelly, "International Human Rights: A Regime Analysis," *International Organization* 40, 3 (Summer 1986): pp. 599-642.

Stephan Haggard and Beth A. Simmons, "Theories of International Regimes," *International Organization* 41, 3 (Summer 1987): pp. 491-517.

Week 5 (April 29): institutional origins and design features

**Note – the April 29 meeting will be held in the Burdick room in Scott Hall**

*Required readings*

- Barbara Koremenos, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal, “The Rational Design of International Institutions,” *International Organization* 55, 4 (2001): 761-99.
- Alexander Wendt, “Driving with the Rearview Mirror: On the Rational Science of Institutional Design,” *International Organization* 55, 4 (2001): 1019-50.
- Randall W. Stone, *Controlling Institutions: International Organizations and the Global Economy* (Cambridge University Press, 2011): pp. 11-32, 154-78.
- Christian Reus-Smit, “The Constitutional Structure of International Society and the Nature of Fundamental Institutions,” *International Organization* 51, 4 (September 1997): pp. 555-589.
- Nicole Deitelhoff, “The Discursive Process of Legalization: Charting Islands of Persuasion in the ICC Case,” *International Organization* 63, 1 (Winter 2009): pp. 33-65.

*Additional, recommended readings*

- Michael J. Gilligan and Leslie Johns, “Formal Models of International Institutions,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 15 (2012): 1-23.
- Nicholas Onuf, “Institutions, Intentions, and International Relations,” *Review of International Studies* 28 (2002): pp. 211-228.
- Barbara Koremenos et al., eds. *The Rational Design of International Institutions* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Mark S. Copelovitch and Tonya L. Putnam, “Design in Context: Existing International Agreements and New Cooperation,” *International Organization*, 68, 2 (April 2014): pp. 471-493.
- Jonas Tallberg et al., “Explaining the Transnational Design of International Organizations,” *International Organization* 68, 4 (2014): 741-774.

## Week 6 (May 6): IOs as organizations

### *Required readings*

- Gayl D. Ness and Steven R. Brechin, "Bridging the Gap: International Organizations as Organizations," *International Organization* 42, 2 (Spring 1988): pp. 245-273.
- Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics* (Cornell University Press, 2004): pp. 16-44.
- Catherine Weaver, *Hypocrisy Trap: The World Bank and the Poverty of Reform* (Princeton University Press, 2008): pp. 19-91.
- Tamar L. Gutner, "Explaining the Gaps between Mandate and Performance: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform," *Global Environmental Politics* 5, 2 (May 2005): pp. 10-37.
- Stephen C. Nelson, *The Currency of Confidence: How Economic Beliefs Shape the IMF's Relationship with Its Borrowers* (Cornell University Press, forthcoming), chapters 1 & 3.

### *Additional, recommended readings*

- James G. March, "How Decisions Happen in Organizations," *Human-Computer Interaction* 6 (1991): pp. 95-117.
- Daniel L. Nielson and Michael J. Tierney, "Delegation to International Organizations: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform," *International Organization* 57, 2 (2003): pp. 241-76.
- Ngaire Woods, *The Globalizers: The IMF, the World Bank, and Their Borrowers* (Cornell University Press, 2006).
- Rawi Abdelal, *Capital Rules: The Construction of Global Finance* (Harvard University Press, 2007).
- Jeffrey Chwieroth, *Capital Ideas: The IMF and the Rise of Financial Liberalization* (Princeton University Press, 2010).
- Susan Park and Antje Vetterlein, eds., *Owning Development: Creating Policy Norms in the IMF and the World Bank* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Stephen C. Nelson and Catherine Weaver, "The Cultures of International Organizations," in Jacob Katz Cogan, Ian Johnstone, and Ian Hurd, eds. *Oxford Handbook of International Organizations* (Oxford University Press, 2016).

## Week 7 (May 13): institutional proliferation and regime complexity

### *Required readings*

- Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," *American Sociological Review* 48 (April 1983): pp. 147-160.
- John W. Meyer et al., "The Structuring of a World Environmental Regime, 1870-1990," *International Organization* 51, 4 (Autumn 1997): pp. 623-651.
- Karen Alter and Sophie Meunier, "The Politics of International Regime Complexity," *Perspectives on Politics* 7, 1 (2007): pp. 13-24.
- Daniel W. Drezner, "The Tragedy of the Global Institutional Commons," in Martha Finnemore and Judith Goldstein, eds. *Back to Basics: State Power in a Contemporary World* (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 280-312.

### *Additional, recommended readings*

- John W. Meyer and Patricia Bromley, "The Worldwide Expansion of 'Organization,'" *Sociological Theory* 31, 4 (2013): pp. 366-389.
- Kal Raustiala, "Institutional Proliferation and the International Legal Order," in Jeffrey Dunoff and Mark Pollack, eds. *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on International Law and International Relations: The State of the Art* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- Tana Johnson, *Organizational Progeny: Why Governments are Losing Control over the Proliferating Structures of Global Governance* (Oxford University Press, 2014).
- Kenneth W. Abbott, Jessica F. Green, and Robert O. Keohane, "Organizational Ecology and Institutional Change in Global Governance," *International Organization* (2016): pp. 1-31.
- Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, Miles Kahler, and Alexander H. Montgomery, "Network Analysis for International Relations," *International Organization* 63 (2009): pp. 559-92.

## Week 8 (May 20): global governance through rankings, ratings, and standards

### *Required readings*

- Deborah D. Avant, Martha Finnemore, and Susan K. Sell, "Who Governs the Globe?" In Avant, Finnemore, and Sell, eds. *Who Governs the Globe?* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 1-25.
- Walter Mattli and Tim Büthe, "Setting International Standards: Technological Rationality or the Primacy of Power?" *World Politics* 56, 1 (October 2003): pp. 1-42.
- Rawi Abdelal and Mark Blyth, "Just who put you in charge? We did: CRAs and the Politics of Ratings," in Alexander Cooley and Jack Snyder, eds. *Ranking the World: Grading States as a Tool of Global Governance* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 39-59.
- Judith G. Kelley and Beth A. Simmons, "Politics by Number: Indicators as Social Pressure in International Relations," *American Journal of Political Science* 59, 1 (January 2015): pp. 55-70.
- Ole Jacob Sending and Iver B. Neumann, "Governance to Governmentality: Analyzing NGOs, States, and Power," *International Studies Quarterly* 50 (2006): pp. 651-672.

### *Additional, recommended readings*

- Timothy Sinclair, *The New Masters of Capital: American Bond Rating Agencies and the Politics of Creditworthiness* (Cornell University Press, 2005).
- Nils Brunsson and Bengt Jacobsson, eds., *A World of Standards* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- Hendrik Spruyt, "The Supply and Demand of Governance in Standard-Setting: Insights from the Past," *Journal of European Public Policy* 8, 3 (2001).
- Daniel W. Drezner, *All Politics is Global: Explaining International Regulatory Regimes* (Princeton University Press, 2007).
- Kenneth Abbott and Duncan Snidal, "The Governance Triangle: Regulatory Standards, Institutions, and the Shadow of the State," in Walter Mattli and Ngaire Woods, eds. *In Whose Benefit? Explaining Regulatory Change in Global Politics* (Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 44-88.
- Richard M. Locke, *The Promise and Limits of Private Power: Promoting Labor Standards in a Global Economy* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).
- David Vogel, "Private Global Business Regulation," *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (2008): pp. 261-282.
- Kevin E. Davis, et al. eds. *Governance by Indicators: Global Power through Quantification and Rankings* (Oxford University Press, 2012).
- James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (Yale University Press, 1998).

Week 9 (May 27): problems of legitimacy, accountability, and responsibility in global governance

*Required readings*

- Allen Buchanan and Robert O. Keohane, "The Legitimacy of Global Governance Institutions," *Ethics and International Affairs* 20, 4 (December 2006): pp. 405-437.
- Christian Reus-Smit, "International Crises of Legitimacy," *International Politics* 44 (2007): pp. 157-74.
- Joshua Cohen and Charles F. Sabel, "Global Democracy?" *NYU Journal of International Law and Politics*, 37, 4 (2005): pp. 763-797.
- Richard Price, "Moral Limit and Possibility in World Politics," *International Organization* 62, 2 (Spring 2008): pp. 191-220.

*Additional, recommended readings*

- Andrew Moravcsik, "Is There a Democratic Deficit in World Politics? A Framework for Analysis," *Government and Opposition* 39, 2 (2004): pp. 336-63.
- Robert O. Keohane and Ruth Grant, "Accountability and Abuses of Power in World Politics," *American Political Science Review* 99, 1 (2005): pp. 29-43.
- David Miller, "Distributing Responsibilities," *Journal of Political Philosophy* 9, 4 (2001): pp. 453-471.
- Joseph Hoover, "Reconstructing Responsibility and Moral Agency in World Politics," *International Theory* 4, 2 (2012): pp. 233-268.
- Michael Barnett, Ian Hurd, and Maria Pillinger, "How to Get Away with Cholera: The UN, Haiti, and International Law," *Perspectives on Politics* 14, 1 (2016).