

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton

COURSE DESCRIPTION: This course exposes students to seminal research on the role of international organizations in world politics. The first part of the course will seek to explain how, if at all, international organizations (IOs) obtain some measure of authority in international affairs. We will consider the legalization of world politics and ask why states delegate certain tasks to international organizations instead of dealing unilaterally or multilaterally outside of an institutional context. We will also consider the role of domestic politics, both as a source of international cooperation and as a limitation. The second part of the course focuses on the design and influence of IOs. We assess the rational design line of explanation and its critics and consider in detail enforcement and flexibility features of organizations. We also assess whether and how IOs influence state compliance with agreements and explore the conditions under which IOs have influence on political behavior. The final part of the course explores organizational evolution and change and also the pathologies and complexities associated with growing legalization. Students will have the opportunity to select an area for more in-depth reading—either on multilateral aid, human rights or environment—for class 9.

REQUIREMENTS: There are two assignments:

1. You will be responsible for leading the discussion of the required reading material for several classes (numbers depending on the number of students enrolled). A good discussion debates the broader issues, themes and questions underlying the readings, it identifies problems with theory, research design or other potential flaws in the particular readings, and discusses potential for improvement. Your discussion should be organized around 2 to 4 central questions from the readings; you must clear those central questions with me by class time in the previous week. These questions will serve as a starting point for a more focused in-class discussion. A good presentation will encourage a lively discussion focused on controversies, debates and puzzles in the literature as well as foster critical thinking about the implications. You will submit a short paper (no more than 3-4 pages) summarizing the readings for your presentation. The short papers will provide an opportunity to hone your skills in providing an analytical summary of a complex literature—a skill that will be quite useful for your dissertation and later writing of academic papers.
2. You will write a 15-20 page research paper which will be **due at 5pm on the last day of classes**. The topic has to be cleared with me first. Do NOT wait until midterm to discuss the topic with me. You have three options:
 - You can write a research proposal that offers to resolve some of the limitations of the literature we discuss in class. The proposal has to identify a question or puzzle,

discuss how you would try to answer that question (theoretical argument, hypotheses, and research design), lay out the necessary steps of the project, and suggest how this project would advance the literature.

- You can empirically evaluate one of the theories we have discussed in class using one or multiple international organizations, or alternatively, compare theories using case studies or quantitative data analysis.
- You can use a conference paper you are currently writing or expand on a research paper from a previous class. In this case, you are required to give a 10 minute presentation in class and then submit the revised version including a discussion of how you addressed the recommendations you received in class.

The grade for your final research paper is 40% of your final grade. The remaining 60% of your grade will be based on class participation – including the short papers and discussions you will lead as well as your general participation in each session of class.

Most of the readings for the course are journal articles. The articles are available electronically on JSTOR or through the UCSD library home page. I will also provide you the articles electronically. Interests will vary and time is often scarce, but *at a minimum* you should read the assigned required readings each week. As most of you will build your profession in this area (and some will take comprehensive in this or adjacent fields) the additional (highly recommended) reading will be of considerable interest as well.

It is the student's responsibility to inform me of any factor(s) that might interfere with class performance well in advance of any problems. Under all circumstances, plagiarism is a violation of your academic integrity. If you have questions about what constitutes original research, or how to reference the work of others, ask us.

PART I: COOPERATION AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Class 1. Wednesday April 1st: Cooperation Under Anarchy

Required:

Theme 1: Collective Action

Olson, Mancur. 1965. "A Theory of Groups and Organizations." In *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Harvard University Press, 5-52.

Axelrod, Robert and Robert Keohane. 1985. "Achieving Cooperation Under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions." *World Politics* 38(1): 226-54.

Oye, Kenneth A. 1985. "Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies." *World Politics* 38(1): 1-24.

Stein, Arthur A. 1982. "Coordination and Collaboration: Regimes in an Anarchic World." *IO* 36(2): 299-324.

Theme 2: The 'Isms' Debate

Keohane, Robert. 1986. "Reciprocity in International Relations." *IO* 40(1): 1-27.

Wendt, Alexander. 1992. "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *IO* 46(2): 391-425.

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

Highly Recommended:

Axelrod, Robert. 1981. "The Emergence of Cooperation Among Egoists." *American Political Science Review* 75(2): 306-18.

Keohane, Robert O. and Lisa L. Martin. 1995. "The Promise of Institutional Theory." *International Security* 20(1): 39-51.

Kupchan, Charles A. and Clifford A. Kupchan. 1995. "The Promise of Collective Security." *International Security* 20(1): 52-61.

Ruggie, John Gerard. 1995. "The False Promise of Realism." *International Security* 20(1): 62-70.

Wendt, Alexander. 1995. "Constructing International Politics." *International Security* 20(1): 71-81.

Mearsheimer, John. 1995. "A Realist Reply." *International Security* 20(1): 82-93.

Grieco, Joseph M. 1988. "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism." *IO* 42(3): 485-507.

Kydd, Andrew H. 2000. "Trust, Reassurance, and Cooperation." *IO* 54(2): 325-57.

Keohane, Robert and Joseph Nye. 2001. "The Club Model of Multilateral Cooperation and Problems of Democratic Legitimacy." In *Efficiency, Equity, Legitimacy: The Multilateral Trading System at the Millennium*. Roger Porter, Pierre Sauvé, Arvind Subramanian, and Americo Beviglia Zampetti, eds. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Kahler, Miles and David A. Lake. 2003. *Governance in a Global Economy: Political Authority in Transition*. Princeton University Press.

Hardin, Garrett. 1968. "The Tragedy of the Commons." *Science* 162: 1243-8.

Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. "Reflections on the Commons." In *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press, 1-28.

Class 2. Wednesday April 8th: Legalization

Required:

Hafner-Burton, Emilie, David G. Victor, and Yonatan Lupu. "Political Science Research on International Law: The State of the Field" *American Journal of International Law* 2012.

Theme 1: The concept of legalization

Abbott, Kenneth W., Robert O. Keohane, Andrew Moravcsik, Anne-Marie Slaughter, and Duncan Snidal. 2000. "The Concept of Legalization." *IO* 54(3): 401-19.

Abbott, Kenneth W. and Duncan Snidal. 2000. "Hard and Soft Law in International Governance." *IO* 54(3): 421-56.

Theme 2: Empirical applications

Keohane, Robert O., Andrew Moravcsik, and Anne-Marie Slaughter. 2000. "Legalized Dispute Resolution: Interstate and Transnational." *IO* 54(3): 457-88.

Simmons, Beth A. 2000. "The Legalization of International Monetary Affairs." *IO* 54(3): 573-602.

Theme 3: Alternatives to legalization

Finnemore, Martha and Stephen J. Toope. 2001. "Alternatives to 'Legalization': Richer Views of Law and Politics." *IO* 55(3): 743-58.

Goldstein, Judith, Miles Kahler, Robert Keohane, and Anne-Marie Slaughter. 2001. "Response to Finnemore and Toope." *IO* 55(3): 759-60.

Highly Recommended:

Goldstein, Judith, Miles Kahler, Robert O. Keohane, and Anne-Marie Slaughter. 2000. "Introduction: Legalization and World Politics." *IO* 54(3): 385-99.

Goldstein, Judith and Lisa Martin. 2000. "Legalization, Trade Liberalization, and Domestic Politics: A Cautionary Note." *IO* 54(3): 603-32.

Kahler, Miles. 2000. "Legalization as Strategy: The Asia-Pacific Case." *IO* 54(3): 549-71.

Deitelhoff, Nicole. 2009. "The Discursive Process of Legalization: Charting Islands of Persuasion in the ICC Case." *IO* 63(1): 33 -65.

Lutz, Ellen L. and Kathryn Sikkink. 2000. "International Human Rights Law and Practice in Latin America." IO 54(3): 633-59.

Kahler, Miles. 2000. "Conclusion: The Causes and Consequences of Legalization." IO 54(3): 661-83.

Posner, Eric A. and Alan O. Sykes. 2010. "Economic Foundations of the Law of the Sea." American Journal of International Law 104: 569-96.

Vogel, David. 2008. "Private Global Business Regulation." Annual Review of Political Science 11: 261-82.

Class 3. Wednesday April 15th: Delegation and Pathologies

Required:

Theme 1. Delegation

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

Nielson, Daniel L and Michael J. Tierney. 2003. "Delegation to International Organizations: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform." *IO* 57(2): 241-76.

Lake, David A. and Mathew D. McCubbins. 2006. "The Logic of Delegation to International Organizations." In *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*. Darren G. Hawkins, David A. Lake, Daniel L. Nielson and Michael J. Tierney, eds. Cambridge University Press, 341-68.

Theme 2. Pathologies

Vaubel, Roland. 2006. "Principal-agent Problems in International Organizations." *The Review of International Organizations* 1(2): 125-38.

Barnett, Michael and Martha Finnemore. 1999. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations." *IO* 53(4): 699-732.

Theme 3. Democratic Deficit

Moravcsik, Andrew. 2004. "Is There a 'Democratic Deficit' in World Politics? A Framework for Analysis." *Government and Opposition* 39(2): 336-63.

Dahl, Robert A. 1999. "Can International Organizations be Democratic? A Skeptic's View." In *Democracy's Edges*. Ian Shapiro, ed. Cambridge University Press, 19-36.

Highly Recommended:

Pollack, Mark A. 1997. "Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the European Community." *IO* 51(1): 99-134.

Voeten, Erik. 2008. "The Impartiality of International Judges: Evidence from the European Court of Human Rights." *American Political Science Review* 102(4): 417-33.

Stasavage, David. 2004. "Open-Door or Closed-Door? Transparency in Domestic and International Bargaining." *IO* 58(4): 667-703.

Clifford Carrubba, Matthew Gabel, and Charles Hankla. 2008. "Judicial Behavior Under Political Constraints: Evidence from the European Court of Justice." *American Political Science Review* 102(4): 435-52.

Martin, Lisa L. 1992. "Interest, Power, and Multilateralism." *IO* 46(4): 765-92.

Keohane, Robert O. 1982. "The Demand for International Regimes." *IO* 36(2): 325-55.

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

Hawkins, Darren G., David A. Lake, Daniel L. Nielson, and Michael J. Tierney. 2006. "Delegation Under Anarchy: States, International Organizations, and Principal-agent Theory." In *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*. Darren G. Hawkins, David A. Lake, Daniel L. Nielson and Michael J. Tierney, eds. Cambridge University Press, 3-38.

Copelovitch, Mark S. 2010. "Master or Servant? Common Agency and the Political Economy of IMF Lending." *International Studies Quarterly* 54(1): 49-77.

Milner, Helen and Dustin Tingley. 2013. "The Choice for Multilateralism: Foreign Aid and American Foreign Policy." *Review of International Organizations* (forthcoming).

Ikenberry, G. John. 2000. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars*. Princeton University Press.

Johnson, Tana and Johannes Urpelainen. 2011. "Who Creates Intergovernmental Organizations?" Working Paper.

Voeten, Erik. 2007. "The Politics of International Judicial Appointments: Evidence from the European Court of Human Rights." *IO* 61(4): 669-701.

Martin, Lisa L. 2006. "Distribution, Information, and Delegation to International Organizations: The Case of IMF Conditionality." In *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*. Darren G. Hawkins, David A. Lake, Daniel L. Nielson and Michael J. Tierney, eds. Cambridge University Press, 140-64.

Farrell, Henry. 2003. "Constructing the International Foundations of E-Commerce: The EU-U.S. Safe Harbor Arrangement." *IO* 57(2): 277-306.

Nye, Joseph. 2001. "Globalization's Democratic Deficit: How to Make International Institutions More Accountable." *Foreign Affairs* (July/August).

Class 4. Wednesday April 22nd: The Domestic Politics of International Organizations

Required:

Theme 1. Two-Level games and other metaphors

Putnam, Robert D. 1988. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games." IO 42(3): 427-60.

Gourevitch, Peter A. 1996. "Squaring the Circle: The Domestic Sources of International Cooperation." IO 50(2): 349-73.

Theme 2. Democracy

Mansfield, Edward D., Helen Milner, and B. Peter Rosendorf. 2002. "Why Democracies Cooperate More: Electoral Control and International Trade Agreements." IO 56(3): 477-513.

Keohane, Robert O., Stephen Macedo, and Andrew Moravcsik. 2009. "Democracy-Enhancing Multilateralism." IO 63(1):1-31.

Gartzke, Erik and Megumi Naoi. 2011. "Multilateralism and Democracy: A Response to Keohane, Macedo, and Moravcsik." IO 65(3): 589-598.

Keohane, Robert O., Stephen Macedo, and Andrew Moravcsik. 2011. "Democracy-Enhancing Multilateralism: A Response to Gartzke and Naoi." IO 65(3): 599-604.

Theme 3. International norms and domestic politics

Checkel, Jeffrey T. 1997. "International Norms and Domestic Politics: Bridging the Rationalist-Constructivist Divide." *European Journal of International Relations* 3(4): 473-95.

Risse-Kappen, Thomas. 1995. "Introduction-Bringing Transnational Relations Back In." In *Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions*. Thomas Risse-Kappen, ed. Cambridge University Press, 3-36.

Highly Recommended:

Milner, Helen V. 1997. *Interests, Institutions, and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations*. Princeton University Press, 3-157.

Richard Price. 1998. "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines." IO 52(3): 613-44.

Mansfield, Edward D. and Jon C. Pevehouse. 2008. "Democratization and the Varieties of International Organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52(2): 269-94.

Broz, J. Lawrence and Michael Brewster Hawes. 2006. "Congressional Politics of Financing the International Monetary Fund." *IO* 60(2): 367-99.

Hug, Simon and Thomas Konig. 2002. "In View of Ratification: Governmental Preferences and Domestic Constraints at the Amsterdam Intergovernmental Conference." *IO* 56(2): 447-76.

Moravcsik, Andrew. 2000. "The Origins of Human Rights Regimes: Democratic Delegation in Postwar Europe." *IO* 54(2): 217-52.

Chapman, Terrence L. 2007. "International Security Institutions, Domestic Politics, and Institutional Legitimacy." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51(1): 134-66.

Goldstein, Judith. 1996. "International Law and Domestic Institutions: Reconciling North American 'Unfair' Trade Laws." *IO* 50(4): 541-64.

Milner, Helen V. 2006. "Why Multilateralism? Foreign Aid and Domestic Principal-agent Problems." In *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*. Darren G. Hawkins, David A. Lake, Daniel L. Nielson and Michael J. Tierney, eds. Cambridge University Press, 107-39.

Pevehouse, Jon C. 2002. "Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization." *IO* 56(3): 515-49.

Mansfield, Edward and Jon Pevehouse. 2006. "Democratization and International Organizations." *IO* 60(1): 137-67.

Finnemore, Martha. 1996. *National Interests in International Society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Cowhey, Peter F. 1993. "Elect Locally—Order Globally: Domestic Politics and Multilateral Cooperation." In *Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form*. John G. Ruggie, ed. New York, Columbia University Press, 157-200.

Moravcsik, Andrew. 1997. "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics." *IO* 51(4): 513-53.

Vreeland, James R. 2009. "Political Institutions and Human Rights: Why Dictatorships Enter into the United Nations Convention Against Torture." *IO* 62(1): 65-101.

Staton, Jeffrey and Will H. Moore. 2011. "Judicial Power in Domestic and International Politics." *IO* 65(3): 553-587.

PART II: DESIGN AND INFLUENCE

Class 5. Wednesday April 29th: Design (Part I): Rational Design and Bargaining

Required:

Theme 1. Rational Design: the debate

Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. 2001. "The Rational Design of International Institutions." IO 55(4): 761-99.

Wendt, Alexander. 2001. "Driving with the Rearview Mirror: On the Rational Science of Institutional Design." IO 55(4): 1019-49.

Duffield, John S. 2003. "The Limits of Rational Design." IO 57(2): 411-30.

Theme 2. Size, depth and power

Miles Kahler. 1992. "Multilateralism with Small and Large Numbers." IO 46(3): 681-708.

Gilligan, Michael J. 2004. "Is there a Broader-Deeper Trade-off in International Multilateral Agreements?" IO 58(3): 459-84.

Steinberg, Richard H. 2002. "In the Shadow of Law or Power? Consensus-Based Bargaining and Outcomes in the GATT/WTO." IO 56(2): 339-74.

Schneider, Christina. 2011. "Weak States and Institutionalized Bargaining Power in International Organizations." *International Studies Quarterly* 55(2): 331-355.

Highly Recommended:

Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. 2001. "Rational Design: Looking Back to Move Forward." IO 55(4): 1051-82.

Raustiala, Kal. 2005. "Form and Substance in International Agreements." *American Journal of International Law* 99(3): 581-614.

Kydd, Andrew. 2001. "Trust Building, Trust Breaking: The Dilemma of NATO Enlargement." IO 55(4): 801-28.

Mattli, Walter. 2001. "Private Justice in a Global Economy: From Litigation to Arbitration." IO 55(4): 919-47.

Mitchell, Ronald B. and Patricia M. Keilbach. 2001. "Situation Structure and Institutional Design: Reciprocity, Coercion, and Exchange." IO 55(4): 891-917.

Morrow, James D. 2001. "The Institutional Features of Prisoners of War Treaties." IO 55(4): 971-91.

Schneider, Christina. 2010. *Conflict, Negotiations, and EU Enlargement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Class 6. Wednesday May 6th: Design (Part II): Enforcement, Dispute Settlement and Flexibility

Theme 1. Enforcement

Fearon, James. 1998. "Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation." IO 52(2): 269-305.

Donno, Daniela. 2010. "Who Is Punished? Regional Intergovernmental Organizations and the Enforcement of Democratic Norms." IO 64(4): 593-625.

Gilligan, Michael J. 2006. "Is Enforcement Necessary for Effectiveness? A Model of the International Criminal Regime." IO 60(4): 935-67.

Theme 2. Dispute Settlement

Smith, James McCall. 2000. "The Politics of Dispute Settlement Design: Explaining Legalism in Regional Trade Pacts." IO 54(1): 137-80.

Allee, Todd L. and Paul K. Huth. 2006. "Legitimizing Dispute Settlement: International Legal Rulings as Domestic Political Cover." American Political Science Review 100(2): 219-34.

Busch, Marc L. and Eric Reinhardt. 2003. "Developing Countries and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade/World Trade Organization Dispute Settlement." Journal of World Trade 37(4): 719-35.

Theme 3. Flexibility

Koremenos, Barbara. 2001. "Loosening the Ties that Bind: A Learning Model of Agreement Flexibility." IO 55(2): 289-325.

Rosendorff, B. Peter and Helen V. Milner. 2001. "The Optimal Design of International Trade Institutions: Uncertainty and Escape." IO 55(4): 829-57.

Highly Recommended:

Busch, Marc L. and Krzysztof J. Pelc. 2010. "The Politics of Judicial Economy at the World Trade Organization." IO 64(2): 257-79.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Laurence Helfer, and Chris Fariss. 2011. "Emergency and Escape: Explaining Derogations from Human Rights Treaties." IO 65.

Yarbrough, Beth V. and Robert M. Yarbrough. 1997. "Dispute Settlement in International Trade: Regionalism and Procedural Coordination." In *The Political Economy of Regionalism*. Edward L. Mansfield and Helen V. Milner, eds. New York, Columbia University Press, 134-63.

Kucik, Jeffrey and Eric Reinhardt. 2008. "Does Flexibility Promote Cooperation? An Application to the Global Trade Regime." *IO* 62(3): 477-505.

Sykes, Alan O. 1991. "Protectionism as a 'Safeguard': A Positive Analysis of the GATT 'Escape Clause' with Normative Speculations." *University of Chicago Law Review* 58(1): 255-305.

Bagwell, Kyle and Robert W. Staiger. 2005. "Enforcement, Private Political Pressure and the GATT/WTO Escape Clause." *Journal of Legal Studies* 34(2): 471-513.

Koh, Harold H. 1998. "How is International Human Rights Law Enforced?" Addison C. Harris Lecture. www.law.indiana.edu/ilj/volumes/v74/no4/koh.pdf

Helfer, Laurence. 2006. "Not Fully Committed? Reservations, Risk and Treaty Design." *Yale Journal of International Law* 31: 367-82.

Class 7. Wednesday May 13th: Compliance and Influence

Required:

Theme 1. Debates about compliance and law

Chayes, Abram and Antonia Handler Chayes. 1993. "On Compliance." IO 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?" IO 50(3): 379-406.

Checkel, Jeffrey T. 2001. "Why Comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change." IO 55(3): 553-88

Theme 2. Empirical applications

Simmons, Beth A. 2000. "International Law and State Behavior: Commitment and Compliance in International Monetary Affairs." American Political Science Review 94(4): 819-35.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. 2005. "Trading Human Rights: How Preferential Trade Agreements Influence Government Repression." IO 59(3): 593-629.

Tallberg, Jonas. 2002. "Paths to Compliance: Enforcement, Management and the European Union." IO 56(3): 609-43.

Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin and Paul R. Hensel. 2007. "International Institutions and Compliance with Agreements." American Journal of Political Science 51(4): 721-37.

Highly Recommended:

Goldsmith, Jack and Eric Posner. 2005. *The Limits of International Law*. Oxford University Press, 3-17.

Bernauer, Thomas. 1995. "The Effect of International Environmental Institutions: How We Might Learn More." IO 49(2): 351-77.

Finnemore, Martha. 1996. "Review: Norms, Culture, and World Politics: Insights from Sociology's Institutionalism." IO 50(2): 325-47.

Guzman, Andrew T. 2008. *How International Law Works: A Rational Choice Theory*. New York, Oxford University Press, 3-24.

Simmons, Beth. 2010. "Treaty Compliance and Violation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 13: 273-96.

Downs, George W. and Michael A. Jones. 2002. "Reputation, Compliance and International Law." *Journal of Legal Studies* 31(1): 95-114.

Von Stein, Jana. 2005. "Do Treaties Constrain or Screen? Selection Bias and Treaty Compliance." *American Political Science Review* 99(4): 611-22.

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.

Dai, Xinyuan. 2005. "Why Comply? The Domestic Constituency Mechanism." *IO* 59(2): 363-98.

Jonsson, Christer and Jonas Tallberg. 1998. "Compliance and Post-Agreement Bargaining." *European Journal of International Relations* 4(4): 371-408.

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

Young, Oran R. 1992. "The Effectiveness of International Institutions: Hard Cases and Critical Variables." In *Governance Without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*, James N. Rosenau and Ernst-Otto Czempiel, eds. Cambridge University Press, 160-194.

Reinhardt, Eric. 2001. "Adjudication with out Enforcement in GATT Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(2): 174-95.

Goodman, Ryan and Derek Jinks. 2004. "How to Influence States: Socialization and International Human Rights Law." *Duke Law Journal* 54(3): 621-38.

Finnemore, Martha. 1993. "International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and Science Policy." *IO* 47(4): 565-97.

Keohane, Robert O. 1996. "Analyzing the Effectiveness of International Environmental Institutions." In *Institutions for Environmental Aid: Pitfalls and Promise*, Robert O. Keohane, and Marc A. Levy, eds. Cambridge: MIT Press, 3-27.

Goldstein, Judith L., Douglas Rivers, and Michael Tomz. 2007. "Institutions in International Relations: Understanding the Effects of the GATT and the WTO on World Trade." *IO* 61(1): 37-67.

Hathaway, Oona. 2002. "Do Human Rights Treaties Make a Difference?" *Yale Law Journal* 111(8): 1935-2041.

Lake, David. 2001. "Beyond Anarchy: The Importance of Security Institutions." *International Security* 26(1): 129-60.

Russett, Bruce, John R. Oneal, and David R. Davis. 1998. "The Third Leg of the Kantian Tripod for Peace: International Organizations and Militarized Disputes, 1950-85." *IO* 52(3): 441-67.

Boehmer, Charles, Erik Gartzke, and Timothy Nordstrom. 2004. "Do Intergovernmental Organizations Promote Peace?" *World Politics* 57(1): 1-38.

Botcheva, Liliana and Lisa L. Martin. 2001. "Institutional Effects on State Behavior: Convergence and Divergence." *International Studies Quarterly* 45(1): 1-26.

Powell, Emilia and Jeffrey Staton. 2009. "Domestic Judicial Institutions and Human Rights Treaty Violations." *International Studies Quarterly* 53(1):149-74.

Part III Change and Complexity

Class 8. Wednesday May 20th: Complexity and Forum Shopping

Theme 1. Complexity

Keohane, Robert O. and David G. Victor. 2011. "The Regime Complex for Climate Change." *Perspectives on Politics* 9(1): 7-23.

Alter, Karen J. and Sophie Meunier. 2009. "The Politics of International Regime Complexity." *Perspectives on Politics* 7(1): 13-24.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. 2009. "The Power Politics of Regime Complexity: Human Rights Trade Conditionality in Europe." *Perspectives on Politics* 7(1): 33-7.

Helfer, Laurence R. 2009. "Regime Shifting in the International Intellectual Property System." *Perspectives on Politics* 7(1): 39-44.

Drezner, Daniel W. 2009. "The Power and Peril of International Regime Complexity." *Perspectives on Politics* 7(1): 65-70.

Theme 2. Forum Shopping

Busch, Marc L. 2007. "Overlapping Institutions, Forum Shopping, and Dispute Settlement in International Trade." *IO* 61(4): 735-61.

Helfer, Laurence R. 1999. "Forum Shopping for Human Rights." *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 148(2): 285-301.

Highly Recommended:

Davis, Christina L. 2009. "Overlapping Institutions in Trade Policy." *Perspectives on Politics* 7(1): 25-31.

Kelley, Judith. 2009. "The More the Merrier? The Effects of Having Multiple International Election Monitoring Organizations." *Perspectives on Politics* 7(1): 59-64.

Raustiala, Kal and David G. Victor. 2004. "The Regime Complex for Plant Genetic Resources." *IO* 58(2): 277-309.

Sagan, Scott. 2004. "The Problem of Redundancy Problem: Why More Nuclear Security Forces May Produce Less Nuclear Security." *Risk Analysis* 24(4): 935-46.

Sagan, Scott. 1994. "The Perils of Proliferation: Organization Theory, Deterrence Theory, and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons." *International Security* 18(4): 66-107.

Jupille, Joseph and Duncan Snidal. 2006. "The Choice of International Institutions: Cooperation, Alternatives and Strategies." http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1008945

Class 9. Wednesday May 27th: Evolution and Change and ONE other topic (multilateral aid, environment or human rights)

Required (evolution and change):

Downs, George W., David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom. 1998. "Managing the Evolution of Multilateralism." IO 52(2): 397-419.

Shanks, Cheryl, Harold K. Jacobson, and Jeffrey H. Kaplan. 1996. "Inertia and Change in the Constellation of International Governmental Organizations, 1981-1992." IO 50(4): 593-627.

Liebowitz, S. J. and Stephen E. Margolis. 1995. "Path Dependence, Lock-In, and History." Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization 11(1): 205-26.

Pierson, Paul. 2000. "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics." American Political Science Review 94(2): 251-67.

Highly Recommended:

Axelrod, Robert. 1984. *The Evolution of Cooperation*. New York: Basic Books.

Haas, Ernst B. 1990. *When Knowledge is Power: Three Models of Change in International Organizations*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Required (if the 'multilateral aid' option is selected)

Stone, Randall. 2008. "The Scope of IMF Conditionality." IO 62(4): 589-620.

Milner, Helen V., 2006: Why Multilateralism? Foreign Aid and Domestic Principal-Agent Problems, in: Hawkins, Darren G., David A. Lake, Daniel L. Nielson, and Michael J. Tierney (eds.) *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p107-139.

McLean, Elena V. 2012. *Multilateral Aid and Domestic Economic Interests*. Unpublished Working Paper.

Schneider, Christina and Jennifer Tobin. 2011. "Portfolio Similarity and Diversification of Multilateral Aid" Working Paper.

Required (if the 'environment' option is selected):

Bernauer, Thomas and Peter Moser. 1996. "Reducing Pollution of the River Rhine: The Influence of International Cooperation." Journal of Environment Development 5(4): 389-415.

Parson, Edward A. 1993. "Protecting the Ozone Layer." In *Institutions for the Earth: Sources of Effective International Environmental Protection*. Peter M. Haas, Robert O. Keohane and Marc A. Levy, eds. Cambridge: MIT Press, 27-73.

Victor, David G. 2011. *Global Warming Gridlock: Creating More Effective Strategies for Protecting the Planet*. Cambridge University Press, chapter 7.

Garcia-Johnson, Ronnie. 2000. *Exporting Environmentalism: U.S. Multinational Chemical Corporations in Brazil and Mexico*. Cambridge: MIT Press, chapters 1 and 3.

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

Required (if the 'human rights' option is selected)

Hathaway, Oona. 2002. "Do Human Rights Treaties Make a Difference?" *Yale Law Journal* 111(8): 1935-2042.

Neumayer, Eric. 2005. "Do International Human Rights Treaties Improve Respect for Human Rights?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(6): 925-53.

Powell, Emilia Justyna and Jeffrey K. Staton. "Domestic Judicial Institutions and Human Rights Treaty Violations." *International Studies Quarterly* 53(1): 149-74.

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton. 2012. International Regimes For Human Rights. *Annual Review of Political Science* 15: 265-286