

**Syllabus for PS 8304: Graduate Seminar on
International Organizations and Global Governance**

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Office Hours: M 2:00-4:00 p.m., W 2:00-3:00 p.m.

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This is an advanced graduate seminar, which will survey the scholarly literature dealing with the role of international institutions and international organizations in world politics, and the prospects for global governance. The course is organized into two parts. In the first part, we examine the theoretical literature on international institutions and global governance, reviewing the basic tenets and assumptions of realist, neoliberal institutionalist, and constructivist theories and exploring the theoretical debates about the origins and significance of international institutions in world politics. In the second and longer part of the course, we move on to examine a series of transversal themes in the study of international institutions and global governance, including the impact of power and distributive concerns on institutional design and international regulation; the development of regime complexes and the phenomenon of “forum-shopping” among international regimes; the delegation of powers to international organizations; the relations between IOs and their constitutive member states; the internal politics, culture and performance of various IOs; the role of international law and legalization; the importance of dispute settlement and the independence of international courts and tribunals; state compliance with international law and international regimes; and the “second image reversed,” i.e. the impact of international regimes on domestic governance. In each case, the theme in question will be examined from a variety of theoretical perspectives, with a mix of qualitative and quantitative empirical applications.

The schedule of seminars, then, is as follows:

- Week 1: Introduction (Jan 19)
- Week 2: Theoretical Debates I: Neoliberalism and Neorealism (Jan 26)
- Week 3: Theoretical Debates II: Constructivist and Critical Approaches (Feb 2)
- Week 4: Power and Distribution I: Institutional Design (Feb 9)
- Week 5: Power and Distribution II: Regulation, Standardization, Regime Complexes and Forum Shopping (Feb 16)
- Week 6: International Organizations I: Delegation and Agency (Feb 23)
- Week 7: International Organizations II: Opening the Black Box: IOs as Organizations (March 2)
- Week 8: Law and Legalization I: Explaining and Understanding International Law (March 16)
- Week 9: Law and Legalization II: Dispute Settlement and the Independence of International Courts and Tribunals (March 24)
- Week 10: IOs and Domestic Politics I: Compliance, and the Second Image Reversed (March 30)

- Week 11: Research and One-on-One Meetings (April 6)
- Week 12: IOs and Domestic Politics II: Socialization (April 13)
- Week 13: Research and One-on-One Meetings (April 20)
- Week 14: Review and Conclusions (April 27)

Please note that, like most graduate courses, the seminar is organized as a survey of the *scholarly literature* on international institutions and global governance, not as a survey of the *empirics* of those same topics. Not only will we spend much of the course on theoretical approaches and broad thematic topics, we will also pass selectively over a number of important institutions (including the UN system) and a number of issue-areas (most notably international security and international political economy), simply for lack of time to cover all of those topics. Happily, for those seeking a primer on the basic empirical structure of international institutions and governance in various issue-areas, there are several good empirically oriented survey texts (all of them confusingly entitled *Intergovernmental Organizations*) by Karns and Mingst, Bennett and Oliver, and Pease, respectively (see recommended readings for week 2 below). Those seeking to follow major developments in international institutions and global governance are advised to read the *Financial Times* daily newspaper, available on-line at <http://www.ft.com>, which provides the best and most balanced coverage of the UN system, the EU, and other international institutions. Finally, for those who are interested in delving into a particular empirical problem, the option exists to explore such issues in either the short or the long research paper options, discussed below.

Course Requirements. There are three fundamental requirements for students taking PS 8304:

1. Class participation. Students are expected to participate actively in seminar discussions, having read carefully and *thought about* the week's readings. (Note that waiting until the last minute to do the readings is not conducive to synthesis and reflection before class. Best to read early and let the ideas bounce around in your head a few days before seminar.) Participation should always be cordial and constructive, not gladiatorial, and chatting about the readings with fellow students is encouraged. Participation will comprise 25% of the final grade.

2. Two short (6-8 page) papers, addressing specific topics arising out of the required readings for the course. Your paper need not tie together all of the readings for a given approach or question, which would be impossible, but should select one particular problem or puzzle that cuts across at least two of the readings, and analyze it in greater detail. Such a paper may, but need not, incorporate readings from outside the required readings for PS 8304, insofar as these are relevant to your chosen topic. Finally, make sure that your paper does not simply rip down what everyone else has written. Try to organize your critique in terms of a positive argument (which should be summarized in the first paragraph or two of the paper!), noting useful as well as poor work and suggesting ways in which future work (including possibly your own) might do better. At least one paper *must* be handed in by Week 7 of the course, and the other is due no later

than the last day of class, April 29th. Each paper will be worth 25% of the total grade for the course, for a total of 50%.

3. A final take-home essay. At some point during their first two years in the graduate program, most students in this course will take the Political Science Department's MA examination in international relations. For this reason, the final requirement for the course will be a 7-10 page take-home essay in response to questions similar to those asked on the departmental exam. Questions will be handed out on April 29th, and responses will be due back by 5:00 p.m. on May 6th. The take-home essay will be worth a total of 25% of the grade.

Alternative Requirement: Research Paper. Students who are interested in pursuing a more extensive research experience have the option of writing a 20-30 page research paper in place of the second and third requirements listed above. Such papers should examine an issue or an empirical case relevant to the course, and should be informed by the theoretical categories reviewed in our course readings. There is no single formula for a good seminar paper: Some will put forward an original theoretical argument at length with little or no empirical work, while others will take existing theories and test or apply them on an empirical case or cases using a careful research design and primary and secondary sources. In my experience, the latter type of paper, with a clear empirical focus, is the best preparation for dissertation research. Either way, this assignment should be completed in two steps:

- **A preliminary proposal** of approximately five pages, listing the research question, the relevant literature on the question (including a working bibliography), the preliminary hypotheses or argument of the paper, and a summary of the empirical case or cases and the research design and methodology to be followed (due no later than March 24th, 15% of the grade). Note that April 6th and 24th have been set aside for research and one-on-one meetings with me to allow students both feedback on their proposals and time to research and write their papers.
- **The final paper** (due May 6th, 60% of the grade).

No student will be required to write a research paper for the course, but if you feel confident about your grasp of IR theory, this may be a good opportunity to push beyond a reading the literature and engage in original research of your own. In large part to facilitate such efforts, I have reserved two weeks (April 6 and April 20) as independent study weeks, during which time I will be available during our usual class-time for one-on-one meetings to discuss research projects.

Course Readings

All *required* readings will be made available via electronic reserve. Recommended readings are generally available either electronically through the Temple Library website or in hard copy from the Temple University Libraries.

Note on Academic Misconduct

All students in this class are expected to adhere to Temple University standards on academic conduct. In recent years, I have had increasing experience with students plagiarizing work from either printed sources or internet web sites, and I therefore consider it important to clarify the course policy regarding plagiarism and other types of academic misconduct. All students should, in all assignments, fully and unambiguously cite sources from which they are drawing important ideas and/or sizable quotations (for example, more than eight consecutive words or more than 50% of a given sentence or paragraph). Failure to do so constitutes plagiarism, which is a serious act of academic misconduct and *will result in a failing grade for the course*, as well as the possibility of notification of the infraction to the Dean of Students and academic dismissal. Similarly, cheating during exams, copying written assignments from other students, or providing answers to others during exams are considered acts of academic misconduct. Given the seriousness of these infractions, there will be no second chances and no leniency. Please avoid them at any cost. If you are unfamiliar with policies about plagiarism or other types of academic misconduct, you may wish to consult the Temple Writing Center's on-line guide to APA style, which includes an explicit discussion of plagiarism and how to avoid it, at <http://www.temple.edu/writingctr/handouts/citationguides/APAGuideColor.pdf>; or if you still have remaining doubts or specific questions, raise them directly with me.

Disability Policy

This course is open to all students who meet the academic requirements for participation. Any student who has a need for accommodation based on the impact of a disability should contact the instructor privately to discuss the specific situation as soon as possible. Contact Disability Resources and Services at 215-204-1280 in 100 Ritter Annex to coordinate reasonable accommodations for students with documented disabilities.

Temple University official policy on the freedom to teach and learn:

Freedom to teach and freedom to learn are inseparable facets of academic freedom. The University has adopted a policy on Student and Faculty Academic Rights and Responsibilities (Policy # 03.70.02) which can be accessed through the following link: http://policies.temple.edu/getdoc.asp?policy_no=03.70.02.

While this course is oriented primarily toward the scholarly literature and toward theoretical rather than political questions, we will of necessity be discussing and debating vital issues that might be construed as “controversial.” Our aim will not be to avoid these intellectual controversies – many of which are indeed at the heart of the course – but to address them as lucidly and carefully as possible. Throughout the course, students’ class participation and written work will be assessed and graded, not on the basis of the political or intellectual opinions expressed, but on the demonstrated mastery of the course material and the care with which arguments are formulated and presented.

SCHEDULE OF WEEKLY TOPICS AND READINGS

Week 1: Introduction (Jan 19)

No assigned readings.

PART I: THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Week 2: Theoretical Debates I: Neoliberalism and Neorealism (Jan 26)

Required Reading

Hasenclaver, Mayer and Rittberger, *Theories of International Regimes*, chapters 1-4, pp. 1-135.

Arthur Stein, "Neoliberal Institutionalism," in Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 201-221.

Lisa Martin and Beth Simmons, "Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions," *International Organization*, Vol. 52 (Autumn 1998), pp. 729-57.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Jana von Stein, and Erik Gartzke, "International Organizations Count," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (April 2008), pp. 175-188.

Recommended Reading

General Introductions to IOs and Global Governance

Lisa L. Martin and Beth A. Simmons, *International Institutions: An International Organization Reader* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001).

Rittberger, Volker and Bernhard Zangl, 2006. *International Organization. Polity, Politics and Policies*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Margaret P. Karns and Karen A. Mingst, *International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004).

A. Leroy Bennett and James K. Oliver, *International Organizations: Principles and Issues* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 7th edition 2001).

Kelly-Kate Pease, *International Organizations: Perspectives on Governance in the 21st Century* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 2nd edition 2002).

Paul F. Diehl, ed., *The Politics of Global Governance: International Organizations in an Interdependent World* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2nd edition 2001).

Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds. (2008). *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press).

Inis L. Claude Jr., *Swords into Plowshares: The Problems and Process of International Organization*, 3rd edition (1964).

Robert O. Keohane, "International Institutions: Can Interdependence Work?" in Robert O. Keohane, *Power and Interdependence in a Partially Globalized World* (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 27-38.

Duffield, John (2007). "What are International Institutions?" *International Studies Review*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 1-22.

Shanks, Jacobson and Kaplan, "Inertia and Change in the Constellation of International Governmental Organizations, 1981-1992," *International Organization*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (Autumn 1996), pp. 593-627. Reprinted in Martin and Simmons, *International Organizations*.

Pevehouse, Jon, Timothy Nordstrom, and Kevin Warnke (2003). "Intergovernmental Organizations, 1815-2000: A New Correlates of War Data Set," <http://cow2.la.psu.edu>.

Neoliberalism and Rational Choice Institutionalism

Stephen Krasner, ed., *International Regimes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).

Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), Chapters 1, 3-7, pp. 5-17, 31-132.

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

Oye, Kenneth, *Cooperation Under Anarchy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), esp. chap. 1 by Oye and chap. 9 by Axelrod and Oye.

Stephan Haggard and Beth A. Simmons, "Theories of International Regimes," *International Organization*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Summer 1987), pp. 491-517.

Robert Keohane and Lisa Martin, "The Promise of Institutional Theory," *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Summer 1995), pp. 39-51.

Robert O. Keohane and Lisa L. Martin, "Institutional Theory as a Research Paradigm," in Colin Elman and Miriam Elman, eds., *Progress in International Relations Theory* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003), pp. 71-108.

Helen V. Milner, "Rationalizing Politics: The Emerging Synthesis of International, American and Comparative Politics," in Katzenstein et al., eds., *Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics*, pp. 119-46.

Paul Pierson, "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 94 (2000), pp. 251-68.

Duncan Snidal, "Rational Choice and International Relations," in *Sage Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Sage, 2001).

Realism and Neorealism

- Joseph Grieco, "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation," *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (1988), pp. 485-507.
- John Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 5-59 (read esp. section on liberalism, pp. 5-27).
- Robert Jervis, "Realism, Game Theory, and Cooperation in World Politics," Vol. 40, No. 3 (April 1988), pp. 317-49.
- David A. Baldwin, ed., *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).
- Robert Powell, "Anarchy in International Relations Theory: The Neorealist-Neoliberal Debate," *International Organization*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (Spring 1994), pp. 313-344.
- Robert Jervis, "Realism in the Study of World Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (Autumn 1998), pp. 971-91.
- Stephen Brooks, "Dueling Realisms," *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No 3 (Summer 1997), pp. 445-79.
- Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," *World Politics*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (1998), pp. 144-72.
- John Vasquez, "The Realist Paradigm and Degenerative versus Progressive Research Programs: An Appraisal of Neotraditional Research on Waltz's Balancing Proposition," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 91, No. 4 (December 1997), pp. 899-913. With responses by Kenneth Waltz, Colin and Miriam Elman, Randall Schweller, and Stephen Walt.
- Jeff Legro and Andrew Moravcsik, "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Fall 1999), pp. 5-55.
- Peter D. Feaver, Gunther Hellman, Randall L. Schweller, Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, William C. Wohlforth, Jeffrey W. Legro, and Andrew Moravcsik, "Correspondence: Brother, Can You Spare a Paradigm?" *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Summer 2000), pp. 165-193.
- William C. Wohlforth, "Realism," in in Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 131-149.
- Drezner, Daniel W. (2008). "Two Challenges to Institutionalism," in Alan S. Alexandroff, ed., *Can the World Be Governed? Possibilities for Effective Multilateralism* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press).
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie, and Alexander H. Montgomery (2006). "Power Positions: International Organizations, Social Networks, and Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 50, No. 3, pp. 3-27.

Week 3: Theoretical Debates II: Liberalism, Constructivism, and Critical Approaches (Feb 2)

Required Readings

Andrew Moravcsik, "The New Liberalism," in Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 234-254.

Ian Hurd, "Constructivism," in Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press), pp. 298-316.

Risse, Thomas, "Let's Argue! Communicative Action and World Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (2000), pp. 1-39.

Alastair Ian Johnston, "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (December 2001), pp. 487-515.

Ian Manners, "Critical Approaches: Marxism, Feminism, Critical Theory," in Knud Erik Jorgensen, Mark A. Pollack and Ben Rosamond, eds., *The Handbook of European Union Politics* (New York: Sage Publications, 2007).

James Caporaso, Jeffrey Checkel and Joseph Jupille, "Integration Institutions: Rationalism, Constructivism and the Study of the European Union: Introduction," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 36, Nos. 1-2 (February/March 2003).

Tierney, Michael, and Catherine Weaver (n.d.). "Principles and Principals? The Possibilities for Theoretical Synthesis and Scientific Progress in the Study of International Organizations," draft chapter 1 of Bridge Building Volume.

Recommended Readings

Liberalism

Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (Autumn 1997), 513-54.

Constructivism

Hasenclaver, Mayer, and Rittberger, *Theories of International Regimes*, Chapter 5, "Knowledge-based Theories: Ideas, Arguments, and Social Identities," pp. 136-210.

Friedrich Kratochwil and John Gerard Ruggie, "International Organization: A State of the Art on the Art of the State," *International Organization*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Autumn 1986), pp. 753-775; reproduced in Martin and Simmons, eds., pp. 341-64.

Martha Finnemore, "International Organizations as Teachers of Norms," *International Organization*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (Autumn 1993), pp. 565-97; reprinted in Martin and Simmons, pp. 65-98.

Robert O. Keohane, "International Institutions: Two Approaches," in Keohane, *International Institutions and State Power* (Boulder: Westview Press), pp. 158-79.

Alexander Wendt, *A Social Theory of International Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), esp. chapters 1, 3, 6, 8.

Jeffrey Checkel, "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory," *World Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (1998), pp. 324-48.

Emanuel Adler, "Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (September 1998), pp. 291-318.

Peter M. Haas, "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination," *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (Winter 1992), pp. 1-35.

Martha Finnemore, "Norms, Culture, and World Politics: Insights from Sociology's Institutionalism," *International Organization*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (Spring 1996), pp. 325-47.

Katzenstein, Peter, *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (1998), pp. 887-917.

Clark, William Roberts (1998). "Agents and Structures: Two Views of Preferences, Two Views of Institutions," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 42, pp. 245-70.

James Fearon and Alexander Wendt, "Rationalism vs. Constructivism: A Skeptical View," in *Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Sage, 2001).

Peter Katzenstein and Rudra Sil, "Eclectic Theorizing in the Study and Practice of International Relations," in Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press), pp. 110-130.

Lake, David A. (2002). "Progress in International Relations: Beyond Paradigm in the Study of Institutions," in Michael Brecher and Frank P. Harvey, eds., *Realism and Institutionalism in International Studies* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).

Klotz, Audie, ed. (2006). "Moving Beyond the Agent-Structure Debate," in Audie Klotz, ed., *Moving Beyond the Agent-Structure Debate*, special issue of *International Studies Review*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (June), pp. 355-81.

Jonathan Mercer (2005). "Rationality and Psychology in International Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 59, pp. 77-106.

Marxism

Michael Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace*, Part III, entire (pp. 315-80).

Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis," in Wallerstein, *The Capitalist World-Economy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 1-36.

Critical Theory

Robert, W. Cox, "Social Forces, States, and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory," *Millennium*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Summer 1981), pp. 126-155, reprinted in Robert O. Keohane, ed., *Neorealism and Its Critics*, pp. 204-54.

Richard Wyn Jones, ed., *Critical Theory and World Politics* (Boulder: Lynne Reinner, 2000), chapter 1 by Richard Wyn Jones; chapter 5 by Kimberly Hutchings (pp. 79-85 only!), and Chapter 13 by Alex Wendt.

Gender, Feminism and IR Theory

J. Ann Tickner, "Feminist Perspectives on International Relations," in *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 275-291.

Sandra Whitworth, "Feminism," in Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 391-407.

PART II: THEMES AND CONTROVERSIES

Week 4: Power and Distribution I: Institutional Design (Feb 9)

Required Reading

Stephen D. Krasner, "Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier," *World Politics*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (April 1991), pp. 336-356.

James Fearon, "Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation," *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (Spring 1998), pp. 269-305.

Barnett, Michael, and Raymond Duvall, eds. (2005). *Power in Global Governance* (New York: Cambridge University Press), read chapter by Barnett and Duvall. [You can look at individual chapters by Hurrell, Kapstein, Gruber, Barnett and Finnemore, Johnstone, Rupert, Kinsella, and Muppidi for a range of views about the sources and the holders of power in global governance.]

G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), Chapters 1-3, pp. 3-79.

Koremenos, Barbara. Charles Lipson, Duncan Snidal. 2001. "The Rational Design of International Institutions." *International Organization* 55 (4), pp. 761-799.

Koremenos, Barbara. Charles Lipson, Duncan Snidal (2001). "Rational Design: Looking Backward to Look Forward," *International Organization* 55 (4), pp. 1051-1082.

Koremenos, B. (2005). "Contracting around International Uncertainty," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 99, No. 4, pp. 549-65.

Recommended Readings

Barnett, Michael N., and Raymond Duvall (2005). "Power in International Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 59, pp. 39-79.

Charles Lipson, "Why Are Some Agreements Informal?" *International Organization*, Vol 45, No. 4 (1991), pp. 495-538.

Kenneth Abbott and Duncan Snidal, "Why States Act through Formal Organizations," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (February 1998), pp. 3-32.

Roland Vaubel, 1991. "A Public Choice View of International Organizations," in Roland Vaubel and Thomas Willett, eds., *The Political Economy of International Organizations: A Public Choice Approach* (Boulder: Westview), pp. 27-46.

John Gerard Ruggie, ed., *Multilateralism Matters* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), chapters by Ruggie, Caporaso, and Martin.

James Morrow, "The Forms of International Cooperation," *International Organization*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (Summer 1994), pp. 387-423.

Lloyd Gruber, *Ruling the World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), Chapter 1, pp. 3-12, and Chapter 3 (“Winners and Losers”), pp. 33-57.

Barbara Koremenos, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal, *The Rational Design of International Institutions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004) [the full special issue of IO].

John S. Duffield, “The Limits of Rational Design,” *International Organization*, Vol. 57, No. 3 (2003), p. 411-430.

Barbara Koremenos and Duncan Snidal, “Moving Forward, One Step at a Time,” *International Organization*, Vol. 57, No. 3 (2003), pp. 431-44.

Acharya, Amitav, and Alasdair Iain Johnston (2007). *Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

Blaydes, Lisa (2004). “Rewarding Impatience: A Bargaining and Enforcement Model of OPEC,” *International Organization*, Vol. 58, pp. 213-37.

Goodrich, Ben (2006). “A Comment on Rewarding Impatience,” *International Organization*, Vol. 60, pp. 499-513.

Blaydes, Lisa (2006). “Rewarding Impatience Revisited: A Response to Goodrich,” *International Organization*, Vol. 60, pp. 515-25.

Gilligan, Michael J. (2006). “Is There a Broader-Deeper Trade-off in International Multilateral Agreements?” *International Organization*, Vol. 58, pp. 459-84.

Haftel, Yoram Z. (2007). “Designing for Peace: Regional Integration Arrangements, Institutional Variation and Militarized Interstate Disputes,” *International Organization*, Vol. 61, pp. 217-37.

Koremenos, Barbara (2005). “Contracting Around Uncertainty,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 99, No. 4, pp. 549-65.

Rosendorff, Peter B. (2005). “Stability and Rigidity: Politics and Design of the WTO’s Dispute Settlement Procedure,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 99, pp. 389-400.

Slapin, J.B. (2006). “Who is Powerful? Examining Preferences and Testing Sources of Bargaining Strength at European Intergovernmental Conferences,” *European Union Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 51-76.

Bartos, O.J. (1995). “Modeling Distributive and Integrative Negotiations,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 542: 48-60.

Riaffa, H. (1982). *The Art and Science of Negotiation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press).

Week 5: Power and Distribution II: Regulation, Standardization, Regime Complexes and Forum-Shopping (Feb 16)

Required Reading

Drezner, Daniel W. (2007). *All Politics is Global: Explaining International Regulatory Regimes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), chapters 1-3, 6, and 8.

Steinberg, Richard (2002). "In the Shadow of Law or Power? Consensus-Based Bargaining and Outcomes in the GATT/WTO," *International Organization*, Vol. 56, No. 2, pp. 339-74.

Raustiala, Kal, and David G. Victor, 2004. "The Regime Complex for Plant Genetic Resources," *International Organization*, Vol. 58, pp. 277-309.

Jupille, Joseph, and Duncan Snidal (2006). "The Choice of International Institutions: Cooperation, Alternatives and Strategies," unpublished paper, <http://sobek.colorado.edu/~jupille/research/20060707-Jupille-Snidal.pdf>, accessed on 15 January 2008.

Karen J. Alter and Sophie Meunier, "The Politics of International Regime Complexity," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2009), pp. 13-24.

Daniel W. Drezner, "The Power and Peril of International Regime Complexity," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2009), pp. 65-70.

Kenneth W. Abbott and Duncan Snidal, "The Governance Triangle: Regulatory Standards Institutions and the Shadow of the State," in Walter Mattli and Ngaire Woods, *The Politics of Global Regulation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 44-88.

Recommended Reading

Abbott, Kenneth W, and Duncan Snidal (2001). "International 'Standards' and International Governance," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 345-370.

Loya, Thomas, and John Boli (1999). "Standardization in the World Polity: Technical Rationality over Power," in John Boli and George Thomas, eds., *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), pp. 169-197.

Mattli, Walter, and Tim Büthe. (2003). "Setting International Standards," *World Politics*, Vol. 56, No. 1, pp. 1-42.

Richard Steinberg and Jonathan Zasloff, "Power and International Law," *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 100 (2006), pp. 64-87.

Alter, Karen J., and Sophie Meunier (2006). "Nested and Overlapping Regimes in the Transatlantic Banana Trade Dispute," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 3, pp. 362-82.

Berman, Paul (2007). "Global Legal Pluralism," *Southern California Law Review*, Vol. 80, pp. 1155-1237.

Rosendal, Kristin (2001). "The Impacts of Overlapping International Regimes: The Case of Biodiversity," *Global Governance*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 95-118.

Werle, Raymund (2001). "Institutional Aspects of Standardization: Jurisdictional Conflicts and the Choice of Standardization Organizations," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 392-410.

Sell, Susan (1995). "Intellectual Property and Anti-Trust in the Developing World: Crisis, Coercion, and Choice," *International Organization*, Vol. 49, No. 2, pp. 315-49.

Week 6: International Organizations I: Delegation and Agency (Feb 23)

Required Reading

Darren G. Hawkins et al., eds., *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), introduction by the editors, pp. 1-38.

Bradley, Curtis A., and Judith Kelley (2008). "The Concept of International Delegation," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 71, No. 1, pp. 1-36.

Haftel, Yoram Z., and Alexander Thompson (2006). "The Independence of International Organizations: Concept and Applications," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50:2, 253-275.

Brown, Robert L. (2010). "Measuring Delegation," *Review of International Organizations*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 141-175.

Koremenos, Barbara (2008). "When, What and Why Do States Choose to Delegate?" *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 71, No. 1, pp. 151-191.

Nielsen, Daniel L., and Michael J. Tierney, "Delegation to International Organizations: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform," *International Organization*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (2003), pp. 241-76.

Gutner, Tamar, "World Bank Environmental Reform: Revisiting Lessons from Agency Theory," *International Organization*, Vol. 59 (Summer 2005), pp. 773-83.

Nielsen, Daniel L., and Michael J. Tierney, "Theory, Data and Hypothesis Testing: World Bank Environmental Reform Redux," *International Organization*, Vol. 59 (Summer 2005), pp. 785-800.

Recommended Reading

Alvarez, José (2005). *International Organizations as Lawmakers* (New York: Oxford University Press).

Bendor, J., A. Glazer, and T. Hammond, "Theories of Delegation," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 4 (2001), pp. 235-69.

Bradley, Curtis A., and Judith Kelley, eds. (2008). "The Law and Politics of International Delegation," special issue of *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 71, No. 1.

Coen, David, and Mark Thatcher (2008). "Network Governance and Multi-Level Delegation: European Networks of Regulatory Agencies," *Journal of Public Policy*.

Cortell, Andrew P., and Susan Peterson, 2006. Dutiful agents, rogue actors, or both? Staffing, voting rules, and slack in the WHO and WTO, in Darren G. Hawkins et al. (eds.), *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*, Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 255-280.

Gehring, Thomas, and Sebastian Krapohl (2007) "Supranational Regulatory Agencies Between Interdependence and Control: The EMEA and the Authorisation of Pharmaceuticals in the European Single Market," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 208-66.

- Gould, Erica R., 2006. "Delegating IMF conditionality: understanding variations in control and conformity," in Darren G. Hawkins et al. (eds.), *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*, Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 281-311.
- Gutner, Tamar (2005). "Explaining the Gaps between Mandate and Performance: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform," *Global Environmental Politics*, 5:2, 10-37.
- Hawkins, Darren G., and Wade Jacoby, 2006. How Agents Matter, in Darren G. Hawkins et al. (eds.), *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*, Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 199-228.
- Hawkins, Darren G., David A. Lake, Daniel L. Nielson, and Michael J. Tierney, eds., 2006. *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*, Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Johns, Leslie, "A Servant of Two Masters: Communication and the Selection of International Bureaucrats," *International Organization*, Vol. 61 (Spring 2007), pp. 245-75.
- Kahler, Miles (2001). *Leadership Selection in the Major Multinationals* (Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics).
- Miles Kahler and David A. Lake, "Economic Integration and Global Governance: Why So Little Supranationalism?" in Walter Mattli and Ngaire Woods, *The Politics of Global Regulation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 242-275.
- Keleman, D.R. (2002). "The Politics of Eurocratic Structure and the New European Agencies," *West European Politics*, 25 Vol., No. 4, pp. 93-118.
- Lake, David L., and Mathew D. McCubbins, 2006. "The Logic of Delegation to International Organizations," in Darren G. Hawkins et al. (eds.), *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*, Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 341-368.
- Lyne, Mona M., Daniel L. Nielson, and Michael J. Tierney, 2006. "Who Delegates? Alternative Models of Principals in Development Aid," in Darren G. Hawkins et al. (eds.), *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*, Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 41-76.
- Martin, Lisa M., 2006. "Distribution, Information, and Delegation to International Organizations: The Case of IMF Conditionality," in Darren G. Hawkins et al. (eds.), *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*, Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 140-164.
- McGillivray, Fiona, and Alastair Smith (2000). "Trust and Cooperation through Agent-Specific Punishments," *International Organization*, Vol. 54, pp. 809-24.
- Marcoux, Christopher S (2007). "Autonomous Actors or Faithful Agents? A Review," *International Studies Review*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Summer), pp. 262-264.
- Kathleen R. McNamara, "Rational Fictions: Central Bank Independence and the Social Logic of Delegation," *West European Politics*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (2002), pp. 47-76.

- Miller, Gary J., "The Political Evolution of Principal-Agent Models," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 8 (2005), pp. 203-25.
- Pollack, Mark A. (1997). "Delegation, Agency and Agenda Setting in the European Community," *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Winter), pp. 99-134.
- Pollack, Mark A. (2003). *The Engines of European Integration: Delegation, Agency and Agenda Setting in the EU* (New York: Oxford University Press).
- Pollack, Mark A. (2007). "Principal-Agent Analysis and International Delegation: Red Herrings, Theoretical Clarifications and Empirical Disputes," College of Europe, Bruges Political Research Papers, No. 2/February 2007, on-line at http://www.coleurope.eu/content/studyprogrammes/pol/docs/wp2_Pollack.pdf.
- Reinalda, Bob, and Bertjan Verbeek, 1998. "Autonomous Policy Making by International Organizations: Purpose, Outline and Results," in Bob Reinalda and Bertjan Verbeek, eds., *Autonomous Policy-Making by International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- Thompson, Alexander, 2006. "Screening Power: International Organizations as Informative Agents," in Darren G. Hawkins et al. (eds.), *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*, Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 229-254.
- Tierney, Michael J. (2006). "Representation and Accountability in International Organizations: The Promise and Limits of Agency Theory," paper prepared for Yale Conference on Representation and Popular Role, October 27-28, 2006.
- Vaubel, Robert, 2006. "Principal-Agent problems in International Organizations," *The Review of International Organizations*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 125-138.
- Roland Vaubel, Axel Dreher, and Ugurlu Soyulu, "Staff Growth in International Organizations: A Principal-Agent Problem? An Empirical Analysis," unpublished paper, July 2003.
- Verbeek, Bertjan, 1998. "International Organizations. The Ugly Duckling of International Relations Theory?" in Reinalda, Bob, and Bertjan Verbeek (eds.) *Autonomous Policy Making by International Organizations*, London: Routledge, 11-26.

Week 7: International Organizations II: Opening the Black Box: IOs as Organizations (March 2)

Required Readings

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), chapters 1-2, plus *either* chapter 3 or 5.

Weaver, Catherine (2008). *The Hypocrisy Trap: The World Bank and the Poverty of Reform* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), chapters 1-2.

Nielsen, Daniel L., Michael J. Tierney, and Catherine W. Weaver (2006). Bridging the Rationalist-Constructivist Divide: Re-engineering the Culture of the World Bank, *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Vol. 9, pp. 107-39.

Tamar Gutner and Alexander Thompson (2008). "The Politics of IO Performance: A Framework," *Review of International Politics*, Vol. 5, pp. 227-48.

Mark A. Pollack and Emilie M. Hafner-Burton. "Mainstreaming International Governance: The Environment, Gender, and IO Performance in the European Union," *Review of International Organizations*, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 285-313.

Recommended Readings

Robert Cox and Harold K. Jacobsen, *The Anatomy of Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971).

Gayl D. Ness and Steven R. Brechin, "Bridging the Gap: International Organizations as Organizations," *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Spring 1988), pp. 245-273.

Bob Reinalda and Bertjan Verbeek, *Decision-Making within International Organizations* (New York: Routledge, 2004). Read chapter 1 (Reinalda and Verbeek) chapter 4 (Schemeil), chapter 5 (Marcussen), chapter 6 (Woods), and chapter 14 (Reinalda and Verbeek).

Ian Hurd, "Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 53 (Spring 1999), pp. 379-408.

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

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations," *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (1999), pp. 699-732, reprinted in Martin and Simmons, pp. 403-436.

Stacia Zabusky, *Launching Europe* (Princeton: PUP, 1995).

George Ross, *Jacques Delors and European Integration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Liesbet Hooghe, *The European Commission and the Integration of Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Diane Vaughan, *The Challenger Launch Decision* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

Ngairé Woods, *The Globalizers: The IMF, the World Bank, and their Borrowers* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

Michael Barnett and Liv Coleman, "Designing Police: Interpol and the Study of Change in International Organizations," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 49, No. 4, pp. 593-620.

Bauer, Michael (2008). "Introduction: Organizational Change, Management Reform, and EU Policy-Making," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 15, No. 5, pp. 627-47.

Kassim, Hussein (2008). " 'Mission Impossible,' but Mission Accomplished: The Kinnock Reforms and the European Commission," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 15, No. 5, pp. 648-668.

Peterson, John (2008). "Enlargement, Reform and the European Commission: Weathering the Perfect Storm?" *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 15, No. 5, pp. 761-80.

Weiss, Thomas G. (1982). "International Bureaucracy: The Myth and Reality of the International Civil Service," *International Affairs*, Vol. 58, pp. 287-306.

Week 8: Law and Legalization I: Explaining and Understanding International Law (March 16)

Required Reading

Steven R. Ratner and Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Appraising the Methods of International Law: A Prospectus for Readers," *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 93, No. 2 (April 1999), pp. 291-302 (skim pages 295-298).

Michael Byers, "International Law," in Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 612-631.

Kenneth W. Abbott, Robert O. Keohane, Andrew Moravcsik, Anne-Marie Slaughter, Duncan Snidal, "The Concept of Legalization," *International Organization*, Vol. 54, No. 3, pp. 401-419.

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

Goldstein, Keohane, Kahler, Slaughter. 2001. "Response to Finnemore and Toope," *International Organization* 55:3, 759-60.

Jack L. Goldsmith and Eric A. Posner, *The Limits of International Law* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pages 3-43, 81-106.

Oona A. Hathaway and Ariel N. Lavinbuk, "Rationalism and Revisionism in International Law," *Harvard Law Review*, Vol. 119 (2006), pp. 1404-1443.

Recommended Readings

Stanley Hoffmann, "The Uses and Limits of International Law," in Robert Art and Robert Jervis, eds., *International Politics*, pp. 127-31.

Anne-Marie Slaughter Burley. "International Law and International Relations Theory: A Dual Agenda," *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 87 (1993), pp. 205-39.

Robert O. Keohane, "International Relations and International Law: Two Optics," *Harvard International Law Journal*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Spring 1997), pp. 487-502.

Jeffrey L. Dunoff, Steven R. Ratner, David Wippman, *International Law: Norms, Actors, Process: A Problem-Oriented Approach* (Aspen Law and Business Publishers, 2002).

David Armstrong, Theo Farrell and Hélène Lambert, *International Law and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), esp. Chapter 3, pp. 69-113.

Oona Hathaway and Harold Hongju Koh, eds., *Foundations of International Law and Politics* (New York: Foundation Press, 2005).

Beth A. Simmons and Richard H. Steinberg, eds., *International Law and International Relations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Christian Reus-Smit, ed., *The Politics of International Law* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Judith L. Goldstein, Miles Kahler, Robert O. Keohane, and Anne-Marie Slaughter, eds., *Legalization and World Politics* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001).

B. Welling Hall, "The Standing of International Law in Undergraduate IR Texts," *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 145–155.

Robert O. Keohane, "Rational Choice Theory and International law: Insights and Limitations." *Journal of Legal Studies* 31(January 2002), pp. 307-319, available on-line at <http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/JLS/journal/contents/v31nS1.html>.

Laura Dickinson, "Commentary: Toward a 'New' New Haven School of International Law?" *Yale Journal of International Law*, Vol. 32, pp. 547-552.

Kenneth W. Abbott and Duncan Snidal, "Hard and Soft Law in International Governance," *International Organization*, Vol. 54, No. 3, pp. 421-56.

Jack Goldsmith and Eric A. Posner, "The New International Law Scholarship," *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Vol. 34, pp. 463-482.

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

Berman, Paul, "Global Legal Pluralism," *Southern California Law Review*, Vol. 80 (2007), pp. 1155-1237.

Benvenisti, Eyal, and George W. Downs, "The Empire's New Clothes: Political Economy and the Fragmentation of International Law," *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 60 (2007), available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=976930>, accessed on 3 January 2008.

See also the literature on compliance with international law and agreements, below.

Week 9: Law and Legalization II: Dispute Settlement and the Independence of International Courts and Tribunals (March 24)

Required Readings

Robert O. Keohane, Andrew Moravcsik, and Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Legalized Dispute Resolution: Interstate and Transnational," *International Organization*, Vol. 54, No. 3, pp. 457-488.

Barbara Koremenos, "If Only Half of International Agreements Have Dispute Resolution Provisions, Which Half Needs Explaining?" *Journal of Legal Studies*, Vol. 36 (2007), pp. 189-211.

Allee, Todd L., and Paul K. Huth (2006). "Legitimizing Dispute Settlement: International Legal Rulings as Domestic Political Cover," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 100, No. 2, pp. 219-234.

Karen J. Alter (1998). "Who are the Masters of the Treaty? European Governments and the European Court of Justice," *International Organization*, 52: 125-52.

Clifford J. Carrubba, Matthew Gabel, and Charles Hankla (2008). "Judicial Behavior under Political Constraints: Evidence from the European Court of Justice," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 102, No. 4, pp. 435-52.

Alec Stone-Sweet and Thomas Brunell, "How the Legal System of the European Union Works - and Does Not Work: Response to Carrubba, Gabel, and Hankla," unpublished paper, 2010.

Voeten, Erik (2008). "The Impartiality of International Judges: Evidence from the European Court of Human Rights," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 102, No. 4, pp. 417-434.

Posner, Eric, and Michael de Figueiredo (2005). "Is the International Court of Justice Biased?" *Journal of Legal Studies*, Vol. 34, pp. 599-630.

Recommended Readings

Gordon, Edward, Steven J. Burton, Richard Falk, Thomas M. Franck, and Constantine Nezis. 1989. "The Independence and Impartiality of International Judges," *American Society of International Law Proceedings* 83:508-29.

Romano, Cesare. 1999. "The Proliferation of International Judicial Bodies: The Pieces of the Puzzle." *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics* 31 (summer): 709-51.

Helfer, Laurence, and Anne-Marie Slaughter. 1997. "Toward a Theory of Effective Supranational Adjudication," *Yale Law Journal* 107 (2): 273-391.

Posner, Eric A., and John C. Yoo. 2005. "Judicial Independence in International Tribunals," *California Law Review*, Vol. 93.

Helfer, Laurence, and Anne-Marie Slaughter. 2005. "Why States Create International Tribunals: A Response to Professors Posner and Yoo," *California Law Review* 93 (May), pp. 3-58.

Busch, Marc L., and Eric Reinhardt (2006). "Three's a Crowd: Third Parties and WTO Dispute Settlement," *World Politics*, Vol. 58, No. 3, pp. 446-477.

Busch, Marc L. (2008). "Overlapping Institutions, Forum Shopping, and WTO Dispute Settlement," *International Organization*, Vol. 61, pp. 735-61.

Alter, Karen J. (2001). *Establishing the Supremacy of European Law: The Making of an International Rule of Law in Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press).

Alter, Karen J. (2008). "Agents or Trustees? International Courts in their Political Context," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 33-63.

Carrubba, Clifford J., and Lacey Murrah (2005). "Legal Integration and Use of the Preliminary Ruling Process in the European Union," *International Organization*, Vol. 59, pp. 399-418.

Johns, Leslie (2007). "Endogenous Enforcement and Jurisdiction in International Adjudication," available at <http://homepages.nyu.edu/~kbh206>.

Daniel Terris, Cesare P.R. Romano, and Leigh Swigart, *The International Judge: An Introduction to the Men and Women Who Decide the World's Cases* (Lebanon, New Hampshire: Brandeis University Press, 2007).

Carnegie Council video, "The International Judge," <http://www.cceia.org/resources/video/data/000047>.

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

Week 10: IOs and Domestic Politics I: Compliance, and the Second Image Reversed (March 30)

Required Readings

Kal Raustiala and Anne-Marie Slaughter, "International Law, International Relations, and Compliance," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons, eds., *Handbook of International Relations* (New York: SAGE Publications, 2002), pp. 538-558.

Simmons, B. (2000). "International Law and State Behavior: Commitment and Compliance in International Monetary Affairs," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 94, No. 4, pp. 819-35.

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

Simmons, B., and Hopkins, D. (2005). "The Constraining Power of International Treaties: Theory and Methods," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 99, No. 4, pp. 623-31.

Jon C. Pevehouse, "Democracy from the Outside-In? Regional Organizations and the Transition to Democracy," *International Organization*, Vol. 56, No. 3 (Summer 2002), pp. 515-49.

Dai, X. (2005). "Why Comply? The Domestic Constituency Mechanism," *International Organization*, Vol. 59, No. 2, pp. 363-98.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie (2008). "Sticks and Stones: Naming and Shaming the Human Rights Enforcement Problem," *International Organization*, Vol. 62, pp. 689-716.

Grieco, J., Gelpi, C., and Warren, T.C. (2009). "When Preferences and Commitments Collide: The Effect of Relative Partisan Shifts on International Treaty Compliance," *International Organization*, No. 63, pp. 341-55.

Von Stein, Jana (2010). "International Law: Understanding Compliance and Enforcement," in Robert A. Denemark, ed., *The International Studies Encyclopedia* (London: Wiley-Blackwell).

Recommended Readings

On Compliance

Abraham Chayes and Antonia Handler Chayes, "On Compliance," *International Organization*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (Spring 1993), pp. 175-205.

Downs, Rocke and Barsoom, "Is the Good News About Compliance Good News About Cooperation?" *International Organization*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (Summer 1996), pp. 379-406.

Ronald B. Mitchell, "Regime Design Matters: International Oil Pollution and Treaty Compliance," *International Organization*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (Summer 1994), reproduced in Martin & Simmons, *International Institutions*, pp. 103-136.

Downs, George W., David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom (1998). "Managing the Evolution of Multilateralism," *International Organization*, Vol. 52, pp. 378-419.

David G. Victor, Kal Raustiala, and Eugene B. Skolnikoff, *The Implementation and Effectiveness of International Environmental Commitments: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), chapters 1, 16 (pp. 1-46, 659-707).

Oran Young, ed.,: *Causal Connections and Behavioral Mechanisms* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), chapters 1, 5 (pp. 1-32, 249-279).

Thomas M. Franck, *The Power of Legitimacy Among Nations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

Thomas Bernauer, "The Effect of International Environmental Institutions: How Do We Learn More?" *International Organization*, Vol. 49, No. 2, pp. 351-375.

Harold K. Jacobson and Edith Weiss, "Strengthening Compliance with International Environmental Accords: Preliminary Observations from a Comparative Project," *Global Governance*, Vol. 1 (1995), pp. 119-48.

Abraham Chayes and Antonia Chayes, *The New Sovereignty: Compliance with International Regulatory Agreements* (1996).

George W. Downs, "Enforcement and the Evolution of Cooperation," *Michigan Journal of International Law*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (1998), pp. 319-44.

George W. Downs, "Constructing Effective Environmental Regimes," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 3 (1998), pp. 25-42.

Raustiala, Kal (2000). "Compliance and Effectiveness in International Regulatory Cooperation," *World Politics*, Vol. 49, No. 4, pp. 482-509.

Liliana Botcheva and Lisa Martin, "Institutional Effects on State Behavior: Convergence and Divergence," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (March 2001), pp. 1-26.

Jonas Tallberg, "Paths to Compliance: Enforcement, Management, and the European Union," *International Organization*, Vol. 56 (August 2002), pp. 609-43.

Jon Pevehouse and Bruce Russett, "International Organizations Promote Peace," *International Organization*, Vol. 60 (Fall 2006), pp. 969-1000.

Gilligan, Michael (2006). "Is Enforcement Necessary for Effectiveness? A Model of the International Criminal Regime," *International Organization*, Vol. 60.

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," *International Organization*, Vol. 61, pp. 37-67.

On IO's and Domestic Politics

Peter Alexis Gourevitch, "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Autumn 1978), pp. 881-912.

Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," *International Organization*, Vol. 42 (1988), pp. 427-60.

Andrew Moravcsik (1993), "Integrating International and Domestic Theories of International Bargaining," in Peter Evans, Harold Jacobson, and Robert Putnam (eds.) *Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 3-42.

Helen V. Milner, 1997. *Interests, Institutions, and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), chapter 1 (pp. 3-29).

Lisa Martin, *Democratic Commitments: Legislatures and International Cooperation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), chapter 1 (pp. 3-20).

Kenneth Schultz, "Do Democratic Institutions Constrain or Inform? Contrasting Two Institutional Perspectives on Democracy and War," *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (Spring 1999), pp. 233-66.

Michael Zürn, "Bringing the Second Image (Back) In: About the Domestic Sources of Regime Formation," in Volker Rittberger, ed., *Regime Theory and International Relations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 282-311.

Suzanne Lohmann and Sharyn O'Halloran, "Divided Government and US Trade Policy: Theory and Evidence," *International Organization*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (1994), pp. 595-632.

Andrew Cortell and James Davis, "How Do International Institutions Matter? The Domestic Impact of International Rules and Norms," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 40 (December 1996), pp. 451-78.

Judith Goldstein, "International Institutions and Domestic Politics: GATT, WTO, and the Liberalization of International Trade," in Anne O. Krueger, ed., *The WTO as an International Organization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 133-52.

Orfeo Fioretos, "The Domestic Sources of Multilateral Preferences: Varieties of Capitalism in the European Community," in Peter Hall and David Soskice, eds., *Varieties of Capitalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 213-44.

Edward Mansfield and Jon C. Pevehouse, "Democratization and International Organizations," *International Organization*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (Jan 2006), pp. 137-67.

Mansfield, Edward, Helen Milner and Peter Rosendorff (2002). "Why Democracies Cooperate More: Electoral Control and International Trade Agreements," *International Organization*, Vol. 56, pp. 477-513.

Week 11: Research and One-on-One Meetings (April 6th)

Week 12: IOs and Domestic Politics II: Socialization (April 13)

Required Readings

Judith Kelley, "International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions," *International Organization*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (2004), pp. 425-57.

International Institutions and Socialization in Europe: Introduction and Framework, special issue of *International Organization*, Vol. 59 (Fall 2005), read introduction by Checkel, concluding chapters by Johnston and by Zürn and Checkel; and read **at least two** of the empirical chapters by Schimmelfennig, Hooghe, Beyers, Lewis, and Gheciu.

Beth A. Simmons, Frank Dobbin, and Geoffrey Garrett, "Introduction: The International Diffusion of Liberalism," *International Organization*, Vol. 60 (Fall 2006), pp. 781-810.

Recommended Readings

Frank Schimmelfennig (2000). "International Socialization in the New Europe: Rational Action in an Institutional Environment," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 109-39.

Harold Hongju Koh, "Bringing International Law Home," *Houston Law Review*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Fall 1998), pp. 623-681.

Robert O. Keohane, "When Does International Law Come Home?" *Houston Law Review*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Fall 1998) pp. 699-713.

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

Alvarez, José E. (2005). "Do States Socialize?" *Duke Law Journal*, Vol. 54, pp. 961-74.

Tomz, Michael (2008). "Reputation and the Effect of International Law on Preferences and Beliefs," unpublished paper, Stanford University, 2008.

Zaring, David (2006). "The Use of Foreign Decisions by Federal Courts: An Empirical Analysis," *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 297-331.

David H. Bearce and Stacy Bondanella, "Intergovernmental Organizations, Socialization, and Member-State Interest Convergence," *International Organization*, Vol. 61 (Fall 2007), pp. 703-33.

Week 13: Research and One-on-One Meetings (April 20)

Week 14: Review and Conclusions (April 27)