

**International Organization**  
*INR 6507, Fall 2024*

Dr. Zhiyuan Wang  
Associate Professor  
223 Anderson Hall  
Meeting time: W | Period 5 - 7 (11:45 AM - 2:45 PM)  
Locating: LEI 0242  
Office hours: W&R: 9:30-11:00 am & by appointment  
Email: [zhiyuan.wang@ufl.edu](mailto:zhiyuan.wang@ufl.edu)

### **Overview**

This graduate seminar intends to help students grasp the major developments in contemporary international relations scholarship regarding international organizations. It is organized around themes of both significant theoretical and practical concerns that have received substantive scholarly attention, i.e., the formation, design, function, impact and evolution of international organizations. It covers international organizations in issue areas such as security, human rights, trade, development, and monetary affairs at both global and regional levels. It also discusses the research in the overlap of international organization and international law scholarships. Upon finishing this course, student will be equipped to do independent research on relevant topics.

### Requirements

**Participation (25%)** You will finish all the weekly readings and come to seminar prepared to discuss them in detail. Active participation is of vital importance to the success of this seminar and your academic development. Therefore, you are expected to attend all the sessions.

**Discussion leaders:** Each student will lead weekly discussion twice during the semester. As a discussion leader, you will briefly introduce the class to the weekly readings, and secondly, you will produce a series of questions that bear on the readings to organize the discussion. To do that, you can use handouts or slides or both. Preferably, each discussion leader will share the discussion questions with the class on Tuesday by 5 pm of the week she/he will lead the discussion.

**Critical Review (30%)** You will prepare two critical reviews during the semester. Each of them should be based on a weekly topic as listed in the syllabus that you choose. In crafting the review, you are expected to not only make a coherent literature review of the assigned works but also will identify the major issues (conceptual, theoretical and/or empirical) in the existing studies and propose ways to correct them. The review should not exceed 6 double-spaced pages.

**Original Idea Paper (45%)** You will prepare a paper that contains certain originality and will likely lead to a publishable journal article. This originality can be either theoretical contribution or empirical innovation or both. It should resemble a real journal article in all elements except that you do not have to actually execute the research. But if you can, you will be rewarded for that. You can collaborate with one of your fellow students on this assignment. If that is the case, the resulting paper will be expected to be

more developed and of higher quality than solo ones. Also, you will be graded together for the joint work. It should be double-spaced with one-inch margin and around 12-16 pages long.

**Due dates:** A one-page outline of the paper idea will be due before the end of **Oct. 2<sup>nd</sup>**. The first draft will be due before the end of **Nov. 20<sup>th</sup>**. The final version of the paper will be due on **Dec. 8<sup>th</sup>** by 11:59 pm. You will lose 1/3 letter grade each day your work is past due.

**All written works will be submitted through Turnitin on Canvas.**

The grading scheme is as follows:

93 points or higher = A; 90–92.9 = A-; 87–89.9 = B+; 83–86.9 = B; 80–82.9 = B-; 77–79.9 = C+; 73–76.9 = C; 70–72.9 = C-; 67–69.9 = D+; 63–66.9 = D; 60–62.9 = D-; <60 = E. UF's grading policies can be found at <https://catalog.ufl.edu/UGRD/academic-regulations/grades-grading-policies/>

### Readings

Course readings predominantly comprise journal articles which are available online and can be accessed through the UF library. For those which are not readily available online, you will find them on our course page on Canvas.

#### **Recommended:**

Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

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

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

Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 & 2.

Milgrom, Paul R., Douglass C. North, and Barry R. Weingast. 1990. "The Role of Institutions in the Revival of Trade: The Law Merchant, Private Judges, and the Champagne Fairs." *Economics and Politics*. 2 (1):1—23.

Knight, Jack. 1992. *Institutions and Social Conflict*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2, pp. 21-47.

Diermeyer, Daniel and Keith Krehbiel. 2003. Institutionalism as a Methodology. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*. 15(2): 123-144.

### Class Communication

All class communications will be done via the UF email system and Canvas. Please allow me to respond to your inquiries/requests within 24 hours of their receipt.

### Academic Integrity

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states “We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: “On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment.” The Conduct Code specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. See the UF Conduct Code website for more information. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor or TAs in this class.

### Class Attendance and Works

Requirements for class attendance and make-up exams, assignments, and other work in the course are consistent with university policies. See [UF Academic Regulations and Policies for more information regarding the University Attendance Policies](#).

### Students with Disabilities

Students with disabilities who experience learning barriers and would like to request academic accommodations should connect with the Disability Resource Center. See the “Get Started With the DRC” webpage on the Disability Resource Center site. It is important for students to share their accommodation letter with their instructor and discuss their access needs, as early as possible in the semester.

### Course Evaluations

Students are expected to provide professional and respectful feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing course evaluations online via GatorEvals. Guidance on how to give feedback in a professional and respectful manner is available at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/students/>. Students will be notified when the evaluation period opens, and can complete evaluations through the email they receive from GatorEvals, in their Canvas course menu under 1 GatorEvals, or via <https://ufl.bluera.com/ufl/>. Summaries of course evaluation results are available to students at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/public-results/>.

### Course Outline

#### **Week 1 (08/28) International Cooperation and Institutions**

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

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

Gourevitch, Peter A. 1996. “Squaring the Circle: The Domestic Sources of International Cooperation.” *International Organization* 50(2): 349-73.

Grieco, Joseph. 1988. "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism." *International Organization* 42 (Summer): 485-508.

Mearsheimer, John. 1994-95. "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19: 5-49.

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

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

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

## **Week 2 (09/04) APSA No Class**

## **Week 3 (09/11) Regimes, Multilateralism, and International Organizations**

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

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

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

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

Gehring, Thomas and Benjamin Faude. 2014. "A Theory of Emerging Order within Institutional Complexes: How Competition among Regulatory International Institutions Leads to Institutional Adaptation and Division of Labor." *Review of International Organization* 9(4): 471-498.

Zürn, Michael. 2017. "From Constitutional Rule to Loosely Coupled Spheres of Liquid Authority. A Reflexive Approach." *International Theory* 9(2): 261-285.

## **Week 4 (09/18) Regionalism**

Moravcsik, Andrew. 1993. "Preference and Power in the European Community: A liberal intergovernmentalist approach." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31, 4: 473-519.

Hooghe, Liesbet, & Marks, G. 2008. "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus." *British Journal of Political Science* 39, 1: 1-23.

Hemmer, Christopher, and Peter J. Katzenstein. 2002. "Why Is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism." *International Organization* 56 (3):575-607.

Acharya, Amitav. 2004. "How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism." *International Organization* 58, 2: 239-275.

Cho, Il Hyun and Seo-Hyun Park. 2014. "Domestic Legitimacy Politics and Varieties of Regionalism in East Asia." *Review of International Studies* 40(3): 583-606.

Fioramonti, Lorenzo and Frank Mattheis. 2016. "Is Africa Really Following Europe? An Integrated Framework for Comparative Regionalism: An Integrated Framework for Comparative Regionalism." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 54, 3: 674-90.

Hurrell, Andrew. 2007. "One World? Many Worlds? The Place of Regions in the Study of International Society." *International Affairs* 83(1): 127-146.

### **Week 5 (09/25) Formation**

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

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

Poast, Paul, and Johannes Urpelainen. 2013. "Fit and Feasible: Why Democratizing States Form, not Join, International Organizations." *International Studies Quarterly* 57 (4):831-41.

Simmons, Beth and Allison Danner. 2010. "Credible Commitments and the International Criminal Court." *International Organization* 64(2): 225-226.

Johnson, Tana, and Johannes Urpelainen. 2014. "International Bureaucrats and the Formation of Intergovernmental Organizations: Institutional Design Discretion Sweetens the Pot." *International Organization* 68 (1):177-209.

Morse, Julia C. and Robert O. Keohane. 2014. "Contested Multilateralism." *The Review of International Organizations* 9(4): 385-412

### **Week 6 (10/02) Institutional Design *One-page Outline Due***

Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. 2001. "The Rational Design of International Institutions." *International Organization* 55 (04):761-99.

Smith, James McCall. 2000. "The Politics of Dispute Settlement Design: Explaining Legalism in Regional Trade Pacts." *International Organization* 54: 137-80.

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

- Duffield, John S. 2003. "The Limits of Rational Design." *International Organization* 57(2): 411-30.
- Gilligan, Michael J. 2004. "Is There a Broader-Deeper Trade-off in International Multilateral Agreements?" *International Organization*. 58 (Summer): 459-484.
- Tallberg, Jonas, Thomas Sommerer, Theresa Squatrito, and Christer Jönsson. 2014. "Explaining the Transnational Design of International Organizations." *International Organization* 68(4): 741-774.
- Chiba, Daina, Jesse C. Johnson, and Brett Ashley Leeds. 2015. "Careful Commitments: Democratic States and Alliance Design." *Journal of Politics* 77 (4): 968-982.

### **Week 7 (10/09) Delegation and Agency**

- Mark Pollack. 1997. "Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the European Community." *International Organization* 51(1): 99-134.
- Nielson, Dan and Michael J. Tierney. 2003. "Delegation to International Organizations: Agency Theory and the World Bank." *International Organization* 57(2): 241-276.
- Barnett, Michael and Martha Finnemore. 1999. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations." *International Organization* 53(4): 699-732.
- Haftel, Yoram Z. and Alexander Thompson. 2006. "The Independence of International Organizations: Concept and Applications." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50(2): 253-275.
- Vaubel, Roland. 2006. "Principal-agent Problems in International Organizations." *Review of International Organizations* 1(2): 125-38.
- Beach, Derek. 2004. "The Unseen Hand in Treaty Reform Negotiations: the Role and Influence of the Council Secretariat." *Journal of European Public Policy* 11(3): 408-439.
- Johnson, Tana. 2013. "Institutional Design and Bureaucrats' Impact on Political Control." *Journal of Politics* 75 (1): 183-197.

### **Week 8 (10/16) Operation**

- Tsebelis, George and Geoffrey Garrett. 2001. "The Institutional Foundations of Intergovernmentalism and Supranationalism in the European Union." *International Organization* 55(2): 357-390.
- Steinberg, Richard H. 2002. "In the Shadow of Law or Power? Consensus-Based Bargaining and Outcomes in the GATT/WTO." *International Organization* 56(2): 339-74.
- Stone, Randall W. 2004. "The Political Economy of IMF Lending in Africa." *American Political Science Review* 98 (04):577-91.
- Kuziemko, Ilyana, and Eric Werker. 2006. "How Much Is a Seat on the Security Council Worth? Foreign Aid and Bribery at the United Nations." *Journal of Political Economy* 114 (5):905-30.

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

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.

### **Week 9 (10/23) Legitimacy**

Hurd, Ian. 1999. "Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics." *International Organization*, 53 (2): 379-408.

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

Buchanan, Allen and Robert O. Keohane. 2006. "The Legitimacy of Global Governance Institutions." *Ethics and International Affairs* 20, 4: 405-437.

Chapman, Terrence. 2009. "Audience Beliefs and International Organization Legitimacy." *International Organization* 63(4): 733-764.

Urpeleinen, Johannes and Christopher L. Pallas. 2012. "NGO Monitoring and the Legitimacy of International Cooperation: A Strategic Analysis." *Review of International Organizations*. 7(1): 1-32.

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

Esty, Daniel. 2002. "The World Trade Organization's Legitimacy Crisis." *World Trade Review* 1(1): 7-22.

Voeten, Eric. 2005. "The Political Origins of the UN Security Councils Ability to Legitimize the Use of Force." *International Organization* 59, 3: 527-57

### **Week 10 (10/30) Enforcement**

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

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

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

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

Reinhardt, Eric. 2001. "Adjudication without Enforcement in GATT Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(2): 174-95.

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.

### **Week 11 (11/06) Compliance**

Simmons, Beth A. (1998) "Compliance with International Agreements." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 1: 75—93.

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

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

Dai, Xinyuan. (2005) "Why Comply? The Domestic Constituency Mechanism." *International Organization*. 59 (Spring): 363-398.

Checkel, Jeffrey T. 2001. "Why Comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change." *International Organization* 55(3): 553–88

Hurd, Ian. 2005. "The Strategic Use of Liberal Internationalism: Libya and the UN Sanctions, 1992-2003." *International Organization* 59 (3):495-526.

### **Week 12 (11/13) Information and Signaling**

Dai, Xinyuan. 2002. "Information Systems of Treaty Regimes." *World Politics* 54(4): 405-436.

Goldstein, Judith, and Lisa L. Martin. 2003. "Legalization, Trade Liberalization, and Domestic Politics: A Cautionary Note." *International Organization* 54: 603-32.

Thompson, Alexander. 2006. "Coercion through IOs: The Security Council and the Logic of Information Transmission." *International Organization* 61(1): 1-34.

Svolik, Milan. 2006. "Lies, Defection, and the Pattern of International Cooperation." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4): 909-925.

Gray, Julia. 2009. "International Organization as a Seal of Approval: European Union Accession and Investor Risk." *American Journal of Political Science*. 53(4): 931-949.

Pelc, Krzysztof J. 2009. "Seeking Escape: The Use of Escape Clauses in International Trade Agreements." *International Studies Quarterly* 53: 349-68.

### **Week 13 (11/20) Effects *First Draft Due***



- Fortna, Virginia Page. (2004) "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace after Civil War." *International Studies Quarterly* 48(2): 269—292.
- Irfan Nooruddin and Joel W. Simmons. 2006. "The Politics of Hard Choices: IMF Programs and Government Spending," *International Organization*, Vol. 60, No. 4 (October), pp. 1001-1033.
- Goldstein, Judith, Doug Rivers, and Michael Tomz. (2007) "Institutions in International Relations: Understanding the Effects of the GATT and the WTO on World Trade." *International Organization*. 61: 37—67.
- Catherine Weaver and Susan Park. 2007. "Poverty Alleviation and Human Development in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Role of the World Bank," *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 13(4): 461-469.
- Hyde, Susan D. (2011) "Catch Us if You Can: Election Monitoring and International Norm Creation." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(2): 356—369.
- Bearce, David H., Cody D. Eldredge, and Brandy J. Jolliff. 2016. "Does Institutional Design Matter? A Study of Trade Effectiveness and PTA Flexibility/Rigidity." *International Studies Quarterly* 60: 307-16.

### **11/27 Thanksgiving No Class**

#### **Week 14 (12/04) Externalities**

- Boehmer, Charles, Erik Gartzke, and Timothy Nordstrom. 2004. "Do Intergovernmental Organizations Promote Peace?" *World Politics* 57(1): 1-38.
- Simpser, Alberto, and Daniela Donno. 2012. "Can International Election Monitoring Harm Governance?" *The Journal of Politics* 74 (2):501-13.
- Poast, Paul, and Johannes Urpelainen. 2014. "How International Organizations Support Democratization: Preventing Authoritarian Reversals or Promoting Consolidation?" *World Politics* 67 (1):72-113.
- Keohane, Robert O., Stephen Macedo, and Andrew Moravcsik. 2009. "Democracy-Enhancing Multilateralism." *International Organization* 63(1):1-31.
- Sutherland, Peter D. "Transforming Nations: How the WTO Boosts Economies and Opens Societies." *Foreign Affairs* 87, no. 2 (2008): 125-136.
- 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.

***Paper due on Dec. 8<sup>th</sup> by 11:59 pm via Turnitin on Canvas***

## **Other General Policies and Guidelines**

### Class Demeanor

Students are expected to arrive to class on time and behave in a manner that is respectful to the instructor and to fellow students. Please avoid the use of cell phones and restrict eating to outside of the classroom. Opinions held by other students should be respected in Presentation, and conversations that do not contribute to the Presentation should be held at minimum, if at all.

### In-Class Recording

Students are allowed to record video or audio of class lectures. However, the purposes for which these recordings may be used are strictly controlled. The only allowable purposes are (1) for personal education use, (2) in connection with a complaint to the university, or (3) as evidence in, or in preparation for, a criminal or civil proceeding. All other purposes are prohibited. Specifically, students may not publish recorded lectures without the written consent of the instructor. A “class lecture” is an educational presentation intended to inform or teach enrolled students about a particular subject, including any instructor-led discussions that form part of the presentation, and deliver by an instructor hired or appointed by the University, or by a guest instructor, as part of a University of Florida course. A class lecture does not include lab sessions, student presentations, clinical presentation such as patient history, academic exercises involving solely student participation, assessments (quizzes, tests, exams), field trips, private conversations between students in the class or between a student and the faculty or guest lecturer during a class session. Publication without permission of the instructor is prohibited.

To “publish” means to share, transmit, circulate, distribute, or provide access to a recording, regardless, of format or medium, to another person (or persons), including but not limited to another student within the same class section. Additionally, a recording, or transcript of a recording, is considered published if it is posted on or uploaded to, in whole or in part, any media platform, including but not limited to social media, book, magazine, newspaper, leaflet, or third-party note/tutoring services. A student who publishes a recording without written consent may be subject to a civil cause of action instituted by a person injured by the publication and/or discipline under UF Regulation 4.040 Student Honor Code and Student Conduct Code.

### Campus Resources

#### • Health and Wellness

U Matter, We Care: If you or someone you know is in distress, please contact [umatter@ufl.edu](mailto:umatter@ufl.edu), 352-392-1575, or visit U Matter, We Care website to refer or report a concern and a team member will reach out to the student in distress.

Counseling and Wellness Center: Visit the Counseling and Wellness Center website or call 352-392-1575 for information on crisis services as well as non-crisis services.

Student Health Care Center: Call 352-392-1161 for 24/7 information to help you find the care you need, or visit the Student Health Care Center website. University Police Department: Visit UF Police Department website or call 352-392-1111 (or 9-1-1 for emergencies).

UF Health Shands Emergency Room / Trauma Center: For immediate medical care call 352-733-0111 or go to the emergency room at 1515 SW Archer Road, Gainesville, FL 32608; Visit the UF Health Emergency Room and Trauma Center website.

GatorWell Health Promotion Services: For prevention services focused on optimal wellbeing, including Wellness Coaching for Academic Success, visit the GatorWell website or call 352-273-4450.

- Academic Resources

E-learning technical support: Contact the UF Computing Help Desk at 352-392-4357 or via e-mail at [helpdesk@ufl.edu](mailto:helpdesk@ufl.edu).

Career Connections Center: Reitz Union Suite 1300, 352-392- 1601. Career assistance and counseling services.

Library Support: Various ways to receive assistance with respect to using the libraries or finding resources. Call 866-281-6309 or email [ask@ufl.libanswers.com](mailto:ask@ufl.libanswers.com) for more information.

Teaching Center: 1317 Turlington Hall, 352-392-2010 or to make an appointment 352- 392-6420. General study skills and tutoring.

Writing Studio: Daytime (9:30am-3:30pm): 2215 Turlington Hall, 352-846-1138 | Evening (5:00pm-7:00pm): 1545 W University Avenue (Library West, Rm. 339). Help brainstorming, formatting, and writing papers.

Academic Complaints: Office of the Ombuds; Visit the Complaint Portal webpage for more information.

Enrollment Management Complaints (Registrar, Financial Aid, Admissions): View the Student Complaint Procedure webpage for more information.