

Barnard College  
Political Science BC3805  
TBA

Alexander Cooley  
Fall 2014  
M 11:00-12:50pm

**“International Politics Colloquium: International Organization”**

414 Lehman Hall (Barnard Library)  
Tel: (212) 854-9544  
e-mail: acooley@barnard.edu  
Office Hours: Tuesdays 10:00-11:00am and by appointment.

Prerequisite: Political Science 1601 or equivalent introduction to International Relations.

Welcome to “International Organization.” In this colloquium we will explore the various structures, institutions and processes that order international relations and global governance. Students should have at least one previous course in international relations theory.

The colloquium is divided into two major sections. In the first part we will read works on general topics relating to international organization including the functions of international institutions, how international rules are formulated, accountability in international governance and the role of international norms. We will consider a number of different theoretical approaches (including realism, liberal institutionalism and constructivism) and familiarize ourselves with important debates in international relations theory.

In the second part of the course we will use these theoretical frameworks to examine current problems and controversies in international organization. We will debate the effectiveness of the international human rights architecture, assess the importance of international efforts to promote transitional justice and explore the emerging importance of the newly emerging BRICS group.

Throughout the course we will ask what elements of the international system are enduring and what actors or processes are, indeed, new. We will also relate what we are doing in class with developments in the “real world,” especially international responses to the on-going financial/debt crisis and efforts to implement transitional justice.

**LEARNING OBJECTIVES:** The course will introduce students to the major debates on International Organization within the international relations field. Students who complete the course will learn how to:

1. Identify the various actors, institutions and processes that order international relations.
2. Familiarize themselves with the major techniques of governance employed by international organizations such as conditionality and ratings.
3. Evaluate the merits and shortcomings of scholarly arguments about international organization.
4. Assess the quality of evidence and methodology employed by authors in support of their theoretical claims.

5. Distinguish between primary and secondary sources and employ each appropriately in a research paper.
6. Apply the analytical constructs learned in the theoretical portion of the class to produce an original study on some aspect of international organization or global governance.

## REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

**Class:** The most important requirement is to read the weekly assignments and come to each class fully prepared for discussion; after all, this is your seminar and our group time is limited. The instructor's primary role will be to introduce the week's topic and then facilitate class discussion and debate. Class participation will count 20% of your final grade. If you are uncomfortable speaking in a public setting, please let me know as soon as possible - we can work something out.

**Presentation:** Each seminarian will be asked to sign-up and lead class discussion for a week (usually in coordination with a partner). Presentations should be no longer than 10 minutes each and **SHOULD NOT** summarize the arguments of the readings (the assumption is that everyone will come to class having completed the assigned reading). Instead, you should present reactions, critical observations or commentaries on the major themes, topics and noteworthy debates that are brought up by the readings and merit further discussion. The presentation will be factored into your class participation grade.

**Research Paper:** In addition, students will be required to complete a major research paper (about 25-30 pages, 60% of final grade). All papers must explore some theoretical issue in the study of international organization and will require additional empirical research based on primary and secondary materials. Paper guidelines and sample topics will be distributed during Week 4 (September 29). A one-page summary of your topic with preliminary bibliography is due Week 7 (October 20). After you turn in your preliminary topic, you should contact me for an appointment to discuss your topic (this is your responsibility, not mine). An optional rough draft of the paper will be due by Friday November 28th at 12pm. The final draft is due on Monday, December 8th, 2013 at 11:00am. Late papers will be penalized one-third of a grade for every additional day (including weekends) beyond this deadline.

PLEASE NOTE: I do not grant unsolicited incompletes (nor solicited ones without a documented emergency). If you do not hand in a paper, you will be assigned the grade of "F", not "I."

**Memos:** Finally, in addition to the research paper, every student must turn in TWO memos during the course of the semester. The memos (about 2.0 – 2.5 pages single-spaced) should present your reactions to and assessments of the week's key issues and/or debates. You must turn in **AT LEAST ONE** of the memos by or on Week 8 (October 27). All memos are due (I prefer e-mailed Word files or PDF attachments- please include your last name in the file and the number of the memo) by 9:00 am on the day of class (Mondays). Together, they will constitute the final 20% of your grade.

## FOR SENIORS TAKING THIS AS THE 3<sup>RD</sup> COLLOQUIUM

All Seniors who have designated this course as the Colloquium to fulfill their Senior Capstone requirement must also complete the following:

1. Provide constructive criticism and feedback to your designated peer partner(s). You and your partner should hold meetings, in consultation with the instructor, to discuss your assignments, e.g. research proposals, research methods, rough drafts.
2. Present your main findings in class at the end of the semester. A portion of the Class participation grade will reflect the quality of your mentoring and final presentation.
3. Attend at least one of the Senior overviews of the library and online resources hosted by the instructor or another member of the Political Science Department.
4. Generate a poster that summarizes your research question, argument, and findings. The poster should accompany your class presentation and will be displayed at the Senior end-of-year Departmental party in May 2014. The poster will not be graded, but is required to receive a "Pass" for your Senior requirement and will factor into Departmental considerations for Senior Project Distinction.

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READINGS: The following books are required and are available for purchase at the Columbia University bookstore:

Emilie Hafner-Burton, *Making Human Rights a Reality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

Katherine Sikkink, *The Justice Cascade: How Human Rights Prosecutions are Changing the World*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2011.

All other readings are available on reserve at Barnard College Reserves and electronically through Courseworks and Barnard College Library E-reserves. However, access to the readings is restricted to Columbia UNI ID holders who are actively registered in the course. If you cannot get a reading via Courseworks/Reserves, then look for it individually under the journal title in E-journals (if you don't understand what this is, ask a librarian!).

## **Part I. Theoretical Approaches to International Organization**

### **Week 1** (September 8): *Course Overview and Introduction*

If the international system is “anarchic,” then where do order and international governance come from? What is the difference between “international organizations” and what we refer to as “international organization”? How can we have international governance without a world government?

### **Week 2** (September 15) *International Institutions I: Neoliberal Institutionalism and Regimes*

What functions do international institutions perform according to neoliberal theory? How does this view of regimes differ from that of realist or sociological (or “reflectivist”) understandings? Are regimes merely “intervening variables” or do they exert an independent influence on international relations? How do regimes “socialize” participants? What explains the policies and actions of international organizations: the political interests of powerful state members or the interests and culture of an organization’s permanent staff? What is an “organizational culture” and under what circumstances does it become “pathological”?

Robert Keohane, “International Institutions: two approaches,” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 32:4 (1988), pp. 379-396.

Alistair Ian Johnston, “Treating International Institutions as Social Environments,” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 45:4 (2001), pp. 487-515.

John Mearsheimer, “The False Promise of International Institutions,” *International Security* Vol.19:3 (Winter 1994/95), pp. 5-49.

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of international Organizations." *International Organization* Vol. 53.04 (1999): 699-732.

Recommended: Robert Wade, “US Hegemony and the World Bank: the fight over people and ideas,” *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 9:2 (Summer 2002), pp. 215-243.

### **Week 3** (September 22) *Intl. Institutions II: Dynamics of Rule-Making and Breaking*

Guest Instructor: Professor Jason Sharman, Griffith University  
Research Scholar at Barnard, Fall 2014

Deborah D. Avant, Martha Finnemore, and Susan K. Sell, “Who Governs the Globe?” in Avant, Finnemore and Sell, eds. *Who Governs the Globe?* (New York: Cambridge, 2010), pp. 1-31.

Mattli, Walter, and Tim Büthe. "Setting international standards: Technological rationality or Primacy of Power?" *World Politics* 56:1 (2003): 1-42.

*Case Study: International Rules on Money Laundering and Shell Companies*

Jason C. Sharman, "Testing the Global Transparency Regime," *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 55, No. 4 (December 2011), pp. 981-1001.

Findley, M., Nielson, D., & Sharman, J. Global Shell Games: Testing Money Launderers' and Terrorist Financiers' Access to Shell Companies. *Political Economy and Development Lab*, 2012.

[http://www.griffith.edu.au/data/assets/pdf\\_file/0008/454625/Oct2012-Global-Shell-Games.Media-Summary.10Oct12.pdf](http://www.griffith.edu.au/data/assets/pdf_file/0008/454625/Oct2012-Global-Shell-Games.Media-Summary.10Oct12.pdf)

#### **Week 4** (September 29) *International Norms and Societal Perspectives*

What do "social" theories purport to explain that "rationalist" theories cannot? How do we distinguish between behavior that is influenced by international norms and behavior dictated by state interests? How do norms become defined and disseminated in the international community and what role is there for "norm localization"? How does the study of "gender norms" differ from most traditional feminist approaches to IR? How did the framing of on-going violence in the Congo influence the policy responses by the international community and from where did these frames emerge?

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* Vol. 52:4 (Autumn 1998), pp. 887-917.

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

R. Charli Carpenter, "Women and Children First: Gender, Norms, and Humanitarian Evacuation in the Balkans 1991-95," *International Organization* Vol. 57:4 (Fall 2003), pp. 661-694.

S  verine Autesserre, "Hobbes and the Congo: Frames, Local Violence and International Intervention," *International Organization* Vol. 63:2 (Spring 2009), pp. 249-280.

Ann E. Towns, "Norms and Social Hierarchies: Understanding International Policy Diffusion 'From Below,'" *International Organization* Vol. 66:2 (April 2012), pp. 661-694.

#### **Week 5** (October 6) *International Organizations and Accountability*

Joseph Stiglitz, "Democratizing the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank: Governance and Accountability," *Governance* Vol. 16:1 (January 2003), pp. 111-139.

Ruth W. Grant and Robert Keohane, "Accountability and Abuses of Power in World Politics," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 99:1 (February 2005), pp. 29-43.

Ilan Kapoor, "Deliberative Democracy and the WTO," *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 11: 3 (August 2004), pp. 522-541.

Weaver, Catherine. "The politics of performance evaluation: independent evaluation at the International Monetary Fund." *The Review of International Organizations* 5.3 (2010): 365-385.

#### **Week 6** (October 13) Library and Research Session. (place TBC)

During the first half of the class, we will meet as a group we will go over various sources and research strategies.

The second part of the class will be a Senior-only meeting to discuss the Poster Presentations and Peer Partners.

**Week 7** (October 20) *Techniques of Ranking, Rating and Blacklisting*

Note: Paper topic summaries are due today!

This week we will examine the politics that informs the emerging practice of international organizations, NGOs and private governors to rank, rate and blacklist countries across four different issue areas: the World Bank's governance indicators, the bond ratings issued by credit rating agencies (Moody's, Standard and Poors), FreedomHouse's democracy ratings and the OECD's listing of uncooperative tax havens. How has the global production of indicators altered understandings about what constitutes good governance? What do credit-rating agencies do and why do some commentators view them as private regulators of international financial markets? What are the consequences of a ratings downgrade and what criteria do agencies use to assess measures of risk? Are the ratings of democratization in FreedomHouse based on objective criteria or influenced by U.S. foreign policy considerations? Why was blacklisting such an effective instrument when used by the OECD against tax havens? And how have these rankings and ratings, often made by private actors, been institutionalized in global governance?

Alexander Cooley, "The International Politics of Rankings and Ratings: A Framework for Analysis," in Alexander Cooley and Jack Snyder, eds. *Ranking the World: Grading States as a Tool of Global Governance*. Cambridge University press, 2015 (forthcoming).

Kevin Davis, Benedict Kingsbury and Sally Engle Merry, "Indicators as a Technology of Global Governance" *Law & Society Review* Vol. 43:1 (2012), pp. 71-104.

Peter Andreas, "The Politics of Measuring Illicit Flows and Policy Effectiveness," in Peter Andreas and Kelly Greenhill, eds. *Sex, Drugs and Body Counts: The Politics of Numbers in Global Crime and Conflict*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010, pp. 23-45.

FreedomHouse, *Freedom in the World 2013*. Browse the Methodology, Charts and Graphs, and the Overview essay by Puddington.

Available on-line at: <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2013>

**Week 8** (October 27) *Transnational Networks, NGOs and their Critics*

Do transnational NGOs herald the emergence of a global civil society? What strategies and tools do NGOs use to change state policies? Do all networks in international politics inherently share common liberal values and benign normative motivations? What are the unspoken material constraints on the actions of transnational NGOs? Does the current proliferation of NGOs in various sectors resemble a deliberative civil society or a competitive frenzy? What strategies do states employ to avoid pressures exerted by international NGOs?

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International

and Regional Politics,” *International Social Science Journal* Vol. 51, No. 159 (March 1999), 89-101.

Alexander Cooley and James Ron, “The NGO Scramble: Organizational Survival and Transnational Action,” *International Security* Vol. 27:1 (Summer 2002), pp. 5-37.

Clifford Bob, “Merchants of Morality,” *Foreign Policy* No. 129 (Mar/Apr 2002), pp. 36-45.

Charli Carpenter, “Setting the Advocacy Agenda: Theorizing Issue Emergence and Non-emergence in Transnational Advocacy Networks,” *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 51: 1 (March 2007), pp. 99-120.

(November 3, 2014) ELECTION DAY HOLIDAY, no class. Sign-up for Meetings on Wednesday-Friday about your papers.

## PART II. CURRENT PROBLEMS AND ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

### **Week 9** (November 10) *The Politics of Human Rights and International Law*

What is more important for upholding international human rights practices: fulfilling treaty obligations or internalizing human rights norms? What has improved the most over the last 20 years: the state of global human rights or our understanding of them? What are the major methodological challenges of human rights research? Do scholars and practitioners have similar agendas and does it matter?

Emilie Hafner-Burton, *Making Human Rights a Reality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

### **Week 10** (November 17) *The Politics of International Transitional Justice*

What is “transitional justice” and what have been the major developments in the international justice regime? What is Sikkink’s theory of change and what drives the alleged success of international justice efforts such as tribunals? How does Sikkink deal with the US case?

Katherine Sikkink, *The Justice Cascade: How Human Rights Prosecutions are Changing the World*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2011. Selections.

Recommended: Jack Snyder and Leslie Vinjamuri, “Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice,” *International Security* Vol. 28, No. 3 (Winter 2003/04), pp. 5-44.

### **Week 10** (November 24) *Post-Western Challenges to International Order? Rise of the BRICS*

Michael Cox, “Power Shift, Economic Change and the Decline of the West?” *International Relations* Vol. 26, No. 4 (2012), pp. 369-388.

Ebert, Hannes, and Tim Maurer. "Contested Cyberspace and Rising Powers." *Third World Quarterly* 34, no. 6 (2013): 1054-1074.

Vikram Nehru, "The BRICS Bank: now Comes the Hard Part," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. July 14, 2014.

<http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/07/17/brics-bank-now-comes-hard-part>

**Recommended:**

O'Neill, Jim. *Building better global economic BRICs*. Goldman Sachs, 2001.

<http://www.content.gs.com/japan/ideas/brics/building-better-pdf.pdf>

FIRST DRAFT OR EXTENDED OUTLINE OF PAPER DUE ON OR BEFORE Friday, November 27th at 12pm.

**Week 12** (December 1) **No Class Meeting** Individual Meetings to Discuss Papers

Please sign up for a slot in advance. You can also just drop by to talk about your paper, but this week sign-up time priority will be given to those who have actually turned in a rough draft.

**Week 13** (December 8) *Final Class, Senior Paper Presentations, All Papers Due*

All papers due at the beginning of class. Seniors taking the course as a 3<sup>rd</sup> Colloquium will present their research findings w/ posters (max 10 minutes each!).

No exceptions, no incompletes.