



GVPT 606: Introduction to International Institutions and International Law

Spring 2022

Tuesdays 3:30 – 6:15 pm

Tydings Hall 1118

Dr. Deniz Cil (she/her)

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Chincoteague Hall 2117D

Office hours: Tuesdays 1:00 pm – 3:00 pm
or by appointment (in person or online)

Course Description

This course examines major theoretical approaches and empirical studies of international law and institutions. Questions related to the design, function, and reform of international institutions, state compliance with international laws, cooperation between states through international institutions, the effectiveness of international humanitarian law, and the interaction between international and domestic politics are covered. The last portion of the course will focus on research related to select international economic, security, and legal institutions. After completing this seminar, students will develop an improved understanding of central debates in the international institutions literature and the primary empirical findings from quantitative studies.

Learning Outcomes

After successfully completing this course:

- 1) Students will be able to describe and critically analyze the strengths and weaknesses of existing theories and empirical analyses of questions related to the design and function of international institutions and their effect on state behavior in the international system.
- 2) Students will be able to assess the future research and policy implications of existing academic scholarship on international law and institutions.
- 3) Students will be able to develop an informed understanding of the effectiveness of international institutions based on current political science research and apply this understanding to formulate relevant policy recommendations.
- 4) Students will be able to develop a systematic approach to answering questions regarding international cooperation between states through international institutions and will be able to apply these skills in their future research and/or policy analysis.

Course Structure

We will meet in person every Tuesday at 3:30 pm in Tydings Hall (1118). Each week, we will discuss the theoretical arguments and quantitative analyses in the assigned readings. You are expected to read assigned readings before the class begins and participate in the discussion. Your participation in the discussion is critical to your success in the class, which will constitute 25% of your grade (see attendance policy). If I am not able to be in-class (due to COVID-like symptoms), yet able to teach, I will arrange a live Zoom session at the time of the in-person session. I will announce changes to the class structure via ELMS.

Please note that according to current County and University health and safety [guidelines](#), all individuals must wear a KN95 mask indoors. Any student not abiding by these expectations may be in violation of [the Code of Student Conduct](#), Part 10(e)(3): Failure to comply with a directive of University officials.

Required Resources

All reading material will be posted on the course ELMS page (elms.umd.edu). All articles are also available online through the University Library (<https://www.lib.umd.edu>).

Assignments

1) Participation and Engagement (25%)

Your grade will be based on your attendance and participation in class discussion. You are expected to be prepared to discuss assigned readings, answer discussion questions, and remain engaged during the class. You should be able to explain the assumptions and logic of theoretical arguments in the assigned readings, discuss the strengths and weaknesses of each article, and their place within the larger literature. I will provide discussion questions the day before the class to give you an opportunity to prepare for class discussion. These questions will be posted on the course ELMS page (elms.umd.edu). If you are not able to attend the class, you will be required to submit a written make-up assignment discussing the readings for the week. You can use this option twice during the semester (see attendance policy).

2) Two short papers (50%)

You will write two short papers that are each 4-5 pages long (double-spaced), excluding references. More detailed information on each paper will be posted on the course ELMS page (elms.umd.edu).

a. Paper 1: Empirical Puzzle (25%) **Due March 18, 2022**

You will identify an empirical puzzle and discuss why the existing literature on this topic fails to fully explain it. This puzzle can be a recent or historical event, or an extension of the existing studies on the topic. You can start by picking a topic covered in the class and use the assigned readings for that week as a starting point. Either approach will require you to conduct your own literature review to be able to discuss extant literature and its shortcomings. As you decide on your topic and identify the empirical puzzle, consider why it is important.

b. Paper 2: Policy Relevance (25%) **Due April 22, 2022**

Your second paper will build on your first paper. You will discuss the policy relevance of answering the main question/puzzle you identified in your first paper. This discussion should focus on existing policy recommendations in the political science research on the topic and why these existing policy recommendations may not be sufficient to address the given issue/problem. Your discussion should provide a clear justification for the necessity of further research on the topic from both a policy and academic standpoint.

3) Take-home Final exam (25%) **Due May 18, 2022**

At the end of this course, you will complete a take-home final exam. Exam questions will require you to compare different arguments and assumptions from the existing literature, critically analyze findings, and discuss policy implications. You will answer questions by writing short essays and citing relevant course material. Take-home final questions will be provided on May 16 at 10:30 am and will be due on May 18 at 12:30pm. More detailed information on take-home final exam will be posted on the course ELMS page (elms.umd.edu).

Grading Scale

Grades will be based on a straight scale.

| | | | |
|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| 97 – 100 = A + | 87 – 89 = B + | 77 – 79 = C + | 67 – 69 = D + |
| 94 – 96 = A | 84 – 86 = B | 74 – 76 = C | 64 – 66 = D |
| 90 – 93 = A - | 80 – 83 = B - | 70 – 73 = C - | 60 – 63 = D - |
| | | | 59 & below = F |

Course Policies

Attendance

Attendance in each class session is required. If you are not able to attend the class for reasons that align with university policy for excused absences, please let me know as soon as possible. If you are not able to attend the class for any reason, you will be required to submit a written make-up assignment reviewing assigned readings. Please note that this assignment should be submitted within a week of your absence (unless we agree on an alternative deadline).

Absence due to COVID-19: If you are not feeling well, please stay home and contact me as soon as possible. You do not need documentation if you miss one to two classes due to COVID-like symptoms. To make-up your participation and engagement, you can submit a written assignment reviewing assigned readings. If you need more than two weeks due to severe illness/emergency, please contact me for alternative arrangements. Please note that you will need documentation for absences more than two weeks.

Grading

All assessment scores will be posted on the course ELMS page. I am happy to discuss any of your grades with you and correct any mistakes if identified. Any formal grade disputes must be submitted in writing and within one week of receiving the grade. I will review your request and schedule a time to discuss it.

Late Assignments and Extensions

To request an extension for an assignment you should contact me at least 24 hours prior to the due date of the assignment (except in cases of emergency). Late assignments will be penalized 10 percent per day unless you contact me beforehand. Please plan to have your papers submitted before the scheduled deadline to avoid running into technical issues resulting in late submission.

Communication with Instructor

Email: If you need to reach out and communicate with me, please email me at dcil@umd.edu. Please DO NOT email me with questions that are easily found in the syllabus or on ELMS (e.g., When is this assignment due? How much is it worth? etc.) but please DO reach out about personal, academic, and intellectual concerns/questions.

ELMS: I will send IMPORTANT announcements via ELMS. Make sure that your email & announcement notifications (including changes in assignments and/or due dates) are enabled in ELMS so you do not miss any messages. You are responsible for checking your email and Canvas/ELMS inbox with regular frequency.

Campus – Wide Policies

It is our shared responsibility to know and abide by the University of Maryland's policies that relate to all courses, which include topics like:

- Academic integrity
- Student and instructor conduct
- Accessibility and accommodations
- Attendance and excused absences
- Grades and appeals
- Copyright and intellectual property

Please visit www.ugst.umd.edu/courserelatedpolicies.html for the Office of Undergraduate Studies' full list of campus-wide policies and follow up with me if you have questions.

Statement on Diversity and Inclusivity

The Government and Politics department deeply values the voices and perspectives of all people. We are committed to having a diverse department that recognizes and appreciates the differences in race, ethnicity, culture, gender, sexual orientation, religion, age, abilities, class, nationality, and other factors. Our department prioritizes diversity and seeks to foster a diverse community reflected in its faculty, staff, and students.

In this class, students are invited to share their thoughts and a diversity of opinions is welcome. Respectful communication is expected, even when expressing differing perspectives. Supporting one's statement with research findings is encouraged. In accordance with free speech statutes, speech that contains threats of violence is prohibited.

Reporting Racism and Other Forms of Hate and Bias

If you experience racism or other forms of bias in this class or any GVPT course, I encourage you to do at least one of the following:

- Please report the experience to me.
- Report the experience to David Cunningham, the GVPT Director of Undergraduate Studies at dacunnin@umd.edu
- Report the experience to the GVPT Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion committee, led by Professor Antoine Banks at abanks12@umd.edu

Please also report all incidents of hate and bias to the Office of Diversity and Inclusion at <https://diversity.umd.edu/bias/>.

Names/Pronouns and Self-Identifications

The University of Maryland recognizes the importance of a diverse student body, and we are committed to fostering inclusive and equitable classroom environments. I invite you, if you wish, to tell us how you want to be referred to both in terms of your name and your pronouns (he/him, she/her, they/them, etc.). The pronouns someone indicates are not necessarily indicative of their gender identity. Visit trans.umd.edu to learn more.

Additionally, how you identify in terms of your gender, race, class, sexuality, religion, and dis/ability, among all aspects of your identity, is your choice whether to disclose (e.g., should it come up in classroom conversation about our experiences and perspectives) and should be self-identified, not presumed or imposed. I will do my best to address and refer to all students accordingly, and I ask you to do the same for your fellow Terps.

Readings

Note: This is a tentative schedule, and subject to change as necessary – monitor the course ELMS page for current deadlines. In the unlikely event of a prolonged university closing, or an extended absence from the university, adjustments to the course schedule, deadlines, and assignments will be made based on the duration of the closing and the specific dates missed.

Week 1 – Introduction: What are international institutions? (January 25, 2022)

Duffield, John. 2007. "What Are International Institutions?" *International Studies Review* 9 (1): 1–22.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., David G. Victor, and Yonatan Lupu. 2012. "Political Science Research on International Law: The State of the Field." *American Journal of International Law* 106 (1): 47–97.

Week 2 – Why do states work through international institutions? (February 1, 2022)

Mearsheimer, John J. 1994. “The False Promise of International Institutions.” *International Security* 19 (3): 5–49.

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

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

Panke, Diana. 2020. “Regional Cooperation through the Lenses of States: Why Do States Nurture Regional Integration?” *The Review of International Organizations* 15 (2): 475–504.

Koehane, Robert O. 2020 “Understanding Multilateral Institutions in Easy and Hard Times” *Annual Review of Political Science* 23(1) 1-18.

Week 3 – Design of international institutions (February 8, 2022)

Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. 2001. “The Rational Design of International Institutions.” *International Organization* 55 (4): 761–99.

Duffield, John S. 2003. “The Limits of ‘Rational Design.’” *International Organization* 57 (2): 411–30.

Koremenos, Barbara. 2005. “Contracting around International Uncertainty.” *American Political Science Review* 99 (4): 549–65.

Copelovitch, Mark S., and Tonya L. Putnam. 2014. “Design in Context: Existing International Agreements and New Cooperation.” *International Organization* 68 (2): 471–93.

Voeten, Erik 2019. “Making Sense of the Design of International Institutions.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 22(1), 147-163.

Week 4 – International institutions as actors (February 15, 2022)

Barnett, Michael N., and Martha Finnemore. 1999. “The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations.” *International Organization* 53 (4): 699–732.

Pollack, Mark A. 1997. “Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the European Community.” *International Organization* 51 (1): 99–134.

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

Johnson, Tana. 2013. “Institutional Design and Bureaucrats’ Impact on Political Control.” *The Journal of Politics* 75 (1): 183–97.

Tallberg, Jonas, Magnus Lundgren, Thomas Sommerer, and Theresa Squatrito. 2020. "Why International Organizations Commit to Liberal Norms." *International Studies Quarterly* 64 (3): 626–40.

Week 5 – Role of international law in IR (February 22, 2022)

Stein, Jana von. 2008. "The International Law and Politics of Climate Change: Ratification of the United Nations Framework Convention and the Kyoto Protocol." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52 (2): 243–68.

Lawrence, Peter, and Daryl Wong. 2017. "Soft Law in the Paris Climate Agreement: Strength or Weakness?" *Review of European, Comparative & International Environmental Law* 26 (3): 276–86.

Nardin, Terry. 2019. "The International Legal Order 1919–2019." *International Relations* 33 (2): 157–71.

Guilfoyle, Douglas. 2019. "The Rule of Law and Maritime Security: Understanding Lawfare in the South China Sea." *International Affairs* 95 (5): 999–1017.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Brad L. LeVeck, and David G. Victor. 2015. "How Activists Perceive the Utility of International Law." *The Journal of Politics* 78 (1): 167–80.

Week 6 – Human rights and international humanitarian law (March 1, 2022)

Hawkins, Darren. 2004. "Explaining Costly International Institutions: Persuasion and Enforceable Human Rights Norms." *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (4): 779–804.

Morrow, James D. 2007. "When Do States Follow the Laws of War?" *The American Political Science Review* 101 (3): 559–72.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. 2008. "Sticks and Stones: Naming and Shaming the Human Rights Enforcement Problem." *International Organization* 62 (4): 689–716.

Vreeland, James Raymond. 2008. "Political Institutions and Human Rights: Why Dictatorships Enter into the United Nations Convention against Torture." *International Organization* 62 (1): 65–101.

Lupu, Yonatan, and Geoffrey P. R. Wallace. 2019. "Violence, Nonviolence, and the Effects of International Human Rights Law." *American Journal of Political Science* 63 (2): 411–26.

Alter, Karen J., and Kal Raustiala. 2018. "The Rise of International Regime Complexity." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 14: 329–49.

Week 7 – Compliance with international institutions (March 8, 2022)

Downs, George W., David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom. 1996. "Is the Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation?" *International Organization* 50 (3): 379–406.

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

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

Simmons, Beth A., and Daniel J. Hopkins. 2005. "The Constraining Power of International Treaties: Theory and Methods." *American Political Science Review* 99 (4): 623–31.

Powell, Emilia Justyna, and Krista E Wiegand. 2014. "Strategic Selection: Political and Legal Mechanisms of Territorial Dispute Resolution." *Journal of Peace Research* 51 (3): 361–74.

Week 8 – Effectiveness of international institutions (March 15, 2022)

Leeds, Brett Ashley. 2003. "Alliance Reliability in Times of War: Explaining State Decisions to Violate Treaties." *International Organization* 57 (4): 801–27.

Rose, Andrew K. 2004. "Do We Really Know That the WTO Increases Trade?" *American Economic Review* 94 (1): 98–114.

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* 61 (1): 37–67.

Conrad, Courtenay R., and Emily Hencken Ritter. 2013. "Treaties, Tenure, and Torture: The Conflicting Domestic Effects of International Law." *The Journal of Politics* 75 (2): 397–409.

Fuhrmann, Matthew, and Yonatan Lupu. 2016. "Do Arms Control Treaties Work? Assessing the Effectiveness of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty 1." *International Studies Quarterly* 60 (3): 530–39.

Week 9 – Spring Break (March 22, 2022)

Week 10 – International institutions and domestic politics (March 29, 2022)

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

Leeds, Brett Ashley. 1999. "Domestic Political Institutions, Credible Commitments, and International Cooperation." *American Journal of Political Science* 43 (4): 979–1002.

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.

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

Matanock, Aila M. 2020. "How International Actors Help Enforce Domestic Deals." *Annual Review of Political Science* 23 (1): 357–83

Week 11 – When do international institutions change? (April 5, 2022)

Barnett, Michael, and Liv Coleman. 2005. "Designing Police: Interpol and the Study of Change in International Organizations." *International Studies Quarterly* 49 (4): 593–619.

Lipsy, Phillip Y. 2015. "Explaining Institutional Change: Policy Areas, Outside Options, and the Bretton Woods Institutions." *American Journal of Political Science* 59 (2): 341–56.

Sommerer, Thomas, and Jonas Tallberg. 2019. "Diffusion Across International Organizations: Connectivity and Convergence." *International Organization* 73 (2): 399–433.

Clark, Richard. 2021. "Pool or Duel? Cooperation and Competition Among International Organizations." *International Organization* 75 (4): 1133–53.

Week 12 – When do international institutions die? (April 12, 2022)

Gray, Julia. 2018. "Life, Death, or Zombie? The Vitality of International Organizations." *International Studies Quarterly* 62 (1): 1–13.

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette. 2020. "Death of International Organizations. The Organizational Ecology of Intergovernmental Organizations, 1815–2015." *The Review of International Organizations* 15 (2): 339–70.

Debre, Maria Josepha, and Hylke Dijkstra. 2021. "Institutional Design for a Post-Liberal Order: Why Some International Organizations Live Longer than Others." *European Journal of International Relations* 27 (1): 311–39.

Borzyskowski, Inken von, and Felicity Vabulas. 2019. "Hello, Goodbye: When Do States Withdraw from International Organizations?" *The Review of International Organizations* 14 (2): 335–66.

Walter, Stefanie. 2021. "Brexit Domino? The Political Contagion Effects of Voter-Endorsed Withdrawals from International Institutions." *Comparative Political Studies* 54 (13): 2382–2415.

Week 13 – Economic institutions (April 19, 2022)

Rosendorff, B. Peter. 2005. "Stability and Rigidity: Politics and Design of the WTO's Dispute Settlement Procedure." *American Political Science Review* 99 (3): 389–400.

Peritz, Lauren. 2020. "When Are International Institutions Effective? The Impact of Domestic Veto Players on Compliance with WTO Rulings." *International Studies Quarterly* 64 (1): 220–34.

Stone, Randall W. 2008. "The Scope of IMF Conditionality." *International Organization*, 589–620.

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

Best, Jacqueline. 2012. "Ambiguity and Uncertainty in International Organizations: A History of Debating IMF Conditionality." *International Studies Quarterly* 56 (4): 674–88.

Week 14 – Security institutions (April 26, 2022)

Carter, David B., and Randall W. Stone. 2015. "Democracy and Multilateralism: The Case of Vote Buying in the UN General Assembly." *International Organization* 69 (1): 1–33.

Alexander, Dan, and Bryan Rooney. 2019. "Vote-Buying by the United States in the United Nations." *International Studies Quarterly* 63 (1): 168–76.

Wallander, Celeste A. 2000. "Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO After the Cold War." *International Organization* 54 (4): 705–35.

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.

Debs, Alexandre, and Nuno P. Monteiro. 2017. "Conflict and Cooperation on Nuclear Nonproliferation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20.

Week 15 – International courts (May 3, 2022)

Davis, Christina L., and Julia C. Morse. 2018. "Protecting Trade by Legalizing Political Disputes: Why Countries Bring Cases to the International Court of Justice." *International Studies Quarterly* 62 (4): 709–22.

Simmons, Beth A., and Allison Danner. 2010. "Credible Commitments and the International Criminal Court." *International Organization* 64 (2): 225–56.

Goodliffe, Jay, Darren Hawkins, Christine Horne, and Daniel L. Nielson. 2012. "Dependence Networks and the International Criminal Court." *International Studies Quarterly* 56 (1): 131–47.

Jo, Hyeran, and Beth A. Simmons. 2016. "Can the International Criminal Court Deter Atrocity?" *International Organization* 70 (3): 443–75.

Prorok, Alyssa K. 2017. "The (In)Compatibility of Peace and Justice? The International Criminal Court and Civil Conflict Termination." *International Organization* 71 (2): 213–43.

Week 16 – Conclusion: International cooperation during the COVID-19 pandemic and the future of international order (May 10, 2022)

Johnson, Tana. 2020. "Ordinary Patterns in an Extraordinary Crisis: How International Relations Makes Sense of the COVID-19 Pandemic." *International Organization* 74 (S1): E148–68.

Pevehouse, Jon C. W. 2020. "The COVID-19 Pandemic, International Cooperation, and Populism." *International Organization* 74 (S1): E191–212.

Ikenberry, G. John. 2018. "The End of Liberal International Order?" *International Affairs* 94 (1): 7–23.

Mearsheimer, John J. 2019. "Bound to Fail: The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order." *International Security* 43 (4): 7–50.

Ginsburg, Tom. 2020. "Authoritarian International Law?" *American Journal of International Law* 114 (2): 221–60.