



## **GVPT 803: Seminar in International Political Organizations**

Fall 2022  
Wednesdays 10:00am - 12:45 pm  
Tydings Hall 1118

Dr. Deniz Cil (she/her) [dcil@umd.edu](mailto:dcil@umd.edu)  
Chincoteague Hall 2117D  
Office hours: Wednesdays 1:00 – 3:00 pm

### **Course Description**

This seminar reviews major theories of international institutions and challenges in global governance that have emerged in recent decades. Against this background, we will review the most recent research on institutional change, examine key issues regarding political influences on the behavior and effectiveness of global and regional organizations, the challenges facing these organization, and potential future reforms. These organizations include some of the most important international economic institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization, and regional development and investment banks. In addition, key security institutions such as the UN, NATO, and the International Criminal Court will be examined. After completing this seminar, students will develop an improved understanding of central debates in the academic and policy literature regarding the functioning and effectiveness of major international political organizations.

### **Learning Outcomes**

After successfully completing this course:

- 1) Students will be able to critically analyze existing theories and empirical analyses of questions related to institutional effectiveness, change, and reform and apply their understanding to formulate relevant policy recommendations based on current political science research.
- 2) Students will gain a deeper understanding of major global and regional organizations examined in the seminar and will be able to assess the future research and policy implications of existing academic scholarship on these organizations.
- 3) Students will become familiar with current challenges facing major global and regional organizations and the most recent policy debates about reforming these organizations.

- 4) Students will be able to develop a systematic approach to answering questions regarding the effectiveness of major global and regional organizations and will be able to apply these skills in their future research and policy analysis.

## Course Structure

We will meet in person every Wednesday at 10:00 am in Tydings Hall (1118). Please note that according to University health and safety [guidelines](#) (effective August 29, 2022) wearing a KN95 mask indoors is not required but recommended for added protection.

Each week, we will discuss the assigned readings building on the response papers posted ahead of the class for that week. You are expected to read assigned readings and response papers before the class and participate in the discussion. Your participation is critical to your success in the class. In case of an emergency that prevents you from attending the class, please let me know so that we can arrange make-up work together. I will announce any changes to the class structure via ELMS.

## Required Resources

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

## Assignments

- 1) Participation (30%)

Your contribution to in-class discussion and engagement (e.g., questions posed after response paper or research presentations) will constitute your participation grade. Make sure to read all material, including the response papers and come prepared to ask questions, make comments, and discuss the topics covered each week.

- 2) Response paper and presentation (25%)

You will write one response paper, 3-4 pages long (double-spaced) (15%). You will select one class sessions to write your response paper about on the first day of class (August 31, 2022). The response paper should focus on several articles (at least 2) from the selected session. The purpose of the response paper is to “respond” to these articles. You should advance an argument in response to the readings, examine or critique underlying assumptions of theoretical arguments, and/or question research methods employed in these articles. You should avoid summarizing the articles at length.

Your response paper is due on Tuesday, one day before the selected class session. There will be a discussion board to upload your response papers on the ELMS page (by 10 am on Tuesdays). At the beginning of the selected class session, you will give a summary of the articles and your response (5-10 minutes) (10%) to start in-class discussion. You are welcome to bring up

additional points you were not able to cover in your response paper or pose additional questions to the class during and following your presentation.

3) Research Paper Introduction (45%)

- a. Research paper first draft 10% (due September 30<sup>th</sup>)
- b. Research paper peer reviews 5% (due October 28<sup>th</sup>)
- c. Research paper presentation 5% (due November 30<sup>th</sup> and December 7<sup>th</sup>)
- d. Research paper final draft including response memo 25% (due December 20<sup>th</sup>)

You will identify a theoretical or empirical puzzle related to international institutions, develop a novel theoretical argument to address it, describe how you plan to test your argument, and identify the contributions of this research paper to the literature and/or policymaking. You will do the background work required to write a full research paper which includes reading existing literature, planning steps to collect original data and/or utilize existing datasets to test theoretical argument and reflecting on policy implications. You will then write the introduction of this research paper that is 5-6 pages long (double-spaced).

You will submit the first draft (10%) of your introduction on September 30<sup>th</sup>. Each student will be assigned to review two papers (5%). Each review should briefly summarize the paper's main theoretical argument, point out the parts that are well executed, critique and provide suggestions for the parts that can be improved. The reviews are due on October 28<sup>th</sup>. I will circulate the reviews and my comments for each paper. You will incorporate these comments to the final draft of your paper.

You will present your research paper on November 30<sup>th</sup> (Group 1) and December 7<sup>th</sup> (Group 2) (5%), for 3-5 minutes, in Flash Talk style, followed by 5-7 min Q&A session (10-12 minutes in total). The International Studies Association describes Flash Talks as follows: "Unlike a full research talk given in traditional panels, a Flash Talk is an overview of a study. Presenters must draw out the most important aspects of their research in a compressed timeframe and then field a series of questions immediately thereafter. This is a great opportunity to present and discuss new ideas on working or completed papers and get valuable feedback from peers." You are expected to incorporate questions/comments that come up during your presentation to the final draft of your paper. Your group number will be generated randomly and announced before the Thanksgiving break.

The final draft of your research paper introduction is due on December 20<sup>th</sup>. The final draft should include a separate response memo, 2-3 pages in length (double-spaced), summarizing how you addressed the comments from me, the two peer reviewers, and any relevant questions and comments from the Flash Talk session (25%).

## Grading Scale

Grades will be based on a straight scale.

98 – 100 = A +	87 – 89 = B +	77 – 79 = C +	67 – 69 = D +
94 – 97 = 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](mailto: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 see the University's website for graduate course-related policies at:

<https://gradschool.umd.edu/course-related-policies>

### **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](mailto:dacunnin@umd.edu)
- Report the experience to the GVPT Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion committee, led by Professor Antoine Banks at [abanks12@umd.edu](mailto: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](https://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.

### **Course Evaluation**

Please submit a course evaluation through CourseEvalUM to help faculty and administrators improve teaching and learning at Maryland. All information submitted to CourseEvalUM is confidential. Campus will notify you when CourseEvalUM is open for you to complete your evaluations for fall semester courses. Please go directly to the [Course Eval UM website](#) to complete your evaluations. By completing all of your evaluations each semester, you will have the privilege of accessing through Testudo the evaluation reports for the thousands of courses for which 70% or more students submitted their evaluations.

### **Seminar 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 (August 31, 2022)**

Guzman, Andrew. 2013. “International Organizations and the Frankenstein Problem.” *European Journal of International Law* 24 (4): 999–1025.

Brown, Chris. 2019. “The Promise and Record of International Institutions.” *International Relations* 33 (2): 143–56.

## **Week 2 – Review of institutional design and agency theories (September 7, 2022)**

Martin, Lisa L., and Beth A. Simmons. 1998. “Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions.” *International Organization* 52 (4): 729–57.

Hofferberth, Matthias. 2019. “Get Your Act(Ors) Together! Theorizing Agency in Global Governance.” *International Studies Review* 21 (1): 127–45.

Hanrieder, Tine. 2015. “The Path-Dependent Design of International Organizations: Federalism in the World Health Organization.” *European Journal of International Relations* 21 (1): 215–39.

Bernauer, Thomas, Anna Kalbhenn, Vally Koubi, and Gabriele Spilker. “Is There a ‘Depth versus Participation’ Dilemma in International Cooperation?” *The Review of International Organizations* 8, no. 4 (December 1, 2013): 477–97.

Graham, Erin R., and Alexandria Serdaru. 2020. “Power, Control, and the Logic of Substitution in Institutional Design: The Case of International Climate Finance.” *International Organization* 74 (4): 671–706.

## **Week 3 – Review of institutional effectiveness and state compliance theories (September 14, 2022)**

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

Lupu, Yonatan. 2016. “Why Do States Join Some Universal Treaties but Not Others? An Analysis of Treaty Commitment Preferences.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60 (7): 1219–50.

McKibben, Heather Elko, and Shaina D. Western. 2020. “‘Reserved Ratification’: An Analysis of States’ Entry of Reservations Upon Ratification of Human Rights Treaties.” *British Journal of Political Science* 50 (2): 687–712.

Lall, Ranjit. 2017. “Beyond Institutional Design: Explaining the Performance of International Organizations.” *International Organization* 71 (2): 245–80.

Chaudoin, Stephen, Jude Hays, and Raymond Hicks. 2018. “Do We Really Know the WTO Cures Cancer?” *British Journal of Political Science* 48 (4): 903–28.

## **Week 4 – Emerging Challenges in Global Governance (September 21, 2022)**

Greenhill, Brian. “How Can International Organizations Shape Public Opinion? Analysis of a Pair of Survey-Based Experiments.” *The Review of International Organizations* 15, no. 1 (January 1, 2020): 165–88.

Bernauer, Thomas. 2013. “Climate Change Politics.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 421–48.

Böhmelt, Tobias, Vally Koubi, and Thomas Bernauer. 2014. “Civil Society Participation in Global Governance: Insights from Climate Politics.” *European Journal of Political Research* 53 (1): 18–36.

Keohane, Robert O. 2015. “The Global Politics of Climate Change: Challenge for Political Science.” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 48 (1): 19–26.

Sheppard, Jill, and Jana von Stein. 2022. “Attitudes and Action in International Refugee Policy: Evidence from Australia.” International Organization, July, 1–28.

Nye, Joseph S. 2017. “Will the Liberal Order Survive?,” February 2017.  
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2016-12-12/will-liberal-order-survive>.

Wright, Thomas. 2021. “Advancing Multilateralism in a Populist Age.” *Brookings* (blog). February 4, 2021. <https://www.brookings.edu/research/advancing-multilateralism-in-a-populist-age/>.

## **Week 5 – No Class (September 28, 2022)**

Dr. Cil will be attending a conference at Leipzig University, Germany. The first draft of the Research Paper Introduction is due on September 30<sup>th</sup>.

## **Week 6 – The United Nations I (October 5, 2022)**

Thompson, Alexander. 2006. “Coercion through IOs: The Security Council and the Logic of Information Transmission.” *International Organization* 60 (1): 1–34.

Voeten, Erik. 2005. “The Political Origins of the UN Security Council’s Ability to Legitimize the Use of Force.” *International Organization* 59 (3): 527–57.

Chapman, Terrence L. 2009. “Audience Beliefs and International Organization Legitimacy.” *International Organization* 63 (4): 733–64.

Hurd, Ian. 2008. “Myths of Membership: The Politics of Legitimation in UN Security Council Reform.” *Global Governance* 14 (2): 199–217.



Hosli, Madeleine O., Rebecca Moody, Bryan O'Donovan, Serguei Kaniovski, and Anna C. H. Little. 2011. "Squaring the Circle? Collective and Distributive Effects of United Nations Security Council Reform." *The Review of International Organizations* 6 (2): 163.

Weiss, Thomas G. 2011. "Fundamental UN Reform: A Non-Starter or Not?" *Global Policy* 2 (2): 196–202.

## **Week 7 – The United Nations II: New research on Peacekeeping (October 12, 2022)**

Beardsley, Kyle, and Holger Schmidt. 2012. "Following the Flag or Following the Charter? Examining the Determinants of UN Involvement in International Crises, 1945–2002." *International Studies Quarterly* 56 (1): 33–49.

Matanock, Aila M., and Adam Lichtenheld. 2022. "How Does International Intervention Work to Secure Peace Settlements After Civil Conflicts?" *British Journal of Political Science*, March, 1–21.

Bove, Vincenzo, and Leandro Elia. 2011. "Supplying Peace: Participation in and Troop Contribution to Peacekeeping Missions." *Journal of Peace Research* 48 (6): 699–714.

Coleman, Katharina P. 2020. "United Nations Peacekeeping Decisions: Three Hierarchies, Upward Mobility and Institutionalised Inequality among Member States." *Global Society* 34 (3): 318–34.

Nomikos, William G. 2022. "Peacekeeping and the Enforcement of Intergroup Cooperation: Evidence from Mali." *The Journal of Politics* 84 (1): 194–208.

Bove, Vincenzo, Jessica Di Salvatore, and Leandro Elia. n.d. "UN Peacekeeping and Households' Well-Being in Civil Wars." *American Journal of Political Science* n/a (n/a).

Gowan, Richard. 2020. "China's Pragmatic Approach to UN Peacekeeping." *Brookings* (blog). September 14, 2020. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/chinas-pragmatic-approach-to-un-peacekeeping/>.

## **Week 8 – International Criminal Court (October 19, 2022)**

Rudolph, Christopher. 2017. *Power and Principle: The Politics of International Criminal Courts*. Cornell University Press. Introduction, Chapters 1 and 2.

Hashimoto, Barry. 2020. "Autocratic Consent to International Law: The Case of the International Criminal Court's Jurisdiction, 1998–2017." *International Organization* 74 (2): 331–62.

Hillebrecht, Courtney. 2021. *Saving the International Justice Regime: Beyond Backlash against International Courts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Introduction, Chapters 1, and 2

Guilfoyle, Douglas. 2019. "Reforming the International Criminal Court: Is It Time for the Assembly of State Parties to Be the Adults in the Room?" *EJIL: Talk!* (blog). May 8, 2019. <https://www.ejiltalk.org/reforming-the-international-criminal-court-is-it-time-for-the-assembly-of-state-parties-to-be-the-adults-in-the-room/>.

Akande, Dapo. 2019. "ICC Appeals Chamber Holds That Heads of State Have No Immunity Under Customary International Law Before International Tribunals." *EJIL: Talk!* (blog). May 6, 2019. <https://www.ejiltalk.org/icc-appeals-chamber-holds-that-heads-of-state-have-no-immunity-under-customary-international-law-before-international-tribunals/>.

## **Week 9 – World Trade Organization and International Monetary Fund (October 26, 2022)**

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.

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

Hillman, Jennifer, and Alex Tippet. 2021. "Europe and the Prospects for WTO Reform." Council on Foreign Relations. March 10, 2021. <https://www.cfr.org/blog/europe-and-prospects-wto-reform>.

Birchler, Kassandra, Sophia Limpach, and Katharina Michaelowa. 2016. "Aid Modalities Matter: The Impact of Different World Bank and IMF Programs on Democratization in Developing Countries." *International Studies Quarterly* 60 (3): 427–39.

Nelson, Stephen C. 2014. "Playing Favorites: How Shared Beliefs Shape the IMF's Lending Decisions." *International Organization* 68 (2): 297–328.

Stubbs, Thomas, Bernhard Reinsberg, Alexander Kentikelenis, and Lawrence King. 2020. "How to Evaluate the Effects of IMF Conditionality." *The Review of International Organizations* 15 (1): 29–73.

## **Week 10 – Development Aid I (November 2, 2022)**

Lim, Daniel Yew Mao, and James Raymond Vreeland. 2013. "Regional Organizations and International Politics: Japanese Influence over the Asian Development Bank and the UN Security Council." *World Politics* 65 (1): 34–72.

Dreher, Axel, Jan-Egbert Sturm, and James Raymond Vreeland. 2009. "Development Aid and International Politics: Does Membership on the UN Security Council Influence World Bank Decisions?" *Journal of Development Economics* 88 (1): 1–18.

Bermeo, Sarah Blodgett. 2017. "Aid Allocation and Targeted Development in an Increasingly Connected World." *International Organization* 71 (4): 735–66.

Dreher, Axel, Andreas Fuchs, Brad Parks, Austin M. Strange, and Michael J. Tierney. 2018. "Apples and Dragon Fruits: The Determinants of Aid and Other Forms of State Financing from China to Africa." *International Studies Quarterly* 62 (1): 182–94.

Girod, Desha M., and Jennifer L. Tobin. 2016. "Take the Money and Run: The Determinants of Compliance with Aid Agreements." *International Organization* 70 (1): 209–39.

Kharas, Amar Bhattacharya and Homi. 2018. "Time to Reform the Multilateral Development Bank System." *Brookings* (blog). February 20, 2018. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2018/02/20/time-to-reform-the-multilateral-development-bank-system/>.

## **Week 11 – Development Aid II (November 9, 2022)**

Fearon, James D., Macartan Humphreys, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2015. "How Does Development Assistance Affect Collective Action Capacity? Results from a Field Experiment in Post-Conflict Liberia." *American Political Science Review* 109 (03): 450–69.

Beath, Andrew, Fotini Christia, and Ruben Enikolopov. 2015. "The National Solidarity Programme: Assessing the Effects of Community-Driven Development in Afghanistan." *International Peacekeeping* 22 (4): 302–20.

Winters, Matthew S., and John A. Gould. 2011. "Betting on Oil: The World Bank's Attempt to Promote Accountability in Chad." *Global Governance* 17 (2): 229–45.

Carnegie, Allison, and Cyrus Samii. 2019. "International Institutions and Political Liberalization: Evidence from the World Bank Loans Program." *British Journal of Political Science* 49 (4): 1357–79.

Isaksson, Ann-Sofie. 2020. "Chinese Aid and Local Ethnic Identification." *International Organization* 74 (4): 833–52.

Watkins, Mitchell. 2021. "Undermining Conditionality? The Effect of Chinese Development Assistance on Compliance with World Bank Project Agreements." *The Review of International Organizations*, August.

## **Week 12 – NATO and Replication Week (November 16, 2022)**

Wolff, Andrew T. 2015. "The Future of NATO Enlargement after the Ukraine Crisis." *International Affairs* 91 (5): 1103–21.

Gray, Julia, René Lindstädt, and Jonathan B. Slapin. 2017. "The Dynamics of Enlargement in International Organizations." *International Interactions* 43 (4): 619–42.

Sarotte, M. E. 2021. Not One Inch: America, Russia, and the Making of Post-Cold War Stalemate. Yale University Press. Introduction, Conclusion

Was NATO enlargement a mistake? Paul Poast, April 23, 2022 @ProfPaulPoast  
<https://twitter.com/ProfPaulPoast/status/1517841141231755266>

### **Week 13 – Thanksgiving Break (November 23, 2022)**

### **Week 14 – Research Paper Presentations I (November 30, 2022)**

Students in Group 1 will present their research papers.

### **Week 15 – Research Paper Presentations II (December 7, 2022)**

Students in Group 2 will present their research papers.

**\*\*\*\*\* Final Research Paper due December 20, 2022 \*\*\*\*\***