

## PSCI 7183: INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION / SPRING 2021

Instructor: Jaroslav Tir, PhD  
Office hours: see Canvas  
e-mail: [jtir@colorado.edu](mailto:jtir@colorado.edu)

Meeting time: Thursdays 1:15-3:45 pm  
Classroom: meets remotely/see Canvas  
web: [sites.google.com/site/jaroslavtir](https://sites.google.com/site/jaroslavtir)

This course investigates the origins, causes, forms, and consequences of international cooperation. The first segment of the course provides a general overview of international cooperation, focusing on theoretical issues. The later parts deal with international cooperation from the perspective of various key global issue areas: security, economy, environment, and social welfare. In each of these issue areas, we will become familiar with the key theoretical and/or empirical debates as well as central challenges and parameters that constrain international cooperation.

### COURSE REQUIREMENTS

#### Materials

1. All the required readings are available through the CU Library <http://ucblibraries.colorado.edu> full-text electronic journals services.
2. Optional: Karns, Margaret and Karen Mingst. 2015. International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance. 3rd ed. Boulder: Lynne Rienner. [Abbreviated as KM below]
3. Additional readings not listed on the syllabus may be assigned as the semester progresses.
4. Access to the class Canvas page and Google Drive folder.

#### Student Initiative

As a graduate student, you are an integral part of the scholarly community. Our class represents a microcosm of this community. In terms of our weekly meetings, this means that you are expected to take the initiative in presenting, discussing, and critiquing the assigned materials both with the instructor and your colleagues. Therefore, our sessions will not be lecture-based but rather will follow the seminar format. It is important that students **read assigned materials thoughtfully and thoroughly** and that they **attend classes regularly**, since class time will be primarily devoted to the exploration and integration of assigned readings. In terms of the term paper assignment, you are expected to help each other out with ideas and constructive criticisms.

#### Discussion

Participation in the class is essential to the success of this course. In order to prepare for the upcoming class, read the assigned materials with the following goals in mind. First, understand each individual reading's logic, methodology, and findings. What are the research gaps that the articles are trying to address? Second, and more importantly, integrate the readings with one another, by comparing and contrasting their topical focus, theory, methods, and findings. How do they fit with/build on/contradict one another and how would you account for the differences and especially for any inconsistencies across the findings? What makes one of the readings more compelling than another? Third, what larger debates do the readings point to and what side do they take in them? What are the general problems with the research on the topic? What would be fruitful avenues for future research? Finally, each student is to write up and post to the class Google Drive folder two discussion questions prior to each weekly meeting.

#### Weekly Presentations

On a rotating basis, students will develop 20-30 min Power Point presentations, focusing in particular on the second and third point issues in the above requirement and offering discussion questions. These

presentations need to cover both the “classic” and recent articles in a particular topic area. The classic readings can be found in the syllabus while the recent articles are to be drawn from the related Canvas-posted list. In preparation, the presenter will need to identify which subset of the recent articles is the most relevant and which ones they want to focus on. The presenter will then, first, email the rest of the class the list of recent articles that everyone should read. This list is **due by Friday noon the week before your presentation**. Second, the presenter will upload their Power Point presentation (or a pdf version of it) to the Google Drive class folder **before the Thursday class meeting**. Late lists or presentation uploads received by 8 am on respective Mondays will be penalized by 30%. No points will be awarded after these deadlines even though missing the deadlines does not exempt you from fulfilling these requirements if you wish to pass the class.

#### IO Power Point Presentation

Points to cover: (1) organization’s purpose, (2) membership (incl. basic accession rules), (3) overview of the decision-making structure (who sets the IO’s policy and how?), (4) policy enactment (how does the IO go about executing its decisions?), and (5) financing (where does the money come from and how is it determined who contributes how much?). The presenter will upload their IO Power Point presentation (or a pdf version of it) to the Google Drive class folder **before the Thursday class meeting**. Late presentation uploads will be penalized in the same manner as noted above.

#### Research Project

See the end of the syllabus.

#### Attendance

This is a graduate seminar so regular attendance is expected. Absences will negatively impact the overall course grade.

### **COURSE RULES**

#### Grading Policy

Weekly Presentations 25%

Research Project 30% (10% + 20%)

Discussion/participation 30%

IO Presentation: 15%

#### Class Policies

1. Students are expected to turn in assignments at the beginning of class or at times otherwise noted.
2. Failure to meet a deadline does not exempt a student from fulfilling these requirements. Every assignment must be turned in within a week of its due date in order to pass the course.
3. Exceptions to the rules are granted at the instructor’s discretion, only under circumstances of extreme personal emergency or serious illness. In all instances, appropriate evidentiary documentation will be requested.
4. My policy for academic dishonesty is very simple: you will receive a failing grade for the class if you are found cheating on examinations, plagiarizing the work of others or attempting to turn in assignments used in previous classes, along with all other possible infractions noted in the University’s policy on academic dishonesty. Moreover, disciplinary proceedings to dismiss you from the University may be initiated against you. I **will not** tolerate academic dishonesty and will assure you that you **will** face the harshest punishment possible if you attempt it.
5. Students may request the instructor to re-read papers that they feel have been unfairly evaluated. Requests for re-evaluation must be submitted to the instructor in **typewritten form**, along with the assignment, within a week after it has been returned to the class. The written statement must explain specifically why the student believes that the grade should be reconsidered and what grade the assignment deserves.

6. Accommodations based on disability and/or religious beliefs will be made whenever possible. But, it is the student's responsibility to let the instructor know about needing such accommodations within the first two weeks of class. Accommodation requests after this time period may not be granted. The syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations may be necessary and will be announced.
7. All students are expected to **complete assigned readings before they are discussed in class** and they are expected to discuss and respond to random questioning by the instructor.
8. Please see Canvas for the university-mandated statements on accommodations and related issues.

## TOPICS AND ASSIGNED READINGS

### \*January 14

- Course intro and organizational/logistical issues
- Recommended: KM, chs. 1, 2, 3

## I. INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

### \* January 21

#### A. What Are International Organizations and Why Do States Join and Act Through Them?

- Recommended: KM, ch. 7
- Pevehouse, Jon, Timothy Nordstrom, and Kevin Warnke. 2004. "The Correlates of War 2 International Governmental Organizations Data Version 2.0." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 21 (2): 101-119.
- Abbott, Kenneth W., and Duncan Snidal. 1998. "Why States Act through Formal International Organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42 (1): 3-32.
- Martin, Lisa L. 1992. "Interests, Power, and Multilateralism." *International Organization* 46 (4): 765-792.
- Mansfield, Edward D., and Jon C. Pevehouse. 2008. "Democratization and the Varieties of International Organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52 (2): 269-294.
- Poast, Paul, and Johannes Urpelainen. 2013. "Fit and Feasible: Why Democratizing States Form, Not Join, International Organizations." *International Studies Quarterly*. 57(4): 831-841.
- Gilligan, Michael J., and Leslie Johns. 2012. "Formal Models of International Institutions." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15 (1): 221-243.

### \* January 28

#### B. How Much Difference Do International Organizations Make?

- Boehmer, Charles, Erik Gartzke, and Timothy Nordstrom. 2004. "Do Intergovernmental Organizations Promote Peace?" *World Politics* 57 (1): 1-38.
- Bearce, David H., and Stacy Bondanella. 2007. "Intergovernmental Organizations, Socialization, and Member-State Interest Convergence." *International Organization* 61 (4): 703-733.
- Mearsheimer, John J. 1994. "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19 (3): 5-49.
- Thompson, Alexander. 2006. "Coercion Through IOs: The Security Council and the Logic of Information Transmission." *International Organization* 60 (1): 1-34.
- Morrow, James D. 2007. "When Do States Follow the Laws of War?" *American Political Science Review* 101 (3): 559-572.
- Nygård, Håvard Mogleiv. 2017. "The role of international organizations in regime

transitions: How IGOs can tie a dictator's hands." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 34(4): 406-430.

**\* February 4**

C. Design and Functioning of International Organizations

- 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.
- Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. 2001. "The Rational Design of International Institutions." *International Organization* 55 (4): 761-799.
- Smith, James McCall. 2000. "The Politics of Dispute Settlement Design: Explaining Legalism in Regional Trade Pacts." *International Organization* 54 (1): 137-180.
- Tir, Jaroslav, and Douglas M. Stinnett. 2011. "The Institutional Design of Riparian Treaties." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55 (4): 606-631.
- Gilligan, Michael J. 2004. "Is There a Broader-Deeper Trade-Off in International Multilateral Agreements?" *International Organization* 58 (3): 459-484.
- Barnett, Michael N., and Martha Finnemore. 1999. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations." *International Organization* 53 (4): 699-732.

II. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND MAJOR ISSUE AREAS: PART I

**\* February 11**

A. Examples of Security and Economic Organizations

- Recommended: KM, ch. 4
- NATO [www.nato.int](http://www.nato.int)
- OAS [www.oas.org](http://www.oas.org)
- UNSC [www.un.org/en/sc](http://www.un.org/en/sc)
- IAEA [www.iaea.org](http://www.iaea.org)
- UNPKO [www.un.org/en/peacekeeping](http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping)
- IMF [www.imf.org](http://www.imf.org)
- WTO [www.wto.org](http://www.wto.org)
- APEC [www.apec.org](http://www.apec.org)
- UNCTAD [unctad.org](http://unctad.org)
- World Bank [www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org)

**\* February 18**

B. Interstate Security

- Recommended: KM, ch. 8
- Leeds, Brett Ashley, Michaela Mattes, and Jeremy S. Vogel. 2009. "Interests, Institutions, and the Reliability of International Commitments." *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (2): 461-476.
- Crescenzi, Mark J. C., Jacob D. Kathman, Katja B. Kleinberg, and Reed M. Wood. 2012. "Reliability, Reputation, and Alliance Formation." *International Studies Quarterly* 56 (2): 259-274.
- Shannon, Megan, Daniel Morey, and Frederick J. Boehmke. 2010. "The Influence of International Organizations on Militarized Dispute Initiation and Duration." *International Studies Quarterly* 54 (4): 1123-1141.
- Kinne, Brandon J. 2013. "IGO membership, network convergence, and credible signaling in militarized disputes." *Journal of Peace Research* 50(6): 659-676.

**\* February 25**

C. Civil War Management

- Recommended: KM, ch. 8
- 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.
- Hultman, Lisa, Jacob Kathman and Megan Shannon. 2014. "Beyond Keeping Peace: United Nations Effectiveness in the Midst of Fighting." *American Political Science Review*. 108(4): 737-753.
- Stojek, Szymon and Jaroslav Tir. 2015. "The Supply Side of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Trade Ties and Locations of UN Led Deployments." *European Journal of International Relations* 21(2): 352-376.
- Karreth, Johannes, and Jaroslav Tir. 2013. "International Institutions and Civil War Prevention." *Journal of Politics* 75(1): 96-109.
- Optional: Simmons, Beth A., and Allison Danner. 2010. "Credible Commitments and the International Criminal Court." *International Organization* 64 (2): 225-256.

**\* March 4**

D. Economic Issues

- Recommended: KM, ch. 9
- 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.
- Optional: 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.
- Optional: Baccini, Leonardo, and Soo Yeon Kim. 2013. "Preventing Protectionism: International Institutions and Trade Policy." *Review of International Organizations* 7 (4): 369-398.
- Davis, Christina L., and Sarah Blodgett Bermeo. 2009. "Who Files? Developing Country Participation in GATT/WTO Adjudication." *Journal of Politics* 71 (3): 1033-1049.
- Dreher, Axel, Jan-Egbert Sturm, and James Raymond Vreeland. 2009. "Global Horse Trading: IMF Loans for Votes in the United Nations Security Council." *European Economic Review* 53 (7): 742-757.

III. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND MAJOR ISSUE AREAS: PART II

**\* March 11**

A. Examples of Environmental, Human Rights, and Humanitarian Organizations

- Greenpeace [www.greenpeace.org](http://www.greenpeace.org)
- UNHCR [www.unhcr.org](http://www.unhcr.org)
- ICRC (Red Cross) [www.icrc.org](http://www.icrc.org)
- Amnesty Int'l [www.amnesty.org](http://www.amnesty.org)
- FAO [www.fao.org](http://www.fao.org)
- UNFPA [www.unfpa.org](http://www.unfpa.org)

**\* March 18**

B. Environmental Issues

- Recommended: KM, ch. 11
- Mitchell, Ronald B. 1994. "Regime Design Matters: Intentional Oil Pollution and Treaty Compliance." *International Organization* 48 (3): 425-458.
- Dai, Xinyuan. 2005. "Why Comply? The Domestic Constituency Mechanism." *International*

*Organization* 59 (2): 363-398.

- Optional: Rohrschneider, Robert, and Russell J. Dalton. 2002. "A Global Network? Transnational Cooperation Among Environmental Groups." *Journal of Politics* 64 (2): 510-533.
- Tir, Jaroslav and Douglas M. Stinnett. 2012. "Weathering Climate Change: Can Institutions Mitigate International Water Conflict?" *Journal of Peace Research* 49(1): 211-225.
- Karreth, Johannes and Jaroslav Tir. 2018. "International Agreement Design and the Moderating Role of Domestic Bureaucratic Quality: The Case of Freshwater Cooperation." *Journal of Peace Research* 55(4): 460-475.

**\* April 1**

C. Human Rights and Humanitarian Assistance

- Recommended: KM, chs. 10 and 9
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 2000. "The Origins of Human Rights Regimes: Democratic Delegation in Postwar Europe." *International Organization* 54 (2): 217-252.
- Kelley, Judith. 2007. "Who Keeps International Commitments and Why? The International Criminal Court and Bilateral Nonsurrender Agreements." *American Political Science Review* 101 (3): 573-589.
- Murdie, Amanda M., and David R. Davis. 2012. "Shaming and Blaming: Using Events Data to Assess the Impact of Human Rights INGOs." *International Studies Quarterly* 56 (1): 1-16.
- Lebovic, James H., and Erik Voeten. 2009. "The Cost of Shame: International Organizations and Foreign Aid in the Punishing of Human Rights Violators." *Journal of Peace Research* 46 (1): 79-97.
- Optional: Linos, Katerina and Tom Pegram. 2016. "The Language of Compromise in International Agreements." *International Organization* 70(3): 587-621.

**\* April 8, 15, and 22** (note: 4/8 ISA and 4/15 MPSA conference)

Mini Conference: present your research projects

**\* April 29**

IV. FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

- Recommended: KM, ch. 12
- Other readings TBD

## RESEARCH PROJECT

The aim of the project is to work toward producing a professional-level research paper that could be, with additional work, presented at a conference and eventually submitted for publication.

In selecting your topic and conducting your work, please keep the following rules in mind. First, the topic of the paper must deal with international cooperation and/or organizations in a prominent manner. The easiest way to meet this requirement is to have international cooperation/organizations serve as either the dependent or key independent variable. Second, the paper must represent original research. General literature reviews or summaries of other works are not acceptable. Third, the papers must have a non-case specific theoretical focus. Papers should not address purely policy questions (e.g., should NATO intervene in Syria?). That is, the paper should address the general logic of the phenomenon you are investigating and not a specific case(s). Note that the assignment lengths are quite short. Research and **think a lot before writing!**

### **Assignment 1: Project Prospectus (10% of the class grade)**

Step 1: Familiarize yourself with the literature as soon as possible. To come up with a topic idea, survey the syllabus, the list of recent works, and perform additional readings. Once you have a topic in mind, consult as many sources as possible to see what kind of investigations have been conducted on your topic of interest. Beyond resources provided in the class, good places to start may be journals such as *International Organization*, *Review of International Organizations*, and *International Studies Quarterly*. *APSR*, *JOP*, *AJPS*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, *International Interactions*, and *International Security* may also prove helpful.

Step 2: Identify gaps in the literature that you believe are particularly deserving of scholarly attention. This means that you will devise an angle of approach to your topic of interest that does not seem to be covered by the literature particularly well. Turn the narrowed-down topic into a research question. The research question should address an empirical puzzle – meaning that the phenomenon you are trying to explain varies (e.g. present/absent, differing quantity/intensity, etc.). The point of the research project is to figure out what determines the phenomenon’s variation. For example, we observe that some countries join (certain type of) IGOs while others do not; what explains the difference (e.g. presence and type of unresolved issues, regime type, history of conflict, alliance patterns, power distribution, etc.)?

Step 3: In brief, what is your argument vis-à-vis the question? To set up your project properly, you need to have a good idea of what your theoretical argument will be. This will provide the needed direction for the project.

Step 4: Answer the all-important “so what” question. That is, you need to be able to clearly argue the “value added” dimension of your project. What will we (and the literature and field as a whole) know because of your project that was not known before? Why is this important not just to you but others? Why should they care?

Prospectus Format. Please follow this outline:

1. State your research question.
2. Explain briefly where the question is coming from (i.e. what is the gap in the literature it is addressing?) and why it matters.
3. Provide a preliminary answer to your question, i.e. a preview of your theoretical argument. Be sure to clearly and convincingly show why you are pursuing this line of argument; you definitely want to avoid the appearance of a fishing expedition here or of relying on someone else’s idea.

4. Conclude by defending the project idea against the “so what” question. What novel insights/twists are you offering? Once the project is complete, what will we know that we did not know before and why is this important to researchers beyond yourself?
5. Length: 2-3 single-spaced pages plus the bibliography.
6. **Due: between March 4 and 18.**

\*\*\*\*\*

### **Assignment 2: Theory, Hypotheses, and Empirics (20% of the class grade)**

In the readings for the class, you will see plenty of examples of other people’s theorizing and empirical work. This is your chance to practice contributing to important scholarly debates and to start making your mark! There are two options for fulfilling this part of the research project.

#### The Theoretical Option

(1) Start by conducting a literature review of your topic, which identifies what has been done, what the key debates and findings, and, importantly, what the gaps are (that you intend to address). The literature review should absolutely be no longer than 50% of this assignment’s length (and can be as short as about 30% of the assignment length if your theory is particularly complex and/or involved).

(2) Next, build a theory based on both your own insights and utilizing extant theorizing and findings (i.e. the literature) as building blocks in pursuing the answer to your question. In doing so, reference the literature often to show how you are building and advancing upon it, but do not derive your expectations directly from the literature (e.g. I expect X because Horowitz says so). Instead, build a theoretical story of how the phenomenon you are investigating works; this allows you to offer novel insights. (If theory building seems too mysterious, see my pieces with Karreth or Stojek for examples of theoretical development.) As a part of this process of theoretical development, you will need to make a series of assumptions (e.g. regarding the agent-structure debate, motivations of behavior, identity of agents [individuals, groups, states, state coalitions], etc.). Make sure you understand both the stated and implied assumptions you are making and that they are logically consistent with one another.

(3) Based on your theorizing, produce 1-3 carefully crafted, phrased, and testable hypotheses. In the process of theorizing and hypothesizing, imagine that you must persuade a very skeptical audience that your theory and hypotheses are important, insightful, and likely empirically true.

#### The Empirical Option

(1) Provide a brief logic/theory explaining 1-3 hypotheses you wish to examine. (2) Research Design: explain the data and methods you will use to test your hypotheses. (3) Provide empirical analyses (tables and figures) of your findings. Discuss your findings and their implications vis-à-vis key debates in the literature. (4) Finally, discuss the next steps in empirically evaluating the hypotheses you have identified.

#### Everyone

**Prepare a presentation** of your project for the class mini conference, tentatively scheduled for the class sessions on **April 8, 15, and 22**. This will be a chance to obtain peer and instructor feedback before turning in the final paper.

Turn in the paper (a) re-stating your research question right at the top (2-3 sentences to a paragraph at the most) and (b) presenting the theory and/or empirics depending on the chosen option. Length: about 4 single-spaced pages plus the bibliography. **Due date for the paper is April 29** (i.e. the last class session).