

POL 2097 INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS: CHALLENGES TO GLOBAL AND REGIONAL ORDER¹

*UHP Seminar: Spring Semester 2025
School of Public and International Affairs
University of Cincinnati*

Instructor: Dr. Ivan Dinev Ivanov
Class meets: Wednesdays
4:00-6:50 pm
Location: CCH 2220

Instructor's contact info:
Office Hours: Wed & Fri 10:45am–12:15pm
Office Location: CCH 5114
EMAIL: Ivan.Ivanov@uc.edu*

* I prefer to contact me via email and I should be able to respond you within 12-24 hrs.

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

The War in Ukraine, the war in the Middle East, tensions in East Asia, the climate change, the COVID-19 pandemic and other recent developments have questioned the Post-World War II international order and stability. International institutions have become an increasingly important player in the last eight decades as they impact a variety of policies in different spheres of international interaction—from the regulation of the global financial markets to international peace and transnational justice. Nonetheless, their role and influence has been questioned recently in the increasingly globalized world. Through on campus discussions at UC, careful reading, engaged responses, and independent research, students who take this class will gain better understanding of the different constraints that different institutions face in the post-COVID world and their response to address these threats. The course's research component requires from students to write original research paper, participate in discussions, and collect primary and secondary data on a topic of their interest.

STUDENT LEARNING OUTCOMES:

Students in this class will:

- 1) compare and contrast institutional responses across different issue areas that include handling of COVID-19, economic cooperation, financial markets regulation, responses to post-conflict reconstruction, implementation of transnational justice and the dealing with the spread of infectious diseases.
- 2) appraise politics and policies of institutional responses to various global threats and assess various institutions' social, political, legal and economic underpinnings.
- 3) encounter the functioning and management of different international institutions through participation in forums and discussions, and hearings at international courts and other institutions.
- 4) research, write and present findings on a question related to international institutions.

¹ Confidential document for the enrolled students of POL 2097, Spring 2025. This syllabus is subject to change. The instructor reserves the right to add additional readings or change existing reading assignments.

PEDAGOGY:

Class meetings will combine seminar-style discussions supplemented by lectures recorded via Kaltura and other visual materials. Special time will be reserved for small group meetings of students doing related research topics, and critical interactions about assigned materials dealing with current events around the world.

Additionally, students will design and implement policy responses by contributing to online discussions on Canvas. To that end, students will need to submit five 250-300-word policy responses which should be posted in the appropriate Canvas discussion forums by Monday midnight on the week following the class meeting.

The study abroad trip to Brussels and the Hague will enable students to familiarize themselves with the functioning of international institutions, they will interact with policymakers, and partake in a role-playing simulation in the European Parliament (EP). Upon return from the study abroad program, students will be required to complete a final project that includes a final paper of 10-12 pages double-spaced (5,000-7,000 words). Please check with the instructor for the and content of the research-based project to make sure it would be appropriate to student's major and agreed upon with professor. Finally, course participants will need to complete in-class presentation of final project.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING:

<i>Course Requirements</i>	<u>% of final grade</u>	<u>Due Date</u>
Policy responses (via Canvas)	30% (6x5%)	Throughout the semester
Presentation of the final paper	10%	Weeks 13 and 14
Seminar discussions	15%	Throughout the semester
Study Tour Participation	15%	May 3-11, 2025
Final paper	30%	May 30, 2025

Course Grading Scale:

93-100%	A	73-76%	C
90-92%	A-	70-72%	C-
87-89%	B+	67-69%	D+
83-86%	B	63-66%	D
80-82%	B-	60-62%	D-
77-79%	C+	0-59%	F

POLICIES AND CAVEATS:

First, if you have any medical condition or disability that affects your performance in class or limits your participation in the study abroad in The Hague and Brussels, please notify the instructor **at the beginning of the semester** in order to find an accommodation that meets best student's interests. Also, for advice and assistance you may contact the university's disability services office, located in 210 University Pavilion, Phone 513-556-6823, Email: disabisv@ucmail.uc.edu. Similarly, please notify immediately the instructor if you have concerns regarding your participation in the trip to Brussels and The Hague (especially if you

are facing issues/ concerns that might prevent you from participating in the program). Failure to do so on time may incur significant costs for you.

Second, please note that most readings are available on the course's webpage on Canvas. When electronic versions of readings are not available, paper or electronic copies will be distributed. Finally, I also need to remind you that all of the work you submit in this course should be your own. Students should review the UC student code of conduct and be aware of all activities defined as academic dishonesty. I do encourage students to exchange ideas and/ or work together. However, unless it is a group project, *each student is responsible for completing and submitting his or her own assignments*. Please be advised that according to the UC Student Code of Conduct plagiarism is defined as:

(1) Submitting another's published or unpublished work in whole, in part or in paraphrase, as one's own without fully and properly crediting the author with footnotes, quotation marks, citations, or bibliographic references.

(ii) Submitting as one's own original work, material obtained from an individual, agency, or the internet without reference to the person, agency or webpage as the source of the material.

(iii) Submitting as one's own original work material that has been produced through unacknowledged collaboration with others without release in writing from collaborators.

(iv) Submitting one's own previously written or oral work without modification and instructor permission.²

Fourth, in order to defray the cost of the study abroad program, students are encouraged to seek different sources of funding. College and UC International advisors can provide additional information for sources of financial support during 2024-25 academic year.

REQUIRED TEXTBOOK AND OTHER SOURCES:

Ian Hurd, *International Organizations: Politics, Law, Practice*, 4th Edition (Cambridge University Press, 2020). You can purchase a hardcopy at UC Bookstore & other retailers. ISBN 9781108814317; you can also buy e-book. Electronic version is available here: <https://www.cambridge.org/us/academic/subjects/politics-international-relations/international-relations-and-international-organisations/international-organizations-politics-law-practice-4th-edition?format=PB>.

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS STATEMENT ON INTELLECTUAL DISCOVERY

As the very essence of democratic politics is to engage in difficult dialogues and topics as inclusively as possible, the School of Public and International Affairs is committed to the fundamental principles of academic freedom and human dignity. As we live out this commitment and these principles, students may find themselves exposed to diverse and challenging viewpoints. Continued enrollment in a Political Science course constitutes an

² The University of Cincinnati Student Code of Conduct, approved by UC Board of Trustees, August 25, 2020; available at https://www.uc.edu/conduct/Code_of_Conduct.html.

agreement to be exposed to viewpoints with which students may disagree. Moreover, it constitutes an agreement to engage those disagreements in a respectful manner, rooted in the rigorous principles of academic inquiry. Faculty will guide exploration of many ideas and in order to promote debate will present arguments that may or may not match with their own personal views. Through the academic theories and methods of political science, we seek to help students move from opinion to reasoned argument and will use approaches, including taking unpopular views or adopting ones we disagree with ourselves, to explore how to sustain and critique ideas. The School invites all of its students to engage constructively in this process of intellectual discovery.

STATEMENT ON RELIGIOUS ACCOMMODATION

Ohio law and the University's Student Religious Accommodations for Courses Policy 1.3.7 permits a student, upon request, to be absent for reasons of faith or religious or spiritual belief system or participate in organized activities conducted under the auspices of a religious denomination, church, or other religious or spiritual organization and/or to receive alternative accommodations with regard to examinations and other course requirements due to an absence permitted for the above-described reasons. Not later than fourteen days after the first day of instruction in the course, a student should provide the instructor with written notice of the specific dates for which the student requests alternative accommodations. For additional information about this policy, please contact the Executive Director of the Office of Equal Opportunity and Access at (513) 556-5503 or oeohelp@UCMAIL.UC.EDU.

COURSE READINGS:

Week 1. Why do states form institutions? What is regional and global governance and what are its challenges?

Required readings:

Hurd, Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 1-41.

David Lake, Lisa Martin, and Thomas Risse, "Challenges to the Liberal Order: Reflections on International Organization," *International Organization* Vol. 75, no. 2, Spring 2021, pp. 225-57.

Lisa Martin and Beth Simmons, "Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions," *International Organization*, Vol. 52, no. 4 (Autumn 1998), pp. 729-757.

Recommended: Jon C Pevehouse, "Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization," *International Organization*, Vol. 56, no. 3 (Summer 2002), pp. 515-549.

Michael Zuern, *A Theory of Global Governance: Authority, Legitimacy, and Contestation* (Oxford University Press, 2018). Chapter 1, pp. 1-22.

Week 2. The United Nations' System and its Role in Global Governance

Required readings:

Hurd, Chapter 3 and 4, pp. 42-108.

Recommended: Bosco, *Five to Rule Them All: the UN Security Council and the Making of the Modern World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), Chapters 5-7 and Conclusion, pp. 148-256.

Week 3. Understanding Global Governance: The Case of the International Court of Justice (ICJ)

Required readings:

Hurd Chapter 9, pp. 219-252.

Eric Posner and Miguel de Figueiredo, “Is the International Court of Justice Biased?” *The Journal of Legal Studies*, Vol. 34, no. 2 (June 2005), pp. 599-630.

Recommended: Ruth Mackenzie, Cesare Romano, Philippe Sands, and Yuval Shany, *The Manual on International Courts and Tribunals* (Oxford University Press, 2nd Edition, 2010); Chapter 1, The International Court of Justice (ICJ), pp. 4-39.

Week 4. Transnational Justice and Global Governance: Ad-Hoc Tribunals and the International Criminal Court (ICC)

Required readings:

Hurd, Chapter 9 pp. 253-280.

Kathryn Sikkink, “Transnational Politics, International Relations Theory, and Human Rights,” *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 31, no. 3 (September 1998), pp. 516-523.

Christopher Rudolph (eds), *Power and Principle: the Politics of International Criminal Courts* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017). Selected Chapters (Introduction has been posted on Blackboard).

Sang-Hyun Song, “Preventive Potential of the International Criminal Court,” *Asian Journal of International Law*, Vol. 3 (May 2013), pp. 203–213.

Recommended: Terrence Chapman and Stephen Chaudoin, “Ratification Patterns and the International Criminal Court,” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 57, no. 2 (November 2013), pp. 400–409.

Kristian Zic, “The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia: Applying International Law to War Criminals,” *Boston University International Law Journal*, Vol. 16 (1998), pp.507-533.

Ruth Mackenzie, Cesare Romano, Philippe Sands, and Yuval Shany, *The Manual on International Courts and Tribunals* (Oxford University Press, 2nd Edition, 2010); Chapter 7, The International Criminal Court (ICC) and Chapter 8, The ad hoc International Criminal Tribunals (ICTY, ICTR), pp. 184-252.

Week 5. Global Governance in Economic Affairs: International Financial Institutions in the Post-pandemic World

Required readings:

Hurd, Chapter 6, pp. 141-170.

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), Chapter 3, pp. 45-72.

Recommended: Warwick McKibbin, David Vines, “Global Macroeconomic Cooperation in Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Roadmap for the G20 and the IMF,” *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, Vol. 36, no. 1, (2020), pp. S297–S337.

Week 6. Global Governance and Institutional Responses to Pandemics

Required Readings:

Susan Peterson, “Epidemic Disease and National Security,” *Security Studies* 12, no. 2 (Winter 2002/3), pp. 43-81.

Jeremy Brown, *Influenza: The Hundred Year to Cure the Deadliest Disease in History* (Atira Paperback/ Simon and Schuster, New York, 2019), Chapters 2-3, pp. 29-65.

Sarah Wolff and Stella Ladi, “European Union Responses to the Covid-19 Pandemic: adaptability in times of Permanent Emergency,” *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 42, no. 8 (2020), pp. 1025-1040, DOI: [10.1080/07036337.2020.1853120](https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2020.1853120)

Recommended: Jeremy Brown, *Influenza*, Chapters 8-10, pp. 131-177.

Theodore Brown, Marcos Cueto, and Elizabeth Fee, “The World Health Organization and the Transition from ‘International’ to ‘Global’ Public Health,” *American Journal of Public Health* 96, no. 1 (January 2006), pp. 62–72:
<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1470434/>

Week 7. Global Governance and Institutional Responses to Novel Threats: Terrorism & the Environment

Required Readings:

Giuseppe Nesi, *International Cooperation in Counterterrorism: The United Nations and Regional Organizations in the Fight against Terrorism* (Ashgate, 2013), Chapters 2-3, pp. 25-68.

Raymond Clemencon, “The Two Sides of the Paris Climate Agreement: Dismal Failure or Historic Breakthrough?” *Journal of Environment & Development* Vol. 25, no.1 (2016), pp. 3–24.

Lukoye Atwoli et al, “COP27 Climate Change Conference—Urgent Action Needed for Africa and the World,” *JAMA Health Forum*, Vol. 3, no. 11(2022), DOI: doi:10.1001/jamahealthforum.2022.4566

Recommended: Martha Crenshaw, “The Strategic Logic of Terrorism;” in Betts (ed.) *Conflict after the Cold War* (Pearson, 2013), pp. 481-94.

Week 8. The European Union as a Sui Generis Institution: The Role of the European Parliament

Required Readings:

Hurd, Chapter 10, pp. 255-258.

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hoyland, *The Political System of the European Union* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Chapter 3 (“Legislative Politics”), pp. 49-101.

Recommended: Thomas Christiansen and Christine Neuhold, “Informal Politics in the EU,” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 52, no. 2 (2014), pp. 354–370.

Week 9. EU’s Post-pandemic Governance: The Council and the Commission

Required Readings:

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hoyland, *The Political System of the European Union* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 1-48.

Stéphanie Novak, “The Silence of Ministers: Consensus and Blame Avoidance in the Council of the European Union,” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 51, no. 6 (2013), pp. 1091–1107.

Recommended: André Sapir, “Why has COVID-19 hit different European Union economies so differently?” *Bruegel*, no. 18 (September 2020)

Week 10. EU Governance in Economic Affairs and Finances in the Aftermath of COVID-19

Required Readings:

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hoyland, *The Political System of the European Union*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, Chapter 10 (“Economic and Monetary Union”), pp. 245-272.

Erik Jones and Gregory Fuller, “Europe and the Global Economic Crisis” in R. Tiersky and E. Jones, *Europe Today* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), Fifth Edition, pp. 343-368.

Recommended: Jesús Crespo Cuaresma, and Maria Silgoner, “Economic Growth and Inflation in Europe: A Tale of Two Thresholds,” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 52, no. 4 (2014), pp. 843-860.

Yothin Jinjarak, Rashad Ahmed, Sameer Nair-Desai, Weining Xin & Joshua Aizenman, “Pandemic Shocks and Fiscal-Monetary Policies in the Eurozone: COVID-19 Dominance During January-June 2020,” *Working Paper no. 27451* (June-November 2020), <https://www.nber.org/papers/w27451>

Week 11. NATO, the War in Ukraine and European Security

Required readings:

Rebecca Moore and Damon Colletta, “Introduction: Alliance, Identity and Geopolitics” in *NATO’s Return to Europe: Engaging Ukraine, Russia and Beyond* (eds.) Rebecca Moore and Damon Coletta, Georgetown University Press (2017), pp. 1-18.

Rebecca Moore, “Partnership Goes Global: the Role of Non-Member, non-EU states in the Evolution of NATO” in *NATO in Search of a Vision* (eds.) Aybet and Moore, Georgetown University Press (2010), pp. 219-42.

Sten Rynning, *NATO in Afghanistan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), Introduction, pp. 1-8; and Chapter 3 (“NATO and Afghanistan”), pp. 41-67.

Recommended: Dennis Gyllensporre, “NATO Engagements in Africa: Is there a Strategy for the Continent?” in *Pursuing Strategy: NATO Operations from the Gulf War to Gaddafi* (eds.) Håkan Edström and Dennis Gyllensporre, Palgrave MacMillan (2012), pp. 157-186.

Ryan Hendrickson, “NATO’s Operation *Allied Force*: Strategic Concepts and Institutional Relationships” in *Pursuing Strategy: NATO Operations from the Gulf War to Gaddafi* (eds.) Håkan Edström and Dennis Gyllensporre, Palgrave MacMillan (2012), pp. 82-93.

Olivier Rittimann, “NATO and the COVID-19 Emergency: Actions and Lessons,” *NATO Defense College no. 15* (September 2020), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep26020.pdf>

Week 12. The EU and NATO’s Role in the European Liberal Order

Required readings:

Celeste Wallander, “Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO after the Cold War,” *International Organization*, Vol. 54 (2000), pp. 705-35.

Stephanie Hofmann, “Overlapping Institutions in the Realm of International Security: The Case of NATO and ESDP,” *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 7 no. 1 (2009), pp. 45-52.

Recommended: Richard Whitman and Emma Stewart, “The Foreign Policies of Europe and its States,” in *Developments in European Politics* (eds) Erik Jones et. al., Palgrave MacMillan (2011), Ch. 15.

Alexander Spencer, “Old’ and ‘New’ European Counter-Terrorism,” in *Developments in European Politics* (eds.) Erik Jones et. al., Palgrave MacMillan (2011), Ch. 16.

Week 13. Final Paper Presentations (Part 1)

Week 14. Final Paper Presentations (Part 2)

Online Sources about International Institutions

History of the EU

- The European Union, a guide for Americans: https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/guide-for-americans_euintheus.pdf
- “Key facts and figures about the EU” EU Commission download from: https://european-union.europa.eu/principles-countries-history/key-facts-and-figures_en
- Schuman Declaration, http://europa.eu/about-eu/basic-information/symbols/europe-day/schuman-declaration/index_en.htm
- The History of the European Union, http://europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/index_en.htm
- Craig Parsons, A Brief History of the European Union, <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/60041>
- Kristin Archick, Derek E. Mix, The European Union: Questions and Answers, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS21372.pdf>

EU as a *Sui Generis* Institution: Treaties, Institutions and Politics

- The Treaty of Lisbon at a glance, <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/5/the-treaty-of-lisbon>
- J.H.H. Weiler, On the political and legal DNA of the Union and the Current European Crisis: <https://academic.oup.com/book/8094/chapter-abstract/153545330?redirectedFrom=fulltext>
- Kristin Archick, European Union Enlargement <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS21344.pdf>
- Kristin Archick, Derek E. Mix, The European Union’s Reform Process: The Lisbon Treaty: https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20091109_RS21618_2e074065241ae7f4cc9f8f5c318094d130eccd79.pdf
- The European Union Budget at a glance: https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/eu-budget_en

Sources on International Tribunals and Transnational Justice

- The International Court of Justice (ICJ), <http://www.icj-cij.org/homepage/>
- The International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), <http://www.icty.org/>
- The International Criminal Court (ICC), http://www.icc-cpi.int/en_menus/icc/Pages/default.aspx
- For details of the Rome Statute, visit, <http://www.un.org/law/icc/>

Sources on Other International Organizations

- The International Monetary Fund (IMF), <https://www.imf.org/external/about.htm>

- The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD or the World Bank), <https://www.worldbank.org/en/what-we-do>
- The World Health Organization (WHO), <https://www.who.int/health-topics>
- The International Organization on Migration (IMO), <http://www.who.int/about/en/>
- The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), <http://www.fao.org/themes/en/>

Suggested List of Research Topics

I encourage you to discuss with the instructor the research topic before departing to Brussels. Below is a list of topics that you should consider for your final project. Note that I can provide you with guidance on these topics and be able to help you identify good research questions and otherwise assist you in the project development process. While it would be good if students pursued a wide array of topics, it is okay for more than one student to focus on a particular topic so long as they work independently and write their own papers. Additionally, you should be able to relate these topics to themes we will be encountering in the common readings I've assigned for the first half of the course. Please, realize that if students pick their own topic, the burden for developing the project will fall mainly on them, as I may not be well positioned to assist with readings. Students need to assess the tradeoff between having more autonomy in topic choice and taking more responsibility for any problems you encounter.

Also, when selecting the topic, you should take into account several factors: First, your final project can be theory-driven or issue driven (e.g. you can choose to test one or several competing theories/ explanations in the literature to see which one offers a better explanation of a certain aspect of international cooperation). Second, you need to formulate an interesting and insightful research question. Remember the question has to flow from the existing literature and contribute to the major intellectual debates or discussions on the topic. Third, in order to formulate an interesting question and provide an insightful response, students should review and know well the existing literature on the topic. Fourth, you can choose if you want to study one or several cases, instances or institutions of international cooperation thus completing a single-case or comparative study. Here are some suitable topics for which I can provide substantial guidance. Please note that these are not listed in any particular order. All kinds of combinations are possible subject to instructor's approval:

1. Institutional Designs, International Cooperation and Its Challenges: the Case of the EU

- Are some institutions more or less intergovernmental and/ or supranational? Are EU institutions independent or co-dependent?
- How do EU institutions differ from national institutions? For example, you can compare and contrast EP w/ national parliaments, the Commission with National governments and the Council with both. How similar or different are they and why?
- How has EU institutional structure changed evolved over the years with different institutional treaties?
- The role of nation-states in the new EU institutional set up

2. European Institutions & Transnational Threats: The Challenges of Nationalism and Identity Politics

- The construction of European and the (de)construction of national identities in Europe. Focus on single (e.g. the UK) or multiple case studies. Explain the difference in construction of national identities.
- The position of national governments and political parties on the future of Europe: focus on key areas such as integration and economic growth; integration and the future of common currency, and others.
- The rise of extreme parties and movements and the future of Europe: is this phenomenon temporary or lasting?

3. EU's Response to Political and Economic Challenges and its Impact on the Future of Europe

- EU foreign relations and future of the polity as a regional and global actor; focus on EU policies in the Middle East, the European neighborhood, the enlargement and others.
- Consider comparing and contrasting the European, US and trans-national/ institutional approaches/ policies in different regions of the world or different topics of int'l cooperation (e.g. non-proliferation, trade, environment and others).
- Is the EU becoming a single actor/ player and power center in international relations (consider examples and cases to support your argument)?
- Is the EU challenging American primacy in the context of great power competition?
- Survey CFSP, ESDP. Why is coordination among EU members difficult to achieve?
- What is the role of EU and NATO in the future of European security? Discuss the role of membership, identity, security interests, and treaty commitments (e.g. NATO's article 5) in shaping European security cooperation
- Study the role of national governments in shaping the European security.
- US influence and the role of transatlantic relations in European security

4. Challenges to EU-US Economic and Security Cooperation

- Choose areas of EU (and possibly US federal) regulation and compare and contrast them. Topic may include: transportation, security, international trade, agriculture, environment, international aid, emergency management, labor relations, etc.
- US approach to international cooperation: bilateral vs. multilateral policies. Compare and contrast various approaches used by US federal government in negotiating with the EU. When does the US prefer bilateral approach (e.g. visas and ICC Article 98 or bilateral immunity agreements) and when does it prefer multilateral approach (e.g. int'l trade, environmental policy). Why is this case?
- Focus on EU and US policies in areas of international tension (e.g. the Middle East conflict, Iraq, Iran, Libya, Darfur, Somalia, North Korea, Russia-Ukraine etc.). An example of what are these?

5. NATO and the Challenges to International Security and Post-Conflict Reconstruction

- Discuss how NATO has evolved over the years. Focus on different policies, strategic concepts and operations in the 1990s and 2000s.
- Survey NATO's new missions, capabilities and membership. What is the future of the Alliance: is it still an institution of collective defense or collective security? Has it

become more or less relevant and why? How has the war in Ukraine changed NATO's relevancy?

- Study NATO and “the battle for consensus” within the organization. Does this structure make the Alliance more or less adaptable to the new security challenges?
- How does NATO partner with other institutions in post-conflict settings? Discuss relations with the UN, the EU and African Union? What can we learn from this study about inter-organizational cooperation?
- What is NATO’s role in European security? Has NATO’s role changed since the beginning of the war in Ukraine? Has NATO met its *raison d’être* or not?

6. International Organizations and the Challenges of Emerging Threats: pandemic diseases, cyber security and others

- International institutions in managing new emerging threats: SARS, HIV/ AIDS, Ebola other pandemic diseases, viruses and public health issues. Students can choose to study one single topic or multiple topics/ issues from comparative perspective
- The COVID-19 pandemic and its consequences for int’l institutions, states and the international order
- International institutions and their responses to cyber threats: the role of the International Telecommunications Union, ICANN and other IOs.
- Regional and national approaches to cyber threats – the role of the US, EU, NATO, China, other key players.
- Partnership between national governments and private businesses in managing cyber threats, pandemics and other threats to globalization

7. The International Courts and the Challenges of Transnational Justice

- Study various legal doctrines (e.g. legal positivism, nationalism, transnational justice, etc.) and explain how these related to specific aspects of international legal cooperation.
- Evaluate ICJ’s record as a rule-maker. Is it impartial or not? Has it changed the nature of int’l law or not?
- Is ICJ an instance of trans-national or intergovernmental body? Whose interests does it represent?

8. International Norms, Transnational Institutions and Int’l Criminal Law

- The evolution and effectiveness for transnational justice from ICTY to ICC
- Compare and contrast ICTY, ICTR (Rwanda): discuss similarities and differences of what are these (an) instance(s)?
- The uneasy relationship between ICC and the United States: domestic and international factors. Focus on Article 98 agreements.
- Compare and contrast domestic and international jurisprudence: what are the difference and similarities?
- Discuss various aspects on the link between transnational justice (with focus on int’l courts and tribunals) and int’l human rights. Focus on specific cases and discuss when states choose to comply and why.

Instructions about Writing a Research Paper

These instructions can be used by students registered in POL 2097 (International Institutions) or similar courses taught by me where a final research paper is a required course component.

Selecting Research Topic and Question

For the most part I provide the students with a list of list of research topics to guide them through the selection process, so my first recommendation is to find an interesting and relevant topic (for specific examples, please check the course syllabus). Consider the following examples: the role of nationalism in European integration; child soldiers and transnational justice, national vs. supra-national regulations in different areas of international cooperation (e.g., finances, trade, consumer protection, telecommunications, etc.) all of which are instances of a good research topic. Then, I urge students to ask an interesting and topical research question that bears important conceptual and theoretical implications. There are several criteria for asking a good question:

First, the question should be **interesting and exciting**. Examples include: How has the International Criminal Court (ICC) handle cases involving child soldiers? How did the U.S. and the Eurozone regulatory reforms differ in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis? What is the impact of Article 98 agreements on the functioning of ICC? Less interesting and exciting questions might be: “why did ICC came into existence only after 2003,” “why aren’t the United States, Russia, China and India members of ICC?” as the answers to these questions may be fairly straightforward and obvious. These questions don’t necessarily focus on the patterns and process of social and political behavior. Please, avoid simply doing an overview of the topic at hand (e.g. this is how ICC came into existence or this is a brief overview of the history of European integration) as these types of presentations don’t help us understand the complexity of the political world.

Second, you should be able to **answer your question in 10-15 pages** space provided for such a paper. Questions like “what is the impact of greater EU integration on the legitimacy of the Union’s institutions” might be very interesting and exciting but are too broad to be answered in 10-15 pages. If this is the case, then you need to narrow down your question to a specific institution/ case/ period, etc. (e.g. why earlier efforts for further security integration via EDC failed in the 1950s and of is this an instance?).

Third, you should ask an **interesting yet manageable question**. Some questions may be difficult to answer – for example what is the impact of Brexit on the future of European integration? Given the lack of data, right now or in the near future we can only speculate about the impact. However, question like “why EU citizens rejected past proposals for further integration” can be explained easier when the research compares the responses of EU citizens in different referenda across Europe who rejected further integration – for example in Denmark (1992), Ireland (2001 and 2008), France and the Netherlands (2005), etc. Then, the researcher can find common themes and draw generalizable conclusions.

Fourth, a question should be **theoretically driven** but also should have **practical and policy implications**. For example, the rejection of further EU integration may be justified with

concerns about migration and national identity (i.e. nationalism), challenges for economic development (greater integration leads to increased job insecurity), social disparities in the aftermath of greater economic integration, or domestic politics (i.e. citizens use referenda as a non-confidence vote against existing governments or political elites). The answer to this question has also policy implications related to what should policy makers and elites do to respond to or tame the public's concerns while also enhancing the legitimacy of the democratic processes in the European Union.

Lastly, a student's research question can be **fairly new or under-researched** (e.g. the role of child soldiers in ICC's caseload) or could be a **widely asked question** in the literature for which the student can offer a novel perspective/ answer. For example, the role of international institutions on democratization of newly admitted member states has been widely studied with majority of research showing that these institutions tend to consolidate democracy. However, if the student can use examples or case studies to show this relationship is far more complex (e.g. that sometimes state feign democratization to obtain access to int'l organizations and then do business as usual once they join them), this could be a very interesting and promising research project.

Conducting Research

While the process of conducting research and collecting data involves different steps and stages, students should keep in mind two elements: (1) as soon as they sort out the research topic, there is an initial research stage when they need to go to the library and survey the literature on the topic as it will help them tremendously understand what has already been explained/ argued and what gaps exist in the literature; (2) once students have a better idea about various explanations, they should engage in the collection of data and/ or evidence about the question at hand. There are two types of sources from which data can be collected: primary sources (i.e. original data collected by the researchers via interviews, observation, from databases, or other ways of collecting sources/ data) and secondary data which have previously been collected by another (credible) scholar/ researcher and can be used with proper citation. The second stage can be done before, during and after the study abroad trip.

Below are a few tips to maximize the research process (both in terms of survey of literature and data collection):

- When surveying the literature (books, articles, chapters, etc.), make sure to take notes indicating the source, the page and the type of information (both the theoretical argument and the examples/ evidence presented in the existing literature).
- When doing initial research make sure to note which books, articles and other relevant sources are available at UC libraries, Ohio Link and which are available solely at specialized libraries (e.g. the Peace Palace Library or the European Commission's library). Once we get to these libraries, you can maximize the time by focusing on sources available only there.
- Feel free to schedule open or semi-structured interviews with experts, specialists, academics, scholars, etc. Ask a question and let them walk you through their perspective. Use various meetings (including those that are a part of your study abroad

program) to ask questions (feel free to follow up with the presenters during or after the meetings) in lieu of semi-structured interviews.

Presenting Your Research

An early presentation of the research project is key for the author to put at test whether they can communicate their ideas with others (peer colleagues, the course instructor, journal editors, etc.). To that end, I require or at least strongly encourage students to present their research project before the paper is finalized (even before the data collection process is completed). The research presentation is an opportunity for the author to gain a better understanding of the question that they ask and the answer(s) that they offer. It is also a chance for them to improve the quality of their own work by collecting feedback from peers, the course instructor, and possibly other faculty. Don't hesitate to ask question and be open to criticism and suggestions as these are intended to improve your research.

Consider the following tips for your research presentation:

- Plan no more than 10-12 min presentation
- Make sure to highlight the research question(s), the expected answer(s) and findings and why your research matters (i.e. why it is important)
- Feel free to use PowerPoint or another software to present your work as visuals are helpful albeit not required. Please, don't use excessive visuals or special effects as these can distract from the point(s) in your presentation.

Writing the Research Paper

Please, note that your paper should contain several standardized sections outlined in separate sub-headings/ sub-titles across the paper. If you are not sure how these should be worded or presented, simply look at some of the articles that you use for your own research. Note that these sub-headings/ sub-titles can have different names but must contain the following content elements:

- **Introduction** – this is the place to introduce the puzzle/ the problem of your research, formulate the research question and outline alternative hypotheses/ explanations. An interesting opening sentence or paragraph that draws on contemporary or historic event know to the public which is also of relevance for your study may be a good way to introduce the research problem.
- **Literature Review** – in this section students are expected to elaborate in detail what the existing literature says on the topic, what are the main debates and what are the exiting gaps (i.e. what is missing from current research).
- **Theory and Methods** – this is the section where the author justifies how they are going to come to the finding(s)/ assertion(s) made at the end of the paper. The process involves the use of qualitative and/ or quantitative data or possible a comparison between and/ or among several cases. In case you choose to conduct a case study, you need to justify why you have selected the particular one or several cases (consider most similar vs. most different cases; also within and between case comparison, etc.).

- **Cases/ Observations** – in this section (s) the evidence from the cases is presented in a structured way using specific criteria, variables, etc. If multiple cases are compared, it is important that the presentation(s) follow the same template.
- **Conclusion** and implications for the research. This section has several functions: (1) the author should be able to summarize the findings and their relevancy. In our earlier example about the referenda in the EU, an interesting finding would be that referenda that reject further integration may be due to domestic unpopularity of the governing party or coalition and not directly related to the issue of further EU integration. If this is the case, the author should highlight that this finding challenges dominant explanations about EU integration (e.g. the fatigue/ globalization/ nationalism, etc explanations). It offers a new perspective of explaining EU's unpopularity (the domestic variable) and suggests that such referenda may be impractical in the future as their outcomes are driven by factors unrelated to the process of EU integration (e.g. the popularity of the governing coalition).

Using References

Lastly, a frequently asked question is about the correct reference/ citation style. By and large, political scientists prefer to use the Chicago-Turabian style (a.k.a. the footnote citation style). It is especially preferred for scholars of international relations. Footnotes are usually presented at the bottom of the page (not at the end of the text). However, I am cognizant that many of the students are used to the MLA citation style (parenthesis citation). There are also many academic journals in Political Science using the MLA citation style and I will accept it, too. Those of you who choose to use the MLA style, should make sure to include a full alphabetized list of references at the end of your research paper.

How many sources should students use?

While I don't have a hard rule about the exact number of sources, I would expect each research paper to incorporate at least 15 peer reviewed sources – these include articles, books, chapters in edited volumes -- published by reputable sources (university presses, major commercial publishers, research institutes, etc.). You can also use other sources (web, non-peer reviewed academic or policy publications, official websites or publications of int'l organizations, etc.). Note that Wikipedia-type sources should not be used as these can be edited by anyone and are not subject to rigorous review by scholars in the field.

Selected Academic Journals on Topics of International Institutions:

Security, <http://rave.ohiolink.edu/ejournals/journal/249344660>

International Organization, <http://rave.ohiolink.edu/ejournals/journal/249340495>

International Interactions, <http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/gini20/current#.U7sJLkAynHw>

Journal of Common Market Studies, <http://rave.ohiolink.edu/ejournals/journal/249340618>

European Security, <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/feus20#.U7sKIEAynHw>

NATO Review, http://www.nato.int/docu/review/index_EN.htm

European Foreign Affairs Review, <http://rave.ohiolink.edu/ejournals/journal/249346931>

European Journal of Political Research, <http://rave.ohiolink.edu/ejournals/journal/249350695>

Human Rights Quarterly, <http://rave.ohiolink.edu/ejournals/journal/249346159>

European Journal of International Law, <http://rave.ohiolink.edu/ejournals/journal/249348394>

Leiden Journal of International Law, <https://www-cambridge-org.uc.idm.oclc.org/core/journals/leiden-journal-of-international-law/all-issues>

Netherlands International Law Review,

<https://uc.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fpublication%2F29199%3Faccountid%3D2909%26decadeSelected%3D2020%2B-%2B2029%26yearSelected%3D2022%26monthSelected%3D09%26issueNameSelected%3D02022Y09Y01%2423Sep%2B2022%243b%2B%2BVol.%2B69%2B%24282%2429>

Nordic Journal of International Law, <http://rave.ohiolink.edu/ejournals/journal/249347974>

Boston University International Law Journal, <https://heinonline-org.uc.idm.oclc.org/HOL/Index?index=journals/builj&collection=journals>

Journal of International Arbitration, <http://rave.ohiolink.edu/ejournals/journal/249350192>

Suggested Books on Topics of International Institutions and Cooperation:

Robert Axelrod, *The Evolution of Cooperation*. New York: Basic Books, 1984

Stephen D. Krasner (ed.), *International Regimes*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983.

Beth A. Simmons and Richard H. Steinberg (eds.), *International Law and International Relations*. Cambridge University Press, 2007

Beth Simmons, *Mobilizing Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Helen Milner, *Interests, Institutions and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1997

Margaret Karns and Karen Mingst, *International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance* (2nd edition). Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, CO, 2010.

Thomas G. Weiss, David P. Forsythe, Roger A. Coate, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2004.

David L. Bosco, *Five to Rule Them All: the UN Security Council and the Making of the Modern World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Ngairé Woods, *The Globalizers: The IMF, the World Bank, and Their Borrowers*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.

Paul Blustein, *The Chastening*. New York: Public Affairs, 2006.

Ernst B. Haas (ed.), *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957* (revised edition). University of Notre Dame Press, 2004.

- Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Cornell University Press, 1998.
- G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Simon Hix, *What Is Wrong With the EU and How to Fix It*. Polity Press: Malden and Cambridge, MA, 2008.
- Robert Cooper, *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century*. Atlantic Monthly Press, 2004.
- Klüver, Heike, *Lobbying in the European Union: Interest Groups, Lobbying Coalitions, and Policy Change*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK, 2013.
- Roy H. Ginsberg and Susan E. Penksa (eds.), *The European Union in Global Security: the Politics of Impact*. Palgrave Macmillan: Hampshire; New York, 2012.
- Roman Matoušek and Daniel Stavárek (eds.), *Financial Integration in the European Union*. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Christina J Schneider, *Conflict, Negotiation and European Union Enlargement*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, UK and New York, 2009.
- Mario Telò (ed.), *The European Union and Global Governance*. Routledge: London; New York, 2009.
- Michele Chang, *Monetary Integration in the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2009.
- Knud Erik Jørgensen (ed.), *The European Union and International Organizations*. Routledge, London; New York, 2009.
- Glenn A. Snyder, *Alliance Politics*. Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Gulnur Aybet and Rebecca Moore, *NATO in Search of a Vision*. Georgetown University Press, 2010.
- Ivan Dinev Ivanov, *Transforming NATO: new allies, missions and capabilities*. Lexington Books/ Rowman and Littlefield, 2013.
- Karl Deutsch et al, "Political Community in the North Atlantic Area" in *Readings on the Theory and Practice of the European Integration* (eds.) Brent Nelsen and Alexander Stubb. Boulder, London (1994).
- Rebecca Moore, *NATO's New Mission: Projecting Stability in a Post-Cold War World*. Praeger Security International, 2007.
- Ryan Hendrickson, *Diplomacy and War at NATO: The Secretary General and Military Action After the Cold War*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2006.
- Sten Rynning, *NATO in Afghanistan: the Liberal Disconnect*. Stanford University Press, 2012.
- Stephen M Walt, *The Origins of Alliances*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1987.
- Todd Sandler, *Collective Action*. The University of Michigan Press, 1992.

- Bruce Broomhall, *International Criminal Justice and the International Criminal Court: between Sovereignty and the Rule of Law*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, 2003
- William Schabas, *An Introduction to the International Criminal Court*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, New York, 2004
- Robert Kolb and Alan Perry, *The International Court of Justice*. Portland, Oregon and Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2013
- D. W Bowett, *The International Court of Justice: Process, Practice and Procedure*. British Institute of International and Comparative Law, London, UK, 1997
- Oliver James Lissitzyn, *The International Court of Justice: Its Role in the Maintenance of International Peace and Security*. New York, NY: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1951.

Suggested Articles on Topics of International Institutions and Cooperation:

- Maria Josepha Debre and Hylke Dijkstra, “Institutional Design for a Post-Liberal Order: Why Some International Organizations Live Longer Than Others,” *European Journal of International Relations* Vol. 27, no. 1 (2021), pp. 311-339.
- Robert Axelrod; Robert Keohane, “Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions,” *World Politics*, Vol. 38 (1), October 1985, pp. 226-254.
- Lisa Martin, “The Political Economy of International Cooperation” in *Global Public Goods: International Cooperation in the 21st Century* (eds.) Inge Kaul, Isabelle Grunberg and Marc Stern, Oxford University Press (1999), pp. 51-64.
- Ilyana Kuziemko and Eric Werker, “How Much Is a Seat on the Security Council Worth? Foreign Aid and Bribery at the United Nations.” *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 114 (5), October 2006, pp. 905-930.
- Kenneth Abbott and Duncan Snidal, “Why States Act through Formal International Organizations,” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 42 (1), February 1998, pp. 3-32.
- Judith Kelley, “International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions,” *International Organization* Vol. 58 (3), Summer 2004, pp. 425-457.
- Alexandra Gheciu, “Security Institutions as Agents of Socialization? NATO and the ‘New Europe’,” *International Organization* Vol. 59 (4), Autumn 2005, pp. 973-1012
- Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, “The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations,” *International Organization*, Vol. 53 (4), Autumn 1999, pp. 699-732.
- Lisa Martin, “Interests, Power, and Multilateralism.” *International Organization*, Vol. 46 (4), Autumn 1999, pp. 765-792.
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Martha Finnemore, "International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and Science Policy," *International Organization* Vol. 47 (4), Autumn 1993, pp. 565-597.

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Emilie Hafner-Burton, Jana von Stein, and Erik Gartzke, "International Organizations Count," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 52 (2), April 2008, pp. 175-188.

Jonas Tallberg, "Paths to Compliance: Enforcement, Management, and the European Union," *International Organization*, Vol. 56 (3), pp. 609-643.

Stephanie C Hofmann, "Overlapping Institutions in the Realm of International Security: The Case of NATO and ESDP." *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol.7 (1), March 2009, pp. 45-52.

Frank Schimmelfennig and Thomas Winzen, "Instrumental and Constitutional Differentiation in the European Union", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 52 (2), 2014, pp. 354-370.

Nicholas Crafts, "What Does the 1930s' Experience Tell Us about the Future of the Eurozone?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 52 (4), 2014, pp. 713-727.

Scott Urban, "Policy Options for the Euro: Heterodoxy Ahead," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 52 (4), 2014, pp. 742-757.

William T. Daniel, "When the Agent Knows Better than the Principal: The Effect of Education and Seniority on European Parliament Rapporteur Assignment," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 51 (5), 2013, pp. 832-848.