

### **C-3 IGOs, NGOs, and Regime Formation: Full-Time Actors in the International System**

Chair: **Alynn J. Lyon**, University of New Hampshire [Alynn.Lyon@unh.edu](mailto:Alynn.Lyon@unh.edu)

**David C. Ellis**, University of Miami [dcellis@ufl.edu](mailto:dcellis@ufl.edu)

Organizational Interest in UNDP: A Principal-Agent Analysis

**Abstract:**

International organizations (IO) are increasingly coming to be seen as possessing autonomous capability despite their inherent structural limitations. Since the dominant International Relations theories have difficulty accounting for IO autonomy, Principal-Agent (P-A) theory has recently been employed to explain the phenomenon. This article examines the evolution of UNDP's organizational interests from the perspective of P-A theory. It first examines the results of a 28-year content analysis on UNDP annual reports, which shows significant variation in organizational interest over time. Next, it determines the organizational interests that were clearly derived from state influence and those that cannot be accounted for in this way. Finally, the article determines whether the UNDP itself was responsible for the development of some organizational interests through its own autonomy, or if not, the external source of the interests. If P-A theory is correct, UNDP will be shown to have some ability to direct its own organizational interest. If the results show that UNDP was not able to generate some organizational interests of its own, the utility of P-A theory relative to IOs will deserve further scrutiny.

**Aart Holtslag**, University of Massachusetts Lowell [Arend.Holtslag@uml.edu](mailto:Arend.Holtslag@uml.edu)

The Influence of NGO's at the United Nations Between the Conference of San Francisco and the Present

**Abstract:**

This paper looks at the influence of NGOs at the United Nations between the Conference of San Francisco and the present. It looks at the influence of state's interest, historical events and political environment to explain differences in the possibilities for NGOs to influence international politics over the years.

**Frank Williams**, University of South Carolina [usc\\_fwiv@hotmail.com](mailto:usc_fwiv@hotmail.com)

Divided Cores, Multiple Peripheries: "Governance Nodes" and State Territory

**Abstract:**

Many studies of state power seem to present an image of governance spreading evenly from border to border like the helium in a child's balloon. Power is not a gas, seeking to fill all space. Power is bounded by space, and decreases with the distance it must be projected. In this paper I will present an image of the "core" as a divided artifact. No single light source, however bright, will light a home as efficiently as a small lamp in every room. Similarly, States create "nodes" of governance that project power and reinforce control of territory. This paper will attempt to map "governance nodes" at points of international territorial dispute. Using a Geographic Information System, I show how these spheres overlap, and create new areas I refer to as Spark Points: areas where disputants disagree on the matter of territory, where they can readily reach each other (militarily), and where the rules by which the dispute is to be resolved are in question. The importance of rules and identity at these spark points allows for the possibility that international regimes can be effectively represented as layers on a map. The exploration of this sphere-overlap evokes a new map of the world, based on multiple layers of governance as well as traditional geographical variables.

**Joshua Parker**, Troy University [jparker16180@troy.edu](mailto:jparker16180@troy.edu)

What is the Impact of Economic Integration on the Member States of Mercosur?

**Abstract:**

The research will be of qualitative design. Content and document analysis is the primary methods for gathering the data. The majority of the retrieved data comes from Mercosur, through its informational website, individual member states reports on economic and policy reform and the online database JSTOR. The citation used for the paper will be according to the Modern Language Association of America (MLA), which will have three components the author(s), title and publication information. Trading blocs have become the forces shaping the world economy in the twenty-first century. In addition, economic integration is a key part to any free trading bloc. The increasing number of industrialized nations and competition drives countries together in regions (Manzetti, 101). Depending on a state's current economic well being before they enter a bloc such as the European Union or Mercosur plays a large part in the difficulty they have to face with integration. States such as Argentina, Chile and Uruguay moved to reform economic policies, they had to change the platform on how policy was structured in the past (Blejer, 431). There are benefits to regional integration for members of Mercosur; they have a greater chance to encourage investment from neighboring states. As with many benefits comes several short falls. To attempt to reach levels that are considered adequate for integration, developing economies reach a potential to fall into uncertainty and have scrutiny from all ideological sides (Richards, 134). Mercosur, like any other trading bloc, is driven by the heat of politics in a world full of possible uncertainty. Not wanting to be left behind, states enter into regional integration in hopes of competing at a higher level with powerful industrialized states. Sometimes it becomes hard to gauge the scope of actions taken until it hits back hard and the states must adapt or collapse economically.

**Johnathan Miner**, North Georgia College & State University [miner@mailbox.sc.edu](mailto:miner@mailbox.sc.edu)

What Causes the Catalysts to Catalyze? Exploring Regime Formation in the International System

**Abstract:**

This paper aims to extend the theory on the formation of international regimes by exploring the common causes that enable them to emerge. Using the foundations of regime theory and my dissertation project, which uses Ethan Nadelmann's work as a springboard ["Global prohibition regimes: the evolution of norms in international society." *International Organization (Autumn 1990)*], this paper utilizes a content and discourse analysis of the American, Indonesian, Russian, Spanish and Turkish response to terrorism done for the period of September 11, 2001 to December 1, 2004. And while this study finds significant evidence of eventual regime emergence, so far the cooperation among these vanguard states does not meet Nadelmann's five step test for successful regime formation nor has it seemed to reach critical mass worldwide. Yet this research yields a number of interesting intervening variables, which when seen in the context of a response to international terrorism add to the understanding of regime formation on the international stage. These factors include: 1) a moral revulsion by the actors given the severity of the act, 2) its passage beyond a subjective threshold ["this is the last straw"], 3) the corresponding rise of a national unity response, 4) a prioritizing of the issue in that state's domestic politics, 5) the open society which enables discussion, the redefinition of norms and societal response, and 6) the recognition that the issue at hand is an international as well as domestic one. These and other intervening domestic and international factors are analyzed to explain why an international regime against terrorism has not yet, but may emerge, and will be integrated into the theory on regime formation to contribute further understanding on these political phenomena.

Discussant: **Alynn J. Lyon**, University of New Hampshire