

THE SCOPE EXPANSION OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Qi Liu [†]

[†]Department of Government, Harvard University

IPES 2025

Global Governance in a Changing World

- A relatively fixed set of IOs with sticky mandates vs a changing world
- ↪ **When do existing IOs respond to rising global challenges?**

Why We Need A Global Environmental Organization

We must invest the time and resources to form a more effective, coherent and focused governance system in order to truly achieve our goals and build a better, sustainable future.

By **Bonlan Golmohammadi**, Contributor

Secretary-General, World Federation of United Nations Associations

Jan 4, 2012, 04:00 PM EST | Updated Mar 5, 2012



The Global Governance of Artificial Intelligence

Fri, September 6, 2:00 to 3:30pm, Marriott Philadelphia Downtown, 414

Session Submission Type: Full Paper Panel

Session Description

The rapid advancement of artificial intelligence (AI) has ignited widespread debate about when, v and geopolitical considerations, leading to considerable variation in the regulatory outlook of inc AI governance in the coming years. Using a variety of methodological approaches and new data shape regulatory choices at national and international levels. This panel sheds light on the emerg national datasets on AI policy initiatives.

Overview

- **Expansion for relevance:** IO expands scope to address new challenges, but only when the issue is prioritized by major principal states.
 - Bureaucrats: want their IO to remain relevant and influential
 - Redefine what IOs *do* and *are* via staff composition and tasking
- **Data:** 630, 500 job postings of 234 IGOs (2007-2024)
- **Findings:**
 - IOs often work on new issues
 - What they work on change over time
 - In the climate and AI regime:
 - Work on climate and AI only when the major principal shows increased priority
 - Not driven by: state direct orders/ global challenges/ all member state interests

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Contributions

P-A theory vs sociological view of bureaucracies: **control** vs **insulation**

- Faithful implementers of principal preferences (Moe, 1984; Hawkins et al., 2006; Nielson and Tierney, 2003; Stone, 2011; Copelovitch, 2010; Dreher and Sturm, 2012; Dreher et al., 2009)
- Sociological view: Exploit discretion for goals orthogonal to principals (Barnett and Finnemore, 1999; Weaver, 2008; Johnson, 2014)
- Coexistence of bureaucratic autonomy and principal influence (Clark and Dolan, 2021; Lall, 2023)

⇒ Third logic: **Relevance-seeking**

- Expansion not to insulate – But to maximize relevance to major principals
- Major principal priorities set direction of bureaucratic autonomy

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The scope of international organizations

- IOs designed to solve specific cooperation problems and evaluated on them (Keohane, 1984; Koremenos et al., 2001; Chayes and Chayes, 1998; Downs et al., 1996)
- Classify IOs based on narrow *de jure* mandates (Lipsky, 2017; Pratt, 2018; Bulman et al., 2017; Gray, 2018; Hooghe, 2017; Hooghe et al., 2019)
- IMF works on climate and other issues (Clark and Zucker, 2022; Carnegie et al., 2024)

⇒ IO scope systematically structured by state power

- Central to IO functions: staff expertise and tasking
- **Job postings:** capture *de facto* IO operations
 - Completeness; Unbiasedness; Comparability
- **Evidence:** Expand to address rising global challenges, but only when major principal prioritize

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The IO Bureaucracy's Proactive Expansion

- Why focus on some issues but not others? Why shift focus over time?

 Artificial Intelligence The IOP is investigating AI's broader impact on economies and societies by gathering global knowledge through surveillance activities, and by converting key actors to drive successful policy responses. Foster international consensus and harmonize regulations. Explore	 Climate Change The IOP's latest work on the economic and financial aspects of climate change, including policy advice to our member countries to help them manage risks and capture the opportunities of low carbon, resilient growth. Explore	 Fintech Financial technology (fintech) opens opportunities to boost economic growth, especially for financial inclusion, but policymakers must also address the risks. Report the latest IOP research on these issues, including the future of digital currencies. Explore	 Digital Money and Fintech Financial technology (fintech) opens opportunities to boost economic growth, especially for financial inclusion, but policymakers must also address the risks. Report the latest IOP research on these issues, including the future of digital currencies. Explore
 Anti-Money Laundering and Combating the Financing of Terrorism (AML/CFT) Effective anti-money laundering and combating the financing of terrorism (AML/CFT) policies and measures are key to the integrity and stability of the international financial system and member countries' economies. Explore	 Comprehensive Surveillance Review The IOP is adapting and strengthening its economic analysis of countries, known as surveillance, to keep up with the changes in the world. The IOP is understanding surveillance to help policymakers better prepare for a transforming economic landscape. Explore	 Fragile and Conflict-Affected States (FCAS) The IOP's Pacific States Strategy aims to provide robust and tailored, and longer-term support to help these vulnerable countries achieve macroeconomic stability, strengthen resilience, promote sustainable and inclusive growth, and end fragility. Explore	 Fiscal Policies The IOP has been a leading source of fiscal policy and management expertise worldwide. The IOP monitors and analyzes global fiscal trends and advises IOP member countries on fiscal issues directly. This page highlights the work that policy teams currently under discussion, as well as provides links to research, publications, and commentary. Explore
 Income Inequality Income inequality can erode social cohesion, lead to political polarization, lower economic growth and can be detrimental for macroeconomic stability, but IMF policies can be designed to tackle inequality without negative repercussions for growth. Explore	 Gender While equality between men and women is in itself an important development goal, women's economic participation is also a part of the growth and stability equation. Explore	 Governance and Anti-Corruption Improving governance and fighting corruption would lead to more inclusive and sustainable growth. This webpage has articles, blogs, reports, videos, and more on the IOP's work on this topic. Explore	 COVID-19 The IOP is fully committed to supporting our member countries, particularly the most vulnerable, we have the tools to help, and we are coordinating closely with our partner institutions. Explore
 Integrated Policy Framework IOP's research on a new approach to help countries respond to fluctuations in. Explore	 Sustainable Development Goals The IOP is committed to the SDGs, and is supporting its members in their implementation in areas relevant to its mandate of financial stability and sustainable. Explore	 Sovereigns Debt The ability to carry debt varies widely among countries. Debt vulnerabilities have increased. Explore	 Special Drawing Rights Explore

The IO Bureaucracy's Proactive Expansion

- States criticize IOs for moving too far
- Elite interviews: active role of high-level IO bureaucrats

U.S. Calls for Sweeping Reforms to I.M.F. and World Bank

Treasury Secretary Scott Bessent argued in a speech that the multilateral economic institutions have veered away from their missions.

▶ Listen to this article - 5:26 min [Learn more](#)

📁 Share full article



US Treasury's IMF Worldview: Multilateralism, More Macroeconomics, Domestic Realities

12 SEP, 2023

Expansion for indispensability

- **IO bureaucracy adjust scope to pursue relevance**
 - Bureaucracies seek survival, resources, career advancement
 - Firm managers: investment to increase personal value to shareholders
- IOs: Limited state attention/resources for international institutions → expansion for relevance
- Motivated by "my IO influence" maximization ~> often go too far ~> opposition from major principals

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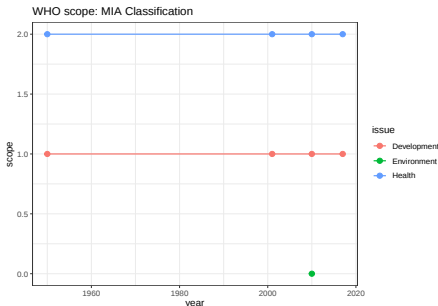
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Elite Interviews: Expansion for Relevance

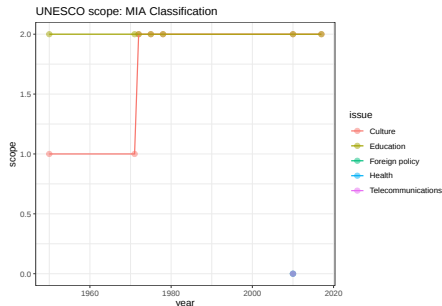
- The IMF *"needs to look for other things to do because it has few clients (when there is no crisis), and it expands into climate and health issues because "(official in the IMF leadership) always needs to be a relevant person."*
— Interviewee A (former senior staff in the IMF Managing Director's Office)
- The senior leader of the department is enthusiastic about climate issues because *"that is where the future lies, not these labor issues," and "we must think about the future of the ILO."*
— Interviewee B (former staff at the ILO fundraising department)
- The high-level bureaucrats learn about major states' standings and then filter proposed innovations of other staff members.
— Interviewee C (senior staff at the WB)

Challenges: Existing Approaches

- Existing studies: assume IOs work on the *de jure* mandate, and measures it
 - E.g., MIA Project (Hooghe (2017) and Hooghe et al. (2019)): IO name, foundational contract, treaty...
- Core to IO *de facto* functions: bureaucratic tasking and expertise $\rightsquigarrow$ **Cannot be observed**



(a) WHO



(b) UNESCO

How Can We Measure Day-to-day IO Staff Tasking?



How Can We Measure Day-to-day IO Staff Tasking?



Your Role:

As a Natural Resources and Agriculture Economist, you will assess and recommend operation strategies for agriculture, food, nature, and rural development in East and Southeast Asia and Pacific countries, engage developing member country (DMC) governments in policy dialogues and reforms, and conduct ADB operations to support climate-smart agri-food system transformation, and enhance climate resilience and adaptation. You will lead and/or support in identifying and developing loans, grants, technical assistances (TAs), and knowledge products, and provide technical support and backstopping to other staff. You will also administer loan, grant and TA projects, and non-lending products and services. This role will also contribute to the analyses and formulation of policies, strategies, and technical guidelines for the AFNR sector of DMCs.

You will:

- Lead and/or support the development of national, subregional and regional sustainable development and management of AFNR sector in DMCs in consultation with relevant government agencies, ADB RMs, and development partners.
- Lead and/or support the analyses of country economics and AFNR policies in selected DMCs and contributes to the AFNR sector assessment and business development including policy-based loans.
- Lead and/or support in the development, processing, and administration of loan, grant and TA projects, and ensure key technical, economic, financial, and crosscutting issues are incorporated into projects, including project economic and financial analyses and cost estimates.
- Lead and conduct economic and sector work in AFNR in the context of inclusive, gender-sensitive and environmentally sustainable economic growth.
- Identify and promote evidence-based policymaking and results-oriented investments towards sustainable and resilient agri-food systems in DMCs.
- Contributes to regional cooperation and integration for sustainable agriculture and food security.
- Liaise with development agencies and partners on collaborative sector, policy, and knowledge works and co-financing.
- ...

Qualifications:

- Master's degree or equivalent, in Environment, Sustainable Development, Finance, Economics or related fields; or University degree in Environment, Sustainable Development, Finance, Economics with additional relevant professional experience can be considered.
- Minimum of 8 years of relevant professional experience with strong policy focus including the below elements.
- Direct experience in originating and structuring infrastructure projects or PPP transactions.
- ...

Example (ADB): Natural Resources and Agriculture Economist (posted April 10, 2024)

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Rural development in East and Southeast Asia and Pacific countries

- Supporting loans and grants
- Provide advise to national and local government agencies
- Identifying sustainable investments
- Lead regional cooperation in sustainable agriculture and food security
- Promoting inclusive, gender-sensitive, and environmentally sustainable economic growth

● ...

Do Job Postings Capture What the Staff Actually Do?

- Interviews with IO HR departments and IO staff members
 - Must accurately describe duties to attract qualified candidates
 - Constrained by internal rules after hiring
 - Drafted by senior bureaucrats, little attention from states
- Immediate shifts when global challenges emerge (Ukraine crisis/Taliban takeover) reaction
- Correlation with policy outputs (IPOD policy acts data; IMF policy reports) policy
- New vs all employed staff: a small lag lag
- Current employees expand by switching focus between tasks heatmap
- Robust to missing data and the prevalence of European organizations EU

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Data Collection: IO Job Postings

- Pool together job postings from different sources.
- **Population:** 234 IGOs listed in the IO Yearbook.
- **Coverage:** 2007-2024
- **Total number of postings:** ~ 1.63 million ($\sim 630,500$ on IGOs listed the Yearbook) [IOlist](#)

Source	Number of Postings	Organizations	Period
Inspira	139,924	UN Agencies	2010-2024
Devex	118,661	IOs and NGOs	2007-2024
Impactpool	234,272	IOs and NGOs	2015-2024
UNTalent	135,668	IOs and NGOs	2020-2024
HKS Career Office/ Individual websites/Twitter/ Wayback Machine/Others	2001	IGOs	2002-2024

Identifying Job Focus of Each IO Staff

- Fine-tuning **RoBERTa** performance
 - RoBERTa: A transformer model for multi-label text classification
 - Hand-code 3,106 job postings across 27 issue topics topics
 - Fine-tuned with average accuracy 0.95 across topics
- Each job post can belong to multiple issue areas
- E.g., Transportation 0.18 for IO i during time t : An average staff spends 18% of its focus on transportation issues / 18% staff works exclusively on transportation
- Problematic if predicted labels are biased systematically
 - Downstream hypothesis testing: Design-based supervised learning (DSL) (Egami et al., 2024)

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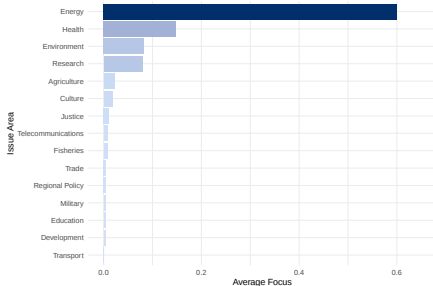
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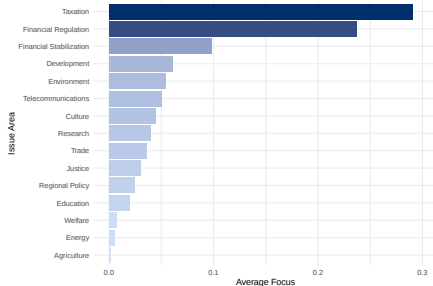
IOs Expand Scope Beyond their Mandates

Average Issue Area Focus: International Atomic Energy Agency
2007-01-01 to 2024-03-01



(a) IAEA

Average Issue Area Focus: International Monetary Fund
2007-01-01 to 2024-03-01



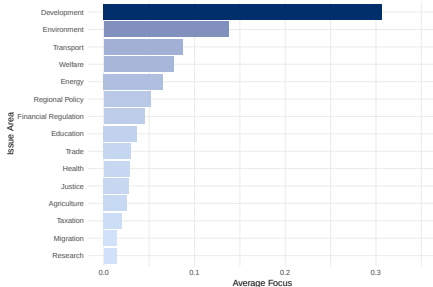
(b) IMF

Scope Expansion and the Growth of Regimes

regime

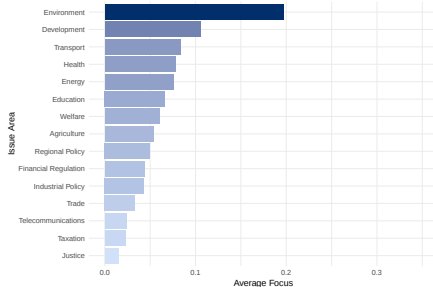
regimegrow

Average Issue Area Focus: Asian Development Bank
2007-01-01 to 2014-12-31



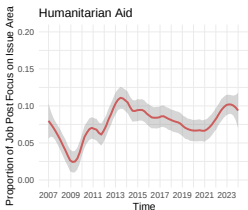
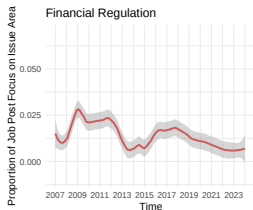
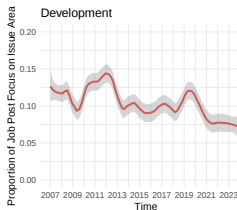
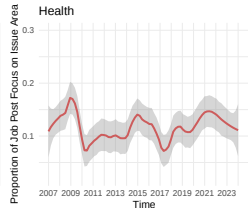
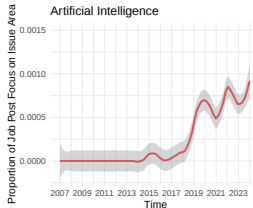
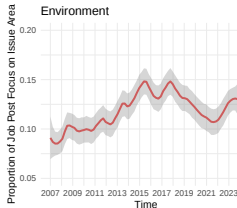
(a) ADB: 2007-2014

Average Issue Area Focus: Asian Development Bank
2015-01-01 to 2024-03-01



(b) ADB: 2015-2024

Change in IOs' Scope Over Time



Research Design

- Focus on **Climate, AI**
- **Treatment:** Rising Global Challenges:
 - Paris Agreement drafting period
 - ChatGPT release
- **Treated units:** IOs with mandates **not** in climate/AI
 - Compare: major principals show sharply increased priority vs low priority
 - Major principal: headquarters, voting shares, funding
 - Principal priority: Keyword mentions in UNGA; EU/UK (AI)
- **Control units:** IOs with distant mandates
- **Outcome:** IO focus on the issue (unit of analysis: IO-quarter)
- **Method:** DiD with bias correction parallel

$$Y_{itk} = \alpha + \beta(\text{Treated}_i \times \text{Post-Global Challenge}_t) + \gamma_i + \delta_t + \varepsilon_{it}.$$

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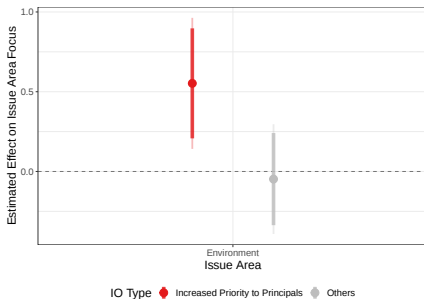
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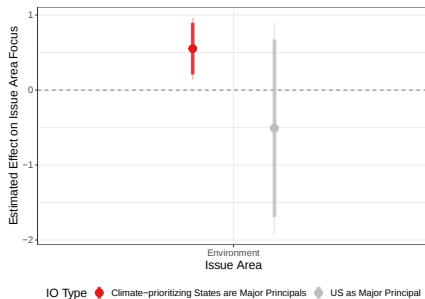
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Scope Expansion of Non-Climate IOs into Climate



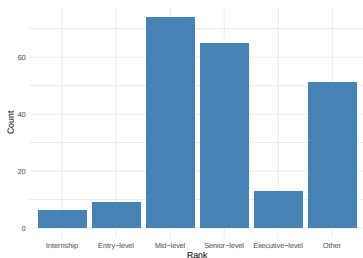
(a) Principal Priority



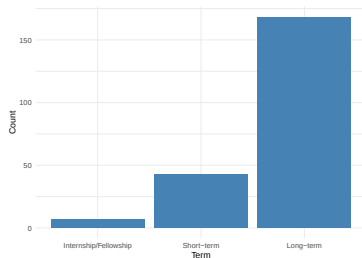
(b) Relative Power of Principals

- **55% increase** in climate focus among IOs dominated by principals that *raised their climate priority*
- **No significant effect** among IOs: ungaothers
 - Dominated by states *without* increased climate priority
 - Priority-increasing states are members, but the IO is *dominated by the US*

Scope Expansion of Non-Climate IOs into Climate



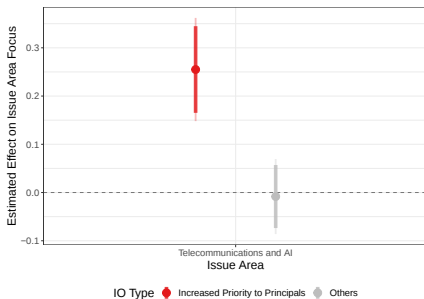
(a) Job rank



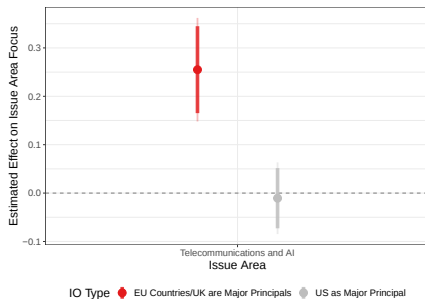
(b) Job term

- Majority of climate hires: mid- to senior-level appointments; long-term positions
- $\rightsquigarrow$ Meaningful transformations within IOs

Scope Expansion into AI



(a) Principal Priority



(b) Relative Power of Principals

- **25% increase** in telecommunications and AI focus after ChatGPT release in IOs dominated by EU countries and the UK
- **No significant effect** among IOs:
 - Dominated by *other states*
 - EU countries/UK are members, but the IO is *dominated by the US*

Mechanism: IO Bureaucracy Taking Initiative

- States use earmarked funding to support issue-specific tasks
- Match job postings data with 342,812 earmarked contribution records in Reinsberg et al. (2024) and recode their issues $\rightsquigarrow$ 90 development relevant IOs
- **Focus on climate does not follow climate earmarked contributions:**

IO Focus on Climate				
Climate Disbursed	-0.0004 (0.0004)			
Climate Committed		0.0001 (0.0001)		
Prop. Climate Committed			-0.002 (0.032)	
Prop. Climate Disbursed				-0.081* (0.033)
Num.Obs.	899	899	899	899
R2	0.758	0.758	0.758	0.760
R2 Adj.	0.702	0.702	0.702	0.704
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
IO FE	✓	✓	✓	✓

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Mechanism: IO Bureaucracy Taking Initiative

- Expansion of IOs often leads to earmarked contributions following up

Changes in Non-Climate IOs' Climate Focus and Funding Over Time



Conclusion

- IO bureaucracy expands scope to seek relevance
- Respond to global challenges when the major principal shows increased priority
- Direction of exercising autonomy: principal priorities
- Implications
 - Accountability
 - Efficiency
 - How do new IOs get created?
 - Similar dynamics in other institutions under weak central coordination

Conclusion

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 - How do new IOs get created?
 - Similar dynamics in other institutions under weak central coordination

Top 30 IOs in the Data

IOlist

IO	Freq	Share
United Nations	225531	0.358
United Nations Development Programme	83115	0.132
World Health Organization	35231	0.056
United Nations Children's Fund	30886	0.049
World Food Programme	30207	0.048
United Nations Environment Programme	28551	0.045
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees	24261	0.038
Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations	20911	0.033
Asian Development Bank	19905	0.032
The World Bank Group	16298	0.026
United Nations Office for Project Services	16145	0.026
UN Women	12773	0.020
United Nations Human Settlements Programme	9377	0.015
United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East	9238	0.015
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	7110	0.011
Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe	5295	0.008
United Nations Population Fund	5012	0.008
International Organization for Migration	4644	0.007
International Atomic Energy Agency	4134	0.007
African Development Bank	3577	0.006
European Investment Bank	3287	0.005
European Space Agency	2743	0.004
International Finance Corporation	2736	0.004
European Bank for Reconstruction and Development	2681	0.004
European Organization for Nuclear Research	1794	0.003
United Nations Industrial Development Organization	1371	0.002
International Civil Aviation Organization	1325	0.002
International Monetary Fund	1256	0.002
CGIAR System Organization	1146	0.002
African Union	1114	0.002

Issue Prediction Model Performance performance

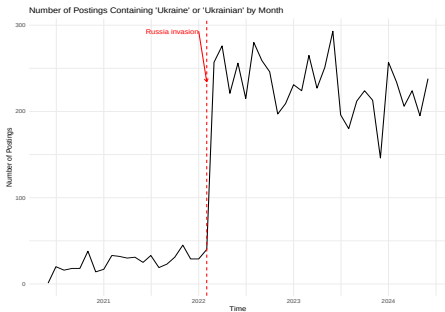
Issue Area	Precision	Recall	F1-score
Administration	0.97	0.97	0.97
Agriculture	0.99	1.00	0.99
Competition policy, mergers, state aid, antitrust	1.00	0.76	0.87
Culture and media	0.97	0.93	0.95
Education, vocational training, youth	1.00	0.97	0.99
Development, aid to poor countries	1.00	0.97	0.98
Financial regulation, monetary policy	0.96	0.96	0.96
Welfare state, employment, pensions	0.96	1.00	0.98
Energy (coal, oil, renewables)	1.00	0.95	0.98
Environment	0.99	0.99	0.99
Financial stabilization	1.00	0.88	0.94
Foreign policy	1.00	0.81	0.90
Fisheries and maritime affairs	1.00	0.98	0.99
Health	0.99	0.97	0.98
Humanitarian aid	1.00	0.97	0.98
Human rights and democracy	0.99	0.95	0.97
Industrial policy	1.00	0.97	0.98
Justice and security	0.99	0.98	0.99
Migration and refugees	1.00	0.94	0.97
Military and defense	1.00	0.96	0.98
Regional development	0.99	1.00	0.99
Research and science	0.99	0.95	0.97
Taxation and macroeconomic policy	1.00	0.96	0.98
Telecom, internet, postal services	1.00	0.96	0.98
Trade and IP rights	1.00	0.98	0.99
Transport (rail, air, shipping)	1.00	0.93	0.96
Artificial Intelligence	1.00	0.73	0.84
Micro avg	0.99	0.97	0.98
Macro avg	0.99	0.94	0.96
Weighted avg	0.99	0.97	0.98
Samples avg	0.96	0.95	0.95

Identifying Job Focus of Each IO Staff

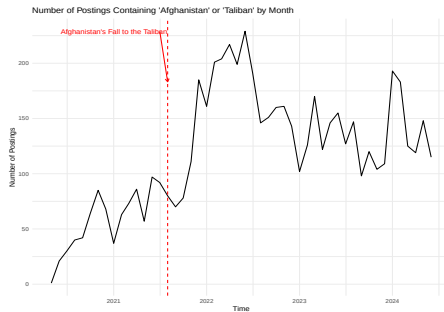
topics

- **25 MIA project topics:** Agriculture, Commercial Competition regulation, Cooperation in cultural and media fields, including broadcasting, journalism, and cultural heritage, Education, Development and poverty reduction, Financial regulation, Social and welfare system, Energy, Environment and climate, Financial stabilization, Foreign policy, Fisheries and maritime, Health, Humanitarian aid, Human rights, Industrial policy, Justice and security, Migration and immigration, Military and defense, Regional policy, Research policy, Taxation and macroeconomic policy, Telecommunication, Trade and tariffs, Transportation
- **Additional:** Artificial intelligence, Administrative support

Validation using UNTalent data (2020-2024) reaction



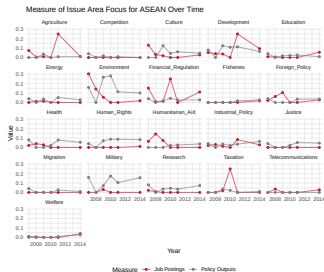
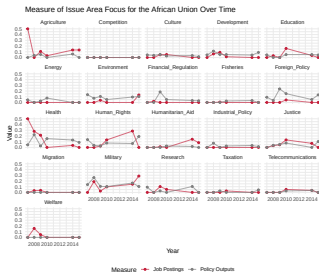
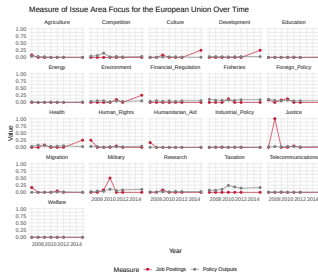
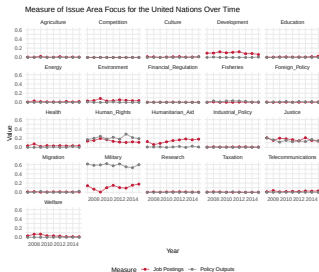
(a) Ukraine Crisis



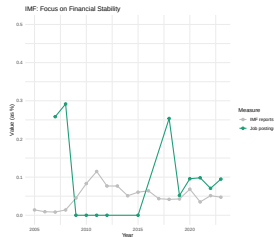
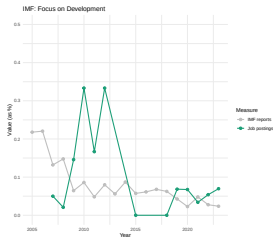
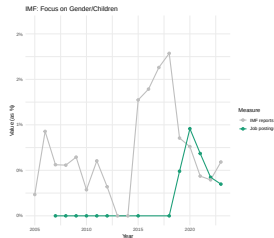
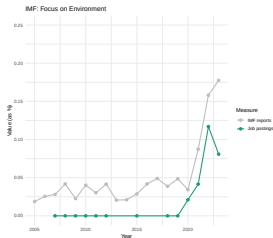
(b) Taliban Takeover

- Job postings content react immediately when new global challenges emerge

Correlation with Policy Outcomes (IPOD) policy

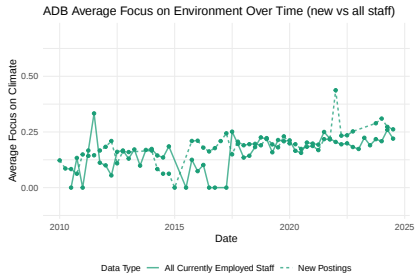


Correlation with IMF Policy Reports

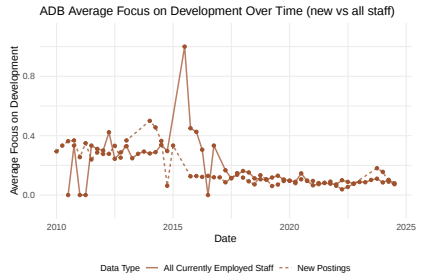


Focus of the Asian Development Bank on Climate: New vs All employed Staff

full

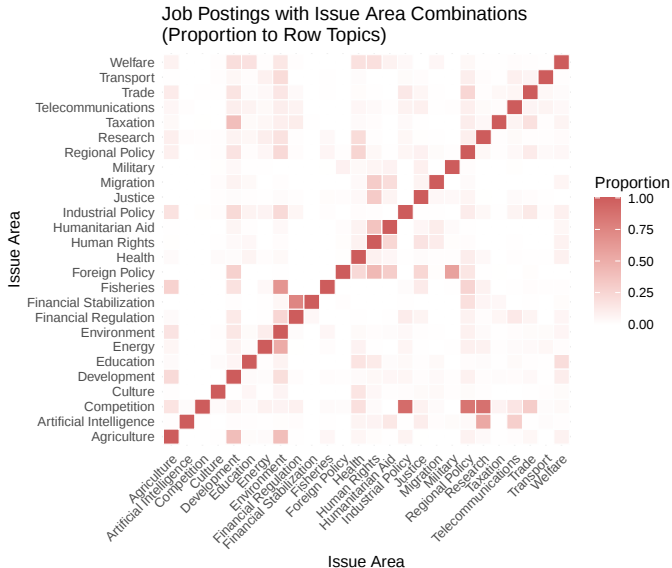


(a) Climate

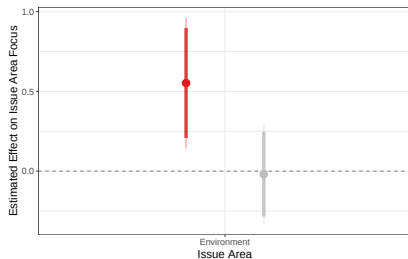


(b) Development

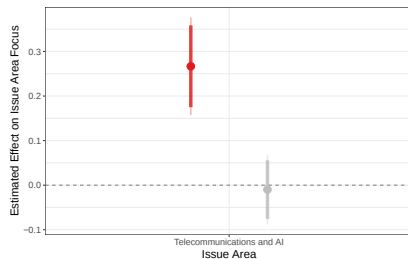
Coexistence of Topics in Job Postings heatmap



Robustness to Missingness and EU Organizations EU



IO Type ◆ Increased Priority to Principals ◆ Others



IO Type ◆ Increased Priority to Principals ◆ Others

Figure: Robustness Check: Environment and AI Regimes

International Regimes Re-identified regime

International regime on Telecommunications, internet, postal services

Bubble size represents the average focus on telecommunications



Scope Expansion and the Growth of Regimes

regimegrow

International Regime on Artificial Intelligence (pre GPT (~Nov 30 2022))
Bubble size represents the average focus on artificial intelligence



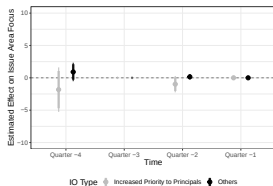
(a) AI regime: -Nov 2022

International Regime on Artificial Intelligence (post GPT (Nov 30 2022-))
Bubble size represents the average focus on artificial intelligence

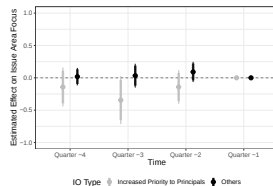


(b) AI regime: Nov 2022-

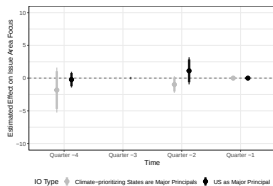
Parallel Trends Test parallel



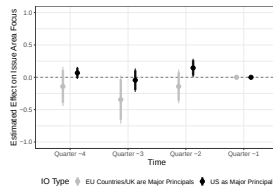
(a) Environment (principal priority)



(b) AI (principal priority)



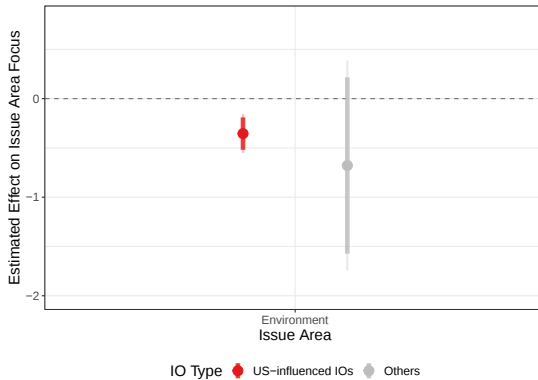
(c) Environment (principal power)



(d) AI (principal power)

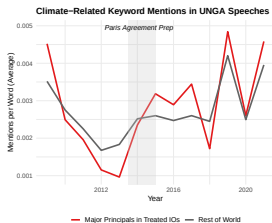
Trump Enter Office and IO Climate Focus

trump

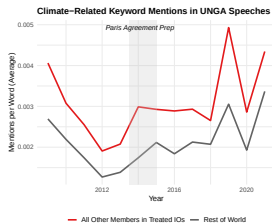


Response to Major Principal Priorities ungaother

- No increase in other member states' UNGA climate mentions $\rightsquigarrow$ not responding to all member interests



(a) Major principals



(b) All other members of the IO