Political Science 4560/5560
International Organization
Fall 2013

Instructor: Dr. Andrew Ross <rossa@ohio.edu>   Meeting times: W 3:05-5:50
Office: Bentley Annex 255   Location: Bentley Hall 023
Office Hours: Tu 9:30-10:30; W 9:45-11:45

Course Description

This course is an advanced introduction to the study of international organization. We will study the phenomenon of international *organization* itself, as well as specific *organizations*—inter-governmental organizations (IGOs), regional IGOs, international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), and religious organizations. Although we will discuss the legal, political, and ethical challenges faced by various organizations, this is not a course in public policy analysis or program evaluation. The course places greatest emphasis on broad questions, such as: Why do states cooperate to form international institutions? How do these institutions wield legitimacy and authority in a world of sovereign states? Why do member states seem to care so much about their status within IGOs, even in cases where the latter are not terribly effective? Whose interests are served by international institutions, and are these taking autonomy away from sovereign states? How do identities and norms shape the way states interact within IGOs? And how are Western INGOs changing the landscape of global politics? The course applies these thematic concerns to case studies focused on: the UN; regional IGOs in Europe, Africa, and Asia; various INGOs, both 'secular' and 'religious'; and transnational communications networks.

Learning Outcomes

Students should complete the course with an ability to:

1. understand the past and present roles of IGOs, INGOs, and the norms that guide their work;

2. evaluate competing theories about why such organizations exist and how they behave;

3. think critically about international organizations, even those seeking to do good;

4. write more effectively about international politics, learning to synthesize, evaluate, and present complex ideas in an accurate and compelling way;

5. participate intelligently in discussions of assigned readings and course topics;

6. conduct independent research into a specific organization, developing a critical analysis of its work in a particular case (5560 and 4560 research option only).

Course Requirements

POLS 4560 regular option

Attendance and participation: Regular attendance and participation are essential requirements for this course. Students are expected to arrive at class having completed and thought about the assigned readings. Asking questions in class about the readings and discussing materials during my office hours both count as participation. This portion of your grade will be based on your attendance and the quality and quantity of your contributions. I may hold reading quizzes (announced in advance or not) if students are showing up for class unprepared; quiz grades would be factored into the overall participation grade.

Short papers: Three five-page papers based on assigned readings only (i.e. no additional research required). These are important assignments, and you will need to set aside time to think about your argument before outlining, writing, and revising your papers. The topics are listed below (p. 4), and

additional details will be given in class and posted on Blackboard. These papers are due via Blackboard (under "Assignments") on **September 20, October 18, and November 15.**

Take-home final exam: A take-home exam will cover readings and topics from the entire course. The exam will require you to have completed all the assigned readings and thought about how they connect to the main themes we discuss in class. I will post it on Blackboard on the day of our last class (12/4), and it will be **due on Thursday 12/12 at noon**. You'll submit these via Blackboard (under "Assignments" → "Final Exam"). Additional details will be given in class.

POLS 4560 research paper option

Undergraduates who receive a B+ or higher on the first paper may opt to write a research paper in lieu of the second paper, third paper, and final exam. All other requirements will be the same as for POLS 4560 above. The research paper will involve all the same requirements and due dates as the research paper for POLS 5560 (below).

POLS 5560

Participation and First paper: Same as POLS 4560.

Research paper: Graduate students will write an 18–20-page research paper on a topic related to course themes. In engaging with course themes, papers must go beyond describing the work of international organizations and offering evaluations of specific programs. More information will be posted on Blackboard. This assignment consists of four steps:

1. **Topic**: have your topic approved by me via email by **Monday, 10/14.**

2. **Abstract and annotated bibliography**: one document consisting of (a) a two-page (double-spaced) abstract of the paper and (b) a bibliography with annotated entries for four key secondary sources. Due via Blackboard (under "Assignments" → "Abstracts") by **8am Friday, 11/1**.

3. **Paper workshop**: students completing a research paper will participate in a workshop during the first half of our class on **12/4**. 5% of your overall grade will be based on your participation at this workshop and the quality of the written material you bring (minimum: a full introductory section, plus two pages containing the core of your paper's original analysis). Details TBA in class.

4. **Paper**: the paper itself is due via Blackboard (under "Assignments" → "Research Paper") by **Thursday, 12/12 at noon.**

Grades and Late Papers

I use a standard grading scale for determining letter grades: A = 93-100; A- = 90-92; B+ = 87-89; B = 83-86; B- = 80-82; C+ = 77-79; C = 73-76; C- = 70-72; D+ = 67-69; D = 63-66; D- = 60-62; F = <60. Overall grades will be calculated as follows:

4560		4560 research option		5560	
Attendance/Participation	20 %	Attendance/Participation	20 %	Attendance/Participation	20 %
Paper #1	15 %	Paper #1	15 %	Paper #1	15 %
Paper #2	20 %	Abstract & bibliography	15 %	Abstract & bibliography	15 %
Paper #3	20 %	Paper workshop	5 %	Paper workshop	5 %
Take-home exam	25 %	Research Paper	45 %	Research Paper	45 %

There will be no make-up assignments, extra credit assignments, or opportunities to revise and resubmit assignments for a higher grade. If you have concerns about your grade or my expectations for writing assignments, please schedule a meeting with me as early as possible.

Late papers will be penalized 6 points per day (e.g. a paper awarded an 88/B+ submitted one day late will receive an 82/B-), including weekend days, to a maximum of three days (after which the assignment will not be graded). No exceptions in cases of computer malfunction or loss of data. Cases of serious illness should be brought to my attention, with official documentation, prior to or immediately following the missed assignment.

Attendance

I strongly encourage students to attend every class. To accommodate minor illness or other occasional events, I allow all students to miss up to two classes (except for paper workshop) without documentation or explanation. I recommend reserving these allowed absences in case you get sick later in the semester. If you miss class due to minor illness, traffic delays, student conferences, athletics events, family obligations, or the like, that missed class will count toward these two allowed absences. This policy means that your participation grade will be reduced starting with the third missed class. The penalty will increase for each class missed, up to five absences. *If you miss six or more classes, you will get an "F" for your participation grade*. Do not expect full attendance credit if you arrive late or leave early; arriving late on a regular basis may count as part of your four allowed absences. Students are responsible for all course materials covered and announcements made during missed classes. If you are missing class due to on-going health problems (physical or mental), please discuss the situation with me as early as possible.

Academic Misconduct

Students in this course are expected to follow the University's standards of academic integrity and honesty and are responsible for understanding what constitutes plagiarism. One useful reference is here: http://www.ohio.edu/communitystandards/academic/students.cfm. If you are caught cheating or plagiarizing, you may receive a grade deduction on the assignment, a failing grade for the assignment, or a failing grade for the class. You may also be reported to the Office of Community Standards and Student Responsibility for additional sanctions. Students may appeal academic sanctions through the grade appeal process.

Disability Accommodations

Information regarding accommodations in course work and assessment for students with a disability, and available resources offered by the Office of Student Accessibility Services. Any student who suspects s/he may need an accommodation based on the impact of a disability should contact me privately to discuss your specific needs and provide written documentation from the Office of Student Accessibility Services. If you are not yet registered as a student with a disability, you should contact the Office of Student Accessibility Services.

Technology

Please turn off your cell phone ringer *and* put the device away during class time (we will have a break half-way through class during which you can text much as you like). You may use a laptop or tablet in class for taking notes and accessing electronic readings; however, I will reserve the right to ban these devices if I or another student judge them to be disruptive. All students will be expected to use the Blackboard system to access readings, announcements, and handouts, and to submit assignments. If you encounter a broken link, a missing content item, or something else I need to fix, please let me know via email as soon as possible. If you are having general problems with Blackboard, contact the Help Desk immediately; I am happy to help where possible, but I cannot be responsible for general problems an individual student is experiencing with a her or his computer, a university computer, or a university website. Students are expected to check their OU email regularly for announcements or other communications. Assignments submitted by email without special permission beforehand may not be

accepted. Students are responsible for ensuring that all electronically submitted documents are openable and contain the correct data (i.e. "I sent the wrong document by mistake" will not work ☺).

Required Texts

The following books are available for purchase at the Little Professor Bookstore on Court St. (there may also be copies at the other bookstore); they are also available for an overnight loan at the library reserves.

> Barnett, Michael and Martha Finnemore. *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004.
> Bob, Clifford. *The Global Right Wing and The Clash of World Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
> Hurd, Ian. *After Anarchy: Legitimacy and Power in the United Nations Security Council*. Princeton University Press, 2008.
> Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Cornell University Press, 1998.

Additional readings are available as PDF files on Blackboard; these are coded below with a **[B]**.

Short Paper Topics

Below are the paper topics for the three short papers. Please review the course requirements above; graduate students and some undergraduates will not write all three short papers. Specific guidelines and requirements for these papers will be explained in class and posted on Blackboard under "Handouts".

First paper

On February 5, 2003, Colin Powell made one last attempt to persuade the UN Security Council to authorize the use of military force against Iraq. He was not successful, and yet just six weeks later the United States went to war. Michael Glennon and other critics of the UN argued that this episode revealed the weakness of the institution: A powerful state was able to go ahead and do what it wanted. In *After Anarchy*, Ian Hurd disagrees. What do you think? In an essay of five pages, explain where you stand in this debate and why. In addition to Hurd's book, the assignment requires reading Glennon's essay "Why the Security Council Failed," which is posted on Blackboard under "Readings."

Second paper

Hurd notes that regional IGOs differ significantly in their degree of integration: The EU is highly integrated, with many formal rules and high levels of institutional delegation, while ASEAN, the AU, and other regional IGOs are less formal entities without strong multilateral institutions. Is the European model optimal, or are there advantages to informality? What are the costs and benefits of high degrees of integration, and what are the costs and benefits of less integration? Which kinds of problems are best solved through a highly integrated organization and which through less integrated ones? In a short essay of five pages, offer an answer to some or all of these questions. You should use a minimum of three readings, in addition to Hurd's, from weeks 6-7.

Third paper

Keck and Sikkink outline a "boomerang effect," in which local NGOs partner with global NGOs to promote political change and social justice. Based on the readings you've done for weeks 9, 10, and 11, how well do you think this boomerang process is working? What, if any, problems do you detect in "global civil society" comprised of NGOs, and how do you propose to remedy them? (For this topic, you should use at least three of the authors whose work we've read).

Course Topics and Readings

I. INTRODUCTION AND BASIC CONCEPTS

Week 1 (August 28): Introduction

Short reading to be distributed and discussed in class
Barnett and Finnemore, *Rules for the World*, Ch. 1

Week 2 (September 4): Conventional Theories of International Organization

Axelrod, Robert and Robert O. Keohane, "Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and
    Institutions." *World Politics* 38, no. 1 (1985): 226-54. **[B]**
Mearsheimer, John. "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19, no. 3
    (1994-5): 5-49. [read pp. 14-36 only] **[B]**
Cox, Robert. "Multilateralism and World Order." *Review of International Studies* 18, no. 2 (1992): 161-
    80. **[B]**

II. INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (IGOs)

Week 3 (September 11): Collective Security and the UN Security Council

Weiss, Thomas et al. "The Theory of UN Collective Security." Ch. 1 of: *The United Nations and
    Changing World Politics*, 3-23. Fifth edition. Boulder: Westview Press, 2007. **[B]**
Hurd, *After Anarchy*, Ch. 1, 2, 4, and 7

Week 4 (September 18): Peacekeeping and International Intervention

Barnett and Finnemore, *Rules for the World*, Ch. 5
Hurd, *After Anarchy*, Ch. 5
Wilde, Ralph. "Understanding the International Territorial Administration Accountability Deficit:
    Trusteeship and the Legitimacy of International Organizations." In Jan Wouters, Eva Brems,
    Stefaan Smis and Pierre Schmitt (eds.), *Accountability for Human Rights Violations by
    International Organizations*, ??-??. Portland, OR: Intersentia, 2010. **[B]**

In-class video: clips from Frontline's Ghosts of Rwanda

* first short paper due on Blackboard by 8am Friday, September 20 *

Week 5 (September 25): Refugees, the UNHCR, and the Global South

Barnett and Finnemore, *Rules for the World*, Ch. 4
Chimni, B.S. "The Geopolitics of Refugee Studies: A View from the South." *Journal of Refugee Studies*
    11, no.4 (1998): 354-74. **[B]**

In-class video: ABC documentary on Rohingyan refugees

Week 6 (October 2): Regional Organizations I: The European Union

Hurd, Ian. "Regional Organizations: EU, AU, and ASEAN." Chapter 10 of: *International Organizations:
    Politics, Law, Practice*, 245-66. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011. **[B]**

Risse, Thomas and Daniela Engelmann-Martin. "Identity Politics and European Integration: The Case of Germany." In: Anthony Pagden, ed. *The Idea of Europe: from Antiquity to The European Union*, 287-316. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002. **[B]**

Shakman Hurd, Elizabeth. "Negotiating Europe: The Politics of Religion and The Prospects for Turkish Accession." *Review of International Studies* 32 (2006): 401-18. **[B]**

Asad, Talal. "Muslims and European Identity: Can Europe Represent Islam?" In: Anthony Pagden, ed. *The Idea of Europe: from Antiquity to The European Union*, 209-27. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002. **[B]**

Week 7 (October 9): Regional Organizations II: ASEAN and the African Union

Acharya, Amitav. "The Evolution of ASEAN Norms and the Construction of the 'ASEAN Way.'" Chapter 2 of: *Constructing A Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and The Problem of Regional Order*, 54-87. Second edition. New York: Routledge, 2001. **[B]**

Jetschke, Anja. "Institutionalizing ASEAN: Celebrating Europe through Network Governance." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 22, no. 3 (2009): 407-26. **[B]**

Beswick, Danielle. "Peacekeeping, Regime Security and 'African Solutions to African Problems': Exploring Motivations for Rwanda's Involvement in Darfur." *Third World Quarterly* 31, no. 5 (2010): 739-54. **[B]**

Williams, Paul D. "Keeping the Peace in Africa: Why 'African' Solutions Are Not Enough." *Ethics & International Affairs* 22, no. 3 (2008): 309-29. **[B]**

Mamdani, Mahmood. "Blue-Hatting Darfur." *London Review of Books* 29, no. 17 (6 September 2007): 18-20. **[B]**

Week 8 (October 16): IFIs and the Global South

Gutner, Tama. "When 'Doing Good' Does Not: The IMF and The Millennium Developmet Goals." In: Deborah D. Avant et al., eds. *Who Governs The Globe?* 266-91. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010. **[B]**

Barnett and Finnemore, *Rules for The World*, Ch. 3

Best, Jacqueline. "Legitimacy Dilemmas: The IMF's Pursuit of Country Ownership." *Third World Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (2007): 469-88. **[B]**

Fine, Ben. "Development as Zombieconomics in The Age of Neoliberalism." *Third World Quarterly* 30, no. 5 (2009): 885-904. **[B]**

* second short paper due via Blackboard by 8am Friday, October 18 *

III. NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (NGOs)

Week 9 (October 23): Transnational Advocacy Networks

Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, Ch. 1, 4, 5, and 6

Week 10 (October 30): The Rise of Conservative NGOs

Bob, Clifford. "Merchants of Morality." *Foreign Policy* (March/April 2002): 36-45.
Bob, *The Global Right Wing*, Ch.1-3, plus 4 or 5 (your choice)

* Abstract and Annotated Bibliographies due via Blackboard by 8am, Friday 11/1 *

Week 11 (November 6): Transnational Religious Organizations

Lynch, Cecelia. "Religious Humanitarianism and The Global Politics of Secularism." In: Craig Calhoun, et al., eds. *Rethinking Secularism*, 204-24. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. **[B]**

Bellion-Jourdan, Jérôme. "Are Muslim Charities Purely Humanitarian?: A Real but Misleading Question." In: Michel Feher, ed. *Nongovernmental Politics*, 647-57. New York: Zone Books, 2007. **[B]**

Bornstein, Erica. "Child Sponsorship, Evangelism, and Belonging in The Work of World Vision Zimbabwe." *American Ethnologist* 28, no. 3 (2001): 595-622. **[B]**

De Kadt, Emanuel. "Should God Play A Role in Development." *Journal of International Development*. 21, no. 6 (2009): 781-86. **[B]**

IV. COMMUNICATION AND GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

Week 12 (November 13): Global Communications Networks

Gladwell, Malcolm. "Small Change: Why The Revolution Will Not Be Tweeted." *The New Yorker*. (4 October 2010). **[B]**

Shirky, Clay. "The Political Power of Social Media: Technology, The Public Sphere, and Political Change." *Foreign Affairs* 90 (2011): 28-41. **[B]**

Castells, Manuel. *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age* (London: Polity, 2012). Selections TBA. **[B]**

* third short paper due on Blackboard 8am Friday, November 15 *

Week 13 (November 20): Multilateral Institutions and Global Citizenship

Bolton, John R. "Should We Take Global Governance Seriously?" *Chicago Journal of International Law* 1, no. 2 (2000): 205-21. **[B]**

Steffek, Jens. "Public Accountability and the Public Sphere of International Governance." *Ethics & International Affairs* 24, no. 1 (2010): 45-68. **[B]**

Jaeger, Hans-Martin. "'Global Civil Society' and the Political Depoliticization of Global Governance." *International Political Sociology* 1 (2007): 257-77. **[B]**

Week 14 (December 4): Paper workshop and Review