Duke University
Political Science 158

Transnational Politics:
Non-State Actors in World Politics
Fall 2004

Lectures: TTh 1:15-2:30, Social Sciences, Room 119
http://www.poli.duke.edu/ps158/

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Purpose:
PS 158 is a course on the role of non-state actors in world politics. We address questions such as: Do international organizations change the way in which governments interact when conflicts of interest arise between them, for instance over tariffs and non-tariff barriers to trade? Can non-governmental organizations (NGOs) change human rights norms and practices and if so, how? What role to "epistemic communities," such as transnational networks of scientists play in international environmental politics? Do supranational courts threaten sovereignty and democracy? What is the nationality of firms? Does it matter? Does globalization undermine consumer safety? Do international terrorist networks fundamentally alter the nature of world politics?

By most accounts, non-state actors are increasingly important in world politics, though observers differ on whether we are experiencing a kind of globalization of civil society, an internationalization of domestic politics, or a privatization of governance. We therefore ask more generally, under what conditions non-state actors play which roles in world politics—and which criteria might be used to assess their role normatively. We begin with some conceptual foundations, an introduction to different theoretical approaches, and an overview of some of the normative issues that arise when non-state actors play a significant role in world politics. After we take a general look at different kinds of non-state actors, we then turn to several issue areas in which non-state actors play an—arguably important—role.

PS 158 is a mid-level Political Science lecture course. I welcome students from any major and with any background, but you should be familiar with the major theories and the history of international (inter-state) politics at the level of Elements of International Relations (Political Science 93).

Requirements
Lectures and the required readings complement each other; they are not substitutes, and you will need to attend lectures as well as do the readings to do well in this course. Toward the end of most lectures, we will have time for some questions and discussion. Active and thoughtful participation during those times—including the ability to listen—are an important part of the course.

The main requirement for this course is to write a research paper on a course-related topic of your choice. I want you to apply the analytical tools that you acquire in this and other courses—to a topic that really interests you and about which you are so excited that you want to do research on it (see details and schedule below). There also will be a midterm and a short final exam (both closed-book in-class exams), to give you an extra incentive to read and think about the issues beyond your particular area of interest, but the research paper is key. It should be 3,000 to 4,000 words in length, which amounts to ca. 12 to 15 pages.

Your grade will be calculated based on:

• 2 in-class exams: 35%
• 1 research paper: 55%
• class participation: 10%

The reading load is fairly heavy in the beginning of the semester to expose you to a variety of approaches and substantive issues before you have to choose a topic for your paper. The amount of
required reading declines later to allow you to focus more on your research and writing. "Recommended" readings are strictly optional and primarily for those who seek a more in-depth treatment of the theoretical issues that I will cover in lecture. A list of further readings on the substantive, empirical issues covered each week is available on the course website. These may provide a starting point for your research paper.

The Research Paper

The purpose of research is to find out something we do not know already, or to show that something we think we know is not so. A social science research paper therefore consists not just of presenting "facts," but crucially includes the interpretation and analysis of the empirical information that you gather. The paper thus involves making an analytical argument, which can be more nuanced than arguments you might make in class discussion or in short writing assignments and can—indeed should—be shown to be well supported empirically.

A research paper is not written overnight. It requires advance thinking about the research. Ask yourself: What exactly is the question and how do I find out what I need to know to answer it? A research paper also requires thinking ahead about how best to present your findings (the structure of the paper is a rhetorical device, too). We will talk about these issues in class, and there are a couple of highly recommended handouts on writing a research paper and on issues of style, referencing, etc. on the course website. To put it most simply: A good research paper begins with an introduction that clearly states the central question to be addressed and why it is interesting, then presents a well-reasoned argument of your own, discusses counter-arguments, presents a well-documented empirical analysis, ends with a succinct conclusion that makes explicit the implications of the findings for the central research question(s), and includes a list of references. Writing this paper will be a great way to hone your skills of making, presenting, and supporting an argument and of conducting empirical research—and to see whether you might want to write a thesis in your senior year ...

By the beginning of class on Tuesday, September 28, at the latest, you should submit a brief memo—on paper, formatted properly as a memo—which states clearly (1) what your topic is, (2) why this is interesting to you, (3) what your key analytical questions are, and—very importantly—(4) how you will go about answering them. I will return the topic memo with comments at the end of class Thursday, Sep. 30. (If you would like to change your topic later, you may certainly do so, but you must talk to me first.) Four weeks later, Thursday, October 28, a detailed outline is due (again at the beginning of class), which must give a clear sense of the structure of the paper as you envision it. We will discuss how to do this. I will return the outline to you with comments on Tuesday, Nov. 2. The topic memo and the outline are both required and will be graded check-plus, check, check-minus or no-credit. If you receive a check-minus or "no credit," you will have to re-submit the assignment within one week. The full paper is due no later than 12 noon on Monday, December 6. Please submit a hard copy to my office or mailbox in the Political Science department and an electronic copy by email attachment in a word processor format (like MS Word). The paper must be written in full sentences, properly spell-checked, and include references as well as a word count, reported at the bottom of the last page. Your name should appear only on the title page (which should be stapled to the other pages) and your title should re-appear at the top of the first page of text, so as to allow me to read and grade papers anonymously.

Given the broad range of issues covered in this class, I expect students' topics to be related to one of the issue areas covered in this course, unless you can make a strong case for choosing a topic unrelated to those covered here. I urge you to start thinking about a topic for your research paper right away and encourage you to see me early to help you clarify ideas and formulate interesting research questions.

Readings

Some of the required readings are available to you online via Duke's electronic journal holdings, and the syllabus on the course website links directly to those readings whenever possible (marked "online" below). Several others are on electronic reserves, also linked to the course website (access to e-reserves restricted to students registered for the course). Many readings are from the books below, which are available for purchase at Duke's Gothic Bookstore and available on reserve at Perkins Library.


INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction to Non-State Actors in World Politics: 3 Episodes (Tue, Aug 24)


THINKING THEORETICALLY ABOUT NON-STATE ACTORS IN WORLD POLITICS

2. Thinking Theoretically about Non-State Actors in World Politics (Thu, Aug 26)

Recommended:

3a. Democracy, Accountability and Non-State Actors (Tue, Aug 31)

HB Hall, Rodney Bruce and Thomas J. Biersteker. [Section on 'Private Authority and Democratic Accountability' from:] "Private Authority as Global Governance." In Hall and Biersteker, eds., 2002: 211-213.
Recommended

3b. Evaluating and Conducting Social Science Research and Writing (Tue, Aug 31)

NOTE: No class on Thursday, September 2.

TYPES OF NON-STATE ACTORS

5. International (Governmental) Organizations & Supranational Courts (Tue, Sep. 7)

- Murphy, Craig N. [Selections from:] *International Organization and Industrial Change: Global Governance since 1850*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994: 1-11, 46-49, 62-64, 68-73, 82-85, 190 (Figure 5), and 106-108.
- "International Criminal Court" from: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Brussels: Union of International Associations, 2002/03.

6. Transnational Non-Governmental Organizations (Thu, Sep. 9)

- From *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Brussels: Union of International Associations, 2002/03:
  - Greenpeace
  - Bureau International des Médecines sans frontières
  - Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens
  - Centro Interuniversitario de Desarrollo
  - Centre for International Research on Economic Tendency Surveys
  - Rotary International
  - Arab Architects Organization
  - Federation of ASEAN Shipowners Associations (FASA)
  - Federación Latinoamericana de Trabajadores de la Industria
  - International Federation of Association Football (FIFA)
  - Fédération Internationale de Ski (FIS)

You may also want to explore online: http://www.uia.org/extlinks/pub.php


7. Informal Networks, Public Opinion, and other Non-State Actors (Tue, Sep. 14)

- Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink. "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics: Introduction." [AND] sections on 'International Pressures for the Abolition of Slavery,' "The


**INTER- & TRANSNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS**

8. The Environment: An International Public Good? (Thu, Sep. 16)


9. Transnational Environmental Politics (Tue, Sep. 21)


**THE INTERNATIONAL SPREAD OF IDEAS AND NORMS**

10. Women's Suffrage & Social Policy Ideas (Thu, Sep. 23)

Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink. Section on 'The International Movement for Woman Suffrage.' In Keck and Sikkink, 1998: 51-58.


11. Transnational Politics of Human Rights: MNCs, NGOs, and Activist Networks (Tue, Sep. 28)

*NOTE: RESEARCH MEMO DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS!*


Recommended:

12. Human Rights: Presentation and Discussion with Special Guest Elizabeth Kiss (Thu, Sep. 30)

Prof. Kiss is Director of the Kenan Institute for Ethics at Duke and an expert in moral and political philosophy, specializing in human rights issues. She has been, inter alia, an expert witness for a U.S. asylum case concerning female genital mutilation in parts of Egypt. She will speak to us about her experience and join us for a discussion of the effect of transnational actors on human rights norms and policy.

Background Readings:


**Tuesday, Oct. 5, 2004: MIDTERM EXAM**

The midterm exam is a closed-book exam given in class, only.


**NOTE:** No class on Tuesday, Oct. 12 (Fall Break).

**NON-STATE ACTORS IN THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY**

15. Transnational Actors in the International Economy:

**Firms, Labor, and the Anti-Globalization Movement** (Thu, Oct.14)


**online** Explore: http://www.attac.org

16. Regulation: Does Globalization Lead to a Race to the Bottom? (Tue, Oct.19)


17. States and Firms in the Setting of International Standards: Public and Private Institutions (Thu, Oct.21)


ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

18. Multinational Corporations & Economic Development (Tue, Oct. 26)


19. IOs, NGOs & Economic Development (Thu, Oct. 28) [PAPER OUTLINE DUE]


DOMESTIC AND INT'L SECURITY & NON-STATE ACTORS

20a. Transnational Organized Crime (Tue, Nov.2)


20b. Mercenaries & Private Armies (Tue, Nov.2)


+ supplemental materials TBA

21. When State and Nations Do Not Coincide: Ethnic Groups and Conflicts (Thu, Nov.4)


22. The European Union: International? Supranational? (Tue, Nov.9)


online Explore: http://europa.eu.int/comm/world/

23. Religious Groups as Transnational Political Actors (Thu, Nov.11)


INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

24. Sources and Nature of Terrorism (Tue, Nov.16)


25. Inter- and Transnational Dimension of Terrorism (Thu, Nov.18)


26. International Terrorism: Responses by States, IOs, and Other Actors (Tue, Nov.23)


online den Boer, Monica and Jörg Monar. [Selections from:] "11 September and the Challenge of Global Terrorism to the EU as a Security Actor." Journal of Common Market Studies vol.40 Annual Review (September 2002): 11-16(top), 19(top)-20(middle), 24-26 (section V).

+ 1 Reading TBA

Recommended:

NOTE: No class on Thursday, Nov. 25: Happy Thanksgiving!
27. **Wrap-up and Review** (Tue, Nov.30)

**HB**  
Hall, Rodney Bruce and Thomas J. Biersteker. Section on "The Reversibility of Private Authority." In Hall and Biersteker, eds., 2002: 213-222.

**SL**  

**Recommended:**  


**Thursday, 2 December 2004: FINAL EXAM**  
*The final is an in-class, closed-book exam, with special emphasis on the material covered since the midterm exam.*

**Monday, 6 December 2004, noon: RESEARCH PAPER DUE**