Purpose:

PS158/PPS181 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 deal with conflicts of interest 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 do "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-/upper-level Political Science course (cross-listed as Public Policy 181) and can be used to fulfill curriculum code requirements R (research) and W (writing in the disciplines). 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 an introductory course in International Relations (such as 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. At the end of most lectures, I will allow time for questions and discussion. Sections, which will meet weekly (starting the week of Jan. 22) at a place and time to be arranged, give you a chance to further discuss the theoretical and empirical material covered in lectures and readings, to probe your own understanding, and to benefit from the insights of your peers. Sections are not mandatory, but highly recommended. Regular, good, and thoughtful section participation will be rewarded with extra credit.

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). Research papers written for this course in past years have won prizes and been published in undergraduate and professional journals. There also will be a midterm and a short final written exercise (both closed-book in-class), 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 written exercises: 35%
- 1 research paper: 55%
- class participation: 10%

Students are expected to follow current events through a semester-long subscription to the Financial Times (FT, available at a great discount for college students; this is part of the required readings). Non-state actors play, or appear to play, important roles in contemporary world politics, from transnational communities of scientists, which are changing the debate over global warming, to transnational terrorist networks that threaten sovereign states in novel ways. Following current events in world politics allows you to gain a better understanding of general ideas and arguments in a specific context—and/or it may lead you to question those ideas. We will expect to be able to draw on students' familiarity with current events, based on the excellent coverage in the FT, both in lecture and discussion sections.

The other required readings are listed below. 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 issues covered in lecture. A list of further readings on the substantive, empirical issues covered each week is available on the course website. These may be useful as 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 explicit interpretation and analysis of the empirical information that you gather. The paper thus involves developing an analytical argument, which should be more nuanced than arguments that you can make in class discussion or in short writing assignments. You also need to examine whether (and in the paper show that) your argument is well supported empirically.

A research paper is not written overnight. The research itself requires advance thinking and planning. Ask yourself: What exactly is the question that I want to answer and how can I find out what I need to know in order 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). 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, and ends with a succinct conclusion that makes explicit the implications of your findings for the central research question(s). It also includes a list of references that allows any reader to find your exact sources and replicate your research. I encourage students to work with the writing tutors in Duke's Writing Studio (http://uwp.aas.duke.edu/wstudio/); getting their (or your peers') input and comments on drafts is perfectly legitimate, as long as the research and (re)writing is your own and the advice is acknowledged in the first footnote of the paper. Writing this paper will also be a great way to hone your skills of making, presenting, and supporting an argument as well as gaining experience with empirical research—and to see whether you might want to write a thesis in your senior year …

By the beginning of class on Wednesday, Feb. 21, at the latest, you should submit 2 copies of a brief memo—on paper, formatted as a memo—which states clearly (1) what your topic is, (2) why this is interesting to you and why it should be interesting to others, (3) what your key analytical questions are, and—very importantly—(4) how you will go about answering them. We will return the topic memo to you with comments at the end of class Monday, Feb. 26. (If you would like to change your topic later, you may certainly do so, but you must talk to me first.) On Monday, Mar. 19, a detailed outline is due (again 2 copies, 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. We will return the outline to you with comments on Wednesday, Mar. 21. 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 by noon on Friday, Mar. 2 or at the beginning of class on Monday, Mar. 26, respectively. You cannot get a passing grade for the paper without having gotten at least a check on both the topic memo and the outline. A first draft of the paper is due at the latest at the beginning of class on Monday, Apr. 9 (1 copy). I encourage you to hand it in early. This draft need not be as polished as the final version, but it must contain all parts of the paper. It also must be at least 2,000 words in length (and
absolutely no more than 4,000), written in full sentences, properly spell-checked, and include references, as well as a word count. We will return your first drafts with comments as soon as possible, in the order in which they are received. The final draft is due no later than 12 noon on Monday, Apr. 30. 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 (such as Microsoft Word). The final 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 ("e-res"), also linked to the course website (access to e-reserves is restricted to students registered for the course); a few items are exclusively accessible via the Blackboard portion of the course website ("cws"). Many readings are from the books below, which are available for purchase at Duke's Textbook Store and available on reserve at Perkins Library.


INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction to Non-State Actors in World Politics: 4 Episodes (Wed, Jan. 10)


NOTE: No class on Mon, Jan. 15, 2007: Martin Luther King Holiday

THINKING THEORETICALLY ABOUT NON-STATE ACTORS IN WORLD POLITICS

2. Thinking Theoretically about Non-State Actors in World Politics (Wed, Jan. 17)

3. Democracy, Accountability and Non-State Actors (Mon, Jan. 22)

Recommended:


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.


Eizenstat, Stuart E. "Nongovernmental Organizations as the Fifth Estate." *Seton Hall Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations* vol.5 no.2 (Summer/Fall 2004): 15-28.

Recommended:


4. Conducting and Evaluating Social Science Research and Writing (Wed, Jan. 24)

Recommended:


King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba. [Selections from:] *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994: Sections 1.1.0, 1.1.1, 1.1.3, 1.2.0, 1.2.1, 1.2.3, 1.3.3, 1.3.4; 2.1.2, 2.2, 2.6; 3.0 - 3.3.2; 4.3 - 4.4.5 [= pp. 3, 6f, 9-19, 23-27, 31-33; 42f, 46-49, 55-63; 75-95; 128-149]


Recommended:


**TYPES OF NON-STATE ACTORS**

5. International (Governmental) Organizations & Supranational Courts (Mon, Jan. 29)

Recommended:

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.


Recommended:

6. Transnational Non-Governmental Organizations (Wed, Jan. 31)


e-res 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


Recommended:

7. Informal Networks, Public Opinion, and other Non-State Actors (Mon, Feb. 5)


Recommended:

**INTER- & TRANSNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS**

8. The Environment: An International Public Good? (Wed, Feb. 7)


Recommended:

9. Transnational Environmental Politics (Mon, Feb. 12)


Recommended:

**THE INTERNATIONAL SPREAD OF IDEAS AND NORMS**

10. Women’s Suffrage & Social Policy Ideas (Wed, Feb. 14)


Recommended:
Monday, Feb. 19, 2005: MIDTERM

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

12. Transnational Politics of Human Rights I (Wed, Feb. 21)

RESEARCH TOPIC MEMO DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS!

[No required readings for today]

13. Transnational Politics of Human Rights II (Mon, Feb. 26)


Recommended:


Recommended:

NON-STATE ACTORS IN THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

15. Transnational Actors in the International Economy:
Multinational Corporations, Labor, and the Anti-Globalization Movement (Mon, Mar. 5)


Explore: http://www.attac.org


16. Regulation: Does Globalization Lead to a Race to the Bottom? (Wed, Mar. 7)


Recommended:

Drezner, Daniel W. "Bottom Feeders." Foreign Policy no. 121 (November-December 2000): 64-70.


NOTE: No class Mon/Wed, Mar. 12/14 (Spring Break).

17. States and Firms in the Setting of International Standards:
Public and Private Institutions (Mon, Mar. 19)

RESEARCH PAPER OUTLINE DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS!


DEVELOPMENT

18. Multinational Corporations & Economic Development (Wed, Mar. 21)


19. IOs, NGOs & Development: Economic and Beyond (Mon, Mar. 26)


Recommended:

**DOMESTIC AND INT'L SECURITY & NON-STATE ACTORS**

20a. Transnational Organized Crime (Wed, Mar. 28)


20b. Mercenaries & Private Armies (Wed, Mar. 28)


+ supplemental materials TBA

21. When State and Nation Do Not Coincide: Ethnic Groups and Conflicts (Mon, Apr. 2)


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


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

23. Religious Groups as Transnational Political Actors (Mon, Apr. 9)

1st DRAFT OF THE RESEARCH PAPER DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS!


Recommended:

**INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM**

24. Sources and Nature of Terrorism (Wed, Apr. 11)


Recommended:


25. Inter- and Transnational Dimension of Terrorism (Mon, Apr. 16)


online Yahya, Harun. "Islam Denounces Terrorism."  


26. International Terrorism: Responses by States, IOs, and Other Actors (Wed, Apr. 18)


Recommended:
Katzenstein, Peter J. "Same War, Different Views: Germany, Japan, and Counterterrorism." *International Organization* vol.57 no.4 (Fall 2003): 731-760.
27. Conclusions & Review (Mon, Apr. 23)


Recommended:

Wednesday, 25 April 2007: FINAL
This is an in-class, closed-book written exercise, with special emphasis on the material covered since the midterm.

Tuesday, 1 May 2007, noon: RESEARCH PAPER DUE