

MA Program in Political Science – United Nations and Global Policy Studies

Capstone Seminar

Syllabus

Spring 2020 Wednesday 6-8.40pm

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Course Rationale

The Capstone Seminar is the final stage of the Rutgers MA Program in Political Science – United Nations and Global Policy Studies. It brings together the various strands of the program providing students with a rounded and in-depth understanding of the curriculum concentrations dealt with in the MA program: democracy, participation and community; human rights, gender and international law; development, environment and public health; conflict resolution, counter-terrorism and cyber security; and entrepreneurship and socially responsible investment. Capstone seminars often reflect the research interest of the professor overseeing the course and the theme of this capstone seminar is Does Democracy Matter? The theme is sufficiently broad to encompass issues of rights, development, conflict and socially responsible business and students will be expected to work on several of these issues.

The Rutgers MA is based on the scholarly literature and engages with relevant theories but it nevertheless has a bias towards applied knowledge and preparation for professional life. This balance between the theoretical and the applied will be reflected in the capstone seminar and in the assignments undertaken by the students.

Course Objectives

Students who complete the course will:

- Deepen the knowledge they have already acquired
- Extend it to other scholarly fields within the MA program
- Understand the methods of shaping theory to practical outcomes
- Strengthen their ideas on policy development
- Be better prepared for academic or professional life

Assignments

The course contains a mix of participative post-graduate lectures, class discussions, student presentations and group work. The lectures will be delivered by the professor overseeing it with the occasional participation of Rutgers faculty and guests.

Apart from class participation, students will be required to produce two major papers, present an academic lecture and work on a group project:

The Policy Brief

Students will write a policy brief similar to those produced by think tanks in Washington and elsewhere. The policy brief will identify an issue relevant to the course and touching on the theme Does Democracy Matter, as well as a specific “real world” problem within that issue. It will analyze the problem, discuss whether any academic theories can be of assistance in understanding it and recommend policy changes that will help address it. The student will provide a brief outline of the policy brief in class at an early stage of the research to obtain feedback and guidance. The policy brief should be around 6,000-7,500 words (around 20 line and a half spacing pages with a 10% allowance in each direction), with full citations and will comprise **30%** of the final grading. **The policy brief is due on Monday 9 March.**

A good example of a recent policy brief:

Saskia Brechenmacher, Tackling Women’s Underrepresentation in U.S. Politics: Comparative Perspectives From Europe,

<http://carnegieendowment.org/2018/02/20/tackling-women-s-underrepresentation-in-u.s.-politics-comparative-perspectives-from-europe-pub-75315>

The Review Essay

Students will write a review essay similar to those published in scholarly journals tracing the history and argumentation concerned with a specific theory or issue. The review essay borrows some forms from the literature review written by students for their PhD theses and some from scholarly criticism allowing the student to demonstrate mastery over the theory or issue. It is a difficult art commensurate with the requirements and expectations of those undertaking the capstone seminar. Students are encouraged to consult various review essays

The topic of the review essay will be agreed by the professor. Students are encouraged to consult members of the Rutgers faculty who will assist in identifying an appropriate topic and guiding them to the relevant literature. Good examples of review essays in

political science is: Robert Elgie (2005) "From Linz to Tsebelis: three waves of presidential/parliamentary studies?" *Democratization*, 12.1, 106-122; Peter Mair (2005), "Democracy Beyond Parties", *Center for the Study of Democracy* (University of California, Irvine) <http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/3291/viewcontent.pdf?sequence=1>

The review essay should be around 6,000-7,500 words (around 20 line and a half spacing pages with a 10% allowance in each direction) and be publishable in form and style (indeed several have been published in the Rutgers UNMA Occasional Papers series as winners of the annual essay competition). It will comprise **30%** of the final grading. **The review essay is due on Monday 20 April.**

The Academic Lecture

Each student will deliver an academic lecture. The aim is to develop both scholarly skills and presentation skills. The lecture will be of about 30-40 minutes duration including 10 minutes for questions. The topic of the lecture will be agreed by the professor overseeing the course. This assignment will test knowledge of the subject and also require the student to grapple with the logic of how to present it to an audience. It will build up the student's confidence in presentation skills – use of PowerPoint is discouraged though students may place preliminary supporting materials on Sakai. The academic lecture will comprise **20%** of the final grading. Timing of the lectures will depend on the size of the class.

The Campaign – a group exercise

While the terminology of "campaigns" is usually linked with election to political office, it has broadened to include civil society campaigns in favor of a particular cause, commercial campaigns in favor of a particular socially responsible product or professional group campaigns in favor of workers or business issues. Groups, ideally of 4-5 students, will identify a campaign proponent and issue, design a campaign and present their work in class together with props if appropriate. The campaign will include strategies for fund raising, lobbying, and for their social media offerings to go viral! This requirement will be further discussed in class. The campaign exercise will comprise **10%** of the final grading.

Additional aspects

The final **10%** grading will be based on class participation.

The three individual assignments need to be spread across three of the five curriculum **concentrations**. The group exercise need not concern itself with fitting into the concentrations given the diversity of participants.

Key Dates

The first policy brief is due on **9 March**; the review essay is due on **20 April**; the group exercise will be held during the final class on **29 April**.

Course Outline

Week 1

Introduction and Overview

Student expectations and goals

Discussion of themes linking the various curriculum concentrations

Explanation of assignments and exhortation to plan semester workload and begin early

As the capstone seminar and in particular the assignments will largely follow the topics selected by students, students need to review readings from previous courses and deepen their reading on issues of particular interest.

The seminar will nevertheless pursue various themes in a structured program. Part of that structure will be the lectures delivered by students which will be woven into the program according to theme and timing.

Week 2: Democracy

Does Democracy Matter? This is the question running through the capstone seminar, though it may be more prominent on some issues than on others. The discussion will look at the relationship of democracy to issues such as human rights, gender, development and peace. Most students will be familiar with some of the literature. Those needing to refresh their understanding should consult:

Larry Diamond (2008) *The Spirit of Democracy*, Henry Holt, NY

Roland Rich (2017) *Democracy in Crisis: Why, Where, How to Respond*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, (the introductory chapter is available online)

[https://www.rienner.com/title/Democracy in Crisis Why Where How to Respond](https://www.rienner.com/title/Democracy%20in%20Crisis%20Why%20Where%20How%20to%20Respond)

For a deeper appreciation of some of the theoretical refinements, students will consult:

John Keane (2009) *The Life and Death of Democracy* W.W. Norton, NY and in particular the discussion of **monitory democracy** at 686-731.

Francis Fukuyama (2014) *Political Order and Political Decay: From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy* Farrar, Straus and Giroux, NY. Chapter 27 "Democracy" 399-451.

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (2017) *The Global State of Democracy – Exploring Democracy's Resilience*, <https://www.idea.int/news-media/multimedia-reports/global-state-democracy>

Week 3 Civil Society

Among the contributions of the United States to democracy are the concepts of secularism and civil society. Tocqueville first drew attention to the voluntary associative energy of the American people cooperating on issues without the imprimatur of a monarch or a state religion. The seminar will examine whether the vibrancy of civil society is the key factor in the success of democracy.

Civil society is under attack around the world and this will be reviewed by reference to the *Defending Civil Society Report* (2012) Co-authored by International Center for Not-for-Profit Law (ICNL) and the World Movement for Democracy Secretariat at the National Endowment for Democracy (NED)

http://www.icnl.org/research/resources/dcs/DCS_Report_Second_Edition_English.pdf

Thomas Carothers (2015) "The Closing Space Challenge: How Are Funders Responding?" Carnegie Endowment,

<http://carnegieendowment.org/2015/11/02/closing-space-challenge-how-are-funders-responding/il6s>

The *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 26, Number 4, October 2015 has a section devoted to the attack on civil society:

Christopher Walker "Authoritarianism Goes Global (II)" 20

Anne Applebaum "The Leninist Roots of Civil Society Repression" 21-27

Douglas Rutzen "Civil Society Under Assault" 28-39

Peter Pomerantsev "The Kremlin's Information War" 40-50

Anne-Marie Brady "China's Foreign Propaganda Machine" 51-59

Week 4 Human Rights

What is the relationship between human rights and democracy? There is a strong argument for symbiosis or that they are linked even more closely by being mutually constitutive. Yet tensions remain in theory and practice. In theory, there is the problem of majoritarianism. There is also the mediating role democracy plays in human rights

limitations. In practice, the proponents often squabble over resources and priorities. Both concepts require a third leg – the rule of law.

John Keane *The Life and Death of Democracy* (2009) W.W. Norton, NY, 731-747

Roland Rich *Pacific Asia in Quest of Democracy* (2007) Lynne Rienner, Boulder, Chapter 4 “Establishing the Rule of Law” 85-119

Shyama Kuruville et al (2012) “The Millennium Development Goals and Human Rights: Realizing Shared Commitments” *Human Rights Quarterly* Volume 34, Number 1, February 2012, 14-177

Week 5 Gender

The focus on gender will be from the perspective of how civil society, activists and feminists influence the global normative architecture. The UN has been a central player in norm entrepreneurship in relation to women’s equality and empowerment but the leadership has come primarily from outside actors with Member States ultimately ratifying the results. It can also be argued that parliaments have been more influential in this field than governments.

Wendy Guns (2013) “The Influence of the Feminist Anti-Abortion NGOs as Norm Setters at the Level of the UN: Contesting UN Norms on Reproductive Autonomy, 1995-2005” *Human Rights Quarterly* Volume 35, Number 3, August 2013, 673-700

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 165-198

International IDEA (2005) *Women in Parliament: Beyond the Numbers*, International IDEA Stockholm, chapter 5, Azza Kazam and Joni Lovenduski “Women in Parliament: Making a Difference”, 187-213, <http://www.idea.int/publications/wip2/index.cfm>

Additional reading for those wishing to concentrate on this issue:

Niamh Reilly (2009) *Women’s Human Rights*, Polity Press, Cambridge

Week 6 International Law

International law is the law of nations. We live in an age where the nation-state, while remaining dominant, is under pressure from a range of influences including globalization, global civil society and global corporations. It is also undergoing change through regional integration processes and provincial autonomy demands. Perhaps the greatest long-term challenge is from a gathering cosmopolitanism with individuals

claiming rights from the international community rather than their governments. Because democracy and sovereignty have been said to be “joined at the hip”, the issues are significant.

James Crawford (2006) *The Creation of States in International Law*, Oxford, “Certain Basic Concepts” 28-36

Joseph Camilleri (2008) “Sovereignty Discourses and Practices – Past and Future”, Trudy Jacobsen, Charles Sampford and Ramesh Thakur, *Re-envisioning Sovereignty – the End of Westphalia?* Ashgate, 33-50

Thomas W. Pogge (1992) “Cosmopolitanism and Sovereignty” *Ethics*, Vol. 103, No. 1 (Oct., 1992), pp. 48-75

See also:

Roland Rich (2001) “Bringing Democracy into International Law” *Journal of Democracy* 12, No. 3 (July): pp.20-34

Hilary Charlesworth (2015) “Democracy and International Law” *Hague Academy Recueil*, Martinus Hijhoff, The Hague, 112-145

Week 7 Development

Among democracy’s reputed instrumental values is its role in enhancing economic development. The empirical evidence in this regard is open to interpretation but there is little doubt that a relationship exists though it may be subtle. One view is that the relationship can be discerned through the quality of both development and democracy. Both issues can also be seen from the perspective of globalization.

Jagdish Bhagwati (1995) “The New Thinking on Development” *Journal of Democracy* 6.4, 50-64

Amartya Sen (1999) *Development as Freedom*, Anchor Books, NY, chapter 12, 282-298

Paul Hopper (2012) *Understanding Development*, Polity Press, “Globalization and Development” 227-247

Francis Fukuyama (2014) *Political Order and Political Decay: From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy* Farrar, Straus and Giroux, NY, 311-321

Week 8 Sustainable Development Goals

In 2015, the international community adopted a new set of goals for 2030, called the Sustainable Development Goals to replace the Millennium Development Goals which focused on the period 2000-2015. The MDGs were surprisingly successful in prioritizing the efforts of the international community. The term “democracy” appears in neither set of goals but the SDGs have nevertheless evolved and refers to human rights. Can the SDGs have their intended effect?

UNGA Resolution (2015) “Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development” http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/70/L.1&Lang=E

Jeffrey Sachs (2015) *The Age of Sustainable Development*, Columbia University Press NY, chapter 14, 481-511

William Easterly (2015) “The SDGs Should Stand for Senseless, Dreamy, Garbled” *Foreign Policy* 28 September 2015

Elham Seyedsayamdost (2015) “MDG-based National Planning: An Assessment” http://oxfamblogs.org/fp2p/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/MDG-Assessment_ES.pdf

Week 9 International Environmental Policy

The issue of sustainability is at the heart of the new development goals. This fundamental question began its journey with a publication by the Club of Rome in 1972 on *The Limits of Growth* a theme taken up by the UN Stockholm conference the same year. It is now at the heart of the global development goals and has been recognized in the climate change struggle as the existential issue of our times.

Ruchi Anand (2004) *International Environmental Justice: A North-South Dimension* Ashgate, London, chapters 2 and 5

Michele Betsill Elisabeth Corell (2007) *NGO Diplomacy: The Influence of Nongovernmental Organizations in International Environmental Negotiations* MIT Press, Cambridge Mass., chapters 1 and 6

Working Group II Summary for Policymakers of the IPCC Fifth Assessment Report (2014) *Climate Change 2014: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability* http://ipcc-wg2.gov/AR5/images/uploads/WG2AR5_SPM_FINAL.pdf

Week 10 Democratic Peace Theory

Emanuel Kant theorized that peace would come with the replacement of monarchies by republics and Michael Doyle updated the theory by explaining that Kant’s “republics” meant democracies. Since that breakthrough, Democratic Peace Theory has been

bolstered by significant empirical evidence and lionized in foreign policy pronouncements but also put under a cloud by the finding that transition democracies are more war-like than other typologies.

Michael Doyle (1986) "Liberalism and World Politics" *The American Political Science Review* Vol. 80, No. 4 (Dec., 1986), pp. 1151-1169 <http://bev.berkeley.edu/fp/readings/Doyle.txt>

Draw on (the late) Professor R. J. Rummel's comprehensive compilation of papers on <https://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/MIRACLE.HTM>

Edward D. Mansfield, Jack Snyder (2005) *Electing to Fight: Why Emerging Democracies Go to War* MIT Press, Harvard Mass. Chapter 1 and excerpts from chapters 7 and 8. <http://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/conferences/2004-bb/papers/snyder-csae-bb2004.pdf>

Week 11 Conflict and Human Security

The dilemma posed by Mansfield and Snyder is that to achieve democratic peace one has to pass through periods of greater violence to which emerging democracies are prone. Yet the work of the Human Security Project belies this analysis arguing that there has been a global decline in violence, generally coinciding with the period of post-Cold War democratic transitions.

Steven Pinker (2011) *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined*, Penguin Books, chapters 1 and 7 (378-415, 475-481)

Andrew Mack (ed.) (2014) *Human Security Report 2013: The Decline in Global Violence – Evidence, Explanation and Contestation*, Simon Fraser University, Overview and Ch. 1, http://www.hsrgroup.org/docs/Publications/HSR2013/HSRP_Report_2013_140226_Web.pdf

Moisés Naím (2013) *The End of Power*, Basic Books, chapter 6 "Pentagons versus Pirates: The Decaying Power of Large Armies"

Week 12 The Corporation as Culprit or Savior?

The World Bank defines a public-private partnerships as "a long-term contract between a private party and a government entity, for providing a public asset or service, in which the private party bears significant risk and management responsibility, and remuneration is linked to performance." The corporation has come full circle from the early days of the UN when it was vilified to the current situation when it is seen by some as the savior of economic development. Should corporations be seen as amoral profit seeking entities or as socially responsible members of the community?

Glenn Hubbard and William Duggan (2009) *The Aid Trap: Hard Truths about Ending Poverty*, Columbia University Press, chapters 3 and 6

Jonathan Kirschner USAID (2015) "Blended Capital: How Partnership with the Private Sector Can Enhance Our Impact"

<http://divatusaid.tumblr.com/post/129724321447/blended-capital-how-partnership-with-the-private>

Susan Ariel Aaronson, Ian Higham (2013) "'Re-righting Business': John Ruggie and the Struggle to Develop International Human Rights Standards for Transnational Firms" *Human Rights Quarterly* Volume 35, Number 2, May 2013, pp. 333-264

Week 13 Does Democracy Matter?

Drawing on the readings throughout the course, the issue under discussion will be whether democracy matters. Democracy has been studied from the perspective of rights, gender, development and peace. Are the perceived links those of causation or correlation? Can democracy be promoted or must it grow organically?

Week 14 Group Exercise

Students will also present their group activity, the campaign.

Academic Integrity Policy

Academic integrity means, among other things that you as a student must:

- Develop and write all of your own assignments.
- Show in detail where the materials you use in your papers come from. Create citations whether you are paraphrasing authors or quoting them directly. Be sure always to show source and page number within the assignment and include a bibliography in the back.
- Do not fabricate information or citations in your work.
- Do not facilitate academic dishonesty for another student by allowing your own work to be submitted by others.

The consequences of scholastic dishonesty are very serious. If you are in doubt about any issue related to plagiarism or scholastic dishonesty, please discuss it with the instructor. Students are also advised to consult the following links that provide more information and plagiarism tutorials:

<http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/>

<http://library.camden.rutgers.edu/EducationalModules/Plagiarism/>

http://www.libraries.rutgers.edu/avoid_plagiarism

<http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/resources-for-students/>

Other Academic Support Services

Rutgers has a variety of resources for academic support. For more information, check <http://www.rutgers.edu/academics/academic-support>

Rutgers has Learning Centers on each campus where any student can obtain tutoring and other help. For information, check <http://lrc.rutgers.edu/>

Rutgers also has a Writing Center where students can obtain help with writing skills and assignments. Learn more here: <http://wp.rutgers.edu/tutoring/writingcenters>