

POL 380H
Topics in International Relations:
The Politics of Aid and Humanitarianism

University of Toronto
Department of Political Science
Summer 2018

Instructors:
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Lectures:
Monday & Wednesday: 4-6 PM
Location: LM155

Office hours:
Mondays: 2-4 PM (Porisky)
Tuesdays: 10-12 AM (Scott)
Room 3007, Sidney Smith

Course Description

This course explores the expanding scale of humanitarian and development aid operations by states, international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and civil society actors. It is structured around two guiding questions. First, what are the effects of foreign aid on those that give and those that receive? Second, what are the boundaries of humanitarianism and how far can they be pushed? We will explore the ethical and moral dilemmas, theory, and practice of humanitarian and development aid. You will be asked to consider how aid can be a means to securing the security of sovereign states and / or vulnerable people, the motivations for giving, and the role of militaries during humanitarian emergency.

Throughout the course students will develop their knowledge of international relations theories and acquire a greater understanding of the core concepts and debates surrounding development and humanitarian aid. Theoretical concepts will be applied to examples of aid and intervention in sub-Saharan Africa, Kosovo, Somalia and today's War in Syria. The instructor's intent is to provide students with an opportunity to apply concepts to real-world cases and to give students an understanding of how past humanitarian action shapes choices during contemporary crises.

Learning Outcomes

By end of the course, students will be able to identify humanitarian action, distinguish amongst forms of intervention, interference, and aid, and adjudicate amongst different moral ethical arguments in favour of or against providing assistance across borders. They will be able to identify and use different theoretical approaches to understanding the global humanitarian enterprise, as well as understand the strengths and weaknesses of each.

This course is reading-intensive. You are expected to have read the assigned texts, and be prepared to discuss the readings in class. Assignments and class materials are designed to provide students with theoretical and applied analytical and research skills.

Course Evaluation

Course Requirement	Percentage of Total Grade	Due Date
Class Participation	10%	N/A
Reading Commentary	10%	See Below
Annotated Bibliography	10%	May 16 th
5-Page Paper Draft	15%	May 30 th
12-Page Final Paper	25%	June 13 th
Final Exam	30%	TBD

Assignments are to be handed in at the beginning of class on the date specified above. Late assignments will receive a 2% per day penalty, including weekends. Late papers are to be emailed to the instructors and a confirmation of receipt via email will be provided. Please keep a copy of work handed in until the marked copy is returned to you.

Extensions on term work will only be granted in exceptional circumstances beyond your control (i.e. documented illness, injury, death of a family member). Requests for extension should be made as soon as possible. This is a short course, which necessitates remaining on top of assignment deadlines. More information on extensions/missed exams due to circumstances beyond your control can be found here: artsci.utoronto.ca/current/petitions/common.

Participation (10%): All students must come to class prepared to contribute through discussion, which requires you to have read *and* reflected on the materials assigned for that class session. While you may be reluctant to participate due to nerves, know that this is your opportunity to practice public speaking during paired and group activities or whole-class discussion. A thoughtful question is sometimes as valuable as a statement and that you will be graded on your improvement over time.

Reading Commentary (10%): You must write one short commentary (2 or three paragraphs) on the readings and submit your work to Blackboard before 6 PM the night before class. These commentaries are not summaries; you are expected to analyze the readings and how they connect to course themes. Your colleagues and instructors will read your work before class. You may be asked to further discuss one or two ideas and will be expected to provide 2 or 3 questions to stimulate in-class discussion during class the next day.

You will have the opportunity to sign up for the week of your choosing on the first day of class.

Annotated Bibliography (10%): A 10-source annotated bibliography no more than 5-pages long is due in Week 3 gives an account of research central and relevant to the topic of your paper. Each entry should point to the objective of the source, the thesis, and explain the relevance of the source for your purposes. Citations should be Chicago-Style. Eight sources must be from peer-reviewed journals in political science. Information on annotated bibliographies is available at <http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/types-of-writing/annotated-bibliography/> and you should visit the Reference Librarian at Robarts Library for help doing an advanced search that yields sources relevant to your topic.

5-Page Paper Draft (15%): Due in Week 7, this paper draft should draw and build on the sources in your annotated bibliography. It should include a thesis statement, your supporting arguments (including some preliminary evidence for your claims), and a preliminary bibliography. The draft should be no more than 5 pages in length, double-spaced, including the bibliography.

12-Page Research Paper (25%): Students will complete a research paper. It must have a clear argument (thesis statement). It is expected that you will do your annotated bibliography, first paper draft, and research paper on the same topic. Using the theoretical approaches and empirical material taught in the course, you must argue in favour or against a case of humanitarian intervention, interference, or global aid that occurred historically. Expectations for the paper, annotated bibliography and draft will be discussed further during the course, and a list of suggested cases will be made available early in the course.

- . The paper should be ~3000 words (12 pages), not including notes and bibliography;
- . You must utilize *at least* twelve sources, seven of which were included in your annotated bibliography (if you unable to meet this requirement due to changes in response to feedback provided by the instructors, you are required to come to our office hours to discuss this in-person at least one week before the due date);
- . Use 12-point Times New Roman font, double spaced, with normal margins;
- . Complete, proper, and consistent citation practices are required; and
- . Assignments must use Chicago Style Citations (instructions and guides to be posted to Blackboard).

Final Exam (30%): The final exam for the course will take place during the official exam period. The exam format will consist of short essays. Students will have a choice of five essay questions, and must choose three out of the five essay questions to answer. The format of the final exam will be further discussed in class.

Course Policies

Readings: All readings will be available on Blackboard. Readings where chapters are marked TBD will be provided in first weeks of class.

Blackboard: We are using Blackboard in this course. You should access the course regularly to check for announcements, broadcasts, etc. You will need your UTORid and password. Login at <http://portal.utoronto.ca>. For technical help and information, please contact: blackboard@utoronto.ca. The instructors are unable to provide support for the web-based software. There are special services that you should consult.

Turnitin: Normally, students will be required to submit their final research paper to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

Writing Resources: The University of Toronto provides a number of valuable resources to

students to assist with writing. Undergraduate students taking summer courses are able to book appointments with the five writing centers, which remain open during the summer, including: Innis College, University College, New College, Woodsworth College and Victoria College writing centers. Appointment information is available at: <http://writing.utoronto.ca/>

Accessibility: The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility, and will make every attempt to provide reasonable and appropriate accommodations to persons who have disabilities. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or class materials, please contact Accessibility Services (<http://discover.utoronto.ca/students-with-a-disability>) and/or the instructors as soon as possible.

Etiquette: At the core of this course is meaningful and constructive dialogue, which requires mutual respect, willingness to listen and tolerance of different views. Class discussions are expected to be civilized and respectful to different viewpoints. All discussions should remain on topic. In order for this to happen, students must come to class prepared and on time. Students are also expected to refrain from use of cellphones and laptops during class time, with exception of the use of laptops to take notes. Use of laptops or electronic devices for other purposes will be deemed disruptive to students' learning.

Academic Integrity: Academic integrity is fundamental to learning and scholarship at the University of Toronto. Participating honestly, respectfully, responsibly, and fairly in this academic community ensures that the U of T degree that you earn will be valued as a true indication of your individual academic achievement, and will continue to receive the respect and recognition it deserves. Familiarize yourself with the University of Toronto's *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters* (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>). It is the rule book for academic behaviour at the U of T, and you are expected to know the rules. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:

- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- Copying material word-for-word from a source (including lecture and study group notes) and not placing the words within quotation marks.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- Making up sources or facts.
- Including references to sources that you did not use.
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment including:
 - working in groups on assignments that are supposed to be individual work;
 - having someone rewrite or add material to your work while "editing".
- Lending your work to a classmate who submits it as his/her own without your permission.

On tests and exams:

- Using or possessing any unauthorized aid, including a cell phone.
- Looking at someone else's answers
- Letting someone else look at your answers.
- Misrepresenting your identity.
- Submitting an altered test for re-grading.

Misrepresentation:

- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including doctor's notes.
- Falsifying institutional documents or grades.

The University of Toronto treats cases of academic misconduct very seriously. All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following the procedures outlined in the *Code*. The consequences for academic misconduct can be severe, including a failure in the course and a notation on your transcript. If you have any questions about what is or is not permitted in this course, please do not hesitate to contact us. If you have questions about appropriate research and citation methods, seek out additional information from us, or from other available campus resources like the [U of T Writing Website](#). If you are experiencing personal challenges that are having an impact on your academic work, please speak to us or seek the advice of your college registrar.

Class and Reading Schedule

FOREIGN AID

Week 1: Introduction & The History of Foreign Aid (May 7th)

This week we will provide an overview of the course, including expectations for assignments, annotated bibliographies, 5-page draft paper, and final research paper. We will discuss potential research topics and answer questions students have about the course and the assignments.

Foreign aid is constantly changing and has been shaped and reshaped from the end of WWII to today. This week we will discuss how aid shifted from a gap-filling measure during crises and warfare in the 1950s to a governance tool many hope will help us meet global development goals in the new Millennium.

Required Readings:

Moyo, Dambisa. 2009. *Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How There is a Better Way for Africa*. London: Penguin Books, Chapter 2.

Riddell, Roger C. 2007. *Does Foreign Aid Really Work?* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 2 & 3.

Recommended Readings:

Escobar, Arturo. 1994. *Encountering Development*. Princeton University Press.

Lebovic, James H. 2005. "Donor Positioning: Development Assistance from the U.S., Japan, France, Germany, and Britain", *Political Research Quarterly* 58, 1: pg. 119-126.

Sen, Amartya. 1999. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999.

Weaver, Kate. 2008. *Hypocrisy Trap: The World Bank and the Poverty of Reform*. Princeton University Press.

Week 2: The Motivations Behind Foreign Aid (May 9th)

This week concerns the motivations for giving and the motivations for interfering across borders. Why do states give? Why do INGOs operate internationally? Who does foreign aid benefit?

Required Readings:

Lumsdaine, David Halloran. 1993. *Moral Vision in International Politics: The Foreign Aid Regime, 1949-1989*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. *Chapter 2*.

Lancaster, Carol. 2007. *Foreign Aid.: Diplomacy, Development and Domestic Politics*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. *Chapter 2*

Paris, Roland. "Human security: Paradigm shift or hot air?." *International security* 26, no. 2 (2001): 87-102.

Duffield, Mark. *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security*. Ch. 1

Recommended Readings:

Riddell, Roger C. 2007. *Does Foreign Aid Really Work?* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Ferguson, James. 1994. *The Anti-Politics Machine. "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. University of Minnesota Press.

Baranyi, Stephen, and Anca Paducel. 2012. "Whither Development in Canada's Approach Toward Fragile States?", in *Struggling for Effectiveness: CIDA and Canadian Foreign Aid* (Montreal: McGillQueen's University Press): pg. 108-134.

Easterly, William. 2006. *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good*. New York: Penguin Books.

Week 3: International Organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations (May 14th)

International organizations (IOs) and international NGOs (INGOs) are key players in foreign aid and development and are often the link between state-funders and recipients of aid. We will explore the role of IOs and INGOs and how they can help or hinder during crises.

Required Readings:

Natsios, Andrew S. "NGOs and the UN system in complex humanitarian emergencies: conflict or cooperation?" *Third World Quarterly*, 16(3), 1995.

Barnett, Michael. *Eyewitness to a genocide: the United Nations and Rwanda*. Cornell University Press, 2002. Ch. 1, It was a very good year.

Barnett, Michael N. and Martha Finnemore. (1999) "The Politics, Power and Pathologies of International Organizations." *International Organization*, 53 (4)" 699-732.

Murdie, Amanda. (2014). *Help or harm: The human security effects of international NGOs*. Stanford University Press. Ch. 2, INGOs in World Politics.

Recommended Readings:

Stroup, Sarah S. *Borders among Activists: International NGOs in the United States, Britain, and France*. Cornell University Press, 2012. Ch. TBD.

Barnett, Michael and Finnemore, Martha. 2004. *Rules for the World*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Week 4: Somalia (May 16th)

*****Annotated bibliography due at the beginning of class*****

This week we will look at the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) with the aim of applying concepts of intervention and humanitarian action to this defining case in the history of aid and in the history of aid organizations. As we study this case, we will keep in mind the historically embedded nature of aid and the effects of each crisis on the next.

Required Readings:

Natsios, Andrew S. 1996. "Humanitarian Relief Intervention in Somalia: The Economics of Chaos" *International Peacekeeping* 3(1): 68-91.

Neuman, Michael and Benoit Leduc. "Somalia: Everything is Open to Negotiation" in *Humanitarian Negotiations Revealed* MSF.

Wheeler, Nicholas J.. "From Famine to 'Humanitarian War': The US and UN Intervention in Somalia" in *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society*.

HUMANITARIANISM & AID IN PRACTICE

*****VICTORIA DAY OFF*****

Week 5: What is humanitarianism? (May 23rd)

This week we will get to know humanitarian principles and morality. We will review the central debates in humanitarianism as a field of action and a field of study.

Required Readings:

James Orbinski. 1999. "Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech," Oslo, Norway, November 10.

International Committee of the Red Cross. Codes of Conduct

Fiona Terry. *Condemned to Repeat*. Chaps. 1 TBC

Ilana Feldman. 2009. "Gaza's Humanitarian Problem," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Spring, 38, 3, 22-37.

Recommended Readings:

Didier Fassin. 2007. "Humanitarianism: a Nongovernmental Government," in Michael Feher, ed., *Nongovernmental Politics*. NY: Zone Books.

Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, Chapter One. TBC

Barnett, Michael. "Evolution without progress? Humanitarianism in a world of hurt." *International Organization* 63, no. 4 (2009): 621-663.

Week 6: Humanitarian Intervention (May 28th)

What is humanitarian intervention? What is a humanitarian emergency? When should a military act across borders?

Fiona Terry in F. Weissman, ed., *In the Shadow of Just Wars: Violence, Politics, and Humanitarian Action* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005). Ch. TBD.

Holzgrefe, "The Humanitarian Intervention Debate."

Martha Finnemore. 2004. *The Purpose of Intervention*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003. Chapter 3, Changing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention

Fassin, Didier, and Mariella Pandolfi, eds. *Contemporary states of emergency: the politics of military and humanitarian interventions*. New York: Zone Books, 2010. Ch. TBD.

Recommended Readings:

Wheeler, "The Humanitarian Responsibilities of Sovereignty"

Michael Barnett & Thomas Weiss (2008) "Humanitarianism: A Brief History of the Present," in Michael Barnett & Thomas Weiss, eds. *Humanitarianism in Question*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 1-48.

Stephen Krasner (1999) "Rulers and Ruled: Minority Rights," *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 73-104.

Patricia Owens. 2009. "The Humanitarian Condition? On War and Making a Global Public," in her *Between War and Politics: International Relations and the Thought of Hannah Arendt*, NY: Oxford University Press.

Week 7: Case Study, the Politics of Food Aid and Famine in sub-Saharan Africa (May 30th)

***** 5-Page Paper Draft 1 Due *****

This week we will apply the concepts we have learned over the past weeks to examine the actions of international donors in times of drought and famine in sub-Saharan Africa. Do international donors prevent food insecurity and famine? How do relationships between international organizations and governments impact food aid? How does politics impact the distribution of food aid at the national level?

Required Readings:

Uvin, Peter. (1992). "Regime, Surplus and Self-Interest: The International Politics of Food Aid." *International Studies Quarterly*, 36(3), 293-312

Devereux, Stephen. (2009). "Why does famine persist in Africa?" *Food Security*, 1: 25-35.

de Waal, Alex. (1997). *Famine Crimes: Politics & the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Choose **one** of the following chapters to read: 5, 6, 8 or 9

Recommended Readings:

Maren, Michael. 2002. *The Road to Hell: The Ravaging Effects of Foreign Aid and International Charity*. New York: The Free Press. Chapters TBD.

Jayne, T.S., John Strauss, Takashi Yamano and Daniel Molla. (2001). "Giving to the Poor? Targeting of Food Aid in Rural Ethiopia." *World Development*, 29(5): 887-910.

Hancock, Graham. *The Lords of Poverty: The Power, Prestige, and Corruption of the International Aid Business*. New York: The Atlantic Monthly Press.

Keller, Edmond J. (1992). "Drought, War, and the Politics of Famine in Ethiopia and Eritrea." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 30(40): 609-624

Week 8: Kosovo (June 4th)

NATO intervened in the Balkans in 1999 in its most sustained use of armed force in 50 years. It attacked without UN Security Council authorization and under the banner of putting a stop to crimes against humanity. This week we will discuss why Kosovo was precedent setting and changed discourse around aid and intervention.

Daalder, Ivo H., and Michael E. O'Hanlon. *Winning ugly: NATO's war to save Kosovo*. Brookings Institution Press, 2004. Excerpt TBD.

Pandolfi, Mariella. "Contract of mutual (in) difference: governance and the humanitarian apparatus in contemporary Albania and Kosovo." *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 10, no. 1 (2003): 369-381.

Paris, Roland. "Kosovo and the metaphor war." *Political Science Quarterly* 117, no. 3 (2002): 423-450.

Roberts, Adam. "Nato's 'humanitarian war' over kosovo." *Survival* 41, no. 3 (1999): 102-123.

Week 9: Do humanitarians have dirty hands? (June 6th)

What if fulfilling a duty to intervene and to help a distant 'other' also makes you complicit in wrongs during messy humanitarian emergency?

Jennifer Rubenstein. *Between Samaritans and States: The Political Ethics of Humanitarian INGOs. The Problem of Spattered Hands*. Ch. 4.

Wood, Reed M., and Christopher Sullivan. 2015. "Doing harm by doing good? The negative externalities of humanitarian aid provision during civil conflict." *Journal of Politics* 77(3): 736-748.

Nielsen, Richard A., Michael G. Findley, Zachary S. Davis, Tara Candland, and Daniel L. Nielson 2011, "Foreign aid shocks as a cause of violent armed conflict." *American Journal of Political Science* 55, (2): 219-232.

Emma Beals. 2017. *The Guardian*. Doctors resort to crowdfunding Syrian hospitals as red tape locks aid money.

Week 10: Can humanitarians be bought? Can they be bombed? (June 11th)

Stephen Hopgood. "Saying No to Walmart? Money and Morality in Professional Humanitarianism," in Michael Barnett and Thomas Weiss, eds., *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power, and Ethics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).

Fast, Larissa A. "Mind the gap: Documenting and explaining violence against aid workers." *European Journal of International Relations* 16, no. 3 (2010): 365-389.

Ben Taub. 2016 “The Shadow Doctors: The Underground Race to Spread Medical Knowledge as the Syrian Regime Erases It.” In the New Yorker.

Week 11: Stories from the Field (June 13th)

***** 12-Page Research Paper Due *****

This week we look at the perspectives of aid workers and aid recipients. What is it to need, receive, or be denied aid? What is it like to live and work in the aid world? How does it feel to live inside a compound, to attend high-level meetings, and to make choices for groups with less privilege and voice than you?

Anderson, Mary; Brown, Dayna; and Jean, Isabella. 2012. *Time to Listen: Hearing People on the Receiving End of International Aid*. Cambridge, MA: CDA Collaborative Learning Projects. Chapters 1, 4 & 5

Mosse, David (ed.) 2011. *Adventures in Aidland - the Anthropology of Professionals in International Development*. Oxford: Berghahn books. Ch. TBD

Autreserre, Severine. (2014). *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and Everyday Politics of International Intervention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch. TBD.

Recommended Readings:

Dawes, James. (2008.) *That the World May Know: Bearing Witness to Atrocity*. Harvard University Press.

Week 12: Review (June 18th)