

**POLC87H3 – International Cooperation and Institutions**  
**January – April 2020**

Time: Wednesdays, 11-1pm  
Location: MW 120

Instructor: David Zarnett  
[david.zarnett@utoronto.ca](mailto:david.zarnett@utoronto.ca)

Teaching Assistant: Michele St-Amant  
[michele.stamant@mail.utoronto.ca](mailto:michele.stamant@mail.utoronto.ca)

Office hours: Wednesdays, 1-2pm  
Location: TBD

**Course Description:**

The liberal international order appears to be collapsing, NATO is experiencing significant internal tensions, Britain is planning to withdraw from the European Union, and few states have curbed their carbon emissions despite signing the Paris Agreement in 2016. While these issues receive much attention, international cooperation remains a central feature of international politics. In fact, for thousands of years, humans have demonstrated an impressive (and destructive) capacity to cooperate on mass scales, unlike any other species on the planet. The human capacity for widespread cooperation is seen today in an international system that includes hundreds of international institutions designed to help facilitate collective action on a number of policy issues, including the environment, refugees, security and trade, among others.

This course explores the topic of international cooperation and situates it within the history and psychology of human cooperation. It draws on insights from International Relations and Evolutionary Psychology to help us make sense of why states cooperate, the obstacles to cooperation they face, and how international institutions are used to help them overcome these obstacles. This course also examines why states cooperate on some issues but not others, why cooperation breaks down, and what the future holds for international cooperation.

**Marking Scheme & Course Requirements**

Attendance & Class Participation – 10%  
In-Class Reading Tests – 15% x 2 (30%) (February 12<sup>th</sup> & March 11<sup>th</sup>)  
Analytical Essay – 25% (due on April 1<sup>st</sup>)  
Final Exam – 35%

*Attendance & Class Participation (10%)*

Attendance and class participation are an essential part of this course. You are expected to attend all classes having read and thought about the readings, and to be prepared to actively participate in class discussions and group exercises. Additional ways to participate in this class include attending office hours to speak about the course content and assignments.

### *Reading Tests (2 x 15%)*

There will be two reading tests held on weeks #6 and #9. The purpose of these tests is to assess the extent to which you are keeping up with the readings and understand their content. For the week #6 test, you will be tested on the readings from weeks 2, 3, 4 and 5. For the week #9 test, you will be tested on the readings from weeks 6, 7 and 8. The questions will test your understanding of the central points the authors make as well as how the various readings relate to each other.

### *Analytical Essay (25%) – due at the beginning of week #12*

For this assignment, you will produce an 8-10 page, double-spaced paper that answers ONE of the questions stated below. In this assignment, you will use at least 10 scholarly sources (including at least 5 readings from the syllabus) to answer your question in a thoughtful way, advancing a clear argument and engaging with counter-arguments.

1. Is an evolutionary approach useful to understanding international cooperation and international institutions?
2. Is a world government possible?
3. Will more female political leaders lead to a more cooperative world?
4. Why have states so far failed to cooperate to address the climate crisis?
5. What, if anything, can the causes of the breakdown of international cooperation preceding World War I tell us about Brexit?

Additional information:

- Times New Roman or Garamond font, 12 point.
- Footnotes in the Chicago style (for details on this style see here: [https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools\\_citationguide/citation-guide-1.html](https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide/citation-guide-1.html))
- No bibliography needed
- Any content over 10 pages will not be read

### *Final Exam (35%)*

The exam will cover all course material. It will include multiple choice, short and long answer questions. More details on the exam will be provided in the last few weeks of the course.

### **Course Materials**

There are no readings or textbooks that need to be purchased. Most of the readings are available online through the University of Toronto's library catalogue. Others will be scanned and posted on Quercus under the section entitled "Pages."

### **Late Penalties & Extensions:**

All assignments that will be graded must be submitted on time via Quercus. The penalty for late assignments is 5% per day. If the assignment is not submitted within one week (7 days including the weekend) after the due date, a mark of zero will be assigned.

If you become ill and it affects your ability to do your academic work, please feel free to come speak to me directly. Normally, you will be asked for medical documentation in support of your

specific medical circumstances. The University's Verification of Student Illness or Injury (VOI) form is recommended because it indicates the impact and severity of the illness, while protecting your privacy about the details of the nature of the illness. You can submit a different form (like a letter from the doctor), as long as it is an original document, and it contains the same information as the VOI. For more information, please see <http://www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca/> If you get a concussion, break your hand, or suffer some other acute injury, you should register with Accessibility Services as soon as possible.

Late work must also be submitted to me directly via Quercus AND email. Students are strongly advised to keep draft work and hard copies of their assignments until the marked assignments have been returned and grades posted online.

### **Re-Grading Policy**

If you would like to challenge a grade, you will have to submit a one-page typed (single or double-spaced) document explaining in detail why a re-grade is necessary. This document MUST be submitted to me no sooner than 48 hours after the assignment has been returned to you and no later than one week after it has been returned. As the instructor, I reserve the right to reject this request. If I agree to re-grade the assignment, there is a chance your grade may be lower than the first grade you received.

### **Office Hours**

Each week during the term, I will hold regular office hours. No RSVP is required so please feel free to come by with any issues, concerns, or questions you might have. I'm also happy to discuss the course material if you would like to learn more about any particular issue discussed in class. If you are unable to come to my office hours, please get in touch so we can make alternative arrangements. I also encourage students to come in pairs or in groups, should you feel more comfortable doing so.

### **Email Policy:**

You can contact me anytime via email and I will get back to you within 24 hours from Monday to Friday. I will not be checking email on the weekend. While I am happy to correspond via email, please note that in-person discussions during office hours are often a more productive and efficient use of our time.

### **Plagiarism and Academic Integrity:**

The University and this course treats cases of cheating and plagiarism very seriously. The University of Toronto's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters outlines the behaviours that constitute academic dishonesty and the processes for addressing academic offences.

Potential offences in papers and assignments include:

- using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor;
- making up sources or facts;
- obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment.

On tests and exams cheating includes:

- using or possessing unauthorized aids;
- looking at someone else's answers;
- misrepresenting your identity, or falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including (but not limited to) doctor's notes.

If you have concerns about plagiarism, please come speak to me directly. As you prepare your essay, please make sure to review this link for useful guidance:

<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>.

### **Accessibility:**

I am committed to creating a classroom environment that is accessible for all students. If you require accommodation for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please feel free to discuss this with me and get in touch with AccessAbility Services as soon as possible: <http://www.utsc.utoronto.ca/~ability/>

### **Harassment & Discrimination**

The University of Toronto is a richly diverse community and as such is committed to providing an environment free of any form of harassment, misconduct, or discrimination. In this course, I seek to foster a civil, respectful, and open-minded climate in which we can all work together to develop a better understanding of key questions and debates through meaningful dialogue. As such, I expect all involved with this course to refrain from actions or behaviours that intimidate, humiliate, or demean persons or groups or that undermine their security or self-esteem based on traits related to race, religion, ancestry, place of origin, colour, ethnic origin, citizenship, creed, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, age, marital status, family status, disability, receipt of public assistance or record of offences.

### **Mental Health & Wellbeing**

Mental health is a growing concern among students. If you are in need of some assistance, please feel free to come speak to me. The University has also a number of services available to help you with your emotional wellbeing. Visit Health & Wellness for more information:

<https://www.utsc.utoronto.ca/hwc/health-wellness-centre>

### **Course Schedule & Readings**

#### **Week #1 (January 8<sup>th</sup>) – Introduction: A Brief History of Human Cooperation From Ancestral Hunter-Gatherers to Modern International Institutions**

- Listen to “Yuval Harari on Sapiens,” *EconTalk* (October 19 2015). Available at: <https://www.econtalk.org/yuval-harari-on-sapiens/> (1hr12mins)

#### **Week #2 (January 15<sup>th</sup>) – An Evolutionary Approach to Understanding International Cooperation and International Institutions**

- John Alford & John Hibbing, “The Origin of Politics: An Evolutionary Theory of Political Behaviour,” *Perspectives on Politics* Vol. 2 No. 4 (December 2004), pp. 707-723

- Richard Ned Lebow, “You Can’t Keep a Bad Idea Down: Evolutionary Biology and International Relations,” *International Politics Reviews* Vol. 1 (September 2013), pp. 2-10.

### **Week #3 (January 22<sup>nd</sup>) – The Role of “Myths” in Fostering Widespread International Cooperation: The Case of Money and International Economic Cooperation**

- Liana Gabora, “The Power of ‘Then’: The Uniquely Human Capacity to Imagine Beyond the Present,” *Psychology Today* (March 10, 2010). Available at: <https://www.psychologytoday.com/ca/blog/mindbloggling/201003/the-power-then-the-uniquely-human-capacity-imagine-beyond-the-present>
- Yuval Noah Harari, *Sapiens: A Brief History of Humankind* (McClelland & Stewart, 2016), Chapters 10.
- Daniel Drezner, “The Irony of Global Economic Governance: The System Worked,” *Council on Foreign Relations Working Paper* (October 2012). Available at: [https://cdn.cfr.org/sites/default/files/pdf/2012/09/IIGG\\_WorkingPaper9\\_Drezner.pdf?\\_ga=2.157376378.1319242749.1576882970-1266747562.1576882970](https://cdn.cfr.org/sites/default/files/pdf/2012/09/IIGG_WorkingPaper9_Drezner.pdf?_ga=2.157376378.1319242749.1576882970-1266747562.1576882970)

### **Week #4 (January 29<sup>nd</sup>) – Obstacles to International Cooperation (Part I): Anarchy and Mistrust**

- John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001), chapter 2.
- Douglas Kendrick, “Why the Human Brain is Designed to Distrust,” *Psychology Today* (July 15, 2011). Available at: <https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/sex-murder-and-the-meaning-life/201107/why-the-human-brain-is-designed-distrust>

### **Week #5 (February 5<sup>th</sup>) – How International Institutions Help States Trust Each Other**

- Sara McLaughlin Mitchell & Paul Hensel, “International Institutions and Compliance with Agreements,” *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 51 No. 4 (October 2007), pp. 721-737.
- R.I.M. Dunbar, “Gossip in Evolutionary Perspective,” *Review of General Psychology* Vol. 8 No. 4 (2004), pp. 100-110.

### **Week #6 (February 12<sup>th</sup>) – Obstacles to International Cooperation (Part II): Anarchy and Competition**

#### **\*\*\*\*\*In-class reading test #1**

- Joseph Grieco, “Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism,” *International Organization* Vol. 42 No. 3 (Summer 1988), pp. 485-507.
- Mark Schaller & Steven Neuberg, “Intergroup Prejudices and Intergroup Conflicts,” in Charles Crawford & Dennis Krebs (eds.), *Foundations of Evolutionary Psychology* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2008), pp. 401-414

#### **\*\*\*\*\*Reading Week February 15<sup>th</sup> – 21st**

### **Week #7 (February 26th) – How International Institutions Help States Build a Global Community**

- Jon Pevehouse, “Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization,” *International Organization* Vol. 56 No. 3 (Summer 2002), pp. 515-549.
- Alexandra Gheciu, “Security Institutions as Agents of Socialization? NATO and the ‘New Europe,’” *International Organization* Vol. 59 (Fall 2005), pp. 973-1012.

### **Week #8 (March 4th) – Obstacles to International Cooperation (III): Male Political Leaders?**

- Francis Fukuyama, “Women and the Evolution of World Politics,” *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 77 No. 5 (September/October 1998), pp. 24-40.
- J. Ann Tickner, “Why Women Can’t Run the World: International Politics According to Francis Fukuyama,” *International Studies Review* Vol. 1 No. 3 (August 1999), pp.3-11.
- Melissa McDonald et al., “Evolution and the Psychology of Intergroup Conflict: The Male Warrior Hypothesis,” *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B* (2012), pp. 670-679.

### **Week #9 (March 11<sup>th</sup>) – How International Institutions Promote Female Political Participation**

#### **\*\*\*\*\*In-class reading test #2**

- Julie Ballington, *Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties: A Guidebook to Promote Women’s Political Participation* (United Nations Development Programme, 2012), pp. 1-12. Available at: <https://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/gender/gender%20and%20governance/EmpoweringWomenFor%20StrongerPoliticalParties.pdf>
- Torunn Tyrggestad, “Trick or Treat? The UN and Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace & Security,” *Global Governance* Vol. 15 (2009), pp. 539-557.
- Jacqui True, “Explaining the Global Diffusion of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda,” *International Political Science Review* Vol. 37 No. 3 (2016), pp. 307-323.

### **Week #10 (March 18<sup>th</sup>) – Why Do States Cooperate on Some Issues But Not Others?**

- Diana O’Dwyer, “First Landmines, Now Small Arms? The International Campaign to Ban Landmines as a Model for Small Arms Advocacy,” *Irish Studies in International Affairs* Vol. 17 (2006), pp. 77-97.
- Robert Manne, “Climate Change: Some Reasons For Our Failures,” *The Guardian* (July 22, 2013). Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jul/22/climate-change-reasons-failure>
- Ronald Krebs & Aaron Rapport, “International Relations and the Psychology of Time Horizons,” *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 56 No. 3 (September 2012), pp. 530-543.

**Week #11 (March 25<sup>th</sup>) – Why Does International Cooperation Break Down? From World War I to Brexit**

- Stephen van Evera, “Why Cooperation Failed in 1914,” *World Politics* Vol. 38 No. 1 (October 1985), pp. 80-117.
- David Smith, “Shaping the Modern World With a Stone-Age Brain: The Brexit Referendum and the Moral Foundations Theory,” *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* Vol. 7 No. 2 (2019), pp. 863-889.
- “Stanford scholar puts Brexit in context by reviewing history of Britain’s relationship with European continent,” *Stanford News* (March 15 2019). Available at: <https://news.stanford.edu/2019/03/25/brexit-lens-british-history/>

**Week #12 (April 1<sup>st</sup>) – What Does the Rise of China Mean for International Cooperation?**

**\*\*\*\*\* Essay Due**

- Jennifer Lind, “The Rise of China and the Future of the Transatlantic Relationship,” *Chatham House* (July 2019). Available at: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/2019-07-29-RiseOfChina.pdf>
- Fareed Zakaria, “The New China Scare: Why American Shouldn’t Panic About Its Latest Challenger,” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2020). Available at: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2019-12-06/new-china-scare>

**Exam – Date to be announced**