

PSCI 5602 F
Ethics and International Relations
Wednesdays 11:35-2:25
Online on Zoom
<https://carleton-ca.zoom.us/j/97731850249>

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Office hours: On Zoom; by appointment <https://carleton-ca.zoom.us/my/prof.robinson?pwd=U0ISZnNVMUJ3Zkl1M3cxNEVXTWNkZz09>

COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES:

How should we think about moral problems in global politics? What does it mean to think, and act, ethically in the world? What role do ethics play in international relations? What is the relationship between ethics, politics and power? The aim of this course is to provide students with the necessary tools to think critically about theories and issues related to international ethics. International ethics is a rapidly expanding field within the discipline of International Relations; this growth has been driven partly by developments in related fields of moral and political philosophy, as well as by the evident moral urgency of many contemporary global problems and issues. We will consider the traditional understanding of ethics as a separate realm that serves mitigate or ‘check’ the worst excesses of power politics; we will also consider the more critical view that observes how ethics may be used by the powerful to justify particular political decisions or courses of action. We will begin by looking at theories and concepts related to international ethics, such as cosmopolitanism and human rights. We will then go on to examine issues and problems in international ethics, including the poverty, the ethics of war and intervention, and migration and borders.

LEARNING OUTCOMES:

Upon completion of this course, you should:

- Have a strong grasp of dominant and critical theoretical approaches to international ethics
- Be able to use these approaches to consider and evaluate ethical problems in international politics.
- Have developed skills in close reading, critical analysis and oral and written communication.

SEMINAR FORMAT

For each weekly seminar (Weeks 2-12, except Week 9: total of 10 weeks), students will complete all of the readings and prepare (in written form) two thoughtful and carefully-

crafted discussion questions. Each week 3- 4 students will be chosen to present their questions at the beginning of the class; these questions will then form the basis of the seminar. These students will then lead small group discussions of these questions, and possibly others posed by the instructor. Questions should be based on a close reading of the readings for the week and should focus on the key themes/tensions/debates in those readings. Following the group discussions, leaders will then be responsible for communicating the ideas presented in their groups to the whole class as part of our full-class discussion. You can be expected to be called on to present your questions several times throughout the term. The quality of your questions, your ability to lead a small group discussion will be factored into your participation grade.

ASSESSMENT AT A GLANCE

<u>Assignment</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Due Date</u>
Seminar Participation	25%	ongoing
Research Essay Outline (500 words)	5%	Friday September 30
Book Review (2000-25000 words)	20%	Friday October 14
Preliminary Essay Draft (1000 words)	10%	Friday November 4
Final Research Essay (4000-5000 words)	35%	Wed. December 7
Final Research Presentations	5%	Nov. 30 and Dec. 7

ASSESSMENT IN DETAIL

Participation: Attendance at weekly seminars is mandatory. Your participation grade will be based on your attendance at these meetings throughout the term, as well as the quality and quantity of your participation in discussions. Students are expected to have completed the required reading before the seminar and to arrive prepared to discuss that week's material (with discussion questions ready).

Book Review: All students will write a 2000-2500-word critical review of one of the following books (available online through the library):

- Ackerly, B. A. (2018). *Just responsibility: A human rights theory of global justice*. Oxford University Press.
- Zehfuss, M. (2018). *War and the Politics of Ethics*. Oxford University Press.

Your review should assess critically the principal arguments made in the book, using some of the literature we will already have examined in the course, along with any other

material (such as scholarly reviews of the book) that you may find useful. Be sure to strike an appropriate balance between the descriptive elements of the review and the critical assessment. You should have a clear argument regarding your assessment of the contribution of the book and the persuasiveness of its analysis.

You are strongly advised to refer to other sources in your review (including course readings and published reviews of the book). That said, it is very important that your *own voice* as the author is evident in your review. Of course, all sources must be properly cited (APA) with a reference list at the end.

Research Essay Outline: All students will write a brief (500-600 words, not including bibliography) proposal for their final research papers. The proposals should include the following:

1. Working title
2. Problem guiding the inquiry (including context)
3. Research question
4. Brief statement of the (working) central argument or thesis
5. Theoretical/analytical framework or conceptual approach
6. Key sections for the analysis
7. Annotated Bibliography with at least 4 sources (at least 3 of which must not be course readings). Annotations should be 2-4 sentences each.

Essay Drafts: Students must prepare and submit a short (1000 words) draft of their essay. You will then present this draft to your peer group at a special 'draft essay workshop' (see below).

Draft Essay Workshop: All students will present their essay drafts during a special seminar (November 9th, Week 9). The class will be divided into groups based on topic; students will share their draft with the other members of the group in advance of the workshop class. Each student will prepare a ten-minute presentation of their research to date; presentations must include all the components from the proposal (above), as well as any further research that has been completed.

Final Research Essay: All students will be required to write one substantial research essay (4000-4500 words). The essay will be on a topic of the student's choice related to the area of ethics and international relations. Essay topics may be purely theoretical; however, in most cases, students will choose to address an empirical issue or problem in IR from an ethical perspective. However, all essays must have a clear moral-theoretical framework or 'lens' through which they examine the issue(s) in question. Students are expected to at least six peer-reviewed scholarly sources (beyond class readings) in researching their essays. Please use APA author-date referencing. Research essays will be due in class on the final class of the term. ****Students will present their research in the final two classes of the term (details to follow).**

*****There is a late penalty of 3% per day including weekends for all written work handed in after the due date, unless an extension is granted by the instructor.**

READINGS

All the readings are on reserve and are available through the library's ARES reserve system.

OTHER INFORMATION

Submission of Written Assignments: Please submit all written assignments electronically via Brightspace. Please submit only **Word documents (no PDFs please)**. All assignments are due at 11:59pm on the due date. Late assignments should also be submitted via Brightspace.

Office hours and e-mail: If you wish to discuss any aspect of the course with me, please contact me (by email or speak to me in class) to make an appointment to meet over Zoom (link posted above).

Weekly Topics and Readings:

Week 1 Sept 7

Introduction

Seminar themes: the evolution of the place of ethics in the field of IR; the meaning of 'ethics' and 'global'; the nature of ethics and 'the political'.

- Hutchings, K. (2018) 'A History of Ethics in International Relations', in Brent Steele and Eric Heinze, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Ethics and International Relations*. New York: Routledge.
- Hutchings, K. (2018). *Global ethics: An introduction*. John Wiley & Sons. Chapter 1: What is Global Ethics?

Part I Theories and Approaches to International Ethics

Week 2 Sept 14

Realism, Positivism and IR Theory: What place for ethics?

Seminar themes: IR theory (realism and critical theory) and ethics; epistemology and methodology; traditional and critical perspectives.

- Williams, Michael C. (2004). "Why ideas matter in international relations: Hans Morgenthau, classical realism, and the moral construction of power politics." *International Organization* 58, no. 4: 633-665.
- Frost, M. (1998). A turn not taken: Ethics in IR at the Millennium. *Review of International Studies*, 24(5), 119-132.
- Campbell, D., & Shapiro, M. J. (Eds.). (1999). *Moral spaces: Rethinking ethics and world politics*. U of Minnesota Press. Introduction: 'From Ethical Theory to the Ethical Relation'.

- Robinson, F. (1997). Globalizing care: Ethics, feminist theory, and international relations. *Alternatives*, 22(1), 113-133.

Week 3

Sept 21

Considering Cosmopolitanism

Seminar Themes: universalist ethics; liberal cosmopolitanism and its critics; communitarianism and cosmopolitanism; posthuman cosmopolitanism.

- Linklater, A. (2007). Distant suffering and cosmopolitan obligations. *International Politics*, 44(1), 19-36.
- Miller, D. (2002). Cosmopolitanism: a critique. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 5(3), 80-85.
- Jabri, V., 2007. Solidarity and spheres of culture: The cosmopolitan and the postcolonial. *Review of International Studies*, 33(4), pp.715-728.
- Burke, A. (2022). Interspecies cosmopolitanism: Non-human power and the grounds of world order in the Anthropocene. *Review of International Studies*.

Week 4

Sept 28

Sovereignty and Recognition

Seminar Themes: the moral, racial and colonial logics of sovereignty; the ethics of recognition in international relations; epistemic injustice; ‘good’ states and moral authority

- Nisancioglu, K. (2020). Racial sovereignty. *European Journal of International Relations*, 26(1_suppl), 39-63.
- Lightfoot, S. R. (2021). Decolonizing Self-Determination: Haudenosaunee Passports and Negotiated Sovereignty. *European Journal of International*
- Dubgen, Franziska (2012) ‘Africa Humiliated? Misrecognition in Development Aid’, *Res Publica*, 18:65-77.
- Wohlforth, W. C., De Carvalho, B., Leira, H., & Neumann, I. B. (2018). Moral authority and status in International Relations: Good states and the social dimension of status seeking. *Review of International Studies*, 44(3), 526-546

Week 5

Oct 5

Human Rights and Humanitarianism

Seminar Themes: universalism and (cultural) particularism; Western-dominance in the determination of human rights violations; paternalism and biopolitical governance through ‘humanitarianism’.

- Reus-Smit, C. (2011). Human rights in a global ecumene. *International Affairs*, 87(5), 1205-1218.
- Grovogui, S. N. (2006). Mind, body, and gut! Elements of a postcolonial human rights discourse. *Decolonizing international relations*, 179-196.
- Barnett, M. (2012). International paternalism and humanitarian governance. *Global Constitutionalism*, 1(3), 485-521.

- Lynch, C. (2022). Centering Global Humanitarianism in Africa. *Global Africa*, Vol. 1, no. 1, p. 80-92.

Week 6 Thinking about Global Justice

Oct 12

Seminar Themes: distributive justice on a global scale; principles and theories of global justice; critiques of dominant global justice scholarship; gender justice and ‘cultural relativism’; race, colonialism and global justice.

- Shapcott, R. (2018). ‘Global justice: Shaped rather than found’. *International Relations*, 32(1), 104-123.
- Phillips, A. (2019). Global justice: just another modernisation theory? In Duncan Bell, (ed.). (2019). *Empire, race and global justice*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sutch, P., & Roberts, P. (2019). Outer space and neo-colonial injustice: Distributive justice and the continuous scramble for dominium. *International Journal of Social Economics*.
- Khader, S. J. (2019). Global Gender Justice and the Feminization of Responsibility. *Feminist Philosophy Quarterly*, 5(2).

Part II Issues and Problems

Week 7 Poverty, Development, Environment

Oct 19

Seminar Themes: the ethics of measuring and representing global poverty; environmental ethics, especially Indigenous and feminist perspectives; ‘energy justice’ and the transition from fossil fuels.

- Eskelinen, T. (2018). After the Millennium Development Goals. Remarks on the ethical assessment of global poverty reduction success. *Etikk I Praksis-Nordic Journal of Applied Ethics*, (1), 61-75.
- Harrison, G. (2010). The Africanization of poverty: A retrospective on ‘Make poverty history’. *African Affairs*, 109(436), 391-408.
- Noel Healy, John Barry (2017) Politicizing energy justice and energy system transitions: Fossil fuel divestment and a “just transition”, *Energy Policy*, 108: 451-459,
- Whyte, K. P., & Cuomo, C. (2016) ‘Ethics of caring in environmental ethics: Indigenous and feminist philosophies’. In S. M. Gardiner & A. Thompson (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of environmental ethics* (pp. 234–248). Oxford University Press.

**** October 24-28, Fall Reading Week – No classes ****

Week 8 Migration and Borders

Nov 2

Seminar Themes: ethical approaches to political questions related to refugees; biopolitics and migrant policies; affect and the ethics of the encounter with refugees; global care chains, global gender politics and feminist ethics.

- Gibney, M. J. (2018). 'The ethics of refugees' *Philosophy Compass*, 13(10).
- Doty, R. L. (2011). Bare life: Border-crossing deaths and spaces of moral alibi. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 29(4), 599-612.
- Gökarıksel, B., & Secor, A. J. (2020). Affective geopolitics: Anxiety, pain, and ethics in the encounter with Syrian refugees in Turkey. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, 38(7-8), 1237-1255.
- Allison Weir, "The Global Universal Caregiver: Imagining Women's Liberation in the New Millennium," *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical and Democratic Theory* 12, no. 3 (September 2005): 308-30.

Week 9 **Essay Workshop**
Nov 9 **No readings**

Week 10 **War and Peace**
Nov 16

Seminar Themes: possibility of 'ethical' war; just reasons for waging war and just conduct in war; just war theory as 'justification' for war; bodies in war; ethics of peacebuilding.

- Walzer, M. (2002). The triumph of just war theory (and the dangers of success). *Social Research: An International Quarterly*, 69(4), 925-944.
- O'Driscoll, C., Brown, C., Hutchings, K., Finlay, C. J., Whyte, J., & Gregory, T. (2020) 'How and Why to Do Just War Theory'. *Contemporary Political Theory*, 1-32.
- Wilcox, L. (2017). Embodying algorithmic war: Gender, race, and the posthuman in drone warfare. *Security Dialogue*, 48(1), 11-28.
- Reina C. Neufeldt (2014) Doing Good Better: Expanding the Ethics of Peacebuilding, *International Peacekeeping*, 21:4, 427-442

Week 11 **Foreign Policy and Intervention**
Nov 23

Seminar Themes: can foreign policy be ethical?; human rights in foreign policy; non-Western ethical frameworks and FP; Responsibility to Protect and critiques.

- Bulley, D. (2010). The politics of ethical foreign policy: A responsibility to protect whom? *European Journal of International Relations*, 16(3), 441-461.
- Chandler, D. (2003). Rhetoric without responsibility: the attraction of 'ethical' foreign policy. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 5(3), 295-316.

- Qobo, M., & Nyathi, N. (2016). Ubuntu, public policy ethics and tensions in South Africa's foreign policy. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 23(4), 421-436.
- Pison Hindawi, C. (2021). Decolonizing the Responsibility to Protect: On pervasive Eurocentrism, Southern agency and struggles over universals. *Security Dialogue*, 53(1): 38-56.

Week 12 Ethics of Global Capitalism (and research presentations depending on Numbers)

Nov 30

Seminar Themes: can ‘markets’ be moral? Can capitalist consumption be ethical? Can we mitigate capitalist inequality through ‘fair’ trade? What are the ethico-political implications of the financialization of global capitalism?

- Clarke, C. D. (2018). The ethics of alternative finance: Governing, resisting, and rethinking the limits of finance. In *Routledge Handbook of Ethics and International Relations* (pp. 431-444).
- Goodman, M. K. (2004). Reading fair trade: political ecological imaginary and the moral economy of fair trade foods. *Political Geography*, 23, 891-915.

Week 13 Research Presentations

December 7

Students will present and discuss their research papers in panels, ‘conference’ style.

Appendix

Covid-19 Pandemic Measures

It is important to remember that COVID is still present in Ottawa. The situation can change at any time and the risks of new variants and outbreaks are very real. There are [a number of actions you can take](#) to lower your risk and the risk you pose to those around you including being vaccinated, wearing a mask, staying home when you're sick, washing your hands and maintaining proper respiratory and cough etiquette.

Feeling sick? Remaining vigilant and not attending work or school when sick or with symptoms is critically important. If you feel ill or exhibit COVID-19 symptoms do not come to class or campus. If you feel ill or exhibit symptoms while on campus or in class, please leave campus immediately. In all situations, you should follow Carleton's [symptom reporting protocols](#).

Masks: Masks are no longer mandatory in university buildings and facilities. However, we continue to recommend masking when indoors, particularly if physical distancing cannot be maintained. We are aware that personal preferences regarding optional mask use will vary greatly, and we ask that we all show consideration and care for each other during this transition.

Vaccines: While proof of vaccination is no longer required to access campus or participate in in-person Carleton activities, it may become necessary for the University to bring back proof of vaccination requirements on short notice if the situation and public health advice changes. Students are strongly encouraged to get a full course of vaccination, including booster doses as soon as they are eligible and submit their booster dose information in [cuScreen](#) as soon as possible. Please note that Carleton cannot guarantee that it will be able to offer virtual or hybrid learning options for those who are unable to attend the campus.

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow requirements and guidelines regarding health and safety which may change from time to time. For the most recent information about Carleton's COVID-19 response and health and safety requirements please see the [University's COVID-19 website](#) and review the [Frequently Asked Questions \(FAQs\)](#). Should you have additional questions after reviewing, please contact covidinfo@carleton.ca.

Student Mental Health

As a university student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

Emergency Resources (on and off campus):

<https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

- **Carleton Resources:**

- Mental Health and Wellbeing: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>
- Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>
- Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>
- Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>
- Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>
- Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/>

- **Off Campus Resources:**

- Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>
- Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>
- Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>
- Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

Requests for Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy accommodation: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form ([click here](#)).

Religious accommodation: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details [click here](#).

Accommodations for students with disabilities: If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, reach out to your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more details, [click here](#).

Accommodation for student activities: Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who engage in student activities at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>.

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline.

Sexual Violence Policy

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated. Survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support.

Plagiarism

Carleton's [Academic Integrity Policy](#) defines plagiarism as "presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own." This includes reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one's own without proper citation or reference to the original source. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include, but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, websites, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, art works, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one's own; and

- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

More information on the University's Academic Integrity Policy can be found at: <https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/>.

Intellectual property

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Submission and Return of Term Work

Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline. The departmental office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

Grading

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts

All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton University e-mail accounts and/or Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton University email accounts and Brightspace.

Carleton Political Science Society

The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/>.

Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.