International Relations or International Sanitations?

Exploring Student Perceptions of Intro to IR Course Content

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CHAPTER 1

RESEARCH QUESTION

Differences of race, income, gender, and socio-cultural group impact every aspect of our lives-what we eat, who we meet, where and how we congregate, and how often we access communal provisions such as healthcare. None of the cleavages above divides cleanly along nation-state boundaries. No nation-state has citizens of only one gender, race, income bracket, or culture. Instead, the cleavages listed above divide the population and ensure that some portions of the population (those who express the "valued characteristic" of each trait) have more privilege over the other, inferior sections of the population. **This thesis draws on student testimony, curriculum analysis, and statistical tests to explore 1) the degree to which gender, financial aid status, and race/ethnicity correlate with student perceptions of Intro to IR course content and 2) the degree to which students conceptualize IR as interrelated with social identities, as opposed to an abstracted state-centric discipline.**

Several scholars define the role of nation-states in terms of social identities. John Locke claims individuals run nation-states by acquiring and maintaining legitimacy[1]. Ernest Gellner suggests that nation-states themselves serve to solidify social cohesion and resource access for the elite[2]. Concepts such as "legitimate government", "national society", and "elite" suggest approaching IR from the

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[1] Locke, 1994, Chapter 8, Section 95
[2] Gellner, 2006, p. 1

perspective of uncovering and understanding social networks and social groups, yet the most publicized IR scholars appear to divorce IR as a field of study from its roots in social interactions and identities.

In part, the omission may reflect the life trajectories of the most well regarded IR scholars. The table below ranks the ten most influential IR scholars identified by 3,464 peer faculty in a survey released by William and Mary College, along with their gender, age, nationality, and most recent employer.

Table 1.1: Social characteristics of scholars identified by their peers[3] as the most influential within IR over the last 20 years

Scholar	Gender	Age	Nationality	Most recent employer
Alexander Wendt	M	55	German	Ohio State University
Robert Keohane	M	72	U.S.	Princeton University
Kenneth Waltz	M	Deceased	U.S.	Columbia University
Joseph Nye	M	76	U.S.	Harvard University
John Mearsheimer	M	66	U.S.	University of Chicago
James Fearon	M	59	U.S.	Stanford University
Samuel Huntington	M	Deceased	U.S.	Harvard University
Robert Cox	M	87	Canadian	York University
Barry Buzan	M	67	U.K., Canadian	London School of Economics
Peter Katzenstein	M	68	German	Cornell University

Readers may discern several similarities among the most influential IR scholars. All ten are men over 50 who work in prestigious universities in the U.S. and U.K. Do demographics alone disqualify the research findings or legitimacy of the men above? No, but it should place their findings within the context of affluent university enclaves within the U.S. and U.K. in which these scholars live(d) and work(ed). Each

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[3] Maliniak, Peterson, and Tierney, 2012, p. 49.

scholar is, or was, capable of researching dynamics of social difference and power, albeit from a perspective of privilege. However, none save Cox did. As the table below indicates, the other nine most influential IR scholars have focused on military strategy and economic issues in arenas (nation-states and supranational organizations) that are hard for subaltern groups to access or participate in. **The collective inattention of top IR scholars to social dynamics does not resolve or wash away sexist, classist, racist, or imperialist nation-state interactions. It merely allows them to continue without acknowledgement or interruption.**

Table 1.2: Research interests of scholars identified by their peers as the most influential within IR over the last 20 years

Scholar	Paradigm	Primary Topic	In what arena?
Alexander Wendt	Constructivist	IR norms and structures	Power politics
Robert Keohane	Neoliberal	Supranational institutions	UNSC, IMF, NATO, WTO
Kenneth Waltz	Neorealist	International anarchy	US
Joseph Nye	Neoliberal	Soft power of nation-states	US
John Mearsheimer	Realist	Balance of power	US-Europe, Russia
James Fearon	Realist-constructivist	Causes of intrastate war	Ethnic groups
Samuel Huntington	Realist	Clash of civilizations	Eight civilization spheres
Robert Cox	Neo-Marxist	Ideological hegemony	Global capitalist system
Barry Buzan	Realist	Security studies	Europe
Peter Katzenstein	Constructivist	International political economy	US, Europe, East Asia

Table 2 Methodology

Paradigm: *I defer to the self-identifications made by nine of the ten scholars above. I matched Samuel Huntington to an IR paradigm for the purpose of comparison with his counterparts. Huntington's prediction of enduring conflict between nation-states, focus on civilian-military relations, and stalwart advocacy for military repression by the U.S. against the Vietcong in South Vietnam, by General P.W. Botha against the ANC in South Africa, and by the Brazilian military regime against the PT lead me to mark him as a realist.*

Primary Topic: *This column refers to the concepts or themes through which each scholar obtained name recognition by other scholars.*

In what arena?: I identified each scholar's unit of analysis in writing about their primary topic. That could be a specific nation-state, cultural region, supranational institution, or, in the case of Alexander Wendt, an analysis of other IR theories and writers.

Table 3 indicates that scholars who study political and economic power relations between European nations, the U.S., and East Asian nations lead the dominant constructivist, realist, and liberal approaches to IR. Six of the top ten most influential IR scholars-Keohane, Waltz, Mearsheimer, Fearon, Buzan, and Katzenstein-study the military, security, and stability. Only Fearon focuses on interactions that begin between social groups within the same nation-state. Six of the ten-Keohane, Waltz, Nye, Fearon, Cox, and Katzenstein-study economic power relations. Only Cox, a neo-Marxist, analyses economic power relations within, rather than between, nation-states.

Leading IR scholars devote a lot of research to interstate conflicts involving high finance and weapons, but very little attention to internal or transnational social dynamics that can and do impact other nations. Take migration. Migration reflects a variety of internal social dynamics that ultimately impact global society, security, and resources. Migration is often the movement of lower class women from an unstable sending country to a recipient country that uses migrants to plug their own unbalanced social dynamics.

For example, thousands of Burmese women migrate to China annually in part as a result of gender inequality in China. Gender roles in China place a premium on

males, and parents who may only have one child abort female fetuses and collectively create a gender ratio imbalance that impacts more unstable countries like Burma.

Migration subsequently affects the current account balances of sending and recipient countries through remittances and border control expenses. **When leading IR scholars restrain their research to currency transactions, economic development and wars, they overlook the social dynamics that influence the presence or absence of each. Their research should go deeper.**

Leading IR scholars study state-to-state political and economic calculations that are abstract and removed from the daily lives of most individuals. Although actions undertaken by lead global actors such as the U.S. government and IMF impact millions, if not billions, of lives, most individuals and communities have virtually no opportunity to provide direct, binding feedback for lead actors. **The research of leading IR theorists should acknowledge and study the real-life impacts of IR phenomena ranging from war and free-trade agreements to border militarization and tax inversions.**

IR DISCOURSE IN INTRO TEXTBOOKS AT LARGE

IR discourse diffuses through introductory IR textbooks, which make IR theories and debates accessible to readers with little to no formal background in IR. As

instruments of socialization, Intro to IR textbooks must acknowledge and engage with multiple, divergent perspectives within IR discourse. A well-structured introductory IR textbook will impel readers to engage themselves and proactively participate in IR discourse, linking students to course material and course topics to each other and international events within and beyond the academic sphere. In a convenience sample of eight textbooks, textbooks barely cover existing coverage of IR discourse related to social dynamics, paralleling the silence among top IR scholars.

Sample Selection Methodology: I selected a convenience sample of textbooks for this sample. That is, I went to the Introduction to IR section (JZ1242) of my university's library and checked out two available textbooks. I then ordered eight more introductory textbooks through an interlibrary loan. Of the ten books, five-those by Roskin, Steans, Goldstein, Jackson, and Shepherd-directly address IR theory, and they appear in the tables above. I added the Devetak-Burke-George textbook from a cursory online search of Intro to IR textbooks because large sections of the book are available online and it directly addresses IR theory. I do not have sufficient information to determine if my convenience sample is representative of introductory IR textbooks at large.

Table 1.3: Demographics of Intro to IR textbooks

Title	Author(s)/ Editor(s)	Author's Employer	Year and country of publication
Introduction to International Relations	Jill Steans and Lloyd Pettiford	University of Birmingham and Nottingham Trent University	2005, UK
International Relations, 8th Edition	Joshua Goldstein and Jon Pevehouse	American University and University of Chicago	2008, US
Introduction to International Relations	Robert Jackson and Georg Sørenson	Boston University and Aarhus University	2010, US
Gender Matters in Global Politics: A Feminist Introduction to International Relations	Laura Shepherd	University of Birmingham	2010, UK
An Introduction to International	Richard Devetak, Anthony Burke, Jim	University of Queensland, University of New South	2011, Australia

Relations	George	Wales, Australian National University	

Coding Methodology: I code textbook sections by chapter title and indexing. For example, I code sections or chapters that are titled "Realism", realism. I also code according to listings in the index. I look at the index listing for key terms, such as "realism", and code listed pages that discuss the key term rather than merely mention it. I code using both the names of paradigms and their associated sub-theories. For example, I code "idealism" as "liberalism" in Olson and Groom's 1991 book because the authors refer to the League of Nations and breakdown in world order, a theme that critiques liberal aspirations towards a global, (capitalist) governance structure. Similarly, I code "balance of power" as "realism" because balance of power theory focuses on economic and military power differentials between nation-states. I do NOT code "Karl Marx" as "neo-Marxist class analysis" because Marx's approach is universalizing and deterministic, unlike context-dependent Gramscian analysis.

Table 1.4: Textbook Coverage of IR by paradigm
See Key below for labeling and units of measurement.

Authors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Steans and Pettiford	Total: 24 49-73	Total: 26 21-47	Total: 21 181-202	Total: 24 155-179	Total: 25 103-128	0	0
Goldstein and Pevehouse	Total: 35 42-77	Total: 40 82-122	0	Total: 3 105, 116-117	Total: 1 109	0	Total: 1 423
Robert Jackson, Greg Sørenson	Total: 37 58-95	Total: 32 95-127	Total: 22 159-181	Total: 1 301	Total: 9 190-194, 217, 286-288	0	Total: 5 451-455
Shepherd	Total: 3 348-350	Total: 15 218-233	Total: 1 8	Total: 350 1-351	0	0	Total: 15 44-59
Devetak, Burke, George	Total: 24 35-48, 268-279	Total: 27 48-60, 172-187	Total: 16 103-119	Total: 14 76-90	Total: 2 72-73	0	0

Key:
Column labels

1=Realism   4=Feminism
2=Liberalism   5=Neo-Marxist class analysis
3=Constructivism   6=Race theory
                   7=Postcolonial theory

Units of measurement are in page numbers from each textbook.

Overwhelmingly, the textbooks above focus on theories and approaches that are abstracted from the daily, personalized effects of following such policies--effects that disproportionately harm women, the poor, and disempowered ethnic groups. IR discourse varies between sampled textbooks by year of publication and author or editor. Still, there are some similarities over time and textbook. All eight discuss realism. **None of the sampled books discusses race**. Postcolonial theories fare little better and only get their own chapter in one textbook, *Gender Matters in Global Politics*. The other textbooks, when they cover feminist theory at all, present it in the middle of the textbook, requiring readers to first read and digest the text's opening chapters, dedicated to realism and liberalism, that do not acknowledge the importance of social group dynamics to international relations.

The intersectional exception to the pattern of textbooks with abstracted theory is Laura Shepherd's textbook, *Gender Matters in Global Politics*. Shepherd unearths intersections between gender and patterns of interstate war[4], migration[5], deregulation[6], religion[7], and nationalism[8]. Readers who identify with some or all of the processes linked to gender identities above may be encouraged to locate their position within international socially constructed gender norms and better understand the causes and effects of their own gender presentation. Shepherd's

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[4] Shepherd, 2001, p. 105-127
[5] Ibid, p. 251-265
[6] Ibid, p. 218-234
[7] Ibid, p. 265-280
[8] Ibid, p. 280-292

intersectional approach affects more students in more personal ways than discussions of insider theories that focus on the actions of a handful of powerful corporate, military, and political officials and entities. **Shephard's personalized, intersectional textbook prepares readers to understand their position in the international system, and how and when they can effect change upon it because it acknowledges and explores the role of a social dynamic, gender, in contexts such as religion and state violence.**

Intro to IR Textbooks

International Relations reproduces itself as a discipline through introductory classes at the university level, which filter in some students, who go on to seek majors, careers, and doctorates in IR, and filter out other students, who feel alienated and pursue other paths. As a case study, I use Pomona College, a small liberal arts college in Los Angeles County. Below is an aggregate list of the textbooks used in Intro to IR at Pomona through four professors.

Author	*Title*
J. Timmons Roberts and Bradley Parks	A Climate of Injustice
Benjamin Netanyahu	Fighting Terrorism
John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt	The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy
Sheldon Anderson et al.	International Studies: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Global Issues
Henry Nau	Perspectives on International Relations
Daniel Drezner	Theories of International Politics and Zombies
Jussi Hanhimäki	The United Nations: A Very Short Introduction
John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens	The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations

The textbooks above fall into two broad categories. The publications of Anderson, Nau, Drezner, and Baylis are overviews of International Relations. The other four, produced by Timmons Roberts, Netanyahu, Mearsheimer, and Hanhikami, contribute to Intro to IR courses as detailed case-study reference material.

The primary authors of all four overview textbooks are white men with doctorates, demographics that are not out of place within International Relations scholarship. See Tables 1.3 and 1.4 for a small sample comparison of ten Intro to IR textbooks, their authors, and course contents.

The authors of the four case-study textbooks are also white European or American men with doctorates. Two of the four present critical approaches to IR-*The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy* critiques US-Israel codependency and *A Climate of Injustice* addresses how differentials in power dynamics between nation-states amplify policies of environmental neglect and degradation. However, the other eight textbooks construct, rather than deconstruct, IR theories. They state "what is" while staying quiet about the myriad contemporary problems between and within nation-states. They do not, and should, ask, "who designed 'what is', and how is it impacting them? How does it impact everyone else?" **Eight of the books above condense international relations into abstracted state-to-state interactions of war and finance, which is far too simplistic and does not address the disproportionately negative impact of war and structural adjustment on low-income, female and disempowered ethnic/ racial populations.**

Course Content Sequencing

Textbooks are only a part of how topics are introduced and contextualized within Intro to IR. The order of the information presented is also important. The serial positioning effect in psychology holds that individuals best remember the first and last items in a sequence, implying that students would best remember the material covered at the beginning and end of Intro to IR. However, the serial positioning effect does not account for how essays and final exams compete for students' time and attention at the end of the semester more than at the beginning. In addition, should a course slip behind schedule, the information presented at the end would be a likely candidate for omission or simplification. The serial positioning effect may therefore be applicable to Intro to IR course material in modified form, such that students best remember information presented in the initial weeks more than in the middle or later parts of the semester. Below is a chart of course material as presented by week in the semester in four separate Intro to IR sections, labeled A, B, C, and D. A separate International Relations Professor taught each section, in 2011 or later.

Table 1.5: Intro to IR Course Content Sequencing

	Section A	Section B	Section C	Section D
Week 1				
2	Defining Terrorism Realism		International Anarchy Defining State Interests	Realism Balance of Power Neorealism
3	Democratic Peace Domestic Politics and IR	Game Theory	Defining State Power *Are States*	Realism Liberalism Democratic Peace

	Constructivism		*Rational?*	
4	Hegemonic Theory International Law	History of IR Pre-Westphalia (Empires and Religions)	Liberalism Democratic Peace Causes of War	Neoliberalism Hegemonic Theory International Political Economy
5	Hegemony and War	History of IR 1648-1945	Neoliberalism International Law	Constructivism International Society
6	Game Theory *Empire*	Cold War Wars in the "Third World"	United Nations Intelligence Agencies	Nationalism International Rivalries
7	*War and Profit* NGO's Subnational Actors		NGO's Multinational Corporations Sub/ Transnational War	Security Dilemma in Ethnic Conflict Evolution of War
8	*Military-Industrial Complex*	State Security Balance of Power Technology Economic Development	International Anarchy	
9		EU The Arab Spring and Social Media	Globalization Feminist IR	
10	*Economic Development*	Globalization	Global Wealth Inequity	
11	Supranational Organizations	Globalization WTO	Drones Environment International Law	International Law and War Role of U.N.
12	NGO's Environment Global Economic Inequality	Economic Development Global Wealth Inequity Poverty	Multinational Corporations Responsibility to Protect	International Law and Territorial Disputes Nuclear Weapons
13	Environment Global Economic Inequality	Economic Development	Economic Development Global Wealth Inequity	Defining Terrorism Counterterrorism
14	Migration Transnational Communities	Environment	Realism	Globalization Neo-Marxist IR
15				Trade Policy
16				

All four Intro to IR courses cover state-to-state rivalries and causes of war within the first three weeks of class. Topics related to social and societal power dynamics, such as global wealth inequality, migration, the environment, and transnational communities arise in the final weeks of the semester. **By default, students are made aware that the most important, foundational aspects of how countries interact with each other is through competitive, inter-governmental interactions as suggested by realism, game theory, and balance of power, while the power dynamics between different social and national groups are relatively unimportant, and left for the end of the semester.** Although three of the four course sections above cover global wealth inequality, and two sections devote two classes to it, all present global wealth inequality in Week 10 or later. Perhaps the sequence order effect accounts for part of why over a quarter of Intro to IR students at Pomona identified topics such as "Trade Policy" and "Multinational Corporations" as "covered, but not enough" in their Intro to IR courses when surveyed about course content-they were covered, but in a rush towards the end of the semester.

Intro to IR Course Content, 2011-2014

The syllabi above yield information about the topics that were covered cumulatively between the four Intro to IR courses. Below is a list of the topics covered in at least one of the four Intro to IR syllabi, from most to least frequently covered. Many of the topics listed on the syllabi are friendly to conversations about social power and dynamics, which suggests a positive starting point for future conversations around curriculum and pedagogy in Intro to IR. In turn, further questions arise such as:

- How are topics related to social power framed by the professor, and by the readings?

- Which students are comfortable speaking their mind in class? How do students interact, or not interact, with each other?

- To what degree do courses follow their syllabi by the end of the semester?

Topic	Frequency	Topic	Frequency
Economic Development	5	**UN**	2
Global Economic Inequality	5	**EU**	1
Democratic Peace	4	**Intelligence Agencies**	1
Environment	4	**Feminist IR**	1
Globalization	4	**Media**	1
International Law	4	**Migration**	1
Realism and variants thereof	4	Military-Industrial Complex	1
Hegemonic Theory	3	**Multinational Corporations**	1
NGO's	3	Nationalism	1
Balance of Power	2	Neo-Marxism	1
Constructivism	2	Nuclear Weapons	1
Democratic Peace	2	Responsibility to Protect	1
Game Theory	2	**Subnational Actors**	1
International Anarchy	2	Technology	1
Liberalism	2	**Trade Policy**	1
Neoliberalism	2	**Transnational Communities**	1
(Defining) **Terrorism**	2	**WTO**	1

Note: The topics above that appear in bold appeared on the survey administered to Intro to IR students at Pomona, as discussed at length in Chapter 2.

CONCLUSION

Students' initialed structured exposure to IR, in Intro to IR, centers on state-to-state dealings that receive early and generous coverage within the semester. State-to-state dealings by definition focus on the governing elite more than marginalized groups or the process of marginalization. Power dynamics along the lines of gender,

race/ethnicity, religion, and socioeconomic status are highly salient to students' understanding processes and events that transpire between and among nations, but receive limited coverage late in the semester, curtailing their presence in overall discussion of IR at Pomona.

THESIS HYPOTHESES

Chapters 2, 3, and 4 ask two foundational questions.

1. How are students' mental schemas of Intro to IR structured? What topics do they associate with each other? What topics do they perceive as isolates?

2. How do Intro to IR course materials relate, or not relate, to students of genders, family income levels, and racial and ethnic identities that are accorded differentiated values by society?

The hypotheses below address each question based on the IR literature explored above, as well as the characteristics of its authors and themes.

Topics that get covered first within Intro to IR, such as International Anarchy, Balance of Power, and Prisoners' Dilemma, and topics that received the most frequent attention within Intro to IR syllabi-Economic Development, Democratic Peace, Environment, and NGO's-as shown in Chapter 2-will have the greatest number of statistically significant correlations with other topics, indicating that the topics students most link to each other are the topics they are most exposed to in

Intro to IR. Students will link topics covered the most in Intro to IR with each other since they are most familiar with those topics.

Students with subaltern identities (person of color, female, working-class) do not relate to Introductory International Relations courses because introductory IR courses spend little time discussing subaltern identities as they relate to IR. In particular, I will examine differences in how students perceive Intro to IR based on SES/social class, gender, and ethnic nationality.

- o Relative to students who do not receive financial aid from Pomona College, financial aid recipients will express greater degrees of alienation with IR classes and scholarly discourse.

- o Relative to European-American students, African-American and Latin@-American students will express greater degrees of alienation with IR classes and scholarly discourse.

- o Relative to male students, female students will express greater degrees of alienation with IR classes and scholarly discourse.

The following chapters test the hypotheses using statistical analysis, surveys, and qualitative interviews.

OVERVIEW OF SUBSEQUENT CHAPTERS

Chapters 2, 3, and 4 study if and how IR research and textbooks convincingly explain global phenomena to IR students, and the relationship between the social privilege of students and how legitimate they perceive Intro to IR course materials to be.

Chapter 2 details the methodology behind the surveys and interviews I conducted for this thesis. Chapter 2 also investigates how students associate various IR topics with each other, as measured through survey response patterns. Are there statistically significant correlations in response patterns between Intro to IR topics? If so, which topics have the most correlations to other topics? Which topics have the fewest?

Chapter 3 includes statistical analysis of a survey embedded in 53 interviews with students at Pomona College who have completed an Introduction to International Relations class at Pomona. Chapter 3 seeks to understand if and when skewed class, ethnic, and/or gender representation within IR scholarly discourse at large, Intro to IR textbooks, and in Pomona College's student and faculty characteristics correlate with student perceptions of course content coverage in Intro to IR.

Chapter 4 applies the broad, statistical findings of Chapters 2 and 3 and lends them the voices of students. From student testimony, narratives of race, class, and gender

within Intro to IR classrooms arise, adding urgency to diversifying the Intro to IR curriculum. Students report alienation and confusion over topics such as realism while wishing for curricula that would validate the presence and importance of females, low-income communities, and people of color in international society.

Chapter 5 reviews the findings of previous chapters and offers suggestions on alternative pedagogical approaches that may promote more intercultural understanding between students of different backgrounds, and therefore make course material more salient and engaging for students of less privileged social identities. Chapter 5 examines the curricular offerings of the IIS program at Pitzer along with student testimonies. The chapter concludes with an amalgamation of readings that may facilitate more interdisciplinary and intercultural discourse within Intro to IR and facilitate students' understanding of how cultural and social constructs such as ethnicity, gender, and class play out in public discourse and public policy in the context of IR and Los Angeles.

CHAPTER 2

Chapter 2 has two discrete components. The first half of the chapter describes the methodology I used in designing and administering interviews to students of Intro to IR. The second half of the chapter details how Intro to IR students at Pomona a) perceived coverage of thirty topics in Intro to IR and b) created mental schemas connecting topics related to IR as suggested by statistically significant response pattern correlations between topics. Chapter 3 builds on the second half of Chapter 2 by disaggregating student perceptions of Intro to IR by gender, financial aid status, and race/ethnicity.

METHODOLOGY

To better understand how IR socializes students and interacts with their social identities, I conducted interviews with 66 students who had completed Introduction to International Relations, Intro to International Politics, or Intro to International and Intercultural Studies at the Claremont Colleges from December 2013 into January 2014. I additionally interviewed two students who have yet to take the Intro course but had already taken U.S. Foreign Policy at Pomona. Their responses are not included in the statistical analysis in Chapters 2 or 3.

Course Context

All students I interviewed about Intro to IR completed at least one of the following three courses: Introduction to International Relations, at Pomona College and Scripps College, or Introduction to International and Intercultural Studies at Pitzer College. Each course was required for students to major in International Relations (at Pomona), Politics and International Relations (at Scripps), or International and Intercultural Studies (at Pitzer). **Only responses from Pomona Intro to IR students, enrolled in Pomona's Intro to IR classes, are included in Chapters 2 and 3.**

The Interview Process

The interview begins with a series of short, directed questions to respondents. Questions are designed to contextualize the student's experience by eliciting the school and semester at which the course was taken, why the student chose to take the course in question, and summarize the students' experience in the course in three adjectives.

In the second section of the interview, I ask students two-part questions about how thirty subtopics within IR may or may not have been covered in the Introduction to International Relations or Introduction to International and Intercultural Studies classes[9]. The flowchart below explains the flow of the two-part questioning.

1. Was [topic] covered in Intro to IR/ Intro to IIS?

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[9] I would like to note that I chose the topics based on articles I read in JSTOR about International Relations. Given my lack of prior exposure to IIS, I am less comfortable analyzing the IIS students' responses except as comparison to Pomona's.

Yes   No

2. Was [topic]…

Covered too much?   *Should* the topic have been covered?

Covered too little?   *Could* the topic have been covered?

Or   Or

Covered about right?   Was the topic not really necessary to the

                                           course?

The third part of the interview was an open-ended statement. I encouraged students to share whatever they wished to share and felt comfortable sharing and made clear the interviews would be transcribed and not retain personally identifying information. In interviews where the student seemed to be at a loss for how to respond, I suggested they might discuss what they find interesting about IR, what they took away from the Intro course, or what their experience in the course was like. I became more comfortable in the role of interviewer after the first ten interviews, and at that point, I began posing follow-up questions to interviewees. I asked follow-up questions to either encourage students to explain comments they made in their open-ended statement or better understand why and how they became interested in taking Intro to IR/Intro to IIS.

Copy of Interview Guide

Part I.

Why did you enroll in Intro to IR?

What semester did you take it?

At what school did you take it?

What are three adjectives that describe your experience in Intro to IR?
1.

2.

3.

Did/ Will you take another IR class? (Circle one)
Yes   No

Why (not)?

What kinds of students would you recommend take Intro to IR, and what kinds of students would you recommend *not* take Intro to IR?

Intro to IR is a *good* fit: Intro to IR is *not a good* fit:

Part II.

How to Interpret Manual Survey Markings and Color Coding Scheme

	Circled=wants more	**No mark**=okay as-is	~~Crossed out~~=too much
X=topic covered in Intro to IR	Blue response-wants more coverage	Green response-satisfied w/ coverage	Orange response-wants less coverage
Y=topic not covered in Intro to IR	Red response-should have covered topic	Yellow response-not necessary to cover topic	Purple response-no need to cover topic

Language/ Linguistic Policy	International Anarchy	Gender Relations
Trade Policy/ NAFTA	NGO's	Mass Media
Balance of Power	Race/ Race Relations	Democratic Peace
Multinational corporations	EU, NATO	Geography
Constructivism	Critical Theory	Environment
CIA, NSA, intelligence agencies	World Bank, IMF, WTO	Terrorism
Subnational/ transnational communities	Unions/ organized labor	Alcohol/ Drugs and IR
Economic Development	Impact of colonialism	SES/ social class
Prisoners' Dilemma	Religion	UN, international law
Public Health and IR	Migration	Universities and IR

Part III. Open-ended statement. "This is your opportunity to share your experiences in Intro to IR. You could, for example, talk about your takeaways from the course, or what you will remember five years later. I may ask follow-up questions designed to better understand something you said, but that is the limit of my role. I will record what you say but omit personally identifying information to maintain confidentiality."

SURVEY TOPIC CHOICE METHODOLOGY

Please refer the end of Chapter 1 for a complete list of the topics covered in Intro to

IR syllabi. Of the 34 discrete topics that appeared in Intro to IR syllabi, I included 22

in the second section of each interview, condensed into 19 questions. I combined

the UN and International Law into a single question because the UN is often

involved in drafting and enforcing international law through agencies such as the

IAEA. I combined subnational and transnational communities into a single question

because together they form a bridge between IR as a discipline strictly focused on

state boundaries and IR as an extension of social identities that transcend and

manipulate national boundaries (for example, Tibet and Kurdistan).

To the 22 topics covered in IR syllabi, condensed into 19 survey questions, I added

11 additional topics that various authors allege are related to International

Relations. They are as follows:

Language/ Linguistic Policy

Race/ Race Relations

Geography

Critical Theory

Unions/ Organized Labor

Alcohol/ Drugs

Impact of Colonialism

SES/ Socioeconomic Status

Religion

Public Health

Universities

Below I include a brief explanation of each additional topic along with potential case studies of each phenomenon.

Language/ Linguistic Policy
	To what degree does language determine national identity? How do questions of linguistic affiliation interact with nationalist actors, state policy, and subnational and transnational actors? What is the role of "global languages", such as English, Arabic, and Mandarin, in how nations and citizens conceive of themselves and each other? How do global languages interact with, alter, and replace languages spoken by smaller national, subnational, or transnational populations?

Potential Case Studies: English in Ireland, Spanish in Catalonia, English in Japan and South Korea, Spanish in Mexico and Perú, Mandarin in Tibet, Arabic in Morocco, Turkish in Kurdistan, Japanese in Okinawa, Bahasa Indonesian, English in India.

Race/ Race Relations
	To what degree is Tilly's "imagined community" of a nation based on ethnocentric identities? What role did race play in bringing social cohesion across classes to Western Europe and the United States? What role does race play in US Foreign Policy today? What are examples of ethnic nationalism?

Potential Case Study Questions: Why did the US drop atomic bombs on Japan, not Germany? Why did the US force Japan to appreciate its currency in 1985, but not Germany? How do US media channels export racial awareness and attitudes abroad? What are the racial undertones of US immigration policy? How do commercial media imbue national identity with racial characteristics in countries as diverse as the US, Brazil, and Japan? What are the effects of such media coverage on government policy, and how does that policy affect subaltern nationalities? What are the effects of racialized colonial legacies on nations such as Rwanda?

Geography

To what degree may a country's internal government structure and culture, and external policy, depend on the country's geographical location and its neighbors?

Potential Case Studies: How are the policies of Japan and the UK influenced by their status as maritime, island nations? How do countries escape the resource curse/ Dutch Disease? How does bordering a country with nuclear weapons, or a UN Security Council Permanent Member, affect a country's internal constitution and external policy?

Critical Theory

To what degree are we questioning and challenging the ideologies we have learned and internalized? Who benefits from theories that describe society without trying to improve it? How can individuals use theories to promote oppressed individuals and populations?

Potential Case Studies: Does realist ideology correlate with modern racism[10]? Does Neoliberal ideology perpetuate neocolonial dependency on the US[11]? Do rational choice models deter and dispel the prospect of collective action[12]?

Unions/ Organized Labor

To what degree may collective action across borders be pursued through organized labor? What interests, domestic or foreign, does organized labor advance or challenge? How does the US government treat organized labor in other countries? What is the effect of that treatment?

Potential Case Studies: NAFTA, the US-Colombia Free Trade Agreement, organized labor within the European Union, the role of unions in Senegal's independence movement, the role of unions in decolonizing South Africa, the role of unions in democratizing Brazil, OPEC as a union between oil-producing countries and the US's threatened occupation of Saudi Arabia during the oil embargo.

Alcohol/ Drugs

How have drugs, including alcohol, proliferated from a local, small-scale phenomenon into a global economic network? Who has benefitted? Who has suffered? Who engineered the international agreements on drugs? What is the international impact of the War on Drugs? What is the historical and present impact of an "alcohol-industrial complex"?

Potential Case Studies: The role of alcohol in colonial conquest, the role of drugs in US influence over Latin America and government expenditure patterns within Latin

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[10] Rathbun, 2012 and Sanders and Mahalingam, 2012

[11] Golub, 2004

[12] Barnes and Sheppard, 1992

America, the role of drug coverage in the national and international media upon government priorities, the militarization of anti-narcotics activities.

Impact of colonialism

How did colonialism arise? Who designed it? Who benefitted, and continue to benefit, from it? How did colonization occur at a societal and personal level? How does colonialism relate to language and linguistic policy? Race and race relations? Universities? Gender relations? National boundaries? Nation-state consolidation in Western Europe and North America? Is colonialism a current phenomena? If so, how?

Case Studies: The US colonization of Hawaii, the US colonization of Puerto Rico, the US colonization of the Philippines and associated counterinsurgency campaign, colonial legacy in African borders, relations between China, Japan, and South Korea, spread of English, Spanish and French, spread of Christianity.

SES/ Socioeconomic Status

What socioeconomic backgrounds are overrepresented, and underrepresented, in IR theories? In US foreign policy? In exchange and study abroad programs? In the military-industrial complex? Among military recruits?

Case Studies: Geospatial location of ROTC recruitment centers, mean income of a member of Congress, median parental educational level of IR Master's recipients, neo-Gramscian theory of transnational capitalist class.

Religion

How do religious ties impact international relations? How does religion explicitly and implicitly shape the foreign policy of nation-states? In the case of the US, how do religious attitudes shape government funding of public health initiatives abroad? What is the role of international religious figures and institutions such as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, Pope, or Dalai Lama? How do religious conflicts within countries impact other countries?

Potential Case Studies: Mexico City Policy, Israel and Palestine, OIC, Falun Gong, religious policy in Malaysia, religion in the North Caucasus, religion in Nigeria, religion in Turkey, role of the Catholic Church in 1970's Argentina.

Public Health

How do international actors cooperate, or not, to promote public health? How is public health impacted by international systems? What is the role of public health initiatives in low-income countries' internal and external policies?

Potential Case Studies: HIV and US customs policy, politics of polio eradication, role of eugenics in Western social sciences including IR, role of eugenics in South Africa and the US.

Universities

How do universities intersect with international relations? How do they teach it? Who teaches it? What kinds of students take IR courses? What kinds of students pursue careers in the foreign service? How have universities directly and indirectly financed their coffers and their reputations with overseas initiatives? How are domestic and international policies of foreign governments impacted by technocratic administrations stocked with degrees from the US and Britain?

Potential Case Studies: "Chicago Boys", "Berkeley Mafia", Jeffrey Sachs, "technocratic" neoliberal administrations in Malaysia, Mexico, and India, role of universities in diffusing English and French.

INTERVIEW METHODOLOGY

I reached out to students across the Claremont Colleges through a variety of outreach methods. My primary method was through cluster sampling. I emailed my classmates and friends and asked who among their friends and classmates had taken or was taking Intro to IR/ Intro to IIS. I made a list of students whose names were recommended as having taken Intro to IR or Intro to IIS, and sent them the email below:

Hi [Name]!
I'm interviewing students who took Intro to [IR/ Intro to IIS] for my thesis. Any chance we could meet for ~15 minutes some time before the semester winds down? If so, I'll try to shift things around so it'll work out on your end.

Take care!
Nick

Due to time constraints, I did not send follow-up emails to students who did not respond to my outreach of their own volition. In total, as mentioned before, I arranged and completed sixty interviews with Intro to IR students. Although the sampling was not random, the sample size is sufficiently large to permit statistical

analysis. Further information that could ascertain or disabuse the notion that the students I spoke with are or are not representative of IR students in general will need to come from the Office of the Registrar at Pomona College.

I would like to express my gratitude towards Professor Pierre Englebert and the Pomona College IR Program for supporting outreach through *The Student Life*, a weekly student publication across the Claremont Colleges.

The Interview Process

I told students that interviews would last about 15 minutes so as to elicit student participation during the final ten days of the Fall 2013 semester. When the interviewee and I communicate succinctly, the interview can be completed in just over ten minutes. However, most interviews took longer than 15 minutes, and the longest took slightly over an hour to complete. The primary factor correlating to the length of time the interview lasted was the degree to which the interviewee wished to comment on the directed questions in the first and second parts of the interview, and elaborate at length in the third section. When interviewees expressed a wish to wrap up the interview, I acquiesced immediately.

I interviewed students in a variety of settings, chosen by mutual consultation. The most common interview settings were in empty classrooms, the library café, dorm lounges, and at student eateries at Pitzer and Pomona.

Each interview began with the first section, moved through the second section, and wrapped up after the third section. One student chose not to participate in the second section, and another student chose not to participate in the third. The remaining respondents completed all three sections in order.

Post-Interview

After the end of the semester, I compiled students' responses in the first two sections into an Excel spreadsheet. I began identifying and testing hypotheses on data recorded in Excel. I transcribed the open-ended statements from the third section of the interview into a narrative format. I omitted filler words, mumbles, and tics for the clarity of readers and confidentiality, respectively.

DEMOGRAPHICS OF STUDENTS INTERVIEWED

Total Students Interviewed: 68

Pomona Students Interviewed: 52

Pomona Intro to IR Students Interviewed: 50

        Class Year:

First-Year	3
Sophomore	13
Junior	20
Senior	15

    Major:

Majoring in IR	17
Double major: one is IR	4
Politics, PPE, PPA, or Economics Major	15
"Other" (History, English, Spanish, EA)	15

    Intro to IR Professor:

Professor A	7
Professor B	17
Professor C	21
Professor D	6

ANALYSIS OF COURSE CONTENT COVERAGE

I coded student responses to the prompts in the second section of the interview, the

part that asks students for how they felt 34 topics were or might be covered in Intro

to IR. I wanted to better understand which topics students felt had been covered in

depth in their Intro to IR classes. I coded and counted responses of "covered about right" and "covered too much together".

On six of the thirty Intro to IR topics mentioned in the second section of the interview, over half of the 50 Pomona students who I interviewed indicated the topics in question were covered in depth, which I measure with the responses "covered about right" and "covered too much". The six topics are:

Covered "About Right" or "Too Much"

Topic:	*Frequency:*
Prisoners' Dilemma	48
Balance of Power	45
Constructivism	37
Terrorism	37
Democratic Peace	36
International Anarchy	33

Next, I wanted to understand what topics Pomona students wanted to cover in-depth in Intro to IR, but did not. I coded and counted the responses "was not covered, and should have been covered" and "was covered, but should have been covered more" together. Both responses indicate that students wanted to learn more than they actually did about a particular topic.

On twelve of the thirty topics mentioned in the second section of the interview, over

half of the Pomona students who I interviewed indicated the topics in question were "not covered and should have been" or "were covered, but should have been covered more" in Intro to IR. The topics are:

In Demand

Topic:	*Frequency:*
Race relations	37
Religion	31
Socioeconomic class (SES)	31
Colonialism	30
Multinational corporations	29
Gender relations	28
World Bank/ IMF/ WTO	28
Environment	27
Trade Policy-NAFTA	26
Critical Theory	25
Intelligence Agencies	25
Mass media	25

Finally, I was curious as to which topics students deemed least relevant to Intro to IR. I coded and counted responses of "the topic was not covered, and not necessary for the class" and "the topic was not covered. It could have been included, but did not need to be" together, and summed the totals by topic.

On three of the thirty topics mentioned in the second section of the interview, over half of the Pomona students who I interviewed indicated the topics in question were

"not covered and not necessary to the class" or "were not covered, could have been included, but did not need to be". The three topics are:

Deemed Unnecessary

Topic:	*Frequency:*
The role of universities	36
Unions/ organized labor	32
Alcohol and Drugs	27

22 of the 30 topics were characterized by a majority of students surveyed as either covered sufficiently, warranting more coverage, or not necessary to Intro to IR. In broad terms, students identified more topics as warranting additional coverage (13) than were sufficiently covered or covered too much, suggesting that Intro to IR would appeal to more students if it covered a wider range of material. However, information about Pomona students as a whole does not yield information about how students of different social identities perceive the course.

Responses of Students at Large

For this thesis, I interviewed 50 Pomona students who had taken Intro to IR at Pomona. These 50 students collectively offered 1447 responses to the second part of the interview, which is to say that they classified one of the thirty topics I listed as "covered" [too much, too little, about right], "not sure" or "not covered" [should have been, could have been, did not need to be covered] 1447 times.

Survey Sample Parameters

Pomona Students included in sample   50

Topics classified by students according to the options below   1447

Topics by students' classification

Response option	Color Assigned	Frequency
Covered too much	Orange	69
Covered about right	Green	459
Covered too little	Blue	231
Not covered and *should* have been covered	Red	381
Not covered and *could* have been covered	Purple	158
Not covered and did not need to be covered	Yellow	151

Initial interview results suggested appreciation for, and concern with, the curricular content in Intro to IR. Of the six response options above, students chose the "covered about right" response the most, in 459 of 1447 cases. The second most common option selected was "was not covered and should have been", which

students chose on 381 occasions. **A response pattern such as the one above, where the two most popular responses contradict each other, suggests a degree of polarization within student perceptions of Intro to IR.**

Taken together, Pomona Intro to IR students also have clear views on which topics I listed were and were not covered in class, suggesting a degree of continuity in topic coverage across semesters and professors. A majority of students identified 22 of the 30 topics as either covered "about right" or "too much" (6), "too little" or "not covered and should have been" (9), or as not necessary as Intro to IR course material (3).

Topics within each broad category share commonalities, as well. **Four of the six topics that a majority of students identified as covered about right or too much relate to state-to-state relations of war and peace. A fifth topic, terrorism, also relates to war and peace but adds non-governmental actors as potential combatants alongside national governments.** Intro to IR readings on these five topics at times critique individual government policies, but leave the practice of abstracting states and state policy from the experiences of vulnerable social groups unchallenged.

In contrast, five of the top six "on demand" topics-race relations, colonialism, socioeconomic status, gender, and religion-examine social labels and networks whose impact plays out in daily social interactions as much as

official government decisions.

Two of the three topics a majority of students identified as unnecessary for Intro to IR-the role of universities in IR and alcohol and drugs-are tangible to most university students, yet they do not appear to link their experiences and observations as students (oftentimes with international backgrounds) to broader international processes. If students are not connecting their own experiences to international processes, what topics do they connect with IR? Below, I use a social network graph to better understand inter-topic correlations in student responses and the relation between such correlations and Intro to IR curricula.

TOPIC-BASED SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS

Research Question

To what degree, and in what instances, do students connect topics in Intro to IR to each other? Do students leave Intro to IR believing that the topics they covered are separate, or interconnected? Which topic(s) have the most statistically significant correlations in response patterns to other topics, suggesting that students conceive of similarities between them? Which topic(s) have the fewest statistically significant linkages to others, suggesting that they are perceived as isolates within Intro to IR?

Hypothesis: Topics that get covered first within Intro to IR, such as International Anarchy, Balance of Power, and Prisoners' Dilemma, and topics that received the most frequent attention within Intro to IR syllabi-Economic Development, Democratic Peace, Environment, and NGO's-as shown at the end of Chapter 1-will have the greatest number of statistically significant correlations with other topics. The topics students most link to each other are the topics they are most exposed to in Intro to IR.
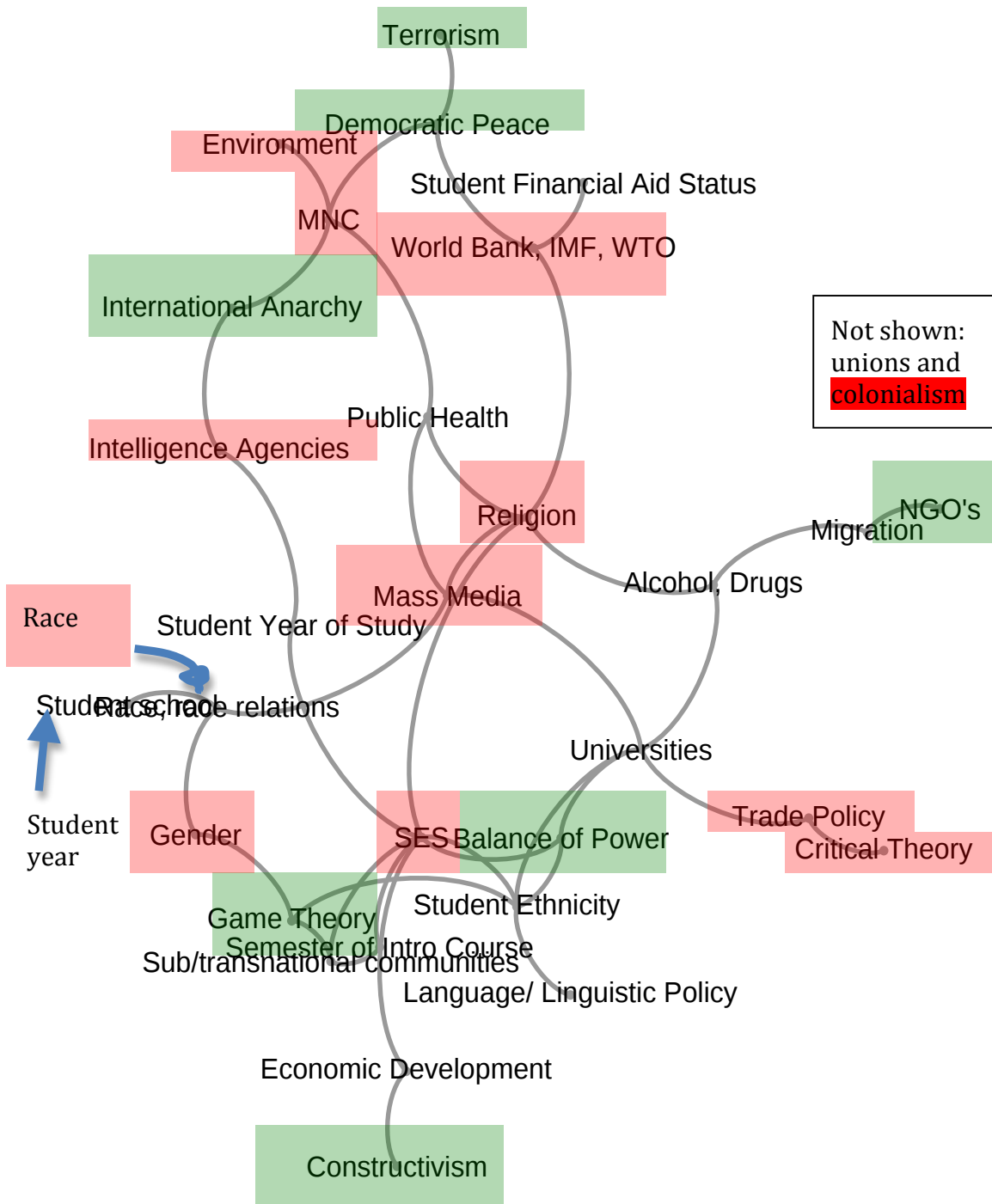
Methodology

I created the social network visual below to show statistically significant correlations between how students perceived topics I included on the survey instrument. Topics that have numerous statistically significant connections to other topics may be perceived as interlinked and integrated into a larger IR framework.

Students likely perceive topics that have no statistically significant correlations as isolated, standalone issues unrelated to other topics covered in Intro to IR.

I used SPSS to calculate two-way correlation coefficients between 30 topics related to IR. SPSS identified 108 statistically significant correlations (at a 95% confidence level) in student response patterns between the variables entered into the regression. I entered the correlations into Gephi, a software program that visualizes networked relationships. I ran the Yifan Hu Layout program, which groups topics by linkage.

Topics with many statistically significant correlations with other topics tend to cluster in the center of the graph, while topics that have fewer statistically significant relationships are towards the outer bounds of the graph. The visual below shows the result. (Note: topics with no statistically significant correlations with other topics are not shown).

STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT RESPONSE CORRELATIONS BETWEEN TOPICS RE: INTRO TO IR

Not shown: unions and colonialism

Terrorism

Democratic Peace

Environment

Student Financial Aid Status

MNC

World Bank, IMF, WTO

International Anarchy

Public Health

Intelligence Agencies

Religion

NGO's

Migration

Mass Media

Alcohol, Drugs

Race

Student Year of Study

Race, race relations

Student year

Universities

Gender

SES Balance of Power

Trade Policy

Critical Theory

Game Theory

Student Ethnicity

Semester of Intro Course

Sub/transnational communities

Language/ Linguistic Policy

Economic Development

Constructivism

Network Graph Key:
Green=over half of students identified topic as "covered about right" or "covered too much", indicating students believe content coverage is at least sufficient
Red=over half of students identified topic as "covered too little" or "not covered, and should have been", indicating student demand for more in-depth coverage

DISCUSSION OF NETWORK GRAPH

Table 2.1-Characteristics of Network Graph by Topic Coverage

	Total Connections	Number of Topics	Mean Number of Connections
Not covered and should've been, or not covered enough	34	11	3.91
Covered about right or too much	14	8	1.75

Table 2.1 shows that topics a majority of students identified as "covered about right" or "covered too much" in Intro to IR have fewer statistically significant correlation patterns with other topics, compared to topics a majority of students identified as "not covered enough" or "not covered, but should have been". Why so? Weren't students directly exposed to topics such as constructivism (1 link), balance of power (3), and international anarchy (2)? **Why are there more statistically significant correlations between race relations, which 32 of 50 students identified as not covered, compared to international anarchy, which 29 identified as "covered about right"?**

One possibility is that students view IR as interdisciplinary through the lens of social issues. For example, students might contextualize democratic peace theory through understanding how free trade agreements and multinational corporations make armed conflict between major trading partners highly risky and near unfeasible.

The "hubs" of the network above are SES (the topic), Religion, and Student Ethnicity, with seven, five, and five statistically significant correlations between each respective topic and other topics. The numerous correlations in response patterns between the topics above, which a majority of students claim were not covered (sufficiently) in Intro to IR, and additional topics such as migration, universities, and multinational corporations suggests that students find SES, religion, and student ethnicity salient to understanding additional topics including both those covered in Intro to IR (balance of power, with three statistically significant connections) and not (universities, with four). On the other hand, topics students reported "covered about right" such as Terrorism, International Anarchy, and Constructivism are on the fringes of the network with one or two connections each. **Is Intro to IR content truly interdisciplinary when students appear more likely to relate topics *not* covered in the course to other IR topics?** Is this pattern an indication that those students who have an organized internal schema of IR created it outside of Intro to IR? **Why are there so few statistically significant correlations between how students perceived heavily covered topics?**

CHAPTER 2 CONCLUSION

In interviews, a majority of Pomona students in Intro to IR stated that their Intro to IR section should have covered 12 topics, most related to dynamics between social groups, more thoroughly. Further analysis revealed statistically significant correlations in response patterns between many of the topics students felt were

overlooked, while fewer statistically significant response patterns arose from topics students felt were covered at length in Intro to IR. In the following chapter, I investigate the role of students' ascribed social identities in regard to their perceptions of Intro to IR. Are students' interests in the social dynamics of IR a reflection of unacknowledged dynamics they face beyond the texts?

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH QUESTION

The results of the network graph in Chapter 2 suggest students conceive of International Relations in a more social group-centric paradigm than covered in Intro to IR. What role does social identity play in how students perceive Intro to IR course content? **Do ascribed identity characteristics of students overlay differences in how students perceive Intro to IR course coverage?** I grouped students together on the basis of three social traits that shape social privilege on U.S. college campuses and beyond-race/ ethnicity, financial aid status, and gender-to better understand if or how students' desire for social network-based IR course content draws upon social identities ascribed to students.

METHODOLOGY

I explored the role that ascribed social identities play in student perceptions of Intro to IR through two routes of statistical analysis. The first route compares how students of different genders, financial situations, and ethnic identities perceived Intro to IR course content as a whole, across 30 topics assessed during each interview. The second route is more narrow and explores how students of different genders perceive the coverage of gender in Intro to IR, how students of different ethnicities perceive the coverage of race and race relations in Intro to IR, and how students of different financial situations perceive the coverage of SES in Intro to IR.

The first route aims to measure differences in perception of Intro to IR as a whole, while the second route aims to measure differences in perceptions of a topic (whether gender, financial aid status, or ethnicity) of direct personal relevance to those who are categorized as subaltern in each regard-female students, students on financial aid, and students of color.

ROUTE 1

Operational Hypothesis: *Male students will express satisfaction with the topic coverage in Intro to IR, as measured by the "covered about right" (green) option, with a greater relative frequency than female students. Female students will express dissatisfaction with topic coverage in Intro to IR, as measured by the "was not covered and should have been" (red) option, with a greater relative frequency than male students.*

Gender	*Number of students*	*Total Responses*
Female	32	896
Male	19	548
Genderqueer	0	0

To test this hypothesis, I coded responses into the six colors above and sorted data by gender. I summed the total number of green and red responses provided by Pomona students of each gender. I then calculated the "expected" number of red and

green responses each gender would provide were there no difference in response between genders. The table below summarizes my findings:

Table 3.1: Gender and Overall Intro to IR content perception

Gender	Female	Male	Total
OBSERVED	896	548	1449
Red	261	120	381
Green	250	209	459
Total	511	288	840
EXPECTED			
Red	231.775	149.225	
Green	279	180	
p	**0.00**		

Male students are more likely to state that Intro to IR topic coverage centers on topics "covered about right" compared to the values that would be expected if there were no difference in response patterns between males and females. Female students are more likely to state that Intro to IR topic coverage includes topics that "were not covered and should have been". The difference between males and females in this chi test is statistically significant at a 99% level of confidence.

The column chart below breaks down student responses at Pomona between males and females per each response option and in total. The vertical axis represents the

percent of all responses within a particular response category by gender. Although males provided 38% of responses as a whole, they provide 46% of "green" responses, indicating that a topic was "covered about right", and 35% of "red" responses, indicating that a topic "was not covered and should have been". **Relative to the overall percentages, male students are disproportionately less critical of Intro to IR course coverage than female students.**

Chart 3.1: Gendered breakdown of course content evaluation
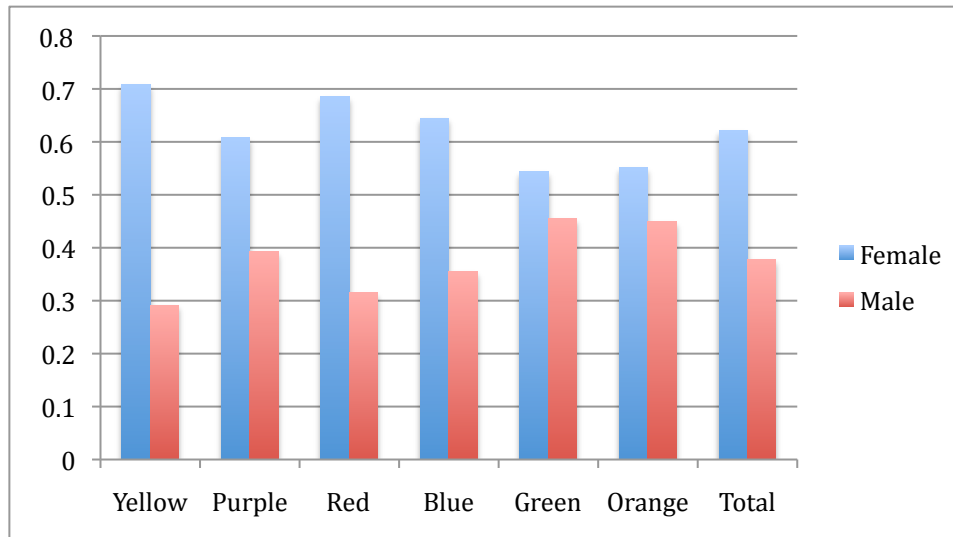
The gendered dynamic of course content perception becomes clearer in examining the percentage breakdown of responses within each gender across color-coded responses (rather than across color-coded responses within males and females, as above). 38% of all male responses indicate a topic was "covered about right", compared to 28% of all female responses. 29% of all female responses indicate a topic was "not covered, and should have been", while only 22% of all male responses indicated likewise.

Chart 3.2: Percent of total responses by response type and gender
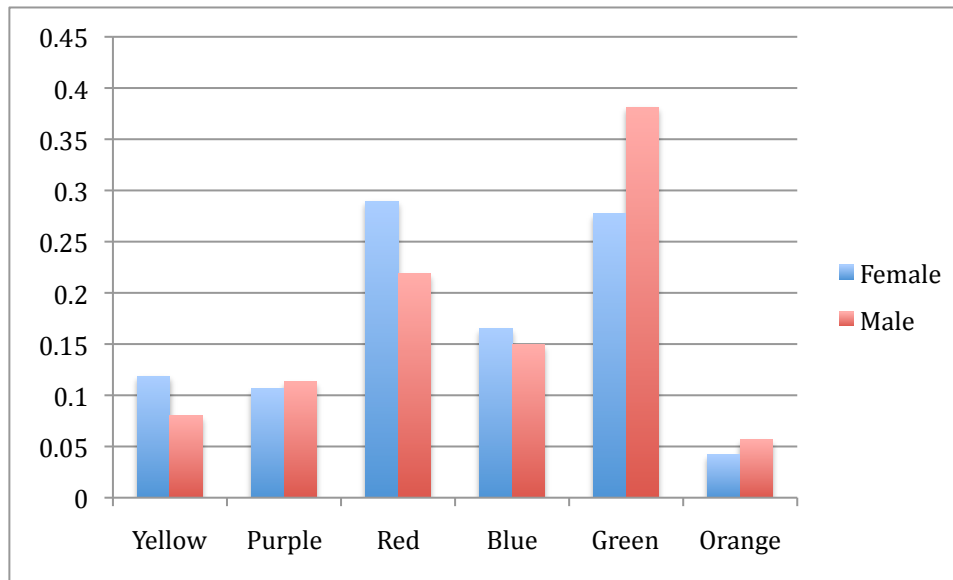
Operational Hypothesis: *Students who do not receive financial aid from Pomona College will express satisfaction with the topic coverage in Intro to IR, as measured by the "covered about right" (green) option, with a greater relative frequency than students who do receive financial aid from Pomona College. Students who receive financial aid from Pomona College will express dissatisfaction with topic coverage in Intro to IR, as measured by the "was not covered and should have been" (red) option, with a greater relative frequency than students who do not receive financial aid.*

I chose students' financial aid status as a rough indicator of socioeconomic status because students are more likely to know whether or not they are on financial aid as compared to monetary figures representing their parents' income. The only type of financial aid Pomona College awards is need-based, so students who receive

financial aid from the college do so because of financial reasons rather than for athletics or through merit scholarships. Pomona College's Enrolled Students Profile of the Class of 2017 states that 55% of students receive need-based financial aid from the college, with a mean annual package of $37,900.

I do not insinuate that students on financial aid are low income, because Pomona's $57,680 tuition for the 2013-2014 school year exceeds the median U.S. annual household income and is affordable in full for only the wealthiest 5% of the U.S. population. Rather, distinguishing between students based on their financial aid status roughly illuminates different patters of student socialization within Pomona College. Students on financial aid during college may have different friend groups, amounts of leisure time, or leisure activities based on their available financial resources. The 45% of Pomona students who do not receive financial aid represent the wealthiest 5% of the US population, while the 55% of Pomona students who do receive financial aid represent the lower 95% of the US population sorted by annual income. This comparison does not fully extend to international students who grew up in locations with varying costs of living and forms of social hierarchy.

PO Financial Aid Status	Number of Students	Total Responses
Yes, receives aid	34	1004
No, does not receive aid	17	514

To test the hypothesis that students not on financial aid are more likely to indicate

that coverage of topics in Intro to IR was "about right" versus their peers on financial aid, I sorted coded response data by student financial aid status. I summed the total number of green and red responses provided by Pomona students based on their financial aid status. I then calculated the "expected" number of red and green responses each gender would provide were there no difference in response between students who do and do not receive financial aid from Pomona College. The table below summarizes my findings:

Table 3.2: Financial Aid Status and Overall Intro to IR content perception

Financial Aid Status	PO Y$	PO N$	Total		PO Y$	PO N$
OBSERVED	1004	514	1518	EXPECTED	871	459
Green	292	167	459	Green	307.64	151.36
Red	271	110	381	Red	255.36	125.64
Total	563	277	840			
				p	0.0211	

Students who do not receive financial aid are more likely to state that Intro to IR topic coverage centers on topics "covered about right" compared to the values that would be expected if there were no difference in response patterns between students based on their financial aid status. Students who receive financial aid are more likely to state that Intro to IR topic coverage includes topics that "were not covered and should have been". The difference between students based on financial aid status in this chi test is statistically significant at a 97% level of confidence.

The column chart below breaks down student responses at Pomona by student financial aid status per each response option, and in total. Although the differences in response patterns are not as large as the difference in response patterns by gender, they are still present. Responses from Pomona students receiving financial aid account for 66% of all responses, but range from 62% of responses indicating a topic was "covered too much" to 63% of responses indicating that a topic was "covered about right", to 71% of responses indicating that a topic "was not covered, but should have been". Though the trend is less pronounced than with gender, by the metrics above students who receive financial aid appear to be more critical of Intro to IR course coverage than their peers who do not receive financial aid. **To what degree the difference is due to an overlap with an intervening variable, such as gender or ethnicity, is unclear.**

Chart 3.3: Breakdown of course content evaluation by financial aid status
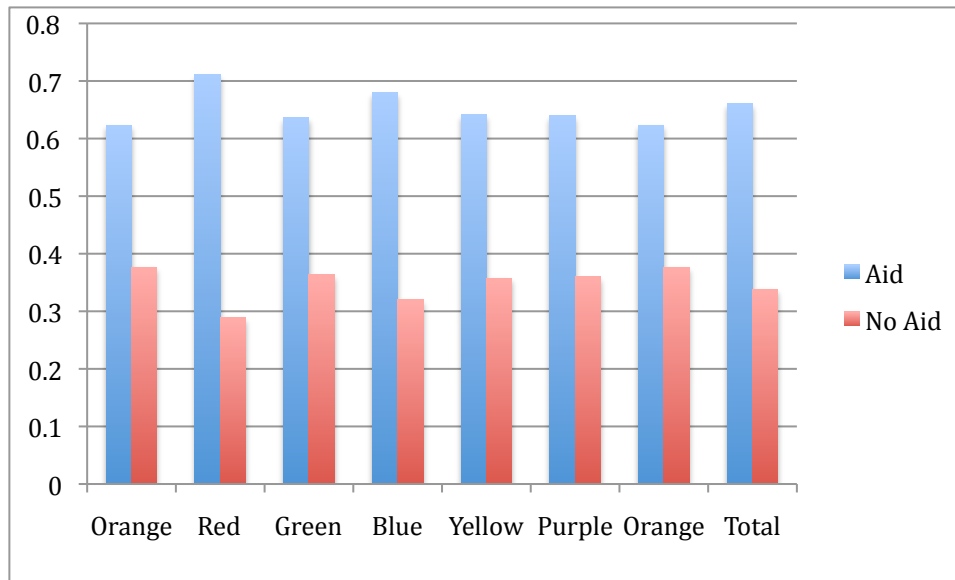
The relationship between student financial aid status and course content perception becomes clearer in examining the percentage breakdown of responses within each financial aid category across color-coded responses (rather than across color-coded responses within financial aid recipients and non-recipients, as above). 32% of all responses from students not receiving financial aid from Pomona indicate a topic was "covered about right", compared to 29% of responses from students receiving financial aid from the college. 27% of responses from students receiving financial aid from the college indicate a topic was "not covered, and should have been", while 21% of responses from students not receiving financial aid from the college indicated likewise. **In short, students receiving financial aid were more likely to express dissatisfaction with Intro to IR topic coverage relative to peers not receiving financial aid.**

Chart 3.4: Percent of total responses by response type and financial aid status
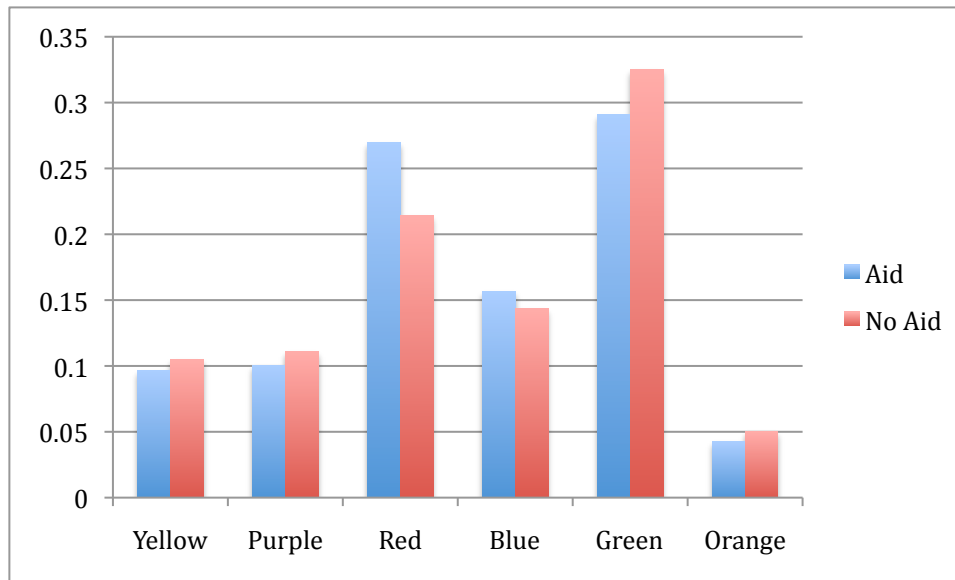
Operational Hypothesis: *European-American students will express satisfaction with the topic coverage in Intro to IR, as measured by the "covered about right" (green) option, with a greater relative frequency than students from less privileged ethnic identities, such as international students, Latin@/Chican@ students, African-American students, Asian-American students and students who self-identify with more than one race or ethnicity. Students from less privileged ethnic groups, races, or national identities will express dissatisfaction with topic coverage in Intro to IR, as measured by the "was not covered and should have been" (red) option, with a greater relative frequency than European-American students.*

Methodology on Ethnic-based Analysis

Pomona College reports that the Class of 2017 has the following racial, ethnic, and national breakdown:

Ethnic/racial designation	Percentage of Students
European-American	42.6
Asian-American	14.6
Latin@-American	13.6
Multiracial-American	8.8
International	8.6
African-American	4.5
Native American	Report did not include this identity.
Student did not report	7.3

The Pomona students I interviewed who had taken Intro to IR had an racial, ethnic, and national breakdown as follows:

Ethnic designation	Number of Students	Total Responses
European-American	26	729
Asian-American	4	117
Latin@-American	4	117

Multiracial-American	4	116
International	11	288
African-American	3	87
Native American	0	0

To test the hypothesis that European-American students are more likely to indicate that coverage of topics in Intro to IR was "about right" versus their peers who identify with an ethnicity less privileged in the United States, I sorted coded response data by students' racial, ethnic, and national identities. I summed the total number of green and red responses provided by Pomona students based on the racial, ethnic, and national identities articulated above. I then calculated the "expected" number of red and green responses students identifying with each ethnicity or nationality would provide, were there no difference in response between students based on their ethno-national identity. The table below summarizes my findings:

Table 3.3: Race, Ethnicity, Nationality, and Overall Intro to IR content perception

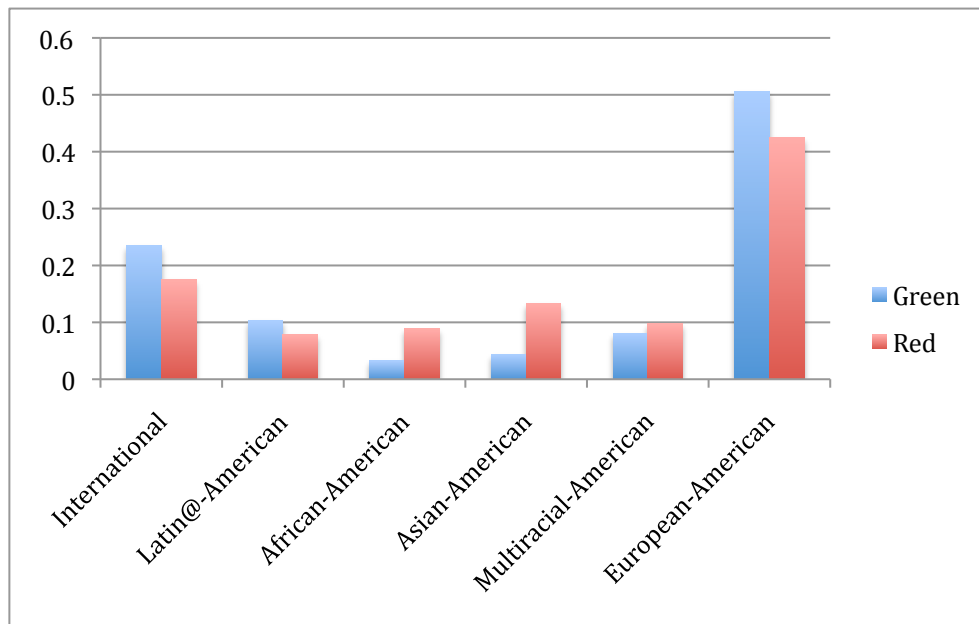| Ethnicity/ Nationality			
GREEN OBSERVED RESPONSES		**RED OBSERVED RESPONSES**	
Green proportion	*0.3172*	*Red proportion*	*0.2633*
Green total	*459*	*Red total*	*381*
PO Latin@-Am	47	PO Latin@-Am	30
PO Asian-Am	20	PO Asian-Am	51
PO Multiracial-Am	37	PO Multiracial-Am	37
PO Euro-Am	232	PO Euro-Am	162
PO African-Am	15	PO African-Am	34
PO International	108	PO International	67
EXPECTED RESPONSES	**Green**	**Red**	
PO US Latin@	42.075	34.925	
PO US Asian-Am	38.796	32.204	
PO US Multiracial	40.436	33.564	
PO US Euro Am	215.293	178.707	
PO US African-Am	26.775	22.225	
PO International	95.625	79.375	
Chi p value	**0.0029**	**0.0006**	

Relative to the "expected" values in the table above, observed values confirm Hypothesis H4c. for students of European-American, Asian-American, African-American, and Multiracial identities. Observed values partially corroborate and partially challenge Hypothesis H4c. for Latin@-American students, and challenge Hypothesis H4c. with regards to International students.

In lay English, the responses recorded above indicate that European American students and International students are more likely to state that Intro to IR topic coverage centers on topics "covered about right" compared to the values that would be expected if there were no difference in response patterns between students based on their racial, ethnic, and national identities. Asian-American, African-American, and Multiracial American students are more likely to state that Intro to IR topic coverage includes topics that "were not covered and should have been". Relative to a race, ethnicity, and nationality-neutral response pattern, Latin@-American students both identify more topics than would be expected as both "covered about right" and "not covered but should have been". The difference between students based on racial, ethnic, and national identities in this chi test is statistically significant at a 99% level of confidence.

The column chart below breaks down student responses at Pomona by student ethnicity, measuring the percentage of all "red" and "green" responses derived from students of each of the listed ethnic groups. European-American students, Latin@ students, and international students indicate that a greater proportion of topics

were "covered about right" than were "not covered, and should have been". African-American, Asian American, and Multiracial-American students, however, were more likely to respond that a topic was "not covered and should have been" than was "covered about right".

Chart 3.5: Green and Red Responses, broken down by ethnicity and nationality

The relationship between student race, ethnicity, nationality, and course content perception becomes clearer in examining the percentage breakdown of responses within ethnicities across color-coded responses as I arranged them in Chapter 2, into a pair of responses indicating sufficient course content coverage, a pair representing deficient or insufficient course content coverage, and a pair representing topics deemed to have questionable or no relevance for Intro to IR. International students were the only group of students to classify more topics as "covered about right" or "covered too much"-which is to say, covered sufficiently-

than as "covered too little" or "not covered, and should have been". **European-American and Multiracial-American students indicated topics were covered sufficiently and insufficiently with roughly equal frequency, while Latin@-American, Asian American, and African-American students perceived Intro to IR course coverage as significantly more deficient than sufficient.**

Chart 3.6: Type of Response by Ethnicity
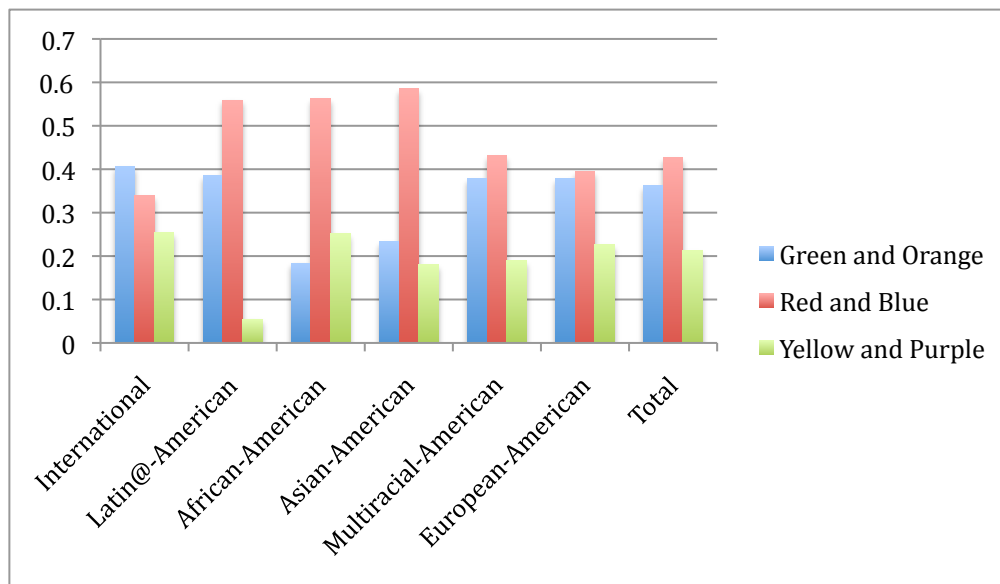
One potential reason that international students might have responded more favorably than predicted by myself in Hypothesis H4c. might relate to the backgrounds of international students. International students receive less financial aid than domestic students, so international students might be more likely to come from families wealthy enough to pay full tuition. To hear of a small liberal arts college like Pomona, and be familiar enough with US higher education to navigate the Common Application, international students enjoy linguistic (English fluency) and social (knowledge of Pomona and parental permission to attend) privilege

similar to those of Pomona students from within the US, but higher than that of many of their peers abroad. **The relative privilege of international students might explain their greater-than-expected support for Intro to IR course coverage of some, though certainly not all, topics.**

ROUTE 2

Of the nine topics a majority of Pomona students interviewed identified as "covered too little" or "not covered, but should have been" are race, socioeconomic status, and religion, which intersect with the lives of Pomona students in deeply personal ways. I conducted statistical analyses of student responses to the "race relations", "SES/socioeconomic status" and "gender/ gender relations" topics, dividing student responses by student ethnicity, financial aid status, and gender respectively. This route gives a direct snapshot of students' views of race coverage in Intro to IR by racial, ethnic, and national groups, of socioeconomic status, gender relations by gender.

Operational Hypotheses

Female students will be more likely to respond that "gender/gender relations" was "covered too little" or "not covered, but should have been" in Intro to IR, relative to male students who have less developed awareness of how gender and gender relations relate to their privileged identities as male students.

Students receiving financial aid from Pomona College will be more likely to respond that "SES/socioeconomic status" was "covered too little" or "not covered, but should have been" in Intro to IR, relative to students not receiving financial aid from Pomona who have less developed awareness of how socioeconomic status relates to their identities as students of privilege.

African-American, Asian-American, Latin@-American, Multiracial-American, and International students will be more likely to respond that "race relations" was "covered too little" or "not covered, but should have been" in Intro to IR, relative to European-American students who have less developed awareness of how race relations relate to their privileged identities as European-American students.

Gender

To test Hypothesis H5a., I tallied responses to the "Were gender or gender relations covered in your Intro to IR course?" question in Part II of the interview by gender. Female students stated that their Intro to IR courses did not cover gender or gender relations by an 18-12 margin. Male students concluded the opposite, 13-5. **Male and female students disagree on whether Intro to IR covers gender, despite taking the same co-ed class.**

Table 3.4: *"Did you cover gender or gender relations in Intro to IR?"*

OBSERVED	Female	Male	Grand Total

Not covered	18	5	23
Covered	12	13	25
Grand Total	30	18	48

EXPECTED	Female	Male	Total
Not Covered	14.375	8.625	23
Covered	15.625	9.375	25
Total	30	18	48

p-value	0.030509574

In comparison with the values I computed from survey results, the lower half of the table above, titled "Expected", shows how male and female students would have responded were there no difference in how male and female students viewed coverage of gender relations in Intro to IR. I conducted a chi-squared test of significance comparing the "expected", no-gender-gap values with the observed values. **The resultant probability, that the difference in male and female perception in if Intro to IR addresses gender and gender relations is explainable by chance, is just over 3%. The difference in reported coverage of gender between male and female students is statistically significant at a 95% level of confidence.**

Financial Aid Status

To test Hypothesis H5b., I tallied responses to the "Was SES/ socioeconomic status covered in your Intro to IR course?" question in Part II of the interview by the financial aid status of each student. The table format of the result is the upper half of the chart below. As shown below, students receiving financial aid from Pomona responded that the Intro to IR course they took "did not cover SES, and should have" or "covered SES too little" by a 22-8 margin. Students not receiving financial aid from Pomona responded that "SES was covered about right", "SES did not need to be covered in Intro to IR", or "SES could have been covered" by a 10-7 margin.

Table 3.5: *"Did you cover socioeconomic status in Intro to IR? Should it have been covered? Was it covered too much, too little, or about right?"*

OBSERVED	Aid	No Aid	Total
Dissatisfied	24	7	31
Satisfied	8	10	18
Total	32	17	49

EXPECTED	Aid	No Aid	Total
Dissatisfied	20.24	10.76	31
Satisfied	11.76	6.24	18
Total	32	17	49

p	0.019

Discerning readers may note that I condensed responses of "covered too much", "covered too little" and "was not covered, and should have been" into a composite variable titled "Dissatisfied". I condensed responses of "covered about right", "not covered and not necessary for Intro to IR", and the ambiguous option "not covered and neutral", or "not covered and could have been covered" into a composite variable titled "Satisfied". A topic as specific as perceptions of SES coverage in Intro to IR among 46 Pomona students requires condensing information into composite variables, so as to determine the statistical (in)significance of overarching patterns in student responses.

In comparison with the values I recorded from survey results, the bottom third of the table above, titled "Expected", shows how students who do and do not receive financial aid would have responded were there no gap in responses along students' financial aid status. I conducted a chi-squared test of significance comparing the "expected" values that would have occurred if there were no gap based on financial aid status with the observed values.

The resulting value represents the probability that students who receive financial aid from Pomona and students who do not would have offered the "observed" responses, while simultaneously representing a population of Pomona students in which there were no gap along students' financial aid status over how Intro to IR covered or did not cover SES. The resultant probability is 1.9%, and is therefore statistically significant at a 98% level of confidence. Students receiving and not

receiving financial aid took the same Intro to IR classes at the same time with each other, yet came to differing conclusions over whether Intro to IR should cover, or adequately covers, socioeconomic status. **As with gender, the more privileged students expressed satisfaction with course coverage, while the less privileged students said coverage was unsatisfactory.**

Race, Ethnicity, and Nationality

To test Hypothesis H5c., I tallied responses to the "Were race relations covered in your Intro to IR course?" question in Part II of the interview by the ethnicity or nationality of each student. The table format of the result is the upper half of the chart below. As shown below, African-American, Asian-American, Latin@-American, and Multiracial-American students responded that the Intro to IR course they took "did not cover race relations, and should have" or "covered race relations too little" by an 17-7 margin. European-American students responded that "did not cover race relations, and should have" or "covered race relations too little" by a 19-4 margin. International students split evenly, 5-5.

The difference in response patterns was statistically significant at a 90% level of confidence. The results below suggest a learning opportunity for International students and US-raised students to exchange perspectives on the role of race relations within US society, including in the content of college courses such as Intro to IR.

Table 3.6: *"Did you cover race relations in Intro to IR? Should it have been covered?*

Did you cover it too much, too little, or about right?"

OBSERVED	International	Euro-American	African-American, Asian-American, Latin@-American, Multiracial-American	Total
Dissatisfied	5	20	13	38
Satisfied	5	5	2	12
Total	10	25	15	50

EXPECTED				
Dissatisfied	7.6	19	11.4	38
Satisfied	2.4	6	3.6	12
Total	10	25	15	50

p	0.0879

The data above do not address the question of social desirability bias, or the possibility that some students I interviewed might have responded that they want to see "race relations" covered, or covered more, because some Pomona students have a strong sense of political correctness around race and ethnicity.

The result above neither invalidates, nor diminishes, the chi-test undertaken for Hypothesis H3a near the end of Chapter 2 that reveals statistically significant responses between student racial, ethnic and national identity, and likelihood to

evaluate course content as "covered about right" versus "not covered, and should have been". Further exploration into social desirability response bias among Pomona College students attributed various social characteristics might untangle the complicated relationship between ethnicity, nationality, and student perceptions of coverage of race relations in Intro to IR with greater clarity.

Regardless of whether students of different ascribed ethnic characteristics perceive Intro to IR course coverage of race relations, most students acknowledge that race relations needs to be covered, or covered more, in Intro to IR.

CONCLUSION

Intro to IR is a class that students interpret differently depending on the degree to which they are assigned membership in a social group identity such as race/ethnicity, class, and gender. Less privileged female students, students on financial aid, and domestic students of color are more likely to find Intro to IR course content coverage deficient than their relatively more privileged peers. Statistically significant patterns in student responses appear between topics Pomona students generally agreed were not covered and should have been, or were not covered sufficiently-for example, SES and religion.

CHAPTER 4

STUDENT NARRATIVES ON COURSE CONTENT

Methodology

Each of the 53 Pomona students I interviewed participated in the third section of the interview. After evaluating Pomona's course coverage across 30 topics, students were asked to "make an open-ended statement about their experience in Intro to IR, or in IR in general" [if the student was a prospective major, declared major, or had also taken IR Seminar or US Foreign Policy]. Students who sought more direction in what to say on the recording were given suggestions such as, "What were your takeaways from the class?" "What interests you about IR?" "What will you remember from the class in five years' time?" and so on.

After ten interviews, I became more comfortable in the role of interviewer and I began asking students follow-up questions to statements they made that I wanted to clarify. Follow-up questions build off of statements that students have already made and seek to contextualize and clarify the original statements when necessary.

Interview transcriptions do not include filler words such as "um" or mumbles. From the full-length transcriptions, which run to 131 pages single-spaced, I took student statements reflecting experiences in Intro to IR and other IR courses including, but not limited to, course structure, pedagogy, other students in the class, and elements

of course content and paraphrased student descriptions into concise statements of 1-2 sentences.

Class Coverage of IR Theory-"I was just left with, 'what is realism?'"

A majority of Pomona students agreed that the topics of Prisoners' Dilemma, Balance of Power, Constructivism, Terrorism, Democratic Peace, and International Anarchy were covered "about right" or "too much" in Intro to IR, but in the interviews they described such topics in vague and abstracted terms. More than any other adjective, students chose "theoretical" or "theory-based" to describe Intro to IR, suggesting that critiques of the course must begin with reexamining theories covered most extensively in Intro to IR.

Students are exposed first and longest to concepts such as Prisoners' Dilemma, Balance of Power, Constructivism, Terrorism, Democratic Peace, and International Anarchy, and their theoretical underpinnings in realism, liberalism, and constructivism. Unless explicitly stated otherwise, I treat critiques of theory within Pomona's IR courses as primarily aimed at the six topics above, since they are, by the collective identification of 48 Pomona students, the topics that receive the most frequent and in-depth attention in class.

Students struggled to identify with the theories above. Rather, they left Intro to IR (and subsequent IR classes) uncertain of how the theories relate to international

events or their personal lives. They found theories such as realism and rationalism irrelevant, making that section of Intro to IR an unengaging and frustrating experience.

[Note: For purposes of confidentiality, I refer to students by the number of their interview.]

Student 16 criticized the initial emphasis on realism. He described the assumptions as "simply poor" and added, "You're simply not going to find patterns very well" in realist analysis, because it is so narrowly based to cover such a wide array of phenomena.

Student 17, an upperclassmen IR major, objected to the usefulness, rather than accuracy, of theories taught in Intro to IR. "Rational choice theory, and other IR theories I've learned...explain things that don't necessarily matter", she said. "Neorealism, neo-whatever...teach nothing, and you can't apply it to things or current events".

Student 9, a former IR major, left Intro to IR asking herself, "What is realism? What is balance of power?" with unresolved foundational questions about two basic Intro to IR theories. She transferred into another department that was more open to discussing gender relations. Student 21, who remains an IR major, still asks herself, "How is that [realism and rationalism] relevant? Any why do I have to listen to this?"

Student 25 describes course coverage of IR theory as "incredibly simplistic" with "no critical debate". Student 38 adds, "[it] seems odd…for the focus of the major to be on these theories". Though she says the theories are "not irrelevant" in particular case studies, teaching and spreading theories that have no predictive value "seems silly".

Omitted Topics in Intro to IR-"We overlook a lot of the perspectives that are underlying-for example, with women"

In contrast to approaches such as realism, rationalism, and constructivism, students *did* identify with theories that were minimized or left out of Intro to IR. Student testimonies suggest that students who are interested in the topics not covered in Intro to IR created a schema of how IR topics interact with each other separately of the course. These critiques often arise along lines of race/ ethnicity, class, and gender.

Student 14, a non-white former IR major, criticized Intro to IR for omitting "what I really wanted to learn"-namely, race. Student 57, also non-white, similarly left the IR major because it overlooked the present and past role of gender. Student 41, a non-white first-generation student, said if she could retake Intro to IR with the knowledge she gained in non-IR courses, she "would have spoken up about these issues we didn't talk about" such as the balance of power inside a country between different races and social classes. "People like me tend to be

underrepresented...[and] I want to learn more about the social issues" and how they affect vulnerable populations and weak countries, she added.

Students 43 and 18 added social class to the mix of omitted topics. Student 43 says, "IR itself is such a niche thing...IR is *made* for certain kinds of people". In specific, it is for "rich people who have/want power, and have power already." Student 18, an IR major, examined class from a personal, rather than academic standpoint, and found bias in IR's setup in favor of affluent students with resources and cultural capital to travel and have access to news of international happenings. "There's a lot of courses, a lot of majors here that are *definitely* not intended for low-income students, and IR is one of them", he concludes.

While Student 18 is alienated by Intro to IR's whitewashed curricula and discussions, Student 17 perceives an undertone of cultural paternalism. Student 17 objected to undertones that the West was the only successful cultural model, underpinned by a Western-centric focus in IR and lack of critical discourse. She added, "As an international student...it was really frustrating that none of that ["cultural, racial different relations"] was covered" in spite of its apparent relevance.

Is this the kind of impression that the IR program wishes to impart to low-income students? Female students? Non-white students? IR is fundamentally connected to questions of race and ethnicity, class, and gender-yet the students above say those

topics are not covered in class despite their impact on society at large and on students.

Race and IR-"I just feel like that whole paragraph is straight up-and-down bullshit"

Perhaps the most specific commentary I heard on the link between race and IR was from Student 12, a non-white female student who left the IR major. Like Student 25, Student 12 criticized IR textbooks as overly simplistic. She read me an excerpt from page 117 of Francis Fukuyama's *The End of History*, a required reading in her Intro to IR course, about how Americans are all born equal and the US is an egalitarian society. An excerpt of our discussion on Fukuyama's characterization is below.

Me: What about where he says that all Americans were born equal. What do you think about that?

Student 12: Come on! Seriously? No way. Being a black American, that's not even true. We weren't brought here on equal terms. When we were born here we were still considered other people's property. Finally, when we got emancipated, the police were still being police-even if you look at health disparities along racial lines, it's always-it's usually black women who are at the bottom of the totem pole.

I feel like that's by design. That's not by chance that after all these years, "oh, well, it's just like that, you know?" No, I think it's by design that stems from colonial influences that weren't talked about a lot in class, and when I did try to bring it up, it was just like, "oh, let's look at the wider picture" and I felt like a lot of times that I was being erased from the history of IR, if that makes sense. I just felt like I was being erased, my culture was being erased, my history was being erased, and I didn't want to keep learning about white people and their history.

Their history didn't include me, when I feel like people of color had a very strong influence on the development of America, on the development of colonial imperialism. Unfortunately a lot of colonial pursuits were possible through the

exploitation of people of color. No one wants to talk about that. I just feel like it's really weird. It's like the elephant in the room. "Oh yeah, Europe, they went in, they carved up Africa, into thirds", but no one wants to talk about the benefits that they had and how it was very beneficial to them to continue imperialism under a different name.

Positive Reviews of Intro to IR-"I think this is a year where we are going to see more conflict. Especially in Africa"

Student 58, a white male, offered the most positive review of Intro to IR, and the IR major, of any student I interviewed. Student 58 interprets the "takeaway" question (What are your takeaways from Intro to IR?) to discuss events he became aware of through mass media programming. In contrast, alienated students made conclusions of personal resonance to them-namely, that subaltern class, gender, and racial identities are irrelevant to IR. There appears to be a large disconnect between Student 58's observations and the topics alienated students are reflecting on after completing Intro to IR.

Student 58 is "really happy" with his progression of studies in IR and cites IR as a reason he attended Pomona. Beyond that, he recites predictions of unrest in Brazil and Turkey rather than reflecting on Intro to IR or the major requirements. He concludes, "I think that this is going to be a year where we see more conflict. Especially maybe in Africa, as-you know, the Congo stuff, even though it's kind of died down, I'm sure it will flame back up. South Sudan doesn't seem to be going anywhere-positive, in the near future...I am grateful to Pomona and for my education to help me think about all of these trends at once."

Contrast the struggles and dislocation of the marginalized students with that of Student 58. Student 58 is highly intelligent, articulate, well intentioned, and a self-identified leftist-in short, someone who would be likely to discuss social issues such as gender and race if they were covered in Intro to IR. However, such topics were not covered, and Student 58 ends up on a completely different plane of thought than his (female, low-income, non-white) classmates. **Should Intro to IR produce two classes of students-one, of mostly marginalized students, aware of social issues through their conspicuous omission, and the other, of more privileged students, discussing meta-events such as the civil conflict in South Sudan abstracted from their own histories and experiences?** How does such a setup promote diverse learning experiences and outcomes?

In the following Chapter, I will examine how international programs such as Pitzer's International and Intercultural Studies (IIS) embrace interdisciplinary learning and explicitly tie IR theories and observed phenomena to wider social markers such as religion and language spoken.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION QUESTION

How can Intro to IR course material better match students' expressed interests and needs? How can Intro to IR instructors and students take a proactive approach to ongoing quiescence in and beyond the classroom regarding gender, ethnicity and SES at Pomona and within IR literature?

If Chapter 4 was a transition between critiques of Intro to IR course content and students' suggestions for improvement, Chapter 5 advances potential alternatives in three stages. The first section examines three ways in which IR scholars at other universities have adopted a more holistic, diversity-friendly curriculum to introductory classes about International Relations and Global Studies. In the second section, I compile readings that cover topics students would like to see more of in Intro to IR, or alternatively provide a counterargument to theories already discussed in Intro to IR such as Democratic Peace Theory. The third section looks at how Pitzer has implemented a program focused on cross-national interaction and students' perceptions of that program's intro class. I share concluding remarks for this thesis as a whole, followed by a discussion of the limitations of this study and unresolved questions that await future research.

FRESH APPROACH TO INTRO TO IR

Students in Intro to IR at Pomona generally support incorporating social groupings such as ethnicity, gender, SES, and religion into the curriculum. Several students stated that they sought more discussion of group identities and group roles in Intro to IR, while other students concluded that realism and liberalism are too abstract and simplistic, and primarily of use in reading classical IR literature.

A potential response to such feedback might include acknowledging and exploring the perspectives of subaltern identities, and examining how students group some Intro to IR topics together, while others are seen as isolates. The cases below are examples of a more "network-based" approach to Intro to IR that focuses on building connections between students as well as between IR topics through interdisciplinary pedagogy.

Service Learning

Elmhurst College professor Amy Patterson concludes that interactive service learning in her IR course helped students apply theoretical readings to real-life situations, collaborate with each other, and understand different cultural perspectives. Patterson asserts that volunteer outreach with a Bosnian refugee family helped students disaggregate NGO's from each other, learn about immigration and refugee rights, explore the concept of universal human rights,

question the limits of state sovereignty, and conceptualize ethnic identity[13].

Students discussed stereotypes of refugees, saw past them, and extended their

knowledge of IR to individuals[14]. Patterson analyzed course reviews and concluded

that service projects helped students develop "democratic skills" such as

coordination and tolerance[15].

Fiction as a Bridge to Empathy

April Morgan introduced the fictional narrative *The Poisonwood Bible* to her

International Political Economy class to promote deep, rather than surface-level,

learning of material. Morgan cites Howard Gardner's claim that the primary

obstacles to learning within social sciences as internalized stereotypes and scripts

such as '[X] can't happen here'[16] as impetus to "empowering students to enlarge

their view of the world to include other worldviews"[17] through cultivating empathy.

Indeed, Morgan cites a 2004 study by Jodi Halpern and Harvey Weinstein to borrow

their conclusion that in a post-conflict situation, that "it is the interpersonal ruins,

rather than the ruined buildings and institutions, that pose the greatest challenge

for rebuilding society"[18]. **Morgan chooses fiction as a venue for enriching**

student understanding of material because she believes it may displace what

Deborah Tannen terms "agonism" in university courses, in which students'

[13] Patterson, 2000, p. 819

[14] Ibid., p. 820

[15] Ibid., p. 821

[16] Gardner, 1999, p. 163

[17] Morgan, 2006, p. 381

[18] Halpern and Weinstein, 2004, p. 563

drive to win debates overpowers their ability to process multiple points of view[19].

Morgan required students in their IR courses to read the *Poisonwood Bible*, a fictional narrative that explores the Congo from the perspectives of Congolese as well as American missionaries. Students identified interpersonal skills as crucial to understanding concepts such as international political economy in the *Poisonwood Bible* and valued the emotional enrichment they gained from the novel[20]. They reported that the textbook complemented the novel in that it clearly explained the structure that translated into personal and emotive terms in the novel[21]. The novel and the textbook fed off of each other to enrich student concepts of IR.

Campbell, Masters, and Goolsby detail faculty efforts at the University of West Georgia to develop an IR program combining courses and faculty already established in various other departments. The outcome was a flexible program tailored to the student body of the University, an intro course taught by professors from different departments on a rotational basis, and emphasis on the "geocentric" elements of IR such as grassroots movements and cultural groups.

Beyond the nation-state

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[19] Morgan, 2006, p. 387
[20] Ibid., p. 396
[21] Ibid., p. 397

Faculty at the University of West Georgia responded to administration interest in developing a globalized/ international curriculum by emphasizing the "geocentric" elements of international organizations, cultural groups, the individual, and the grassroots. West Georgia's program promotes a more nuanced and flexible unit of analysis than the nation-state[22]. The revamped program requires students to either study abroad, intern with an international NGO, do a "domestic study abroad", or work with international students on campus. The flexibility allows students from a greater range of financial backgrounds to participate in the program. Faculty from a half-dozen departments rotate teaching the introductory course to prevent student focus on Global Studies from gravitating towards one particular field[23]. Campbell, Masters and Goolsby note that when students were prompted to "give a thoughtful evaluation of the course, the responses were overwhelmingly positive about the course, the topics, the guest lectures, and even the instructors"[24].

Innovative curricular designs in entry-level IR, IPE, and Global Studies courses at the colleges and universities above generate student enthusiasm for interdisciplinary curricula, empathy-building course assignments, and building connections with local communities. Empathy, self-awareness and relationship building are three ways in which International Relations can be reconceptualized as an integrative approach based on emotional intelligence.

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[22] Campbell, Masters, and Goolsby, 2004, p. 33
[23] Ibid., p. 36
[24] Ibid., p. 37

REIMAGINING IR THEORY-EQ APPROACH

Daniel Goleman developed Emotional Intelligence Theory in the 1990's as an alternative to IQ instead based on awareness of self and others. EQ is three times as accurate as IQ at predicting worker productivity[25]. One potential avenue for addressing concerns that Intro to IR focuses excessively on theories abstracted from students' observations, interests, and experiences-and particularly those of students who are female, students of color, or who receive need-based financial aid-might be to examine the tenets of Emotional Intelligence Theory and adopt them as integrated components of Intro to IR.

The four primary constructs of EQ are self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, and relationship management. Below, I sketch outlines of how each construct of EQ might conceptually enrich an Intro to IR course.

o   Self-awareness, understanding and navigating one's own emotional tapestry.

Applied to Intro to IR, self-awareness might investigate the history and demographics of the discipline. From what countries and which social groups do the most publicized IR theories tend to come? Why? How? What is the role of universities in this process?

---

[25] Goleman, 1996, Chapter 3

o Self-management, cultivating purposeful and proactive expression.

 Applied to Intro to IR, self-management might examine impulse control in US Foreign Policy. What role(s) do the media and military-industrial complex play in melding public opinion of foreign societies? How did that play out in the run-up to the invasion of Iraq?

o Social awareness, recognizing, reflecting on, and reacting to others' emotions and understand social groups.

 Applied to Intro to IR, social awareness might delve into the poor tenor of relationship between the U.S. and Latin America and the Middle East in both state-to-state and society-to-society interactions. How did these relations become so fraught? What are current stumbling blocks? Why?

o Relationship management, helping others grow and keeping conflict proactive.

 Applied to Intro to IR, relationship management principles might investigate what the US exchanges with other nations, in light of trade policies, environmental practices, migration flows, financial capital, language, and

media norms. How does the US contribute to the evolution of other nations? How does it receive the contributions of other nations?

SYLLABUS-IR AS A HUMAN NETWORK

What kinds of case studies or readings might build on students' linkages between IR theories, personal experiences, and selected case studies? What readings might facilitate student discussions about the role of social group identity in understanding Intro to IR course materials? What readings might facilitate connecting abstracted state policies or social practices to their tangible, human impacts? Below is a sketch of what a response might include.

Methodology

I compiled readings that combine contemporary, salient international phenomena with specific policies and attitudes of nation states. I did not provide suggested readings for all 30 topics I included in the survey because in some instances I believe students may best grasp the theory through a conventional textbook or through the readings already in Intro to IR course syllabi.

International Anarchy

Mass Media
How does U.S. media influence public attitudes and consumption habits in other cultures?
"Eating behaviors and attitudes following prolonged exposure to television among ethnic Fijian adolescent girls" Anne Becker, Rebecca Burwell, David Herzog et al 2002

What role does the media play in public discourse around war?
"War Programming: The Propaganda Project and the Iraq War" David Altheide and Jennifer Grimes 2005

Case Study: Global Media Networks
"Fox and Its Friends: Global Commodification and the New World Order" Dennis Broe 2004

International Case Study: The political role of private media in Venezuela
"The Revolution Will Not Be Televised" Kim Bartley 2003

Race/ Race Relations
What are the effects of socializing non-US audiences to US racial stereotypes upon international relations?
"Imperial Citizens" Nadia Kim 2008

What is the role of race, as a concept and practice, on the formation of modern nation states-and subsequent interpretation of that history?
"The Eastern Origins of Western Civilization" John Hobson 2004

Multinational corporations
EU, NATO
Geography

Terrorism
How should we define terrorism? What is our role in it?
"Getting Away with Murder: Social Cleansing in Colombia and the Role of the United States" Elizabeth Schwartz 1995

International Case Study: History of Al Qaeda
"The Red Template: US Policy in Soviet-Occupied Afghanistan" Andrew Hartman 2002

Critical Theory
Environment
CIA, NSA, intelligence agencies
World Bank, IMF, WTO

Constructivism
How do states construct shared identities?
"Israel in Central America: Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica" Milton Jamail and Margo Gutierrez 1986

Democratic Peace
Who does democratic peace theory marginalize?
"Colonial War and the Democratic Peace" Hilde Ravlo, Nils Gleditsch, Han Dorussen 2003

Migration
International Case Study: Mexico-US Migration post-NAFTA
"Now I Am a Man and a Woman!: Gendered Moves and Migrations in a Transnational Mexican Community" Deborah Boehm 2008 p. 20-21
"Borders for Whom? The Role of NAFTA in Mexico-US Migration" Patricia Fernández-Kelly and Douglas Massey 2007

Trade Policy/ NAFTA
The Price of Free Trade/ Case Study: US-Colombia Free Trade Agreement
"Globalization, Labor, and Violence in Colombia's Banana Zone" Aviva Chomsky 2007

Who benefits from free trade agreements? How are marginalized populations impacted?
"Corn, Tomatoes, and a Dead Dog: Mexican Agricultural Restructuring after NAFTA and Rural Responses to Declining Maize Production in Oaxaca, Mexico" Anjali Browning 2013

NGO's
The Aid-Industrial Complex
"Reconceptualizing Foreign Aid" Tomohisa Hattori 2001

Aid and Neoliberal Values
"The New Colonialists" Michael Cohen, Maria Küpçü and Parag Khanna 2008

International Case Study: El Rescate in El Salvador
"How El Rescate, a Small Nongovernmental Organization, Contributed to the Transformation of the Human Rights Situation in El Salvador" Todd Howland 2008

Subnational/ transnational communities
"Diasporas and International Relations Theory" Yossi Shain and Aharon Barth 2003

Case Study: Jewish Diaspora
"The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy" John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt 2007

How do diasporas interact with sending and receiving nation-states? How is each impacted?
"Analyzing the geographies of the 'transnational' gangs of Central America: the changing spaces of violence" Ailsa Winton 2011
"Gang Violence in Central America: Comparing anti-gang approaches and policies" Wim Savenije and Chris Van Der Borgh 2009

Unions/ organized labor

Economic Development
Under what circumstances can economic development empower marginalized groups?
"Trade Unions and women's empowerment in Northeast Brazil" Ben Selwyn 2009

Impact of colonialism

Language/ Linguistic Policy
Case Study: The Globalization of English
"The dominance of English and linguistic discrimination" Tsuda Yukio 1992
"English only worldwide or language equality?" Robert Phillipson and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas 1996, p. 431, 436, 438

How do language and language policy interplay with dominant and subordinate nationalisms?
Milton Esman "The State and Language Policy" 1992 p. 383, 385-6
"Nationalism, Language Policy, and Nested Games in Puerto Rico" Amílcar Barreto 2002

Gender Relations
How does gender factor into U.S. Foreign Policy practices?
"Sex Among Allies" Katherine Moon 1997

How do gender norms propagate across borders?
"Spreading the Religion of Thinness from California to Calcutta: A Critical Postcolonial Feminist Analysis" Michelle Lelwica, Emma Hoglund, and Jenna McNallie 2009

Do nation-states privilege men?
"The Radical Future of Realism: Feminist Subversions of IR Theory" Anne Runyan and V. Spike Peterson 1991

SES/ social class
Religion
UN, international law

Alcohol/ Drugs and IR
What is the historical role of alcohol? What does that say about lenient alcohol policy at U.S. universities?
"European Alcohol, History, and the State in Cameroon" Susan Diduk 1993
"Alcohol and Politics in the Cherokee Nation Before its Removal" Izumi Ishii p. 671-674

Drug Discourse and the Military-Industrial Complex
"Violent Narco-Cartels or US Hegemony? The political economy of the 'war on drugs' in Mexico" Julien Mercille 2011
"Friendly Fire: In Latin America, Foes Aren't the Only Danger" Tim Weiner 2001

Public Health and IR
How do domestic politics intersect with international health initiatives?
"The Mexico City Policy and US Family Planning Assistance" Robert Cincotta and Barbara Crane 2001

How do low-income countries access patented medicines?
"AIDS is not a business: A Study in Global Corporate Responsibility: Securing Access to Low-Cost HIV Medications" William Flanagan and Gail Whiteman 2007

Universities and IR
What ideology spreads from U.S. graduate schools to foreign countries? What is its practical impact of ideological socialization in U.S. graduate programs?
"Los Profesionistas en el gobierno y el problema de la tecnocracia: el caso de los economistas en México" Sarah Babb, 1998
"The Internalization of Chicago's Economics in Latin America" Glen Biglaiser 2002

What are the historical roles of prestigious universities such as Yale and the University of Chicago? What impact have they had beyond U.S. borders? How have they been held to account?
The Shock Doctrine Naomi Klein 2009
"Failure of the Global University" Ajay Gandhi 2005

CASE STUDY: IIS AT PITZER

Pitzer College offers IIS as a major for students interested in learning more about cultures other than their own and exploring global phenomena. The cultural emphasis of IIS resonates with how a majority of Pomona Intro to IR students indicated that topics such as ethnicity, SES, religion, and colonialism. Below, I explore the learning outcomes, syllabus, and student feedback about Intro to IIS.

Learning Outcomes

Several aspects of Intro to IIS learning outcomes directly address some of the critiques of students who took Intro to IR at Pomona. I place particularly apt sections of Intro to IIS learning objectives in italics below.

Fall 2012

- o Students will understand that *knowledge is subjective and comes from particular socio-cultural contexts*.
- o Students will analyze and deconstruct how *claims of universal truth and objectivity reflect particular knowledge systems*.
- o Students will *define and comprehend the past and present context of intercultural and international relations including colonialism, history*, knowledge, *sustainability,* interdisciplinarity, *development, revolution,*

national and transnational globalization, ideology, *intersectionality*, culture, power, and *feminism*.

o Students will cultivate skills in *respecting different cultures*, engaging with issues of social and political movements, and interact with and negotiate between different cultures and nations in ways that recognize the complex ethics of building social relationships across differences.

Intro to IIS Textbooks

Author	*Title*
Robert Bullard	Confronting Environmental Racism
Coco Fusco	English is Broken Here: Notes on Cultural Fusion in the Americas
Naomi Klein	The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism
Jerry Mander and Victoria Tauli-Corpuz	Paradigm Wars: Indigenous People's Resistance to Economic Globalization
Ellen Meiksins Wood	Empire of Capital
Rachel Meeropol	America's Disappeared: Secret Imprisonment, Detainees, and the "War on Terror"
Joe Moran	Interdisciplinarity
Judith Roof	The Poetics of DNA

Relative to Intro to IR textbooks, Intro to IIS textbooks encompass far more diverse perspectives. Authors include an African-American environmental activist and lawyer, a Cuban-American performance artist, a Marxist historian, a scholar of queer theory, and an indigenous activist.

Sequence of Intro to IIS Course Content

	Section A
Week 1	Masculinity and Globalization Dynamics of Social Power
2	Colonialism Development Project Positivist Methodology
3	Colonialism Development Project Positivist Methodology
4	Indigenous Activism Feminist Theory
5	
6	Interdisciplinarity
7	SES/ Socioeconomic Status Poststructuralism
8	Identifying and Questioning Euro-Science
9	Migration Subnational Communities Transnational Communities
10	Migration Subnational Communities Transnational Communities Race/ Race Relations
11	Navigating Race, Class, and "Species"
12	
13	Democracy and Neoliberalism
14	War on Terror Indigenous Community Leader Visit
15	
16	

Intro to IIS Students Speak

Several Intro to IIS students mentioned the benefits they derived from the course included its critical and interdisciplinary focus. They credited course material on how to understand and respect different communities and cultures in Intro to IIS with influencing their approach to subsequent classes and academic interests.

Student 20 said that the material in her IIS class was useful for two subsequent classes, which "is *really* significant and speaks a lot to what the IIS class does". Pressed for specifics, Student 20 said she had a "much broader understanding" of supranational structures such as NATO, the IMF, and World Bank. She concludes by saying she is much more critical of academic writings as a whole.

Student 46 compares IIS to her previous major, Political Studies, and concluded IIS is more challenging and more critical. She praises IIS for its interdisciplinarity and cultural awareness. Student 49 similarly praises IIS for its emphasis on presenting multiple perspectives in contention with each other and extending past a government-to-government focus. To be fair, two of the eleven Intro to IIS students who I interviewed had negative experiences in the class. They said it was disorganized and too theoretical. **My takeaway from these interviews is not that Pitzer students gave universally positive reviews of Intro to IIS, but rather that students felt engaged and empowered by critical theory and interdisciplinary approaches.**

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

International Relations, as a discipline, is dominated by writers of privileged social backgrounds; specifically, elderly white men with IR doctorates working for top-ranked private universities in the U.S. Top IR scholars set the tone for the discipline. When they analyze state-to-state relations without factoring in social groups and identities, they abstract the academic study of IR from its real-world implications in public policy, migration patterns, social conflict, and public health shortcomings.

At Pomona College, Intro to IR follows the general contours set by top IR scholars. Students identify topics such as realism, democratic peace theory, game theory, balance of power, and terrorism as covered sufficiently or excessively in Intro to IR classes at Pomona. **On campus and off, IR extends well beyond international summits between presidents and financial barons. IR extends to questions of who lives in Los Angeles, and what brought them here. IR extends to how international trade agreements such as the proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) might harm low-income communities of color already suffering from pollution coming off of the Ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach.**

Yet, overall, there is far less literature about the effects of international policies on various social groups both domestically and abroad than about abstract interpretations of realism. Students who are female, attend Pomona with financial aid from the College, and/or are Asian American, African-American, or

Latin@-American express greater reservations about the contents of Intro to IR than their peers who are male, do not receive financial aid from Pomona, and/or are European-American or International students. **The multiple statistically significant differences between students of different ascribed social groups regarding course content in Intro to IR underlines the importance of considering IR as, first and foremost, the study of a phenomena based in social patterns.** This is reinforced by data that statistically significant correlations in student perceptions of Intro to IR content coverage are most frequent between topics students identified as not covered in class, suggesting that students organize frameworks linking IR topics together bypassing Intro to IR course material. Were Intro to IR to prioritize the social roots of IR in race, SES, gender, religion, and colonialism-as a majority of students wish to see happen-it would take a major step towards fulfilling Pomona's 2007 Strategic Plan for diversity, which endorses interdisciplinary learning and sensitivity towards social relations of privilege and disempowerment.

CONCLUSION

This thesis provisionally addresses a series of questions about International Relations as a discipline through the prism of the Introduction to International Relations class at Pomona.

Chapter 1 evaluates the breadth of current IR discourse. It concludes that International Relations as an academic discipline is disproportionately concentrated in a handful of wealthy, Western countries. IR scholars are disproportionately male, and most leading IR scholars come from stratified, elite private universities in the United States.

Chapter 3 reveals that many students conceptualize International Relations as related to race, class, and gender even though most students believe they were minimally discussed or omitted in Intro to IR. In Chapter 2, students identify such topics as among the topics they most wish to see added to Intro to IR curricula. Why does the absence of such topics in Intro to IR register with students?

Chapter 3 disaggregates interview results by student gender, ethnicity, and financial aid status (as a proxy variable for SES). Students from historically marginalized backgrounds are more alienated from Intro to IR than peers from privileged backgrounds, according to survey results. Of question here is the degree to which

the alienation is a result of specific course content, classroom climate, campus

climate, or socialization outside of campus.

International Relations has no equivalent preparatory course in high school. There

are no "IB International Relations" or "AP International Relations" classes. Intro to

IR is therefore a class that defines international relations to students who have not

previously studied IR in an academic setting. Pomona's Intro to IR textbooks come

from a homogenous source-Western white men with advanced degrees. I argue that

because of the privilege of the authors, critical and highly relevant topics such as

race, class, and gender are left to the side of IR discourse and therefore students'

formative experience conceptualizing International Relations.

The network graph at the end of Chapter 2 suggests that students are more capable

of linking together topics that were not sufficiently covered in Intro to IR, compared

to topics students identified as sufficiently or excessively covered. Why so? One

possibility is that students from marginalized backgrounds develop a more

interlocking conception of International Relations off of their experiences of social

oppression than their more privileged peers, who absorb Intro to IR material but

struggle to connect topics to each other. However, this thesis did not specifically test

that option.

Chapter 4 uses student testimony to identify why and how students are alienated by

Intro to IR materials that, students claim, do not address social differences such as

race, class and gender. While students present direct and personal reasons for adopting race, class, and gender into Intro to IR, they also reveal lingering confusion and antipathy towards theories such as realism and the rational choice approach.

Chapter 5 provides a list of potential course materials covering topics currently not covered in Intro to IR. It contrasts the satisfaction of marginalized students, and their education in critical thought, with the isolation of such students at Pomona. IR concepts can be taught in many formats, such as through fiction and service learning. IR should impart to privileged students the importance of international events and intergovernmental (and intragovernmental decisions) on vulnerable and oppressed populations near and far. Through direct testimony, direct identification, and unconscious survey measures of satisfaction and alienation, students indicate the Intro to IR course at Pomona has abundant room to grow.

LIMITATIONS TO STUDY

The results of this thesis should be treated as preliminary data. I indentified and contacted interviewees through a snowball sample because I did not have a complete list of students who have taken Intro to IR since Fall 2010. Students who participated in this study chose to do so by responding to email and in-person requests. Readers may question the validity of results based on snowball sampling. This is a valid concern, and one that should guide future research in this topic towards collecting information from a simple random sample.

While concern over snowball sampling is legitimate and important to consider as context for the interviews, I also modified sections of the experiment to reduce the impact of a snowball sample on results. For example, I did not tell students that I was comparing the results of students across gender, financial aid status, and ethnicity. The different evaluations of students who chose to participate along lines of gender, financial aid status, and ethnicity did not arise from sampling methodology, because sampling did not include questions about race, class or gender.

A similar objection to snowball sampling is that students contacted will refer their friends to the interviewer, yielding a homogenized group of opinions. While this is a possibility, institutional constraints also play a factor in students' experiences. Students have different sign-up time slots for courses and different scheduling limitations, so even good friends might take Intro to IR in different semesters. I interviewed students individually to reduce the likelihood that what one student said would influence other students. I conducted 53 of the 68 interviews during the last week and a half of classes and Reading Days in December 2013, when students are busy preparing for finals and less likely to talk with each other about the questions I asked or what they said during interviews.

Critiques of sampling methodology are critically important because they lay the framework for stronger future research. Critiques also lead readers towards a choice of whether to accept that this research has limitations but its claims are sufficiently valuable and legitimate to merit further investigation and reflection, or conclude that the research is illegitimate and unworthy of further consideration. I sincerely hope that readers choose the former option over the latter for several reasons.

Race, gender, and class relations are highly pertinent to International Relations. Class relations color the worldwide spread of neoliberal ideology over the past 30 years as well as the previous rise of Marxist activity in Latin America and Africa. Gender relations drive increased human trafficking into China, and sex tourism contributes to government coffers in the Caribbean and Southeast Asia. Gender relations thus drive global travel and migration patterns and need to be recognized as important components of international relations, governmental or otherwise. Scholars such as F. R. Miles Bovenkerk and G. Verbunt argue for the importance of race in determining industrialized country immigration policies. Race shapes the popular imaginations of business leaders and tourists, influencing how countries present themselves and posture to attract foreign capital.

Some scholars may argue such topics do not "fit" within International Relations. They would hold that IR focuses on government-government relations. However, such an approach is reactionary. It overlooks the possibility of elections and

uprisings that replace one foreign policy with another. It overlooks the importance

of large, quasi state-run corporations such as Rosneft and Airbus in creating global

supply chains and trade deals. Most importantly, it overlooks the impact of

international relations on the world's vulnerable. The vulnerable may affect less

intentional change in the global system than the powerful, but their impact is

undeniable. The disempowered affect international relations arising from

unauthorized immigration, pandemics such as avian flu and HIV/AIDS, civil conflict,

and climate change.

International Relations should use this study as a steppingstone to recommit to a

full accounting of how countries interact with each other. The data suggests that

Pomona students would like more content on social issues like race, class and

gender in Intro to IR. Pomona students are alienated by its current scarcity. Forward

steps on this research might involve convening focus groups of African-American,

Latin@, and Asian-American students facilitated by the respective resource center

(OBSA, CLSA, AARC) to understand how students of each ethnicity conceive of

International Relations. The IR program could also co-host events with the resource

centers to establish channels of communication and integrate race or gender

(through the WU) into Intro to IR. Given the importance of social relations topics to

students' personal as well as academic development at Pomona, the conversation

over gender, class, and race is better had on the basis of provisional data than

deferred until a future date.

QUESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

o To what degree do all students find course material in IR courses such as IR seminar, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Macro and Microeconomics, engaging?

o To what degree do students of subaltern genders, financial backgrounds, and ethnicities find course material in other IR courses (un)palatable with their interests and expectations?

o To what degree do gaps in students' course perceptions fall along gender, class, and ethnic lines in Intro courses in other social sciences, such as Politics and Economics?

o To what degree do gaps in student perceptions of Intro to IR reflect the course readings and discussion topics, versus oppression within Pomona's student body in and beyond the classroom?

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