

International Relations & Global Politics Lecture Notes

“Global Politics and How We Study It”

Readings:

- ‘Introduction’ Baylis, Smith & Owens

Image: *Saddam Hussein’s statue being torn down by US soldiers in Iraq (2003)*

- War seems to be the main thing international relations is about, but there is much more to it than that, Ex: economy race, etc. also questions of culture for example
- Vision of Iraq culture that made US invasion possible
- Impacts on global political economy, oil prices

Image: *Former UK leader Theresa May, at the European Council*

- Traditional lense, national interest
- Gathering of states and their political leadership, negotiating Brexit
- Fighting for national interests and clashing
- Adding other lenses helps see clearly, culture also important for EU
- Global government lense, EU shapes activity of states (integration and disintegration of institutions)
- Interests, identity, global governance, integration

Image: *Heavily militarized border wall between countries (Hong Kong and China)*

- Think fall of the berlin wall
- Actually between China and Hong Kong
- Legacy of colonialism (British Colony until 1997) making it completely different sovereign space, not as simple and much more layered than we think it is
- Idea of one country, two systems
- Migration and mobility is also important, states ability to control this even though it isn't about statecraft

Image: *Port of Shanghai*

- Most manufacturing is done of consumer goods
- In worlds production centre
- International political economy, goes beyond the state, global financial flows mock the state as a concept
- Corporate powers, production by transnational/multinational corporation
- Cargo ships being registered in countries known as “flags of convenience” exploiting gaps in countries with less costs and regulations

How Would You Define Global Politics?

- States working together on an anarchic system? No world government?
- Working together in various intersections
- Non State actors relationships with states

What Is Our Subject Matter?

- Object of analysis: ‘Global politics?’ ‘International politics?’ ‘Transnational politics?’
 - Transnational: New York being more connected to London than Ohio for example
- Practices: forign policy, diplomacy, war
 - US embassy, policy and diplomacy, its settings and practices
- Concepts: sovereignty, power, security, institutions
 - Idea of states having exclusive jurisdiction over their spaces
 - Power segmented and exclusive, legally monopolized power in a state's space
 - Sovereignty and its absence is very important

- Power and its ability to use it/channel/constrain/anticipate it
- Security and insecurity affecting how states act (is Iran a state that feels secure or insecure? Affects the view of that state)
- Institutions, EU, social integrations, impacts, and ways that sovereignty and power are channeled
- Processes: integration, globalization
 - Over historical periods (EU, NAFTA)
 - Different visions of globalization
- Modes of analysis: explanations & causality or understanding & interpretations? 'High' or 'Low' politics?
 - Not just thinking and drawing conclusions of global politics but also our purpose of it
 - Not just explaining but cause and who did what to make things happen
 - Also questions of understanding, asking how
 - Assumptions and rationality
 - Much of our association of politics is 'High' (bombs, summits, wars) 'Low' is things that may not seem political at first glance but more subtle things (film, culture, etc) like 'Blackhawk Down' (2002)
 - Things like the symbolism of taking down Saddam Hussein's statue

A Detour Through Philosophy of Science

- Much disagreement in IR comes down to: what we think the world is + what we think we can claim about how it works
- Ontology: What is out there?
- Epistemology: What can we know about it?
 - Iran: what can we know about their strategic intentions, we all saw what happened but what can we actually know about it?
- Methodology: How can we go about knowing this?
 - How do we find out stuff, how do we do research, studying what people say and do
- Methods: What specific tools do we use to know things?
 - Concretely how do you go and know something? Statue toppling was symbolism of the American defeat of Saddam Hussein? Or how do you know that is actually the case?
- Views about structure and agency shape views on change
 - Why things change and how things change? Individual actions vs greater structures (think realists)

The Purpose of Theory

- Enables debate and common terminology
 - Discussing why we think something happen and the world works in a certain way
 - Like 'Anarchy' is a theoretical claim scholars use when discussing the topic
- Testing explanations
 - Going back and making statements about history, those are theoretical claims
- Condensing and simplifying observations - shorthand
 - To describe the world
- Storytelling
 - Policy advice, needs a way of telling a story about what countries doing X, is a way theoretical concepts come out
- Political rhetoric and critique
 - US president elections for example, theoretical claims like how powerful is the US
- Differences remain in interpretations of the world

The Domestic/International Split

- Increasingly contested, but foundational to the discipline
 - By saying federalism has nothing to do with IR but war is
- Underpins key concepts such as anarchy, visions of sovereignty, and ideas about cooperation
 - Anarchy that there is no global government of constraining power at the international level already tells what is at the international or domestic levels
- Brings suspicion, force, and violence to the fore
 - Realists say states are suspicious of each other, thing the needs of referee's to control players
 - In a domestic setting there is constitutions, police, legal frameworks, controlling actions but when it comes to states there is nothing constraining their actions
- States made into crucial 'units' or actors of global politics
 - Fundamental concern for states and what they do
- We cannot escape politics: ideas about community and justice still matter
 - Justice, legal order as domestic issues but the split is not that symbol states declaring ideas of justice and fairness when they go to war

What discipline(s)?

- Debatable as to whether international relations is a discipline, or simply a subset of politics/political science
- Holsti (2002) - IS is a field
- Could be a 'tradition' (Lebow 2003) - this view brings IR into some ancient conversations
- Hoffmann (1959): ISS is a "flea market" (348) of disciplines
 - Roots that go all sorts of places (nuclear weapons signalling is straight out of psychology)
- Depends in part on methods, and how 'scientific' we want to be

Is International Relations A Science?

- Strong influence of behaviorist social science in the 1950s and 1960s
- Example: classical realism vs scientific realism
- Hoffmann 1977: "What is specifically America is the scope of these beliefs, or the depth of this faith" that scientific methods and testing can be applied to natural and social worlds] (p.45)
- Much debate swings on how 'rational' and measurable predictable political phenomena can be - the role of naturalism
- Much early work was explicitly against the view of IR as a policy science

The Origins of International Relations

- 'Origin story' Aberystwyth's International Relations department (1919) fits with the self-image of a post-WWI discipline
- Development of the discipline in the USA, especially after WWII e.g. Rockefeller Foundation and Columbia programs, Princeton
- Debates about the role of theory in 1950s articulated a discipline that resisted emphasis on being scientific
 - Think Plato and relationships outside the polis, which makes it incorrect to think IR started in the 1900's

Places Where International Relations Thinking Happens

- Think tanks, news outlets
- Reasonably well funded places with some academics and some not
- Movement between think tanks and governments, policy impact
- Ideas and theories are not just published by academics but have currencies outside academics that have real impacts

Why We Should Care How Academic Ideas Emerge

- Theories come from somewhere: people, institutions, incentives

- Example: Hans Morgenthau's political realism came from European intellectual tradition
- Scholars are tied to national structures and traditions
- Exclusion dynamics (e.g. of critical international relations)
- Visions of the public good, backed with influence

An 'American' Social Science

- Stanley Hoffman (1977) points to Cold War reality and academic responses to it
- Driven by foreign scholars L Wolfers, Haas, Kissinger, and more
- Tied to the geopolitical concerns of the United States
- Questions revisited later by Steve Smith (2002)
- Sources of US dominance: institutions, geopolitics, scientific traditions and methods
- Anglo-American "intellectual condominium" (Holsti 1985: 103)

Key Institutions

- Universities as generators of international relations knowledge
- Scholarly repositories of knowledge/debate e.g journals
- Think tanks
- Governments themselves
- Hoffman points to academia-policy link (itself shaped by national culture) e.g recent example of Minerva initiative

Some Myths and Half-Truths

- That the discipline is shaped by 'great debates' (e.g between realism and idealism in 1930s, or realism-liberalism-Marxism in 1970s)
- That International Relations began after WWI - this is a political framing
- That it is a discipline - maybe it is a (sub)field or approach
- That it is primarily about states and their intentions- our phenomena go beyond this

Practical Methods

- Qualitative and quantitative methods exists in same fields - with limited overlap
- Datasets such as correlates of war
- Interviews and ethnography
- Depends on how we answer the question 'What is the world made of?'

E.H Carr (in Twenty Years' Crisis, 1946 p.10)

- "Utopia and reality are thus the two facets of political science. Sound political thought and sound political life will be found only where both have their space."

What is Your Recap?

- The subject matter of international relations is global politics, in a broad sense - v. imperfect overlap
- It has contested origins and intellectual 'home' - but the role of American social science undeniable
- Lively divergences over nature and purpose of theory - depends on views of scholarship and science
- Variety of methods of study and forms of outputs
- Diverse (sometimes fractious) discipline study complex social phenomena

Our Journey Ahead

- What are the prospects for international cooperation - why do states work together?
- How do race and legacies of colonialism shape how our worlds holds together?
- Once we look beyond sovereign states, so we still find relevant phenomena?
- Does gender shape the conduct of international politics?
- Does territory matter to the exercise of political power?
- Why should we care what a movie has to say about politics?

- Next week: realism (13th) and liberalism (15th)

Question Choices For Short Essay #1

1. Is the realist account of anarchy an accurate reflection of global politics?
OR
2. Compare and contrast the key tenets of liberalism and realism. What are some of the assumptions common to both approaches? Which one provides the most analysis of global politics?

“Realism”

Readings:

- ‘Realism’ Ch.6, Dunne & Schmidt

Image: Satellite photo of Cuba and Soviet nuclear presence from the Cold War

- Moment war almost came to the brink of nuclear warfare
- Soviet Union provoked the United States and almost destroyed the world
- Very realistic photo of nuclear arms and super powers shows evidence that they balance each other out
- Power of a state and its abilities to destroy

Image: Standard fighter jet

- Projection of power being a key tool of states craft, illustrates American interventionism, ability to project national interests

Image: Vladimir Putin at the Russia-Africa Summit 2019

- Russia making new friends in the developing world
- Trying to counteract Western powers
- Trying to make friends and a realist would say game pieces

Image: Leader of the World Bank

- Regulator of aspects of the world economy
- Realists would see it as ways the United States have interests and have created institutions that agree with their principles
- Why does the World Bank act the way it does? Because its head was appointed by the U.S

Realism or Realisms?

- Not a singular theory, more like a ‘tradition’ or a ‘disposition’
 - Not just obsessed with power, multiple traditions within it
- Long tradition - back to Hobbes? Machiavelli? Thucydides? Rousseau? (Theorists are used and misused?)
 - Certain thinkers disposed in realist manners
 - Hobbes: no government = no referee in society means insecurity, life without the state is brutish and short (Leviathan)
 - Machiavelli (in the Prince) what should be done and what has to be done (best for survival, even if it is at the expense of traditional morals)
 - Thucydides: idea of how do the strong relate to the weak
 - Rousseau speaks of a state of nature and the absence of overarching powers
- Specific ideas from realist thought get labelled ‘theories’: balance of power, security dilemma, hegemonic stability, etc.
- Religious analogy from Coady (2005: 122): loose set of beliefs, way of thinking, preaching tool, with its canonical exemplars and saints
- Broadly common assumptions: groupism, egoism, anarchy, power politics
- Huge weakness: explaining current inter-state conflict

Some Questions Realists Answer

- What is the structure of the global political system?

- How do states act in the absence of a clear central power?
- How does the global distribution of power affect stability?
- Can there be sources of predictability in an anarchic world?
- What are the underpinning logics of global politics?

Groupism

- We settle in groups, most often in the form of societies
 - Very anthropological view, most of the world is divided up into states
- Most societies that matter in global politics are (sovereign) states
 - Most relevant group for international politics
- Identification with groups can be both nationalistic or simply rational maximising behaviour
 - Usually identity is at the core (nationalistic expression is very visible)
 - Being part of the group to maximize personal utility and rationally it is safest to be a member of the group
- Suspicion of internationalism
 - Not because they hate it but because international organizations interfere with states actions
 - Tend to dislike claims about how EU changes the ways states behave for example, they would say their still just following interests

Egoism

- Societies, in this case states, follow their self-interest
 - Not in the negative connotative sense, but rather inward looking at self preservations
- Expands individual self-interest to societal level (e.g. states can act like rational people)
 - People can pursue self interests more effectively in a group
- There can be limits on this, e.g. by international structures and values
 - Rational utility maximizing is limited by values
- Ideas such as 'self-help' in IR driven by this
 - After self preservation is the core and so a state wouldn't jump into help a weak state without anything in return

Anarchy

- No common legitimate power or global sovereign to effectively constrain states
 - Nothing above the state legally empowered to tell states what to do, states are the highest authority
- This does not mean there is no order of any form (e.g. hegemony)
 - Does not mean chaos or lack of control, but rather partly true
- Does not mean the world is chaotic
- Debate within realism about whether it is a cause or simply a contextual factor.
 - Do states act self interested because of anarchy or are there other factors?

Power of Politics

- For realists, the logical outcome of the preceding assumptions
 - We should assume politics is marked by conflict (in a broad sense of conflicting interests)
- Given those factors, we should assume that politics will be marked by conflict (in the broad sense)
- 'Will to power' understood as a driver and as a tragic outcome
 - Nietzsche, and is exacerbated by not knowing other people's interests (not knowing why state X wants to do Y)
- States cannot always know each others' motives or assume goodwill
- Global politics is a system of 'self-help' which leads to what Herz (1950) calls the 'security dilemma'

Are We Destined To Live In A World Of 'Power Politics'?

- “[States] Are driven to acquire more and more power in order to escape the impact of the power of others. This, in turn, renders the others more insecure and compels them to prepare for the worst. Since none can ever feel entirely secure in such a world of competing units, power competition ensues, and the vicious circle of security and power accumulation is on.” [John H. Herz (1950: 157)]
- Security dilemma: playing it safe creates more risk
- Transnational problems (climate change)
- Elections and who decides the national interests

Mearsheimer's Five Assumptions

- Anarchy
- Offensive capabilities
- Uncertainty about others' motives
 - Knowing what we want and not what others want
- Survival as primary goal
 - Using offensive capabilities at some point
- Rationality
- From *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (2001: 30-31)

Classical Realism

- Associated with the thought of Hans Morgenthau (e.g. *Politics Among Nations*), E.H. Carr, and the early thought of Kenneth Waltz
- Much more strongly influenced by history and considerations of nationalism and culture
- Before the ascendancy of naturalism in IR
- Mainly focused on individual and state-level theories
- “It would be [...] ridiculous to construct a theory of international politics based on Malaysia and Costa Rica...” [Kenneth Waltz (1979: 66)]

Neorealism/ Structural Realism

- Is most vividly seen in Waltz's later work, 1979 *Theory of International Politics*
- Bigger emphasis on structure, rather than state-level or (even less) domestic issues
 - Less historically rich analysis but a more general and scientific theory on the functioning of global systems (more dry but more ambitious)
- Much later work this term emerges in reaction to this later cluster of thinking within realism
- Shifts view of power away from human nature (see Schmidt 2005)
 - Ex: Cold War, strip away all the state naes and you see two powerful actors that everyone else gravitated in line and around with, and so the two poles keep everyone in check
- Deliberately parsimonious theory
 - Simple, explaining a small number of big things, distribution of power, who is the most powerful = thus how the world is organized
- Still needed specifying: What drives change? How do states seek security?
 - What drives change (bipolar to unipolar model) but what explains this?

Offensive and Defensive Realism

- Given power politics and the security dilemma, how do (and should) states act?
- Offensive realists (Power): more pessimistic about prospects of order, confidence in security should be low, international system takes primacy in determining outcomes. John Mearsheimer (2001) a major thinker in this vein.
- Defensive realists (Security): more optimistic about resistance to threat, causes of war/peace may be more endogenous (within). Good examples include Robert Jervis, Jeffrey Taliaferro.
- Major distinctions between these two analysis

Neoclassical Realism

- State power vs. state strength (Zakaria)
 - States can be strong without being powerful (Singapore for example)
- Role of perceptions (Wohlforth)
 - Security dilemma and no objective national interest or course of actions
 - Perceptions of one's enemy
- Leader level variables
 - Their risks and potentials for starting conflict distinct from those states themselves
- Local and regional sources of order
 - Ex: Germany within the EU (economically pulling strings, regional order)
- Power beyond the material sense alone
 - Compelling and convincing for example, power to shape ideas (think IMF example)
- More complex link between state power and behaviour
- Sacrificing parsimony for specific explanatory power
 - Sacrificing simplicity, getting specific good explanations over general and easy ones
- Think of realism as seeing the world as a game of Risk: The Game of Global Domination

National Interests

- Image: Russian Diplomat
- Tied in part to national 'latent power'
 - What states want being tied to how much power they actually have
- Who defines the national interest? Think of the role of lobby groups (e.g. Mearsheimer & Walt 2007)
 - National interests are a given (structural realists) the international system looks a certain way and your interests come from your place within it
- Ex: The Israel Lobby, US interests and interactions with middle east come from their ties with Israel
- Driven in part by structure
- One reason for realist scepticism of international institutions
 - Wished the UN worked but they say it doesn't, however they tend to be right (think NATO and Turkey and the U.S)
- Vulnerable to critiques of 'blackboxing'
 - What is national interest? Is it interests of the ruling class? Working class? National leader?
- Neoclassical realists add some nuance
- "The historical record shows that the United States can contain Iraq effectively — Even if Saddam has nuclear weapons— just as it contained the Soviet Union during the Cold War" [Mearsheimer & Walt (2003)]
 - Realists are dominant interests in IR

Sources of Order

- Balance of power (and forms of 'balancing')
 - Anarchic but not chaotic
- Alliances
 - NATO for example, states getting together to form some kind of predictability in the world
- Hegemonic stability and military superiority
 - IMF, US dollar creating stability
- International institutions
 - Partial attempts to create order

- Regional hegemony
 - Germany, Brazil, etc.

Case Study: Iran's Nukes

- Power or security?
 - Nuclear weapons to dominate the middle east or to be left alone
 - Same arguments with North Korea
- Threat and stability not mutually exclusive
 - Having weapons can stabilize by preventing others from attack
- Waltz (2012: 2): nuclear armed Iran “most likely to restore stability to the Middle East”
- Balancing vs. ???
- Waltz’s analysis turns mirror onto the major powers

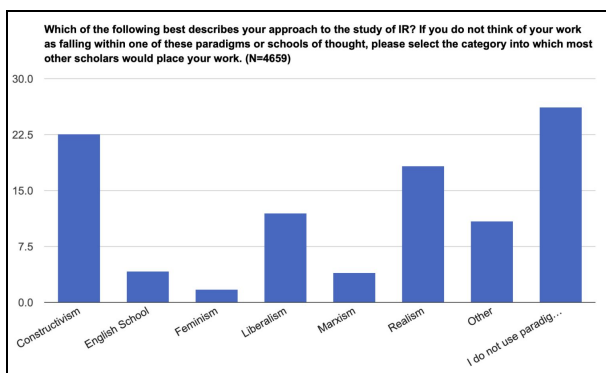
Is Realism A Tool Of Analysis, Or An Ideology?

- Both, set of beliefs and lense of understanding

Limits And Critiques

- Parsimony: theories often too generalised for explanatory simplicity
 - Sounds like a benefit to have simple theories (ex power politics)
- Dubious predictive power: Cold War?
 - Realists didn't see the cold war ending
- Materialism: too focused on the material basis of power
- State-centric: relatively unconcerned with non-state actors
 - Limits many important actors
 - Terrorist groups? Transnational problems?
- Centrality of power: power may be too strong a variable
- Pessimistic: especially about international cooperation
- Primacy of explanation: at the expense of understanding & meaning
- Purpose of power: realists underspecify purpose of its pursuit
 - Why? What is the point of hoarding power?

How Dominant Is Realism?



- Data from TRIP Faculty Survey 2014
- Realism is not globally dominant (is more in the U.S) especially since the 1990’s among IR scholars

Recap

- Remarkable diversity of thought
- Deep commitment to the study of power (and our ‘will to power’)
- Evolution has gone along with discipline’s shift across 20th century
- Not every theory or concept subscribed to across the tradition (e.g. hegemonic stability)
- ‘Skinny’ theory seeking to explain a small number of important things

- Power primarily material, especially in newer variants
-

“Liberalism”

Readings

- ‘Liberalism’ Ch.7 - Dunne

Image: EU Canada Summit

- Ideals of free trade and free economy, strongly tied to political ideology of liberalism
- Not the same as IR theory but huge number of overlaps, including economic interconnectedness
- Free trade is one of the main ideas in liberal ideology
- Image: Signing of Canada and EU Free Trade Agreement, liberals think free trade is good
- Much greater likelihood of peace, more interconnected and less likely to fight each other

Image: Global Internet Map

- Key way we are interconnected is obviously the internet
- Data moving from and too different countries
- Liberals would point to this as another factor of peace (and sometimes conflict) but overall means global exchange
- Democracies tend to get along, and borders are no longer our defining lines on maps

Image: NATO

- Institution of collective security, a way of collectively insuring war is not the first option in solving problems
- Mutually bringing national interests together
- Realists would say NATO is a balance of power tool, not a collective security tool

More Limits of Realism

- Materialism: Too focused on material aspects of global politics
 - Power as mainly military limits analysis, liberals see questions around shared norms, economic interdependence
- View of power: over-privileges its role in global politics and in IR analysis
 - NATO says its about restraining power while realists disagree
- Worldview: overly pessimistic about human nature & cooperation
 - Tragedy of great power politics, egoists and limiting ideas of human nature
- Units of analysis: highly state-centric
 - All about sovereignty and anarchy, for liberals there is more openness to other forms of connections internationally
- Overlooks many factors: too much focus on military power
 - Many things are being overlooked
- Billiard-ball view of the world: limited scope of cooperation
 - States are like individual balls, not linked to each other in any way, vs liberals see an interlinked/inseparable web (analogies of visions of cooperation)

Questions Liberals Ask

- How does domestic politics shape international relations?
 - Liberals ask this rather than realists
- Can international relations be moral, and if so, what are the sources of this morality?
 - Realists would say morality exists but doesn't work, liberals maintain optimism about this
- What can be the role of ideas and values in shaping global politics?
 - Do values hold NATO together?
- What is the role of the state in mediating its ‘inside’ and its ‘outside’?
 - Balancing external obligations or internal politics, liberals care more about this
- How do we explain the variation of states’ foreign policies?

- Not just anarchic structures, because why do NATO structures treat some countries differently than others?

Image: US Congress, Trudeau Sr. & Adam Smith

- Different linked aspects of liberalism
- A.S: economic idea of liberalism and free market systems
- All are liberal in some sense, overlap but are also distinct

Semantics...

- Distinguishing meaning of domestic 'liberalism' and the IR theory of liberalism
 - Linked but different, IR liberalism think of the world as operating under certain assumptions about human nature, cooperation which are distinct from the ideology of liberalism
- Depends how broadly or narrowly we want to define: from ideology all the way to 'general theory' of IR
 - Ideology vs worldview vs theory
- Similar origins, but different statuses (ideology, worldview, theory)
 - Which came first, both have deep intellectual roots
- Early realists took advantage of ambiguity to cast liberals as normative and utopian
 - Look back to issues of the great debate
- Which came first, realism or liberalism?

Idealism/Utopianism

- One side of the supposed 'First Debate' in IR
- Early-mid 20th century, esp. interwar years 1919-1939
- Pejorative association with utopianism (e.g. realist EH Carr's critiques of scholars such as Arnold Toynbee)
- Tied to policy proposals of the age e.g. Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928)
 - Tried to ban war but didn't work
- Optimism/pessimism about cooperation remains
- Scholars like Moravcsik seek "non-ideological and non-utopian" liberalism (1997: 514)
 - Seeking to get away from liberalism as utopian ideas, and believing in independence and cooperation without the ideological aspects and instead using proof

Wilson's 14 Points

- Post-WWI turning point
 - Not essential we know all 14 points but rather the main ideas in them
- Trust in international agreements/ law, removal of trade barriers, rational negotiation of interest, values of self-determination, collective security
 - Interconnectedness makes war less likely
 - Not very effective but grounded in liberal ideology and theory
- Wilsonian foreign policy today close to the 'neoconservative' vision
- Depends whether we see it as ideology or as theory

Subduing Anarchy

- Liberals see anarchy, but analyze it differently and vary in their emphasis
 - Liberals see there is not global government or common power but they analyse it differently
- 'Harmony of interests' in early liberal thought
 - Despite the above facts there can still be harmony of states interests and they don't always have to clash (Ex: NATO, harmony of interests in protecting their security)
- The 'domestic analogy' in liberalism contrasts with the domestic/ international split in realism

- How to create predictability from anarchy, if we make the world more like our individual states the world can be way safer
- Society within the state is orderly because it is within our interests for safety, if we can do this domestically why can we not create these structures on an international level (very different from realism)
- Crucial role of interdependence in the absence of central sovereign power (“complex interdependence” in Keohane & Nye 1977)
 - Liberals see this as plausible because we are interdependent because they cannot act without some kind of consequences
- International pressures (from all ‘levels’) matter, and institutions have independent impacts
 - Pressures shape how they act, even just words have an impact on how states see themselves and so liberals believe institutions have an impact because they create further interdependence

Three Key Assumptions

- Image: Andrew Moravcsik (1990’s-2000’s)
- Primacy of societal actors: rational individuals and private groups are fundamental actors in global politics
 - NGOs for example have considerable amounts of potential powers (even if its just pressuring its own government)
 - Societal actor that is not a state but still shapes politics by getting states on board with ideas
- Representation shapes preferences: states’ domestic politics matter
 - Having to win elections shapes trade policies (what corn farmers in Ohio have to say can be more important in an election then China for example)
- Interdependence is the system: preferences are interdependent, and their configurations shift
 - Realists think we live in anarchy and it shapes states, liberals say the system is interdependent for various reasons

An Alternative To Realism?

- Largely tracked the development of realism, and adapts some of its language
- Less focus on interests, more on preferences
 - More flexibility in what states want and how they pursue it
- Less focus on anarchy, more on interdependence
 - Absence of global sovereign is what realists would talk about, liberals would say interdependence
- Less focus on conflict, more on cooperation
 - Realists think IR is conflictual, liberals point to cooperation again
- Less focus on states, more on identity
 - Ex: NATO and what states want but also do they have a common identity? (cultural/identity values?)
- Less focus on balance of power, more on incentives
 - What is the incentives in state actions
- Liberals still see similar constraints for states

Questions

- Where do international pressures come from at the regional level?
 - Ex: Germany being pressured by the EU, or international organizations pressuring them about refugee policies
- Quote from Stephen Van Evera: is it a blend of realism and liberalism?
 - Some people are not pure liberals, but they key word is encourage rather than compel

- International norms or customary laws?
 - Different due to fogginess, norms are generally unwritten

The Role of Values

- Liberals place more emphasis on endogenous sources of preference/interest
 - As an analytical tool because it shaped how states act (societal actors)
- Liberal democracy enters into key viewpoints
 - What is good globally and what isn't, post 9/11 Bush invoking the idea of democracy to overthrow Saddam Hussan
- Freedom, equality, individualism
- Realist critique: dubious sincerity?
 - They would say it is not convincing as an analysis
- Speaking of 'transnational society' as a background
 - Not just the state that's important but the greater society that operates under that state that is influential, society itself is international, diaspora politics

The Role of Domestic Politics

- Less of a strong divide between inside/outside
- Liberals do not put as strong a focus on the autonomy of the 'international' (unlike Morgenthau 1960, or Waltz 1979).
 - International sphere is not something special and distinct, it is not that different from the domestic sphere
- Moravcsik 1997: "Societal ideas, interests, and institutions influence state behavior by shaping state preferences" (p.513)
 - Interests of corn farmers shape US state preferences
- Liberals see international politics as potentially being 'domesticated' — implies order and justice
 - Previously mentioned domestic analogy

The Role of Economic Relations

- Economic interdependence as a key preventer of conflict
 - Image: All the bits of a plane assembled across Europe and finally put together in France shows deep interdependence and integration (pro EU arguments, prevented conflict through agreements that look like this)
 - They make war between France and Germany very impractical for example
- Strong tradition of economic liberalism, and association with free markets and free trade
- Realist critique: Interdependence exists, but mainly at domestic level rather than internationally (Waltz 1979)
 - Interdependence exists but liberals overestimate it and it happens more at the domestic level
 - Bexiters say: economic interdependence is not the only thing preventing war

Why Do Wars Happen?

- Land and resources (national interest)
- Ideological opposition (US and Iran/Soviet Union)
- Predisposition to fight

Explanations for War and Peace

- Imperialism
 - Wars happen because states want to be empires (Lenin although not a liberal says WWI was just an imperial war)
- Reliance on balance of power
 - Not everyone agrees with this
- Incompatible domestic preferences

- Conflict between the US and China on trade are domestic preferences that shape how these governments act
- Undemocratic states or exploitation of underrepresented
 - Assumptions liberals make is that democracies are safer in preventing war
 - Undemocratic states are more likely to use force since they care less about their public opinions
- Willpower matters (Vietnam example)
 - States have domestic political calculus
- Elites with high risk tolerance (Snyder 1991)
 - Good description of Donald Trump, higher risk of war
- Liberals still assume rationality, though
- “To bolster Europe’s peace, the West should seek a general Cold War peace settlement with the Soviet Union, and should revamp NATO into a collective security system. The United States should retain its membership in this new NATO, and should maintain a significant military force on the European continent to symbolize the continuing U.S commitment to Europe. The United States should also take active steps to dampen hyper-nationalism and militarism in Western Europe, and the West should use economic leverage to encourage Eastern European states to adopt democracy, protect the rights of national minorities, accept current borders, and eschew the propagation of hyper-nationalism.” - Stephan Van Evera (1990:10)

Prospects For Cooperation

- States find common interests more easily
- Cooperation is ‘contagious’ and moves across sectors (EU example)
 - Once cooperation occurs in one area it tends to spread, EU began as a coal and steel community and has grown
- Cooperation is not the same as harmony (Keohane 1986)
 - He points out that states don’t have to like each other but they have a common goal
- Does interdependence really prevent conflict? WWI...
 - WWI shows Europe was heavily interdependent, the royal families were all cousins of each other and yet they still waged a war

Looking Beyond The State

- Role of NGOs, transnational corporations (Keohane & Nye 1972)
 - Examples of society and private actors being involved in foreign policy making
- Transnational networks (e.g. work of Keck & Sikkink)
- Private actors brought into state-society relations
- Is the decline of the state overstated? Realists might think so
 - All the networks and transnational interdependence is exaggerated and the state is still more powerful than we think
- More on this later in the semester

The Liberal International Order

- What even is the liberal international order?
- Versions of liberal internationalism (from Ikenberry)
 - 1.0 - Post WWI (League of Nations and conflict prevention)
 - 2.0 - Post WWII (American style liberal world order)
 - USD is the safest money to travel with globally, is a way of seeing who’s in charge since 1945
 - 3.0 - Current v. open arrangement
 - Rise of China, India, Brazil etc might show we are moving towards a more open arrangement without one overarching state power

- Embedded liberalism (Ruggie 1982)
 - A more American looking world since 1945, embedded liberal institutions like the World Bank
- An American system, fashioned in its image
- Also 'rules-based' international order — but who sets the rules?
 - Economic rules? (Ex: don't be a communist dictatorship)
- Introduces the idea of 'norms'
 - Generally democratic even though many states don't live up to it
 - Respect people's sovereignty
 - Image: Putin high fiving middle eastern leader

The Liberal Peace

- Image: no two countries with McDonalds have fought each other (not currently accurate)
- Associated with the work of Michael Doyle (1986)
- 'Zone of peace' of liberal democracies
- Origins in the philosophy of Immanuel Kant
- Multiple critiques: democracies do fight, imposing democracy is imperial, democracy itself is highly variable

Is There A Link To Neoconservative Foreign Policy?

- Strong emphasis on democracy promotion, and democracy-peace link
 - Iraq war 2003, nuclear motivations but also using force to bring democracy to Iraq
- However, articulations of 'interest' sound realist
- 'Social engineering' decried by Mearsheimer
 - Realists are extremely sceptical of this, US-middle-east policy has these types of liberal vs realist debates
- Realist and liberal views of US Middle East policy
- Key places: American Enterprise Institute, the Heritage Foundation, U. Chicago

Collective Security

- League of Nations and later UN are 'weak' examples
 - Because individual states within it didn't care and US didn't even join even though it was their idea
- NATO clearest example
 - Does it work because the US is a part of it or is collective security a real thing
- Case to ponder: Iraq 1991?
 - Whole world kicking Iraq out of Kuwait
- Divergences: do these institutions have autonomous impact?
 - Is NATO strong because of US national interest?
- Johnson & Leeds (2011): defence pacts reduce conflict

Why Would States Set Aside Their National Interests?

- Setting aside short term gain for being apart of long term winners (bandwagon effect in WWI & WWII)
- National interests can be achieved through collaboration
- There is more than one national interest

Cosmopolitanism Outlooks

- Cosmopolitan inheritance of liberal theory e.g. Immanuel Kant
- Liberal focus on interdependence and role of societies moves us in this direction
- Wendt (2003) on 'world state': anarchy not tenable, and even a 'world society' doesn't prevent aggression, collective security doesn't get rid of sovereignty enough

- Not really a liberal, more constructivist: anarchy is not sustainable, collective security does not get rid of sovereignty, he would say the logical conclusion is some sort of world state

Neoliberalism

- Also called neoliberal institutionalism
 - Critique of structural view of realism, key distinction is cooperation under conditions of anarchy
 - States are happy to cooperate if they feel like they gain something
- Key authors include Robert Keohane, Joseph Nye
 - Realism and liberalism at times can look like each other
- Critical of neorealism (or 'structural realism') on a number of fronts - crucially on prospects for cooperation
- Focus on states' diverse goals, type of instruments of power, rationality of cooperation, role of agenda-setting and 'soft power' (Nye)
- Closer to realism than first appears: "half-sibling of neorealism" (Keohane & Martin 1999: 3) notably due to shared vision of anarchy

Limits Of Liberal Theories

- Faith in pluralism: what about democratic backsliding?
 - Pluralism as lasting and realizable is not always the case, effective democracies are in decline
- Reliance on values: not all widely shared or leading to peace/cooperation
 - Not every state is as strongly aligned as liberals might think
- Liberal way of war: values/ norms also used to justify warfare
 - More democracy sounds like a good idea, liberalism overlooked as a justification of war
- Collective security: unclear how binding it is
 - See this every time Trump goes to a NATO summit, it is very dependent on american money and will power
- Assumes rational superiority: peace more rational than war
 - Big assumption, potentially wrong sadly
- Overlooks will to power/ order: realists may give a better account
 - Underplay the role of human nature and desire for power
- State-centric: despite expanding scope of actors
 - Still fundamentally about states actions
- Close to realism: neoliberalism especially
 - Close to realism in some ways in the questions of anarchy

Recap

- Liberalism has deep ideological roots, and 'liberalism in IR' is a very specific intellectual space — no perfect overlap
- Key debates and divergences from realism, on issues of war/peace and cooperation
- Key role of values/norms, domestic politics, economic interdependence, institutions and collective security
- Some variation from interwar 'idealism' through to neoliberalism and 'new liberalism'
- Overlaps with realism in important ways, and vulnerable to critique of being 'ideological'

"First DGD"

Readings

- Hoffmann, S., 1977. An American social science: international relations. *Daedalus* 106 (3): 41-60

- Waltz, K.N., 2012. Why Iran should get the bomb: Nuclear balancing would mean stability. Foreign Affairs July/August issue: 2-5
- Legro, J.W and Moravcsik, a., 1999. Is anybody still a realist?. International security, 24(2), pp. 5-55.
- Ikenberry, G.J., 2011. The future of the liberal world order: internationalism after America. Foreign affairs, pp. 56-68.

Video: <https://youtu.be/ZgJ3SG1IOqI>

Experts: Mara Karlin of John Hopkins School of Advanced Institutional Studies, Micheal Doran from the Hudson Institute

Question: Does the Trump administration have an effective strategy for Iran, Iraq and the broader Middle East?

Section I: From the clip, answer the following questions

1. How do the experts portray US national interests?
 - First of many other events, US killing Sole
 - Woman says hitting someone so sinor is a different situation
 - Spinning out of control without clarity
 - The biggest US threat has been the rise of the middle east and Iran
 - US demonstrating it will not be pushed around
 - Winning this round decisively because they have 'no other choice'
 - 'US is much more powerful than Iran', 'crisis of legitimacy at home'
2. How the experts interpret Iran' motives and interactions?
 - Iranians have been escalating since last April, killed american
 - They say there is no choice but to "win the escalation later"
 - Keep climbing the later
 - Trying to get the US out of Iraq
3. According to them, what is the US political agenda by killing Qasem Soleimani?
 - He was the leader of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps
 - Killing him is new bar
 - Apparently they wanted to throw the US out of Iraq and so they attacked to protect themselves
 - Doesn't want to respond to militias anymore, responding directly to them
 - Side effects of his death
4. What are their perspectives on a possible cycle or escalation?
 - Apparently restoring deterrence
 - Story has lasted years not since April,
 - Escalatory spiral
5. How they account for domestic politics in their comments?
 - US ignoring the prime ministers request to leave
 - The US and Iraq are divided, US is divided from Europe
 - Fighting against ISIS has slowed down, how can this be deterrence
6. What do we learn about the objectives of the US in the Middle east?
 - US demonstrating
7. How the experts justify/explain both Iran and US actions and behaviours?
 - So far, very realist approaches to both

Section II: Connect with the readings

1. Compare and contrast the experts reviews. Can you identify limits in their analyses? From your knowledge of the facts, what factors are overlooked in their explanation?

- Doran was very limited in this analysis due to his strict realist notions of military interactions, particularly not looking into historical context
- 2. An inevitable cycle of escalation? How did we get there? What is the role of international institutions?
 - Iran deal was an attempt by international institutions to contain Iran/US tensions
 - Similar to security dilemma
- 3. What version (s) of realism (s) or liberalism (s) are you able to identify?
- 4. From your knowledge of liberalism and realism approaches, in which box will you fit each of these experts? Why?

Section III: Let's hear your opinion on one of these questions

1. From your knowledge of Iran-USA relations, assess the predictability of each approaches. Which one of realism or liberalism has proven better to predict political outcomes?
 - Hard to say (team liberalism)
2. Is realism a tool of analysis or an ideology?
 - Yes when coupled with nationalism and patriotism it can be a very negative ideology
3. What do you think about Trump administration's foreign policy for Iran, Iraq and the Middle east? Better than Obama's strategy?
 - Obama had a better strategy however he still perpetuated conflict especially in Yemen

"No Class" Lecture 6: January 22nd

"Marxism & Critical Theory"

Readings

- 'Marxist Theories' Ch.8 - Hobden & Wyn

Image: Darmit Factory Workers in Bangladesh

- Production, workers, words that come to mind
- Most people are workers in some form, however these are the more exploited workers
- Part of the chain of production and consumption, and we are participants
- This also brings to mind questions about class, we are divided among states
- But we have other ways we can be grouped, transnational working class
- Marxists focus on different categories of analysis (production, organization)
- Also speaks to absences of marxist work, note the many workers in the image are women and Marxism doesn't say much about gender

Image: Car Production Plant in Mexico

- Many themes of the previous image
- Thinking what place does Mexico have in the place of production
- Hierarchy between states that are consuming and producing
- Think NAFTA negotiations
- Also reflects for Marxists that political power also may mean economic power

Image: World Economic Forum in Switzerland

- A day in the life of a refugee
- Spectacle of world CEO's heavily guarded by security trying to experience a refugee's life
- Why do rich people talk about when they are there?
- Class is a very powerful variable in relation to other things? What are they're shared economic countries despite having goals in common
- Transnational class theme again

Image: Stereotypical "occupy Wall Street" guy

- Resistance to capitalism?

Marxism 101

- Focus on means and relations of production
- History is a sequence of modes of production (historical materialism)
- Society & economy as the locus of politics (against liberal theories)
- Critique of the state and its purpose
- Role of theory in politics — explicitly critical
- Key terms: capital; labour; accumulation; class; class consciousness; revolution; alienation; crisis

How Marxism Fits In IR

- Marxism is a cross-disciplinary social theory
- Few explicit global political claims in early Marxist work (with exceptions e.g. global revolution in Marx/Engels)
- Very little work on inter-state relations in work of Marx (and Engels) - esp. on comparative development
- Some Marxist work, e.g. on imperialism (e.g. Lenin's 1916 book) had global concerns that pre-dated discipline of IR

Questions Marxists May Ask

- What is the role of economic relations in shaping global politics?
- What are the material sources of structure in international politics, and how do these change?
- How do our ideas about the world encourage (or prevent) emancipation?
 - Is about having autonomy over yourself, ideas and your labour
- What is the relationship between classes in global politics?
 - Does the working class in Canada have things in common with the working class in Bangladesh? if not, why not?
- What role do multinational corporations play?
 - Crucial global players

The Inter-Paradigm Debate

- Insert photo
- Like all IR 'debates', very much a caricature
 - Shaped by debates, we think debates as generous exchange of ideas and this is not the case
- About the nature of global politics, political stances, and a bit about methods
 - How marxism is conceptualized
- Critique of rationalist theories versus Marxists, 'structuralists', or revolutionism / dialectical approaches
 -
- Strong realist-liberal affinity, but any two points on 'triangle' could critique a third
 - Realists and liberals have more in common than "radicalism"
 - Anarchic? independent? exploitative?
- Divergences on basic actors, image of global system, view of the state, dynamics of behaviour, key issues, conflict, sources of change, and more (see chapter by Waeber 1996)
 - Might care more about tax evasion
 - Sources of change and conflict. why do states fight?

Materialism in Marxist Thought

- What is the prime force moving global politics?
 - Marxists would focus on material explanations for things (ex: distraction of resources, class relations, etc)
 - Because they have to do with economic production, assumption about production is fundamentally materialist

- Modes of production and accumulation tied to state formation
 - The state guards the modes of production
- Base (means/relations of production) and superstructure (political systems, ideology) in complex relation
 - Complex circuit between base and superstructure
 - Base is the way that we produce in the system of production
 - Boomerang effect into political systems and ideology (culture, etc) and they boomerang back
 - Free market ideology has its root in both
- Co-evolution of states and international system
 - Impact on their roles in the international system
- Alienation and forms of production — tied to human nature
 - When we make stuff that isn't ours are labour is alienated from us

A Different view of The State

- Focus on the domestic power of the state as 'repressive organ'
 - Sovereign states, that is the system that has been created (legal right of states)
 - The state is a repressive organ meant to reenforce the system of the day
- State and nation are expression of bourgeois interest
 - The class is a reflection of the state
 - So states go to war because of class formations within states
- Inter-state conflict driven by class formations within states (see critiques of WWI)
 - WWI was an imperialist war and thats why Lennies says Russia was involved
 - Same idea, class formations willing to send working people to die to protect their interests
- Thinking of the state as a tool crossed by transnational classes (IMF example)
 - It is an economic organ within IR that reflect the interests of a particular class

Image: Protestors of the World Trade Organization

- The state as protecting and enforcing class power
- Lots of violence on the streets of people protesting
- Defining moments of the anti-globalization argument
- Against the global tyranny

Marxist Views of the International System

- A sphere that reflects domestic political considerations (Marx/ Engels: revolution —> war, but later thought war —> revolution)
 - Not different from the liberal ideas, marxists are saying domestic political interests is much more about class
 - Revolution might lead to war because capitalist states will declare war on any state with a communist revolution
 - War leading to revolution, think lenin overthrowing the tsar over WWI
- Separation of economy & politics in capitalist world system
- Van der Pijl (1998): export of Lockean form of society by Britain
 - Idea that there is some kind of social contract based on liberal values
 - Exported from Britain and british thinkers
 - How did the west end up looking like a free market society
- What would Marxists think of 'international anarchy'?
 - Probably not think it is that important
- Focus instead on global(ised) markets as key sites of political action
 - Markets and the EU for example

- Realist would say balance of power, liberal would say interdependence, marxist would say an attempt to create a single market (economic institution driven by the interests of BMW, etc to move across a single market)
- Emphasis on revolution and systemic change
 - Material basis of politics, they want a systemic change

Image: Map of Africa (1914)

- Very different then today, showing the names of European countries
- French, English, Belgian, Protugees
- Continent 100 years before this did not have the same territorial take over
- Understanding this is also understanding the needs for markets
- Marxists would point to imperialism
- Rubber and exploitation of people in Congo

Imperialism

- Seen by 19th century Marxists as response to economic changes in Europe
 - Acting on them by seeking new markets
 - Assumption as a reflection of class interests
- Colonies: raw materials, export markets, capital export
 - Low on materials means lets go find them (in the name of the King, think Congo)
- Bukharin and Lenin: link of colonialism to working class in the metropole states
 - Working class may differ nationally
 - A working class being exploited in one country benefits from exploiting workers in another
- Example: Britain's \$45trillion from India (Chakrabarti & Patnaik 2018)
 - Pillage, they pillaged 45\$ trillion in pillaged goods during their imperial reign in India
- There are persuasive non-Marxist, non-material arguments
 - Again, it is just used as a lense of view, using a marxist lense leaves some things out
 - Looking at imperialism and not considering race, technology
 - Think technological development, etc.

World Systems Theory

- Global system somewhat analogous to domestic class distinction
 - Think Mexico plant, skilled workforce but less labour costs
 - Suggests we have a world of uneven development
- Primarily in Immanuel Wallerstein's (1974) work
 - World systems theory: three categories
 - Different positions states may hold in economic system
- Core, semi-periphery, and periphery states, distinguished by modes of production
 - Core states: Britain, US, Canada, France, etc
 - Semi-periphery: Mexico, Turkey, Indonesia
 - Periphery States: Ghana (cocoa)
- Thinking systemically and historically, in relation to modes of controlling labour
 - China is moving across these categories and others
- Surplus moves towards hegemonic/core states (it is a states system, not a global empire)
- Accounting for the uneven development of global capitalism, drawing on dependency theory (Gunder Frank)
 - We do not have a global empire but a states system
- How universal is capitalism? What is the power of the local and global?
 - Global system dictates where states fall, more then the individual actor (very state centric)

How Would Marxists Explain America's Relative Decline?

- Moving the means to production to developing nations
- Disparity between the ruling class and working class
- Economic crisis and contradiction in the working class system
- Shifts in economic power and production, factoring into calculations of national power

Hegemony in Gramsci's Work

- Seeking to explain the persistence of capitalism
 - Thinking capitalism is going to disappear
 - Human nature to want accumulation and greed even
 - Pointing to the difficulty of overthrowing the economic system
 - Arguing that capitalism persists because of culture (prison notebooks), certain hegemony that capitalism has
- Diverges from 'hegemony' in the IR realist/liberal sense
 - Different from realist (im the most powerful state and i shape other behavior)
 - Hegemony is a cultural concept, civil society and religion as well as media all inform our ideas and culture
- Idea of historic bloc emerges from his work on consent/ consensus and civil society
 - Gramsci's idea of a combination of base and superstructure, we need to account for the superstructure (ideology) guarantees hegemony of certain systems (ideas and institutions)
 - Capitalism exists because we also consent to it (DGD reading)
- Brought into IR most clearly through work of Robert Cox (1987)
- Hegemony: ideas, institutions, material capabilities
- Key terms for IR: social forces, states, world order

Image: International Monetary Fund (IMF)

- Role of ideas in generating consent (particularly for the free market economic system)

Washington Consensus

- Gramscians might call this a transnational hegemonic project
 - How states should act and spend, aligned with American understanding of the world
 - Ideas that came out of it was socialism is not good, and free market economies (western economies) are what works the best
- The World Bank, IMF, G8, etc. internationalize and align poor states' policymaking
 - Say to cut government spending and allow free markets (not just economic powers but also ideas)
 - Hegemonic project of western economic ideas
 - Many countries request IMF help, elites in poor countries also buy into this
- Social backgrounds matter, as do common ideas emanating from institutions
 - Many are educated by the same universities and ideas, and thus the 'consensus'
- Operation through forms of consent
- How hegemonic or diffused is it?

Critical Theory

- Frankfurt School of social analysis (e.g. Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse)
 - Exiled from Germany, did most of their work in the US (1940-1950's) and critique on keeping capitalism going
- Central role of language and cultural production
 - For them it persists because of ties to culture
 - Corporatizing different cultures (coopting into capitalist system)
- Theory is always for someone and for some purpose (Cox, 1981) — and it is either problem-solving or critical

- Theory is important because it analysis but also reshapes the world (what it should look like)
- Focused more on superstructure (culture, institutions, ideas) than base (economic relations)
 - Human security began inn academia and is now a policy makers favorite term
- Develops key Marxist idea of emancipation
 - Purpose of theory is emancipation, shapes what you choose to study
- Lays some of the groundwork for poststructuralism (politics-theory link)
 - Shaping the world that we live in

Unanswered Questions

- Which came first, capitalism, the state, or the state system? Is there even a singular logic holding them together?
-
- How much does a materialist view explain?
 - Thinking back to african continent and material map, colonialism is not just the persist of natural resources?
- What role is there for balance of power or ideological explanations?
 - Do the realist and liberal explanations have a role still?
- Do Marxist approaches underestimate agency?
 - Lots of structures and capitalism but what about individual agency
- Where do gender and race come in?
 - Women workers in bangladesh?
 - Marxists would look at their class, not the fact that they are women
- How is the state continuing to change in the era of ‘globalization’?
-

Recap

- Marxism as social theory > Marxist approaches in IR
 - In IR is a subset of a much larger social theory
- Marx/Engels largely overlooked global politics
 - Early marxist work was not very international, instead the concepts are attempting to be applied on a grander scale
- Focus on global economic structure and social/economic relations challenge views of realist/liberal theories
 - Economic relations challenging realist works
- New views on role of state and the domestic/international interface
-
- Key trends in IR include rise of Gramscian approaches, and influence of Critical Theory
- Materialism reveals but also obscures...
 - Obscured the role of gender and race

“Constructivism”

Readings

- ‘Social Constructivism’ Ch.9 - Barnett

Image: Canadian War Monument

- Canada’s self image and peacekeeping has an impact on their national interests and they are fundamentally tied to our identities

Image: Fall of the Berlin Wall

- Other lenses could not predict the fall of the Soviet Union and the Cold War

Constructivism Meets International Relations

- Is it a social theory in the very broad sense — across disciplines
 - Same with liberalism, much larger and older than IR
 - Social theories make claims about how actors and structures interact and shape each other
- Social theory ≠ theory of IR
 - Much bigger than just IR
- ‘Social constructivism’ > constructivism in IR
- In IR, focuses on “basic ‘sociological’ issue [...] of identity- and interest-formation” (Wendt 1992: 393)
 - National interest and where it comes from, and that states have them
 - Interested in the formation of states interest and their identities
 - Formed socially, counters realists
- Key role given to ‘social facts’
 - Not telling us there is no such thing as a fact, what it is telling us is that things we collectively agree on can become facts, agreeing on an identity
 - Not the same as ‘fake news’

Some Questions IR Constructivists Ask

- What is the role of identity in shaping global politics? How does it shape interests?
 - How a state thinks of itself affects its national interests, identity is crucial
- How do key institutions and practices become durable?
 - Some things we agree are true can be durable, Canada as peacekeeping nation is changed since the 1980’s
- What do we gain when we consider global politics to be social and relational?
 - State A and B don’t just have interests on their own but also through interactions with one another
- What are the sources of structure in international politics, and how do these change?
 - Anarchy and Alexander Wendt, the sources of structures around us
- How do international norms emerge and why do we follow them?
 - Norms around the use of chemical and nuclear weapons? We create them collectively and why do we follow those rules, especially unwritten ones
- What is the relationship between agents and structures in global politics?
 - How does a state interact with the international system

Weakness Of Rationalist Theories

- All this is a response to the shortcomings of other theories, radically different view of how we come to perceive reality
- Limited focus on productive nature of state interactions
 - Well if state A and state B interact repeatedly they may create social relationships
- Too many factors taken as ‘given’, such as sovereignty, anarchy, interests, and power
 - Constructivists would say to many things are taken for granted as facts
- Analytical separation of capabilities of states from ideas and perceptions
 - Constructivist would say we need to pay attention when analysing power of state, not just capabilities but power and perception
 - US perception of Iranian power, about potential behaviour
- Limited scope of debate (e.g. neo-neo synthesis)
 - Gradual blurring between realism and liberalism (between rationality, anarchy, etc)
 - Constructivists wish to expand the scope by going beyond that

Rationalism And Reflectivism In IR

- Constructivists are part of the broad ‘reflectivist’ tradition in IR
 - Debate between rationalism and reflectivism, constructivist fall into reflectivism

- Role of ideas and knowledge
- Reflectivists challenge the rationality of decision-making (less rational individualism, more sociality)
 - What is the world out there? How do we know it?
 - Fundamentally challenging the rationality of decision making
 - States can be compared to individuals in that way
 - Less on rational individual actor and more on socially embedded
- Essence of the debate is a divergence on questions of philosophy of science, notably on structure & agency
 - Back to idea of norms, like no nuclear weapons, is a question of structure and agency
 - Norms are meaningful, agency is constrained because states want to be seen as respectable
 - Realists wouldn't pay attention to these types of norms
- Material and instrumental vs. social and relational
 - Constructivists move towards powerful emphasis on idea and knowledge
- Thinking beyond power and towards ideas/knowledge
- Often seeking to answer very similar research questions
 - Radically different approaches to very similar research questions
 - Why do states act this way?

In What Ways Are States 'Social' Actors?

- The way states with no previous histories are now in environments where they must interact with one another
- Lines of communication
- US and SU at the height of the Cold War where social, not necessarily a good relationship

What Is The Value-Add?

- New view of causality — complex rather than linear
 - Why stuff happens is much more complex for constructivists (US killing Solomani could have many reasons) sceptical of singular explanations
- Changing our metaphors of global politics (system ≠ society)
 - Need to be seen more like icebergs, with 90% under the surface, and so difficult to pinpoint exactly why
 - Cannot be a linear simplistic view
 - Global politics as a society
- New perceptions of change (esp. after the Cold War)
 - New ideas of how things evolve, world as a society and thus it is relational
 - US changing perception of Cuba (during Obama)
 - Reflections identity and perceptions of others
- Focus on ideas challenges materialist basis of previous theories
 - Challenging the idea that only material factors have influence
- Looking beyond individualism & state-centrism towards holism
 - The idea that the whole is more than the sum of its parts, the international system is not just 190+ countries

“Ideas are not so much mental as symbolic and organizational; they are embedded not only in human brains but also in the ‘collective memories,’ government procedures, educational systems, and the rhetoric of statecraft.” - Jeffrey Legro (2005: 6)

- What is an idea, how are ideas not just mental?
- Ideas are symbolic and organizational
- Institutions are driven by shared ideas

- Ideas leave brains and are shared, ex states making policy adjustments
- Collective memory of WWII, alias as good guys, lasted between X and Y, but doesn't matter if their true but the collective memory is extremely powerful (base of NATO)

Social Construction - The Basics

- Reality is outcome of practices and processes producing meaning
 - What we perceive it to be, we have some shared realities but not always
 - Shared meaning, like countries that are allied
 - Meaning is what we use to make sense of the world (norm of respecting sovereignty)
- Focused on webs of meaning, rather than singular causes
 - How does something US national identity shape actions towards Iran
- Webs mean intersubjective (or shared) forms of meaning — inherently social
 - Shared forms of meaning makes international politics social
 - EU is an example of that, outcome as balance of power, or interdependence but constructivist would say is it around shared meaning and ideas
- Construction implies durability of structures we produce — ideas/beliefs can become institutionalized
 - Many ideas are durable and so are their meaning, construction does not mean it is fabricated
- Does not mean ignoring material realities
 - Things are not just made up

Critiquing Material

- Seeking a better account of where key phenomena come from
 - Does not mean we fully abandon rationality, but just a single idea of what rationality is
 - States are still rational, but rational in a social context
- Constructivists still can see states as rational actors (and neorealism/neoliberalism do see a social world)
- Ideas matter: symbols, language, and more
- Predictive power of pure materialist theory is limited
 - Goes back to theories of change, constructivist would consider themselves to have better tools as to why things change
- 'Behaviour' is a limited frame — practices broadens it
 - What realist/rationalist theories try and say is that states have behaviours that reveal their preferences
 - Practices is a better term to describe something different (for constructivist) and are repeated patterns of social actions which have an impact on identity

"500 British nuclear weapons are less threatening to the United States than 5 North Korean nuclear weapons." - Alexander Wendt (1995: 73)

- What this is saying is looking at capabilities and trying to deduce what their motives are is very difficult
- Goes past material into social, where do interests come from
- Constructivists dealing on same territory as realists
- Identity shapes interests, and are not given and come from state identity (Wendt)

Where Do Some Interests Come From?

- Identity [partly] shapes interests (see Wendt 1992) - and identity is shaped by collective meanings
- Look at historical trajectory (e.g. Finnemore 1996)
- We should not overestimate the weakness of 'materialist'/'rationalist' approaches

- They still give helpful tools and most like Wendt would want to keep certain elements of the language
- Constructivism's contribution is more about how interests change, rather than if they do
 - Analysing social dynamics and how they change states interests
 - Because it is social theory it makes claims on how actors and structures interact with one another and change, including states interests

A Dynamic And Process-Based Vision

- Structure and agency: agents and structures shape each other (structuration)
 - Thinking of an international order and a states are not in a vacuum
- Ongoing interactions e.g what shapes friendship/enmity
 - If states repeatedly violate certain norms then they seem to disappear, another way structure shapes states behaviour (two way relationship)
- Constitutive theory, not cause-effect
 - Not trying to just say X happened because of Y, trying to tell us the constituency of that
 - What are the conditions of possibility? (iceberg)
- US constructivism ≠ all of IR constructivism
 - US constructivism is focused on the same questions as realists
 - Constructivists in other countries have different priorities and are much more radical

Image: Chinese head of state visiting UK

- State visits are performances
- Iconic visual elements of the state, performances of national identity

A New View On Anarchy

- Anarchy comes in many shapes and sizes (rivalry, friendship, conflict, cooperation)
 - Shaped by how we think of it
 - Many different types of interactions states can have under the conditions of anarchy
 - Does not always mean danger
- There can be “community” in anarchy (Cronin 1999)
 - Absence of global government does not always mean disorder
 - Ditching the idea that that is automatic
 - Going to a much more blank slate, like how states can have community through conditions of anarchy
 - Does not automatically dictate things about human nature, interests, etc
- Can we get beyond it? Authority may be a way out of the trap — there is debate over its existence
 - Constructivists would point to authority, some may not have formal power but be authoritative (WHO announcing coronavirus shapes the way states act, recognised authority)
- Anarchy is what states make of it (Wendt 1992)

“States act differently towards enemies than they do towards friends because enemies are threatening and friends are not. Anarchy and the distribution of power are insufficient to tell which is which.” - Alexander Wendt (1992: 397)

- Just looking at anarchy and who has power and who doesn't fails to answer who is a friend or fo
- That is social

Image: Post Intervention Libya (2011)

- Removed head of state from Libya and intervention removed him on presumed threat
- Government has collapsed, living in the aftermath of this intervention
- What this tells us is violating norms (sovereignty intervention? Under certain circumstances)

The Power of Norms

- Lifecycle of a norm

- Finnemore & Sikkink (1998): emergence, cascading, internalisation
 - Chemical weapons, norm entrepreneurs, institutions that can propose them with credibility
 - Quickly become accepted and internalized
 - Laws of war,
- Regulative and constitutive norms
 - Written and easy vs shared meaning
 - Think of states having embassies
- Legitimacy matters (and ties back to materialist concerns such as costs)
 - Want to be seen as legitimate, similar to the ways individuals want to be recognised and accepted (even North Korea)
- Norms against female combat (eg. Work of Sarah Percy)
 - Norm that is changing but still don't have as much access to combat
- Non-intervention and sovereignty in the era of R2P
 - Contact for Libya, common human society, we should be able to violate norms of society to protect (Libyan citizens)
 - Attempt to change this
 - Bosnian and Rwandan interventions
- States shape norms, norms shape states (and back again)
- Norms change! (plenty of examples)

"[...] Norms prompt justifications for actions and leave an extensive trail of communication among actors that we can study." - Finnemore & Sikkink (1998: 892)

- How do constructivists study things of shared meaning?
- Look to trail of communication, shared meanings leave paper trails
- Nuclear weapons norms are enshrined in treaties

Image: Morning of 9/11, Bush deciding what to do and say

- Care about norms and intangible ways of changing behaviour
- Gives us more to add on material basis of IR but also social scripts/performances
- In some cases, scripts must be made up
- Vision of global politics as global and relational so people can decide what to do

Constructions Of Threat

- Production includes rhetoric, symbolism
 - Needs to be named so sources of shared meaning emerge
 - Shape the way we point them out
- Shared meanings are 'sticky'
 - They don't just disappear
 - Security workers are they because of 9/11
 - Regardless of realistic threat or not, but still stay with us
- Think of post-9/11 profiling
 - People who fit the profiles of the collective meaning within security agencies
 - Who is dangerous and who is not
- Construction and objectivity are in tension

Thinking Beyond The Balance Of Power

- Why has NATO persisted? Realist (balancing, hegemony) and liberal (interdependence and absolute gains) views of institutions don't explain everything
 - People often ask why does NATO still exist in 2020? Why are they intervening in Libya?
 - Realist balancing approach is not wrong, liberals say interdependence and working together for common goals, but they don't give a full picture

- Key role of identity, with Jackson (2003) pointing to rhetoric of ‘Western Civilization’
 - He answers rhetoric of western civilization within NATO, and idea of western identity and understanding
- Focus on legitimisation and constitutive practices

Variants of Constructivism

- Diverging on what levels of analysis to study
 - US constructivism is distinct, looking at different levels of analysis
 - Ex: Brexit negotiations as micro, or interstate war (more macro)
- How much to strip away as ‘constructed’ vs. the material basis of international politics (there is a spectrum within constructivist IR)
 - Spectrum
 - How much they agree on the tangibility of material politics in IR
 - There is not a very socially agreed meaning of reality
 - Post-structuralism is a very radical approach
- Some are much more compatible with neorealism/ neoliberalism
 - Asking similar questions as operations, state as the key actor
- Some variants closer to poststructuralism, which is constructivist in its basic outlook
 - How much of the iceberg is underwater

Too Close To Rationalism?

- State-centrism of mainstream constructivists seeking a ‘middle way’ (e.g. Wendt)
 - Between everything is constructed or made up, everything is material or not
 - Aspects of the mainstream constructivism is very state centric and shared assumptions with rational theories
- How scientific do we aspire to be?
 - How closely can the world be studied
- Divergences on the analytical role of anarchy
 - It compliments rational approaches and make their explanations better (is competing in some ways)
- Constructivism doesn’t always open new lines of enquiry
- Complements rationalist approaches, and competes too

Opening The Floodgates

- Most variants of IR constructivism now within mainstream of discipline (perhaps even dominant)
 - Care about ideas, identities, etc. now they are the bulk of the ideas in IR
 - How IR scientists label themselves? Many consider themselves to be constructivist
- Constructivism a key tenet of more radical theories
 - Arrival of this has opened the door for more radical interventions
- Question of how much positivism (and naturalism) to let into constructivist ideas — what can we know?
- Archaeology and genealogy: paths taken and not taken
 - Building up an archaeology of who we are and how we got there
- Varying degrees of ethical reflection
 - Some are more radically critical of the ethics of assuming an anarchic system or providing policy advice

Lingering Questions

- How much of the world is constructed, and how much is ‘given’ and objective?
 - Example of gender and sex: biological and tangible vs gender being more meaning driven
- Are we simply trying to answer existing questions better, or proposing new ones?

- Is it a theory in its own right or is it a method? No one way of seeing international politics but rather an approach
- Is constructivism a theory in its own right, or something else?
- How do we conceptualise power given the role of meaning?
 - How do we understand power if we are adding all these things about meaning

Recap

- Constructivism as a social theory > constructivist IR
- The primary reflectivist approach to global politics
 - Meanings and ideas
- Focused on the production and impact of meaning: ideas, knowledge, etc.
- Structure and agency in dynamic interplay (norms and institutions are examples of this)
- We gain some different explanations (e.g. persistence of NATO, change in warfare)
 - Better and new ones
- Wide variety of constructivist claims, some closer to rationalist aims, more radical ones underpin poststructuralism

“Poststructuralism”

Readings

- ‘Postructuralism’ Ch.10 - Hansen

Image: HSBC Ads about cultural awareness

- Nasty/tasty + useless/useful advertisement [www.yourpointofview.com]
- Advertising for global banking, finance is a global industry and so it needs cultural awareness
- Telling us they have a global perspective and recognising competing visions
- Repetition and stepping outside our own perspective to do business in the world
- Knowledge is not fixed, question of how different people see the world (constructed differently)

Image: Donald Trump (US) and Kim Jong Un (NK) shaking hands (Singapore Summit)

- Would look at this with different lense realist:power politics/nuclear weapons
- Post structuralist would say there is also other factors, how is this made possible
- Images as important as material substance, elaborate performance/display of state behaviour in the meetings

Image: Map of the (Crimea) Ukraine/Russia

- Underlying power politics of the world
- Google maps acknowledging russian presence in Crimea
- What does google maps have to say about global politics
- Sovereignty is not just guns and bullets, also knowledge and perception of sovereignty
- Divergent knowledge of the world, alliance of knowledge with power (settled, official, dominant)
- Representations of the world have impact

Postructuralism 101

- A post-positivist social theory, just like constructivism. This is a constitutive rather than explanatory approach
 - We cannot treat the world scientifically
- A social scientific basis in:
 - Ontological pluralism: To clear relationship of what is, what is knowable
 - Epistemological scepticism: What might be true or not true (radical, rejection of singular truth) truth vs truth claims becoming dominant, social process
 - A methodology of deconstruction: deconstructing truth claims, what is the basis of truth claims? What is it resting on?

- Focus on representations (e.g. discourse, thought) and their link to power and political action, rather than linear cause-effect relationships
 - Categories of thinking and ideology, linked to power and possibilities
 - Not just looking at causal (A causes B) but more about how did A come to be?
- Suspicious of claims to truth, objectivity, and and metanarratives — enquire into their historical and social formation
 - Do not believe in objectivity, people who claim to be objective are often really not
 - Criticism: what is true and what isn't then?
 - Deconstructing is not just relativism, but rather looking at things like icebergs again (historical and social formations)
- Ethical project: critique of logocentrism and openness to difference
 - They do have ethics, and they criticise logo-centrism, singular knowledge of something
 - How do we perceive the middle east? (logo-centrist) and maybe we should contest those visions because they impact political action
 - Logo-centrism: idea that there is knowledge superior to other knowledge and it is natural
 - My knowledge counts more than yours

Question

- Post-modernist vs post-structuralist

Post-What?

- Terminological confusion: poststructuralism or postmodernism? Both.
 - In IR you can use them interchangeably
- An “intellectual sense and sensibility” (Hay), a “critical attitude” (Campbell), with poststructuralists being “all-purpose subversives” (Geertz)
 - How to approach the world and knowledge
 - Political labeling (Geertz)
- Postmodernism as aesthetic movement: across the arts — non-linear style, playful aesthetic, irreverence. In literature, deconstruction
- Post-modernity as historical condition: quickening flows of people, information, and more. Globalization, loss of fixity, rise of networked world
 - Different from modernity because we have faster flows of information and people, being reshaped by a world growing in complexity (internet, modernity)
- Post-structuralism also an analytical approach to language/reality: moving beyond positivism and empiricism, and questioning rationalist ontology & epistemology
 - Link between pop culture and reality, idea of a single reality
- Critique of dominant framings of global politics and the discovery of alternatives
 - Looking for alternatives, concepts like sovereignty, is linked in part to production of reality, practice and interactive

Postructuralist Questions About Global Politics

- What is the role of knowledge in shaping power and political practice?
- What role does subjectivity play in global politics?
 - Who am I, who are you, what is our relation? Shapes global politics
- How can we give a plausible account of the world if there is no objective viewpoint?
 - So no resolutions to our conflict? How do we reconcile different truth claims of the world
- How is global politics shaped by narratives? How do we study these?
 - What is the story we tell about the world
- What understanding or knowledge about the world lie below the surface?
 - Things we take for granted when we shouldnt
- Poststructuralists are more radical constructivists

- Difference: general difference is constructivists come in all different kinds, vs poststructuralists are very specific (things like sovereignty and anarchy) much further deconstruction

Language And The Role Of 'Discourse'

- Language more than the transmission of concepts, but it structures and produces meaning
 - Fundamental to representations, language is a way of transferring ideas but also more
 - A system of producing meaning, lang. structures shape out mental categories
 - Ex: North Korea as an enemy
- Contest the idea of meaning independent of language
 - Ontological pluralism: the world you experience is through your encounters with meaning
 - No access to real world as scientific object
 - Ex: news and media
- Ways of speaking and writing about a particular topics — structures of understanding
- Foucault spoke of 'discourses' as systems of meaning and power, J.-F. Lyotard of 'metanarratives'
 - Describe and make sense of the world through a system of meaning
 - Stories about stories, meaning shapes power and interactions
- Suspicion of truth claims requires different methods: discourse analysis, genealogy
 - Language of Trump administration and N. Korea
- Bleiker (2000): discourse as a source of resistance to power

“A critique is not a matter of saying that things are not right as they are. It is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar unchallenged unconsidered modes of thought the practices we accept rest.” - Michel Foucault (1988:154-5)

How Can Analyzing Discourse Help Us Understand Global Politics?

- EU, Bexit was caused by language used to describe migrants in local elections

Discourse And Identity

- David Campbell (1998) on US foreign policy: why 'writing'? It's about the power of texts.
 - Not just a bureaucracy thinking up a policy and applying it but also notions of identity
 - Rhetorical and nationalistic appeals tied into identity: Us as global peacemakers or 'land of the free', etc.
- Subjectivity at national but also individual levels
- 'foreign policy' = identity and policy mutually reinforcing
- Clear link to constructivism's interest in role of identity in global politics

Image: European Commission (Turkish foreign minister, EU foreign minister)

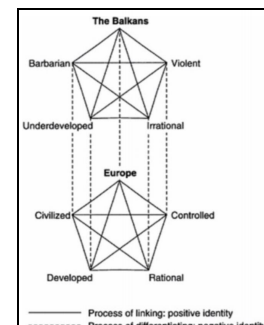
- Shows us to some degree how turkey joining the EU is more than geopolitics
- But also ties into ideas of identity

“Language is social and political, an inherently unstable system of signs that generate meaning through a simultaneous construction of identity and difference.” - Lene Hansen (2006:15)

- Methodological tools for discourse analysis (through language)
- Produces categories of thinking (what I am and am not)
- At a national level is hugely impactful and built into language

Discourse and Identity

- Language and meaning produce subject positions
- Challenge of examining phenomena that weave the ideational and material



- Discourse analysis: investigation into the origins and circulation of linguistic meaning
- Chart taken from Hansen's book
- Europe thinks of itself in these ways, and so flipped for the balkans
- Analytical simplification of ways of speaking

Methods: Genealogy & Deconstruction

- Enquiring into historical formation of discourses — how they are constituted
- Key question: if language is founded on dichotomies, how did these emerge and how can they dissolve?
- Genealogy: investigation into current dominant understandings, often referred to as ‘history of the present’
 - Tracing the lineage of ideas, where dominant understandings come from?
 - Ex: Canada/US friendship, how did we from 1812 to 2020?
- Deconstruction: picking apart that which seems settled, natural, and contesting its meaning (e.g. in text)
 - Foreign policy documents, assumptions, influences, etc and contesting their meaning

Views of Power

- Power is productive, not only coercive: it produces subject positions
- Crucial link between knowledge(s) and the exercise of power
 - Fundamentally tied to one another, contrast to realist notions of power (material)
 - Power is not necessarily material at all
- The ‘mainstream’ nodded in this direction (e.g. EH Carr), & poststructuralists in IR (e.g. George 1994) critiqued Enlightenment rationality in the discipline
- Rejection of positivism and naturalism
 - Not studying the world like a test tube

The Role Of Culture

- ‘Harry Potter and International Relations’ - Nexon & Neumann
 - All spaces of cultural production
 - Harry Potter more influential than a Trump tweet? Debatable.
- Not in the anthropological sense, but in the sense of shared meanings.
 - WWII memes and their impacts
- Poststructuralist openness to aesthetics, role of media in general, and pop culture
- ‘Intertextuality’ — by flattening scholarship and culture into texts, we can see their overlaps and co-constitution
 - Don't exist on their own but within a web of meaning
 - Ex: Startrek, the way they deal with global politics compared to state departments

Virtual/Virtuous War

- Similar empirical concerns to mainstream theories
- The gap between representation and that which is represented
- Der Derian (2001): MIME-Net (military-industrial-media-entertainment) and sanitization of war
 - Call of Duty and CNN effect and shape our ideas
- Cultural production such as America’s Army games
 - Hollywood contracts for movies funded by military, targeting military recruitment at video game players

Key Concepts

- Power, Sovereignty, Linguistics, Discourse, Texts, Narratives, Representation, Deconstruction, Binaries, Genealogy, Identity, Culture, Knowledge, Interpretation

Contesting IR’s Key Vision

- Critique of state sovereignty: nothing natural about division of space into sovereign territory

- Not natural and tied to ideas of meaning
- See many 'natural' aspects of global politics as performative and therefore unstable
 - Because that is how our political theory is shaped, and thus has shaped us into thinking what is possible and reliable (Hobbes)
- Identity not given but relational (as in constructivist work)
 - May seem natural but are really performed
 - Who we are in relation to others
- Core assumptions of IR theory critiqued: anarchic international system (see Ashley 1987). Jahn (2000) links these to colonial practice
 - Something that comes from somewhere, not a given assumption
 - Separation between structures and agencies, social systems as a whole instead
- Linkage of discourse(s) to power (e.g. discourse of anarchy)
- Contest the separation of structure & agency

Image: Common World Map (South America & Africa are smaller)

- Dominant representations of the world
- Our earth is difficult to portray because it is not flat

Image: Accurate North and South Proportional World Map

- More accurate in terms of landmass
- Africa being huge makes western countries look small

Critique Of Sovereignty

- Image: Leviathan, Thomas Hobbes
- How is the state produced?
- Cindy Weber's work in *Simulating Sovereignty* (1995)
- What is the state's ontological status?
 - Not always clear idea like line on a map
 - Identity, national flag, army as a mode of stabilizing itself
 - What a state is is actually unclear once these things are stripped away
- Focus on practices of sovereignty and how it is 'stabilized' through rationales, material actions
- Sovereignty and practices/logics of exception

IR Contests Poststructuralism

- Walt (realist): criticism, but not theory
 - It is a criticism instead (like book review)
- Mearsheimer (realist): too much weight to ideas
 - You can't just change the world by thinking differently about it, 13,000 nuclear weapons cannot be stripped away by systems of meaning
- Keohane (neoliberal institutionalist): nothing to say about key issues
 - Like why do institutions work? Why do states cooperate? etc.
- Radically divergent purposes and assumptions
 - Not even asking/answering the same questions
- Like constructivism, poststructuralism a reflectivist approach to global politics
 - Much more castigated within IR discipline

"In contrast to conventional and critical constructivism, postmodernism falls clearly outside the social science enterprise, and in international relations research risks becoming self-referential and disengaged from the world." - Peter Katzenstein, Robert Keohane, and Stephan Krasner (1998)

- Criticism of postmodernists are not even social scientists because they do not care about truth or proving right or wrong
- Scathing attack

Image: US soldiers planting an American Flag

- 1944 in Augima

Image: Family Planting a Beach Umbrella

- Caption: Win the Work/Life Battle!
- Australian advertisement
- Overlapping meaning and intertextuality
- Shapes critical ideas

Example: War and Tourism

- Kind of stuff post-structuralists would be interested in understanding the world
- Debbie Lisle's (2016) *Holidays in the Danger Zone*
 - War in IR and tourism which is seen as not political at all
- 'Entanglements' of war and tourism
- R&R constitutive practice of warfare
 - Fundamentally touristic but still about war
- Example: Ukraine conflict tourism
- "Come see our battlefields, Ukraine rebels urge tourists" article title

"[This Book] is an effort to uncover the dominant power - knowledge relations that structure these practices in particular historical circumstances and to show how asymmetrical arrangements of power and knowledge produce and shape the way subjects relate to themselves, to each other, to dominant institutions, and to their material surroundings" - Debbie Lisle (2016:4)

- Effort to uncover the power-knowledge relations that structure ideas and historical circumstances
- In the context of tourism in war sites

Lingering Questions

- How do we determine the value of different truth claims?
 - Russia/Ukraine conflict of truth claims
- If we want to approach global politics ethically, how do we decide between competing options?
- Is everything down to knowledge and interpretation?
- Are poststructuralists guilty of overemphasizing linguistic factors over material ones?
 - What marxists care about? economics
- Do other theories and approaches combine well with such a radical approach?
- Can we be suspicious of truth claims without becoming relativists?

Recap

- Critical social theory focused on knowledge/power link
- Tied to a post-modern condition/movement but also to an analytical method
- A form of radical constructivism (e.g. focus on structures, subjectivity)
- Focus on unsettling the 'given' in global politics (and IR)
- New issues, new ethical directions

"Postcolonialism"

Readings

- 'Postcolonialism' Ch.11 - Sylvester

Image: Barbados, British Police Uniform

- Knowledge of language
- Criticisms of existing practices
- Visual and representational meaning
- Notice old school british police uniform, persist into every day existence
- Also about legacies of colonial power and domination
- How did black people end up in barbados in the first place? (slave trading)
- Manifestation in and everyday scene in the contemporary era

Image: Security Profiling

- Who is perceived to be threatening
- Identity, vision of self, the other, threat to self
- Being treated differently due to identity

Image: Bandom Conference, 1950's

- Leaders of newly independent Africa and Asia
- Post colonial period, position and power of global self, and their international role

Postcolonialism 101

- Focusing on the role of culture, race, colonialism, global structures — a critique from both inside the West and outside it
 - Way beyond social sciences, stretches across the humanities, but are useful to IR
 - States, power, conflict, war, expands the agenda of the discipline
 - Race plays into understanding of enemies and 'rational states'
 - Era of colonialism is mostly over but not their structures
- Historically-minded (construction of state system, and legacies of colonialism)
 - Temporal, time oriented, historical emphasis
 - How is today's world a result of past power relationships
 - We can do genealogies of our present and what they are based on
- Perspectives 'from below' e.g. of the subaltern, marginalized, raced, colonized voices
 - Critical theory much like post-structuralism
 - Think back to quote about Malaysia and Costa Rica
- New models of scholarship, more explicitly blending the analytical and the critical/political
 - Bringing in scholars from these countries to weigh in
- Entering IR most clearly in the 1990s — previous origins in literary study
 - Must like constructivism, not one theory by one person, very critical approach that brings in a range of new concepts
- Not a singular theory of global politics as such, but an approach

Post-What?

- There is always a temporal element in relation to colonial history (Seth 2013)
 - Post in temporal sense, time is important to history of colonization
- Persistence of colonial relations and structures — 'coloniality' (Mignolo 2007) or a 'colonialism without colonies' (McClintock 1992)
 - Again, just because France is no longer in charge of X doesn't mean they don't still have power there
 - Administer and control places but not in the classic sense of colonial domination
- Same 'post' as in postmodernism? (Appiah 1992) — similar critique of liberalism and of modernity
 - Inconclusive, similar critique of liberalism as an ideology
 - Formal equality hides informal inequalities
 - Issue of modernity, rational and enlightenment used in colonial project, bound up in modernity
- Strands of postcolonial theorising: the construction/representation element and the focus on material structures (e.g. visions of the Orient, and economic pillage of India)
 - Who is trustworthy with nuclear weapons and who isn't? Cultural constructions
 - Material sense of things though, material structures of IR, that are inescapable and not just perception
 - 45 trillion\$ was the cost of what Britain took from India through colonization
 - Material, countable, traceable

Views Of The 'Orient'

- Edward Said's (1978) concept of orientalism
 - Ideas are meaningful, think about their representations of the orient
 - The east, generally the middle east, how is it that western thinkers have thought about their relationships of the east
 - Categories are meaningful because they shape literature and political action, acting towards people a certain way, representation
- Building on the poststructuralist concerns about representation (e.g. Foucault on knowledge and power)
 - These representations come from somewhere, he studies the certain tropes about the orient
 - Idea of mysterious, emotional people that populate middle east
- Studying Western writings on the 'Orient', and their key tropes
 - Applicable about a wide range of places, stereotypical tropes, about how they are fundamentally different
- Concept applicable across wide range of sectors
 - TV show like homeland, how Iraq is portrayed on media
 - The way we represent has impacts on the world
- Practices of othering binaries such as self/other, West/Orient, civilised/barbaric
 - Distinction between self and other
 - Western self as civilized, rational, modernized
 - While Eastern is barbaric, uncivilized, emotional

Image: News Week Magazine 'Muslim Range'

- Perpetually angry and trying to control themselves
- This is classic vision of irrational and unpredictable
- Islanders off the coast of India, uncontacted and killed a tourist

Hybridity

- Homi Bhabha's concepts of hybridity and mimicry
 - People in post colonial areas as having agency, not just a sob story about the west running the world
 - People in post colonial areas have versions and visions of their identity
 - Permanently stylish, french, permanently stylish
- Undermining a rigid West/East distinction
 - People playing with dual identity
 - Wearing western attire and re appropriating it (remixing)
- If identity is relational, it also blurs
 - Undermining idea that it is west vs the rest
 - Minimizing colonial practice as a way of undermining it
- There is agency and power in mimicry

The Colonial Encounter

- Leaves neither coloniser nor colonized unscathed (see work of Memmi and Césaire)
 - Brutality of colonialism is shared, also affects the colonizer
- Includes settler colonial relations (e.g. France in Algeria, Britain in Canada).
 - Is a two way thing, material and cultural impact
 - Doesn't just shape the colonized but also colonizer
- History of empire e.g. through private accumulation
 - Money and economies was also very important to these issues
- Light footprint, heavy toll of colonial practice

- Very light footprint, think Nigeria, height of british occupation was thousands controlling millions
- But heavy hold
- Debate rages on...
 - Was british colonialism good for india? People sometimes disagree..
 - “Well we gave India railways” etc.
- Image: Cecil Rhodes, colonizer ‘explorer’ control from the Cape to Cairo
 - How does this legacy live on today? Diamond mining, who gets rich from diamonds and who doesn't

“First we must study how colonization works to decivilize the colonizer, to brutalize him in the true sense of the word, to degrade him, to awaken him to buried instincts, to covetousness, violence, race hatred, and moral relativism” - Aime Cesaire (1950)

- The discourse on colonialism
- Shapes the european and brutalizes them
- European colonialism in Africa was a precursor to the brutality later to occur in europe (hitler)
- Allowed europeans to fall to certain lows

The Making Of Today's World

- 1492 / myths of discovery
 - The idea of ‘discovery’ and its meaning changing over time
 - Beginning of North America experiment is based on the idea that europe discovered america and erasing all before them
 - When did things really begin?
- Economic and cultural role of the transatlantic slavery
 - Economically started america off very well
 - Relationships of trade shaping the world, slave trade ports
- Diffusion of the Western nation state?
 - Critique of the state, and it being organic
 - Diffusion of the western state
- What about the colonial roots of European states? The ‘boomerang’ effect of colonialism
 - The way Paris suburbs are policed is similar to the way Algeria was policed, things being tested out elsewhere
- Modernity and coloniality intricately linked
 - Our visions of technological progress rests on colonial practices
 - Different assumptions and insights about IR

The Making Of IR As A Discipline

- Darby and Paolini (1994): “realist closure” of IR prevented exchanges with postcolonial thought
 - Being closed off from discourse with post colonial thinkers and countries
- Did the world begin in the West? Critiques of IR’s origin stories/ assumptions
 - The world does not begin in the west
 - Starts with deep assumptions
- Longer lasting exclusions: Robert Vitalis (2015) identifies a long tradition of black IR scholarship in the ‘Howard School’
 - Black IR scholarship is often ignored and neglected
 - The rational and natural debates are based on exclusions
 - Black IR scholars who had interesting and radical ideas but were never given the opportunity to speak
- Arlene Tickner (2003): “exposing global problems that dominant IR perspectives fail to see” e.g. culture, hybridity, everyday life

- Being shaped by colonial legacies being absent from mainstream IR theories

Image: 'The Journal of Race Development'

- 1914, world being composed of not only states but races
- Some understanding of how to help the 'less advanced'
- 'The Journal of Race Development' is now Foreign Affairs
- May not contain race science today but important to know its roots

The Eurocentrism Of IR (And Global Politics)

- John Hobson's (2004) *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilization*
 - Being driven by western agency, west as acting on the east
 - Trying to recover alternative visions
- Can the subaltern speak? (Spivak 1988) and 'the empire writes back' (Ashcroft et al. 1989) both ways of contesting scholarly and political hegemony
 - Do these people's voices matter? How do their ideas get on the global agenda
 - Meaningful in the shaping of the discipline
- Inattention to divergent logics of politics e.g. 'necropolitics' (Mbembe 2003)
 - Scholarly hegemony in the west and their scholars
 - Different logics of politics
 - Necropolitics, post colonial places have different ideas of state development etc.

"The West did not autonomously pioneer its own development in the absence of eastern help, for its rise would have been inconceivable without the contributions of The East." - John Hobson (2004: 2-3)

- Britain having a permanent UN security council seat, indian resources propelled them into a superpower

Image: Flipped World Map

- Representations matter
- The way we shape the world is how we act on it
- Flipping the world map, global north and south
- Who is powerful and who is marginal

Interlinkages Of Other Approaches

- Poststructuralism: focus on representation, on marginalised knowledge(s), on binaries, on disrupting settled ideas
- Constructivism: role of identity, intersubjective/shared meaning
 - Identity is fundamental and meaningful that they share
- Marxism: dependency, enduring structures of exploitation, role of consent and intellectual hegemony, critique of development
 - Overlapping ideas, aid dependency, poverty is material
 - Structures of exploitation, Mexican working in a car factory etc.
 - Development of states wealth
- Feminism: intersection of dominations by gender/race e.g. colonial voyeurism and objectification
 - Intersection in terms of domination
 - Not just underpinned by race and economic exploitation but also gender
- Critical Theory: role of knowledge in shaping the world, and the importance of critical rather than problem-solving theory
 - Knowledge and shaping the world as it is, not just describing but also attempting to change the world

Decolonization And New Orders

- Bandung Conference (1955) - the start of the postcolonial world (Young 2001) — term 'Third World' popularised
 - New and decolonized states, first beginnings of the understanding of post-colonial world

- New members of the international system
- Tricontinental Conference (1966)
 - In Cuba, same idea of emergence of new states and players in the ‘third world’
- G77 and the majority world
 - Exists today, along idea of majority world, most countries are post colonial
 - Most humans live in the ‘global south’, the majority world
- NIEO and Non-Aligned Movement
 - Institutional things that brought together different states and their ideas
- Ghana’s president Nkrumah spoke of spectre of ‘neocolonialism’ in mid-1960s
 - It was becoming clear in some countries that we see emphasis in formal colonial powers having some say in what goes on (ex: assassinations)
 - Neocolonialism is a thing the moment colonialism ends

Race And World Politics

- Fanon (1967) in *Black Skin, White Masks* brings a psychoanalysis-driven approach to material effects of race
 - There is an internalization of one's own position, internalization of colonial exploitation
 - Shapes ideas of race and prejudice
- Where did race come from?
 - How did it become a structuring categories in IR and our world today
 - Underpinned many contemporary practices
- Structuring effect on global politics e.g. acquisition of nuclear weapons (see Biswas 2001)
 - Who we think if as empowered and having agency
 - India's acquisition of nuclear weapons
- Underpins key concepts e.g. nationhood, sovereignty
 - Anarchy, etc
 - These are not just neutral concepts, who is part of the nation and who isn't
- Categories of thought in terms of threats (e.g. migration), capacity for politics
 - Migration from different places (ex: trump and shithole countries)

Example: Counter-Terrorism

- Profiling can be ‘micro’ but is driven by larger understandings
 - Driven by larger understandings of race
 - Who is worthy and who isn't
- Example: 2005 Shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes and the ‘Mongolian’ features
 - Heightened awareness, looking for suspects
 - Killed innocent suspect that confused him for someone else
 - Mistaken identity based on racial perception
 - The way he was chosen as a target has an impact on police vision of race
- ‘Race’ as construct structures key assumptions about issues such as radicalisation
 - Brazilian confused for middle eastern person
 - How do we stop people from becoming terrorists by stopping access to some ideas
 - Ideas of who’s at risk
- Contemporary warfare and assumptions about culture
 - War practices shaped by cultural concepts
 - How to interact with global cultures to minimize casualties to your sides
 - Being sensitive to culture and someone's description of it

Example: Weak & Failed States

- Many people say Somalia is a failed state, does not fit our idea of it
 - Point to these types of places as failed states in chaos

- Can we measure the quality of a state?
 - How statehood does and doesn't function in the global south
 - Can we even know? Sometimes misinformed
- Discourse found in key Western states' and donors' ways of referring to the global south
- Origins of low state capacity may lie in colonial encounters
 - Weak states capacities in places like Chad, again can come down to colonial encounter
- Produces forms of international intervention, including military action
 - Ideas meeting material structures, weak tend to be poor
 - But also ideas framing international intervention
- Relies on historical 'forgetting'
- Example: origins of migrant 'caravans'
 - Southern US boarder, rightwing discourse says exploitation of resources of their countries looking for easy way out
 - Leftwings say they are fleeing failed states and have no choice, out of sympathy for migrants but relies on problematic concept

Image: World Map Of Security

- Different indications and ways of ranking states
- Shapes our understanding of the world in a particular way

Alternative Forms Of Sovereignty

- Beier's (2005) *International Relations in Uncommon Places* focuses on the Lakota people and their "distinctive conceptions of things like security and the good life" (p.3)
 - Aboriginal representation of land in Canada, how did our country get here?
 - Lots of conflict between their communities and government, what we think of as finished and settled is still highly contested
- Driven by non-Western cosmologies / visions of ontology (e.g. relatedness of humans + nature)
 - What is out there and what can we know?
 - What we think we know and how to encounter different ways of thinking
- Unsettling sovereignty as a 'given' and uniform category
- Example: CBSA and Akwesasne territory
 - Ongoing conflict

Image: Indigenous Land Between Canada and US

- Armed agents upset people on those territories
- Forced Canada to move border post
- Powerful and meaningful, looking at what is contested

Decolonizing Our Approach

- Pushing to critique concepts themselves by de-centring Eurocentric thought
 - Interested in decolonising our approaches
 - Moving towards new forms of knowledge
 - Different sources of inspiration of our models of the world
- Go beyond binary focus, and move to highlight new forms of knowledge and relations e.g. Black Pacific, or pan-Africanism (e.g. Robbie Shilliam asks 'What about Marcus Garvey?')
 - Interviewing local people and asking what they think peace should be
- Example: decolonizing intervention and focusing on local knowledge (Sabaratnam 2017)
- Going beyond simple influence or the blending of concepts (e.g. Ayoob's statist 'subaltern realism')
 - Contesting categories

Lingering Questions & Critiques

- Can postcolonial approaches be critical of Eurocentrism, while relying on theoretical approaches — e.g. poststructuralism — from Europe?
 - Edward Said and Orientalism, critique of eurocentrism with concepts that come from Europe
- How should postcolonialism account for the growing global power of ‘southern’ states such as India?
 - Questions global south narrative
- Does it matter that postcolonial theorists are often elites in developing countries?
- Where is the ‘third world’ and is our analysis limited to former colonial spaces or the global south?
 - Is our analysis limited to former colonies? Can we do postcolonial analysis of our own countries? Of Eastern Ontario?

Recap

- Focused on colonialism’s material, intellectual, and social legacies
 - Immediate value added post colonial approach, attention to material and ideological legacy
- Deeper focus on the history of the present
 - And where did it come from
 - Things we take for granted (ex sovereignty, states, etc)
- Multiple overlaps and inspirations from critical theory & poststructuralism
 - New lense of picking empirical data of the world
- Helps us to deconstruct and denaturalise ideas — explicitly critical and political
- Also a new lens for selecting empirical data (e.g. historical focus) about the world
- Analytical tool for studying key ideas (e.g. failed states), phenomena (e.g. counterterrorism), assumptions (e.g. statehood)
 - Forign affairs magazine and failed states today, etc

“No Class” Lecture 11: February 10th

“Second DGD”

Readings

- Wendt, Alexander. “Constructing International Politics.” *International Security*, vol. 20, no. 1, 1995, pp. 71–81., www.jstore.org/stable/2539217.
- Cox, Robert W. “Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory.” *Millennium*, vol. 10, no. 2, June 1981, pp. 126–155, doi:[10.1177/03058298810100020501](https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298810100020501).
- Kapoor, Ilan. “Capitalism, Culture, Agency: Dependency Versus Postcolonial Theory.” *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 4, 25 Aug. 2000, pp. 647–664., doi:[10.1080/0143659022000005319](https://doi.org/10.1080/0143659022000005319).

What Is The Question Addressed In Wendt’s Article?

- Wendt is replying to Mearsheimer’s essay
- Defense of constructivism in general as well as stereotypes
- Social Structures break into three things: shared knowledge, material resources, practices
- Structure and Agency
- Gorbachev did what a constructivist would do

Post-Structuralism

- Emphasis on political implications of discourse
- Deconstruction

- Genealogy: method of post structuralism
- Very important role of culture
- Ideas, representation
- Binaries
- Material

Topic of Sovereignty

- What is sovereignty but not an institution of mutual in etc - Wendt (p. 79)
- Two videos shown:
- Brazil courts favour indigenous groups in land dispute
 - Brazil keeps folding to the pressures of powerful businesses (cattle) and forcibly removing the indigenous population
- Representatives of indigenous people support the Crimean Tatar people

“Reading Week” Lecture 13: February 17th

“Readings Week” Lecture 14: February 19th

“Gender & Feminist Approaches”

Readings

- ‘Feminism’ Ch.12 - Kinsella
- ‘Gender’ Ch.17 - Kirby

Image: Logan Irland (US Soldier in Afghanistan)

- Trans soldier in US army who is married to another trans soldier
- They are not openly serving and may be kicked out
- Sexuality and gender identity in who fights and who doesn't
- Feminists and broader approaches to gender tells us who fights in war

Image: Margaret Waltzon (Foreign Minister in Sweden)

- Pioneer in foreign feminist policy
- How to deal with states and regimes that don't respect women's rights
- Tools of statecraft that seemingly are all about national interests can affect gender
- Critique to be made that foreign policy and national interests are a given, really it is very malleable and expression of identity
- Not all feminists will agree about how foreign policy should be used (think postcolonial feminists having critiques of Sweden, etc)

Image: Scene from Vietnam War (1960-70's)

- Seemingly relaxed photo, actually a war scene
- They would point us to war as a set of social relations
- US soldiers with Vietnamese sex workers
- War is a masculine pursuit, shows a part of the encyclopedia of war

Image: A Drone

- Increasingly a privileged tool of warfare
- Primarily used by major powers that can afford them
- How we think of drone warfare and its impacts
- Feminists are interested in warfare because middle aged males are not necessarily counted as civilians
- Seen as military male instead of innocent civilian, how we think and assume of gender roles
- Who and why someone should be killed
- Think Titanic, woman and children first, but can be harmful to men

Feminism 101

- Not just one manifesto or theory
 - Same goes for constructivists, use plural forms feminisms
- Fundamental focus on sex and gender — primarily on their construction and role in inequality and power relations
 - Various ways they tie into power questions and also micro level (soldiers in Vietnam)
 - Gender in particular, and constructions of these things
- Divergent set of concerns from ‘traditional’ IR theories, usually constitutive and post-positivist.
 - Complex, not just A→ B, but frameworks that allow particular events to happen
 - Not studying the world in the same way we do physics, makes us difficult to be positivists
- Critique patriarchy and the separation of public and private
 - Gender is there, it is real, and it has a structuring role of power in the functioning world, realists think it is there but does not underpin
 - Patriarchy - primacy of masculine values and subordination of feminine qualities
 - Dual side of critique, identify and expose + criticism and normative critique (patriarchy is bad)
 - Public vs private life, Vietnam soldiers, public and private separation means we are overlooking many politically relevant things (ex: domestic violence)
 - Effort to separate then is relegating certain things out of the political discussion
- Expanding scope of the ‘political’
 - Fancy way of saying what are parts of our social life that are publically politically relevant
- Broad diversity of stances and movements within feminism
 - Disclaimer, approaches differ in looking at men, or woman, or gender in general etc.

Sex And Gender

- Many views of biological sex and gender (essentialist vs. constructivist vs. poststructuralist)
 - Essentialist View: might say sex is given and relatively biological and gender follows from it, would say that they match perfectly and nuclear family is important, stable and unchangeable, not see gender as an identity question
 - Constructivist View: might say sex is biological and generally people fall into the binary, but gender is something constructed and is about social expression
 - Poststructuralist View: most radical, not only is gender identity but also sex is not a given, somewhat controversial, how much is nature and nurture, they would say both are nurture and we are born without either
- Sex: biological characteristics, relatively binary
- Gender: social expression and identity — also ties to social structures built on this (see Butler 1990 on ‘performativity’)
- Relational system of meaning
- Social structure of differentiation
 - Interactions between world leaders, differentiating masculine and feminine
- Linked into other social norms
 - Ties into other traits like national identity
- Both sex and gender bring together biological + social to different degrees
- Feminist interest is in the relations, structures, and forms of power that are invested in these phenomena
 - Interested in structures of power, forms of power, therefore we should pay attention of how gender shapes these things

Varieties Of Feminist Theory

- The 'waves' of broader feminist movement
 - Feminism as a movement, especially in Western world
 - Social movement and analytical and scholarly side as well
- First: women's political and citizenship rights (e.g. vote)
 - Within the last century for most places
- Second: women's participation and equality
 - Not just formal equality but also contraception, childcare, workforce, etc
- Third: intersectionality, representation
 - Example is black feminism, growing realization past mainstream white feminism
- Liberal, standpoint, Marxist, poststructuralist, postcolonial...
 - Standpoint is arguing from women's lived experiences, gender lense along economics, poststructuralist is deconstructing gender, etc
- Accurate to speak of 'feminisms'
 - Not one approach with one set of ideas

Expanding The Political

- Image: Toy store, selling boys Nerf Guns
 - Telling boys they should fight and be tough
- 'Making the visible visible'
 - The things we sometimes don't pay much attention to can be deeply important
 - Seemingly micro but not really
- Where is patriarchy? Not just at home
 - Has global ramifications and extends far past
- Critiquing entrenched binary forms of thought — crucially around public/ private, masculine/feminine, political/ apolitical, logic/emotion, and more
 - All these things are fundamentally artificial, they are made up and have deep impacts
- Analysis of the gendered nature of politics
 - What even is gender? It is a variable when we study war, deaths, categorise thought
- Gender can be a variable, or a noun, verb, or logic (Shepherd 2013)
 - A thing that is referred to, verb as gendering (Nerf Stealth Ambush)
 - Is gender a logic? Form of explaining things like male recruiting in groups, etc.

Personal And Political

- Foundational claim: linkage of the personal and political (in both directions)
 - Orchestrated beyond the personal, this is fundamentally about politics
 - And is deeply relevant in both directions
- Image: Grief of A US Soldier's Widow
 - These are also political events, not just campaign ads exploited for political gain but rather reflects power structures and this person died for a political cost, funerals organized by the state
- Linking domestic politics and international actions (e.g. woman friendly policies and warfare)
 - US government approach to contraceptives and maternal rights, liberals in power fund it, republicans defund it (abortions)
 - Is also reflected in international relief programs and the types of aid they get
- Macro-structures and global norms
- Feminist attention to the body as a site of analysis (e.g. Wilcox 2017)
 - Individual body as site of analysis in global politics
 - Ex: drone warfare, the male body is more killable then the female one
 - Going through an airport security and having x-rays done

- Race and colour is fundamentally a bodily question

Elements Of A 'Feminist Curiosity'

- How do our understanding of gender roles scale up to global politics?
 - Do toys marketed on 8 year old boys impact global politics? Not on its own, but the gender roles do
- What does focusing on women's lives add to our analysis of global politics?
 - Soldiers in Vietnam, asking them their perspective on the conflict
- What does a focus on gender tell us about men?
 - Gender is not just woman, but systems of meaning
- Does using a 'gender' lens tell us anything new about existing issues?
 - Strategic systems and nuclear proliferation, gender lenses can add to analysis
- How does gender tie into other global material and symbolic structures?
 - Outsourcing jobs, relationships of postcolonial states, how does gender tie to those things?

Feminism In IR

- Book: Gender, War & Conflict - Laura Sjoberg
 - Doing something new since the topic has not been discussed before
- The language of feminist 'encounters' with IR (work by Sylvester, Tickner, Steans, Zalewski, Parashar, and many more)
 - Does not arise only within feminism, extends far beyond that
 - Feminists encounters with IR gives us a nice way of thinking how these approaches criticise IR
 - Main IR theory is mostly driven by the concerns of men, masculine assumptions of what is relevant and what is not
 - Studying who is powerful in given societies
- Criticism of mainstream IR theory as driven by concerns of men/masculinity, as well as study of the powerful
- Rethinking existing issues, raises new ones
- Deeper questions of philosophy of science and object of study
 - Relating to object of study in particular ways

"For an explanation to be useful, a great deal of human dignity has to be left on the cutting-room floor" - Cynthia Enloe (2004: 22)

- This goes back to distinction in Robert Cox, two types of theories, problem solving explaining, and critical theories understanding and changing it
- What she would criticise as problem solving theories
- Realism and liberalism puts aside too much
- In her own work she has looked at relations between states through woman
 - Her work would have previously been left on the cutting room floor

Rethinking Realism (Feminist Critique)

Morgenthau (1973)	Tickner (1988)
Politics governed by objective laws	Objectivity tied to masculinity
Interest defined in terms of power	Interest is contextually contingent
Interest is an objective category	Classical view of power privileges masculinity
Tensions of morality and political action	All political action has moral significance

Particular national aspirations not universal	Feminist seek common moral aspirations
Autonomy of the political sphere	'Public' political realm is exclusive

- Morgenthau has his six laws tied to realist views of IR
- Tickner has 6 critiques of Morgenthau's 6 laws of classical realism

Liberal Feminism

- Centred on questions of equality & formal rights
 - Also presence of woman and their experiences (empirical feminism)
- Empirical approach: 'Where are the women?'
 - Looking at the Vietnam war and saying where are the women in this?
- Significance of women's "lived experiences"
 - Seeing them gives new insights
- Ties into a broader gender critique
- Cynthia Enloe's Bananas, Beaches, and Bases might fall into this category (see also J. Ann Tickner's work)
 - Using a bunch of examples of what you gain from examining the lived experiences of women in international contexts

More Radical Feminisms

- Explicitly anti-patriarchal
- Critique of liberal pretence of equality
- Poststructuralist influence: intersectionality, diversity — and 'anti-foundationalism'
- Links to postcolonial theory
- Marxist feminisms and 'material conditions'

Gender And Production

- Long held feminist critiques of division of labour
 - Material conditions, ways we organize production (marxist and feminist)
 - Production is often gendered
- Marxist and postcolonial feminists share some perspectives on work
 - Upper Management of H&M, vs. the workers who actually make the clothes
- Women's work of (re)production
 - Not just in global supply chains but also within the home
 - Tasked with the bulk of childcare (reproducing human species) but very political in questions of who takes time of work, ramifications in the political sense
- Postcolonial feminism might point to global supply chains

Feminist Views Of War

- The organisation and enactment of violence profoundly gendered
 - Trans Soldier, feminists are concerned with war because it is a gendered justification of violence
- States are identity-bearing (remember constructivism)
- Diverging concerns and angles on key issues: conscription, training for violence, military culture
 - Who is left behind, getting over killing taboo and gender plays into them, it would be hard to say that military culture is feminine
- New issues: 'peripheral' women, role of military wives, circulation of gender in masculine soldiering
 - Role of women on military bases, how armies deal with domestic violence by soldiers on their bases
 - Article about why soldiers share gory images, masculine bonding (conquest)

'Til Death Do Us Part

- Causes on conflict linked to marriage structures
- Hudson and Matfess (2017) point to the role of bride price
 - Bride price, normally considered to be private
 - Ties into cultures anthropologically where men are in charge of protecting woman
 - When bride price goes up many men cannot afford to get married and turn to violent movements to obtain resources to get married
- Diverging examples of effects on violence/conflict in Nigeria, South Sudan, and Saudi Arabia
 - Bring Back Our Girls Campaign, fighter groups marrying girls taken by force and giving them access to marriage (marriage price leads to national violence)
 - Saudi has fixed the price and lowered mens likelihood to join violent groups
- Economic explanations tie into gender-based analysis

Woman And War

- More women = more peace?
 - Men are in charge, the world sucks, if women are incharge there is less war? Not necessarily proven
 - More women = more peac, robbes woman of the ability to act politically (aften violently)
- Risks of essentialism
 - Gender categories
 - Critiques of binary thinking extending to other institutions
- Femininity also a resource in violence (LTTE, for example)
 - Woman are also involved in violence and we fight for our political goals
- Key point of contention within feminist approaches

Men, Masculinity And Feminism

- Gender ≠ women
 - Gender analysis tells as a lot about the role of men
- Role of men in state violence (see Cohn 1987)
 - Describing many nuclear weapons as phallic symbols among weapons scientists
 - Has huge impact on how we think of violence as usable of not
 - Not thinking about the victims of weapons, downplaying the lethal aspects of weapons
- Gender can be a structure that harms men
 - Drone and body example
- Charli Carpenter (2002) critiques feminism's hold on gender in IR
 - Not gender as only female standpoint but understanding what should be studied

"Feminists [...] have a dual task before us —a deconstructive project and a reconstructive project that are intimately linked." - Carol Cohn (1987: 704)

- Deconstructed what nuclear scientists said, but also deconstructing project
- Dual project: deconstruct, break down, build something new

The Mainstreaming Of Gender

- 'Gender mainstreaming' prominent, esp. in development world e.g. UNDP, World Bank
 - UN documents show gender is a way of doing business, gender implications as mainstream
- WPS agenda itself an example of co-optation
- Become increasingly synonymous with 'women' or 'both sexes' approaches
- Leads to 'depoliticization' of gender? (Whitworth 2004)
 - Gender becoming synonymous with woman, means including woman in vague sense
 - Lost the impact of gender approach when weakly integrated into international institutions

Case Study: Peacekeeping

- Whitworth (2004): peacekeeping is a contradiction
 - Much violence that goes with peacekeeping
- Abuse scandals in Haiti, CAR, elsewhere
 - Inappropriate sexual relationships and abuse
- Tied to the question of military masculinity
 - Peacekeeping sounds nice but is still a military thing so a certain amount of masculinity goes into it
- What we gain by bringing the ‘private’ in
- Important to note: reporting violence is more likely done to woman peacekeepers

Lingering Questions

- To what extent are gender identities useful analytical tools?
- How much should we privilege the material vs. the symbolic?
 - Material realities, production, how much should we focus on symbolic aspect of gender
- Should feminism be specifically about women’s lives for the most part?
 - Destroying gender hierarchies for everyone
- Does feminism provide a commensurable set of explanations for global politics?
 - Equivalent? Explanations that can sit alongside realist ones or not trying to do the same thing at all

Recap

- Attention to sex and gender in global politics
 - Engagement and encounters with IR
- Many varieties and emphases of feminism, from ‘empirical’ to Marxist and postcolonial
 - Interact in different ways
- Engagement with IR is fruitful, with diverse views on its contribution and critique
- Wide applicability of gender lens — and risks of co-optation
 - Military masculinity, bride price, peacekeeping, etc
- Underlying assumptions can align with other social theories and IR theories
 - Poststructuralism aligning with what is seen today

“War and Society” + “Race, Racism & Empire”

Readings

- ‘Race in World Politics’ Ch.18 - Shilliam

Image: Classic Images of Warfare (WWI and WWII)

- European war in the 20th century
- Image of ‘total war’ complete mobilization of society around conflict
- Social and national effort towards particular war (taxes, workforce, etc)
- Acquisition and preservation of territory

Image: US Air Force Drone

-

Image:

War

- Organized violence between political entities, with strategy and tactics (Ch.14 — Barkawi)
- Bull (2002): organized violence by political units against each other
- Central to IR debates, and the discipline’s own view of itself
- Clausewitz (1832): the continuation of political action by different means
- Singer and Small (1972) for Correlates of War project: 1,000 battle deaths in 12 months between organized armed forces

- Classic definitions generally focus on interstate and instrumental nature of war

Causes Of War

- Highly dependent on theoretical worldview e.g. realists might point to the 'security dilemma' under conditions of anarchy
- Attacks, border violations, blockades, shows of force, attempts at deterrence, miscalculation, leaders' beliefs, geographical proximity, nationalism, institutional cultures, distribution of power, norm failure
- Efforts to limit war e.g. 1928 Kellogg-Briand Pact (and later 1945 UN Charter)

War Is Political And Social

- War shapes society, society shapes war
 - Barkawi quote, think of feminist approaches in IR
 - Armed forces being shaped by societies its reflecting
 - War itself creates new social relationships as well (US soldiers in Vietnam, social relationship engendered by war)
- It is more than an instrumental tool or tactic
 - Fundamentally social or social institution (patterns of behaviour in many ways)
 - War is predictable about the human experience
- Conceptual choices: define narrowly (interstate force) and broadly (include relations such as militarisation)
 - Narrow: war is when states fight each other
 - Complex: Social relations that underpin war
- A social condition? An institution, even?
- Look back to Hobbes, and his broad def. of 'warre'
 - In the absence of a sovereign we are in a condition of perpetual war
- Walzer (2006): war is a socially defined phenomenon
 - Careful about how we define and categorise war
- Barkawi: categorizations of violence depend on the role of sovereignty — focus on processes and relations

What Does War Produce?

- Physical destruction — or even annihilation
 - Associated with wars of 20th century, today's wars (cyber attacks)
- Trauma and frayed social ties
 - Post war situations and PTSD
- New social & economic relations
 - Outcome of WWII, end of British Empire, huge change in social and economic relations due to war
- Political authority (e.g. state-making)
 - What royal families are in power, who is in charge
 - War making is the act of statemaking (Charles Tilly)
- Shifts in balance of power
 - Realist explanation
- Environmental impacts
 - Sometimes it can be

"Wars are no longer waged in the name of a sovereign who must be defended; they are waged on behalf of the existence of everyone." - Micheal Foucault (1978)

- Vision of total war (european 20th century)
- Less arciac

War New And Old

- Image: Charles Taylor, convicted war criminal
 - Change in the nature of war
 - Post 1990's, other 20th century wars where ideological
- 'New wars' (see Kaldor 1999) considered tied to criminal violence and material gain
 - New breads of wars, less political, rebel fighting (diamonds)
 - Includes war on drugs as well (driven by greed)
 - Focus less on social claims that these rebels are making
 - Idea helpful in explaining war over resources but obscuring war as political
- Duffield (2001): new wars are networked
- Civil wars are the predominant type of warfare (Kalyvas 2005)
 - Does not mean it has no international relevance
 - Syrian civil war has been globalized
- Distinctions of greed vs. grievance as drivers of civil war
- Drivers of civil wars: resources? Ethnicity?
 - Important in claiming these things are not political at all (arguable)

The Greening Of War

- Image: Burning oil fields in Crowate
 - Also note sites of war have thriving biodiversity
- War is a tremendously polluting activity
- Sites of war (and its preparation) often have thriving biodiversity
- Energy efficiency, e.g. following Obama EO 13693 (2013)
 - Within US military (one of the biggest polluting entities in the world)
- Biodegradable ammo
- Broader role of military innovation
 - Crucial even to things that are not military, later becoming civilian tools
 - Thus complicated relationship with war and environment

Technology And The 'Revolution In Military Affairs'

- Future of warfare
 - Post 1990's revolution in military affairs (especially in precision)
 - Media controlled propaganda is important to warfare
- Concepts such as 'virtual war' describe elements of this (Der Derian 2001)
 - Think of ethics and realities of war and judging it was citizens
- Propaganda and media control become crucial
- More recently, 'network warfare'
- What does this do to the ethics and reality of war?

Smartening War

- Growth of efforts to reduce civilian casualties
 - Avoiding civilian casualties
- Efforts at precision are longstanding, with mixed results
- Smartness discourse around Persian Gulf War 1991
 - Gulf War and precision guided ammunition
- Growing potential role of AI and machine learning in making decisions in conflict
 - Analysing satellite data to target particular cities and compare decisions

"The presentation of these brief segments of video directs the viewer's attention to the weapons and their capabilities, the latter being confirmed in the end with the almost innocuous (in terms of any explicit dire human consequences) destruction of the target" - Marshall Beier (2006: 269)

- We tend not to see the overly bloody results of that
- Sanitisation of war through technology through precision and accuracy

Technologies Of War: Drones

- Multiple roles of drones in warfare
 - Gathering data too, surveillance
- US drone programme scaled up under Bush and Obama
 - Scaled up program, particularly in the middle east
- Changing nature of actors of war
 - Who is fighting and who is being killed
- Democratization of warfare
 - Terrorist groups using drones as well
- Costs and ethical choices galore — current efforts against ‘killer robots’
 - Nature of warfare and video gaming

War's Beginning And End

- Some definitions stress temporal bounds of war
 - Some stress clear temporal boundaries (WWI & WWII)
 - Some places the war went on longer (Greece WWII ended in 1949 ish)
- Geographically: the battlespace has gone global (see Gregory 2011), to a “global matrix” (Jabri 2007)
 - Ability to carry out certain killing
- Temporally: extensive authority e.g. 2001 AUMF or 1973 War Powers Resolution
 - Post 9/11 warfare changing based on war on terror
- Example: Many military operations by US/UK, no declarations of war since WWII
 - Yet those countries have been at war without declaring

Ethics Of War

- Honorable ways of killing
- Principles of jus in bello (grounds for war) and jus ad bellum (conduct of war)
 - Jus in bello: when we fight, jus ad bellum: why we fight
 - Is national interest a significant justification to fight?
- Long tradition of ‘just war’ theory
 - Depends on what is deemed as worth fighting for
- Just war theory challenged by both sides (on attachment to morality and on non-pacifism)
 - Is national interest a significant justification to fight?
- From total wars of C20 to the predominance of civilian deaths
 - Geneva Conditions, legal obligations
 - Knowing most people who die are not people who signed up to fight

Military And Militarization

- Militarism: glorification of war and tools of military violence (Enloe 2000)
 - Visual of militarism
- Militarization: process, of increase in the preparation or esteem of warfare
 - Preparation, making something a quantitative increase in preparedness or esteem for war
- Both symbolic and material
 - Glorifying war is glorifying armed forces
- Example: Debates in 1980s about militarisation of space
 - Creating shields to protect from nuclear weapons
 - Ballistic missile defence (missiles from space) but now is a grounds for military
- Extends the geographical limits of war: police & universities as sites of ‘martial politics’ (Howell 2018)
 - Runs deep in society, including slide below

Militarization Of Policing

- Image: Militarisation in Missouri (post death of black man)
 - Very heavily armed police force
- US Homeland Security role: recycling equipment from DoD
 - Department of defence has a surplus program that goes to police forces
- What does this tell us about the legal order more broadly?
- Not only gear, but tactics too (e.g. growing use of SWAT)
 - Legal interactions with SWAT teams is important

“The peaceful ‘domestic’ political order for which we yearn has been fundamentally shaped from the outset by warfare and colonial violence.” - Alison Howell (2018)

- Peaceful domestic order has been fundamentally set by warfare and colonial violence
- Does not mean police suddenly got bad but has been there from the beginning

War Everywhere?

- Conceptually, looking at the ‘everyday’ level of analysis
 - What is untouched by war
- Tourism (Lisle 2016)
 - War tourism, etc.
- Soup? (Cowen 2012)
 - Developed around the Neopolionic war
 - Is soup participating in militarism despite military origin
- Mundane objects like the no-sand beach mat (right)
 - Convenient consumer product, production of clothing too

Critical Theoretical Viewpoints

- Feminist lens: militarized masculinities, ‘equal opportunity’ warfare
 - Point to militarised masculinity, masculine culture in armed forces
 - Equal Opportunity warfare
- Postcolonial lens: politicized categorizations of violence, wars of the strong vs. weak, colonial roots of armies
 - Categorising violence
 - Sik’s being militarised
- Marxist lens: wars of accumulation, soldiering as a classdriven activity, privatisation of war
 - War for oil and class activities around soldiering, joining army so it can pay for education, fast tracking citizenship, class/race
 - Privatization: weapons sales (Iraq War, BlackWater)

What About The Prospects For Peace?

- Growth of peace studies in 1970s, from work of Johan Galtung
 - Focus a lot on war but peace is also important factor (developed in 60’s-70’s)
- Negative peace: the absence of war, e.g. through hegemonic power
 - Peace studies pushes to think of positive peace
- Positive peace: conflict resolution, anchored in social relations e.g. peacebuilding
 - Actively improving social relations rather than just lack of war (diplomatic solutions)
- Relatedly: diplomatic solutions and international institutions (e.g. collective security) — but are these the antitheses of war we think they are?

Recap

- Wide scope of definition of war
 - Broader helps is bring different issues to the table (but to far with the mat)
- Range of causes and impacts — what we see is shaped by our theoretical worldview
 - Tied to questions of identity? Or balance or power? Shaped by our adapted theoretical approach

- Depth of war as a social relation, opens up focus on other issues such as militarisation
- Technologies, ethics, and scale of war all in question
 - Technology, ethics, and scale of war are all crucial

Race, Racism & Empire

Readings

- 'War and World Politics' Ch.14 - Barkawi
- Note these topics are all very condensed, but best to put these topics together for the sake of efficiency

Image:

- Brown faces in the back, vision the British had of their empire

Image:

-

Image: Obama (US) and David Cameron (UK)

- At an NBA game, US/UK relationship is a special relationship
- This points to role of race in the Anglosphere
- US/UK/AU have similarities and ties to the crown, English speaking countries have a certain cultural basis

Race In Global Politics

- Shilliam: an "ordering principle" tied to colonial expansion, imperialism and their legacies
 - Steps away from issue of colour but rather as a construct
- Division of humanity along key lines: reason, religion, colour
 - This is how race functions instead, tied to colonial expansion/imperialism and its legacy
 - Who is capable of reason and who isn't
 - Sympathy can also be racist
- Race in part produced through practices (e.g. slavery)
 - Atlantic slavery, presence of slavery is very old but this is particularly different because it is racialized and tied to colour
 - Mutually reinforcing
- Linked to differential valuation and perceived humanity, not mutually exclusive with modernism/modernity
 - Race is not mutually exclusive with being modern
- Complex material and ideational origins
 - No one story to explain race

Race And IR Theory

- Race underpins much classical theory from which IR draws (e.g. state of nature)
 - Locke, Hobbes, etc. state of nature being built on image of indigenous people in North America as being barbaric
 - State of nature having deep racial reverberations
- Early IR work fundamentally concerned with 'races' as category of analysis
 - Early 20th century had a lot of work strictly focused on race as a form of classifying people
 - Development of the races, debated in many scholarly places but not entirely in the past
- Runs through contemporary work e.g. Huntington's (1996) 'clash of civilizations'
 - Post cold war world has a reorganized world, different blocks of civilizations
- Civilization functions as a rationale for imperialism and intervention
 - This form of organization is not in the past
 - The idea of civilization in itself ties to certain practices

- Uses proxies for racial categorisations
- Where is racism today?
 - No answer but there are hints

Questioning Race In IR

- Is race still a structuring factor in global politics?
 - Development aid, who is deserving and who isn't
- What is the relation between concerns around immigration/ culture and race?
 - Huntington wrote about the Mexican threat to the United States (overrun by non-anglosaxon culture)
 - Immigration and culture are incompatible, is it racist?
- To what extent does biology give us any insight into how race functions?
 - Biological or fundamentally social phenomenon

The Anglosphere

- Supposed sphere of common values, language, economics, and governance
 - West has racial identity of its own, supposed space of closely tied cultures and economics
 - Canadian head of the Bank of England, why?
- Closely tied to questions of civilization in IR
 - Is it tied to racial ideas?
- Reflects 'liberal imperialism' (Green 2005)
-
- Parallel concepts: the monde anglo-saxon, Anglo-Saxondom
 - The way the French describes Anglosaxon world
- Founded on racial ideas? Return to question of defining race and culture, and determining their (non-)impacts
 - Who is the preferred immigrant
- How the world hangs together - 'Anglobal' governance (Vucetic 2010)
-

Case Study: Five Eyes

- UK, Canada, USA, Australia, New Zealand
- Intelligence community building on UKUSA agreement
 - Level of trust is important for sharing sensitive intelligence, realism and suspicion of states
- "Network of security professionals and sensitive information" (Bauman et al 2014)
 - That is built across these five countries and profoundly built on trust
- Reliant on interception methods (e.g. ECHELON, GCHQ's Tempora)
- Culture & trust matter (see current controversy over Huawei 5G)
 - Deeply tied
 - Do countries within the five eyes accept Huawei technology? US is threatening to kick out any country that does so

Empire

- Empire ≠ imperialism ≠ imperial
 - Not the same things
 - What this does is restates the centrality of the legacy of colonialism and imperialism
- Restates the centrality of history (and present) of imperialism
 - Tied to organizing principles
 - Empire as a form of world order
- The word is a broad metaphor for world order, and helps us to consider state power and sovereignty
 - Realists and anarchy, liberals and anarchy/cooperation, post colonial maybe empire

- It challenges the idea of international anarchy
- It relies on diverse forms of power, from liberal markets through to direct rule
 - Perfectly compatible with liberal markets
 - India first colonized through liberal markets
- Related concepts: hegemony, domination, imperialism, colonialism, intervention, society, hierarchy, and more...
 - NATO intervention in Libya could be empire

Empire Is Central To Global Politics...

- Atlantic slavery's legacies run deep
 - Transporting Africans to the Americas
- Decolonization still ongoing
 - Colonise still exist, still a reality
- Persistent forms of indirect rule/authority
 - Britain and France having dependencies overseas (tax havens)
- Imperialism of major powers
- Mutual constitution of East and West
 - Edward Said's work on post colonialism
- Intervention is a recurring feature
 - Are a form of empire, form of west policing rest of world

... But Relatively Overlooked In The Discipline Of IR

- IR remains fixed on state behaviour under anarchy — the discipline is based on primacy of the sovereign state
 - Empires bigger than the state can be invisible for many theoretical approaches
- Historical roots of the discipline are in a world of empires at war
 - Empire world described from the beginning
- Eurocentrism of the discipline — concepts, dynamics, biases — driven by empire
 - Who decides what the idea of a failed state is? Scholarly just as much as policy
- IR theories have examined imperialism and empire, but not always in these exact terms (e.g. Morgenthau on state strategies)
 - Often studied in other terms, intervention instead of imperial practice

"[Empires] Deployment as an explanatory concept requires being especially sensitive to the historical particularity of different imperial experiences" - Alejandro Colas (2007:3)

- Think about what imperial experiences means (postcolonial period and its impact on state structure in the present)
- Empire is not a catch all concept

Empire And World Order

- Theories posit assumptions about nature of the global order & form of relations
 - Not just saying the british or spanish, but an analytical concept of understanding world order
 - What makes the world come together
- What forms of order does IR focus on? Anarchy, society, hegemony, hierarchy, empire, etc.
 - What the forms or order are and dynamism within international order
- What type of relations are we looking at? Cooperative, imperial, conflictual, racialized, etc.
 - Liberals would insist much more then wars and conflict, were realists do look at conflict
 - But empire lense would say emperial between north and south, imbalance of power in the world, race as a structuring factor in global politics, structure of differentiation
- We should focus on the sources and production of international order
 - Almost every theory tells us this

Empire And Globalisation

- Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri wrote Empire in 2000
 - Renewed wave of study of empire
- Post-imperial world: classical forms of imperialism obsolete
 - Again not classic centralized british empire
- Shift toward global markets and new forms of power
 - Empire in the modern world
- 'Empire' is decentralized and de-territorializing
 - Territory is less meaningful (empire in marxist sense, shifting production pattern is deterritorialized)
 - Not as fixed in space: think of U.S tariffs against China
 -
- A way of understanding development of 'globalisation'
- Premature? (Barkawi & Laffey 2002)
 - To say old forms are completely gone is ignoring how these practices still exist

Image: Island of Diego Garcia (Indian Ocean)

- British territory seized
- The currency of empire, strategic US air force base very close to South Asia
- Associated with global land grabs, people on this land where evicted
- They keep it because it is strategically important, imperialism persisting

Case Study: Diego Garcia

- One of the islands of the Chagos archipelago
- Eviction of the Chagossians by UK government
- Process of British decolonisation with Mauritius
- Contemporary military usage — US base
- ICJ ruling March 2019: British administration is “an unlawful act of a continuing character”
 - Not legal but still continues

Image: Protest in front of Winston Churchill's statue

- Long legal battle with British empire
- Some of these themes are inevitable

American Empire?

- Is the USA an empire? If so, what type of empire is it?
 - Depends how we think of empire, the US intervenes everywhere and has stations everywhere
- Competing IR views of empire vs. imperialism vs. hegemony
 - Unipolar world, distribution of power
- American power is multi-pronged, beyond the military alone
 - Marxists would say classical, fighting wars for resources (oil)
- History is a guide
 - Not always just brute application of force
- Seamless transition from Pax Britannica to Pax Americana
 - Pax Britannica 'peace' guaranteed by British empire
 - Global order americana 1945ish and after american global order

Image: Political Cartoon, President Mckinly digging Panama Canal

- Both classic (military, land and flags) and economic money
- Example of america having political control in its own backyard
- Their self image is not the empire vs. british embraced that identity

“The American-led order is a more negotiated system where the United States has sought participation by other states on terms that are mutually agreeable” - G. John Ikenberry (2004: 620)

- Today we see something slightly different
- American-led order, liberal IR theorist
- Seems to make sense with World Bank, IMF, Washington Consensus
- American power smashing poor countries
- Marxist hegemony, voluntary participation
 - Example: Sudan has long been a victim of U.S. sanctions
 - Inclusion into American-led financial systems
 - Example: use of US dollar as a currency reserve

Rising Powers And The Brics

- Brazil, Russia, India, China — large populations and growth potential
- Term ‘BRIC’ coined in early 2000s, in context of debate about American hegemony and global leadership
 - World Bank documents, context of Post 9/11 and Cold War
 - New emergence of power in this unipolar world
- Each has idiosyncratic relationship to economic liberalism
 - Challenges liberal world order, difficult relationship with liberalism as defined by the US
- Diverging levels of dependency
 - They all have economic power grown in the American system, but greatly diverge politically
- How should we measure power?
 - China is hugely economically powerful but is still not used as a currency

Recap

- Empire is a difficult concept to pin down
- Legacies of colonialism and imperialism structure contemporary global politics
 - Caricatured territorial sense
- World order, and our concepts about it, underpinned by these legacies
 -
- ‘Empire’ concept helps us grasp diverse forms of power and interconnection
 - Not as much formal political control, difficult to describe

“Class Cancelled” Lecture 17: March 2nd

“The Politics of (In)Security”

Readings

- ‘International and Global Security’ Ch.15 - Baylis
- ‘Terrorism and Globalization’ Ch.25 - Kiras

Final Exam

- 9:30 PM to 12:30 PM on Friday, April 24th
- Held at 801 King Edward (MNO) 3
- We will have a revision lecture on April 1st
- Ample time for preparation, including sample questions
- Format: two essay-based answers, drawing from whole course
 - Practice questions may appear on exam (wink wink)
 - Choice in which questions we write
- Worth 30% of final mark

Image: People jumping Morocco/Spanish Border

- Alternative, dangerous, costly, time consuming
- Making it to the other side and you can file for Asylum
- Difficulty entering the regular way
- There has only been a recent occurring of these types of difficult migration issues
- Rise of treating migration as security matter

Image: Huawei

- Question of national security, telecoms
- How much do you let foreign governments build infrastructure
- They are the best at building 5G: huge capabilities, better than other companies
- Do we let the market lead or security lead? UK decided to allow them selectively

Image: EU Commission in Brussels

- Security sensation, we feel and experience it
- Threats may not really be out there but the way we perceive things that threaten us
- Counter terrorism in the face of the Paris/Brussels attacks
- Their chances of being at the right place and right time and actual chances of terrorism are low

Defining Security / Insecurity

- Wolfers (1952: 485): “The absence of threats to acquired values”
 - Real world phenomenon but again depends of perceived threat
 - How we define national security
 - “Absence of threats to acquired values”
 - Leaves it in the air, someone has to identify the threat and values
- Buzan (1991: 18): “freedom from threat”
 - Question of what is the threat is also open
- Huysmans (1998): ‘thick signifier’ with contextual meaning, mediating life/death relation
 - Post structuralist and role of language
 - Word security is a signifier for attention and has a huge range of meaning
 - Very existential, relationship of life and death, security practice makes us fear our existence
- Buzan, Waever and De Wilde (1998): performed utterance, constructing threats with urgency
 - Nothing is objectively threatening to us necessarily but our description of threat is what's dangerous in the world
 - How we deal and prioritize threats
- What scales matter? Who is threatened?
 - Individual, regional, nation, globe?

Why Should We Care About Security?

- Fundamental concept to political theory and international relations
 - Hobbes: pursuit of security in some way (state of nature)
 - If you want security you need a sovereign society with structure
 - Avoiding anarchy/insecurity in the face of chaos
- It is central to key debates in IR about stability, strategy, and world order
 - Security dilemma, underpinning much of IR theory
- Concept has been broadened and widened in theory and practice
 - Explanatory power and large range of phenomenon
- Contemporary context of non-traditional concerns
 - Coronavirus is a non traditional security threat (transnational health security)

“Security has not received the serious attention accorded to the concepts of justice, freedom, equality, obligation, representation, and power.” - David Baldwin (1997:9)

- Could argue that we are still focused on other things

- Not as true post 9/11

How Security Features In IR

- Tradition of civilian analysis of national security starts in 1940s
 - Who studies it? In the past it was primarily military
 - Didn't turn into citizen security until post 40's
- Security is about survival (many rationalist scholars e.g. Herz 1962)
 - Security dilemma reflects care for survival
- Waltz's (1979) assumption of a 'self-help' states-system
 - Conflicting interests and international anarchy
 - Having to help yourself fundamentally
- Walt (1991): security studies is about "the phenomenon of war"
 - Again still a narrow vision of security as war and violence
 - Different from Wendt's "anarchy is what states make of it"
- Wendt (1992) and the broader constructivist challenge

Cold War Context

- Primacy of strategic approaches to security studies
 - Focused on questions of nuclear stalemate, game theory, deterrence
- Nuclear stalemate means work focused on psychology and rationality
 - Political psychology, leadership
- Focus on security of the state (and "statecraft" as Walt notes) within a dual superpower international system
 - International two super power system
 - Understanding global order
- Some openings to breadth of what 'national security' might mean in terms of state strategy (e.g. Hart 1967)
 - Not taken as a given, some of these things are defined differently to different people
- Realists fundamentally concerned with security of the state under conditions of anarchy
 - International system again, security dilemma
 - Tragedy of great power politics, system of anarchy, existing in a world of uncertainty
- Security dilemma (in Herz 1950) and the ambiguity of protection strategies
- Recall Mearsheimer's (2001) five assumptions: anarchy, offensive capabilities, uncertainty, survival, rationality
- Defensive realists (e.g. Waltz) see states as security-maximising
- Rationalist views of security centre on survival

Challenges To Realism

- Dominant visions from realist theory: anarchy, balance of power, security competition, rationality
- Liberal (and constructivist) visions of overcoming security dilemmas e.g. 'security communities' (Adler & Barnett 1998, drawing on Karl Deutsch)
- A critique of security studies' focus on a narrow view of war
 - More than war and peace
- 1980s switch to international security studies
 - Trying to understand international context of security
- Buzan (1983) expanded the range of 'sectors' of security
 - He says security is not just survival of the state, but threats across different sectors
 - Environment, health, etc.

The Post-Cold War Context

- End of CW drives the 'cottage industry' Baldwin (1997) describes, with key events (e.g. in Balkans) shaping study of security

- Expansion of scholarly work as security
- Walt (1991) saw a 'renaissance' of mainstream security studies
- Clearer in early 1990s that security is an 'essentially contested concept'
 - Agreement on who its about, what it applies to, for you? By who? What threat?
 - Fundamentally socially constructed
- Growing constructivist and poststructuralist challenge to 'given' ideas of security
- Focus on security as goal or as process?
 - Moving away from goal since it is contested concept
 - Focus more on the process of how things become threats? How do we meet threats?

"Defining national security merely (or even primarily) in military terms conveys a profoundly false image of reality." - Richard Ullman (1983:129)

- Again not a military state driven entity

The Expansion Of Security

- Broadening/widening (of issue areas) and deepening (of political/ethical reflection)
 - Deepening, trend of late 80's - 90's
 - Energy self sufficiency, environment
 - Greta Thunberg, climate change is a fundamental threat, security actor
- Security is linked to metaphors and frames of meaning (Chilton 1996)
 - Structures, don't need to use security to convey the same urgency
 - Appeals to security
- Katzenstein (1996) brought focus onto culture and national security
 - New terms of security
- David Campbell (1998): identity crucial to the production of enemies
 - Enemies are not just externally existing, but we need to define them
 - It is an identity question
- In some cases, critique from the standpoint of policy relevance
 - Showing logic but not necessarily actually making the state more secure

"The younger generation lived through the waning of the Cold War, not its exacerbation. It was exposed to new intellectual currents in the humanities and cultural studies." - Peter Katzenstein (1996:xiii)

- Young people started reading expanding literature and are bringing it into their approaches

Critical Approaches To Security

- Broad inspiration from constructivism — a focus on the generation of meaning
 - Fundamentally focused on security gaining meaning
- Beginning in 1980s
- Critical security studies approach emerges in early 1990s
 - Three approaches below
- Securitization theory
 - How we name threats through discourse and relating to threat
 - Generating meaning
- Security as governing practice
 - Dependent on feelings of insecurity in the people
- Security as emancipation
 - Critical marxism, security as a positive thing and emancipation from things that make us insecure

Securitization Theory

- How do threats emerge and dissolve?
 - Nothing objectively threatening thing
- 1998 text by Buzan, Waever and De Wilde

- Security as rhetorical practice
- Moving away from state as primary threatened object
 - Actors name things as threats, not always states
- Security as a condition related to politics
- Politics vs. exception, normal vs. exceptional
 - Appealing for exceptional measures, particularly politicians and migration
 - Corrodes democracy, now we have to be critical, corrosive to budgeting for example
- Securitization moves — performance and practice
 - Announce threat, agreement, practice

Image: Iran's Nuclear Program depictions at UN

- He said at the UN, we need to intervene before they can create nuclear weapons
- Example of social process of naming and defining a threat

Security As Governing Practice

- Security is inseparable from insecurity and our feelings of unease (Bigo)
- The routines of security professionals, e.g. police, crucial to definitions of what is a threat
 - Focus on bureaucracy, same process of defining but a more routine process behind closed doors
 - Example: security at airport was decided in bureaucracy and deployed
- Much less focus on public discourse, and more on background practices
 - Some public discourse, growing unease of immigration (culture, welfare, work, religion)
 - Less focus on public but not gone entirely
- Emphasis on institutions and agencies in transnational context
 - More about decision process

Image: Europol, police forces

- These types of security deliberations
- Human trafficking for example

Security Emancipation

- Security as emancipation approach from the work of Ken Booth (1990)
 - Suspicious of politicians who invoke threats
 - Suspicious agendas
- Inspiration from Critical Theory: security re-theorised as a positive value
- Example: 'human security' policy agenda (more on this next class) aligns with approach
 - Free from constraints (oppressive structures)
 - UN very focused on these types of things

Some Other Critical Approaches To Security

- Feminist security studies
 - Shepherd (2006) on framing of women in Afghanistan war
 - Bride Pricing
- Postcolonial security studies
 - 'Subaltern realism' of Mohammed Ayoob (1996)
 - What security looks like outside of western world (subaltern spaces)
 - Barkawi & Laffey (2006) see exclusive focus on the 'strong'
 - Exclusive focus on the politics of the strong, we don't study security from the perspectives of the weak

Terrorism

- Form of political violence
- Labelling tied to state interests
- Tactics including suicide attacks

- Functions through symbolism and destruction
- Counter-terrorism links to other key flows (e.g. money-laundering)

Financial Flows

- Determinations of risk crucial — what are the thresholds
- Hawala and other IVT systems under suspicion (see Razavy & Haggerty) — around \$200bil
- Orientalism and regulatory frameworks
- Broader association of business with security (from algorithms to cooperation)

Borders & Migration

- The migration-security link growing in prominence (Adamson 2006)
- Irregular migration a form of challenge to state sovereignty
- New threat framings and linkages
- Growth of security agencies and cooperation

Recap

- Security a contested concept, with definitions depending on worldview
- Traditional views anchored in national security
- Realist assumptions predominant for some time
- Challenges from constructivism in 1980s and beyond, as well as poststructuralist, postcolonial, and feminist approaches
- Rise of non-traditional issues firmly on the agenda

“Third DGD”

Readings

- “Brexit, CANZUK, and the Legacy of Empire” Bell & Vucetic
- “Margins, Silences, and Bottom Rungs” Cynthia Enloe
- “Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: A Political Perspective” Mahmood Mamdani

Videos

- [Children of Men](#) (2006)
- [Elysium](#) (2013)

Topic

- Discuss how movies illustrate various topics in IR discussed in lectures (gender, race, war, security, Marxism and postcolonialism)

Movies

- The Host (director of parasite)
- The Hunger Games (2012)
- Combat Obscura
- Studying a film as well as the public reaction to the film
- Marxism and cultural hegemony

Children Of Men

- Black woman strips naked and shows her naked pregnancy
- Main characters are white
- Paralels of nazi germany and anti immigration

Syrian Border Crisis

- Greece is turning people away
- Turkey is hosting 4 million Syrian refugees
- EU is not helping Turkey with this crisis, the world is looking away

Questions On Video

- Realists make propositions on how to make peace in the international system
- What are the propositions of liberalism to create peace