International Relations　2：Notes

David Wessels

国際関係論２：ノート

デヴィッド・ウェッセルズ

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 2

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For Further Reading

*Paul R. Viotti and Mark V. Kauppi, *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism*, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1993)

*Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, 3rd ed. (New York: Longman, 2001)

Sheldon Anderson, et al., *International Studies: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Global Issues* (Westview Press, 2008)

Edward Keene, *International Political Thought* (Polity Press, 2005)

Eric O. Hanson, *Religion and Politics in the International System Today* (Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Introduction

1. The notes in the following chapters are meant as lecture notes for the second term of an introductory course in International Relations at the university level. They follow on a previously distributed set of notes entitled "International Relations 1: Notes," by the same author.

2. The first term's focus was on the history and concepts that are the basis of the study of international relations today. These building blocks of contemporary theory are the foundation for the survey of theories and approaches that is found in these pages. These notes are not an exhaustive report on all current theories, but a guide to the approaches that theorists of international relations today take to their field.

3. The categories "realism," "pluralism," and "globalism" correspond to the three "images" that Paul Viotti and Mark Kauppi used in the first, second, and third editions of their textbook *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism* (the third edition added the words "*and Beyond*" to the title). They have a pedagogical purpose: to provide a suitable framework in an introductory course for explaining the diverse and complex theories of scholars. Empirical cases are used to illustrate these categories.

4. At the beginning of the 21st century, there is widespread use of concepts and ideas about international relations theory that do not fit easily into the standard categories. Some of these--for example, globalization and governance--are also introduced in a manner suitable for this course.

5. This second term course, therefore, moves from general concepts to the theories that employ those concepts and to new ideas that are being used to understand the changing patterns of global politics and international relations.

In Search of Theory

1. International relations is the object of our study, whereas the field (or discipline) of international relations (also known as "international relations theory" or "I.R.") is what we know about that object through our ideas and intellect.

　　*The history of thought provides clues for our study.

　　*We can find out what we need to study by considering what people throughout the world are interested in.

　　*A broad (or general) understanding and knowledge of particular themes are both needed.

　　*To communicate how we understand international relations, language, concepts, and theories are essential.

2. A review of some key concepts used by theorists:

　　*The state and other actors

　　*Military security, economic interdependence, protection of human rights, other goals

　　*The foreign policy of states

　　*The international system

　　*Norms of action

3. Viotti and Kauppi summarize widely known theories of the field through three "images" of international relations: realism, pluralism, globalism.

　　*Particular theories, to a greater or lesser degree, fit these images.

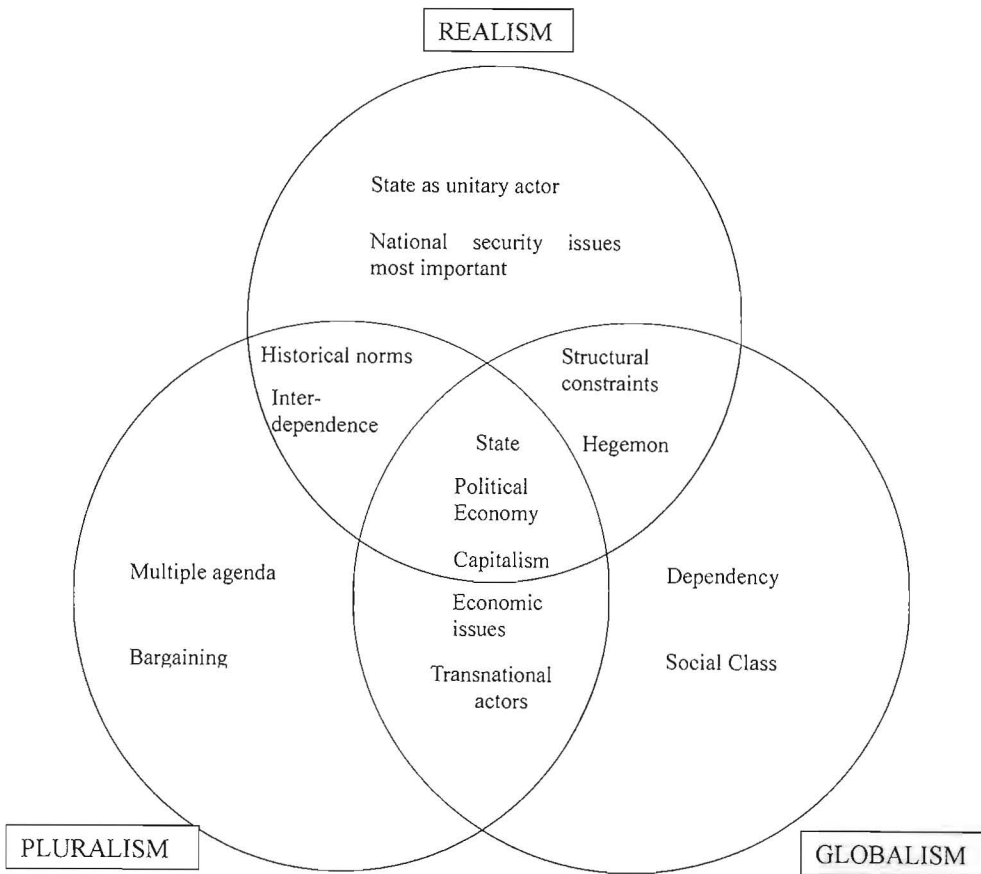　　*Some theories are eclectic, and research based on them fits several of the images.

　　*The images themselves are not specific theories. Rather, by using the images in a theoretical way, we can understand international relations better.

　　*The three images overlap to some extent. They share some common roots in the history of thought.

4. A comparison of the three images of Viotti and Kauppi. (Source: P. Viotti & M. Kauppi, *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism, and Beyond.* Third Edition, page 10.)

	Realism	Pluralism	Globalism
Analytic Unit(s)	1. State is the principal actor	1. State and nonstate actors are important	1. Classes, states and societies, and nonstate actors operate as part of world capitalist system
View of Actor(s)	2. State is unitary actor	2. State disaggregated into components, some of which may operate transnationally	2. International relations viewed from historical perspective, especially the continuous development of world capitalism
Behavioral Dynamic	3. State is rational actor seeking to maximize its own interest or national objectives in foreign policy	3. Foreign policymaking and transnational processes involve conflict, bargaining, coalition, and compromise—not necessarily resulting in optimal outcomes	3. Focus is on patterns of dominance within and among societies
Issues	4. National security issues are most important	4. Multiple agenda with socioeconomic or welfare issues as, or more, important than national security questions	4. Economic factors are most important

5. A partial overlapping of the three images.

REALISM

State as unitary actor

National security issues most important

Historical norms

Inter-dependence

Structural constraints

State

Hegemon

Political Economy

Capitalism

Multiple agenda

Economic issues

Dependency

Bargaining

Transnational actors

Social Class

PLURALISM

GLOBALISM

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Realism

1. Assumptions

    *Analytic unit: state is the principal actor.

    *View of actor: state is unitary actor.

    *Behavioral dynamic: in its foreign policy, the state is
    a rational actor seeking to maximize its own
    interest or objectives.

    *Issues: national security issues are most important.

2. Precursors

    *Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes

    *Grotius: maintenance of order between states through
    norms of international law

    *Clausewitz: a state's military objectives are important,
    but subordinate to larger political objectives.

    *E.H. Carr: *The Twenty Years' Crisis: 1919-1939*

3. Power

    *Definition: several elements

        (1) Absolute power and relative power

        (2) Static power and dynamic power

        (3) Resources and outcomes

    *Measurement

        (1) Characteristics (capabilities) of the state
          (e.g., Morgenthau's)

        (2) Material factors, psychological factors

        (3) Is it really possible to presume a
          unitary state?

        (4) Universal measurements of power; power
          related to time, place, and issue

4. System
    *The concept of balance
    *System as distribution of characteristics vs. system as
     interaction
    *Is the international system a large collection of
      bi-state relations (dyadic structure) or a condition
       of the whole?
     *Anarchy and the structure of international relations
     *The principle of self-help
     *Rousseau's stag hunt fable
5. Vulnerability: imbalance between strong and weak actors
    *Military (science and technology, weapons, organization,
     scale, leadership)
    *Examples: the Russian border; the U.S.A. in Latin America
    *Economic factors (food, oil, advanced technology):
     examples of the Great Depression and the Middle East
    *The hegemonic state: a source of peace and stability, or
     an object of fear and envy?

Peacekeeping Operations

1. The word "peace" is used in many languages to indicate a range of activities and conditions related to individuals, families, society, and international matters.
    *The Hebrew word "shalom" is a famous greeting of peace.
    *"Peace" is particularly contrasted to interstate war and conflict.
    *Liberation, solidarity, strategy for value attainment
2."Peace research" and "conflict resolution" are fields dealing with issues of peace in an academic or research environment.
    *The causes of war
    *Early research: Q. Wright, P. Sorokin, L. Richardson
    *Johan Galtung's theory of "imperialism"
    *Negative peace (absence of war) and positive peace (economic welfare, social justice, political freedom)
    *Special conditions of the Cold War, conditions after the Cold War
    *A wide range of policies: from preparations for war and deterrence strategy to disarmament and peaceful resolution of conflicts
    *Post-Cold War issues: preventive diplomacy and conflict prevention
3.Normative positions on peace and war
    *Pacifism
    *Holy war
    *Just war: *jus in bello*, *jus ad bellum*
    *Conditions for just war: just cause; competent authority; comparative justice; right intention; last resort; probability of success; proportionality

4.Peace-building
     *Conflict resolution
     *Measures of confidence building and security building
     *Control of the arms trade
     *Economic conversion (from military to civilian use)
     *Arms control, disarmament
5.United Nations peacekeeping operations
     *Means available to the United Nations (Cf.: Boutros
      Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace* (July 17, 1992) and
      Supplement to An Agenda for Peace(January 3, 1995):
          Preventive diplomacy
          Peacemaking
          Peace-keeping
          Post-conflict peace-building
          Disarmament
          Sanctions
          Enforcement action
     *Consultation between the U.N. and national governments;
      cooperation between the U.N. and regional organizations
      (examples):
          Consultation
          Diplomatic support
          Operational support
          Co-deployment
          Joint operations
     *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (PKO)
          Contemporary peacekeeping operations
          Japan and peacekeeping forces

Pluralism

1. Assumptions
     *Analytic unit: state and nonstate actors are important.
     *View of actors: state disaggregated into components; some
      may operate transnationally.
     *Behavioral dynamics: foreign policymaking and trans-
      national processes involve conflict, bargaining,
      coalition, and compromise—not necessarily resulting
      in optimal outcomes.
     *Issues: multiple agenda with socioeconomic or welfare
      issues as, or more, important than national security.
2. Precursors
     *John Locke and liberalism
     *19th century utilitarianism
     *Interest group liberalism and American politics
     *James Madison, Alexis de Tocqueville, Arthur Bentley,
      David Truman, Louis Hartz
     *Harold Lasswell, Robert Dahl
3. Decision making theory
     *Behavioralism (Snyder, Rosenau)
     *Perceptions and the psychology of small groups: why
      do decision makers undertake irrational actions?
     *Graham Allison's three models:
      (1) Rational actor model
      (2) Organizational process model
      (3) Bureaucratic politics model
     *The interaction of international politics and domestic
      politics
          (1) Linkage politics (Rosenau)

(2)　　Two-level games (Robert Putnam): two
　　　　negotiating levels (international, domestic);
　　　　win-sets

<Explanation of the two-level game>

International negotiations reach agreements when the domestic
approval for the win-set of country A's negotiators and the domestic
approval for the win-set of country B's negotiators overlap. The
wider the win-sets of the parties, the wider the range of compromise;
accordingly, the possibility of agreement is larger.

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├──────────[────────[───────────]──────[──────┤
A_M        B_1      B_2         A_1    B_3    B_M
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(3)　　Global politics, globalization, governance

4. Developments in international relations theory
    *Interdependence
    *Cooperation theory
    *The importance of norms: regime theory
    *The role of institutions: neoliberal institutionalism
    *Voluntarism weightier than determinism
5. Arguments over pluralism
    *Macro theory and micro theory
    *Relative importance of state and non-state actors
    *Optimism of liberals about international relations
        (1)　　Commercial liberalism
        (2)　　The democratic peace
        (3)　　The cost of war and the progress of civilization
    *Pessimism about pluralist thinking on international
     relations
        (1)　　The problem of relative gains
        (2)　　Human nature and conflict
        (3)　　Anarchy in the international structure

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The Idea of Human Rights

1. International bill of human rights
    *United Nations Charter (1945): Preamble; Articles 1, 55, 56
    *Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948): Preamble and 30 Articles
    *International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (adopted 1966; in force 1976)
    *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (adopted 1966; in force 1976)
      +First Optional Protocol (individual petitions)
      +Second Optional Protocol (abolition of death penalty)
2. Activities of the United Nations
    *Promotion and protection by international organizations
    *Human Rights Commission of the Economic and Social Council
    *1503 Procedure
    *World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna Declaration and Plan of Action, June 1993)
    *Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (1994)
    *Establishment of the United Nations Human Rights Council (2006)
3. Human rights diplomacy
    *The Helsinki Process
    *Foreign policy of President Carter
    *Tied aid
    *Charter of Paris for a New Europe (1990)

4. International protection of human rights
    *International law: particular treaties
    *Regional international organizations
      +Europe: European Convention on Human Rights and
       Fundamental Freedoms (signed 1950; in force 1953);
       European Commission of Human Rights; European Court
       of Human Rights
      +The Americas: American Convention on Human Rights
       (adopted 1969; in force 1978); Inter-American
       Commission of Human Rights; Inter-American Court
       of Human Rights
      +Africa: African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
       (Banjul Charter; adopted 1981; in force 1986); African
       Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
     *The role of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)
5. Universality and particularity of human rights
    *Can there be "Asian human rights"?
    *Islam and human rights
    *Can there be a moratorium on human rights? (dictatorial
     regimes for economic growth and other reasons)
    *Rights and responsibilities
6. Human rights and human security (statement of the problem):
   Humans beings always seek security. Until now, states
guaranteed the security of their people through military actions.
Defense and war prevention were thought to be a principal role for
the state. But after the Cold War, threats to security are thought
to arise from civil (internal or domestic) wars, terrorism,
violations of human rights, economic instability, and problems of
identity and other matters, rather than from classic inter-state
(international) wars. We see human beings rather than states as the
center of security theory. Human rights are an important concept
of this new worldview.

Globalism

1. Assumptions
    *Analytic units: classes, states, societies, and nonstate
    actors operate as part of world capitalist system.
    *View of actors: international relations viewed from
    historical perspective, especially the continuous
    development of world capitalism.
    *Behavioral dynamic: focus is on patterns of dominance
    within and between societies.
    *Issues: economic factors are most important.
2. Precursors
    *Karl Marx: historical development of capitalism, the
    proletarian revolution
    *John A. Hobson: capitalism leads to imperialism, which
    brings on structural exploitation.
    *V.I. Lenin: imperialism as the highest stage of
    capitalism
3. Theories related to the globalism image
    *Dependency theory
        Modernization (industrialization) brings on
        exploitation and dependency.
        The analysis of cases in Latin America
    *World-system theory
        Immanuel Wallerstein's distinction between
        "world empire" and "world economy."
        From around 1500 A.D., we have entered the
        age of the (capitalist) world economy.
        Inequalities arise from the division of labor
        and the distribution of production.

4. Change
   *The idea of cycles (cyclical patterns) in the
    history of international relations
           Structural interpretations of history
           The hypothesis of the rise and fall of the
            great powers
   *Changes in the international economy
           Changes in the rank or position of actors
            and regions
           Growth and contraction of capitalism
   *Change in the world capitalist system itself
           The role of ideas; the possibility of revolution
           Socialism as a substitute
           New political agenda: a third way?
5. Questions for evaluation
   *Can ideas change the world?
   *Is there a role for critical theory to play in
    international relations theory?
   *What is the relative weight of the international
    structures and domestic conditions (state, society,
    economy) in underdevelopment?
   *How can we compare the effects of military, political,
    economic, and cultural contacts among peoples, states,
    and regions?
   *Can an understanding of "globalism" help us to
    evaluate contemporary "globalization"?

The Movement of People

and International Relations

1. The movement of people in human history
   *Human origins and movement
   *Agriculture, civilization, language, history
   *Epidemics and germs
2. Prior to modern international relations
   *Classical Greece
   *The Roman era
   *The Age of Discoveries
3. Modern international relations
   *States and territory
   *Land, cities, population, transport, production
   *Medicine, science, technology
4. The nation-state and immigration
   *Trends from the 19th century
   *War and displaced persons, exiles
   *Labor migration and economic development
   *Internal movement and international movement
5. International refugee protection and aid institutions in the 20th century
   *Fridtjof Nansen after World War I
   *The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)
    after World War II
   *Exiles and the movement of people during the Cold War
   *Expanded role of the UNHCR
   *The Berlin Wall; the Helsinki Process (CSCE) and the
    movement of people; movement of people in 1989
   *Refugees after the Cold War

6. Migration and labor migration
   *Controls over leaving and entering countries
   *The EU and the movement of people (Amsterdam Treaty)
   *Multinational enterprises and labor migrants
   *State boundaries and domestic society
7. Contemporary issues
   *Globalization and the movement of people
   *Asylum seekers
   *An ethical crisis
   *Security and social stability
   *Migrant labor and nationality laws
   *Terrorism and human rights

Globalization: Light and Shadow

1.   What is globalization?
       *Material aspects
              Communication and transportation
              Manufacturing and finance
              Movement of people and goods
              Standardization
              Institutional links
              Ecological commons
       *Immaterial aspects
              Closeness of identification and values
              Cultural (including linguistic) similarities
              Symbols of politics and organization
              Shared ideas and ideologies
2.   Three types of globalization (based on Robert Kudrle)
       *Communication globalization
              Economic effect
              Cultural effect
              Comparison effect
       *Market globalization
              Trade
              Capital mobility
              Labor mobility
              Options for states
       *Direct globalization
              The environmental "commons"
              Other public goods: "existence value"
              Labor rights and human rights
              Enforcement patterns and issues

3.   International relations and globalization
      *From sovereignty to transsovereignty
                Terrorism
                Criminal gangs
                Infectious disease
                New actors, new norms, new regimes, new networks
      *International organizations at the end of the twentieth
        century
                States and beyond
                International civil service
                Interactions with nongovernmental organizations
                Reform of the United Nations
                New round of negotiations in WTO
                Governance by international conferences
      *Civil society
                Multinational corporations
                NGOs
                Participation and democratization
4. Evaluating globalization: light and shadow
      *Rescue from poverty vs. increasing gap between rich and poor
      *Advanced medical treatment vs. epidemics on a global scale
      *Policies to protect the environment vs. global
        environmental pollution and warming
      *The good and bad sides of the information society

Governance

1.   Historical background
      *Europe's system of states
      *From empires to decolonization
      *Emergence of universal international organizations in the
        20th century
      *Religious groups
      *Business corporations
      *Alliances and regional organizations
2.   Concepts
      *Governability and governance
      *Good governance
      *International governance
      *Global governance
      *Regimes
      *Cogovernance
3.   The governance agenda
      *Environment—sustainable development
      *Reform of international organizations
      *Intervention when human rights are violated
      *Borders and the movement of people
      *Criminal justice—the International Criminal Court
      *NGO networks and international decision-making
      *Peacebuilding and peacekeeping
      *Intellectual property rights
      *Structures for world trade and finance
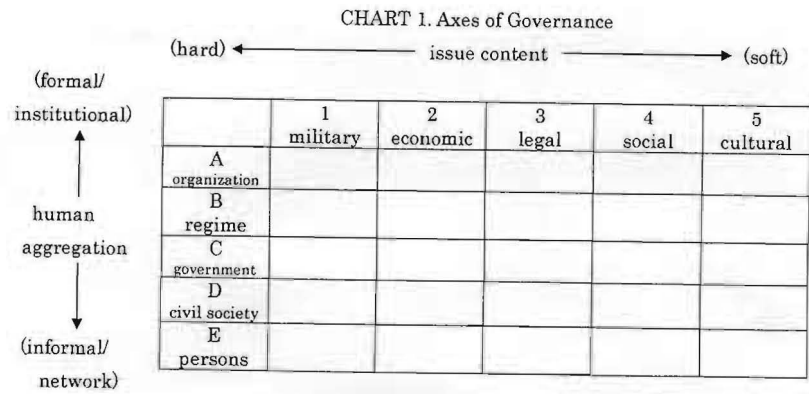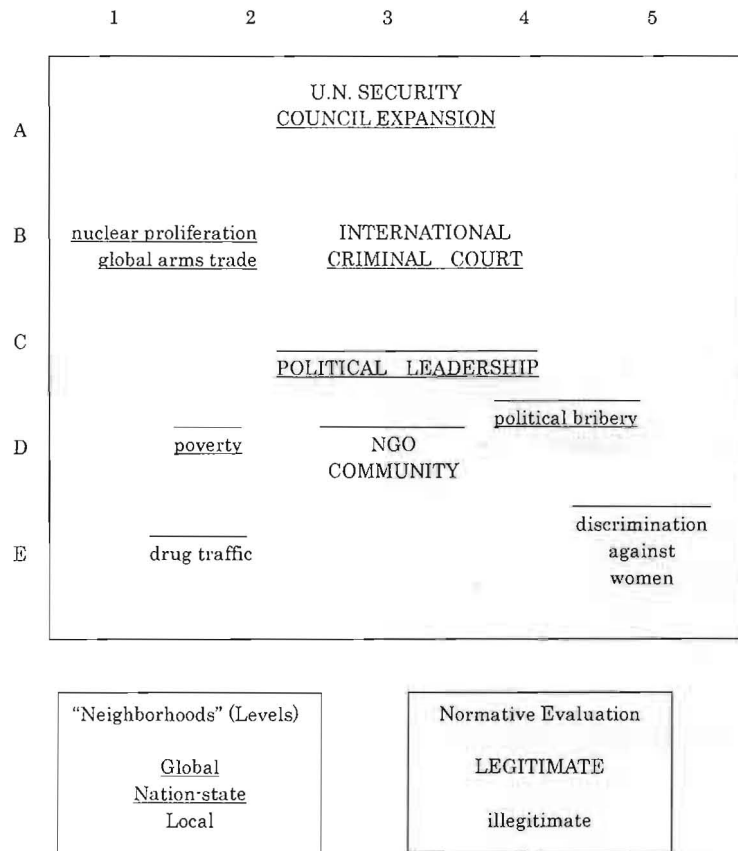   *Human and plant genetics

4. Axes of governance

CHART 1. Axes of Governance

(hard) ← issue content → (soft)

	1 military	2 economic	3 legal	4 social	5 cultural
A organization					
B regime					
C government					
D civil society					
E persons					

(formal/ institutional) ↕ human aggregation ↕ (informal/ network)

CHART 2. Issues of Global Governance

	1	2	3	4	5
A			U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL EXPANSION		
B		nuclear proliferation global arms trade	INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT		
C			POLITICAL LEADERSHIP		
D		poverty	NGO COMMUNITY	political bribery	
E		drug traffic		discrimination against women	

"Neighborhoods" (Levels)
Global
Nation-state
Local

Normative Evaluation
LEGITIMATE
illegitimate

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An Axis for Theory:
Cooperation and Conflict

1. Learning by contrast and comparison
    *The same human behavior can have different meanings in
      international relations
    *Dialectical thinking process: we learn from opposites
    *We often view contemporary world politics in terms of an
      axis with poles: high politics/low politics; power/values;
      cooperation/conflict
2. A traditional way of looking at international relations is that
of an arena in which nation-states are engaged in conflict, struggle,
competition.
    *The East-West confrontation after World War II
    *The North-South perspective on the international political
      economy
    *Game theorists speak of <u>zero-sum games</u> and <u>non-zero-sum
      games</u>
3. Common symbols and norms in modern international relations are
useful for cooperation.
    *Mutual recognition of sovereignty
    *Diplomatic protocol and behavior
    *International custom and treaties: the law of international
      society
    *Establishment and growth of international organizations
4. The relationship of the U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. during the Cold War
demonstrates the complex character of international interactions.
    *They changed from allies to enemies, then entered into a
      period of détente. Then, after another period of
      tensions in the late 1970s and early 1980s, they finally
      brought an end to the Cold War ("From Yalta to Malta")

and in the C.S.C.E. they adopted the Charter of Paris
for a New Europe.
      *Mutual recognition of "spheres of influence" during the Cold
       War
      *Avoidance of direct armed conflict: Cuba missile crisis;
       proxy wars
      *Common efforts at arms control and disarmament
5. New patterns
      *Conflicts and governance after the Cold War
      *Cooperation and conflict after September 11, 2001
6. Economic cooperation
      *Policy coordination among major countries through O.E.C.D.
       and G-7 (G-8) Summits
      *Use of international institutions (e.g., World Bank, I.M.F.,
       G.A.T.T., W.T.O.) after World War II
      *Recognition of convergence of interests or common interests
       in cooperative behavior or regimes
      *Regional economic organizations display both cooperation
       and competition.
      *The financial crisis of 2008-2009 and subsequent
       international negotiations on a new international financial
       regime
7. Military and political affairs
      *Traditional patterns such as the balance of power and
       alliances exhibit both conflict and cooperation.
      *Hegemonic power: Pax Romana / Brittanica / Americana, etc.
      *The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
       (C.S.C.E.; Organization for Security and Cooperation
       in Europe, or O.S.C.E., since 1995) shows the
       intertwining of cooperative and conflictual
       relationships. Can it be a model for other regions?
      *Expansion of NATO and NATO's cooperative relationship
       (partnership) with Russia

A Human Image of International Relations

1. Cultures are essential for people living together, in small groups, in larger communities, and at the level of international society.

    *Human languages provide a basis for shared discourse.

    *Thought, imagination, and ideas provide common meanings.

    *Values unite people across space and time, through communities based on religion, politics, and worldviews.

2. Social constructivism offers a view of international relations (and other social interactions) that emphasizes human agency.

    *Structures are seen not as givens but as products of human thought and will.

    *States, international organizations, business enterprises, and other associations are all constructed institutions.

    *This highlights factors different from material conditions, resources, and capabilities.

    *Preferences and interests are changeable, and indeed reflect deeper human meanings and values.

3. Discourse, rhetoric, and language are means by which we understand and share human meanings and values.

    *Traditional rhetorical distinctions

        Logos: the realm of rational understanding (of the matter itself)

        Ethos: the moral values of judgment and choice (of the subject)

Pathos: emotional aspects of discourse (in
     interaction with others)
  *A post-modernist form of deconstruction may separate
   various meanings found in texts and subtexts.
  *Language is related to our knowledge of the world, which
   in turn is related to how we act in the world.
4. Epistemological critiques of international relations theory
overlap with substantive critiques of world politics.
  *"Critical theory" identifies a link between knowledge and
   power.
  *Positivism has emphasized the roles of logic and science
   in presenting a unified view of empirical reality.
  *Hermeneutics and interpretation challenge narrow
   concepts of scientific knowledge and a false
   dichotomy between facts and values.
  *Some feminist understandings of international relations
   challenge unexamined social patterns and abstract
   notions of ideology, and encourage views based on
   human equality and human relationships.
  *A renewed interest in the norms and ideas that shape global
   politics affects normative international
   relations theory today.
5. Identity politics
  *The question of global culture
  *Information, knowledge, and values
  *Political institutions at sub-national, regional, and
   global levels
  *Civil society
  *A human image for our world

Constructivism

1. The three "images" of international relations discussed in these Notes offer distinct ways of envisioning the actors, issues, and dynamics of global interactions.

   *The analysts' presuppositions and primary questions affect their descriptions and explanations and conclusions about world events.

   *Global agents and academic analysts may have shared or diverse perceptions of trends in politics, economics, society, culture, and so on.

2. From the 1980s, many scholars have examined international relations from another approach that may be loosely called constructivism, or social constructivism.

   *Some of the main subjects that constructivists examine are: ideas, norms, rules, ways of knowing, identities.

   *They see a process in which humans reflect together in social groups and thereby construct (common) meaning for their words and actions.

   *A reflexive, interactive process between the agents' thoughts and their actions generates meaning for the agents and their actions.

   *The process of constructing a human reality is happening in many fields, and so this point of view is not restricted to a narrow consideration of "international relations" apart from other human (social) activities.

   *Prominent scholars of international relations who are regarded as constructivists include: N. Onuf, F. Kratochwil, J. G. Ruggie, A. Wendt. This is a loose category covering many different approaches.

3. The constructivist emphasis on epistemology contrasts with substantive questions found in some other approaches, for example, security, order, development, environment.

   *How are people's expectations and values about these substantive issues formed?

   *What do <u>agents</u> (political leaders, social groups, or observers) perceive

their actions to be?

    *What values are these agents trying to realize by their actions?

    *What are the motives for change and the process of change in these agents' behavior?

    *"Why did someone imagine a particular policy?" or "Why was something important for people?" become significant questions for understanding the issues of international relations

4. Constructivists' emphasis on intersubjective meaning among agents of international relations contrasts with attention to structures in some other approaches.

    *Societal processes rather than static structural characteristics are a main focus.

    *Culture, religion, and worldviews are seen as constituting the agents in depth.

    *Identity is a theme found in many constructivist approaches.

    *Motives for human actions are seen to be more complex than the acquisition of material advantages.   How the individual or group builds, expresses, changes, or defends an identity become important questions for the social constructivist.

5. The importance of language and discourse are highlighted by constructivism.

    *Attention to the <u>rhetoric</u> of public discussion is also part of a so-called "critical" approach to international relations, and politics more generally. Language expresses meaning, and it can be a clue to discovering false or dangerous ideas.

    *Shifts in <u>discourse</u> mark changes in the public sphere. The social or public boundaries for actions are often found in the process by which certain discourses become dominant or are relegated to minor roles.

    *Verbal (and non-verbal) symbols are part of the world of ideas, which constitute public life (including international relations) as much as material conditions. And so these constructivist insights may lead to better analysis of spiritual questions than narrow behavioral approaches do.