Theories of International Relations I

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■ Preface

Dear Students;

The objectivity of studying social and political sciences has always been questioned on the ground that personal values may interfere. In the same vein, it is a challenge to understand and explain international relations, owing to different world views and approaches. This is mainly because there are many ways of studying international relations. First of all, it requires an interdisciplinary and multilevel analysis to explain international phenomena, which may embody conflict, cooperation or both. IR field began to be recognized as a separate discipline during the period between two world wars and since then debates have continued on "what to study" and "how to study". These questions paved the way to many ontological and epistemological discussions.

The realist-idealist debate of 1950s and the methodological debate of 1960s are just two examples that have evolved in the discipline. A realist description of international relations is based on competition among states as major actors to pursue their interests, whereas a liberal description concentrates more on harmonious relations of pluralist actors. Theories have also grown out of the need to seek regularities and reflect the quest for a grand theory to explain all observed phenomena, which has truly been an overarching and ambitious attempt. Theories of IR borrow assumptions of each other so to say, and provide feedback for their reconstruction, through the critiques they make against each other.

In this book you will make an introduction to realism, liberalism and economic structuralism as major traditions in the field, their historical evolution and some theories they have given birth to. Chapter 1 is about contending issues and classification of major theories in the field.

Chapter 2 discusses the realist theory of IR and its evolution. Chapter 3 provides a close look to liberal tradition and its reflections in IR. Chapter 4 introduces economic structuralism via the Marxist theory and Chapter 5 familiarizes the readers with International Political Economy. Chapter 6 briefly informs the readers on types of international regime theories reflecting different traditions in IR. Chapter 7, the normative theory on the other hand deals with "what should be" in IR instead of "what is" observed. Lastly in Chapter 8, the English School of IR which argues to be a via media between realism and liberalism is elaborated.

Though cases in IR and different issue-areas demand different theoretical perspectives and methods of inquiry; researchers agree on the need to utilize theoretical frameworks as road maps to explain and foresee the future of events. The theoretical approaches and their basic assumptions may sound unfamiliar and abstract at the beginning, however they will prove to be the alphabet to conceptualize and interpret international phenomena. As editors of this book, we hope you enjoy reading the book and it guides you in observing international arena and motivates for analytical thinking on international relations. We are grateful to our esteemed authors for their collaboration in preparing this course textbook for the International Relations Program.

Editors

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Chapter 1

Contending Issues and Major Theories in IR

After completing this chapter you will be able to:

Learning Outcomes

1 Conceive the basic criteria of classification of major theories

2 Differentiate between the state centric and non state centric theories

3 Identify similarities and differences between the level of analysis and unit of analysis debates

4 Discuss contemporary debates of theoretical and epistemological approaches

5 Define the meaning and the scope of postmodernism

Chapter Outline

Introduction
Major Theories
State-Centrism and Non-State Centrism
Level of Analysis/Unit of Analysis
Epistemological Debates
Ontological Debates and Postmodernism Turn

Key Terms

Traditionalism
Behaviouralism
Level of Analysis
Unit of Analysis
Epistemology
Positivism
Post-Modernism
Post-Positivism

INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this chapter is to introduce the basic debates of theoretical and epistemological approaches to international relations. Before discussing the theories and approaches in this field, a general overview would help to understand the technical concepts and become familiar with some of the discussions before detailed explanations. This chapter shall help learners to identify the conceptual relations and show similarities and differences between them. Besides epistemological issues, basic ontological backgrounds, the reasons why they are called with such different names as well as their different and similar approaches to issues shall be dwelled on. Theories and debates in the international relations discipline can be classified in some different contexts, according to different criteria. So before coming to the detailed analysis, it is necessary to elaborate these approaches and theories by using different criteria which are also very important to understand the purpose and scope of each.

Picture 1.1 This picture is about keywords of International Relations Discipline

Source: https://www.wallmonkeys.com/international-relations-discipline-study-concept-wall-decal.html

MAJOR THEORIES

Studies in the field of International Relations (IR) are taken into account by dividing the discipline into two or three schools. For example, it can be divided into three categories such as "traditional theories, global society theories and neo-Marxist theories"

as Holsti accepted in his famous book "Dividing Discipline", or it can be named differently such as "realism, pluralism and globalism" (Viotti and Kauppi, 1993). Barry Buzan identified the theories of international relations as "conservatism, liberalism and radicalism". Indeed, **realism, liberalism and Marxism** are the fundamental divisions which are very common in different studies. On the other hand, Shimko used the basic division of realism and liberalism and further elaborated it with the division as **Machiavellianism, Grotianism and Kantianism** (Shimko, 1992: 283-84; Little, 1996: 68-69; Buzan, 1996: 55; Zacher and Matthew, 1995: 107; Smith, 1997: 12). There are some other categorizations which are not mentioned above, such as realist approach, rationalist approach and revolutionary/cosmopolitan approach (Hedley Bull, 1993).

Theory and Scientific Theory
https://www.britannica.com/science/scientific-theory

As it is understood from the classifications and conceptualization, they all set forth the different aspects of the similar approaches. For example, the concepts of traditional classic theories, realism and conservatism are used to explain the basic arguments of the realist approach. Similarly, the theories of global society, pluralism and liberalism can be named under pluralism or liberalism. They can also be named under Kantianism, Grotianism communitarianism, cosmopolitanism and functionalism. The third group, which is classified with neo-Marxist theories, globalism and radicalism can be grouped with the concepts of Third World theories, Neo-Marxist theories, structuralist theories and dependency theories.

Realism

According to the realist paradigm, **nature of human** has important results for the international politics. For realist scholars, human is naturally sinful, egoist, interest oriented, aggressive and all the time power seeking in character. In particular, classical realism depends on the opinions of Carr and Morgenthau, and explains the international

politics through human nature. Objective laws which dominate human nature must be understood to conceive international politics. In other words, as long as these laws are neglected, IR cannot be figured out. Naturally, humans are created with negative evil character and has passion and vanity (Shimko, 1992: 286; Buzan, 1996: 50). Morgenthau and Niebuhr among leading post war realists explain IR with human nature. According to them, just like individuals, states also have negative characters such as interest seeking and aggressive. States seek
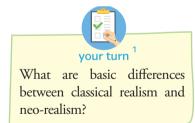
persistently to increase their power and capabilities to the extent that they can take other states under their control. Therefore, in such a structure, war and conflict are normal processes.

As indicated above, according to realism, **states are the major actors** of international politics. Their interests and the rivalry for getting more powerful, shapes politics. **Multinational companies** (MNCs) and international organizations are not assumed as actors of international politics.

Picture 1.2 This picture shows some equations that realism defines in international arena

Source: https://polsis.uq.edu.au/foundations-international-relations-pols7258

Realists accept **states as rational actors**; that behave in accordance with certain rules and national interests to realize their objectives and to sustain themselves through national capacity (Viotti and Kauppi, 1993: 35; Grieco, 1995: 153; Buzan, 1996: 54; Senarclens, 1991: 11-12). According to all realists, **basic agenda of IR are security issues**, thus political and military issues are primary topics and top issues in the hierarchy among the topics of the agenda. In such a world, for all states maximizing their national interest is the main objective. In order to sustain the state existence, security issues are accepted as high politics while other issues related to commerce,

your turn [1]
What are basic differences between classical realism and neo-realism?

finance, money and health are assumed as low politics. For realists as noted above, power is always the basic mean to reach the ends. Therefore, power struggle has inevitably been the central subject for IR (Viotti and Kauppi, 1993:36; Buzan, 1996: 49; Senarclens, 1991: 9-10; Gilpin, 1972-b: 52; Morse, 1972: 33).

One of the important premises of realism (particularly neo-realism) is the **anarchical structure of the international system. There is no central authority** to govern the relations among states. In such an international environment, naturally providing security becomes the main concern of states. States have to deal with their own security problem that is called as the rule of "self help". Since all states behave the same way, no state can attain utmost security; rather feed the insecurity for all states that is called as the security dilemma (or security paradox). Because increasing the military capability of one state to be secure is perceived by other state or states as a threat, and this leads to an increase in their own military capability for the same end. But the result would be quite opposite for all states (Kegley, 1995, 4; Grieco, 1995: 153; Stone, 1994: 449).

Realist Theory of International Relations

After completing this chapter, you will be able to:

Learning Outcomes

1 Describe the key terms, main point of interest and explanatory capacity of realist theory.

2 Differentiate between different strands of realism and explain the nuances that distinguish them.

Chapter Outline

Introduction
Classical Realism
Structural Realism (Neorealism)
Neoclassical Realism
Conclusion

Key Terms

IR Theory
Realism
Neo-realism
Neo-classical Realism
Offensive Realism
Defensive Realism
The Security Dilemma
Anarchy
High/low Politics
Balance of Power
Units of Analysis

order, stability, and regulated forms of interaction between independent units" (Holsti, 1995: 5). In that sense, anarchy means that for the actors, in the absence of a superior authority capable of organizing the relations between sovereign units, relying upon themselves for their goals, security and survival is the only option. Another insight derived from this first assumption is that non-state actors have lesser importance, if not any, for the study of world politics. International organizations have no capacity to do more than its member states want to do and they have very little influence on state behavior (Mearsheimer, 1994). Other non-state actors such as terrorist groups, multinational corporations etc. play a secondary role at best, in realist perspective. So, the "system" referred frequently by realists is consisted of sovereign states and network of their complex interactions.

Secondly, from the realist point of view, state is seen as a unitary actor. "For purposes of theory building and analysis, realists view the state as being encapsulated by a metaphorical hard shell or opaque, black box." (Viotti and Kauppi, 2012: 39). In this logic, when it comes to international issues, a country speaks with one voice and faces the hostilities of international arena as an integrated unit. The government resolves domestic political differences and the state as a unitary actor, has one policy for every issue it has to deal with. So, as unitary actors, states are seen, in this framework, as monoliths that try constantly to maximize their power.

Third realist assumption is based on the belief that, incarnated in the leader, states are, in essence, rational (purposive) actors. Hence, they seek to maximize at the international scene, their interests defined in terms of power. As stated by Hans Morgenthau (1997), "international politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim" (31). This power-centered vision is shared by Edward Carr who stated in his *Twenty Years' Crisis* that "[P]olitics are, then, in one sense always power politics" (Carr, 1981: 103). Thus, through a rational decision-making process, states choose, from a set of alternatives that serves to primarily stated objectives in optimum way. "Rationality and state-centrism is often defined as main realist premises" (Donnely, 2013: 54) and they play a critical role,

along with the acceptance of state as a unitary actor, to facilitate to apply rational choice models to important phenomena such as balance of power, deterrence, the use of force etc.

Fourth and the last main realist assumption puts emphasis on hierarchy of issues according to which the ones related to national and international security are located at the top. "Military and related political issues dominate world politics." (Viotti and Kauppi, 2012: 40). In that logic, military, strategic issues that concerns security of state are often referred to as *"high politics"* whereas socio-economic topics remains in the field of *"low politics"*. In that context, the hierarchy mentioned here schematize the realist vision of political issues regarding their importance and primacy over one another.

So, "the [realist] tradition focuses on the nation-state as the principle actor in international relations and its central proposition is that since the purpose of statecraft is national survival in an hostile environment, the acquisition of power is the proper, rational and inevitable goal of foreign policy (Evans and Newnham, 1998: 465). In this view, international arena is the scene of power politics and power, in that matter, it is conceptualized as both a means and an end in itself. In other words, international actors, nation-states notably, seek to gain power and it is this power what helps them survive in this environment in which reigns *homo homini lupus est (man is wolf to another man)* principle.

CLASSICAL REALISM

These realist assumptions of international relations theory constitute the starting point of every hypotheses in various branches of the theory and every analysis developed in this framework. One of the pioneers of *classical realism,* Hans Morgenthau (1997) states six principles of realism that could help us comprehend profoundly the realist vision of international phenomenon. These six principles are:

1. Politics is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature.
2. Statesmen conduct themselves in terms of interest defined as power.
3. Interest determines political conduct within the political and cultural context which foreign policy is formulated.

policy. So, in that sense, structural realism's focus could be found in outcomes of international politics. While its primary preoccupation is to describe a way to best manage the international affairs, it, in this regard, departs from classical realism that takes into account, as mentioned above, the politics and ethics of statecraft. In order to better comprehend neorealist vision, it is really important to understand the difference between Waltz's conception of international politics and foreign policy. An analysis of foreign policy is interested either in causes and consequences of state actions at international level or its decision-making process whereas a theory of international politics, neorealism as suggested by its adherents, seeks primarily answers to questions of how and to what extent external factors play a role in shaping states' international policy choices. As stated by Kenneth Waltz himself:

> *"… a neorealist theory of international politics explains how external forces shape states' behavior, but says nothing about the effects of internal forces. Under most circumstances, a theory of international politics is not sufficient, and cannot be made sufficient, for the making of unambiguous foreign-policy predictions. An international-political theory can explain states' behavior only when external pressures dominate the internal disposition of states, which seldom happens. When they do not, a theory of international politics needs help"* (Waltz, 1996: 57).

Apart from these, separation of internal and external spheres according to their organizing principles constitutes another critical characteristic of neorealism. In that context, it is wise to underline that, for Waltz (2001), "… [the] wars occur because there is nothing to prevent them" (232). In other words, "with many sovereign states, with no system of law enforceable among them, with each state judging its grievances and ambitions according to the dictates of its own reason or desire, conflict, sometimes leading to war, is bound to occur. To achieve a favorable outcome from such conflict, a state has to rely on its own devices, the relative efficiency of which must be its constant concern" (Waltz, 2006a: 260). Hence, structural realism posits that anarchical structure of international system makes every unit in that system, the states, functionally undifferentiated. To put differently, it takes states as the *like units*. Thus, the states as international units, are not differentiated by

the functions they carry out. Every state is, because of anarchy, obliged to ensure its security before pursuing any other objective. Since survival is a *sine qua non* condition to seek to satisfy other needs such as power, welfare, peace, etc., primary goal of state is to provide itself with security. Moreover, in a *self-help* system, states have no one else but themselves to count on for their own security. This is that fear provoked by this "loneliness" what incites states to take actions in ways that help create balance of power.

So, the concept of balance of power constitutes an important aspect of structural realist paradigm as it does in classical realist framework. However, meaning of this concept in these two approaches, not surprisingly, is not the same. While classical realists emphasize the primacy of *absolute gain* to take a better position at international scene; their neorealist counterparts, in this regard, highlight *relative gain* concept as the most critical preoccupation of state that is in search of security in anarchical system. In order to develop a comprehensive understanding of this relative/absolute gain distinction, it is definitely needed to examine these two paradigms' thinking related to the issue of polarity of international system.

In neorealist perspective, "…particular international systems can be differentiated as multipolar, bipolar, and unipolar based on the number of major actors or the "distribution of capabilities" across units" (Adams, 2013: 22-23). Given the inclination of neorealism to take states as *like units,* polarity of system and distribution of capabilities between actors become even more important. That is to say, if states are functionally undifferentiated, what gives them the advantage in their quest for power and security in an anarchical system is the extent of their capabilities to fulfill this function. In Waltzian perspective, having only two great powers in the system is a *sine qua non* condition to a stable international environment. "Significant changes take place when the number of great powers reduces to two or one. With more than two, states rely for their security both on their own internal efforts and on alliances they may make with others. Competition in multipolar systems is more complicated than competition in bipolar ones because uncertainties about the comparative capabilities of states multiply as numbers grow, and because estimates of the cohesiveness and strength of coalitions are hard to make" (Waltz, 2000: 6).

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Chapter 3 — Liberalism

Chapter Outline

Introduction
Classical Liberalism
Classical Liberal Theory of IR
Liberal Internationalism
Neoliberal Institutionalism
Conclusion

Key Terms

Freedom of Individual
Free Trade
International Law
Interdependence
International Organization
International Institution
Global Governance

INTRODUCTION

A major theoretical debate in the International Relations (IR) discipline is the one between realism and liberalism. The liberal IR theory that carries forward the basic arguments of the classical liberal theory is basicly concentrated on the individual as the unit of analysis. This has led to a different view than the state-centric mentality of realism and brought forward the idea of pluralism in actors of IR besides the nation-state. Another feature is the faith in the power of human mind and universal values of liberalism that shall bring global peace. This is generally why the theory is called idealist and in some cases even criticized to be utopian.

On the contrary, liberalism has criticized realism's inadequacy to explain international cooperation and argues that the realist analyses are confined with the limits of narrow definitions of the national interest. The liberal thinkers discuss that international cooperation, just like conflict, emanates from the anarchic nature of the international system and argue that IR is an amalgam of conflictual and collaborative relations. Thus, the liberal reading of IR is composed of both conflictual and cooperative behaviors of states, non-state entities and individuals. Liberal tradition (despite its variations) is cooperative in its nature because of its emphasis on human freedom which is thought to cumulate through cooperation, interaction and interdependence. This is also why the international organizations are accepted as important agents in fulfilling the common interests of people and their prospects for peace. Another assumption of the theory is that the political and economic behaviors cannot be separated from each other, for liberals it is impossible to categorize them as two distinct issue areas.

There is a spectrum of liberal schools and writers in IR, some of which are closer to realist thinking like in the case of (liberal) institutionalism, or contrarily arguing against basic realist assumptions like in the case of liberal internationalism also known as idealism. Idealist writers have argued that it is possible to change the world through the establishment of international organizations. Despite the realist challenge by scholars like E.H. Carr and H. Morgenthau in the 1930s and 1940s; liberalism survived and was influential in shaping the post- Second World War (WWII)

politics and the evolution of IR as a separate discipline. The liberal scholars were also affected by the international circumstances around them such as the Cold War or the increasing effects of globalization. Some liberal writers have inspired constructivist thinking and post-structural discussions in the field, due to the structure-agent debate in analyses. Liberalism has been the main opponent of realism in its quest to be a grand theory. Many argue that the end of the Cold War marked the triumph of liberalism. However, neo(liberalism) continues to borrow many concepts and assumptions of (neo)realism in its attempts to explain today's global politics. This chapter begins with the main assumptions of the classical liberal theory and continues with its reflections on the liberal theory of IR, liberal internationalism and neoliberalism. In the explanations on these basic concepts and assumptions, counter arguments are also discussed with an eye to the realist critiques towards them.

CLASSICAL LIBERALISM

International Relations as a discipline was born following the devastation and trauma of the First World War (WWI). At that time, the scholars were trying to understand international politics through empirical methods and both reform the international system and promote peace between nations through universal normative concerns. This was a dual challenge whereby both realism and idealism were at work. E.H. Carr in his book *The Twenty Years' Crisis* defined political science "as the science not only of what is, but of what ought to be" though he is accepted as a scholar in the realist camp (Reus-Smit, 2001, 573-578). Liberal internationalism has carried the traces of classical liberalism and post-war idealism together. In the genealogy of IR theory, neoliberalism since the 1970s has moved closer to the basic assumptions of neorealism and is argued to offer more in terms of analyses of positivist inquiry.

The classical liberalism can be traced back to ancient thinkers and has its roots in the Stoic philosophy. It was developed as a "political" theory in the 17th century by writers like John Locke whose philosophical and theological defense of property rights and religious toleration inspired other liberal thinkers (Thorsen, 2010, 191). His philosophy on

individual freedom and state's limited role can be best seen in his book titled "Second Treatise on Government" (Viotti & Kauppi, 2012, 132). John Locke (1632-1704) argued that the state of nature is not a state of war. He identified this state as one of freedom and maintained that it is governed by the law of reason. The universally binding moral law on human reason is the law of God. This is why human beings are assumed to be equal and rational. According to the social contract idea advanced by Locke and followed by others, humans in a natural state of freedom do not necessarily respect others' right to freedom. This leads them to organize their society so as to secure those rights and freedoms. In this connection, the only way for individuals to surrender their natural freedoms and become responsible members of their communities is to form "a civil society by contracting with others" in order to live in comfort, peace and security (Arı, 2013, 293-294).

For detailed information on The Social Contract Theory, see Chapter 7 "Normativism".

However the basic arguments were shaped in the 19th century by economists like David Ricardo, Richard Cobden and philosophers like Alexis de Tocqueville (van de Haar, 2009, 17). According to classical liberalism, states ought to be minimal which means that every issue area except military, law enforcement and other non-excludable goods ought to be left to the dealings of citizens. The main purpose of the minimal state is to watch the fundamental aspects (musts) of public order and is associated with the laissez-faire (let them do) economics. However in time, modern liberalism has become associated with a more active role for state in economics for a redistribution of wealth and power with the aim of equity in society (Thorsen, 2010, 192).

> Stoicism is a school of thought which argues that human beings are all part of a larger community despite their different political entities and cultures. The equality of people comes from the universal ability of human kind to reason and the applicability of natural law. The emphasis on universalism in stoic philosophy affected liberal precursors like Hugo Grotius (17th century) and Immanuel Kant (19th century).

! important

> There are six key concepts of classical liberal philosophy that are commonly mentioned by the liberal writers, these are; *individualism, freedom, natural law, spontaneous order, rule of law and limited state.* The different classifications of classical liberalism is based on different interpretations of these six core elements.

In classical liberalism, individual is the main object of study (unit of analysis), not groups, societies or nations. Liberal writers in fact do not idealize the human; however, they trust human rationality, strength and flexibility of the human mind. Besides, the classical writers emphasize the importance of passions and emotions in explaining human behaviors. The moral judgments about right and wrong are largely shaped by impressions and ideas. However, laws are shaped through human conduct since human beings observe each other in restraining their selfish sentiments. The basic mentality of the classical liberal writers is that social phenomena can only be understood through the study of the individual behavior (van de Haar, 2009, 21-23). The imperfection of human being and his/her individual errors can be corrected in the social realm. Among the intellectual precursors of liberalism, agency (a focus on actors) is a generally accepted approach and gives its voluntaristic characteristic to the liberal theory (Viotti & Kauppi, 2012, 131).

Freedom is an indispensable condition for classical liberalism and is also closely related with the degree of state's involvement in the life of the individual. Freedom is the area where the individual is free to act, without violating the rights of others. The classical liberals emphasize the importance of protection from intrusion and interference by others. They argue that freedom is comprised of all personal liberties known as "personal security under the law" (protecting life of an individual), the freedoms of private property and contract, religious belief, intellectual inquiry and expression (van de Haar, 2009, 24). Liberalism strongly argues for the protection of a large private sphere for the individual, whereas living together with others necessitates compliance with general

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Chapter 4

Marxist Theory

After completing this chapter, you will be able to:

Learning Outcomes

1 Explain the essentials of classic Marxist theory,

2 Discuss the critics of classic Marxism,

3 Describe the evolution of the theory, and in this respect, imperialism and its critics,

4 Define neo-Marxism and its critics,

5 Make structural analysis of significant international issues, including the issues of underdevelopment, North-South division and related conflicts.

Chapter Outline

Introduction
Classic Marxist Theory
Critics of Classic Marxism
Imperialism and its Critics
Neo-Marxism
Critics of Neo-Marxism
The North-South Division

Key Terms

Marxism
Class Conflict
Dialectic Materialism
Capitalism
Surplus Value
Imperialism
Neo-Marxism
Dependency
Hegemony
North-South Division

To be more specific, Marx tried to understand how the capitalist society works, how it arose out of feudalism, and where it is likely to lead. Concentrating on the social and economic relations in which people earn their livings, Marx saw behind capitalism a struggle of two main classes: the capitalists, who own the productive resources, and the workers or proletariat, who sell their labor force to survive. Marxism is basically Marx's analysis of the complex and developing relations between these two classes.

There are actually three sub-theories of Marxism, the theory of alienation, the labor theory of value, and the materialist conception of history. All these must be understood within the context of capitalist infrastructure. Even Marx's vision of socialism emerges from his study of capitalism, since socialism is the unrealized potential inherent in the capitalist system itself. Some socialist ideas can be traced as far back as the many religious writings, but Marxism has its main intellectual origins in German philosophy, English political economy, and French utopianism. It is from the German philosopher Georg W. F. Hegel that Marx learned a way of thinking about the world, called "dialectics". British political economists, especially Adam Smith and David Ricardo, provided Marx with a first approximation of his labor theory of value. Finally from many French utopians, such as Charles Fourier and the Comte de Saint-Simon, Marx borrowed the idea of a happier future beyond capitalism. These are the main ingredients that led to the formation of Marxism (Ollman, 1981).

Marx's study of capitalism is based on a philosophy which is both dialectical and materialist. Through dialectics, changes and interaction are taken into account. His dialectical approach leads that his fuller subject is always the capitalist society as it developed. The actual changes occurring in history are seen as the outcome of opposing tendencies, or contradictions, which evolve in the ordinary functioning of society.

✓ Dialectics is a term used to describe a method of philosophical argument that involves some sort of contradictory process between opposing sides. Hegel's dialectics refers to the particular dialectical method of argument employed by the 19th century German philosopher, Georg W. F. Hegel, which, like other dialectical methods, relies on a contradictory process between opposing sides. Hegel believes that reason necessarily generates contradictions and new premises, indeed, produce further contradictions (https://plato.stanford.edu).

However, unlike Hegel's dialectic, which operates essentially on ideas, Marx's dialectic is actually materialist. In other words, while Hegel examines ideas apart from the people who have them, Marx's materialism puts ideas back into the heads of living people, focusing on human activities, especially on production. In this interaction, social conditions are argued to have a greater effect on the character and development of people's ideas than these ideas do on social conditions.

In this respect, Marx believes that the system of economic production determines the institutional and ideological structure of society. Whoever controls the economic system also controls the political system. Each period of history contains clashing forces, or a dialectic, from which a new order emerges. In ancient times, there were patricians, free people and slaves; in the Middle Ages, there were feudal lords and vassals; and in the capitalist era, there are capitalists and workers. So for Marx, all history, indeed, is the history of class struggle between a ruling group and an opposing one from which a new economic, political, and social system emerges. Currently, capitalism is the main bondage from which people strive to be liberated and this will be occurring through the laws of historical social change.

The critical question shaping in almost all aspects of Marxist theory is how the ways in which people earn their living affect their bodies, minds, and daily lives.

In the theory of alienation, Marx argues that workers in the capitalist society do not own the means of production, such as machines, raw materials, or factories. These are owned by the capitalists to whom the workers must sell their labor force. This system of labor displays four relations that lie at the core of Marx's theory of alienation: First, the worker is alienated from his or her productive activity, playing no part in deciding what to do or how to do. Second, the worker is alienated from the product of that activity, having no control over what happens to it. Third, the worker is alienated from other human beings, with competition and mutual indifference. This applies not only to relations with the capitalists, who use their control over the worker's activity and product to further their own profit maximizing interests, but also to relations between individuals inside the working class as everyone tries to survive as best as he or she can. Finally, the worker is alienated from the distinctive potential for creativity and community. As a result, workers gradually lose their ability to develop finer qualities as members of human species (Churchhich, 1990).

As for the labor theory of value, given the fact that everything produced in the capitalist society has a price, Marx emphasizes the separation of the worker from the means of production. To survive, workers, who lack the means to produce, must sell their labor force. In selling their labor force, they give up all claims with respect to the products of their labor. Hence, these products become available for exchange in the market. Workers can consume only a small portion of the product in the market with the wages they are paid for their labor force.

But what happens to the rest of the product? Marx calls it surplus value. Surplus value, then, is the difference between the amount of exchange and value created by workers. The capitalist buys the worker's labor force, as any other commodity. The capitalists' control over this surplus value is the basis of their power and wealth over the workers (Marx, 2004: chs. 1, 24).

According to Marx, however, exactly the amount of surplus value is also the source of the capitalist system's greatest weakness. Since only part of their product is returned to workers as wages, the workers cannot buy a large portion of the products they actually produce. Under pressure from the constant growth of the total product, the capitalists periodically fail to find new markets to take up the slack. This eventually leads to a crisis of overproduction and by extension, an economic crisis.

In this respect, Marx argues, the actual course of history is determined by class struggle. To Marx, each class is defined chiefly by its relation to the production process. The interests of the capitalists lie in securing their power and expanding profits. Workers, on the other hand, have interests in higher wages and better working conditions. In order to realize them, they need a new distribution of power.

These two major classes constantly try to promote their interests at the expense of the other and their goals are truly incompatible. In this battle, the capitalists are aided by their wealth, their control of the state, and their domination over other institutions, such as schools, media, and religious institutions that guide people's thinking. On the workers' side are their sheer numbers, trade unions, working class political parties, if exists, and the contradictions within capitalism that make current conditions increasingly irrational. Among them, Marx especially relies on growing contradictions within the capitalist system. He argues that as the contradictions of capitalism become greater, neither the state nor ideology can restrain the mass of the workers from recognizing their interests and acting upon them.

The overthrow of capitalism, Marx predicts, will be realized through a revolution and out of it, a socialist society will emerge, developing much further the productive potential inherited from capitalism. In Marxist theory, socialism refers to a particular historic phase of economic development and its corresponding social relations after capitalism in which the basic criterion for production is the so-called use value. Marxist production for use is directed through careful economic planning, while the distribution of economic output is based on the principle of each individual according to his or her contribution. Through planning, production would then be directed to serving social needs, instead of maximizing private profit. The social relations, on the other hand, are characterized by the working class effectively owning the means of production through public ownership or by cooperative

Chapter 5

International Political Economy

After completing this chapter, you will be able to:

Learning Outcomes

1 Describe how International Political Economy (IPE) has emerged as a distinct discipline.

2 Explain the major approaches to International Political Economy.

3 Discuss how international trade and finance system work globally, as well as the monetary and exchange rate management behind them.

4 Explain the historical background of multinational corporations, identifying their advantages and disadvantages.

5 Discuss transnational economic issues in the post-Cold War era.

Chapter Outline

Introduction

Historic Background

Three Major Approaches to International Political Economy

International Trade and Finance

Hegemony

Multinational Corporations

The Post-Cold War Era: The Problematic Areas and Challenges

Conclusion

Key Terms

International Political Economy
Economic Liberalism
Economic Nationalism
Economic Structuralism
International Trade
International Finance
Monetary System
Hegemony
Multinational Corporations
Global Economic Issues

INTRODUCTION

Political economy is, in a generic sense, a discipline analyzing the relationship between economy and politics, or vice versa. The basic assumption on which the discipline is based is that neither politics, nor economy can be fully understood in the absence of the other. That is to say, economy affects politics, as politics affects economy. Even the two can be said to be intertwined most of the time.

By extension, International Political Economy (IPE), utilizing interdisciplinary tools and theoretical perspectives, focuses on the interaction between international economic variables and international relations, again based on the assumption that international relations cannot be analyzed, nor understood, without taking economic variables into account. IPE developed as a sub-field of International Relations during the Cold War years (1945-1991), particularly in the 1970s, but it has especially become a more distinct discipline in the post-Cold War era.

Our historic experiences reveal that economic events in one country may have economic and political implications for other countries. For example, the global "credit crunch" recession of 2008 originated in the collapse of the United States housing market as numerous international banks began to collapse with implications for businesses and individual borrowers throughout most of the world. One should also remember that the Great Depression of the early 1930s was a key factor behind the rise of radical right-wing ideologies in Europe. The National Socialists came to power in Germany under this atmosphere, whereby the way to the Second World War became shortened.

Similarly, political events in one country can have economic implications for others. For example, the reunification of Germany in 1990 was the main reason in the collapse of the United Kingdom pound in 1992. The German Central Bank (Deutsche Bundesbank) had to raise German interest rates to pay for the absorption of their relatively poor neighbors causing financial fluctuations in the European markets.

In this respect, contemporary IPE scholars and researchers deal with issues such as, global market, international trade, international finance, monetary systems, hegemony, multinational corporations, transnational economic problems, and so on.

This chapter is composed of six sections. The first section provides a brief historical background with respect to the emergence of IPE as a distinct discipline. The second summarizes three major and, in a way, contending approaches to IPE. The third focuses on international trade and finance, elaborating how international trade works globally, as well as monetary and exchange rate management behind it. The fourth talks about Multinational Corporations (MNCs), identifying their advantages and disadvantages, economically, as well as culturally. The fifth discusses the political role of hegemonic powers in international economic relations. The final section addresses many major economic issues that have particularly emerged in the post-Cold War era as factors of international instability.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Historically speaking, the roots of IPE, indeed, are closely related to development of global economy, which is rooted in the expansion of Western colonialism. In the period from the late Middle Ages through the end of the 18th century, there were a number of key developments in technology and ideas. Mainly due to the advances in ship design and navigation system, the European explorers opened up new frontiers in the American continent and the Middle East to trade. Especially the British East India Company and the Dutch East India Company facilitated trade in goods and provided capital for investments in the agriculture of the new lands. New settlers increasingly moved to these lands, but staying linked with their motherland.

The British East India Company was set up on December 31, 1600 for the exploitation of trade with Southeast Asia and India. Starting as a monopolistic trading body, the company became involved in politics and acted as an agent of British imperialism in India from the early 18th century to the mid-19th (www.britannica.com).

The Dutch East India Company
was formed in Netherlands in 1602 to enhance trade in the Indian Ocean. Throughout most of the 17th century, the company especially served as the instrument of the powerful Dutch commercial empire in East India. It was disintegrated in 1799 (www.britannica.com).

From the beginning of the 19th century to the First World War, the rapid expansion of colonialism and the Industrial Revolution occurred as a result of other major technological improvements in communications, transportation, and manufacturing processes. The European states needed raw materials found in colonies, hence international trade expanded, so did international investment. This way, capital especially moved from Europe to North America in search for higher profits.

Throughout the 19th century, it, in a way, became necessary for European industrialized nations to expand their markets globally in order to sell products that they could not sell domestically in their countries. Besides, businessmen and bankers had excess capital to invest, and foreign investments offered the incentive of greater profits, despite the risks. The need for cheap labor and a steady supply of raw materials necessitated that the industrial nations maintain firm control over these unexplored areas. Only by directly controlling these regions, which meant setting up colonies under their direct control, could the industrial economy work without any serious problem (www.tamaqua.k12.pa.us).

The economic links were also followed by political and cultural domination. The Great Britain, in particular, was the center of the Industrial Revolution, the major trading state and source of international capital. It facilitated trade by lowering its own tariffs and opening its markets. These policies, in turn, encouraged investment abroad. That is why, this period was labeled as the "Pax Britannica", when the hegemonic power of the Great Britain expanded to the extent that "the sun never set on the British Empire". Overall, the existence of a hegemon facilitated the working of the international economic system, benefiting the hegemon at the same time.

Pax Britannica
refers to the period between the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 and the start of the First World War in 1914. That period, under the leadership of the Great Britain, was comparatively free of military conflict among major powers.

The era of colonialism brought about serious consequences, changing both Western society and its colonies. Through it, Western countries managed to establish a global economy in which the transfer of goods, money, and technology needed to be regulated in an orderly way to ensure a continuous flow of natural resources and cheap labor for the industrialized world. Yet colonialism adversely affected the colonies. Under foreign rule, local economies could not find a chance to grow. Imported goods wiped out local ones. This way, powers held back the colonies from developing industries.

Colonialism also led to a cultural clash. By the start of the 20th century, Western nations had control over most of the globe. Europeans were convinced that they had superior cultures and forced the people to accept the Western way of life. The pressures to Westernize led the colonial people to reevaluate their traditions. But the good thing was Western countries introduced modern medicine that stressed the use of vaccines and more sanitary hygiene, helping to save lives and increase life expectancy.

internet

For further information on the positive and negative attributes of colonialism, please visit https://www.britannica.com/topic/colonialism

The most recent phase of the internationalization of the economy began at the end of the Second World War. That phase was a response to the

Chapter 6

International Regime Theories

After completing this chapter you will be able to:

Chapter Outline

Introduction
The Concept of Regime
The Content and The Limits of International Regimes
International Regimes and Cooperation
The Critiques of International Regimes

Key Terms

Regimes
Prisoner's Dilemma
Mutual Interdependence
Hegemonic Leadership

INTRODUCTION

International regime theories (IRT) indicate that cooperation is possible in an environment in which there is no higher authority to enforce the nations to cooperate. It is well known that model of prisoner's dilemma explains why the states escape from cooperation. Therefore, while realist approach based on prisoner's dilemma emphasizes that possible risks and uncertainties might cause to escape/refrain from cooperation, free rider approach also argues that the existence of some countries trying to employ the collective action without paying any cost might restrict the cooperation of states. However, Perritt (1998) claims that regime theories introduce a new approach indicating the possibility of cooperation even in these circumstances.

Prisoner's Dilemma

The police have arrested two suspects and are interrogating them in separate rooms. Each can either confess, thereby implicating the other, or keep silent. No matter what the other suspect does, each can improve his own position by confessing. If the other confesses, then one had better do the same to avoid the especially harsh sentence that awaits a recalcitrant holdout. If the other keeps silent, then one can obtain the favorable treatment accorded a state's witness by confessing. Thus, confession is the dominant strategy for each. But when both confess, the outcome is worse for both than when both keep silent. (http://www.econlib.org/library/Enc/PrisonersDilemma.html)

According to Keohane (1993:23), **regime theory is a theory for explaining and understanding the international cooperation intending the coordination and harmonization of interest among nations.** In fact, international cooperation which means mutual harmonization of policies benefitting to all sides are widely seen in world politics. Even some of these cooperations might be result of vertical imposition from top to bottom, but most of them are like horizontal type of cooperation as a result of mutual consent. Hurrell (1993: 50) argues that regime theories introduce the possibility of cooperation in an environment of anarchy in which sovereign states are struggling for power and interest. In fact, the philosophical and ideational background of the possibility and necessity of cooperation among

nations goes back to a couple of centuries ago. In particular, endeavors for this purpose emphasize to form a global and international society inspired by Kant and Grotius depending on ascendancy of law among sovereign states.

THE CONCEPT OF REGIME

International regimes can be defined as explicit or implicit norms, rules, principles and decision making processes related to certain issue areas/subjects (Stone, 1994: 447; Conca, 1996; Krasner, 1991: 1; Krasner, 1993: 1-22)

According to Rosecrance, regime is thought as a result of consent of states and the limited surrender for independent decision making authority. Domestic structures are the best examples for them whereas states are institutions created by individuals surrendering certain powers for protecting themselves and attaining security. In international regimes, in a similar manner, states have duties and responsibilities to perform and liabilities and obligations for those violating their responsibilities (Stone, 1994: 464).

Conca (1996) stated that regime can be defined in narrow and broader meanings. According to broader definition, it is understood as patterns of behaviors in international relations, whereas in narrow meaning, it can be defined as conditioning the behaviors of states consciously to realize collective goals, and can be seen as a specific version of international institutions.

International Regimes

Edited by
STEPHEN D. KRASNER

In this book, fourteen distinguished specialists in international political economy thoroughly explore the concept of international regimes-the implicit and explicit principles, norms, rules, and procedures that guide international behavior. In the first section, the authors develop several theoretical views of regimes. In the following section, the theories are applied to specific issues in international relations, including the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and on the still-enduring postwar regimes for money and security

! important

At one extreme, regimes are defined so broadly as to constitute either all international relations or all international interactions within a given issue area. In this sense, an international monetary regime is nothing more than all international relations involving money… Similarly, a conceptual definition of regimes as, for example, "the rules of the game," in no way limits the range of international interactions to which it refers. We can, after all, describe even the most anarchic behavior in the international system as guided by the rules of self-interest or self-help.' To specify the rules of the international political game is to say that anything and everything goes (Stein, 982: 299)

On the other hand, main purpose of adopting the **broader definition** is to indicate the regulations related to international topics, civil societies, social movements and global governance. The concept of international regime, at the same time, is explaining the legitimate and accepted rule of games and behaviors for sovereign states in international area (Conca, 1996). Stein, in terms of broader meaning, defined the concept as comprising all international relations and all international interactions for a certain topic. For example, international monetary regime is just seen as international relations relating to money. "At one extreme, regimes are defined so broadly as to constitute either all international relations or all international interactions within a given issue area. In this sense, an international monetary regime is nothing more than all international relations involving money" (Stein, 1982: 299). Therefore, regime, at least for simple meaning, refers to rules of game (game of international politics). In broader meaning, it comprises all international institutions and regulations and formal aspect of all state behaviors (Stein, 1991: 115-16).

However, it should be noted that narrow meaning is widely used, so the writers accept the concept as a state of cooperation of nations in an anarchical international structure. This doesn't imply only the capacity to influence the behaviors of states independently, but also refers to decree of states to establish an institution. Therefore, the narrow use of concept is to intend to point out the willingness of states for cooperation in different institutional environments and different conditions.

! important

At the other extreme, regimes are defined as international institutions. In this sense, they equal the formal rules of behavior specified by the charters or constitutions of such institutions, and the study of regimes becomes the study of international organizations. This formulation reduces the new international political economy to the old study of international organizations and represents nothing more than an attempt to redress a tired and moribund field (Stein, 982: 300)

Further Reading

Arthur A. Stein, "Coordination and collaboration: regimes in an anarchic world" International Organization 36, 2, (Spring 1982), 299-324.

Chapter 7

Normativism

After completing this chapter you will be able to:

Key Terms

Cosmopolitanism
Universal Law
Natural Law
Universal Peace
Universal Morality

INTRODUCTION

After 1960s, technological and ideological developments contributed to the arising of normative theories. During that decade, popular methodological debate was on the empirical/analytical theories and methodologies, and the scholars put aside the normative theories, and escaped to use normative standards and concepts such as right or wrong and just or unjust assumed as old fashion for the field of IR. Empirical/analytical theories in these years could not cope with the problems of difference among political institutions, practices and values. In 1970s, post-behavioral revolution emerged as a challenge against the so called behavioral revolution of 1960s, since behavioralism could not answer the contemporary needs, and became abstract by distancing from real world and ignoring the ideological elements for consideration of empirical conservatism. In this framework, some concepts such as value, purpose and preference lost their importance. Therefore, post-behavioralism moved to fill this gap, and in 1980s the problem was still not completely overcome, but at least normative theories regained their popularity. It was required to adopt a new idealist viewpoint that moral values would play significant role for policy making processes to reach a stable and peaceful world. In this framework, post-behavioralist scholars founded a theory which could be verified by empirical observations through synthesizing moral principles of liberal thought and rigid conservatism of realist approach (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, 1990: 565-66).

Further Reading

Cosmopolitanism is the idea that all of humanity belongs to a single global community. Every human being was seen as a citizen of the world in his capacity of "reason" regardless of bloodlineage and racial origins. The thinkers of the Enlightenment, such as Kant, in the eighteenth century, embraced this idea. With the rise of Imperialism and Nationalism in the nineteenth century, however, cosmopolitanism was criticized as an unrealistic, utopian vision. In the twenty-first century, building a peaceful global community is becoming an important issue and cosmopolitanism is discussed in diverse social, political, economic, cultural, and ethical contexts. Cosmopolitanism may entail some sort of world government or it may simply refer to more inclusive moral, economic, and/or political relationships between nations or individuals of different nations. A person who adheres to the idea of cosmopolitanism in any of its forms is called a "cosmopolite."

Source: http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Cosmopolitanism

COMPARING NORMATIVE THEORIES WITH EMPIRICAL THEORIES

In the late 1980s, paradigmatic uncertainty was increasingly debated among IR scholars. For example, Ferguson and Mansbach noted that from past to present, in the history of IR theory, value and normative preferences became primary issues. Theoretical debates, in general, persisted along the axis of normative commitments and political preferences. For this reason, realist and idealist schools of thought exposed the arguments against each other, initiated to refute the other. Scope of inquiry of normative theories all the time were concerned with value laden subjects. In that sense, war, peace, conflict and cooperation shaped the main topics of research (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, 1990: 565-66).

Further Reading

The Basic Principles of Perpetual Peace for Immanuel Kant

Preliminary articles for perpetual peace among states

1. No conclusion of peace shall be held to be valid as such, when it has been made with the secret reservation of the material for a future war.

2. No state having an existence by itself-whether it be small or large-shall be acquirable by another state through inheritance, exchange, purchase or donation.

3. Standing armies shall be entirely abolished in the course of time.

4. No national debts shall be contracted in connection with the external affairs of the State.

5. No state shall intermeddle by force with the constitution or government of another state.
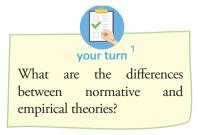
6. No state at war with another shall adopt such modes of hostility as would necessarily render mutual confidence impossible in a future peace; such as, the employment of assassins (percussores) or poisoners (venefici), the violation of a capitulation, the instigation of treason and such like.

Definitive articles for perpetual peace among states

1. The civil constitution of every state is to be republican.

2. The law of nations is to be founded on a federation of free states.

3. The law of world citizenship is to be united to conditions of universal hospitality.

Source: https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/int-rel/kant/kant1.htm

Therefore, normative theories, essentially are related with the subjects of philosophy and ethic. **Perpetual peace** approach of Kant and European federation idea of J. J. Rousseau were interesting examples for normative studies. Value is always an important element for the background of normative studies, and such theories placed the discussion of politics in the context of morality. Here, moral factors became evident and interests were expressed through moral and ethical dimensions or in the context of values related to ideology, morality and politics (Johari, 1985: 72).

However, normative theories rest on value preferences which cannot be tested or verified with factual experiments and this is an important difference from empirical/positivist theories. Moreover, they are not concerned with the proposition related to "what is" but "what ought to be, what should be" (Viotti and Kauppi, 1993:5; Rosenau, 1993, 25; Frost, 1986: 15).

Empirical theories intensify on the real reasons of relations between statesmen and foreign policy.

Diplomatic history introduces ample proofs for this perspective. From time to time, this contention is conducted in the axis of idealism-realism. However, the traces of the elements of value and norm would be seen in the studies carried out in the framework of realism as well. Therefore, this subjective factor could not be completely eliminated in empirical theories too. Empirical political scientists sometimes use the normative/philosophical concepts, even if they adopt empirical facts. In this context, coinciding theory and fact, inevitably, demonstrates the necessities that the empirical theories at the same time should utilize analytical approaches (Johari, 1985: 73-74).

your turn [1]

What are the differences between normative and empirical theories?

Chapter 8

English School of International Relations

After completing this chapter, you will be able to:

Learning Outcomes

1 Explain the emergence of English School within the theories of international relations

2 Discuss the historical development of the English School from the late 1950s onwards

3 Explain the basic premises and arguments of the English School

4 Distinguish the English School vis-à-vis other schools

Chapter Outline

Introduction
Debate about the English School
The Historical Development of the English School
Basic Premises and Arguments of the English School
English School vs. Other Schools and its Merits
Conclusion

Key Terms

International Society
Civilisation
Order
Voluntarism
Holism
Via Media
Historicism
Diplomacy

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the English School of International Relations. It begins with a summary of the debate and the English School that started in the early 1980s and continued well into the early 2000s. Then it outlines the historical development of the School from the late 1950s onwards. It argues that the School can conveniently be said to have started with the first meeting of the British Committee on the Theory of International Politics in 1959. Based upon the working and output of the British Committee and the works of the English School scholars from the first generation of to the second generation, the premises and arguments of the School have been identified in the third section. It is argued that the ontological and epistemological pluralism, the conception of international society, the salience of the cultural/civilizational factors and values, and finally the rejection of presentism are the distinctive characteristics of the School. In the final section, the distinctions of the English School from the other schools in the discipline of IR have been provided.

DEBATE ABOUT THE ENGLISH SCHOOL

The term "English School" was first coined by Roy Jones in a 1981 article titled as "The English School of International Relations: A Case for Closure". Jones argued that a group of scholars, basically gathered at London School of Economics, could be taken as forming a distinct school of international relations and this school could be named as "English School". According to Jones, there were four defining elements shared by the authors of this school: 1) English school scholars consider International Relations (IR) as an autonomous subject rather than being a part of (International) Politics. 2) They examine order in the world in terms of the structure of relations between sovereign nation-states. 3) They have a common style that involves no use of statistics, geometry and algebra, no rhetoric of world problems, such as poverty and monetary reform. 4) The English School has a commitment to holism in the sense that the whole is more than the mere summation of its parts. Jones argued that the School did not make a significant contribution to the study of international relations and it was time

to close it. Jones' coinage and arguments sparked a debate and conservation within the literature of international relations throughout the 1980s and 1990s. There were basically two issues: a) whether there was a distinct "English School" of international relations and b) if yes, what were its distinctive characteristics and contributions.

Hidemi Suganami (1983) agreed with Jones on the existence of a distinct school and called it as "British institutionalist approach". He identified five factors that united the authors of this approach: 1) aspiration to werthfreiheit (morally neutral analysis), 2) rejection of behaviourism or scientism, 3) reliance on sociological methods (institutional analysis), 4) unity and specificity of the states-system (autonomy of IR), and 5) rejection of utopianism. Suganami however disagreed with Jones and considered the contribution of the School to be significant and consequently he did not call for a closure.

Sheila Grader (1988) directly took the issue with Jones' article and disagreed with him on the existence of a distinct English School. She argued that the authors, whom Jones grouped within a school, could not be taken as forming a distinct and common school because each of those authors had his own views and opinions about the study of international relations. The unifying elements listed by Jones were too general and vague so as to consider those authors as part of a distinct school. Even if the said authors shared those elements, they had their own interpretations rather than a common understanding. She made the point that the only common element among those authors was the convergence on the concept of international society.

Peter Wilson (1989) replied to Grader and formidably argued for the existence of a distinct English School. He identified six characteristics of the School: 1) a perspective of the whole (holism), in other words, the view that international relations constitute a whole, 2) the idea of international society, the view that international relations can be conceptualized in terms of a society, 3) the existence of order within international relations unlike the prevalent conception of anarchy or disorder, 4) the institutional basis of international order rather than mechanical or hegemonial/hegemonic imposition, 5) rejection of utopian schemes, and 6)

rejection of behaviourism. As seen, Wilson's list of the defining characteristics of the English School includes Jones' and Suganami's unifying elements. He also argued that even Grader paradoxically hinted the existence of a distinct school with her view that the authors in concern had a common conception, i.e., international society. Wilson, like Suganami, had the view that the School made significant contributions to the study of international relations.

The debate about the existence and defining characteristics of a distinct "English School" continued throughout the 1990s until well into early 2000s. Three examples are suffice to show the on-going discussion. Yurdusev (1996) argued for the existence of a distinct school and outlined basic premises as follows: 1) concern for history, historical explanation and classical works, 2) international relations being an orderly realm, 3) the view of the whole, 4) the adherence to a via media (middle way) approach, in other words, precaution and refrain from the extremes 5) the significance of and emphasis upon cultural/ civilizational factors in international relations, 6) the volitional/voluntaristic conceptualization of international society/system against mechanical/ structural conception, 7) a broad historical perspective and the use of historical parallels to current problems (rejection of presentism), and 8) avoidance of scientific jargon.

Tim Dunne (1998) argued that we need to take into account three preliminary articles in order to define the English School: 1) self-identification with a particular tradition of enquiry, meaning that if we are to speak for the existence of a distinct English School, there must be a collective self-identification among the members of the said school, 2) an interpretive approach, and 3) international theory as a normative theory rather than a positivist and explanatory theory. As the subtitle of his work, i.e., "a history of the English School", showed; Dunne had no doubt about the existence and significance of the School, so that, it was time to write its history. Roger Epp (1998) highlighted three neglected characteristics of the School, namely, 1) interest in the issues of the Third World and decolonisation, 2) international relations being conceived more about culture, values and history rather than structure and mechanics of international system, and 3) the conceptualization of international theory as a normative theory.

> From the 1980s to 2000 there occurred a debate about the English School and it revolved around basically two issues: a) whether there was a distinct "English School" of international relations and b) if yes, what were its distinctive characteristics and contributions.

From the 1980s to 2000 there occurred a debate about the English School and it revolved around basically two issues: a) whether there was a distinct "English School" of international relations and b) if yes, what were its distinctive characteristics and contributions.

Barry Buzan (2001) made a call for the reconvening of the English School in 1999 and took the issue with the naming of the School. By that time, besides the "English School", the School was variously named by different scholars such as "British School, British Institutionalists, International Society Approach, the Classical School, British Idealists and Rationalism". As a result of Buzan's call for reconvening, there emerged some agreement upon the name "English School" and since then it has been commonplace name for the School. Of course this does not mean that there have been non-English scholars within the School. Indeed, the two prominent scholars of the first generation of the School, Hedley Bull and Charles Manning, were not English; the first one being an Australian and the second one a South African. One other result of Buzan's call for reconvening was that the question of whether there was/is a distinct English School of IR faded away and existence of the School has become well-established.

In order to speak of the existence of a distinct English School, or any school within a particular discipline for that matter, the three conditions must be satisfied: 1) there must be some commonalities of the views in terms of the subject matter, concepts, principles and methods among the scholars/ members in concern, 2) conscious self-identification with the school by the members, and 3) recognition by the larger community of the discipline. The commonality of the view is required because if the scholars in concern do not have anything in common, then, we cannot speak of them as being part of a group, let alone a distinct school.

Conscious self-identification is required, because without some degree of self-identification,

Theories of International Relations II

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■ Preface

Dear Students; the objectivity of studying social sciences has always been questioned on the ground that personal values may interfere. In the same vein, it is a challenge to understand and explain international relations, owing to different world views and approaches used. Studying IR requires an interdisciplinary and multilevel analyses to explain international phenomena, which may embody conflict, cooperation or both. IR was recognized as a separate discipline after the World Wars and debates have continued since then, on "what to study" and "how to study." These questions paved the way to many ontological and epistemological discussions.

The realist-idealist debate of the 1950s and the methodological debate of the 1960s between traditionalism and behaviorism have been the driving forces for change in the discipline. The third debate between positivism and post-positivism has questioned the validity and efficacy of the traditional approaches and their methods. Though they may be classified under different names, critical theories are in a quest to bring alternative perspectives.

First of all, they are interdisciplinary and pose a challenge towards traditional theories in IR, mainly neorealism and neoliberalism, with respect to ontological and epistemological issues. In this book, you will make an introduction to Poststructuralism, Constructivism, Critical Security Studies, namely the Copenhagen School and the Aberystwyth School, Post-colonialism, Critical Theory and the Frankfurt School, as well as Feminism and Green Theory in IR.

Secondly, their common ground is that they question state-centric concepts and formulate new ways to understand IR, such as discourse analysis. The social analyses concentrating on identities at different levels have provided room to explain change in IR, which mainstream theories have been insufficient to bring explanation to. The broadening conception of security to include military, political, economic, societal and environmental issues and intersubjective meanings used to define security threats, have paved the way to constructivist analyses in security studies.

Thirdly, critical theories question value-free knowledge in IR, based on existing power relations and Western definitions that neglect other perspectives. They are cosmopolitan in the sense that they try to solve human problems through taking everyone's concerns and interests into consideration, thus having normative concerns as well. Feminism, on the one hand, brings gender issues under spectacles with respect to critical assessment of international politics, having ethical concerns for inclusivity and self-reflectivity. Green Theory on the other hand, brings environmental issues to the fore in understanding global problems.

As editors of this book, we hope it guides you in understanding international relations and provides background for critical thinking on international politics. We are grateful to our esteemed authors for their collaboration in preparing the book for the theory course of International Relations Bachelor Degree Program.

Editors

Prof.Dr. Tayyar ARI

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Chapter 1   Poststructuralism in IR

After completing this chapter you will be able to:

Chapter Outline

Introduction
Poststructuralism and the Field of International Relations
Language and Discourse
Poststructuralist Scholars
Conclusion

Key Terms

Poststructuralism
Power
Knowledge
Subject
Discourse
Deconstruction
Archaeology
Genealogy

INTRODUCTION

The early development of the poststructuralist thought, based on tension between structuralism and phenomenology, was centred in France during the I960s and I970s. Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida have made significant contributions to the foundation of this idea.

This chapter details when and why poststructuralism that has interdisciplinary content was engaged with International Relations. The main purpose of this chapter is to explain the basic assumptions of the poststructuralist approaches by focusing on their conceptualisation of the main themes in International Relations such as state, sovereignty and identity. It details what the meanings of the critical attitudes of poststructuralism are, for International Relations discipline. This chapter shall help learners to explain the ontological and epistemological bases of poststructuralism that are grounded on "discourse". Focusing on the works of Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault, it shows the importance of constructive aspect of discourse and interrelations between power and knowledge in this approach. Another aim of this chapter is to define the analysis method of poststructuralism such as deconstruction, double reading, archaelogy and genealogy.

POSTSTRUCTURALISM AND THE FIELD OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The effects of poststructuralism on International Relations felt in the early 1980s through the works of Richard Ashley, Robert Walker, Der Derrian and Michael Shapiro. Among these writers, Ashley and Walker designed their works to expose the imaginative boundaries and limitations drawn by traditionalist approaches to understand the domain of world politics through certain concepts (state, sovereignty, etc.). In other words, poststructuralism has problems with restrictive assumptions like the nature of international system which is anarchic and, restricts the actions of sovereign nation states. At first sight, these characterisations are generally accounted with the doctrine of realism or neorealism. Poststructuralist criticism is not only limited with these theories, but also contains an ahistorical perspective, problematic nature of sovereignty, universalism, timeless and unshakeable foundations (O'Loughlin, 2014: 15)

In addition to the above mentioned names, there are many theorists who use this methodology in diverse topics of international relations but prefer not to be defined as poststructuralist. For example foreign policy and nationalionalism (Campbell 1992, 1998; Shapiro), diplomacy (Der Derrian 1992), security (Dillion 1996; Stern 2005), postcolonial politics (Doty 1996), conflict resolution (Bleiker 2005), identity (Collony 1999), war and militarization (Dalby 1990; Shapiro 1997; Zehfuss 2002), humanitarian intervention (Orford 2003) and political economy (De Goede 2005) etc. (Edkins,2007: 88) can be counted among these studies.

In this context, poststructuralism can be defined as a worldview or even an antiworldview suspicious about the fact that events in the world can not be explained without grand theories. They chose not to use grand theories' methods but rather to analyze in detail how people were influenced in specific historical periods with a specific way of thinking, which was shaped with the relations of knowledge and power in any given time (Edkins, 2007: 88). Put another way, rather than being a theory, poststructuralism is regarded as a critical attitude or approach that emphasizes the importance of representation, the role of discoure in the meaning of international relations and the relationship between knowledge and power. So, poststructuralism is not a new school with its own actors, subject and members, but an approach that tries to explain its concerns with some questions. It is an attitude or mentality that tries to make alternative policies possible with its critiques (Campbell, 2013: 225). As Foucault noted:

"The critical ontology of ourselves has to be considered not, certainly, as a theory, a doctrine, nor even as a permanent body of knowledge that is accumulating; it has to be conceived as an attitude, an ethos, a philosophical life in which the critique of what we are is at one and the same time the historical analysis of the limits that are imposed on us and an experiment with the possibility of going beyond them" (Campbell, 2013: 232).

Poststructuralist thought begins its assumption by questioning the traditional assertions that there is an outer place from which the world can be observed objectively and theories can be neutral. But this is not possible according to the poststructural approach. As Edkins says, scholar must be a God-like detachment or have otherworldliness for this assumption to be possible. Because, scholars of IR are necessarily participants in the world politics, not independent observers. So neither theorists nor theories which consist of ideas can not be politically neutral contrarily they do have a political and social impact (Edkins, 2007: 88,89).

From this point of view, it is seen that poststructuralist thought has a lot in common with the post-empricisim and assumptions of Frankfurt School in critical theory. All of these approaches share similar ideas about the central role of langue to the construction of social life, the historicity of knowledge (it means knowledge is related with power and is historically produced within socio-cultural structures) and rejection of the idea of universal (timeless and spaceless) knowledge (Campbell, 2013: 232). In fact, as stated by Robert Cox, one of the prominent names of Frankfurt School, "*theory is always for someone and for some purpose".* For this reason they reject the possibility of value-free social analysis. In other words, theoretical knowledge is not independent from the values, thoughts and ideological beliefs of the theorist (Arı, 2018: 486,487).

your turn 1

What are the basic similarities between poststructuralism, post-empricisim and Frankfurt School critical theory?

As mentioned above; language, culture, identity and historicity take an important place in poststructuralist analysis. After all, their criticism is mainly leveled against structuralist analysis which separates the issue from the historical context by ignoring the development processes of language, culture and identity with a positivist approach. In this regard Richard Ashley's article

"*Poverty of Neorealism*" heavily criticizes Kenneth Waltz's neorealism, pointing out to its emphasis on systemic anarchy which serves the hegemon power, state centrism, utilitarianism, positivist bias, and lack of historicity (Ashley and Walker, 1990; 397). Another example is David Campbell, who studies long ignored mutual construction processes between speech, identity and foreign policy from an American perspective. Michael J. Shapiro asserts that foreign policies take place not in abstract disembodied neorealist space, but through the mobilization of particular cultural, racial and political identities.

In the traditional approach, state is considered as natural and necessary. Though poststructuralists oppose to this idea strictly and focus on the creation of state. For it does not exist a priori, according to poststructuralist thinking. As expressed by Cynthia Weber, the sovereign state shouldnot be understood as it was a priori presence; as opposed to traditional belief, the state is an 'ontological effect of practices which are performatively enacted'. In other words, '*sovereign nation-states are not pre-given subjects but subjects in process".* There is no existence of subject/state prior to the political practice. Sovereign states are continuously rebuilt through historical and political practices. It acquires an identity hereby with these actions. More clearly the state's existence/identity is an effect of performativity that is constructed with discursive practise about foreign and domestic policies, security and defence strategies, or being a member of any international organization (Devetak, 2005: 180).

However, it should not be understood that poststructuralists are anti-state. This approach neither ignores the state nor aims to move beyond the state (Campbell,2013: 226). Poststructuralists, do not seek to explicate international politics by focusing on the state which is accepted as a given subject. According to them, the problematic is the state-centric perspective and the limitations and costs that this perspective causes by ignoring many aspects of world politics. That is why, poststructuralist thought focuses on discursive practices that produce the state-centric perspective (Devetak, 2005: 180, 181).

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Chapter 2   Constructivist Theories

After completing this chapter you will be able to:

Chapter Outline
Introduction
Neorealism
Constructivism
Alexander Wendt and Constructivism
Social Structure
Identity and Interest Formation
Unit-Level Constructivism
Holistic Constructivism

Key Terms
Neorealism
Constructivism
Material Structure
Social Structure
Identity
Levels of Analysis
Unit-level Constructivism
Holistic Constructivism

For neorealism, why states continuously seek power has little to do with human nature. Neorealism explains why states want more power with reference to the structure of the international system. While classical realism mainly focuses on state leaders and their decisions, neorealism, by contrast, emphasizes the structure of the international system that is external to the actors, in particular the relative distribution of power. "Leaders are relatively unimportant because structures compel them to act in certain ways. Structures more or less determine actions" (Jackson and Sørensen, 2013: 79). In Mearsheimer's words;

> It is the structure or architecture of the international system that forces states to pursue power. In a system where there is no higher authority that sits above the great powers, and where there is no guarantee that one will not attack another, it makes eminently good sense for each state to be powerful enough to protect itself in the event it is attacked (Mearsheimer, 2013: 78).

Waltz argues that "a system is composed of a structure and interacting units" (Waltz, 1979: 79). Waltz defines political structure on three dimensions: ordering principles, the character of the units, and the distribution of capabilities. According to Waltz, ordering principle implies the organization of authority. Unlike in domestic political systems, authority in international systems is organized horizontally; and hence, the international system is decentralized and anarchic. Therefore, anarchy becomes the ordering principle of the system. The assumption that follows is that the desire of the units is to survive. In order to survive in this anarchic world, states should take care of themselves. (Bozdağlıoğlu, 2003: 13). In other words, they "must rely on the means they can generate and the arrangements they can make for themselves" (Waltz, 1986: 108). As a result, self-help becomes the ordering principle of action in an anarchic order.

The second element of the system's structure is the character of the units. Waltz argues that states in the system are functionally similar. The functional similarity is the natural result of anarchy because "anarchy entails coordination among a system's units, and that implies their sameness" (Waltz, 1979: 93). Under anarchy, the most important concern of states is to survive and all their efforts and actions are directed to that end. States as rational actors will behave to guarantee survival which will entail their functional similarity. "For Waltz, the assumption of anarchy means that states will be unwilling to risk functional differentiation, in other words, an international division of labor. Anarchy compels each state to focus on its core preference – maintaining its sovereignty, i.e. its own survival – without relying on external help" (Schörnig, 2014: 42).

According to neorealism, anarchy and the functional similarity of units are constant. The only element that can change is the distribution of capabilities. States are similar in the tasks they face, not in their abilities to perform them. States are "distinguished primarily by their greater or lesser capabilities for performing similar tasks… the structure of a system changes with changes in the distribution of capabilities across the system's units" (Waltz 1979: 97). Therefore, the distribution of capabilities becomes the only determining factor of structure. International change occurs when the distribution of capabilities changes and when balance of power shifts dramatically. Changes in the system, or systemic change, then, depend on the distribution of material capabilities that move the system from anarchy to hierarchy or vice versa. Since material capabilities are the essential part of structure, structure is considered as a *material* concept.

For the sake of his structural theory, Waltz excludes motives, attributes or any particular qualities of states except their capabilities from his analysis. "Instead, he is more interested in how the qualities, the motives, and the interactions of the units are affected by structure. Thus, structure becomes a cause producing a similarity in processes and performance" (Bozdağlıoğlu, 2003: 14). The structure of the international system, once formed, becomes a force that the units cannot control. It constrains and puts limits on the behavior of the units. "Structures encourage certain behaviors and penalize those who do not respond to the encouragement" (Waltz, 1986: 103). States, in this account, must therefore act in accordance with the necessities of the system, or they will cease to exist.

The interests and identities of states are constructed by the structure of the system *exogenous* to them. Under the conditions of anarchy, it is logical to assume that states must acquire egoistic identities and take care of themselves or they will risk being crushed. The implication of the above argument is that since states have egoistic identities; and consequently egoistic interests imposed upon them by the anarchic structure they all will be concerning about cheating and relative gains in their relations with others. This situation in turn will constrain their willingness to cooperate because they are unable to change the structure and their selfish identities in anarchy (Bozdağlıoğlu, 2003: 14).

In sum, neorealism argues that material structure shapes state behavior and state identities and interests are the products of structure. State identities and interests are given and exogenous to interaction. That means, states, theoretically, come to the system with already defined identities and interests.

Constructivists target exactly these two points: structure and identity/interest formation, which we will cover in the next section.

CONSTRUCTIVISM

Constructivism entails a wide range of theoretical perspectives whose common denominators include "an emphasis on the importance of normative as well as material structures, on the role of identity in shaping political action and on the mutually constitutive relationship between agents and structures" (Reus-Smith, 2005: 188). While all constructivist approaches agree on the definition of structure and the role of identity in international politics, they mainly diverge on epistemology and methodology on the one hand and the levels of analysis on the other.

In terms of epistemology and methodology, constructivism can be divided into three main categories: *neoclassical, postmodern and naturalistic* constructivism. Neoclassical constructivists incorporate values, norms, and other ideational factors into their theorizing, but "they do not reject the canons of science, standards, and methodologies for testing hypotheses or propositions" (Viotti and Kauppi, 2012: 291).

Postmodern constructivists, on the other hand, "reject the conventional epistemology of social science. They emphasize instead the linguistic construction of subjects, resulting in 'discursive practices' constituting the ontological or foundational units of reality and analysis" (Viotti and Kauppi, 2012: 292).

Finally, naturalistic constructivism, which is mainly associated with the writings of Alexander Wendt, defines IR as part of the social sciences, and puts more emphasis on the intersubjective aspects or structures of social life. The argument is that,

> *these ideational structures usually exist independently of human thought and interaction and can, therefore, be treated as nonobservables, much like physical nonobservables (e.g., subatomic particles) that underlie what we observe in nature. Following Alexander Wendt, we probe deeply in the human psyche to find the ideational core underlying the subjectivity and intersubjectivity that define understanding* (Viotti and Kauppi, 2012: 292).

In terms of the levels of analysis, constructivism can be categorized under three headings: *systemic, unit level and holistic constructivism*. It should be remembered that all variants of constructivism hold that social structures are as important as material structures that social structures have not only regulative effect but also constitutive effect on actor identities and interests, and that agents and structures are mutually constitutive. This part of the chapter will focus on constructivist ideas on structure and identity/interest formation by using Alexander Wendt's ideas. In the following parts, unit-level and holistic approaches as alternatives to systemic constructivism will be presented.

ALEXANDER WENDT AND SYSTEMIC CONSTRUCTIVISM

Alexander Wendt is one of the most important and influential scholars in the constructivist school. He agrees with other constructivists that the structure of international system is social and that identity is the basis of interests. However, he adopted a systemic approach to show that states' identities and interests are formed at the system level; in addition, they are endogenous to state interaction.

Chapter 3 The Copenhagen School

After completing this chapter you will be able to:

Learning Outcomes

1 Make the difference between Realism's and the Copenhagen School's views on security

2 Explain the basic contributions of the Copenhagen School to security studies

3 Discuss the concepts of securitization and desecuritization

4 Identify different security sectors in the Copenhagen School

5 Define regional security complex theory

Chapter Outline
Introduction
Traditional View of Security
Theory of Securitization
Security Sectors
Regional Security Complex Theory
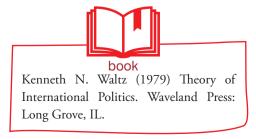Conclusion

Key Terms
Security
Realism
The Copenhagen School
Speech Act Theory
Securitization
Desecuritization
Referent object
Security sectors
Regional Security Complex Theory

The traditional definition of security, however, is most commonly associated with political Realism that defines security as national security. In both classical and structural variants, Realism defines security in terms of national security in which the survival of the state is the main objective. Thus, "Realism is usually seen to emphasize the state as the main object of security, and war as the main threat to it" (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2010: 4). According to Realism, "state is the primary '**referent object**' that is to be secured and the focus is predominantly on the *military sector* and on other issues only to the extent that they 'bear directly on the likelihood and character of war'" (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2010: 4). During the Cold War, for example, highly militarized/ideological confrontation and a possibility of a world war dominated the international security agenda.

Realists emphasize that states devise strategies to survive in the system. Both Hans Morgenthau's Classical Realism and Kenneth Waltz's Structural or Neorealism argue that power is the most important concept in states' security. According to Realism, "security, conceived as the absence of threats to national status or values, could be attained or maintained only through the accumulation of instrument of power" (Adiong, 2009: 5).

States pursue various strategies to guarantee their survival and fulfill their security needs. The most effective strategy that states employ to survive in the system, according to Realists, is **balance of power** not **bandwagon**. For Realists, threats to national security come from other states, especially from more powerful ones. Thus, states should accumulate power and try to be relatively more powerful than other states in the system to guarantee survival. This strategy would deter potential aggressors from attacking. States can increase their power either by relying on their own resources or by joining alliances. Armaments, alliances etc. are the main strategies that states can rely on, to increase their security.

book

Kenneth N. Waltz (1979) Theory of International Politics. Waveland Press: Long Grove, IL.

Balance of power, in international relations, the posture and policy of a nation or group of nations protecting itself against another nation or group of nations by matching its power against the power of the other side. States can pursue a policy of balance of power in two ways: by increasing their own power, as when engaging in an armaments race or in the competitive acquisition of territory; or by adding to their own power that of other states, as when embarking upon a policy of alliances. **Bandwagon** is the opposite of balance of power strategy. States following the strategy of bandwagon prefer to join the powerful state instead of balancing its power.
Source: https://www.britannica.com/topic/balance-of-power

While Realism is concerned with national/military security, the CS argues that this is a very narrow definition of security and must be widened as to include other sectors. Buzan defines security as "the pursuit of freedom from threat and the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change which they see as hostile" (Buzan, 1991: 432). However, Buzan adds that even though security is about survival, it also includes a substantial range of issues other than the state (Buzan, 1991: 433). This is the first difference between Realism and the CS. According to the CS, security cannot be confined only to the military sector but should include other sectors, such as economic, societal, political and environmental.

From Realism's views about security, one can infer that states' power positions vis-à-vis each other determine whether states are secure or insecure in the system. In this sense, Realism implies that threats to security are *objective* and exist out there regardless of whether states recognize them as such. This point constitutes the second difference between Realism and the CS. Whereas Realism argues that threats are objective; the CS argues that they are intersubjective. According to the CS "no issue is essentially a menace. Something becomes a security problem through discursive practices" (Balzacq, 2011b: 1).

Finally, the CS has introduced the concept of *regional security complexes.* Regional security complexes was first developed by Buzan and fully analyzed by Buzan and Waever's book *Regions and Powers* in 2003. They defined regional security complexes "as sets of units whose security processes and dynamics are so interlinked that security problems cannot reasonably be analyzed and resolved apart from one another" (Buzan and Wæver, 2003: 44). These security complexes are defined in terms of mutually exclusive geographic regions (McDonald, 2008: 68).

THE THEORY OF SECURITIZATION

As mentioned above, threats, according to the traditional view of security, are objective phenomena that exist out there. Traditionalists argue that security is about the survival of the state. "It is when an issue is presented as posing an existential threat to a designated **referent object** (traditionally, but not necessarily, the state, incorporating government, territory, and society)" (Buzan *et. al.*, 1998: 21).

> **Referent objects:** things that are seen to be existentially threatened and that have a legitimate claim to survival (Buzan et. al., 1998: 36)

The securitization theory, on the other hand, argues that threats are *discursively* constructed and "securitization like politicization, has to be understood as essentially an *intersubjective* process" (Buzan et. al., 1998: 30). This means that an actor can declare a particular issue to be an 'existential threat' to a particular referent object (McDonald, 2008: 69), traditionally the state. However, this does not have to be a real (objective) threat that is directed toward a particular referent object. What makes an issue an existential threat depends on how a securitizing actor defines the issue.

According to the securitization theory, when the process of securitization is successfully accomplished, this allows the political elite to take "emergency measures and (justifies) actions outside the normal bounds of political procedure" (Buzan *et. al.*, 1998: 24). In another words, if an issue is securitized, the use of extraordinary measures to deal with that threat can be legitimized. "The use of this speech act had the effect of raising a specific challenge to a principled level, thereby implying that all necessary means would be used to block that challenge" (Wæver, 2011:95). Securitization legitimizes the use of force and allows the state to mobilize or to take special powers to handle existential threats. "By saying 'security,' a state representative declares an emergency condition, thus claiming a right to use whatever means are necessary to block a threatening development" (Buzan *et. al.*, 1998: 21).

The CS's understanding of security is closely linked to J. L. Austin's "**speech act"** theory which argues that language is a powerful tool in doing something. As Ole Wæver argues one can regard security as a speech act.

> **Speech act:** A speech act in linguistics and the philosophy of language is an utterance that has performative function in language and communication.

Speech act theory first introduced by English philosopher J. L. Austin and later developed by American philosopher J.R. Searle argues that words can be used not only to present information but also to carry out actions. "The basic idea of the speech act theory is, simply expressed: certain statements, according to Austin, do more than merely describe a given reality and, as such, cannot be judged as false or true. Instead these utterances realize a specific action; they "do" things: they are "performatives" as opposed to "constatives" that simply report states of affairs and are thus subject to truth and falsity tests" (Balzacq, 2011b: 1). According to Austin, each sentence can convey three types of acts, the combination of which constitutes the total speech act situation:

i. *locutionary-the utterance of an expression that contains a given sense and reference;*

ii. *illocutionary-the act performed in articulating a locution.*

iii. *perlocutionary, which is the "consequential effects" or "sequels" that are aimed to evoke the feelings, beliefs, thoughts or actions of the target audience (*Balzacq, 2011b: 4-5).

Chapter 4   Post-Colonialism

After completing this chapter, you will be able to:

1 Explain the basic conceptual framework of post-colonialism

2 Differentiate orientalist perspectives and arguments of orientalism

3 Explain the differences and similarities between decolonization, neo-colonialism and post-colonialism

4 Discuss theoretical and epistemological approaches of post-colonialism

5 Define the meaning and scope of criticism of post-colonialism

Chapter Outline
Introduction
Conceptual Framework
Post-Colonial Theory
Post-Colonial Scholars
Conclusion

Key Terms
Criticism
Modernism
Orientalism
Deconstruction
Discourse
Hybridity
Stereotyping
Subaltern

higher expectations and a world is imagined where people live more comfortably, the welfare of people is improving and diseases and poverty are absent. Besides, it has been pragmatic and functional to think that salvation ought to come for the world if not eternity (Horkheimer, 2005:120).

Modernism allows the individual to exist as the only unit within all social fields. It does not permit the ontology of identities public representation and the original formation of the subject at all. It is shaped by the adaptation of scientific knowledge to the process of production and consumption in economy by separating space and time and in this sense, it is quite deterministic. It retains a deep underlying continuity with the optimistic tradition of rationality, realism, and materialism. In modernism, it is emphasized that the control of nature and a system based on knowledge will ensure human salvation (Harvey, 1999: 25)**.**

Modernism constitutes universality of knowledge which is one of the features of its expansion, and is also one of the fundamental factors that create its soul. The world becomes understandable, predictable, changeable, and finally controllable through universality (Oktay, 2010: 120). Thus, it can be said that modernism is clearly a universal construction, but it does not directly determine the quality, but rather it has formed a form of materialist and deterministic dominance over the existence itself by constituting the form.

It was possible that modernism made an appearance first itself and then spread swiftly first to Europe and then all over the world as a result of integration with capitalism. It is thought that industrialization, with modernism, is essentially a liberating force and a forward-looking phenomenon, therefore Western societies offer a model that must be followed by developing societies (Giddens, 2005:130-131). According to Weber, reaching modernity is expressed as the telos/ultimate aim of history and it is stated that this is the destiny of all societies.

The meaning of the Industrial Revolution is not the acceleration of economic growth, but also the implementation of economic and social transformation (Hobsbawm, 2003: 32). This process is not only a social change, but also a cultural imposition and was enforced with the rapidly developing economic system because of its formative (market-forming) character. Modernist possibilities

that would be constructed by universality, and were based on positivist, rational and computable basis have shown an unlimited and striking development. Hence, the modernist way of thinking and its system coincide with capitalism that has continuously grown itself in every sense, thus it has come to exist a basic algorithm that includes modern-nation state, modern societies, modern powers and modern relations form in the world (Ulusoy, 2016: 312-334).

Colonialism / Imperialism

Whatever impression of societies is meaningful to other cultures, its development, progress and social mobility are shaped according to those values. States' hegemonic, oppressive or destructive attitudes over other states have changed military, economic and cultural structures in time. Hence, some technically backward regions where economy is based on agriculture and craftmanship, have been subdued by states that have more advanced techniques in the same period, and this relationship has constituted the basis of colonialism (Luraghi, 2000, 18).

Colonialism, as Europeans originally used the term signified not ruling over indigenous people or the extraction of their wealth, but primarily the transfer of communities who sought to maintain their own original culture, while seeking a better life in economic, religious or political terms. In Locke's influential formulation, those who did not cultivate the land had no rights to it, but Roebuck still confidently defined a colony as a land without indigenous people whose inhabitants looked to England as their mother country. Therefore, the appropriation of land and space meant that colonialism was, as Said has emphasized, fundamentally an act of geographical violence, a geographical violence employed against indigenous peoples and their land rights. (Said, 1993: 1-15) Robert Young writes that colonialism "involved an extraordinary range of different forms and practices carried out with respect to radically different cultures, over many centuries," and lists examples including (1) settler colonies such as British North America and Australia, and French Algeria; (2) administered territories established without significant settlement for the purposes of economic exploitation, such as British India and Japanese Taiwan; and (3) maritime enclaves, such as Hong Kong, Malta, and Singapore (Young, 2001: 17).

societies in response to the universalist, static, and even elitist nature of Western-centered thought. Postcolonial writers often study on identity, culture, ethnicity and women's issues, their colonial relations and its current reflections.

There is no certain date of the beginning of the post-colonial theory, but this theory generally could be based on Frantz Fanon's "Black Skin, White Masks" (1952) and "The Wretched of the Earth" (1961) books that were basic works on colonization and psychological effects of colonialism. He focused not only its effects on physical violence but also on its mental effects on indigenous people. Those have built awareness among other nations that made anti-colonialist movements in Africa and Asia.

Post-colonial theory was influenced by the issues in "Orientalism" by Edward Said. Orientalism carried out more scientific studies of post-colonial theory. The work of Said sets out a very good condition for the nature of identity formation in post-colonialism and constituted a post-colonial terminology. It caused imbalance between the West and East by showing the superiority of the former. Said applied the concepts of "the self", "orient"," the other" and "occident" to show two distinct cultures of West and East.

Post-colonial theory, like all other critical approaches have gained significance by the end of the bipolar system particularly following the independence movements of the colonial people. It began to become much more systematic and theoretical, some scholars extended post-colonialist area by analyzing some concepts. In this sense, contemporary cases have been discussed in the context of post-colonialism by writers on the basis of their own culture. It would be confirmed with their method and opinion about post-colonialism, because the history of critical reading and understanding has been a product of them.

Some scholars directly mentioned about post-colonial theory in their conceptual frame, on the other hand, some thinkers have been effective in the progress of the post-colonialism as getting to the sources of certain concepts. The influence of leading scholars on the construction of post-colonial theory such as Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida is well-known. Furthermore, in this chapter post-colonial theory will be elaborated more, by examining the most important figures

respectively Frantz Fanon, Albert Memmi, Aime Cesaire, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Homi K. Bhabha. Post-colonialism will be analyzed according to these scholars' perspectives.

Prior to this, we need to examine the guiding argument that designs theoretical framework of post-colonialism, in this regard, we will focus on scholars who influenced post-colonialism in terms of its constructive paradigm.

Michel Foucault emphasized the concept of discourse that has been significant to construct the ideological structure of post-colonialism. Foucault linked knowledge with power, deciphered Western secret interests in social, health, and physical sciences (Bhabha, 1994; Scott, 1999). Discourse, as a social construct, is created and maintained by those who have the power and means of communication. For example, those who are in control of the decisions on who we are and who we are by deciding what we discuss. Foucault holds that truth, morality and meaning are created through discourse. In every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures (Weedon, 1997: 105). As observed by Foucault, language plays a powerful role in reproducing and transforming power relations among many different dimensions such as class, culture, gender, disability etc. and is sanctioned through the techniques and procedures accorded value in the discovery of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. Discourse is interwoven with power and knowledge to constitute the oppression of those "others" in our society, serving to marginalize, silence and oppress them. They are oppressed not only by being denied access to certain knowledge, but by the demands of the dominant group within the society for the other to shed their differences to become "one of us". Control of knowledge is a form of oppression only when certain groups have access to certain knowledge. Discourse ultimately serves to control not just what, but how subjects are constructed. Language, thought, and desires are regulated, policed, and managed through discourse (Pitsoe, 2012).

Foucault also mentioned the concept of ethnology. According to him, ethnology allows the exercise of a kind of comparative homology between cultures, one based on their all being made

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Chapter 5 · Critical Theory

Learning Outcomes

1 Explain the meanings and basics of critical theory

2 Discuss about the development of the Frankfurt School and evolution of the classical critical theory

3 Differentiate the major dimensions of critical theory, namely epistemology, ontology, and praxeology

4 Discuss about the implications of critical theory with respect to international relations

Chapter Outline

Introduction
The Meanings and Basics of Critical Theory
The Frankfurt School and Evolution of the Classical Critical Theory
The Three Pillars of Critical Theory
Critical Theory and International Relations
Conclusion

Key Terms

Critical Theory
Frankfurt School
Epistemology
Ontology
Praxeology
Critical Theory and IR
Max Horkheimer
Jürgen Habermas
Robert Cox
Andrew Linklater

INTRODUCTION

Critical theory is, in a generic sense, a social theory oriented toward criticizing and changing society as a whole, in contrast to traditional theories that aim only to understand or explain it. It is a normative approach that is based on the judgment that domination is a problem, that a domination-free society is needed. It wants to inform political struggles that want to establish such a society.

Critical theory actually has a **broad** and a **narrow** meaning in the history of social sciences and international relations. **In the broad sense**, the theory covers a wide range of approaches focused on the idea of freeing people from the modern state and economic system. That is to say, a theory is critical insofar as it seeks to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them.

The idea particularly originates from the work of Immanuel Kant and Karl Marx who, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, advanced different revolutionary ideas of how the world could be reordered and transformed. Both Kant and Marx held a strong attachment to the Enlightenment theme of universalism, the view that there are social and political principles that are apparent to all people, everywhere. In the modern era, both philosophers became foundational figures for theorists seeking to replace the modern state system by promoting more just global political arrangements. In this respect, critical theory sets out to critique repressive social practices and institutions in today's world and advance **emancipation** by supporting ideas and practices that meet the universal principles of justice. This kind of critique has a **transformative dimension** in the sense that it aims at changing national societies, international relations, and the emerging global society, starting from alternative ideas and practices lingering in the background of the historical process (Ferreira, 2018).

Critical theory is primarily a **European social theory**. It emerged out of the Kantian/Marxist tradition, as it has just been said, but as a grand theory, it was particularly developed by a group of philosophers and social scientists, originally locating at the Institute for Social Research *(Institut für Sozialforschung, in German),* an attached institute founded in 1923 at the Goethe University in Frankfurt, Germany. That is the reason critical theory, **in the narrow sense**, is commonly known with the works of the scholars of the so-called "**Frankfurt School**".

Some of the most prominent figures of the **first generation** of critical theorists were Max Horkheimer (1895-1973), Theodor Adorno (1903-1969), Herbert Marcuse (1898-1979), Walter Benjamin (1892-1940), Friedrich Pollock (1894-1970), Leo Lowenthal (1900-1993), and Eric Fromm (1900-1980). Since the 1970s, a **second generation** began with Jürgen Habermas, who, among other merits, contributed to the opening of a dialogue between the so-called continental and analytic traditions. With Habermas, the Frankfurt School turned global, influencing methodological approaches in other European academic contexts and disciplines. It was during this phase that Richard Bernstein, a philosopher and contemporary of Habermas, embraced the research agenda of critical theory and significantly helped its development in American universities.

Over the years, the goals and tenets of critical theory have been adopted by many social scientists. We can recognize critical theory today in many feminist approaches to conducting social science, in critical race theory, cultural theory, in gender and queer theory, and in media studies.

This chapter presents an analysis and evaluation of critical theory, along with its relation with the discipline of international relations. The chapter is composed of four sections. The first section provides a briefing about the meanings and basics of critical theory. The second explains the birth of the Frankfurt School and evolution of the classical critical theory within that School. The third focuses on the basic pillars of critical theory, addressing and discussing them as epistemology, ontology, and praxeology, in that order. The fourth and final section, lastly, touches upon the relationship between critical theory and international relations, mainly by referring to the works of Robert Cox and Andrew Linklater. Some of the weak points of critical theory that call for further research are also addressed, in concluding the chapter.

is taken from the early libido theory of Sigmung Freud, an Austrian neurologist who developed psychoanalysis, as well as Erich Fromm, a German social psychologist and psychoanalyst, who was associated with the Frankfurt School in the 1930s.

Horkheimer argues that capitalism has created a situation wherein people are made to focus on their own individual welfare, without considering anything other than the conservation and multiplication of their own property (Horkheimer, 1933: p. 19). Social needs are thus handled through various disorganized activities, ironically focused on individual needs, which, in turn, inadequately deals with the social basis of individual welfare, detracting from individual welfare, indeed. For **emancipatory social change**, Horkheimer believes that there are some forces of resistance left within humans and that the spirit of humanity is still alive, if not in the individual as a member of social groups, at least in the individual as far as he or she is left alone. Horkheimer is certainly aware of the structural constraints, but he does suggest that it is possible to engage in a kind of **non-conformism** at least (without much of a description of what it would be like), which comes through the spontaneity of the individual subject (Horkheimer, 1933: p. 99).

The engagement of the classical Frankfurt School with the discipline of international relations has been made particularly by scholars like Robert Cox and Andrew Linklater. In this regard, **Robert Cox** defines critical theory in the context of his famous landmark distinction between problem-solving theories and critical theories. According to Cox, problem-solving theories are preoccupied with maintaining social power relationships and the reproduction of the existing system, attempting to ensure that existing relationships and institutions work smoothly (Cox, 1981: 129). Unlike ahistorical problem-solving theories which serve the existing social arrangements and support the interests of the hegemonic social forces, critical theory, according to Cox, is self-reflexive, criticizes the existing system of domination, and identifies processes and forces that will create an alternative world order (Cox, 1981: pp. 129-130).

Andrew Linklater, another well-known theorist in international relations, approaches to critical theory as a post-Marxist theory that continues to evolve beyond the paradigm of production

to a commitment to dialogic communities that are deeply sensitive about all forms of inclusion and exclusion, domestic, transnational, and international (Linklater, 2001: 25).

Similar definitions of critical theory emphasize one or more of its aspects. Joan Alway defines critical theory as a theory with practical intent oriented to the emancipatory transformation of society (Alway, 1995). According to Mark Neufeld, the defining feature of critical theory is its "negation of positivism" and "technical reason" dominant in mainstream international relations (Neufeld, 1995: 129-130). In line with these different definitions, a heterogeneous group of theories has been labelled as critical in international relations, including feminism, post-structuralism, critical geopolitics, critical security studies, critical international political economy, post-colonialism, and international historical sociology (Yalvaç, 2015).

Critical theory is also deeply concerned with the **fate of modernity**. It has offered systematic and comprehensive theories of the trajectory of modernity, combined with critical diagnoses of some of the latter's limitations, pathologies and destructive effects, while providing defenses of some of its progressive elements (Kellner, 1989: p. 3).

According to Douglas Kellner, critical theory has generally been committed to the idea of modernity and progress, while, at the same time, noting the ways that features of modernity can create problems for individuals and society (Kellner, 1989: 4). In some ways, even Max Weber's theory of rationalization of modern society can be regarded as a critical theory. Weber argued that rationalization was a force that increasingly dominated Western and other societies, limiting creativity and the human spirit as a result (Weber, 1968). Various critical theorists have relied heavily on the Weberian critique, and indeed, much of critical theory is a combination of the Marxian and Weberian traditions.

Overall, critical theorists focus essentially on ideology and cultural forces as facilitators of domination and barriers to true freedom. The contemporary politics and economic structures greatly influenced their thoughts and writings, as they existed within the rise of national socialism, state capitalism, and the spread of mass-produced culture.

Chapter 6   Critical Security Studies

After completing this chapter you will be able to:

Chapter Outline

Introduction
Development Process of Aberystwyth School
Security as a Derivative Concept
A Broadening Security Agenda
Individual as the Referent Object of Security
Emancipatory Goal
Identity, Self/Other and Othering
Conclusion

Key Terms

Security
Critical Theory
Aberystwyth School
Derivative Concept
Emancipation
Human Security

Aberystwyth School gives a start to its critics through arguing that state-centric security conception does not generate satisfactory explanations for the post-Cold War's security environment. In this context, Aberystwyth School questions the narrow, militarized, positivist and theoretically realist security conception. In the framework of this critical attitude, Aberystwyth School emerged in order to revisit the security concept. Aberystwyth School started to develop within the Critical Security Studies Master Program of International Politics Department of Wales University, (Booth, 2005). Ken Booth, Richard Wyn Jones, Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams have made crucial contributions to the development process of Aberystwyth School through their studies on security concept. Although the first usage of term of 'Aberystwyth School' is not obvious in the security studies literature, Steve Smith's important article titled as 'The Increasing Insecurity of Security Studies: Conceptualising Security in the last Twenty Years' is considered as the first user of 'Aberystwyth School' term (Smith, 1999: 89).

Critical security studies emerged firstly with the article of "Security and Emancipation" written by Ken Booth in 1991, and then *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases* edited by Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams in 1997 helped the development process of it. The most important characteristics of Aberystwyth School can be summarized as follows:

1. Addressing the security as derivative concept,
2. Claim for necessity of widening of security agenda,
3. Privileging of individual as the referent object of security,
4. Regarding security problematique in the context of emancipation concept,
5. Considering the threats in a socially constructed manner,
6. Examining the relationships between self and other (Weaver, 2004; Sheenan, 2005: 157; Krause and Williams, 1997: 48).

Among these characteristics, the most important argument of Aberystwyth School is to comprehend security as "emancipation" that requires the abolishment of all limitations such as poverty, violence and political pressure for realization of human potential. That is why, scholars of security studies should avoid to focus on security issues through the lenses of state-centric security perspective. The best way of conceptualizing security is to explain it in the sense of emancipation, and think of security and individuals together.

Aberystwyth School and Critical Theory

Traditional theories with a positivist approach do not criticize the society in an effective manner since they consider the social world as given and 'out there'. Because such a critique requires scientifically "unverified" value judgements. According to **Max Horkheimer**, traditional theory is about the reproduction of status quo (Sheenan, 2005: 154). Nevertheless, critical theory that questions the objective knowledge argument of positivism, refuses the idea of irrevocability of dominant thoughts, practices and social conditions. That is why, critical theory has an argument for significant potential of humanity in the direction of alternation (Sheenan, 2005: 154). Consequently critical theory calls into question the legitimacy of existing social and political institutions and attempts to examine their transformation process. Aberystwyth School itself emerged within the critical theory tradition that originated from **Marxism** as well. According to Pınar Bilgin, when the other critical security approaches are considered, one of the most important distinguishing features of Aberystwyth School is the adoption of thoughts of critical theory to security concept and practice (Bilgin, Booth and Jones, 1998). These theories aim to develop a political theory that targets to provide a social transformation through revealing and, if it is possible, eliminating all obstacles for the emancipation of human beings.

Before examining Aberyswyth School, it is important to make explanations about Critical Theory in order to understand the security conception of the School. Theoretical origins of critical security can be traced back to **Frankfurt School** which emerged in Germany after the end of the First World War (Birdişli, 2014: 230). According to Max Horkheimer as an important representative of Frankfurt School, social scientists differently