THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES ST. AUGUSTINE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

GOVT 2060 International Relations: Theories and Approaches Fall 2017

Topic 9 Constructivism

In 1992, Alexander Wendt, considered the most influential constructivist scholar, launched a scathing attack on neo-realism in his seminal work "Anarchy is what States Make of It: the Social Construction of Power Politics". Later, in 1999 in his book "Social Theory of International Politics", he would emphasize that ideas, norms and culture rather than material factors are critical to analyzing world politics. Together with other constructivists like Peter Katzenstein, Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, he would challenge the core premises of Waltz's structural realism. In this session, we explore this challenge noting also that language and rhetoric are salient elements of constructivism.

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Course content

- The History and Evolution of the International System
- Levels of Analysis and Foreign Policy

POSITIVIST THEORIES

MAINSTREAM APPROACHES

- Liberalism
- Realism
- Neorealism
- Neoliberalism

STRUCTURALIST APPROACHES

- Classical Marxism
- Dependency Theory
- Structural Imperialism
- Worlds System Theory
- International Society Theory (The English School)

POST-POSITIVIST THEORIES

- Constructivism
- Postmodernism
- Critical Theory
- Feminism

- Readings: 1. Wendt, Alexander. "Anarchy is What States Make of It." *International Organization*. Vol 46, no. 2. Spring 1992, p. 391-425. **34p. JSTOR**
 - 2. Wendt, Alexander. 'Constructing international politics.' *Journal of International Security*. Vol 20 No 1 Summer 1995. **JSTOR**.
 - 3. Finnemore, Martha and Sikkink, Kathryn. "Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*. 2001. Vol 4, Issue 1. 26p **Ebsco Host**
 - 4. Baylis and Smith. Chapter 11 (3rd edition)
 - 5. Dougherty & Pfaltzgraff. Pp162-163 (4th ed.)
 - 6. Jackson, Robert & Sorenson. Introduction to International Relations. Chapter 7
 - 7. Kegley & Wittkopf. Chapter 2
 - 8. Smith, Steve. "Reflectivist and Constructivist Approaches to International theory", in Baylis & Smith.
 - 9. Viotti & Kauppi. Chapter 3.

At the Caspian Sea University:

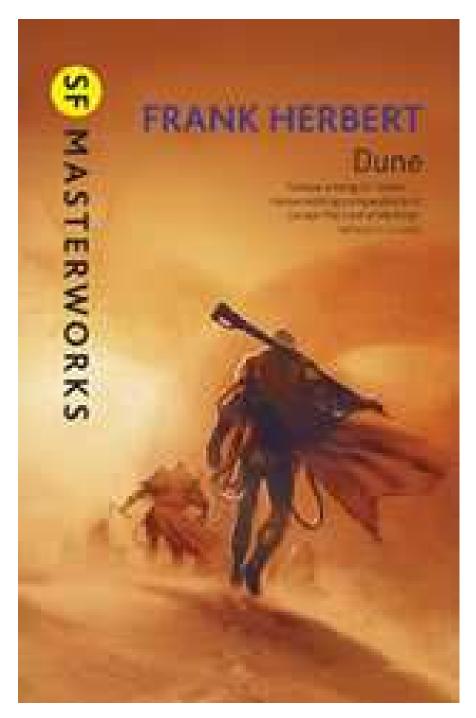
https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/0B1_Z5ACd6MBPNGJDSUJLX2t4ZG8?usp=sharing
John Baylis, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, The Globalization of World Politics: an Introduction to
International Relations. N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2008 (4th edition)
Ch.9 Social Constructivism; 'Explanatory/Constitutive Theories and Foundational/Anti-Foundational
Theories' (beginning of Ch.10 Alternative Approaches to International Theory).

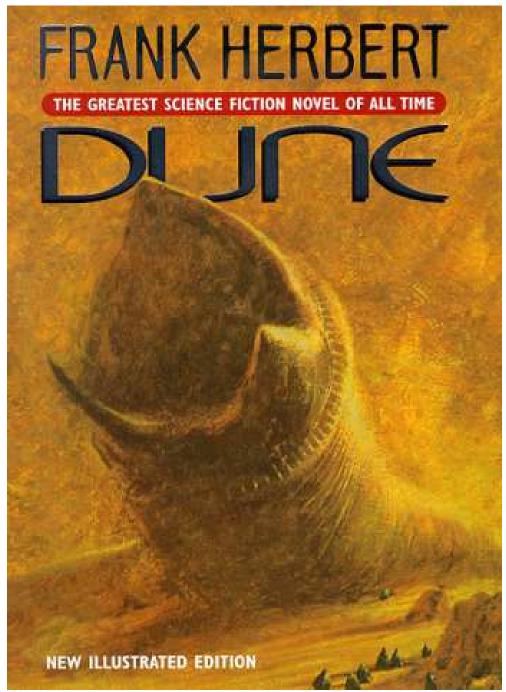
Robert Jackson and Georg Sørensen, <u>Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches</u>. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013 (5th ed.), Ch.8 Social Constructivism.

P. Viotti and M. Kauppi, <u>International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism, and Beyond</u>. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2012 (5th edition), Ch.6 Constructivist Understandings.

Paul D'Anieri, <u>International Politics: Power and Purpose in Global Affairs</u> (2nd edition 2012), pp. 94-101.

Dune, the 1965 science fiction novel by Frank Herbert

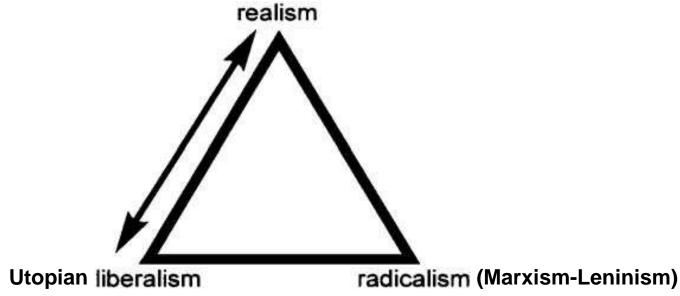




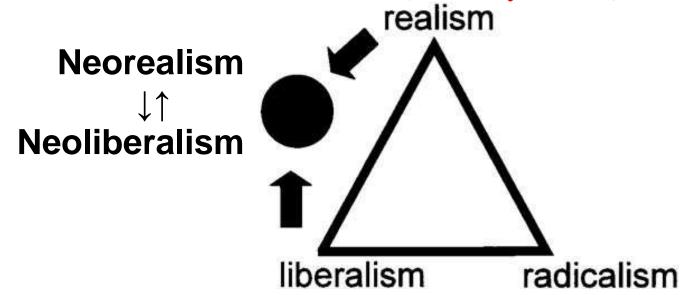
The IR Great Debates

Alternative names	Contenders
First IR Great Debate	Realism - Utopian Liberalism
Second IR Great Debate	Traditionalism - Behaviouralism (=hard sciences-inspired)
The Intra-Paradigm Debate	Neorealism - Neoliberalism (share the same
(Therefore, not a great debate)	paradigm)
or	or
	Neorealism - Neoliberalism - Radical
The Inter-Paradigm Debate = The Third IR	Theories (=Neo-Marxism)
Great Debate	(Neo-Marxism is based on a different
or	paradigm than Neorealism and
	Neoliberalism)
The first stage of the Third Great Debate	
(a compromise)	
The Third IR Great Debate (if neo-neo is not	Positivism - Post-Positivism
considered a great debate)	
The Fourth IR Great Debate (if neo-neo is	
considered a great debate)	
The second stage of the Third Great Debate	
(a compromise solution)	

1. The First IR Great Debate: Realism - Liberalism



- 2. The Second IR Great Debate: Traditionalism Behaviouralism
- 3. The Neorealism Neoliberalism Debate (and/or Synthesis?)



The Third or second stage of the Third or the Fourth Great Debate: Positivism - Post-Positivism

Is scientific knowledge objective?

Epistemology = the theory of knowledge ("how we can study the world") the ways and means by which we come to know something about the world

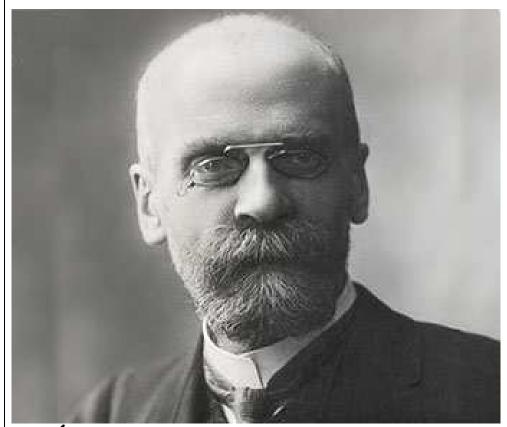
The epistemology issue is raised by the following question: in what way can we obtain knowledge about the world?

- At one extreme is the notion of scientifically explaining the world. The task is to build a valid social science on a foundation of verifiable empirical propositions.
- At the other extreme is the notion of understanding the world, that is, to comprehend and interpret the substantive topic under study. According to this view, historical, legal, or moral problems of world politics cannot be translated into terms of [hard] science without misunderstanding them.

(Jackson and Sørensen)

"The social fact is a thing".

Émile Durkheim



Émile Durkheim (1858-1917)

POSITIVISM:

There is no epistemological difference between a mountain and a war, or between IR and Chemistry.

Previous theories → "objective laws"

The reality of IR can be known with means inspired by hard sciences Future behaviour can be predicted

Interests and identities = fixed

POSITIVIST or **RATIONALIST** theories

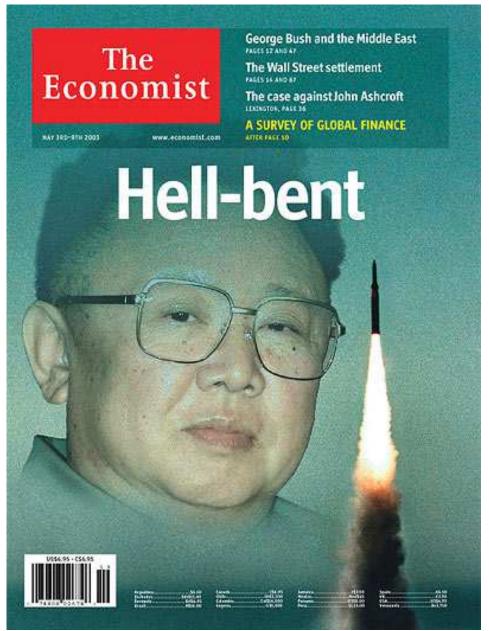
Objective knowledge. Absolute truth. Uses the methods o natural sciences.

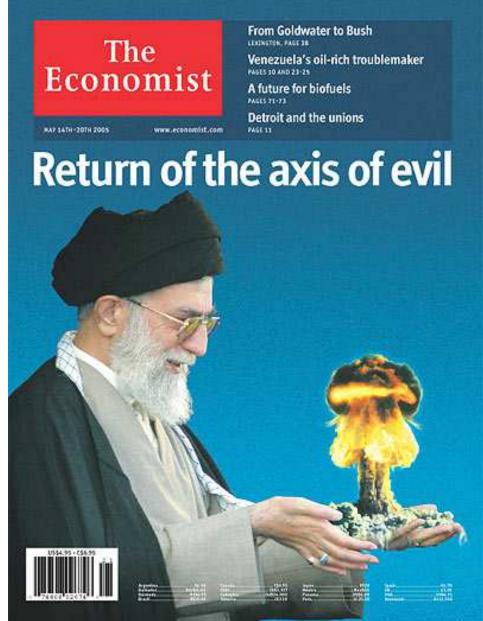
- causal explanations

Positivism

And yet...

The 'axis of evil'...



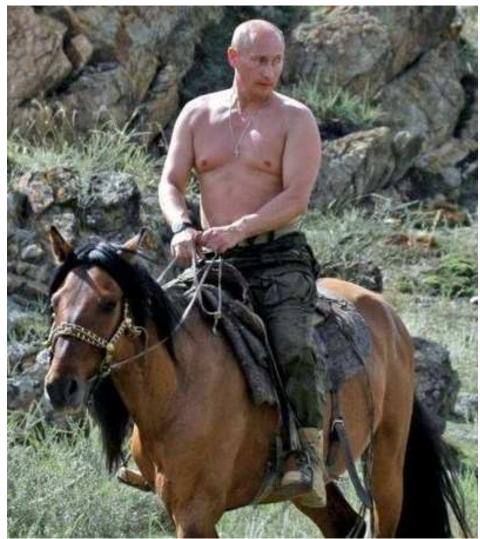


...or the 'axis of resistance'?











"One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter"

IR Theory vs. Political Ideology

Should you keep them apart?

"One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter"

IR Theory vs. Political Ideology

Can you keep them apart?

"One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter"

IR Theory vs. Political Ideology

Can you keep them apart?

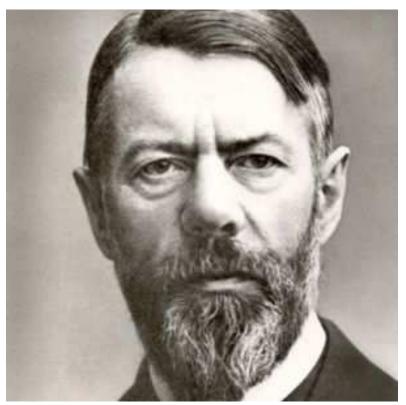
Is scientific knowledge objective?

Max Weber

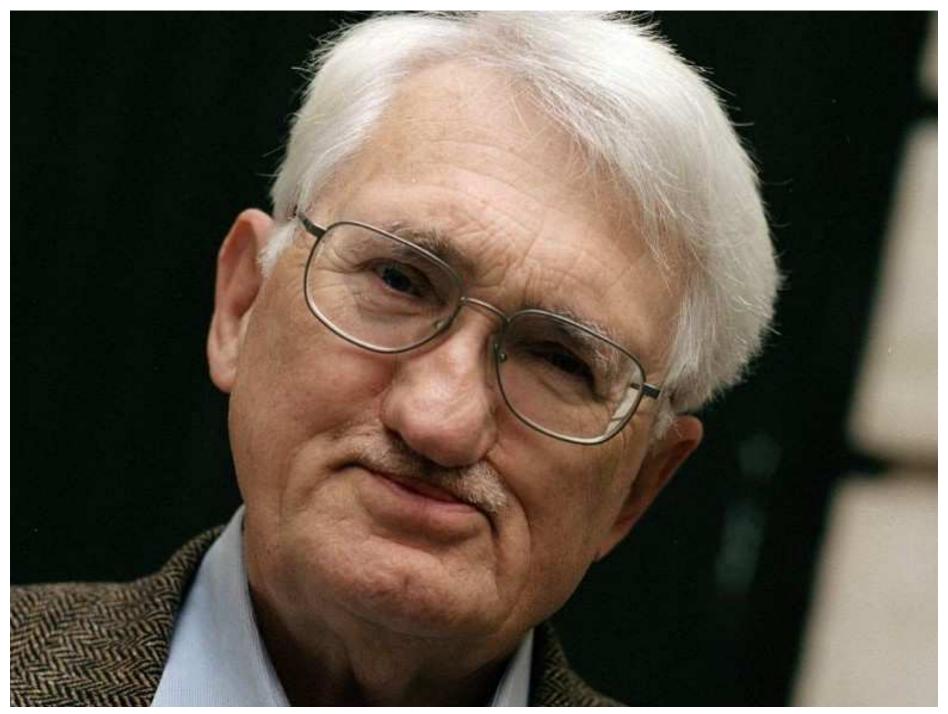
'verstehen' (interpretive understanding)

Max Weber emphasized that the social world is fundamentally different from the natural world of physical phenomena. Human beings rely on 'understanding' of each other's actions and assigning 'meaning' to them. In order to comprehend human interaction, we cannot merely describe it in the way we describe physical phenomena, such as a boulder falling off a cliff; we need different kind of interpretive a understanding, or 'verstehen'. Is the pat of another person's face a punishment or a caress? We cannot know until we assign meaning to the act. Weber concluded that 'subjective understanding is the specific characteristic of sociological knowledge'.

(Jackson and Sørensen)



Max Weber (1864-1920)



Jürgen Habermas (of the 'Frankfurt School')

Jürgen Habermas:

If capitalism changes - as Marx himself wrote - according to 'iron laws' which have all the determinism of laws of natural science, where is there any room for the active interaction of human beings in their own fate? Why should anyone bother to become a Marxist at all? For if human behaviour is governed by ineluctable laws, there is nothing we can do to shape our own history by actively intervening in it. When understood as a science, Marxism ignores what Habermas calls the 'self-reflection', or 'reflexivity' of human agents. That is to say, it cannot cope with one of the defining features which make us human. This is the fact that we are capable of reflecting upon our own history, as individuals and as members of larger societies; and of using precisely that reflection to change the course of history.

Quentin Skinner (1985) The Return of Grand Theory in the Human Sciences

"Theory is always for someone and for some purpose."

Knowledge is not neutral. It reflects the interests of the observer.

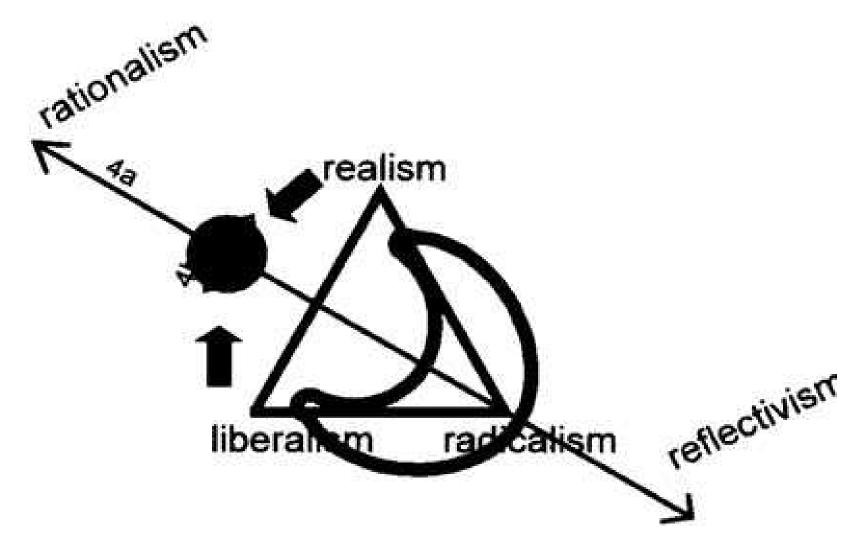


Robert Cox (founder of the Critical School of IR)

Positivism	Post-Positivism
Previous theories → "objective laws"	POST-POSITIVIST,
The reality of IR can be known with	REFLECTIVIST or
means inspired by hard sciences	COGNITIVIST theories \rightarrow the
Future behaviour can be predicted	importance of human reflexion for
Interests and identities = fixed	international politics
POSITIVIST or RATIONALIST theories	Habermas / Frankfurt school: we can reflect on our history and use this to change the course of history
There is no epistemological	Epistemologically, a mountain and a
difference between a mountain and a	war are completely different. So are
war, or between IR and Chemistry.	IR and Chemistry.
Objective knowledge. Absolute truth.	No objective knowledge. No absolute
Uses the methods of natural sciences.	
	studied in an objective and value-free
- causal explanations	way.
	- constitutive questions

First half of the 1990s:

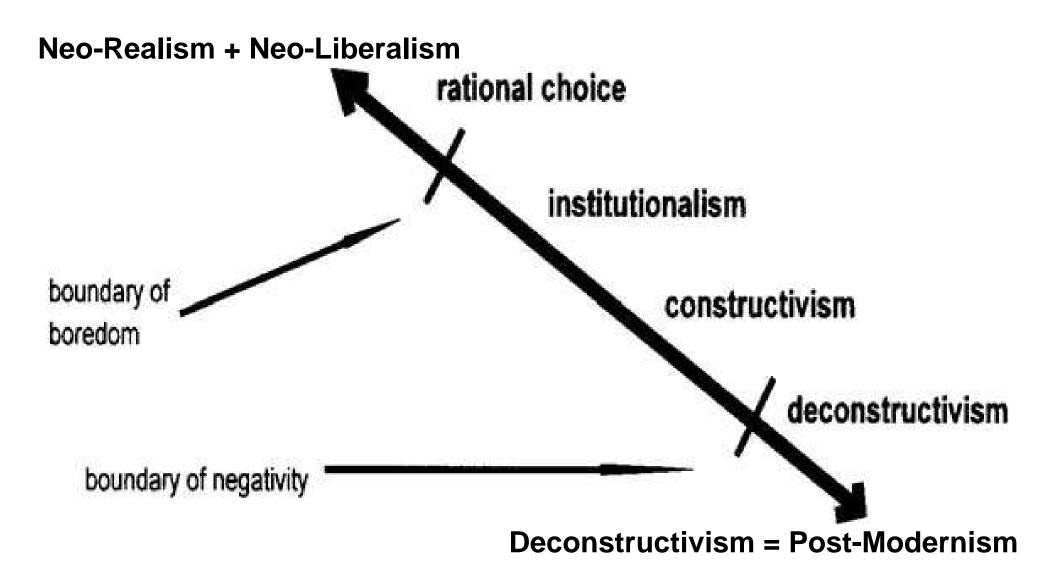
The Positivism - Post-positivism debate



Ole Waever, 'Figures on international thought: introducing persons instead of paradigms,' in Iver B. Neumann and Ole Waever, *The Future of International Relations: Masters in the Making?* (Routledge, 1997).

First half of the 1990s:

The Positivism - Post-positivism debate



Ole Waever, 'Figures on international thought: introducing persons instead of paradigms,' in Iver B. Neumann and Ole Waever, *The Future of International Relations: Masters in the Making?* (Routledge, 1997).

EPISTEMOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES:

Positivism	Post-positivism	
Foundationalism	Anti-foundationalism	
all truth claims can be judged true	each theory poses different	
or false; usually against empirical	questions; hence what counts as	
facts	'facts' and 'truths' differs from	
	theory to theory	
Explanatory theory	Constitutive theory	
makes causal statement about	theorizes the relationship between	
relations between dependent and	'variables' as mutually constituting	
independent variables	each other; hence 'variables'	
	cannot be said to stand in causal	
	relationship to one another	
e.g. Waltz:	e.g. Wendt:	
Anarchy → State behaviour	Anarchy ↔ State behaviour	

Ontology = how we see or understand the world ("what is in the world")

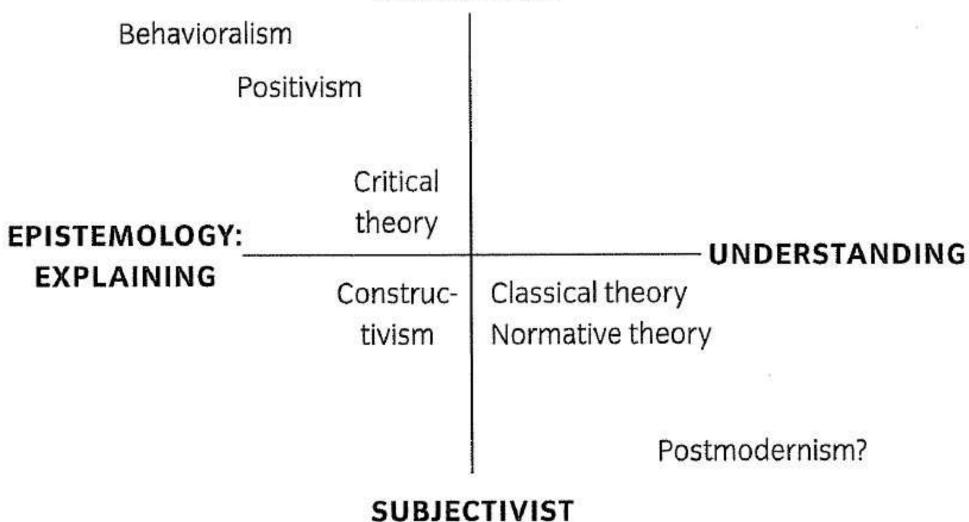
ex.: Marxist ontology \rightarrow exploitation

subjective - objective

The ontology issue is raised by the following question: is there an objective reality 'out there' or is the world one of experience only, i.e., a subjective creation of people? The extreme objectivist position is purely naturalist and materialist: i.e., international relations are basically a thing, an object, out there. The extreme subjectivist position is purely idealist: i.e., international relations are basically an idea or concept that people share about how they should organize themselves and relate to each other politically; it is constituted exclusively by language, ideas, and concepts.

(Jackson and Sørensen)

ONTOLOGY: OBJECTIVIST



(Jackson and Sorensen)

Constructivism

("Social Constructivism")

- The main post-positivist theory.
- The most 'moderate' post-positivist theory.

AN EXAMPLE OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIZATION:

Effects of International Socialization under the influence of the European Union in Central and Eastern Europe, 1992-1998:

Perception of threats from ethnic groups and minorities and perception of threats from neighboring countries (1992-1998)

	1992	1996	1998
Perception of threats from ethnic groups			
and minorities			
Romania	60%	32%	32%
Slovakia	53%	48%	43%
Bulgaria	46%	37%	29%
Perception of threats from neighboring			
countries			
Romania	67%	35%	27%
Slovakia	46%	36%	30%
Bulgaria	61%	31%	19%

Results of Slovak nationalist parties in parliamentary elections, 1992-2002

1992	1994	1998	2002	2006
45.19%	40.37%	36.07%	19.5%	20.5%

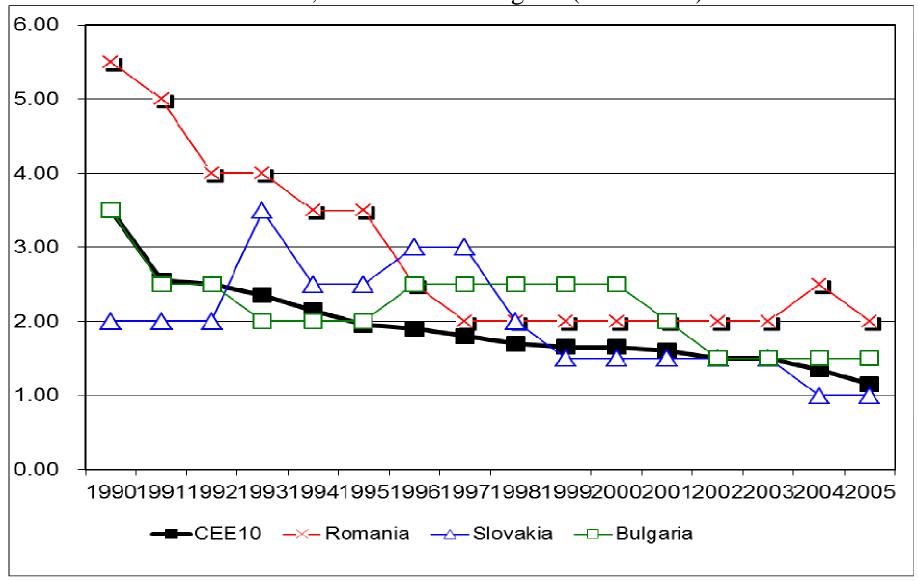
Romania - Vote for neo-communist parties in legislative elections (Chamber of Deputies), 1992-1996

1990	1992	1996
66.31%	30.75%	21.52%

Bulgaria - Preference for an authoritarian leader, 1992-96

1992	1994	1996
66%	45%	22%

Freedom House Political Rights and Civil Liberties average scores for ten CEE states, Slovakia, Romania and Bulgaria (1990-2007)



The change due to international socialization of the systems of values shared by the three countries allowed them to join the EU in 2004 (Slovakia) and 2007 (Romania and Bulgaria).

The identities and interests of states change due to international socialization:

- states are changed by the international environment and
- states change the international environment

IR = based on ideas, knowledge

= the main idea of Constructivism

CONSTRUCTIVISM - DEFINITIONS:

Video: Constructivism - International Relations Theory (2min35) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1c0TQ5PcIbQ

Constructivism is about human consciousness and its role in international life (John Ruggie).

Constructivism is the view that the manner in which the material world shapes and is shaped by human action and interaction depends on dynamic <u>normative and epistemic interpretations</u> of the material world (Emanuel Adler).

A theoretical approach which sees selfinterested states as the key actors in world politics; their actions are determined not by anarchy but by the ways states socially "construct" accepted images of reality and then respond to the meanings they give to power politics, so as their definitions change, cooperative practices can evolve.

FOUR FEATURES (Carlsnaes, Risse and Simmons, Handbook of International Relations, 2002, pp.57-8)

- 1. centrally concerned with the role of ideas in constructing social life
- 2. concerned with showing the socially constructed nature of agents or subjects
- 3. based on a research strategy of methodological holism rather than methodological individualism

(holism = use the system level of analysis; system/structure are decisive factors; individualism = use the state level of analysis)

4. concerned with constitutive as opposed to just causal explanations

Episode 43: IR Constructivism (5min01) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-1drzYXfWaA

Social world ≠ a material object outside human consciousness

focus on

- ideas and beliefs that inform the actors
- shared understandings between them

Intersubjectivity

common understanding: intersubjective beliefs (widely) shared among people According to constructivist philosophy, the social world is not a given: it is not something 'out there' that exists independent of the thoughts and ideas of the people involved in it. It is not an external reality whose laws can be discovered by scientific research and explained by scientific theory as positivists and behaviouralists argue. The social and political world is not part of nature. There are no natural laws of society or economics or politics. History is not an evolving external process that is independent of human thought and ideas. That means that sociology or economics or political science or the study of history cannot be objective 'sciences' in the strict positivist sense of the word.

- social facts (e.g. sovereignty and human rights) exist because of human agreement
- brute facts (e.g. mountains) are independent of such agreements

Video: Theory in Action: Constructivism (5min19)

Professor Caleb Gallemore tells us about Constructivism and why it's like Neo in The Matrix. https://youtu.be/kYU9UfkV_XI?list=PLWsNEo6X1UO4liBvJmOmJ_xMQ8ydVdxBh Constructivism = emphasizes the social construction of reality International system = constituted by ideas, not by material forces

Ideas = mental constructs held by individuals, sets of distinctive beliefs, principles and attitudes that provide broad orientations for behaviour and policy Four major types of ideas:

- ideologies or shared belief systems,
- normative beliefs,
- cause-effect beliefs,
- policy prescriptions

FORERUNNERS

Giambattista Vico (18th-century Italian philosopher) History \neq unfolding or evolving process external to human affairs.

Men and women make

- their own history
- states = historical constructs = artificial creations

The state system = artificial = made by men and women who can change it and develop it

Immanuel Kant

Knowledge about the world = subjective = filtered through human consciousness

Max Weber

'verstehen' (interpretive understanding) <see above>

Max Weber emphasized that the social world is fundamentally different from the natural world of physical phenomena. Human beings rely on 'understanding' of each other's actions and assigning 'meaning' to them. In order to comprehend human interaction, we cannot merely describe it in the way we describe physical phenomena, such as a boulder falling off a cliff; we need a different kind of interpretive understanding, or 'verstehen'. Is the pat of another person's face a punishment or a caress? We cannot know until we assign meaning to the act. Weber concluded that 'subjective understanding is the specific characteristic of sociological knowledge'.

(Jackson and Sørensen)

Anthony Giddens

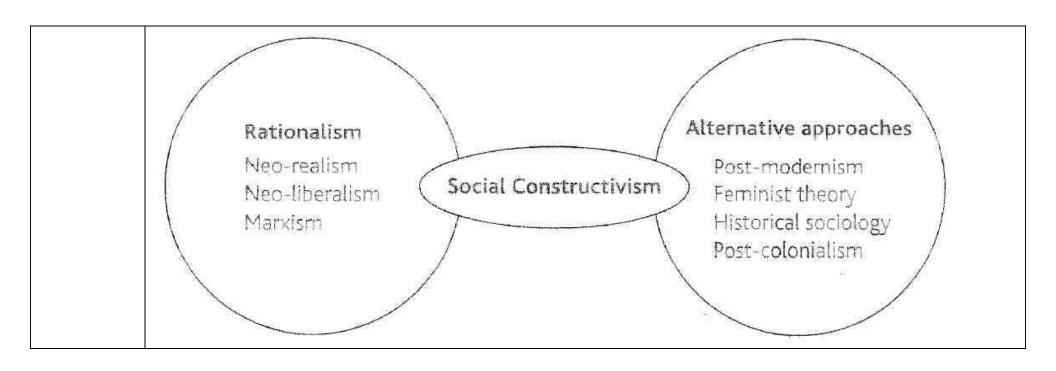
"structuration"

Structures (rules and conditions that guide social action) do not determine what actors do in any mechanical way

The relationship between structures and actors involves intersubjective understanding and meaning:

- structures constrain actors
- actors can transform structures by thinking about them and acting on them in new ways.

Main authors	Nicholas Onuf Friedrich Kratochwil John Ruggie Martha Finnemore Alexander Wendt
Main element	The social character of IR. "Homo sociologicus" (instead of neorealists' and neoliberals' homo economicus)
Premises	There are several constructivist branches. Most try to find a <i>via media</i> (middle way) between radical post-positivists (e.g. postmodernists) and positivists: - knowledge of the social world = possible (see below) - ideas, knowledge = important role in IR - interest and identity = evolve, not fixed
	Norms = major role in the evolution of the international system States interact and learn → change their identity This changes the international environment



All post-	social sciences = no objective truth, true across time and place		
positivists			
Constructivists	no objective truth, true across time and place <i>but</i>		
	they do make "truth claims"		
	that are always contingent and partial interpretations of a complex world		
	(e.g. all wars cannot be considered similar across time and place and		
	studied as such; but a specific war can be studied as positivists do)		
Other post-	even "truth claims" are not possible		
positivist	truth is always connected to dominant ways of thinking		
("critical")	truth and power cannot be separated		
schools	main task = unmask the core relationship between truth and power,		
	criticize dominant versions of thinking that claim to be true		

Agent / Structure ("Individualism / Holism")

the structure of the international system is important = holist or structuralist approach but

socialization \rightarrow states interact \rightarrow learn \rightarrow change their identity \rightarrow modify the international environment

= agent and structure influence each other

Idealism / Materialism

ideas define identities which impart meaning to material capabilities and behaviour of actors

material conditions acquire meaning for human action only through the shared knowledge that ideas ascribe to them

however,

constructivists believe in the existence of the material world

Materialists: power and national interest are the driving forces in international politics.

Constructivism = idealism + "some form of structuralism" but

close to the borders of materialism and individualism

The Ontological Position of Constructivism

(Adler, Emanuel (1997). "Seizing the middle ground: Constructivism in world politics." European Journal of International Relations 3(3): 319-363.)

Alexander Wendt's Map of International Theory

Holism	World Systems Theory Security Materialism	Gramscian Marxism English School World Society Postmodernism Constructivism
Individualism	Classical Realism	Domestic Liberalism Neoliberalism Ideas Liberalism

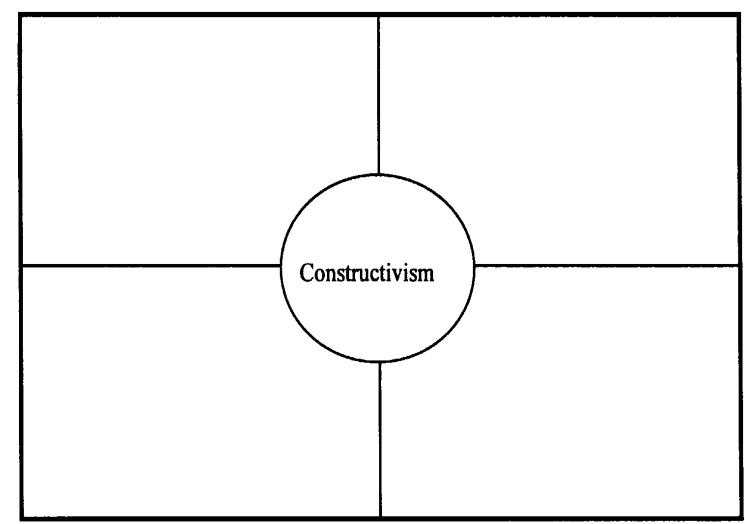
Realism
[Materialism]

Idealism

Constructivism's Middle Ground

Structuralism

Individualism



Materialism

Idealism



Alexander Wendt

- 'Anarchy Is What States Make of It: the Social Construction of Power Politics' (article, 1992)
- Social Theory of International Politics (book, 1999)
 - Alexander Wendt laid the theoretical groundwork for challenging what he considered to be a flaw shared by both neorealists and neoliberal institutionalists, namely, a commitment to a (crude) form of materialism.
 - By attempting to show that even such a core realist concept as "power politics" is socially constructed that is, not given by nature and hence, capable of being transformed by human practice Wendt opened the way for a generation of international relations scholars to pursue work in a wide range of issues from a constructivist perspective.

"ideas and norms might not only constrain but also construct how states define their national interests"

states are important	"state-society complex":	"states are people too"
	state + society are IR	states learn from their
	relevant	interaction (socialization)

Social structures = 3 elements:

• shared knowledge

• material resources

• practices

CONSTITUTE:

• the actors in a situation

• the nature of their relationships

(cooperative or conflictual)

* in part because material resources also contribute

'500 British nuclear weapons are less threatening to the United States than 5 North Korean nuclear weapons because the British are friends and the North Koreans are not'

Power and interest have the effects they do in virtue of the ideas that make them up.

Actors influence the structure:

The three cultures of anarchy ("anarchy is what states make of it"):

Degrees of cultural				
interiorization:				
3rd - legitimacy			EU; the Western	
			defence community	
2nd - price		EEC;		
		US-Russia		
1st - force	WWII;		Within the EU,	
	US-USSR		Germany compels	
			Greece to adopt	
			austerity	
	Hobbes	Locke	Kant	← international culture
	enemy	rival	friend	← degree of cooperation

The frequency of wars depends on the type of culture.

Groups of states can evolve toward a Kantian community

the Western security community

Security can be improved if ways of thinking change.

The Importance of International Norms

Martha Finnemore:

international norms promoted by international organizations can decisively influence national guidelines by pushing states to adopt these norms in their national policies.

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Importance of

- norms
- international organizations



- diffusion
- internationalization
- institutionalization

of norms



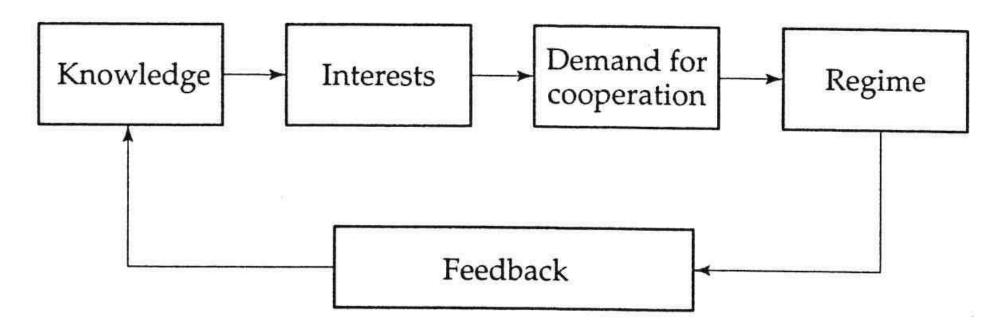
socialization of states

International Regime Theory - Neoliberal vs. Constructivist views

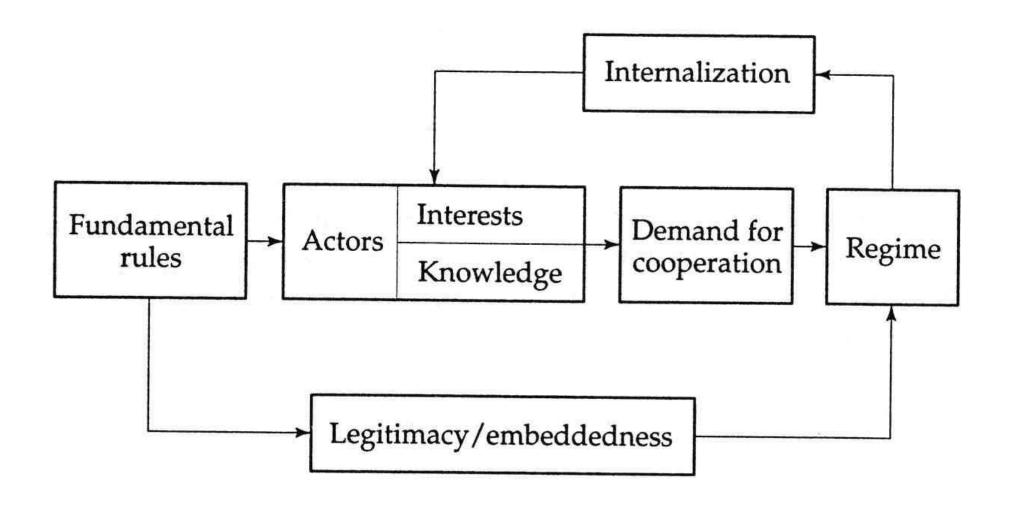
The hegemon creates the regime

→ cooperation within the international regime (under hegemony); states realize the mutual benefits of cooperation

→ the regime survives even when the hegemon ceases to exist



Weak cognitivist regimes theory = based on interest (including Neoliberalism)



Strong cognitivist regimes theory = based on legitimacy and internalization (including Constructivism)

Examples:

The importance of international norms:

- the progressive international rejection of apartheid = creation, diffusion, internationalization, institutionalization and respect of a new international norm;

International socialization:

- the transformation of the interests and identity of former communist states that democratized and became 'normal' actors of the international system:

Feature	Realism	Liberalism	Constructivism
Core concern	War and security	Institutionalized peace	Social groups' shared meanings and images
	How vulnerable, self-interested states survive in an environment where they are uncertain about the intentions and capabilities of others	How self-serving actors learn to see benefits to coordinating behavior through rules and organizations in order to achieve collective gains	How ideas, images and identities develop, change, and shape world politics
Key actors	States	States, international institutions, global corporations	Individuals, nongovernmental organizations, transnational networks
Central concepts	Anarchy, self-help, national interest, relative gains, balance of power	Collective security, reciprocity, international regimes, complex interdependence, transnational relations	Ideas, images, shared knowledge, identities, discourses, and persuasion leading to new understandings and normative change
Approach to peace	Protect sovereign autonomy and deter rivals through military preparedness and alliances	Institutional reform through democratization, open markets, and international law and organization	Activists who promote progressive ideas and encourage states to adhere to norms for appropriate behavior
Global outlook	Pessimistic: great powers locked in relentless security competition	Optimistic: cooperative view of human nature and a belief in progress	Agnostic: global prospect hinges on the content of prevailing ideas and values

CONTRIBUTIONS OF CONSTRUCTIVISM

- A return to a more sociological, historical and practice-oriented form of IR scholarship
- The awareness of the influence of socially constructed sets of collective images of world affairs, their inherent subjectivity and their inability to fully capture global realities contributes to appreciation of the limits of valid theoretical interpretation and accurate representation of the subject matter
- Constructivism cautions us to be sceptical about all claims of truth

CRITIQUES OF CONSTRUCTIVISM

- difficulty in establishing a general theory of IR

Neorealists:

- sceptical about the importance of international norms = routinely disregarded by powerful states
- not ready to accept that states can easily become friends due to their social interaction
- importance of deception (constructivists = that social interaction between states is always sincere)

World System Theory = the material structure of global capitalism = little room for constructivist social interaction