

3 mainstream IR theories:

1. Realism
2. Liberalism
3. Constructive

REALISM

1. Overview
2. Tenets
3. Subschools - classical, modern, strategic
4. Important figures and seminal works

1. Overview

- long genealogy -
- core elements of R have remained unch since Thucyd
- dominant in ~~the~~ USA.
- except inter-war period and end cold war, R has dominated
- Associated with 'the tragic' - emphasis on worst case scenario
- Pessimistic about human nature
- Considers statecraft nasty but necessary

2. Core concepts

(a) Human nature competitive + self-interested
States reflect this

(b) Nature of system is anarchy
Conflict is the result

~~Each~~ Each state must exercise power to self help in state interests
Morality - state has duties to society that trump all other considerations

Statecraft separate from domestic politics, in int'l realm
murder, torture, deceit sometimes necessary

3. Sub-schools

(a) Typology: Classical → neorealist → return to classicism (neo-classical)

(b) Chronology influenced by interaction with liberalism - caused R to move along. End of WW2 important for realism.

(i) classical:

Thucydides (460-395 BC) Athenian general, strategist, history - history of Peloponnesian wars. Tells story by corroborating different accounts and converts it back into traditional form - dialogue.

States, like humans, are compelled by self-interest to do wrong, to do otherwise would be weak and wrong. There will be resistance.

- human nature to do wrong
- states are self-interested
- states are unequal in power - some do what they can; others accept what they must. Rule of the powerful is natural.
- security dilemma - any attempt to accumulate more power to ensure one's security will cause insecurity in others who lose in balance of power.
- Balance of power - forming alliances, according to security dilemma, increases likelihood of war
- values - actions of leaders are to ensure survival they talk of need for authority in law, to make ~~it~~ inequality palatable to the ruled.
- Holism - CRs appreciate other forms of human behaviour, cooperative and social, but these are of secondary importance
- Justice depends on one's power to enforce it

Machiavelli - Italian diplomat (1469-1527) Florentine. Saw statecraft in action between city states. The Prince made him famous posthumously.

- statecraft handbook - as Thucyd showed, power is at centre of statecraft - ^{importance} one must use it before others
- Reason state leaders must use treachery is duty to protect
- Importance of strength and cunning
- inside-outside division - different moralities apply

Hobbes - proponent of strong, absolute sovereign to avoid state of nature.

- Emphasises fear is what drives indivs to form state to escape state of nature.
- The effect of forming state is to displace fear of indivs into international realm
- in anarchy of int'l realm states seek to ensure own security, leading to S. Dilemma, so natural state is unending state of war, meaning it is always possible

MODERN REALISM

George Kennan, Dean Acheson
EH Carr, Morgenthau

1234
1234

Morgenthau (1904-80) Jewish refugee from Germany. Entered US in 1937 - went to Uni of Chicago. Advisor to US State Dept. Politics Among Nations seminal work. Classical themes - lust for power, bal of power, inappropriateness of private morality in int'l sphere. Six principles:

1. Human nat self-interested + focussed on power - dictates nature of int'l ~~real~~ politics.
2. Pol is a distinct realm of action.

3. Priority to secure survival.
4. Private morality vs int'l ethics
5. state leaders should not endanger state, int'l peace + security
6. Human nature ~~being what it is~~ ^{demands} a pragmatic and realistic approach to politics.

Niebuhr

1. Human nature - fallible + self-interested
2. Pursuit of reason problematic
3. Anti-modern leanings

Strategic Realism

Thomas Schelling - Game theory - very popular around nuclear deterrence issues.

Game theory - eg Prisoners' dilemma

		^{yuko}	
		Gloves	None
^{DAN}	Gloves		
	None		

1. What is ~~subjective~~ Objective

For utility to be maximized - utility is to maximize ^{romance}.

~~Ultimate~~ Best outcome - don't wear gloves

2nd - You ~~don't~~ wear gloves and they don't ~~do~~

3rd - ~~you don't wear gloves~~ ^{you don't work silly}

~~Worst~~ - one does wear gloves, one doesn't and feels an idiot

Worst - both wear gloves

Fell out of favour - difficult to do well because of difficulty of producing accurate assumptions

LECTURE 2 LIBERALISM

- R developed as a result of its interaction with L.
- R + L share much of the same heritage - Western, Hobbes,
- IR liberalism focuses on indiv liberty

AIMS

- overview
- key figures + contributions
- interwar period - 'idealism' or 'utopianism'
- realist critiques
- course of postwar lib in light of Realist critiques

OVERVIEW

1. (a) CORE ELEMENTS

- what political setups ensure liberty
- right to private property - cooperation underlying this
- ~~character~~ humans are social, collaborative
- also convinced of rationality, value mastery over ~~innate~~ innate fear, values of compassion, education critical ethical rationality
- much greater opp for cooperation than R's see

Roots early Christian ideas of world society
C18 ideas of anarchism of war/world community

Modernity - ~~fits~~

modern NState evolved to meet human needs, as did civil society, which improved political + civil wellbeing of indivs from the state. Debate incorporated into part systems, consent + partic of governed:

- interwoven with capitalism

Incumbent on states to provide for freedom + happiness, power of govt to be restrained by law, sep of powers constitutional govt, democracy

- Interstate Commerce important - interdependence, transnationalism,
- interested in causes of war, to be dealt with cooperatively between states.

Key thinkers (starts first)

Kant 1724-1804 - Perpetual Peace

argued states, as humans, could be bound together ^{in cooperation}
 championed democracy + fed of states

"peoples of the earth have entered in varying degrees into an int'l community..." look up quote.

Jeremy Bentham 1748-82

interested in resolution of states disputes

believed states have similar interests

int'l realm could be pacified, rule-based int'l ^{society} ~~state~~
 (w/ world govt)

Adam Smith

Harmony of interests

Hidden hand - public good is inadvertently served
 natural order between individuals

Rise of idealism 1919-39

Problems with the term -

Wilson, Norman Engel, Zimmerman - disparaged by ^{EH Carr}
 Peter Wilson (reading list) idealism is a loaded term
 - innocent, unrealistic, impractical.

Periodization, context of ascent

Desire to reduce prob of war. Anti-war sentiment reached pinnacle, ripe for idealism. I was not dominant despite what Carr says.

* Idealism vs Classic Libs

- CL says laissez faire economy lead to greater peace, I not convinced ~~but~~ corrupting influence of organization-structures prevent innate tendency to cooperate.
- Dangers of underconsumption (at home) led to imperialism
- Influence of political form - democracies thought pacific
- aim to ^{actively} construct peace, not sit back + trust in harmony of interests + ~~an~~ bal of power. Smith: downplayed. Systems of governance to bring about peace ∴ treating akin to domestic realm - system of law + institutional arrangements.
- Both believe in reason, progress, education, both avowedly normative, emancipatory, not status quo, concentrate on long-term ~~construction of a~~ trajectory - sometimes made short term realist decisions.

The Crisis in American Foreign Policy - Wilson School, Youtube
John Kenberry, Anne-Marie Slaughter, Tony Smith +!

* Liberal Internationalism - Wilsonianism - spread of liberalism

Redefining sovereignty - not automatic but attained - responsibility to protect (R2P) ~~not~~ against gross HR violations.

Democracies more peaceful ∴ worth spreading abroad.

WOODROW WILSON

- saw civil war and developed antipathy to war
- lawyer - became Pres of Princeton
- was a reformer - of state education, anti-trust legislation
- style of presidency: public approval of work as governor
⇒ comfortable win. Introduced the Fed. Advocated end of empire.

- Intervened in Mex + Haiti to promote democracy.
- Entered reluctantly into WWII
- Wanted intl ~~ref~~ reform to obviate war
- 14 point plan - enshrines idealism
- 1920 Nobel peace prize
- 1918 US Congress

- 1.
2. Freedom of seas in peace + war
3. Removal economic barriers to trade
5. Readjustment of colonial (claims?)
10. Self-determination for Austro-Hungarians
12. Self-det for Turks
13. Independence of Poland
14. Formation of gen association - League of States.

Charles Kegley * democracy + peace related in Wilsonianism
 int orgs important role, armaments diminish security.
 moral progress possible.

US response to League idea - rejected. Wilson humiliated.
 Great powers never really on board with League - reluctant
 to give up colonies.

Weakness -

invasion of Manchuria by Jap	} no enforcement mechanism - talkingshop undermined League
Abyssinia by Italy	
Molotov-Ribbentrop pact	
Hitler's re-occupation of Rheinland	

Norman Angell

Reporter. Press promoted irrationality. Education would
 inoculate public against irrationality. War Peace Prize 33.
 Saw increasing links through trade.

~~Forecast~~ War would become nonsensical with trade interdependence
 Progress - optimistic - rationalist - long term - intl economic
 ties between nations reduce risk of war

THE REALIST CRITIQUE

EH Carr 1892

Decimates idealism. Blow to idealism was events (Manchuria, Abyssinia, WWII), exacerbated by realist critique. Book 1939 saw interwar ideology as ~~the~~ dominant Lib powers promoting status quo. No universal set of norms existed - norms differed between states. Applauded British appeasement. 'Satisfied' states must take into a/c demands of dissatisfied.

Realism ~~idealism~~ excludes:

- a finite goal
- emotional appeal
- a right of moral action

* LIB INSTITUTIONALISM

- Lib takes a hit with WWII. Realism to the fore, but institutionalist leanings survived. Int insts provide flow of info and opps to cooperate, build trust, raised expectations of success.
- Pragmatic approach to institutions, eg planning structure of UN, they had security council veto to entice them in - pragmatic.
 - International Institutions - ~~express~~ UN, EU, WTO, NAFTA, ASEAN, ^{OHU} None before WWI so huge advance in lib ~~thinking~~.
 - Integration and Mitbrany (David), Deutsch, Hass. Integrationalism and functionalism - concept of spillover. Cooperation in coal + steel spread to other ~~sectors~~ sectors. Problem is not all sectors respond in same way - states jealously guard their foreign policy and security. Look up the Schengen agreement - immigration?

3 NEOREALISM

Schweller

TH: Theory in action : realism - YouTube
+ liberalism

soomo publishing

Why did R change? # Increasing criticism re assumptions on human nature not verified. Behaviouralists became important in middle of century. R tries to respond by remaking itself as a proper theory - now R closest to a proper theory. Scientific vocab brought into ~~repto~~ play. Also critiques of R's inability to a/c for interdependence and its effects. Also R bereft of moral explanation.

English school

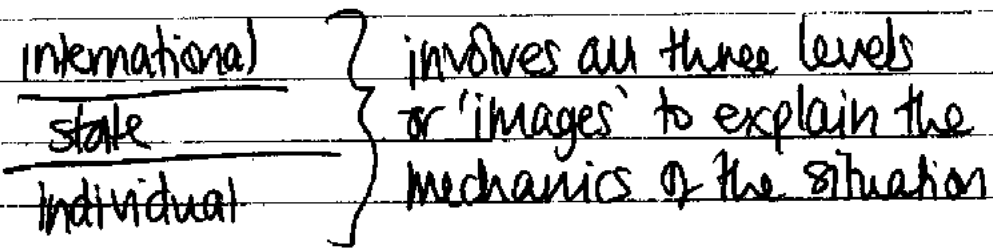
states exhibit social behaviours. Human behaviour includes a moral code which is evident in Int'l sys.

Waltz

AIMS

- overview of Waltzian neorealism
- critique criticisms
- Rosenbergs critique
- introduce non-Waltzian neorealism (structural)

Waltz



First book - 1979 - 'International Politics' - shadow of nuclear weapons arms race. Instability. W says best chance of order is provided by the situation existing - bipolar - Superpower rivalry. W reasserts centrality of state. Interdependence theory was de rigueur 1960s + 70s - W flatly denies it - against prevailing IR thinking, controversial.

Aspirations towards theory

W said classic IR too vague to be falsified - not theoretical enough.

W's major work focuses mainly on the Int'l level

Key motivator:

Keen to move IR towards science - ~~not~~

States actions determined by structure of sys - not human nature

Anarchy is a constant

Responsibility of states to self-help.

Units of the structure are states

states are functionally identical - little room for interdependence

variation in the way states act explained by diff capabilities

capabilities = military + economic power

power being the capability to coerce by whatever means - hard or soft power

Emphasis on relative rather than absolute gains:

The big powers ~~are~~ control what is going on - the others have no capability to change the system

Locus ^{of} change?

W says the structure determines the capabilities of the state, not. v, and the behaviour of the units

This is a big leap and is much criticized.

• Determinism

• Balance of Power - a state of equilibrium btw units in the structure. Alliances change so permanent institutions not a good idea to become involved in

• Polarity - multipolarity not a stabilising situation many combos ~~exist~~ to offset ~~existing~~ dominators

Bipolarity means it is easier to assess where everyone stands - on one side or the other. W an advocate of bipolarity and accumulation of nuclear weapons as deterrent.

Norms and values

If it's scientific, there shouldn't be any values. But there are thinly veiled assumptions about values - power seeking implicit in W's theory. He can't contemplate changes in values - eg human rights, ~~of~~ qualified sovereignty on behaviour of state, as he doesn't acknowledge values.

Systemic change

Major powers maintain the condition of the system as they have most to gain by status quo. Change in sys happens by war - eliminating a power shifts the BoP. Equilibrium is dynamic.

Policy Relevance

NOT normative. No engagement in ethical debate. No advice as to what

Other actors / units

There are other actors but they only have power given them by states and revocable. They don't count. Has nothing to say about

⇒ Neorealism failed to explain end of cold war

Power and Intentionality

Anarchy result of interaction between ^{state} actors, like an economic marketplace between ^{economic} actors. Self-interested behaviour becomes mapped on to states.

States are units - same functions, same value - survival.

Why are they diff - capabilities.

Where do capabilities come from - they only exist in relation to structure. ~~there are~~ If you live out in space and you have a nuclear weapon - who cares?

~~Neorealism Critiques~~

Critiques of Neorealism

- Structuralism passé - Other social sciences already dumping it when IR picks it up. Don't like the idea of there being no agency by units.
- Presentism - W says isolate what is important and derive a theory from it. ~~It~~ This does not take history into consideration. Legacy of colonialism in certain states, for example, is inadmissible.
- Separation from agency and meaning
Buzan + Jones + Richard Little - they use Giddens theory to find a half way point between the extremes of structure + agency
- Separation of domestic and international
~~It~~ Idea of static anarchy in int'l sys seen as artificial creation
- Problems with anarchy
 - ~~Universal~~ - for many, the state ~~is~~ is the source of threat and instability

If anarchy is not just absence of govt but absence of functions of govt, then W fails to a/c for functions carried out by intl insts.

- a social construction - Alex Wendt ~~says~~ asks if it is really anarchy? W ignores sociality in the sys - so if you ignore sociality - we will be conditioned by ~~an~~ anarchy + self-help way of thinking.

Problems with relative gains

- ~~no sense outside~~
- separation of levels of analysis
- abstraction of relative gains - ~~not always zero sum~~
- Assumption of zero sum dynamic - US gave power to Vietnam by invading it

- Conceptualizations of Power

Rosenberg's Critique

- The aspiration to theory - ~~is~~ a good thing
Move away from nebulous concepts - human nature, BoP, is welcome
- Inability to explain when states are not at war

Internal contradictions

the Stag hunt - hunters cooperate to kill stag, divide spoils - one sees rabbit and kills that - defection from cooperative behaviour
lack of reliable knowledge of how people will act. Rosen says if you believe in likelihood of defection, you're more likely to defect

Inability to ~~per~~ predict outcomes

so reductive as to be virtually useless. Blindingly obvious.
Units defined before they interact with system ∴ definition is a social.

Unfalsifiable

If nothing but hard power figures in equation, how can it be falsified? Au ^{filtering effect / selectivity} other ^{INT} relations deemed irrelevant.

Blindness to ~~other~~ other forms of change

It is vague, cannot predict.

A form of ideology

An ideology to keep certain things, anarchy, at the forefront of people's minds to provide its own legitimacy
Not value free

→ SEE ALSO LESSW'S CRITIQUE

Neoclassical Realism

- Disgruntled middle-range realists - ^{work alongside FP analysts}
- More historically informed than neorealism
- Neoclassical R takes all these criticisms seriously.

NEOLIBERALISM

Cameralism - roll back state, including welfare state

- 'humanitarian' interventions

- less laissez-faire than classical - a move away from harmony of interests towards hawkishness

A few ~~concerns~~ branches

- concern for intl insts

" intervention

" human rights and global justice

Both sides converge, or agree to differ, on their interpretation of certain things.

Newer branches - neoliberal internationalism, neoliberal institutionalism
Neo-idealism

NEOLIB INTERNATIONALISM

- Democratic Peace Theory

Inspired by Kant

Lib democracies do not go to war with one another

Lack of consent, fear of loss of ^{trade into domestic} wealth, shared values

Kant advocated governance by consent and the governed do not ~~generally~~ consent to war - evidence does not support this

although war can be extremely lucrative

There are hawkish internationalists, and less interventionist internationalists

- Focus moves from order among states (classic lib) to order within states.

- Interventionism vs incentives to cooperation of deviant state(s)

EU gives aid to N Africa in order to create a buffer of peace around its borders.

AID CONDITIONALITY

Last decade of development - 1980s - massive aid, minimal returns
Now conditions are attached to aid. Human rights, gender equality
~~def~~ privatisation etc, democratization.

- 1970s debt crisis ~~imposed~~ makes Structural Adjustment Programmes acceptable - opening up to free trade, reducing ^{govt} size of govt, including social programmes such as health and education, (World Bank and IMF associated with SAPs), Market liberalization.

- Major thinkers

- Michael Doyle - ~~see~~ see dangers of the 'liberal zone of peace'

- Francis Fukuyama - End of History was popularized and distorted by media. Based on Hegel. Sees capitalism as answer to power-seeking - or harnessing its drive. Will end war between Great Powers. Lib demos had won cold war.

NEO-IDEALISM

- Committed to democ. ∴ interdependence a good thing for peace in favour of spreading democracy but not by intervention.

- democratic deficit - institutions which champion democracy ^{should exemplify its principles}

- see ascent of globalization and dangerous because of stratification between and within states - gap between rich + poor

- Fairly pessimistic

- Concerned with global justice - rethink democracy in light of globalization. Decision ^{transnational} making ~~normal~~ are making important decisions but are not necessarily democratic.

David Held

~~Michael (Held)~~ advocates hybrid between socialism + liberalism

- he is pessimistic about retreat of welfare state

NEOLIBERAL INSTITUTIONALISM

- Keohane + Nye
- More in common with neorealism than neo-idealism
- ~~state as~~ state as primary actor
- Structure of intl system is anarchy
- anarchy creates opportunities for cooperation
- states care about and strive for absolute gains through cooperation - important to raise people out of poverty as poverty leads to conflict
- regional councils better placed to provide democ, justice, order, even cross-border, transnational institutions (Chinese economic zones) as well as sub-national.

'institution' - any ~~form~~ repeated form of behaviour
Keohane

- Seeks to explain if, how and when institutions change state behaviour
- With Joseph Nye - Power and Interdependence - came up with 'complex interdependence'. Came up with two models for realism and complex interdependence and examined state behaviour ~~for~~ against these models*
- Critiques forced Keohane to dump his C.I. model
- In 1970 there was a reversal in interdependence due to economic stresses
- Rethought in light of advances in neorealism
- see special issue 1971 of 'International Security' for these ideas

* found states didn't usually behave as realists

EU moving away from conditionality (perhaps not Germany) and towards 'ownership' - donors working with partner countries on priorities dictated by the partner themselves.

China is coming in with aid with no conditions attached.

NEO-NEO DEBATE

- Talk about nature + consequences of anarchy
- Grieco (neo-realist) says conflict only one possible outcome of anarchy

Gains

Neolib advocacy of free trade - wealth production good as conflict reduced, absolute gains. Neo-Rs concerned with relative gains from cooperation. We should be more

at TED on Afghanistan
see Rory Stewart interview on YouTube

nuanced about types of cooperation.

state goals

Survival + security (neo-R) vs wealth (neo-Libs).

Institutions

Both acknowledge increase. Neolibs more optimistic re impact. Neo-Rs less so - states can withdraw cooperation.

Neo-neo synthesis

~~neoliberal~~ scholars responding to critics, making effort to agree on middle ground.

INTERNATIONAL REGIMES

eg creation of intl system of human rights
convention on trade in endangered species

Robert Axelrod - in WWI trenches, soldiers on both sides had unspoken agreements to shoot each other at certain times - example of sort of a kind of regime.

G20 is a less formalized regime

- NOT heavily formalized or codified, more flexible, fluid
- less formally codified than ~~the~~ institutions.
- Regime theory is middle ground in IR
- Employs game theory

□ Romy Stewart, Michael Semple, Andrew Wilder, Paul Fiskein
all say increase in Afghan debt aid was making country
less secure.

14.9.11 CONSTRUCTIVISM

Concerned with our understandings of reality, and the consequences of our understandings.

~~##~~ AIMS :

- (1) Why did C become mainstream
- (2) Metaphysics of C
- (3) Overview of C's borrowings from social theory
- (4) Key figures, esp. Wendt

1. Ascent

Events - neo-r's inability to predict end CW ^{or} to explain
collapse of USSR

Mainstream IR can't explain resurgent nationalism after suppression of Communism (eg Baltics)

US and UK grappling with issues of identity

Globalization becomes a popular theme - homogenizing effect as weaker cultures swept aside - some react to this by expressing their identities

At same time, integration into EU and fragmentation of states into national constituents

Social theories, anti- and post-positivism

Why take on ideas from social theory? ^{Disillusioned} ~~Disappointed~~
with scientism.

Positivism - consider science to be the way to understand the world

Anti-positivism - correcting it

Post-positivism - rejecting it

The Metaphysics of C

What is the nature of reality? Reality cannot lie outside interpretation of the world.

Valorization

- The Hermeneutic Circle

We can't understand our experiences without considering context. As interpreters of the world, we can't escape our own context.

Hermeneutic = interpretation

- Consciousness of language?

~~How to put~~

LOOK UP - (Kant and Heidegger)

- Objectivity vs subjectivity

- Intersubjectivity: language and norms

lang and norms are shared, they are intersubjective
the label 'chair' comes from the world around you, through language

Example of lecturer standing at front and talking to class

- Constitutive reasoning

Lorraine shares an Irish identity with Victoria, but to perceive that, difference from others is required. V+L are constituted as Irish because we are not.

Identity (youth or maturity) depends on where you are. Constitutive reasoning can be distinguished from causal reasoning.

Think of the attribs of sovereignty - recognition by others (constituted by interaction with other states)

CS are concerned with shared meanings + labels and how we get them, and their flexibility. The identity of Russia has changed from USSR to now.

Social facts

The world has many material facts, compare that with nationality, which is a social fact (because we all agree that it is). We behave towards them as if they are real, material things - we reify them.

Strong v weak constructionism (thick/thin, postmodern/rationalist)
~~know~~ there is nothing outside discourse - strong constructionism
nothing can be understood without it

weak Cs talk of causality, dependent + independent factors
see world as open to change

Why is shared meaning important?

If we had to encounter every object anew each day, without shared meanings, we couldn't function.

The Influence of Social Theory

- Cross pollinations into IR
 - Identity (ideas about state identity affecting state behaviour in system)
 - episteme - an E might be an area of knowledge
 - transnational epistemic community - eg. climate change scientists
 - symbolic systems - flags, anthems, ^{certain phrases such as act of war mean same thing}

• Structuration: Anthony Giddens

- social life structured by social practices
- gender may be explained by their assigned functions
- we repeat structures and practices and pass them on
- there is room to change the structures, a little at a time

politicians are well-placed to change the social structure, as are voters / revolutionaries

AG says structure is a result of social practice and can be changed by changing social practice.

Structure is ~~over~~ at one pole, agency at the other

- the military is a stabilizing institution - lives in barracks are regimented

• Norms in IR: origins?

Cs are trying to understand IR as a social thing. Norms are the way people behave.

^{Somehow} ~~the way~~ speech acts (by powerful people) ^{bring about change}
saying "I do" has legal + social consequences

even a revolution may not change gender relations / norms / institutions / political structures

Identity created through binarisms

- identity created by differences to others
- ~~power~~ identity can be given to you by others in more power, you can't necessarily control your identity, how you are perceived.

See Theory in Action : Constructivism YouTube

Key thinkers

Nicholas Onuf - performativity, speech acts and how they shape social reality ('A world of our making').

Frederick Kratochwil - rules, norms, where they come from. Concerned with context to see how rules emerged in first place. Assumes rules and norms are rational, not just instrumentally but morally. A rigorous and radical theorist.

Alex Wendt - meta-theory. A thin, weak constructivist. Deals with meta-theory - how theories come into being.

'Anarchy is what states make of it'

Focus on Waltz (neo-r) and Keohane (neo-lib) ~~to~~
The structure of the intl system is at the centre of the neo-neo debate. States are functionally similar, values are self-interested, system anarchic. This is agreed ground. Assumption Wendt asks there is a problem in assuming states are self-interested. How did the assumption arise? Self-interested behaviour is learned, not a given. There is ∴ a social dimension to ~~the~~ it.

GLYNOS

~~WOLFE~~ - LOGICS OF CRITICAL EXPLANATION IN SOCIAL + POLITICAL THEORY

"An adequate social and political theory must be empirical, interpretative and critical." (Bernstein)

Bernstein

- Molloy advocates integration of explanation, interpretation + critique in a new theoretical approach.
- Increasing scientism - knowledge must be identified with science
- unattainable ideal predominates: a science of politics and society
- this ideal has skewed the overall purpose of social science by separating positive science from questions of critique and evaluation
- The ideal is to discover laws and robust empirical generalizations to enable political scientists, policymakers + practitioners to explain and predict relevant political events and practices
- Molloy distinguishes between informed conjecture as to possible trends or outcomes (prognosis) and scientific deduction (prediction).

LECTURE 6 GENDER

15.9.11

- Facts re status of women internationally
- status of gender (the cultural understanding of sex)
- Range of women's issues
- Developments in feminism
- Diverse approaches to gender in IR
- Obstacles to feminism posed by IR practices.

1. STATUS OF WOMEN

Achievement of equality incomplete in devt countries, minimal elsewhere

Gender pay gap is 10.2% in UK 2010 (F/T)

11.8% including P/T

In UK underrepresented on FTSE board

1 in 5 women MPs

1 in 4 experience domestic abuse

2009/10 73% of domestic violence were women

140 million African women genitally mutilated

5000 honour killings/annum

Forced marriages > 300 in UK annually

- certain areas resistant to change

High politics

military security (15% women and don't achieve high ranks)

- Resistance maps on to core areas of IR

2. STATUS OF GENDER

- Bolt-on at end of course. Not integrated. Not seen as a lens through which to view other areas. Regarded as separate. Lack of integration across literature.

WOMEN'S ISSUES

- labour inequalities - women unprotected in labour force
- child-rearing falls to women more than men
- casual workers can be let go more easily and may have no pensions - so women tend to face unemployment in downturns
- International development - guilty of promoting gendered divisions - transforming subsistence cultures where gender inequality was less profound
 - encouraging rollback of state w/ social provision and affects women disproportionately
 - Unpaid domestic labour justified by public/private dichotomy
 - Healthcare - particularly in rollback of welfare state in Italy 4 women die in 1000 live births, 1175 in Afghanistan
 - Education - utilitarian calculus evident here also
 - overall female literacy rate in Niger 89% (men 24%)
 - Access to decision-making vs control over wealth

BRIEF HISTORY

- Mary Wollstonecraft 1792 The Longest Revolution
- First fem movt in Seneca Falls 1848 - emphasis on education and property rights
- 1851 Harriet Taylor Mill - "Enfranchisement..."
married to J.S. Mill - 'subjugation of women'
- 1884 Engels - industrialization resp for creating gender roles
- First wave based around suffrage movement
- 1928 - all women over 18 got vote
- Lull
- Second wave feminism, starts '50s, takes off '60s.
idea of companionable marriages, shared child-rearing
1950s, alongside civil rights movements

- When patriarchy is theorized, this provides toolkit to challenge it
- Betty Friedan's 'Feminist Mystique' - v. successful
- Germaine Greer 'Female Eunuch' - widely read
 - socialization renders females more passive: less well placed to benefit from modernity
- Kate Millet - 'sexual politics' - theorizes patriarchy
 - sees all social structures as patriarchal
 - all power mimics power differential between men and women

DIFFERENT APPROACHES

- Humanist (Liberal, sameness) feminism
 - Women deserve better treatment not just because it's fair but because women are similar to men. + have equal right to actualize full potential - this means not equity of treatment but equity of outcome: +ve discrimination.
- Gynocentric Feminist
 - not looking for equal rights on basis of ^{sameness} but on respect for difference - equal respect for different contributions. Looks at women's unique contribution to society - women often a large part of peace movements point out different ~~needs~~ ^{needs to} women during war; - protection from sexual violence.
 - Emphasizes female traits, experiences, eg pacifism, collaboration. Consider selves morally superior.
 - but - portraying women as pacifists doesn't help them advance in military - can reinscribe binarisms between genders.
- Postmodern Feminism
 - assigned positive traits as ^{biological facts} which ev. does not support
 - Frontal assault on dichotomy between men + women - men constructed as having positive traits such as rationalism. Only way to assault patriarchal order is to reconstruct.

Genderedness of the State exposed

- inside-outside - state mothers citizens, but has male identity of warrior in re. other states

If IR is about states, voices of women are missing. ~~State~~ states regarded as discrete, autonomous entities, like men. Women not seen so. Difference in capabilities between states measured in capability to do violence.

Female traits - changeable, fickle, deviant, governed by nature (hormones), lack of ability to establish order.

Second gendered division - ~~division~~ within state, cooperation, morality etc. are good female traits.

- levels of analysis - state level analysis silences gender issues
 - attentions to linguistic representations

Power conceived as 'power over': androcentric

Defined as ability to get s.o. to do sth - interdependence, sharing, cooperation seen as ~~bad things~~ irrelevant.

Grant protection racket - states protect citizens from outside but women make sacrifices to support this system.

SUMMARY

- Gender inequalities exist.
- IR is gen. blind to issues of gender
- See slides on VLE for others.