

Epoka University

Theories of International Relations (PIR 331)

A Reader

By
Dr. Islam Jusufi

Epoka University
Department of Political Science and International Relations
Tirana, Albania
September 2018

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Preface

This Reader brings together materials related to the International Relations theories. More specifically, it is related with the materials on the course “Theories of International Relations” (PIR 331), taught at Bachelor program in the Political Science and International Relations at Epoka University.

Lecturer

Dr. Islam Jusufi,
Lecturer and Head, Department of Political Science and International Relations
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Personal website: <http://ijusufi.epoka.edu.al>.

Islam Jusufi, PhD: Lecturer and Head at the Department of Political Sciences and International Relations at Epoka University, Tirana, Albania. Studied Politics at University of Sheffield and International Relations at Universities of Amsterdam, Bilkent and Ankara. He held fellowships at the Wilson Centre, Washington DC; EU Institute for Security Studies, Paris; ERSTE Stiftung, Vienna; UNESCO, Paris; Centre for Policy Studies, Budapest; and NATO, Brussels. His research interests relate to international, European and Balkan politics and security studies.

Assignments

Essay (value: 10%): Each student will prepare an Essay. It should be: a. original, b. related to a topic covered in the course, and c. applied to Albania. Deadline for delivery of Essay (two days before the start of the mid-term exam week). Essays should be between 800-900 words, uploaded to Turnitin.

Presentations (value: 10%): After the mid-term exam period, students will present their essays. All presentations will be presented in seminar format. No power point. 10 minutes of oral presentation.

Evaluation format for Essays:

Name of student	Content (out of 50 points)	Organization (out of 10 points)	Mechanics - Language (out of 10 points)	Citations and References (out of 10 points)	Style of writing (out of 10 points)	Format (out of 10 points)	TOTAL (100 points)

Evaluation format for Oral Presentations:

Category	Scoring Criteria	Total Points	Score
Organization (10 points)	The type of presentation is appropriate for the topic and audience.	5	
	Information is presented in a logical sequence.	5	
Content (45 points)	Introduction is attention-getting, lays out the problem well, and establishes a framework for the rest of the presentation.	5	
	Technical terms are well-defined in language appropriate for the target audience.	5	
	Presentation contains accurate information.	10	
	Material included is relevant to the overall message/purpose.	10	
	Appropriate amount of material is prepared, and points made reflect well their relative importance.	10	
	There is an obvious conclusion summarizing the presentation.	5	
Presentation (45 points)	Speaker maintains good eye contact with the audience and is appropriately animated (e.g., gestures, moving around, etc.).	5	
	Speaker uses a clear, audible voice.	5	
	Delivery is poised, controlled, and smooth.	5	
	Good language skills and pronunciation are used.	10	
	Visual aids (if not visual aids), the posture is effective, and not distracting.	5	
	Length of presentation is within the assigned time limits.	5	
	Information was well communicated.	10	
Score	Total Points	100	

Syllabus and Slides

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COURSE SYLLABUS

COURSE INFORMATION							
Course Title: Theories of International Relations							
Code	Course Type	Regular Semester	Lecture	Recit.	Lab.	Credits	ECTS
PIR 331	A	5	3			3	5
Lecturer and Office Hours			Dr. Islam Jusufi (ijusufi@epoka.edu.al), E-101				
Teaching Assistants and Office Hours			Ms. Ajsela Toci (atoci14@epoka.edu.al), E-320				
Language			English				
Compulsory/Elective			Main				
Classroom and Meeting Time							
Description	This course offers training in Theories of International Relations. It will consider the development of international relations theory and the main approaches and theories to international relations. It will provide understanding of the development and content of the theoretical perspectives. The course will link the content of each theory to a contemporary problem and issue in international relations. Each week, a different theory of the international relations will be examined.						
Objectives	The course aims to provide students with understanding of International Relations theories. It aims to introduce students to core of the international relations theories. It also aims to equip students with ability to consider insights afforded by these theories when considering contemporary international issues. By learning on the theories, the course will aim to assist students in preparing for further study in the specialized courses in international relations.						
COURSE OUTLINE							
Weekly lessons	Topics						
Section 1: Theorising International Relations							
1	a. Course introduction, overview of texts, and expectations b. Vocation of an IR theorist						
2	Introduction to International Relations Theory <u>Must readings:</u> Devetak: pages: 22-34. Walt (The Relationship): pages: 23–43. Waltz (Theory): pages: 1-17.						
Section 2: Mainstream theories							
3	Classics <u>Must readings:</u> Knutsen: pages: 11-54.						
4	Realism and Neo-realism <u>Must readings:</u> Devetak: pages: 35-46. D’Anieri: pages: 61-73. Kegley: pages: 31-38. <u>Optional:</u> Mearsheimer (Conversations with History: John Mearsheimer - youtube). Walt (Conversations with History: Stephen Walt - youtube). Waltz (Conversations with History: Kenneth Waltz - youtube).						

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5	Liberalism and Neo-Liberalism <u>Must readings:</u> Devetak: pages: 48-60. D'Anieri: pages: 74-84. Kegley: pages: 28-31; 38-43.
6	Constructivism <u>Must readings:</u> Devetak: pages: 103-118. D'Anieri: pages: 94-101.
7	Institutionalism <u>Must readings:</u> Reus-Smit: pages: 201-221. <u>Optional:</u> Keohane (Conversations with History: Robert Keohane - youtube). Nye (Conversations with History: Joseph Nye - youtube).
8	The English School and Copenhagen School of international relations <u>Must readings:</u> Buzan (An introduction to the English school of international relations): pages: 5-26. Buzan (Security: A New Framework for Analysis): pages: 1-15.
Section 3: Critical theories and Political Ideologies	
9	Marxism, Critical Theory, Socialism and Social democracy <u>Must readings:</u> Devetak: pages: 62-75. Text on Political Ideologies provided by the Lecturer.
10	Feminism in the study of International Relations and Multiculturalism <u>Must readings:</u> Devetak: pages: 76-90. Text on Political Ideologies provided by the Lecturer.
11	Political Conservatism, Nationalism, Fascism and Anarchism <u>Must readings:</u> Text on Political Ideologies provided by the Lecturer.
Section 4: Theorising the current international relations experience of Albania and of the Balkans	
12	Europeanisation <u>Must readings:</u> Elbasani (Europeanization Travels to the Western Balkans). Grabbe (How does Europeanization affect CEE governance?).
13	Foreign aid (and concluding review of the course). <u>Must readings:</u> Morgenthau (A Political Theory of Foreign Aid). Hattori (Reconceptualizing Foreign Aid). Radelet (A Primer on Foreign Aid).
	MID-TERM EXAM (is held in one of the weeks in the middle of the semester)
	FINAL EXAM (is held in the weeks of 15-16 of the semester)

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Prerequisite(s)	Class attendance and participation; compulsory essay
Textbook	<p>Must readings: D’Anieri, P. 2012. International Politics: Power and Purpose in Global Affairs. Wadsworth, Cengage Learning: Boston. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Buzan, B. 2014. An introduction to the English school of international relations: The Societal Approach. Polity Press. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Buzan, B., Wæver O., and de Wilde, J. 1998. Security: A New Framework for Analysis. Lynne Rienner Publishers: London. <i>(Available with the lecturer)</i></p> <p>Devetak, R., Burke, A., George, J. 2013. An Introduction to International Relations. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. <i>(Available in the Library of the Epoka University).</i> <i>(Also, available online)</i></p> <p>Elbasani, A. 2013. Europeanization Travels to the Western Balkans: Enlargement Strategy, Domestic Obstacles and Diverging Reforms. European University Institute - Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Grabbe, H. 2001. "How does Europeanization affect CEE governance? Conditionality, diffusion, diversity", Journal of European Public Policy (6): 1013-1031. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Hattori, T. 2001. “Reconceptualizing Foreign Aid,” Review of International Political Economy (4). <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Kegley, C.W., Blanton, S.L. 2011. World Politics: Trend and Transformations. Wadsworth, Cengage Learning: Boston. <i>(Available in the Library of the Epoka University).</i> <i>(Also, available online with newer edition)</i></p> <p>Knutsen, T. 1997. A history of International Relations theory. Manchester University Press: Manchester. <i>(Available in the Library of the Epoka University).</i></p> <p>Morgenthau, H. 1962. A Political Theory of Foreign Aid. American Political Science Review, 56, 2, 1962: 301-309. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Morgenthau, H. 1962. A Political Theory of Foreign Aid. The American Political Science Review (2): 301-309 <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Radelet, S. 2006. “A Primer on Foreign Aid,” Center for Global Development Working Paper 92. <i>(Available online)</i></p>

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	<p>Reus-Smit, C., Snidal, D. 2008. The Oxford Handbook of International Relations. Oxford University Press: Oxford. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Walt, S. 2005. "The Relationship Between Theory and Policy in International Relations." Annual Review of Political Science (8): 23–48. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Waltz, K. 2010. Theory of International Politics. Waveland Press Inc. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Text on Political Ideologies provided by the Lecturer.</p>
Other References	<p><u>Optional readings:</u></p> <p>Ackerly, B. and True, J. 2008. "Power and Ethics in Feminist Research on International Relations", International Studies Review 10(4): 693-707. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Adler, E. 1997. "Seizing the Middle Ground", European Journal of International Relations (3): 319-364. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Bache, I. 2010. "Europeanization and multi-level governance: EU cohesion policy and pre-accession aid in Southeast Europe", Southeast European and Black Sea Studies (1): 1–12. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Barnett, M. and Duvall, R. 2005. "Power in International Politics." International Organization (1): 39–75. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Buzan, B. 1991. People, States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations. Lynne Rienner publishers: Dulles. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T., and Simmons, B. 2002. Handbook of International Relations. SAGE: London. pp. 3–22. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Carpenter, C. 2002. "Gender Theory in World Politics: Contributions of a Nonfeminist Standpoint", International Studies Review 4(3): 152-165. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Carr. 1946. The Twenty Years Crisis. R. & R. Clark: Edinburgh. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Copeland, D. 2000. "The Constructivist Challenge to Structural Realism," International Security (2). <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Cox, R. 1981. "Social Forces, States and World Order: Beyond International Relations Theory", Millennium (2): 126-155. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Deudney, D. and Ikenberry, G.J. 1999. "The Nature and Sources of Liberal</p>

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	<p>International Order”, Review of International Studies (2): 179-196. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Drezner, D. 2011. Theories of International Politics and Zombies. Princeton University Press: Princeton. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Frieden, J., et al. 2005. "International Relations as a Social Science: Rigor and Relevance." The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (1): 136–56. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Friis, L. and Murphy, A. 1999. "The European Union and Central and Eastern Europe: Governance and Boundaries", Journal of Common Market Studies (2): 211-232. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Ikenberry, G. J. 2011. “The Future of the Liberal World Order: Internationalism after America”, Foreign Affairs (3): 56-68. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Ikenberry, G. J. 2009. “Liberal Internationalism 3.0”. Perspectives on Politics (1): 71-89. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Jervis, R. 1978. "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma." World Politics (2): 167–214. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Katzenstein, P., Keohane, R., et al. 1998. "International Organization and the Study of World Politics." International Organization (4): 645–85. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Keohane, R. 1998. International Institutions: Can Interdependence Work?. Foreign Policy. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Keohane, R. O. 1988. "International Institutions: Two Approaches." International Studies Quarterly (32): 379-96. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Kratochwil, F. 1991. Rules, Norms and Decisions. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Lake, D. 1996. "Anarchy, Hierarchy, and the Variety of International Relations." International Organization (1): 1–34. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Machiavelli, N. 1985. The Prince. University of Chicago Press: Chicago. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>McSweeney, B. 1996. “Identity and security: Buzan and the Copenhagen school”, Review of International Studies (1): 81-93.</p>
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	<p><i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Mearsheimer J., and Walt, S. 2003. "Keeping Saddam Hussein in a Box". NY Times. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Mearsheimer, J. Conversations with History: John Mearsheimer. Youtube. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Moravcsik, A. 1997. "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics". International Organization (4): 513-553. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Morgenthau, H. 2005. Politics among nations: the struggle for power and peace. McGraw-Hill Education. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Olsen, J. P. 2001. "The Many Faces of Europeanization", ARENA Working Papers, 01/2. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Onuf, N. 1989. World of Our Making. CUP: Cambridge. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Ostrom, E. 1997. "A Behavioral Approach to the Rational Choice Theory of Collective Action: Presidential Address, American Political Science Association, 1997." American Political Science Review (1): 1-22. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Oye, K. 1985. "Explaining Cooperation under Anarchy." World Politics (1): 1–24. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Palmer, G., Wohlander, S., Morgan, T. 2002. Give or Take: Foreign Aid and Foreign Policy Substitutability. Journal of Peace Research (1): 5-26. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Riddell, R. 2007. Does foreign aid really work?. Oxford University Press: Oxford. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Rose, G. 1998. "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," World Politics (1). <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Rosenberg, J. 2006. "Why Is There No International Historical Sociology?". European Journal of International Relations (3): 307-340. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Ruggie, J. G. 1998. "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge." International Organization (4): 855–85. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Safire, S. 2006. "Realism". NY Times. <i>(Available online)</i></p>
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	<p>Schimmelfennig, F. and Sedelmeier, U. 2005. The politics of European Union enlargement: theoretical approaches. Routledge: London. <i>(Available in the Library of the Epoka University).</i></p> <p>Schimmelfennig, F. and Sedelmeier, U. 2004. "Governance by Conditionality: EU Rule Transfer to the Candidate Countries of Central and Eastern Europe," Journal of European Public Policy (4): 661–679. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Schroeder, P. 1994. "Historical Reality vs. Neo-Realist Theory." International Security (1): 108–48. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Sedelmeier, U. 2011. "Europeanisation in new member and candidate states," Living Reviews in European Governance (1). <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Thucydides. 2000. History of the Pelopponesian War. Penguin Books: London. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Wallerstein, I. 1974. 'The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System', Comparative Studies in Society and History (4): 387-415. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Walt, S. Conversations with History: Stephen Walt. Youtube. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Waltz, K. Conversations with History: Kenneth Waltz. Youtube. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Weldes, J. 1996. "Constructing National Interests." European Journal of International Relations (3): 275–318. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Wendt, A. 1992. "Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics." International Organization (2): 391–425. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Wilson, W. The Fourteen Points. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Wolfowitz, P. 2009. "Think Again: Realism", Foreign Policy. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Woods, N. 2005. "The shifting politics of foreign aid". International Affairs (81): 393–409. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Wright, J. and Winters, M. 2010. "The Politics of Effective Foreign Aid". Annual Review of Political Science (13): 61-80. 3. <i>(Available online)</i></p> <p>Zehfuss, M. 2002. Constructivism in international relations: the politics of reality. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.</p>
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	(Available in the Library of the Epoka University). - Reference sources on Albania and in Albanian: Cohen, Bernard Saul. Gjeopolitika- Gjeografia e marredhenieve nderkombetare. AIIS, Tirana. Krasniqi, A. (2014). Albanian transition-the contrast between eastern mentality and european identity. Interdisiplinary Journal of Research and Development, I (1). Waltz, Kenneth. Teoria e Politikes Nderkombetare. AIIS, Tirana.	
Laboratory Work		
Computer Usage		
Others		
LEARNING OUTCOMES AND COMPETENCIES		
1	To demonstrate knowledge on the key theories of IR.	
2	To demonstrate ability to reflect on key theories and concepts to case studies	
3	To demonstrate ability to identify differences among the theories	
4	To demonstrate ability to apply the theories to current developments	
COURSE'S CONTRIBUTION TO PROGRAM OUTCOMES (Blank : no contribution, 1: least contribution ... 5: highest contribution)		
No	Program Learning Outcomes	Cont.
1	Having and using advanced knowledge and comprehension supported by textbooks including actual knowledge in political sciences and international relations literature, materials and the other scientific resources	5
2	Determining complex events and topics, making discussions and developing new suggestions in accordance with researches	5
3	Analyzing data, ideas and concepts of current political issues and international relations	5
4	Having knowledge and thought about actual topics and problems together with their historical, social and cultural aspects	4
5	Gaining IT skills to use computer and technology in order to reach actual knowledge	1
6	Improving skills of working together with the main social science disciplines and other disciplines which are related to Political Science and International Relations	3
7	Improving critical thinking and skills in making research independently	5
8	Developing solutions about the problems and conflicts which are common in national and international arena	5
9	Gaining skills to follow societal, scientific and ethic values during collecting, interpreting, conducting of data related to social and political developments	5
10	Knowing any foreign language enough to communicate with colleagues and understand actual researches and articles	4
11	Introducing those who are interested in politics and international events with the topics of Political Science and IR and teaching clearly the problems and the types of solutions	5
12	Improving skills for leadership and research and analyze capacity of those who is responsible with national and international ones	3
13	Having consciousness about human rights and environment	5
COURSE EVALUATION METHOD		
In-term studies	Quantity	Percentage

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Mid-terms	1	30	
Essay	1	10	
Presentation	1	10	
Final Exam	1	40	
Participation	1	10	
Total		100	
Contribution of in-term studies to overall grade		60	
Contribution of final examination to overall grade		40	
Total		100	
ECTS (ALLOCATED BASED ON STUDENT) WORKLOAD			
Activities	Quantity	Duration (Hour)	Total Workload (Hour)
Course Duration (Including the exam week: 16x Total course hours)	16	3	48
Hours for off-the-classroom study (Pre-study, practice)	16	2	32
Assignments	6	1	6
Mid-terms	6	1	6
Final examination	16	1	16
Other	17	1	17
Total Work Load			125
Total Work Load / 25 (h)			5.00
ECTS Credit of the Course			5

PIR 331, Theories of International Relations

Dr. Islam Jusufi
Epoka University

Issues to cover today

- Introduction of course
- Review of course objectives
- Useful references and reading material
- Outline of subjects to be covered
- Assignments
- Other

Fact sheet

- Course Title: Theories of International Relations, PIR 331.
- Course hours per week: Once a week, for 3 hours per week.
- Working weeks: 13 weeks.
- Mid-Term Exam: In the middle of the semester.

Description

- Training in Theories of International Relations
- Development of international relations theory
- Main theories to international relations
- Development and content of theories
- Link each theory to a contemporary problem
- Each week a different theory.

Objectives

- Understanding of IR theories
- Ability to consider insights of theories when considering contemporary issues
- Preparing for further study in specialized courses in IR.

Learning outcomes

- Knowledge on key theories of IR
- Ability to reflect theories to case studies
- Ability to identify differences among theories
- Ability to apply theories to current developments

Biography, Islam Jusufi

- Lecturer at the Department of Political Science and International Relations of Epoka University
- Studied Politics at University of Sheffield and International Relations at Universities of Amsterdam, Bilkent and Ankara.
- Served as adviser to EU and UN.
- Fellowships at the Wilson Centre, Washington DC; EU Institute for Security Studies, Paris; ERSTE Stiftung, Vienna; UNESCO, Paris; Centre for Policy Studies, Budapest; and NATO, Brussels.
- Research interests relate to international politics, security studies and foreign aid management.

Office hours

- By appointment.
- Students are encouraged to use office hours to discuss reading materials, exams, presentations, as well as any other matter, including their future professional development.
- via email: ijusufi@epoka.edu.al.
- E-Building: E-101.
- Assistant: Ms. Ajsela Toci.

Readings

- Wide range of sources.
- Available on-line or in the Epoka Library .
- If students experience any difficulty accessing material, they should contact the instructor or the assistant.

Must readings

- D'Anieri, P. 2012. International Politics: Power and Purpose in Global Affairs. Wadsworth, Cengage Learning: Boston.
(Available online)
- Buzan, B. 2014. An introduction to the English school of international relations: The Societal Approach. Polity Press.
(Available online)
- Buzan, B., Wæver O., and de Wilde, J. 1998. Security: A New Framework for Analysis. Lynne Rienner Publishers: London.
(Available with the lecturer)
- Devetak, R., Burke, A., George, J. 2013. An Introduction to International Relations. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. (Available in the Library of the Epoka University).
(Also, available online)

Must readings - 2

- Elbasani, A. 2013. Europeanization Travels to the Western Balkans: Enlargement Strategy, Domestic Obstacles and Diverging Reforms. European University Institute - Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies. (Available online)
- Grabbe, H. 2001. "How does Europeanization affect CEE governance? Conditionality, diffusion, diversity", Journal of European Public Policy (6): 1013-1031. (Available online)
- Hattori, T. 2001. "Reconceptualizing Foreign Aid," Review of International Political Economy (4). (Available online)
- Kegley, C.W., Blanton, S.L. 2011. World Politics: Trend and Transformations. Wadsworth, Cengage Learning: Boston. (Available in the Library of the Epoka University). (Also, available online with newer edition)

Must readings - 3

- Knutsen, T. 1997. A history of International Relations theory. Manchester University Press: Manchester. (Available in the Library of the Epoka University).
- Morgenthau, H. 1962. A Political Theory of Foreign Aid. American Political Science Review, 56, 2, 1962: 301-309. (Available online)
- Morgenthau, H. 1962. A Political Theory of Foreign Aid. The American Political Science Review (2): 301-309. (Available online)
- Olsen, J. P. 2001. "The Many Faces of Europeanization", ARENA Working Papers, 01/2. (Available online)

Must readings - 4

- Radelet, S. 2006. "A Primer on Foreign Aid," Center for Global Development Working Paper 92. (Available online)
- Reus-Smit, C., Snidal, D. 2008. The Oxford Handbook of International Relations. Oxford University Press: Oxford. (Available online)
- Walt, S. 2005. "The Relationship Between Theory and Policy in International Relations." Annual Review of Political Science (8): 23–48. (Available online)
- Waltz, K. 2010. Theory of International Politics. Waveland Press Inc. (Available online)

Optional readings

- Ackerly, B. and True, J. 2008. "Power and Ethics in Feminist Research on International Relations", *International Studies Review* 10(4): 693-707. (Available online)
- Adler, E. 1997. "Seizing the Middle Ground", *European Journal of International Relations* (3): 319-364. (Available online)
- Bache, I. 2010. "Europeanization and multi-level governance: EU cohesion policy and pre-accession aid in Southeast Europe", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* (1): 1–12. (Available online)
- Barnett, M. and Duvall, R. 2005. "Power in International Politics." *International Organization* (1): 39–75. (Available online)

Optional readings - 2

- Buzan, B. 1991. People, States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations. Lynne Rienner publishers: Dulles. (Available online)
- Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T., and Simmons, B. 2002. Handbook of International Relations. SAGE: London. pp. 3–22. (Available online)
- Carpenter, C. 2002. “Gender Theory in World Politics: Contributions of a Nonfeminist Standpoint”, International Studies Review 4(3): 152-165. (Available online)
- Carr. 1946. The Twenty Years Crisis. R. & R. Clark: Edinburgh. (Available online)

Optional readings - 3

- Copeland, D. 2000. “The Constructivist Challenge to Structural Realism,” *International Security* (2). (Available online)
- Cox, R. 1981. “Social Forces, States and World Order: Beyond International Relations Theory”, *Millennium* (2): 126-155. (Available online)
- Deudney, D. and Ikenberry, G.J. 1999. “The Nature and Sources of Liberal International Order”, *Review of International Studies* (2): 179-196. (Available online)
- Drezner, D. 2011. *Theories of International Politics and Zombies*. Princeton University Press: Princeton. (Available online)

Optional readings - 4

- Frieden, J., et al. 2005. "International Relations as a Social Science: Rigor and Relevance." The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (1): 136–56. (Available online)
- Friis, L. and Murphy, A. 1999. "The European Union and Central and Eastern Europe: Governance and Boundaries", Journal of Common Market Studies (2): 211-232. (Available online)
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Optional readings - 7

- Mearsheimer J., and Walt, S. 2003. “Keeping Saddam Hussein in a Box”. NY Times. (Available online)
- Mearsheimer, J. Conversations with History: John Mearsheimer. Youtube. (Available online)
- Moravcsik, A. 1997. “Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics”. International Organization (4): 513-553. (Available online)
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- Onuf, N. 1989. *World of Our Making*. CUP: Cambridge. (Available online)
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- Sedelmeier, U. 2011. "Europeanisation in new member and candidate states," Living Reviews in European Governance (1). (Available online)
- Thucydides. 2000. History of the Pelopponesian War. Penguin Books: London. (Available online)
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Optional readings - 12

- Waltz, K. Conversations with History: Kenneth Waltz. Youtube. (Available online)
- Weldes, J. 1996. "Constructing National Interests." European Journal of International Relations (3): 275–318. (Available online)
- Wendt, A. 1992. "Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics." International Organization (2): 391–425. (Available online)
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Optional readings - 13

- Wolfowitz, P. 2009. “Think Again: Realism”, Foreign Policy. (Available online)
- Woods, N. 2005. “The shifting politics of foreign aid”. International Affairs (81): 393–409. (Available online)
- Wright, J. and Winters, M. 2010. “The Politics of Effective Foreign Aid”. Annual Review of Political Science (13): 61-80. 3. (Available online)
- Zehfuss, M. 2002. Constructivism in international relations: the politics of reality. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. (Available in the Library of the Epoka University).

Resources on Albania or in Albanian

- Cohen, Bernard Saul. Gjeopolitika-Gjeografia e marrëdhënieve ndërkombëtare. AHS, Tirana.
- Krasniqi, A. (2014). Albanian transition-the contrast between eastern mentality and european identity. Interdisciplinary Journal of Research and Development, I (1).
- Waltz, Kenneth. Teoria e Politikës Ndërkombëtare. AHS, Tirana.

Course Outline, Lessons 1-2

- Section 1: Theorising International Relations
- Lesson 1: a. Course introduction, overview of texts, and expectations; b. Vocation of an IR theorist.
- Lesson 2: Introduction to International Relations Theory
- Must readings: Devetak: pages: 22-34. Walt (The Relationship): pages: 23–43. Waltz (Theory): pages: 1-17.

Lessons 3-4

- Section 2: Mainstream theories
- Lesson 3: Classics
- Must readings: Knutsen: pages: 11-54.
- Lesson 4: Realism and Neo-realism
- Must readings: Devetak: pages: 35-46. D'Anieri: pages: 61-73. Kegley: pages: 31-38.
- Optional: Mearsheimer (Conversations with History: John Mearsheimer - youtube). Walt (Conversations with History: Stephen Walt - youtube). Waltz (Conversations with History: Kenneth Waltz - youtube).

Lessons 5-6

- Lesson 5: Liberalism and Neo-Liberalism
- Must readings: Devetak: pages: 48-60. D'Anieri: pages: 74-84. Kegley: pages: 28-31; 38-43.
- Lesson 6: Constructivism
- Must readings: Devetak: pages: 103-118. D'Anieri: pages: 94-101.

Lessons 7-8

- Lesson 7: Institutionalism
- Must readings: Reus-Smit: pages: 201-221.
- Optional: Keohane (Conversations with History: Robert Keohane - youtube). Nye (Conversations with History: Joseph Nye - youtube).
- Lesson 8: The English School
- Must readings: Buzan (An introduction to the English school of international relations): pages: 5-39. Reus-Smit: pages: 267-285.

Lessons 9-10

- Lesson 9: Copenhagen School of international relations
- Must readings: Buzan (Security: A New Framework for Analysis): pages: 1-45.
- Section 3: Critical theories
- Lesson 10: Marxism and Critical Theory
- Must readings: Devetak: pages: 62-75.
Reus-Smit: pages: 327-345.

Lessons 11-13

- Lesson 11: Feminism in the study of International Relations
- Must readings: Devetak: pages: 76-90. Reus-Smit: pages: 391-407.
- Section 4: Theorising the current international relations experience of Albania and of the Balkans
- Lesson 12: Europeanisation
- Must readings: Olsen (The Many Faces of Europeanization). Elbasani (Europeanization Travels to the Western Balkans) Grabbe (How does Europeanization affect CEE governance?).
- Lesson 13: Foreign aid (and concluding review of the course).
- Must readings: Morgenthau (A Political Theory of Foreign Aid). Hattori (Reconceptualizing Foreign Aid). Radelet (A Primer on Foreign Aid).

Evaluation and Assignments

• Mid-term Exam	1	30%
• Essay	1	10%
• Presentation	1	10%
• Final Exam	1	40%
• Participation	1	10%

Evaluation and Assignments - 2

- Mid-term: Exam (30%).
- Essay (10%): All students will prepare a 800-1000 word Essay. Essays are due two days before start of mid-term exam week.
- Presentations (10%): The final hour of each week after Mid-Term will be available for student presentation sessions. The objective is to present the results of the essay written. Each presentation should include 10 minutes of oral presentation and 10 minutes of Q&A session.
- Final Exam (40%).
- Class Participation (10%): The class combines lecture and discussion. Come to class prepared. You are expected to read materials assigned for each class. Your participation in class will be assessed and will figure into your final grade.

Plagiarism

- Students are expected to do all their assignments themselves and to footnote ideas, quotations, facts, data and other material that they take from any other source.

Q and A

- Students present themselves: bio and interests.
- Q and A.

Vocation of an IR theorist

**PIR 331, Theories of International
Relations**

**Dr. Islam Jusufi
Epoka University**

"What is the vocation of an IR theorist?"

- “IR Theory and Philosophy (Empirical)”?
- “IR Theory and Philosophy (Historical)”?
- “IR Theory and Philosophy (Normative)”?
- Confusion about nature of IR theory/identity crisis.

No dominant theory

- IR has not undergone a revolution in which a new and dominant theory is installed.
- Abundance of "theories" available.
- Existence of new theories are not conclusive evidence of a revolution.
- What counts is enforcement of one theory to exclusion of its rivals.

History of the idea of method

- Method has history reaching back to ancient Greek philosophy.
- Methodus was used in association with notion of a “way” to truth.
- Methodus emphasized the economy of being methodical.
- Metaphor of “way” was associated with advantages of adhering to beaten path rather than “blazing” a trail.

History of the idea of method - 2

- In Middle Ages, methodus acquired meaning of a "short-cut."
- IR deps are hampered by "lack of knowledge of research skills" and academic calendar does not afford sufficient time for students to learn "sampling, interviewing, coding, analysis, etc."

Theories and realities of IR life

- When smth is wrong, there is wrong in the theory, not in the world.
- IR Theories should be drawn from the realities of IR life.
- Polanyi: "it is the normal practice of scientists to ignore evidence which appears incompatible with the accepted system of scientific knowledge, in the hope that it will prove false or irrelevant".

Introduction to International Relations Theory

PIR 331, Theories of International Relations

Dr. Islam Jusufi
Epoka University

Outline of today

1. Concept of theory,
2. Theories of IR, and
3. Connecting theory and practice.

THEORY

Why theory?

- Students stay distanced from theory.
- Complain is that theory is: abstract, irrelevant, difficult.
- Impossible to avoid theories: either explicitly or implicitly we always refer to theories.
- We give meanings to events, based on theories. E.g. how to view Russia's presence in Syria? Is it anarchy there? Great power ideals? Indication of inequalities in world stage?

Why theory? - 2

- Facts important, but not enough; facts can be understood differently from different theories. E.g. consider facts that Iraq had or did not have WMD.
- There is no absolute truth and reality; theories provide value to the events. E.g. consider antique materials when sold in a regular bazaar in contrast being sold in an antique bazaar.

What is theory?

- Theory is statement that explain laws of particular behavior or of phenomenon.
- If a (independent variable) then b (depended variable). (law)
- Repetition is basis of a law.
- In political science, to say that “AC Milan fans voted for Berlusconi party or voted with certain probability” is a statement of law.

What is theory - 2

- If laws are taken together, higher correlations are established between voters' characteristics (independent variables) and choice of candidate (dependent variable), leading to a theory.
- Laws are born when series of similar hypotheses are confirmed.

What is theory? - 3

- Statistics, data, experience and observations (laws) are good for description, but not for explaining the **causality**. Thus, theory is needed for explanation.
- Laws are permanent; theories are not and newer theories can replace older ones.
- Theory definition: theories explain the laws.
- Theories do not explain the full reality; it explains part of the reality.

How you design a theory?

- Move beyond observations and experiments.
- Make sense of what is being observed.
- Facts are connected.
- Observed phenomena become mutually dependent.
- It proves that when a change is made in a phenomenon, it leads to change in others.
- Then simplification comes.

How you design a theory? - 2

- Set of explanatory variables used: distribution of power among states, volume of trade, degree of institutionalization among states, regime type, gender, identities.
- Theorists employ various social science methods: comparative case studies, statistical analysis, interpretivist approaches.

What is a good theory?

1. Logically consistent and empirically valid.
2. Complete.
3. Explanatory power.
4. That explain an important phenomenon.
5. Prescriptively rich.
6. Stated clearly.

What is IR theory?

- IR theory is a causal explanation of recurring relations e.g. between two or more states and explains the relationship.
- IR theory accounts for interstate and trans-state processes, issues, and outcomes in causal terms.

IR THEORIES

Ontology and Epistemology

- Ontology is theory of “being” and describes the fundamental elements of the world.
- Epistemology is theory of “knowing”, i.e. how we come to know about these fundamental elements of the world.
- Epistemology helps to understand the ontology.

Ontological positions compared

Liberalism	Realism
Individuals are fundamental elements of the world	Individuals are fundamental elements of the world
Individual is progressivist	Individual is driven by power and security

Epistemological positions compared

Liberalism	Realism
History as focus	History as focus
Developmental change	History of anarchical state system, history of “repetition and recurrence”

IR as science

1. Positivism;
2. Interpretive social science; and
3. Critical approach.

1919 and aftermath: Liberal dominance

- Why WWI happened and how to avoid new wars?
- Liberal view dominated the discipline in the beginning.
- US President Wilson urged a world based on individual liberty, rule of law, free trade, international institutions (League of Nations, International Court of Justice).

Attack of Realism

- Realists attacked liberalism as utopian; “The Twenty years’ crisis 1919-1939”, a book of 1946, example of this attack.
- Realists argued: liberalism is pre-scientific version of IR and it focused on what “ought” to be, rather than what it “is” and what is “reality”.
- Dichotomies “is/ought” and “realism/idealism” largest legacy of these discussions.

Realism

- International environment is dangerous.
- Use of violence is necessary.
- Use of force as a last resort.
- Power as a “means” to end and not as “end” in itself.

Liberalism

- There are alternatives to use of force.
- Freedom, democracy, human rights have significance and inspire progressive change.
- Violence is unavoidable, but we cannot reduce human condition to dictates of anarchy.
- International law and humanitarianism are alternatives to use of force.

WWII aftermath: Realist dominance

- Hitler defeated, USSR emerging, Cold War starting.
- Dominance of realism, led by Morgenthau, “Politics among nations” of 1973.
- Struggle for power as determiner of behavior of states aiming to maximize their interests.
- “Pursuit of power” becoming general law of IR, as it has its roots in human nature.

Third approaches: critiques of liberalism and realism

- English School of IR, coming from Realism, but considering aspects of human rights and international law as important (borrowing from liberalism) (Bull's book of 1966).
- Vietnam war (1964-1973), breakdown of international financial system, emergence of issues of justice, poverty, human rights as important issues affecting thinking in IR theories (1970s).

Third approaches: critiques of liberalism and realism - 2

- Liberalism – Realism accused of being as two sides of same coin.
- So many issues, institutions, cultures, peoples dominating the world are left out of main theories (1980s).

Realists and Liberals respond

- Emergence of neo-realism (Waltz, 1979) and neo-liberalism (Friedman, 1999).
- Reasserting their premises: world is not changing (neo-realism); liberalism as a basis for prosperity and peace (neo-liberalism).
- Similarities between two remained: power hungry state as primary focus; US hegemony as basis for functioning the world system.
- Thus, criticism continued.

Mainstream IR theorists

Theories	Theorists
Realism	Morgenthau
Liberalism	Wilson, Doyle, Rosecrance
Neo-realism	Waltz, Mearsheimer
Neo-liberalism	Keohane, Moravcsik
English School	Wight, Bull

Critical turn

- “Neos” aiming to maintain the power and dominance of the global North.
- Global apartheid, discrimination, dependence.
- “Radical liberal internationalists” arguing for more focus on human rights, justice, sustainable development, global governance.

Critical turn - 2

- Marxists, critical social movements focusing on differences between the rich and poor.
- Gramsci and Neo-Gramscians calling for counter-hegemonic projects.
- Cox arguing that theory “is always for someone and for some purpose” and that realists seek to maintain status-quo and hegemony.

Critical turn - 3

- Post-modernism: people driven by “will to power”.
- Feminism: women are excluded by IR agenda and that IR theory has never been gender neutral.
- Post-colonialism: global inclusiveness, respect for difference.
- Constructivism: meanings added by social actors; social construction of reality.

CONNECTING THEORY AND PRACTICE

Why connecting theory with policy?

- Policy makers pay little attention to IR theories.
- IR scholars uninterested in doing policy.
- Relying on false theory can lead to disasters.
- Theory remains essential for diagnosing events, explaining causes, prescribing responses, evaluating impact of policies.
- Current incentives discourage policy engagement for theoreticians.

Why connecting theory with policy? - 2

- Scholarly study of IR not of great value to policy makers.
- Need for powerful theories that could help policy makers design effective solutions.
- The need is due to changing agenda:
Emergence of unipolar world, expansion of global trade and finance, failed states, global terrorism, human rights, spread of democracy, climate change, growing prominence of NGOs.

Why connecting theory with policy? - 3

- IR theories are either irrelevant or inaccessible to policymakers.
- IR theory knowledge is hardly a prerequisite for employment.
- Consider appointments in Albania?

Why connecting theory with policy? -

4

- Wide gap between IR theories and practical conduct of foreign policy.
- Some warn that emphasis on “policy relevance” is detrimental.
- IR theory is less relevant for policy makers because scholars have little incentive to develop ideas that might be useful.
- IR theory is seen as too abstract to influence policy directly.

How can theoretical IR help policy makers?

- Provide conceptual framework.
- Inform policy analyses of specific problems.
- Strengthening the transmission belt linking these different activities, so that academic ideas reach the policy maker's desk.

What Types of Knowledge Do Policy Makers Need?

1. Policy makers rely on factual knowledge.
2. Decision makers employ simple decision rules acquired through experience rather than via systematic study.
3. Typologies, which classify phenomena based on sets of specific traits; policy makers rely on empirical laws.
4. Policy makers can also use theories.

What IR theory offers to policy makers?

- IR theories offer explanations for likelihood of war among particular states; alliances; regimes; spread of ideas, norms, institutions; transformation of international systems.
- E.g. deterrence theory explains why mutual vulnerability may be preferable to either side having a large capacity to threaten the other side's forces.

What IR theory offers to policy makers? - 2

- E.g. Did Iraq have WMD or not?
- E.g. Forecasts about long-term effects of Iraq war?
- E.g. U.S. intervention in Central America justified in part by domino theory.

How Theory Can Aid Policy?

- Theory and policy are inextricably linked.
- Relationship between theory and policy is not a one-way street.
- Theory informs policy and policy problems inspire theoretical innovation.
- Policy makers must figure out which events merit attention and what policy instruments to use.
- They do this on the basis of some sort of theory.

How Theory Can Aid Policy? - 2

- Diagnosis: figure out what sort of phenomena is faced and design appropriate response.
- Prediction: Anticipate events.
- Prescription: Make a choice for a policy with best outcome.
- Evaluation: Whether a policy is achieving the desired results.

Challenges for dialogue between theory and practice

- IR theory as too general and abstract.
- Many theories, little time to read.
- Different agendas.
- Professionalization of IR discipline; little incentives to work on policy aspects.
- Gulf between scholars and policy makers getting wider as the links between theoretical research and policy problems grow weaker.

Must readings

- Devetak: pages: 22-34.
- Walt (The Relationship): pages: 23–43.
- Waltz (Theory): pages: 1-17.

Classics

PIR 331, Theories of International
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IR Theory dates back to which eras?

- World War I, yes, but it may be too late.
- Long before WWI, large body of literature existed on war, power, peace.
- Disagreements on the origins of IR theory.
- Unclear what “tradition” means:
historic tradition and analytic tradition.

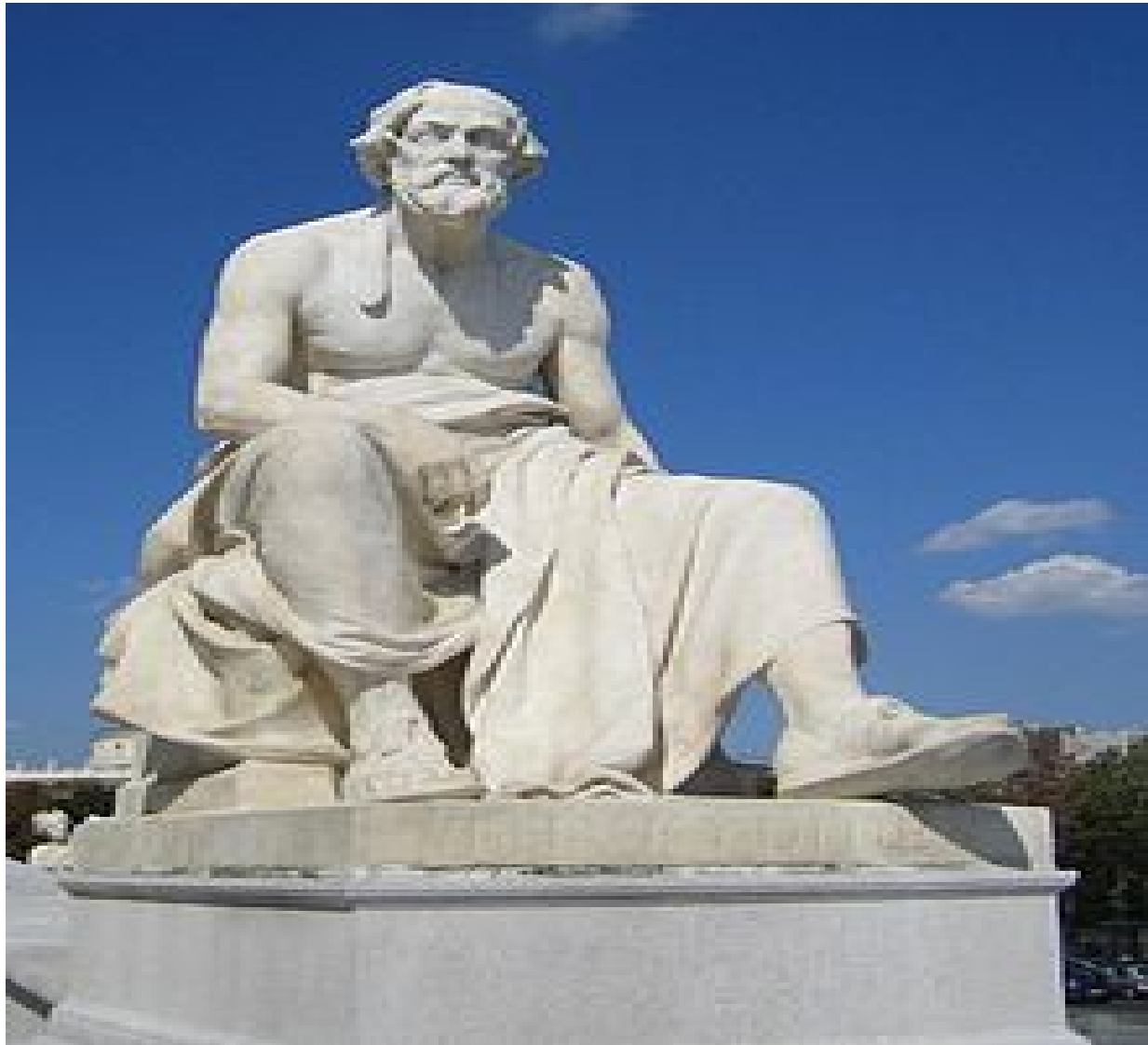
Historic tradition

- As historic tradition, IR theory can be traced to antiquity.
- Thucydides and others discussed war, containment, counterbalance. Can these be counted as existence of theories?
- Ancient accounts convey little more than the existence of a common sense?

Analytic tradition

- It is sustained intellectual connection along which scholars stipulate certain concepts, themes and texts as functionally similar.
- As analytic tradition, IR theory can hardly be traced back to more than a few centuries.
- Some argue that there was balance of power practice and theory in ancient Greece.

FIRST GROWTH PHASE OF IR THEORY



Thucydides

- Athenian historian, philosopher, general.
- “History of the Peloponnesian War” explains 5th century BC war between Sparta and Athens.
- Nature and causes of war; Balance of power.
- “The strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must”
- ‘a strong state can be contained by alliance of smaller state’, as a contribution to IR theory.

Thucydides - 2

- Strict standards of evidence-gathering and analysis of cause and effect.
- Views the political behavior of individuals and of relations between states as constructed based on the emotions of fear and self-interest.

Thucydides - 3

- Places high value on eyewitness testimony and writes about events in which he himself took part.
- Consulted written documents and interviewed participants about the events that he recorded.
- He did not acknowledge divine intervention in human affairs.
- Conceived man's nature as strictly determined by the physical and social environments.

Thucydides - 4

- Devoted to observable phenomena.
- Focus on cause and effect.
- Strict exclusion of non-observable factors (scientific positivism).

Ancient Greece

- Accounts of Thucydides and of others do not provide for sustained intellectual connection across the ages.
- Collapse of Ancient Greece (replaced by Macedon and Rome) interrupted this tradition.
- Collapse of Rome can be treated as a start of the present study of IR theory.

MEDIEVAL AGE: SECOND GROWTH PHASE OF IR THEORY

Byzantium

- Texts on war and diplomacy.
- War and diplomacy practices were not grounded on theory and abstract; but on religion.
- Read classical texts, but did not subject them to critical review.
- Few contributions of lasting scholarly importance.

Islamic world

- Valued education and learning.
- Theocracy, theology, limited secular analysis and theory.
- War and diplomacy was religiously informed.
- Classic literature translated, including Aristotle and Thucydides; and did more than mere translation; ideas were put into new context, sustaining analytic tradition of IR.

Far West

- Libraries and schools established.
- Debates on authority of pope (from God) and of emperor (from people) was IR theorizing.
- Political doctrine with faith/Church at its centre.
- Pope sanctioning the crusades.
- Customary law on war and diplomacy as early source of IR theory.
- Emergence of independent territorial states and of centralized armies rather than feudal armies.

ANDALUSIA: THIRD GROWTH PHASE OF IR THEORY



Andalusia and aftermath: Transformation of knowledge

- “Reason” starting to replace “faith”.
- Texts of Greece/Rome found in Andalusia: translated from Arabic to Spanish to Latin.
- New discovered knowledge competed with existing religious orthodoxy.
- Time was needed to absorb new knowledge discoveries.
- Emergence of multi-state system and emergence of scholars independent of Church.

RENAISSANCE: FOURTH GROWTH PHASE OF IR THEORY

Renaissance context

- Rise of Italian city-states; decline of papacy and of holy roman empire.
- International trade and transport rising.
- Modern institutions being established: diplomatic system; network of permanent ambassadors.
- Emergence of raison d'état: a reason for security of state, becoming predominant principle.

Renaissance spirit

- Edited and wrote commentaries on classical texts.
- Detected fraud in church literature.
- Individualism: individual being able to shape his destiny based on his skill and insight.
- Virtu/virtuous gentlemen: Skill in combat; knowledge of classical philosophy and art.
- Primary renaissance theorist: Machiavelli.



Machiavelli

- Machiavelli (1469 - 1527)
Italian historian, diplomat,
philosopher.
- Founder of modern political
science and political ethics.
- The seminal book: The Prince.

Machiavelli - 2

- Contributed to political theory.
- Focus on state.
- Invokes concepts of fortune, virtu and self-interest.
- Psychological portrayal of political leaders, like Thucydides.
- Scholarship based on historical analysis.

Machiavelli - 3

- From Church to the Prince (the state):
“State” became the concern rather than the Church.
- “State” as self-sufficient and independent entity, like ancient theorists.
- Nothing is superior to the “state”.
- “State” as part of inter-state context seeking to maximize its security.

Machiavelli - 4

- Revolutionized political theory.
- From theological discussions to modern discourse.
- New focus became on state, rather than Church.
- State as principal actor became further source of IR theory.

The Prince

- Importance of a strong ruler who is not afraid to be harsh with his subjects and enemies.
- Endorsing evil and immoral behavior.
- Analysis of the actual techniques used by rulers.

The Prince - 2

- Public and private morality to be understood as two different things in order to rule well.
- Ruler must be positively willing to act immorally at the right times.
- Occasional need for the methodical exercise of brute force.
- Machiavellian: good excuse to do anything felt necessary in order to stay in power.

Must readings for this week were:

Knutsen: pages: 11-54.

Realism and Neo-realism

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Realism

- Dominant theory of IR.
- Point of reference for other theories.
- Seeking to be suprahistorical, by explaining fundamental features of world politics: war and conflict.

History

- Emerged in 1930s as opposition to liberalism.
- Based on historical traditions of thought.
- It could draw upon writings written over two millennia: Thucydides (thjusididi), Machiavelli, Hobbes.

History - 2

- Realism as anti-thesis of liberalism.
- Lessons learned from inter-war period (1919-1939) and WWII, fed the emergence of realism.
- Emergence of WWII increased criticism of utopianism by realists who argued that liberals neglected harsh realities of power.

Cold war realism

- ‘Acquiring nuclear weapons’, ‘inevitability of conflict’, ‘lack of cooperation’, ‘power seeking states’ best fit to interpretations of realism.
- Foreign policy took precedence over domestic politics.
- Constant pursuit of war as a means of war.

From Realism to Neo-realism

- Constantly reviewed and changed.
- Two main approaches: classical (realism) and structural (neo-realism).
- But they share same assumptions.

ASSUMPTIONS OF REALISM

Assumptions

- **States** as principle actors.
- Condition of **anarchy**.
- **Conflict** as inevitable and necessity.
- Character of IR **unchanged through history**.
- Emphasis on **history** (as a cause and effect), continuity, repetition.
- As name reveals – realism, it seeks to explain the situation as it is.

State

- State answers to no authority.
- Anarchy dictates choices that states make.
- Purpose of state is survival.

State - 2

- Means to achieve survival: power and wise statecraft.
- Principle: Self-help or state of nature.
- Principle: State sovereignty, which gives freedom to do whatever is necessary to advance state's interests and survival.

State's characteristics

- First, states possess sovereignty: supreme authority to enforce laws.
- Second, states govern with monopoly of instruments of violence in both domestic (police) and foreign policy (army).
- Third, states are territorial units dividing the Earth.

State's characteristics - 2

- States are rational actors and often make bad decisions.
- IOs and other actors: play important role, but subordinate to states.
- International Law is a result of will and practice of the states.
- Global trends – globalization – depend on power, values and interests of hegemons.

Anarchy and other forms of international politics

- World imperial system: one government controls the world, e.g. Roman Empire.
- Feudal system: non-territorial loyalties. E.g. Europe after the Roman Empire.
- Anarchic system of states: system of states with no hierarchy. E.g. Ancient Greek city-states, Machiavelli's Italy and today's world after 1648 Treaty of Westphalia.

Anarchic system of states

- Legal: no common police enforcement of international norms and rules.
- Political: no monopoly and no hierarchy.
- Social: no sense of community.

Anarchy fundamentally determines character of world politics.

Consequences of Anarchy

- States feel insecure.
- They are obsessed with their survival.
- States can only rely on themselves in this system – self-help system.
- States rely or increase their military power or form alliances.
- There is no trust and very difficult to promote cooperation in anarchy.

Behavior under anarchy: Security Dilemma

- Structure determines the states' behavior.
- **Security Dilemma** as behavior.
- In their efforts to ensure their own security, states establish less secure environment.
- Tendency for one state's efforts to obtain security causing insecurity in others.
- Choice – dilemma - between arming, which risks provoking a response from others, and not arming, which risks remaining vulnerable.

Behavior under anarchy: Lust for power

- **Lust for power:** world politics as struggle for power.
- System as oligarchical configuration: haves and have nots.
- Haves: satisfied with the international order (status quo powers).
- Have nots: dissatisfied or revisionist powers.
- In the world there is no interest to peace.
- There is evil in all political actions.

Behavior under anarchy: Prisoner's Dilemma

- There is no trust and very difficult to promote cooperation in anarchy.
- Allies may help to defend a state, but their loyalty should not be assumed.
- Behavior type: **Prisoner's dilemma**: Human nature caught in a situation where if you cheat you get rewarded and if you trust you loose.
- It is possible actors to choose an action even if they know that the way chosen is not best action.

VARIANTS OF REALISM

‘Balance of Power’ theory

- Distribution of capabilities as only changing element (unipolar, bipolar, or multipolar).
- These configurations produced by BoP, which counteracts excessive accumulation of power.
- BoP works as automatic mechanism.
- BoP is unintentional product of inter-state interactions, causing status quo behavior by great powers (structural neorealists – Waltz); for other neorealists, states seek to maximize their power (neo-classical realists – Mearsheimer, Walt).

Balance of Power history

- Westphalian system did not resolve anarchy: it did not establish higher structure that can tell states what to do.
- Westphalian system did not prevent states from pursuing their interests.
- States often used war as a tool to achieve those interests or to assert dominance over Europe.

Balance of Power history - 2

- History of Europe from 1648 until early 19th century was “classic balance of power system”.
- This was because of distribution of power.
- No state had ability to gain dominance.
- Balance of power meant that no one state was sufficiently powerful to defeat the others.
- Balance of power was fact and policy: balance became goal of policy.

Balance of Power history - 3

- Balance of power helps to maintain peace?
- 119 (10 of them hegemonic) wars among great European powers from 15th to early 20th century; three-quarters of the time included a war involving a great power.
- Outbreak of WWI is blamed to balance of power.

Balance of Power history - 4

- Wilson: evil principle as it allowed states to deal with their own citizens as they wanted.
- Did it maintain independence of states?: Not every state was preserved; Poland in 18th and 20th century was carved up.

Balance of Power and war

- BoP focuses on most powerful states as they are able to cause change.
- War can begin in two ways:
 1. If states do not balance as they should, then power can become unbalanced, encouraging the powerful to attack.
 2. States may initiate war, either to augment their own power or to prevent another state from becoming too powerful.

Power

- Power is ability to achieve aims or ability to affect others.
- Ability to influence is related to possession of resources: population, territory, army...
- Power conversion: capacity to convert potential power measured by resources into realized power measured by change behavior of others.

Power - 2

- Power resources depend on the context: population (18th, 19th), rail (19th), nuclear (20th), internet? (21st).
- Hard power: coercing others to change behavior based on carrots and sticks.
- Soft power: getting others to want what you want: culture, institutions, ideology.

Power - 3

- Hard power makes soft power successful; Soft power does not depend solely on hard power.
- Soft power is becoming more important.
- What resources are most important sources of power today?
- Lust for power and desire to dominate others.
- Instinct for power cannot be eradicated.

Power - 4

- World politics is struggle for power.
- Obligation of state is to promote national interests through acquiring power.
- States acquire military capabilities to deter attacks from enemies and neighbors.
- Economy is less relevant than military; economy matters as long as it serves the power.

Balance of power as system

- 19th century: multipolar.
- 20th century: bipolar.
- 21st century: unipolar or multipolar?

‘Hegemonic Stability’ theory

- Stability results not from BoP, but from unipolarity.
- Hegemony leads to peace because states are not irrational enough to tangle with the hegemon unless it is absolutely necessary.
- Hegemon acts as “world police” in reducing anarchy in the system.
- Hegemon can solve prisoner’s dilemma because it punishes those who defect.

‘Hegemonic stability’ theory and war

- War is likely when dominant position of hegemon erodes, giving other states temptation to dominate.
- War can begin if rising second-place state seeks to assert its power.
- War can begin if hegemon attacks preemptively, in order to crush the rising threat.

Decline of hegemons

- Decline of a hegemon seems inevitable.
- Three causes:
 1. Costs of “empire.”
 2. Potential for internal decay.
 3. Technological advantages diffuse from hegemon to other states.

State of nature, state of war

- Political dimensions of human nature: fear, ambition to drive political action and generate conflict.
- State of war, State of nature or natural condition: International life in constant state of war.
- Lawless and ungoverned environment, without common power.
- Individuals can escape this state of war by forming a state; the states they form do not escape this state of war.

Morality

- No place for moral claims; only morality accepted is “Raison d’etat” or “reason of state” existence.
- Necessity to suspend moral and legal norms to deflect threats to the state.
- Morality matters as long as it furthers state’s interests.

Morality - 2

- War as normal - Realpolitik: countries should prepare for war in order to preserve peace.
- People are selfish.
- Logic of international politics grants moral value to the survival of states and their interests.

Morality - 3

- This moral value legitimates infringement of values such as human rights as they depend on states' survival.
- Ethic of responsibility: Duty of statesmen is to accept responsibility of consequences and not of intentions. Good intentions do not matter in world politics.
- Prudence as moral value in politics.

Morality - 4

- In reality, morality plays a role. People and states seek help from others on morality grounds, e.g. violations of human rights.
- States with more power often tend to ignore moral considerations: “Strong do what they have power to do ...”.
- Power politics is moral because it prevents aggressors from doing evil on a huge scale. E.g. appeasement before WWII.

Wise statecraft - Diplomacy

- For realists, does not only matter power and its distribution.
- But also: Leaders' motivation and intentions; nature of states; capability to conduct diplomacy.

Weaknesses of realism

- It did fit to Cold War developments and wars in Balkans in 1990s.
- However, it did not account for significant developments in world politics, e.g. construction of Europe, progress in world economic development.
- To overcome weaknesses, two schools emerged: neorealism or structural realism and neoclassical realism.

Neo-realism

- Structural model of international relations.
- Emerging in second half of 20th century.
- Human nature or internal state structure has no serious effect on inter-state relations.

Neo-realism - 2

- There is autonomy of world politics.
- Behavior of states cannot be analyzed based on analysis of states.
- It is fundamental structure of anarchy that shapes behavior of states.

Neo-realism - 3

- For analysis of structure, three elements suffice: differentiation of units (states have same behavior), organizing principle (hierarchy or anarchy), and distribution of capabilities (relative power and aggregation of power – unipolar, bipolar or multipolar).
- Self-help is behavior of the states.

Neo-realism - 4

- Anarchic nature of world system as explanation, rather than lust for power.
- States differ in their relative power/capabilities.
- Capabilities define the position of state in world.
- Distribution of capabilities defines the structure of the system (balance of power, whether multipolar or bipolar or hegemon), which in turn shape the behavior of the states.

Neo-realism - 5

- Global power structure influences behavior of states.
- Global system can best account for trends.
- Intl structure emerges from interaction of states and the same structure contains the behavior of states.

Neo-realism - 6

- Once the global structure is formed, states cannot control it anymore; it controls them.
- Domestic politics not crucial, as states are same (whether democratic or dictatorial) when they seek to pursue to balance power with power in their foreign policies.

Neoclassical realism or neotraditional realism

- As a reaction to structural realism (neo-realism), neo-classical realism emphasized original roots of realism.
- Internal influences as key on state's behavior.
- Individual and state level factors as important determinants of state behavior.
- Leaders' perception of interests and capabilities.

Critiques of realism

- Anarchy being replaced by global governance.
- States loosing advantage as principal actors.
- Realism cannot tell when the war occurs.
- Realism cannot tell what is the purpose of power.

But Realism still matters

- States remain principal actors.
- No emergence of world government.
- Non-state actors have not replaced the states.
- “State” as phenomenon continues to spread.

Must readings for this week were:

Devetak: pages: 35-46.

D'Anieri: pages: 61-73.

Kegley: pages: 31-38.

Liberalism and Neo-Liberalism

PIR 331, Theories of International
Relations

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Assumptions

- Impact of ideas on behavior.
- Equality and liberty of individual.
- Need to protect people from excessive state regulation.
- Human beings to be treated as ends rather than means.

Assumptions - 2

- Ethics over pursuit of power.
- Institutions over capabilities shaping behavior of states.
- Politics at international level as struggle for consensus rather than struggle for power.
- States and other actors have powerful incentive to try to escape from anarchy, or at least to moderate its worst effects.

Beliefs

- Human nature is essentially good.
- People are capable of cooperation.
- Concern for others makes progress possible.
- Violence is not result of individuals, but of evil institutions.

Beliefs - 2

- War is not inevitable and War can be prevented through institutions.
- War requires collective effort to contain.
- Ethics to be included in statecraft.
- Civil liberties can pacify relations among states.

Ideas

- Unity of humankind substituting national loyalties.
- Education as a means to incite peace in the world.
- Promoting free international trade.

Ideas - 2

- Replacement of secret diplomacy.
- Termination of bilateral alliances and balance of power system.
- Self-determination: Giving nationalities the right through voting to become independent states.

Principles and Norms

- Principles: freedom, human rights, reason, progress, toleration.
- Norms: constitutionalism, democracy.

Historical-political context

- Term dates back to 19th century.
- 17th century political struggle for freedom and tolerance.
- John Locke (Two treatises of government, 1688), first liberal text.
- Locke: freedoms of individual paramount; govt should rest on consent; not monarchical or religious authority; govt powers strictly limited; practice religious toleration.

Liberal rights and freedoms

- American declaration of independence (1776).
- French declaration of rights of man (1789).
- Smith's Wealth of nations (1776).
- Kant's Perpetual peace (1795).
- *Note: Early liberal thought was not democratic/liberal democracy starts in 19th century.*

Liberalism's variations

- Utilitarianism (greatest happiness of greatest number).
- Idealism (concern for the community).
- Reason.
- Free market (laissez-faires) and limiting powers of government to the limit.
- Social liberals seeking role for state in preventing abuse of power and in delivery of public services.

Liberal domestic theory

- Liberal domestic theory centers on the rights (liberties) of the individual.
- John Locke argued that free citizens could indeed live peacefully without an authoritarian ruler.
- Individuals could freely join together to form governments that would protect them from anarchy without resorting to authoritarianism.
- The limitation of state power and guarantee of certain inalienable rights are core of liberalism.

LIBERALISM IN IR

Liberal reform program

- Three group of liberals on reforming international political system:
- First group: advocating for establishing international institutions to replace anarchy and balance of power system.
- Solution proposed – “Collective Security”: aggression to one state considered as aggression to all.

Liberal reform program - 2

- Second group: Emphasis on mediation and arbitration to settle disputes. E.g. 1921 Permanent Court of International Justice to litigate inter-state conflicts, 1928 Briand-Kellogg pact outlawing war.
- Third group: Seeking disarmament as a means to end war.

Wilson's 14 points

Wilson's 14 points speech of 1918:

1. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at.
2. Freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters.
3. Removal of economic barriers and establishment of equality of trade conditions.
4. Armaments reduced.
5. General association of nations.

Wilsonianism

- Force can be limited with law and by establishing international institutions.
- Democracy can make the world more peaceful.
- Wilson believed that his “14 Points” would help to establish world peace if implemented.

Collective Security

- Method for preventing war.
- All states would agree that if any state initiated a war, all the others would come to the defense of the state under attack.
- Any state would know that if it started a war, it would face retaliation from every other country.

Wilson on CS

- Paper agreements would not be sufficient.
- Rules and organizations are needed for implementation of agreements: LoN.
- Security as a collective responsibility: non-aggressive countries would form coalitions against aggressors.
- Peace as indivisible concept.
- Intl law transcended national law and sovereignty.
- CS is to Intl law, what police is for national law.

Period of relative success for LoN: 1924-1930

- German reparations' scale went down.
- 1924 treaty of Locarno allowed Germany to enter League of Nations.
- Dispute between Greece-Bulgaria resolved.
- Disarmament negotiations.
- 1928 Kellogg-Briand pact outlawing war.

“Commercial Liberalism”

- Rise of international trading system.
- Two worlds of international relations: military political world of territorial states and interdependent world of trading systems.
- Commerce promotes peace.
- Economic links reduce the likelihood of war.
- It included: deregulation, privatisation, free movement of capital.
- This lasted until 2008 crisis.

Liberal normative theories

- Ethical issues: Human Rights, foreign aid, relationship with emerging powers, humanitarian intervention.
- Progress in international affairs is possible.
- Collaboration can make all participants better off and that it should therefore be a priority in international affairs.
- Contemporary world politics concerns how to promote cooperation and collaboration.

Enthusiasm for liberalism receding

- Although liberalism dominated discourse of inter-war years, with the exception of League of Nations and Washington naval treaties, little of liberal program was achieved.
- As the world moved to WWII, enthusiasm for liberalism receded.

NEO-LIBERALISM

Neoliberalism

- Emerging in last decade of 20th century.
- Concentrating on ways International Organizations and Non-State Actors promote international cooperation.
- Realism failed to predict peaceful end of the cold war.
- Realism oversimplified concept of power and misunderstood lessons of history.

Neoliberalism - 2

- Realism lacking guidance for future of world politics as agenda broadens in topics and actors.
- Fresh re-examination of classical liberalism and of post-WWI idealism.
- Emphasizing prospects for peace, progress and prosperity. E.g. regional integration.

Neoliberalism - 3

- Focusing on influences of: democratic governance, public opinion, mass education, free trade, liberal commercial enterprise, international law and organization, arms control and disarmament, collective security, multilateral diplomacy, ethically inspired statecraft.
- Perceiving change in global conditions as progressing through cooperative efforts.

Differing assumptions of Neo-Liberalism vs Neo-Realism

- Anarchy: preferable (neo-realists); problem and can be resolved through establishment of global institutions (neo-liberals).
- International cooperation: possible but difficult to sustain (neo-realists); produces rewards that reduce temptation to compete (neo-liberals).

Differing assumptions of Neo-Liberalism vs Neo-Realism - 2

- Relative vs absolute gains: relative gain primary motive (neo-realists); states motivated by opportunities to cooperate producing absolute gain for all parties (neo-liberals).
- Priority of state goals: security (neo-realists); economic welfare (neo-liberals).

Differing assumptions of Neo-Liberalism vs Neo-Realism - 3

- Intentions vs capabilities: capabilities as primary determinant of states' behavior and of intl outcomes (neo-realists); ideas more influential than capabilities (neo-liberals).
- Institutions and regimes: IOs as places where states carry competition and rivalry (neo-realists); IOs establish norms that are binding to states and change patterns of world politics (neo-liberals).

Neo-Liberalism cohesive?

- Not cohesive school of thought.
- Operating from different assumptions, different processes through which change and cooperation might be promoted.
- Levels of analysis: global system; state and sub-state level.
- All of them share an interest in probing the conditions under which cooperation among states may occur.

LIBERAL IR THEORIES

LIBERAL INSTITUTIONALISM

Liberal institutionalism

- Intl institutions help increase confidence that agreements will be followed.
- Institutionalized arrangements, containing rules and principles, promote cooperation.
- Institutions foster habits of cooperation.
- Level of analysis: systemic level.

Liberal Institutionalism - 2

- Cooperation is extensive in many areas.
- Institutions can help to implement shared goals, to decrease costs, to prevent cheating.
- Cooperation is possible when interdependence is high.
- Institutions provide mutual benefits in which information communicated and expectations stabilised.

Liberal institutionalism and Security dilemma

- If everyone could stop building arms at the same time, security dilemma could be partly overcome, and everyone would be better off.
- States can help maintain a stable balance of power. In such a situation, security would be increased, and states can give attention to other concerns, such as increasing prosperity.
- Security dilemma provides states with strong incentives to negotiate formal and informal agreements to overcome anarchy.

Liberal institutionalism and prisoner's dilemma

- Prisoner's dilemma demonstrates that it is possible for two states to become better off by moving from mutual defection to mutual cooperation.
- International politics is not zero-sum game.
- Shared norms or values provide incentive to cooperate.

Liberal institutionalism and prisoner's dilemma - 2

- Logic of the game changes considerably if the game is played repeatedly.
- Over time, the difference between benefits to those who cooperate and those who fail to collaborate increases.
- Strategy of reciprocity, in which one cooperates only as long as one's partner cooperates, can persuade even selfish states to cooperate.
- States can agree on monitoring mechanisms to reduce cheating.

Institutions

- Institutions are sets of norms, rules, and practices.
- They can be formal or informal (annual meetings of leaders).
- International agreements can be supported by formal organizations (UN, WTO, World Bank).
- They can be without organizational structure (bilateral agreements).

Institutions - 2

- Intl institutions: order, predictable, cooperative, peaceful environment.
- Intl institutions also help to restrain hegemonic powers and prevent unilateralism by great powers.
- Other examples: WTO, arms control regimes, peacekeeping, regional economic cooperation.

Institutionalism in practice

- First attempt to put liberal theory into practice was Concert of Europe.
- Great powers at that time believed that previous uncoordinated system had made less safe.
- By agreeing on certain principles of engagement and meeting periodically to revise the arrangements, they were able to establish era of considerable peace and prosperity.
- When collaboration broke down, everyone ended up worse off (WWI started).

Cheating and Enforcement

- Adhering to agreement while other parties cheat can be devastating.
- Cooperation is more likely when any cheating can be detected before it threatens state security.
- Collaboration itself can make it easier to verify that states are not cheating.

Cheating and Enforcement - 2

- SALT-I agreement included provision that neither side would interfere with the other's attempts to use spy satellites to verify compliance.
- 1968 Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty has verification provisions to assure all signatories that others would not develop nuclear weapons.
- Struggle of world politics is not simply the struggle for power, but the struggle for security.
- Security is increased by agreeing with others to limit the pursuit of power.

International Regime

- “International Regime”: norms, principles, rules, and institutions around which global expectations unite regarding a specific international problem. e.g. nuclear non-proliferation regime.
- Collaboration among states can increase benefits without threatening survival.
- If states agree to trade freely all can become wealthier at the same time.
- Cooperation can occur even among great powers and among the most intense rivals (US-China).

Nuclear non-proliferation regime

- Treaty: Non-proliferation treaty.
- Monitoring body: International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).
- Informal agreements: not to export sensitive technology; assurances to non-nuclear states.
- Result: number of nuclear states kept in minimum.
- 1972 SALT-I, 1977 SALT-II limited nuclear weapons.
- 1980 Argentina – Brazil ending nuclear programs.
- 2007 North Korea to stop work at its reactor.
- Today: 2016 Iran deal.

COMPLEX INTERDEPENDENCE THEORY

Complex interdependence theory

- State not as the central actor.
- Pluralism in actors opens up new motivations.
E.g. Firms are primarily driven not by security motives, but by the profit motive.
- Focus of multiple actors leads to a view of politics characterized by collaboration.
- Level of analysis: Sub-state level.
- Multiple actors (more than state), diverse goals (more than security), and a variety of driving forces (more than power).

Traits of Complex Interdependence theory

1. “Multiple channels connect societies”: there is much more going on than government-to-government interaction.
- Bureaucratic contacts - transgovernmental relations across nation-states, including firms, NGOs, and individuals.

Traits of Complex Interdependence theory - 2

2. No clear hierarchy of issues: Security is not always the most important agenda item. Other priorities include economy, human rights, environment.
3. Military force often not viable policy: In dealing with issues that have little to do with security (health crises), military force would be inappropriate if not counterproductive.

CI and Variety of actors

- World politics encompassing pluralism of actors.
- States, within states and beyond states: bureaucracies, companies, political parties, interest groups, and voters; IOs and MNCs.

CI and Variety of goals

- No hierarchy of goals.
- States have economic, environmental, and other goals that have no substantial interaction with security.
- When negotiating about banana tariffs, pollution limits, AIDS prevention, states are not worried about the balance of power.

CI and Variety of goals - 2

- Goals are not primarily security.
- Greenpeace is concerned with environmental issues, WHO with the spread of disease.
- Ministries of economics and finance are primarily concerned with economic affairs, not security.

CI and Web of relationships

- World interconnected by web of many relationships among many actors.
- Of the wide range of goals, only few can be attained through military force.
- Internet is changing the nature of world politics.
- Does the Internet actually change international politics?

CI and Cooperation

- World politics is not so conflictual.
- Actors focus on issues less difficult than security.
- Optimistic about the chance for peace because other goals compete with security.

DEMOCRATIC PEACE THEORY

Democratic peace theory

- States are not unitary rational actors; state's form of government does affect its behavior.
- Some kinds of states - liberal democracies - are able to escape anarchy.
- Peace depends on the form of govt.
- Whether the govts of major powers are democracies.
- Level of analysis: state level.

Democratic peace theory - 2

- It doesn't matter whether the world is unipolar or multipolar; what matters is the form of govt.
- Democracies do not go to war against each other: First, democracies seek to resolve disputes peacefully; Second, public is unwilling to support a war against another democracy.
- Liberal reasons for aggression: extending zone of liberal peace.

Liberal ideas in IR

- League of Nations gave hopes for liberal international order, but hopes were dampened by WWII.
- But, Liberalism remained as premise of IR due to:
 1. Cold War's liberal economic order achievements.
 2. End of the Cold War.
 3. Spread of globalization.
 4. Idea that no alternative to market economy and liberal democracy.

Must readings for this lesson:

Devetak: pages: 48-60.

D'Anieri: pages: 74-84.

**Kegley: pages: 28-31;
38-43.**

Constructivism

PIR 331, Theories of International
Relations

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History

- Newest theory in IR.
- Emerging in late 1980s.
- Initial literature: Wendt (1987, 1992); Onuf (1989); Kratochwil (1989).
- Intellectual traditions upon which it relies have long histories.

About

- It looks on role that ideas play in IR.
- It does not deny importance of material factors (money, weapons); it argues that effects of these factors are not predetermined.
- Instead, the effects of these factors depend on how we think about them.

About - 2

- In contrast to the dominant focus on power (realism), it seeks to investigate purpose - goals that actors pursue with the power.
- Fewer categorical statements about international politics.
- Variety of constructivist approaches, but they share a focus on how ideas influence IR.
- Most dynamic theory of IR.

ROOTS OF CONSTRUCTIVISM

Roots

- Rooted in insights of “social theory” and “philosophy of knowledge”.
- It is based on “interpretive social science” approach in research methods of social sciences.

Interpretive social science

- Developed by Max Weber and Wilhelm Dilthey.
- It seeks to understand personal reasons or motives that guide a person's decisions to act in particular ways.
- It is often called “qualitative method of research”.

Interpretive social science - 2

- It uses participant observation and field research.
- Gathers statistical data to acquire indepth understanding of meaning of life.
- It does look to particular setting and looks to it from the point of view of the people who are in it.

Interpretive social science - 3

- It takes into account social actor's reasons and social context of action.
- For action to be regarded social and to be of interest to social scientist, the actor must attach subjective meaning to it and it must be directed towards the activities of other people.

Interpretive social science - 4

- Social reality is not waiting to be discovered.
- It is largely what people perceive it to be.
- Social life exists as people perceive it to be. For example, anarchy is construct of states.

Interpretive social science - 5

- Social life is constructed by people while interacting with others.
- There is no one reality; but multiple interpretations of human realities.
- Social reality as consisting of people who construct meaning and establish interpretations through their daily social interactions.

Interpretive social science - 6

- Interpretive research looks to what is happening to the people who are directly involved.
- It does not disregard common sense altogether; it takes it seriously as it informs the meaning of human behavior.
- Humans cannot function in daily life if they base their actions solely on science.

Interpretive social science - 7

- Interpretive research tells a story and it has limited generalizations.
- It is rich in detail and limited in abstraction.
- In order to determine whether an explanation is true it does not need to be easily replicated in other times or places.

Interpretive social science - 8

- Evidence cannot be isolated from context or from values of actors. E.g. actions are not solely depended on foreign policy structure (positivist, realist), but also on public opinion (interpretive, constructivist).
- Behaviors can have multiple meanings.
- Actions can have different meanings taking into account the context in which they occur.

Propositions of Constructivism

- It does not seek to predict events.
- It does not advise how states should behave in international system.
- It looks to the way social life is put together.
- It provides meaning to social action.
- People or states act toward objects and to each other based on the meanings that they give to them.

Schools of thought and Ideas

- Variety of constructivist approaches, which are not broken down into “schools of thought.”
- Constructivism focuses on three key kinds of ideas: interests, identities, and norms.

CORE IDEAS OF CONSTRUCTIVISM

Interests

- Socially constructed goals that people together define for society.
- If we understand actors' interests (their goals) and the constraints they face, then we can predict their behavior.
- Rather than assuming interests and then connecting them to behavior, constructivists ask where interests come from.

Interests - 2

- Interests do not follow from material factors; interests are “socially constructed”: people together define what is good/bad and what the goals of society are.
- Enemies become friends without much change in material factors. E.g. changing views on South Africa or Franco-German friendship after WWII.

Interests - 3

- This happens when each country defines its well-being as closely connected to that of the other, rather than seeing the two states' interests as necessarily conflicting.
- Ideas of friendship and enmity are as important as weapons in establishing security and insecurity. E.g. idea of European integration.

Norms

- Shared rules that influence behavior.
- “Collective expectations for proper behavior of actors.” E.g. Norm of noninterference in the internal affairs of other states.
- Although sometimes violated, norms play important role in shaping behavior, in part because those who violate shared norms pay a price in terms of losing moral influence.

Norms - 2

- Causes and effects of norms are important.
- In terms of causes, how new norms arise and how norms change.
- In terms of effects, norms shape the way that states define their interests.

Norms - 3

- Norm of noninterference arose from Westphalian System.
- There is decline of this norm in terms of the increasing power of a competing norm in 20th century: human rights.
- Series of agreements signed after WWII signaled that states were willing to elevate human rights to a norm that rivaled noninterference in importance.

Identities

- Actors' and others' perceptions of who they are and what their roles are.
- Who the actors are and what they and others perceive their role to be.
- Realist theories take identities as given; for constructivists, key is how identities change.

Identities - 2

- As identities change, interests/behavior change.
- Theories that ignore the role of identity, will miss important source of change.
- Goals and interests of states in IR come from state's identity.

Identities - 3

- Meaning-making and identity-shaping processes (constructivism) come as a bridge between material conditions (realism) and rationality of leaders (liberalism).
- Identity is inter-subjective: it does not exist out there (realism) or inside the heads (liberalism), but between two, in the social interactions that people have with each other.

Identity of who we are – “of self”

- States deal with each other based on categorical distinctions.
- Inter-subjective identity is public.
- Identity comes before and forms the basis of interests.
- Because a state is X, it should or can do Y.
- World politics for constructivists is competing claims for identity.

Different understandings “of self” identity

- Based on identity, states take particular actions and not others. E.g. US isolationist policy based on identity that US stands as example for others and no need to interfere in others affairs. Or active US policy based on identity that US is most powerful state and that is has obligation to helps those in need.
- Two different self-understandings of a state's identity, leading to different policies.

Identity of who are others – “not self”

- Because X state is Y, implies existence of states who are Y, therefore they have to be treated differently.
- Categorical distinction between Selves-Others.
- It has implications to states' actions. E.g. because a state lies outside Europe, they are not considered candidates for EU/NATO.
- In order to understand states' behavior, we need to look to this “self-other relationships”.

Self-Other relationships

- Some of these relationships are durable: codified into rules and norms that govern interactions in the world.
- Rules and norms are not only regulative (realism, liberalism), these are also constitutive: specifies what actor can do and what kind of actor that actor actually is. E.g. sovereignty and recognition are constitutive elements defining who can be players in the international system.

Shifts in Identity

- Adhering or defying rules and norms involves shifts in identity.
- Changes and shifts in identity give rise to different course of action.

CASE STUDIES

Identity change - sovereignty

- Whereas other approaches take the state as a fundamental and unchanging actor, constructivists assert that, in fact, what it means to be a “sovereign state” changes over time.
- Prior to 17th century, there was no recognition of “state sovereignty”.

Identity change – sovereignty - 2

- When states began recognizing each other's sovereignty and legalizing it in the Treaty of Westphalia, they then behaved differently toward each other.
- Process of being integrated into the Westphalian system changed the identities of the actors from feudal or imperial, into sovereign states.

Identity change – sovereignty - 3

- Now, what it means to be a sovereign state is itself changing.
- Doctrine of “noninterference in the internal affairs of sovereign states” as obsolete.
- Preserving human rights, taking higher priority than noninterference.

Identity change – sovereignty - 4

- Under this new interpretation, armed intervention in Kosovo were deemed by many to be acceptable.
- Change in the identity of the sovereign state altered international rules of behavior.
- Ideas matter, and changes in the identity of sovereign states matters a lot.

Shared identities of state

- Constructivists investigate the extent to which different states might develop shared identities. E.g. EU, where “European” identity may exist in addition to identities of separate states.
- Israel–U.S. alliance is best explained neither by the balance of power nor by domestic politics but by the perception of shared values.

Identity as a basis for conflict

- Clash of Civilizations (Huntington) argued that identity issues as likely to lead to conflict.
- Fundamental cultural differences in different parts of the world leading to permanent barrier to further homogenization of global interests.
- The source of this conflict would be difficult to understand using theories that treat identity as irrelevant.

Anarchy

- “Anarchy is what states make of it”.
- There is anarchy (realism), but it is constructed by the states.
- Anarchy is not empty in content.
- It is thick: it has rules, norms and institutions.
- It forms a social arrangement with stable patterns of relations.

Anarchy - 2

- Socially constructed through the actions, interactions, and self-understandings.
- It is not a pre-given structure.
- Result of social processes and practices.
- Intersubjective worldview of states.
- Based on self-help behavior, states socialize at the system level, and anarchy takes the form that it does.

Anarchy - 3

- Intl system dominated by states, acting under conditions of anarchy.
- It is different kind of anarchy: with norms, rules, institutions, i.e. busy space.
- It is thick anarchy (constructivism), not a thin anarchy where states fight for survival (realism), or where states fight for cooperation (liberalism).

“international institutions”

- Rules, norm and institutions form “international institutions” not in organizational sense, but in social sense. E.g. institution of marriage.
- Similar institutions exist at the systemic level, e.g. institution of balance of power.

“Balance of power” as institution

- BoP as a reflection of identity of being a great power.
- BoP as deliberately intended product, not inevitable consequence (realism).
- BoP as means to deal with various shifts in power capabilities.
- Infringed state to be consulted and compensated for allowing the power of another state to be augmented. E.g. German unification and compensations offered to France.

“War” as institution

- War as social institution, which has rules, norms and institutions.
- These norms condition the behavior of the states even if they do not obey them.
- Norms and rules: humanitarian law (Geneva conventions); International Criminal Court, ICRC.

Change in international system

- There is social effort to make and maintain international system.
- Nothing is natural in international system.
- Things could have been different from what we have now.
- It takes work to sustain international system.
- Everyday there is reproduction of state identity.

Socialization and identity change from outside

- States can be given particular roles.
- They act based on these roles.
- It is possible to 'alter-cast' (informally) another actor by starting to treat that actor the way you would actually like them to be, whereupon the actor starts behaving accordingly.

Socialization and identity change from outside - 2

- There is also formal procedure, like membership in an IO that condition adoption of certain rules.
- Once the rules are internalized, it leads to redefinition of identity that in turn affects the behavior.
- States' identity can also change from inside through domestic pressure groups.

IOs and NGOs constructing “governance”

- IOs establish rules that lead to establishment of particular institutions, e.g. peacekeeping.
- IOs and NGOs, regulate what states can and cannot do, as they have acquired authority.
- With authority, they are able to set standards.
- In these IOs and NGO processes state identities are articulated and states are held accountable for their actions.

“Security Community”

- Situation where states no longer consider war among themselves as possibility.
- States positively identify with each other.
- Every state as Selves, rather than as Other.
- Disputes resolved positively.
- Security communities change context within which states interact.
- Outside security community, disputes may not be resolved peacefully.

Cross cultural networks as community

- Transnational exchanges leading to formation of community of states.
- This in turn leading to change of state identities that may lead them to be more peaceful.
- Nesting strategy: group of actors using a commonality to reframe their interactions, changing them from contacts between separate states to transactions between the members of a larger cultural and political entity.

Distribution of nuclear weapons

- Variation in the importance of nuclear weapons can be explained only by the fact that IC considers Iran and North Korea enemies and considers Britain a friend.
- Friendship and enmity have no basis in the distribution of power.
- They are ideas, existing only in the collective beliefs of populations and leaderships.

Implications

- Constructivism makes few unambiguous predictions about what will happen in world politics.
- Provides no general rules about how they matter, when they matter, or which ideas will come to dominate a particular problem.

Insights

- Liberal theorists see constructivism supporting liberal arguments about possibility of cooperation in anarchy.
- Norms can help solve the prisoner's dilemma, or they can change the actors' interests so that the situation is no longer a prisoner's dilemma.

Cooperation

- Constructivism with important implications for activists seeking to promote cooperation.
- If norm change can increase the likelihood of cooperation, then activists can work to promote norms that, if accepted, will likely lead to cooperation on certain issues. E.g. Convention on Anti-Personnel Mines in 1997 and promoting sanctions against South Africa to overcome its apartheid system.

Culture

- “National interests” are not “given” by structural factors, but constantly redefined and influenced by changing cultures.
- “Culture” is not a constant but rather a variable that helps explain changes in other variables. E.g. desire to become advanced state leading states to build nuclear weapons; “cultural realism” predominates in China.

State goals

- For realists, constructivism helps explain state goals.
- States have ambitions that are not dictated by distribution of power.
- Realists consider it crucial to understand whether a state is “revolutionary” or “status quo” power, which is not depended primarily on distribution of power.
- For realists also, power alone cannot explain international politics.

Capitalism

- For economic structuralist theorists, constructivism helps explain why exploitative system of capitalism is difficult to overthrow.
- Existing ideas and norms support the notion that capitalism is fair arrangement that increases global prosperity.
- Norm change is needed in order to advance goals of poverty reduction and equality of wealth.

Must readings for this lesson:

- Devetak: pages: 103-118.
- D'Anieri: pages: 94-101.

Institutionalism

PIR 331, Theories of International
Relations

Dr. Islam Jusufi
Epoka University

Context

- World politics becoming institutional.
- “international institutions” in many sectors and in many regions.
- World IGOs: UN, IMF, World Bank, WTO, IAEA.
- Regional: NATO, EU, Council of Europe, OSCE, RCC, GCC, OPEC, AU, ECOWAS, ASEAN, APEC.

Context - 2

- Even argument for irrelevance of institutions, assumes existence of institutions.
- Argument for unilateralism makes considering the existence of opposite: multilateralism.
- Study of institutionalism grown as the number of IGOs grown.
- It draws upon different analytical traditions.
- It has impacted number of IR fields of study.

What is Institutionalism?

- It is about studying institutions.
- IR is mainly reactive field: it reacts to events.
- It changes as reality changes.
- Institutional developments took place after WWI/II, leading to establishment of institutionalism as a subfield in IR.

Rise of institutionalism

- Emergence of EU was momentous.
- It was momentous as it transcended anarchic nature of state system.
- Initially it was study of international organizations and regional integration, then regimes, and then institutionalism.
- Change was in broadening the focus and in reformulation of causal logic.

Definitional turn

- Initial focus on “IGOs” defined as: formal arrangements transcending national borders that provide for establishment of international machinery to facilitate cooperation among members in various fields.
- Later focus was on “regimes”, defined as: principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actor expectations converge in a given issue-area.

Intellectual turn

- Initially, it rooted existence of IGOs in core elements of realist theory: states, power and interests.
- Later, “regime” was replaced by “institution” as study of institutions emerged in other fields such as economics, political science.

Broadening focus

- “Old institutionalism” focused on formal institutions.
- “New institutionalism” includes broader conceptualization: rules of game in a society or humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction.
- Emergence of “international institutions” prior to emergence of “International Organizations”. E.g. NPT regime before arrival of IAEA.

Cooperation

- It became called “neoliberal institutionalism” due to its emphasis on cooperation.
- International institutions as mutually beneficial arrangements rooted in liberal argument of economics about individuals and firms engaging in mutually beneficial exchanges.
- Union between neoliberealism and neoliberal institutionalism in rationalism: to be able simultaneously to study both conflict (realism) and cooperation (liberalism).

Realist view of institutions

- While not denying the existence of institutions, realists argue that institutions exist in low politics domains.
- Also, that institutions do not have independent standing, but as a means for powerful to serve their interests.
- But, realists failed to explain continuity of some of institutions, E.g. NATO.

Limits of focus

- Everything in IR can be dubbed as institutions: diplomacy, war, international law. Where is the limit?
- International institutions as self-interested inventions of states.
- States find that autonomous self-interested behavior can be problematic.
- They prefer to construct international institutions to deal with series of concerns.

Institutions for what?

- Institutions as solutions to failure of coordination.
- Institutions as solutions to autonomy as it results in poorer outcomes. Consider Prisoner's Dilemma or Security Dilemma.
- Institutions resolve collective action problems. E.g. in trade, arms race.
- Institutions allow states to reach mutually preferred outcomes.

Institutions for what? - 2

- Need for institutions is like need for states.
- States and institutions as institutional solution to problem of autonomous choice in state of nature.
- In state, individuals out of their self-interest, voluntarily cede some of their freedom of action in order to achieve better outcomes than those arrived in the state of nature.

Institutions for what? - 3

- Institutions in order to reduce transaction costs.
- International institutions help increase confidence that agreements will be followed.
- Institutionalized arrangements, containing rules and principles, promote cooperation.
- Institutions foster habits of cooperation.
- Level of analysis: systemic level.

Institutions for what? - 4

- Cooperation is extensive in many areas.
- Institutions can help to implement shared goals, and to prevent cheating.
- Cooperation is possible when interdependence is high.
- Institutions provide mutual benefits in which information communicated, and expectations stabilized.

Institutions for what? - 5

- Adhering to agreement while other parties cheat can be devastating.
- Cooperation is more likely when any cheating can be detected before it threatens state security.
- Collaboration itself can make it easier to verify that states are not cheating.

What are Institutions?

- Institutions are sets of norms, rules, and practices.
- They can be formal or informal (annual meetings of leaders).
- International agreements can be supported by formal organizations (UN, WTO, World Bank).
- They can be without organizational structure (bilateral agreements).

What are Institutions? - 2

- Intl institutions: order, predictable, cooperative, peaceful environment.
- Intl institutions also help to restrain hegemonic powers and prevent unilateralism by great powers.
- Examples: WTO, arms control regimes, peacekeeping, regional economic cooperation.

Criticism to institutionalism

- Institutions have helped some states gain additional power and wealth.
- Institutions reflect actions of powerful; great powers use their power to obtain outcomes best for them (coordination for the powerful).
- Those states left out of the institutions can join the institutions but with conditionalities. E.g. most favored nation clauses in trade.
- Possibility for institutional failure.

Do institutions matter?

- Institutions make difference in behavior of states.
- Institutions make difference in nature of world politics.
- States comply with rules of institutions.
- States use institutions to arrive at outcomes they want.

How institutions come into being?

- Hegemonic powers create institutions.
- Imposition and persuasion as means to establish institutions.
- Problems as a basis for establishment of institutions.
- Ideas like peace, security community matter for establishment of institutions.

Design of institutions

- Institutions vary in size, membership, scope of issues covered, centralization of tasks, rules for control of institutions, flexibility of arrangements in dealing with new circumstances.
- Some universal; some regional.
- Some multi-functional; some with limited focus.
- Varying mechanisms for dispute resolution.
- Varying decision making procedures.

Design of institutions - 2

- Design choices are function of: distribution problems, enforcement problems, number of actors, asymmetries among actors, uncertainty.
- Structure of international institutions can include executive, legislative and judicial features.
- Some of designs envision possibility for exit and for opting out.
- Some designs include dispute resolution mechanisms.

Emergence of IGOs

- States have been central actors in IR.
- But, increasingly there have been emergence of new actors, including IGOs.
- IGOs increasingly perform independent roles and exert global influence.

Types of IGOs

- International Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), whose members are the states which give them authority to make collective decisions to manage particular problems on global agenda.
- Regional IGOs, which are regional organizations.
- Currently, more than 250 IGOs.

IGOs

- Have permanent feature.
- Possess institutional procedures.
- Some have permanent secretariats.
- There are overlapping memberships.
- Function as networks of interdependence.
- Issues covered range from trade to defense.

Size and purpose of IGOs

- Size: intercontinental; universal; and regional; and limited membership.
- Purpose: single or multiple purpose.

Why IGOs?

- States form IGOs because it is in their interest to do so.
- Established to overcome Prisoners' and Security Dilemmas.
- Problems can be solved easily with IGOs.
- Established to be a forum for discussion.

Domestic politics and international institutions

- Intellectual wall separating domestic and international politics is broken down.
- IR has domestic roots and domestic consequences.
- Domestic institutions support membership in institutions.
- International institutions have impact on domestic politics: conditionalities.

Domestic politics and international institutions - 2

- Institutions subjects states to continuing restraints locking in domestic changes and making commitment to a particular policy path.
- Institutions provide legitimacy.
- They make difficult reforms implementable by providing political cover.

VARIANTS OF INSTITUTIONALISM

Historical Institutionalism

- Emphasizing ways institutions change.
- Some institutions arise, decay and disappear.
- Some arise, grow and develop.
- Some take new members and tasks.
- Institutions can change conditions under which they were established.

Historical Institutionalism - 2

- Institutions have become more intrusive and more constraining over time.
- In order to overcome some of domestic challenges, states have tolerated intrusiveness of institutions in their domestic affairs, particularly in the fields of security and economics. E.g. elections monitoring.

Historical Institutionalism - 3

- HI highlights 'stickiness' of both institutional and policy arrangements.
- Observing patterns of incremental change that may be interrupted very occasionally by seismic events that trigger a critical juncture.
- HI emphasizes path dependence and unintended consequences.

Historical Institutionalism - 4

- Institutions as factors pushing historical development along a set of paths.
- There is impact of 'legacies' on subsequent policy choices.
- Way in which past policies condition subsequent policies by encouraging societal factors to organize along some lines rather than others.

Historical Institutionalism - 5

- It is historical because it assumes that political development must be understood as a process that unfolds over time.
- It is institutionalist because implications of these historical and temporal processes are embedded in institutions.

Historical Institutionalism - 6

- Institutions influence both normative expectations and political strategies adopted by individuals, groups and governments, thereby affecting political behavior and political outcomes.
- Particular concept of HI is the path dependency.

Path Dependency

- In PD, history matters.
- Political processes entail trajectories that are difficult to reverse.
- Range of economic, social and political arrangements, once in place, generate patterns of costs and benefits such that rational actors prefer to maintain the status quo even if an alternative might provide higher benefits in long run.

Path Dependency - 2

- Actors support status quo because change imposes significant costs.
- The longer actors operate within such status quo, the more shift to alternative is unattractive.
- Initial choices are thus 'locked-in'.

Path Dependency - 3

- There are two versions of PD.
- One version of PD treats actors as homogenous; it assumes everyone makes same cost/benefit analysis favoring status quo.
- Another version treats actors as heterogeneous: costs and benefits are unequally distributed but actors who prefer change are relatively weak while actors who favor status quo are powerful enough to determine political outcomes.

Path Dependency - 4

- Both versions suggest that substantial change is likely to occur only as a result of exogenous shocks (E.g. 1997 crisis in Albania).
- In PD, it is not only a question of what happens but also of when it happens; thus, issues of temporality are at the heart of the analysis.

Path Dependency - 5

- PD is used to support key claims: specific patterns of timing and sequence matter; starting from similar conditions, a wide range of social outcomes may be possible; large consequences may result from relatively small or contingent events; particular courses of action, once introduced, can be virtually impossible to reverse; political development is punctuated by critical moments or junctures.

Path Dependency - 6

- Temporal sequences matter: outcomes depend upon timing of external factors (such as important events or economic crisis) in relation to particular institutional configurations.
- Outcomes at a 'critical juncture' trigger feedback mechanisms [negative or positive] that reinforce recurrence of particular pattern into the future.
- Significance of PD is that once actors have chosen a particular path, they are likely to find it very difficult to reverse course.

Path Dependency - 7

- PD as a way of explaining institutional persistence and stability across time in the work of institutions.
- PD approach anticipates occasional sudden change through ‘seismic events’ that trigger a “critical juncture”.
- Thus, it is important to explore different historical paths that countries have taken for mediating institutional pressures.

Sociological Institutionalism

- SI is concerned with the realm of norms, ideas, discourse, organisational culture and the psychology of politics.
- Transmission mechanisms in SI are more sociological than rule-based.
- Thus, culture, ideas and attitudes play a greater role in the work of SI.
- SI suggests exploring the transmission of ideas from institutions to domestic level, or considers how domestic elites use language to shape domestic perceptions of the institutions.

Rational choice institutionalism

- It explores ways actors' preferences are oriented towards institutional settings.
- Institutions are regarded as opportunity structures or veto points; actors seize the available opportunities or are blocked by veto points.
- It looks at the responses of domestic political actors to new opportunities opened up by international institutions.

Multilevel Governance

- Choice of institutional setting and level to deal with the problems.
- Forum shopping: deciding in which venue to pursue interests.
- Supranational, national, regional, and local governance structures.
- Subsidiarity: placing decisions as close as possible to the citizens.

Readings for this lesson:

Must readings:

- Reus-Smit: pages: 201-221.

Optional:

- Keohane (Conversations with History: Robert Keohane - youtube).
- Nye (Conversations with History: Joseph Nye - youtube).

“The English School and Copenhagen School of international relations”

PIR 331, Theories of International
Relations

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ENGLISH SCHOOL OF IR

English school of IR

- Started to be developed in 1950s in UK mainly.
- Initially started as club of scholars.
- Then, in 1980s and 1990s, the School became network of scholars.
- Main concepts: international system, international society, and world society.
- It is not School in narrow sense representing specific thought on which all adherents agree.

English school of IR - 2

- Its focus is on history and theory for global level of IR.
- It is European amalgam of history, law, sociology and political theory.
- Initially it focused on developing a general understanding of IR around concept of “international society”.

English school of IR - 3

- It embeds constructivist way of thinking about “international society” as a ‘double abstraction’: with imagined states imagining themselves to be members of an international society.
- Some of the School did allow for something like international society to exist, but its terms set down by dominant powers rather than being independent of them.

English school of IR - 4

- It is critical of Liberalism (as divorced from nature of things) and Realism (as politically sterile and fatalistic), and it argues for necessity of blending “power” and “morality” in IR.
- Oppositional tensions between Realism and Liberalism diminished space for thinking about “international society”.

English school of IR - 5

- It pays attention to various institutions: war, diplomacy, balance of power, international law, great power management, sovereignty, nationalism.
- It looks how these institutions progressed in Europe, and what kind of order did they produce, in Europe and in global international society.

English school of IR - 6

- School is interested in questions of “order” and “justice” in international society; What were proper roles and responsibilities of state in international society; how to understand the legitimacy of international society.
- It is sociological or societal approach in IR.

Three key concepts

- English School thinking is built around three key concepts: international system , international society and world society.
- Within the School these are codified as Hobbes (or sometimes Machiavelli), Grotius and Kant.
- They stem from foundational 'three traditions' of IR theory: realism, rationalism and revolutionism.

International System

- International system (Hobbes/Machiavelli/realism) is about power politics among states and puts the structure and process of international anarchy at the centre of IR theory.
- This position is close to realism.

International Society

- International society (Grotius/rationalism) is about institutionalization of mutual interest and identity among states and puts the establishment and maintenance of shared norms, rules and institutions at centre of IR theory.
- This position is close to constructivism.

International Society - 2

- Just as individuals live in societies which they both shape and are shaped by, states also live in international society which they shape and are shaped by.
- International society is social contract among societies themselves each constituted by their own social contract.
- Because states are very different entities from individuals, this international society is not analogous to domestic society.

World Society

- World society (Kant/revolutionism) takes individuals, non-state organizations and global population as a whole as the focus of global societal identities and arrangements.
- It puts transcendence of the state system at the centre of IR theory.

Three concepts viewed as defining diverse values

- Realism: giving priority to national responsibilities.
- Rationalism: giving priority to international responsibilities.
- Revolutionism: giving priority to humanitarian responsibilities.
- Stewardship of the planet: giving priority to responsibility for physical environment.

Three concepts viewed as defining diverse values - 2

- The three key concepts form complete and interlinked picture of IR universe.
- In English School perspective all three elements are in continuous coexistence and interplay.

Three concepts viewed as defining diverse values - 3

- This framework opens up a wide range of scenarios: from hard realist ones in which states compete ruthlessly for power (system dominant); through more ordered ones in which states pursue degrees of coexistence, cooperation, and convergence (society dominant); to ones in which states are no longer the dominant unit (world society dominant).

International Society as main concept

- Distinction between system and society has played central role in English School, with world society playing more at the margins.
- Since international society is concept most distinctive to English School, much of its literature privileges this over the other two parts of the triad.

Three other concepts that form vocabulary of English School

- First- and second-order societies.
- Pluralism and solidarism.
- Primary and secondary institutions.

First- and second-order societies

- First-order societies: those in which the members are individual human beings.
- Second-order societies: those in which members are not individual human beings but durable collectivities of humans, such as states.
- English School rejects domestic analogy for international society, seeing it as a distinctive form.

Pluralism and Solidarism

- Pluralism: sovereignty and nonintervention serve to sustain political diversity. It is concerned about maintaining interstate order.
- Solidarism: represents disposition to transcend states-system with some other mode of association. Solidarists typically emphasize that order without justice is undesirable and ultimately unsustainable.

Primary institutions

- They are deep and durable social practices.
- They are about shared identity of members of international society.
- They are constitutive as they define criteria for membership of international society.
- Classical 'Westphalian' set of primary institutions consists of: sovereignty, territoriality, balance of power, war, diplomacy, international law.

Secondary institutions

- They are products of certain types of international society (liberal) and are intergovernmental arrangements designed by states to serve specific functional purposes.
- E.g. UN, World Bank, WTO and nuclear non-proliferation regime.

Concept of “standard of civilization”

- 19th century practice of differentiating among states in hierarchical terms of ‘civilized’, ‘barbarian’, and using these classifications to gatekeep on entry to Western international society.
- Such designations has disappeared from polite international discourse.

Concept of “standard of civilization” - 2

- But, it is argued that ‘rejection of the “standard of civilization” as driving force of international law is more apparent than real.’
- Substance remains in conditionality of entry to various clubs, conduct of global economy and much of discourse around human rights.

Concept of “standard of civilization” - 3

- It is construct of one party in relationship, usually the dominant one, and not a statement about some essential condition.
- “To engage fully in international relations, your behavior has to conform fully to expectations and rules established by the prevailing powers”.

Concept of “raison de système”

- It is belief that it pays to make the system work.
- It stands as a counterpoint to the idea of raison d'état, which is central explicitly to realism, and implicitly to much Western IR theory.

International Society

School's approach to international society in three ways:

- As set of ideas to be found in minds and language of those who play the game of states;
- As set of ideas to be found in minds of political theorists; and
- As set of concepts defining material and social structures of international system terms set by academic analysts.

English School's methodology

- It is methodologically eclectic or 'pluralist'.
- It associates international system/realism with positivism, international society/rationalism with hermeneutics, and world society/revolutionism with critical theory.
- It has ambition to take holistic approach to study of IR rather than fragmented approach.
- Approach that combines agency and structure, theory and history, and morality and power.

Is English School a theory?

- Many Europeans use term 'theory' for anything that organizes a field systematically, structures questions and establishes coherent set of interrelated concepts and categories.
- Many Americans demand that a theory contains testable hypotheses of a causal nature.
- English School theory qualifies on the first (European) account but not on the second.
- It does not meet criteria for positivist theory.

Is English School a theory? - 2

- It has some important theoretical qualities.
- It sets out principal objects of IR study: triad of international system, international society and world society; first- and second-order societies; and primary and secondary institutions.
- It has been classified as offshoot of realism, or part of idealism, or early form of constructivism.

IR theories on basic mechanism and driving force for explanation

- Realism: power politics and relative gains.
- Liberalism: rational choice and absolute gains.
- Marxism: Materialist dialectics of class struggle.
- Constructivists: intersubjective meaning.
- English School: desire to establish order and justice beyond level of state.

IR theories on what international system looks like and might look like

- Realism: world of states and balance of power. It does not offer vision of improvement, but it does show how things change with different distributions of power (polarity).
- Liberalism: world of states, but also non-state actors, and IGOs. It offers vision of improvement.

IR theories on what international system looks like and might look like -

2

- Marxism: world defined by capitalist political economy, stratified by class structures and working through system of states differentiated into core and periphery. It offers vision of struggle to establish more equality both socially and among states.
- Critical: what is wrong with the world and prescriptions about what needs to be done to fix it.

English School's picture of IR

- Like that of realists and liberals, it starts with the state but, through its particular concepts, it has a social vision of international order.
- It offers various visions of future: balance between provision of order and justice could get better or it could get worse, and deciding in which direction it is going will very much depend on normative stance of observer.

COPENHAGEN SCHOOL OF IR

Copenhagen School of IR

- School of academic thought.
- It places particular emphasis upon social aspects of security.
- Theorists associated with the school include Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde.
- Many of the school's members worked at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute.

CS framework

- CS provides comprehensive framework for security studies.
- It questions the primacy of military element in the conceptualization of the security.
- CS widens the security agenda away from traditional political and military sectors and claims security status for issues and referent objects in the economic, environmental, societal sectors.

Widening security agenda

- Currently, two views of security studies are now on the table: wideners (CS) and traditional state and military-centered view.
- CS grew out of dissatisfaction with the narrow view of the field of security studies imposed by the military obsessions of Cold War.
- Dissatisfaction was stimulated by rise of new agendas in IR.

Widening security agenda - 2

- Widening triggered reaction that it endangered intellectual coherence of security.
- CS argues to keep the agenda open to many different types of threats.
- CS constructs explores threats to referent objects and securitization of those threats (military and nonmilitary).

Security conceptualization

- CS constructs a conceptualization of security that is more than a threat.
- Threats can arise in many areas, military and non-military.
- To count threats as security issues they have to meet criteria that distinguish them from normal run of politics.
- They have to be staged as threats to a referent object by securitizing actor who thereby generates endorsement of emergency measures.

Three key concepts

CS focuses on three key concepts:

- Sectors,
- Regions, and
- Securitization.

Sectors

- Concept of 'sectors' concerns different arenas where we speak of security.
- List of sectors is analytical tool established to spot different dynamics.
- The theory lists the following sectors: military, political, societal, economic and environmental.

Sectors - 2

- Military security: states' perception of each other's intentions.
- Political security: stability of government.
- Economic security: access to resources.
- Societal security: sustainability of nationhood, language, traditions.
- Environmental security: maintenance of environment.

Regional Security Complexes

- Security concerns do not travel well over distances and threats are therefore most likely to occur in the region.
- Security of each actor in a region interacts with the security of the other actors.
- There is often intense security interdependence within a region, but not between regions, which is what defines a region.
- Regional Security Complex should not be confused with Regionalism.

Regions

- IR taking more regionalized character.
- Collapse of bipolarity has removed principal organizing force at the global level; powers are no longer motivated by global level rivalries and regions left to sort out their own affairs.
- Diffusion of power among many states.
- Region as special type in levels of analysis: subsystemic level of analysis.

Regions - 2

- Geographical clustering as a feature of international subsystems.
- Security regions or security complexes: situation where set of states whose security concerned are interlinked that their national security problems cannot be analyzed apart from one another.
- Security complex does not exists when: there is few capabilities and when there is presence of outside powers in the region.

Regions - 3

- Second condition is called overlay: which subordinates states in a region to larger pattern of major power rivalries.
- Security complexes are anarchies.
- Key components of a security complex: differentiation among units in a region; patterns of amity and enmity; distribution of power among units.

Regions - 4

Security regions have following characteristics:

- Composed of two or more states;
- Geographically coherent grouping;
- Security interdependence;
- Deep and durable security interdependence.

Securitization

- 'Security' as a speech act with consequences.
- By talking 'security' actor tries to move topic away from politics, legitimating extraordinary means against socially constructed threat.
- Securitization is intersubjective meaning.
- Securitization of a subject depends on an audience accepting the securitization speech act.

Criticism

- Criticism is that CS is eurocentric approach to security.
- Realists have argued that CS's widening of security agenda risks giving the discipline of security studies "intellectual incoherence".
- Others have criticized absence of gender in CS's approach.

Must readings for this week were:

Must readings:

- Buzan (An introduction to the English school of international relations): pages: 5-26.
- Buzan (Security: A New Framework for Analysis): pages: 1-15.

Marxism, Critical Theory, Socialism and Social democracy

PIR 331, Theories of International
Relations

Dr. Islam Jusufi
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Marxism and Critical Theory

- Commonality in their interest: to struggle to dismantle structures of oppression, exclusion and domination.
- Critical theory is major offshoot of Marxism in 20th century.

Marx and critique of Capitalism

- Industrial revolution and capitalism brought major changes, but also poverty, social unrest.
- Marx and Engels (Communist Manifesto): industrial development necessary and desirable, but need to overcome Capitalism's intolerable excesses and provide welfare for all.

Marx and critique of Capitalism - 2

- Accumulation of capital – Capitalism, central object of Marx's critique.
- Belief that contradictions of Capitalism would explode into crisis and lead to revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and its replacement by more equitable and democratic societies.
- Necessity of struggle to overthrow Capitalism.

Marx and critique of Capitalism - 3

- Capitalist economies generate unequal social relations of power that lead to domination, exploitation and oppression.
- Small wealthy minority owning means of production establishing class conflict.
- Liberalism design to legitimate and conceal true nature of Capitalism's relations of domination, exploitation, and alienation.

Historical materialism as method

- Historical and materialist method capable of explaining reproduction of capitalist society.
- Understanding and criticizing its exploitative social relations.
- Exploring potential sources of progressive social change.

Key features of Marx's theoretical framework

- Modernity's emancipatory potential.
- Capitalism generating inequalities.
- Class conflict (bourgeoisie and proletariat).

Marxism as historical materialism

- Progressive, but non-liberal approach.
- Materialist method that identifies conflict and struggle as the driving forces of history.
- Progressive as people can look to more civilized lives than previous generations.

Marxism as historical materialism - 2

- Those who have power will not willingly cede it.
- Change depends on struggle for change at those historical moments when defenders of status quo are their most vulnerable time – moments of great class antagonism and crisis.
- Humans are what they do (eating, drinking) – material dimension.

Marxism as historical materialism - 3

- What humans are, is historically changing.
- States, markets, institutions as historical products.
- Institutions are transmitted from the past.

Marxism as historical materialism - 4

- History is class struggle.
- Class struggle as driving force shaping social relations, institutions, states.
- Conflict and struggle at the centre of analysis.

Marxism in IR

- Realism's interest to Marxism as both look to material and historical dimensions of conflict and struggle.
- Difference is in the sources of conflicts and struggle.
- General view among mainstream IR theories is that Marxism has very little to say about IR.

Marxism in IR - 2

- Lenin's theory of imperialism is dismissed as being not able to deliver a systematic theory of IR.
- Marx did not take the state or state-system as its primary focus.
- War and peace were not considered as important.
- No engagement with thinkers associated with IR.

Marxism in IR - 3

- For long, Marxism was considered outside IR agenda.
- This was enhanced with the liberal and triumph with the end of the cold war.
- Main focus of Marxist IR theorists: nature of state and states-system and their relationship to the capitalist world economy.

World-systems theory

- States and states-system as the political forms of the global capitalist system (world-systems theorist – Wallerstein).
- Functionally integrated modern ‘world system’ – composed of a states-system and world economy that is governed by a single logic and set of rules associated with the relentless accumulation of capital.

World-systems theory - 2

- World-system as an affair of the world economy and not of nation states.
- States-system and world economy born together.
- Capitalism and modern state-system as not separate historical inventions; two sides of a single coin; neither is imaginable without other.
- Critiques of world-system theory maintain that there is relative autonomy of politics and state from capitalist logic.

Justin Rosenberg

- Rosenberg: different historical states-systems governed by different modes of production and therefore different social structures.
- Sovereign state as modern form of political rule specific to capitalism.

Benno Teschke

- Historical change in modern state-system reflection of changing ways in which property is conceptualized and distributed.
- Form of state as reflection or manifestation of capitalism's inner logic as it interacts with geopolitical logics.
- Institutions as manifestations of changing modes of production.

CRITICAL THEORIES OF IR

Critical social science

- A third approach on how to view the meaning of the methodology.
- Developed by Marx, Freud, Theodor Adorno, Erich Fromm, Herbert Marcuse, Jurgen Habermas.
- It rejects both positivist and interpretive research.

Critical social science - 2

- It adds that positivist view is defender of status quo and assumes an unchanging social order instead of seeing current society as a particular state in an ongoing process (for example, the end of the cold war).
- CSS sees Interpretive social science as too subjective and passive as it does not help people change conditions and build a better world for themselves.

Critical social science - 3

- Purpose of CSS is to critique and to transform the world or social relations.
- It seeks to uncover the myths, reveal hidden truths, expose hypocrisy.
- It seeks to empower less powerful people, confronts injustices.

Critical social science - 4

- It is action oriented. For example, racial or ethnic discrimination, class discriminations.
- It agrees with positivism that social reality is out there to be discovered; but it differs that it views that reality is constantly changes.
- Social reality always changes.

Critical social science - 5

- It focuses on conflicts.
- Observed world rarely reveals everything (some groups in society hold power and exploit the others).
- Behind the observable surface, lie deep structures.

Critical social science - 6

- Beneath causal observations, there are deep realities.
- CSS seeks to probe below the surface reality.
- CSS begins with a point of view (e.g. dependency) and questions why only certain states are members of UN Security Council, and why there is unequal power.

Critical social science - 7

- Why marginalized groups are paid less than privileged groups?
- CSS calls for people to act. For example, changing historical status of women.
- CSS values common sense, but it says that they are full of myth and illusions that mask realities.

Critical social science - 8

- CSS recognizes that people are constrained by material conditions, yet people can change these structures.
- For CSS facts are not neutral, they require interpretation from the perspective of values.
- CSS looks to the facts (for example rising health costs), but it also explains on who benefits out of it and who loses.

Frankfurt school critical theory

- It is a Marxism-inspired social and political philosophy.
- Born in Institute of Social Research, Frankfurt.
- Interested in analyzing multiple modes of domination afflicting modern world: cultural, political, economic modes.

Frankfurt school critical theory - 2

- Modernity being colonized by a form of instrumental rationality interested only in calculating efficient means to ends, not evaluating moral legitimacy of those ends.
- Rationality arrested human freedoms and empowered forms of social domination.

Frankfurt school critical theory - 3

- Critical theory designed not just to describe the world but to act as a force to stimulate the change.
- Seeking to remove forces and forms of domination.
- Rejecting positivist separation of facts and values.

Habermas

- Societies can undergo social learning or normative development.
- Improving human capacity arrangements built on justice and democracy.
- Politics to be analyzed from a moral point of view.

Habermas - 2

- Habermas focused on how we acquire knowledge and how this knowledge is shaped by prior interests of which we are often unaware.
- “Knowledge constitutive interests” shape and limit the way in which people think and act.

Habermas: Three kinds of knowledge based on underlying interest

- Instrumental: scientific knowledge regarding human relations with nature (positivism; neorealism, neoliberalism).
- Strategic: political knowledge aimed at coordinating human action for particular social purposes (interpretive; classical realism, English school, constructivism).
- Emancipatory: knowledge directed at overcoming coercive or oppressive social and political relations (Marxism, feminism, Critical theory).

Ashley and Linklater

- Ashley: dominant IR theories lack emancipatory interest to change system.
- Linklater: in post-cold war era, possibilities for dialogue has improved significantly.
- Linklater on Cosmopolitan ethic: desire to overcome “moral deficits” established by social and political exclusions built into modern state and states-system; to enlarge freedom and equality by establishing arrangements for states in reconstructed world order.

Gramscian critical theory in IR

- Concept of hegemony: state as an order established not only with coercion, but also with consent, compromise and concessions.
- State plays educative role in adapting the populace to the necessities of continuous development of economic apparatus of production.
- Role of culture and ideology in reproducing state and capitalism.

Gramscian critical theory in IR - 2

- In focusing on the material at the expense of cultural and ideological, Marxism neglected forces mobilized to sustain the state and capitalism; these forces can dismantle prevailing political structures through counter hegemonic political movements.

Cox

- Critical theory seeks radical transformations that will enhance conditions for freedom and democracy.
- It does not take prevailing order as given framework for action, but asks how that order came about, calls that order into questions, and enquires whether it might be in process of changing.

Cox - 2

- “Theory is always for someone, and for some purpose”: theories are embedded within existing order and cannot be divorced from it.
- Gramscian dual focus: role of ideas and culture in producing and reproducing prevailing world order; and counter-hegemonic potentials latent within it.
- Approach to IR focusing on interplay of ideas, institutions, and material capabilities.

Cox - 3

- Hegemony as a basis to explain relative stability of successive world orders.
- Preeminent state in the world politics establishes a world order consistent with its ideology and values, able to secure consent from other states through soft power or IGOs.
- It also provokes discontent and resistance with the rise of counter-hegemonic forces to eliminate inequalities and to establish less exclusionary democratic futures.

POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES: SOCIALISM

Socialism

- Attempt to provide more humane alternative to capitalism.
- Favoring cooperation to competition, and collectivism over individualism.
- Values: equality, egalitarianism.

Socialism - 2

- Social equality as guarantee of social stability.
- Articulating interests of industrial working class, seen as oppressed in capitalism.
- Goal: to reduce or abolish class divisions.

Traditions of Socialism

- Utopian: human beings as ethical creatures, bound to one another by ties of sympathy.
- Scientific: socialism inevitably 'would' replace capitalism.
- Revolutionary: socialism can only be introduced by revolutionary overthrow of existing political and social system, as existing structures are linked to capitalism and interests of ruling class.

Traditions of Socialism - 2

- Reformist: socialism through ballot box.
- Fundamentalist: abolish and replace capitalism.
- Revisionist (social democracy): not to abolish capitalism but to reform it, looking to reach an accommodation between efficiency of market and moral vision of socialism.

Impact

- Socialism as principal oppositional force within capitalist societies.
- Articulating interests of oppressed and disadvantaged peoples.
- Principal impact of socialism in the form of 20th century communist and social-democratic movements.
- ‘Death of socialism’? (collapse of communism in Eastern Europe in 1989-91).

Criticism

- Socialism being associated with statism; endorsement of the state; extension of state control and a restriction of freedom.
- Acceptance by socialists of market principles demonstrates that socialism is flawed or that their analysis is no longer rooted in genuinely socialist ideas and theories.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

Social democracy

- Social democracy in contrast to revolutionary socialism.
- Adoption of parliamentary strategies.
- Not seeking abolishment of capitalism but to reform or humanize it.
- Balance between market economy and state intervention.

Features of social democracy

- Endorsing liberal-democratic principles.
- Change happening peacefully and constitutionally.
- Capitalism accepted as reliable means of generating wealth.
- Capitalism as morally defective; capitalism associated with inequality and poverty.
- Nation-state as a meaningful unit of political rule.

Social democracy recently

- Most fully developed in early post-1945 period.
- Since the 1970s and 1980s struggling to retain its electoral and political relevance in the face of the advance of neo-liberalism and changed economic and social circumstances.
- Final decades of 20th century witnessing a process of ideological retreat.
- Reform attempts: 'third way'.
- First decades of 21st century: struggling to remain relevant.

Must readings for this lesson were:

Must readings:

- Devetak: pages: 62-75.
- Text on Political Ideologies provided by the Lecturer.

Feminism in the study of International Relations and Multiculturalism

PIR 331, Theories of International
Relations

Dr. Islam Jusufi
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Why feminism in IR?

- Gender inequalities in the world.
- Discriminations in jobs, pay, representation.
- Bringing inequalities into light, what are their causes and how to end them.
- Not only legal barriers but also language of IR (power, rationality) is masculine and states prefer to behave in that direction.

Why feminism in IR? - 2

- Growing attention to women issues: women conferences of UN, Gender mainstreaming in UN policies, 1325 resolution on women, peace.
- Value of feminism has been to show that IR is not only about abstract issues; but that it also has impact on daily lives of the people.

Why feminism in IR? - 3

- Starts with analysis of significance of gender.
- Ways in which the world is organized around gender: masculinity and femininity.
- Ways of how these categories operate in terms of hierarchy and how institutions perpetuates these hierarchies.
- It looks to world hierarchically.

Emergence of Feminism in IR

- Emergence in 1980s.
- First manifestation were practices: diplomacy, war.
- Feminism studied these practices from gender perspective.
- War: how it is gendered.
- Diplomacy: lack of women in diplomacy.

Emergence of Feminism in IR - 2

- Relations of power arising from gender inequalities.
- Feminism adds gender as a factor besides state and other actors.
- Feminism is change oriented and progressive.
- Gender is socially constructed category; thus feminism being close to constructivism.

Challenging the bias of masculinity in IR theory

- Masculine bias of IR assumptions and concepts.
- “Rational man” does not speak for women.
- Sovereignty, states, anarchy, power reflect masculine traits; reflecting particular type of masculinity: hegemonic masculinity.
- Masculinity privileges some actors.

Where are the women?

- Women are also actors in IR.
- Women lives provide insights how IR operates.
- Situation of women provides empirical knowledge.
- Feminist methodology: subjective, based on personal interviews, letters, memoirs.
- Bottom up approach and focus on micro narratives.

Reconstructing IR

- Women can be represented better.
- Changing patriarchal culture.
- Important difference between biological characteristics (male, female) and socially constructed gender.
- Gender as socially constructed identity.

Reconstructing IR - 2

- Construction that divides identities not as male or female, but masculine and feminine.
- Unequal relationship between masculinity (strong) and feminine (weak) characteristics.
- Femininity as devaluated while masculinity as valued.

Feminism is not only about women

- Men can also be feminized.
- Women can also be masculinized.
- Certain group of men are privileged in IR; not all men are privileged.
- Usually men fight.
- Men also become victims in some situations. E.g. Srebrenica genocide.

Feminist theories of IR

- Liberal feminism: based on liberal ideas of equality between men and women.
- Marxist feminism: liberation of women can achieved through dismantling of capitalism and oppressive class relations.
- Black feminism: race-based gender discrimination.

Feminist theories of IR - 2

- Cultural and maternal feminism: women can contribute to peace.
- Post-colonial feminism: forms of oppression of women in colonial and post-colonial settings.
- Critical and post-modern feminism: emancipation of women.

Feminism issues in IR

- Sexual violence in war, leading to rape to be recognized as crime against humanity.
- Male under threat in war (Srebrenica).
- Feminism looks to micro issues rather than issues that may produce generalizations.
- Discrimination leading to disadvantage which results in lack of access of women to political power and economic resources.

Feminist IR agenda

- Study of inequalities in political representation.
- Study of issues neglected by mainstream theories. E.g. trafficking of human beings.
- Study ways key issues of IR (E.g. conflict) differently affect women and men.
- Promoting issues that have been neglected earlier by mainstream IR theories.

Feminist IR agenda - 2

- Inequalities in jobs, pay, representation, education, ownership, legal rights.
- Inequalities are structural and institutional.
- Identifying patterns of discrimination and seeking to explain their causes.
- Global challenges affect women and men differently.
- Women, peace, and security (UNSCR 1325).

WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security

- Acknowledging changing nature of wars.
- Women increasingly targeted in wars.
- Women excluded from participation in peace processes.
- Role women should and do play in conflict resolution and peace.

Why 1325 matters for Albania?

- Part of Albania's efforts to contribute to peace and security at home and abroad.
- Increase women's participation in decision-making.
- Women's participation in peace-keeping operations.
- Increase contribution of women to conflict prevention and peace in the country.

UNSCR 1325 calls for: (1)

- Increased representation of women in decision-making, in peace-keeping operations.
- Incorporation of gender perspective into national defense and security policies.
- Training to security and defense establishments on women rights and incorporate gender issues into national training programs.

UNSCR 1325 calls for: (2)

- Take special measures to protect women from gender-based violence, and alleviate impunity.
- Measures adopted that give consideration to their impact on women.
- Reporting progress on gender mainstreaming.

How to implement UNSCR 1325?

- The main used has been development of the National Action Plan (drafted in 2011 in Albania).
- National Strategy for Gender Equality refers to 1325.
- Dozens of countries have developed it.

POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES: MULTICULTURALISM.

Multiculturalism

- Defining inter-communal, inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations in a state.
- Advance of minority rights.
- Multilingualism in delivery of public services.
- Representation of minority representatives.
- Decentralization.

What is multiculturalism?

- Referring existence of diverse cultures within same society.
- Not same as cultural diversity.
- Particular approach to deal with cultural diversity and to advance marginalized groups.
- Multiculturalism adopting novel approach to cultural diversity, in comparison with Republicanism and Social Reformism.

Republicanism

- Concerned with problem of legal exclusion.
- All members of society should enjoy same status and same entitlements.
- However, it views difference as ‘problem’ and proposes that difference be transcended for the sake of equality.
- Advancement can be brought through legal egalitarianism.

Social Reformism

- Formal equality not sufficient to tackle marginalization problems.
- People are held back not only by legal exclusion, but also by social disadvantage - poverty.
- Equality of opportunity allowing people to rise or fall on the basis of personal ability.
- System of social engineering that aims to alleviate poverty and overcome disadvantage, in part through the identification of difference.

Multiculturalism's view of origins of marginalisation

- Marginalization not only legal or social phenomenon, but rather cultural phenomenon.
- Marginalization operating through stereotypes and values that structure how people see themselves and are seen by others.
- Emphasizing difference over equality.
- Endorsement of cultural difference, allowing marginalized groups to assert themselves by reclaiming authentic cultural identity.

Multicultural rights

- Right to recognition and respect: cultural groups be accepted as legitimate actors in public life.
- Minority, 'special' or 'polyethnic' rights: Legal privileges or exclusions that enable particular cultural groups to maintain their identities.
- Right to some degree of self-determination: Enabling groups to exert some control over the rules by which they live.

Varieties of multiculturalism

Rival multiculturalist traditions are divided over the respective importance of diversity and unity.

Important traditions are:

- Liberal multiculturalism.
- Pluralist multiculturalism.
- Cosmopolitan multiculturalism.

Liberal multiculturalism

- ‘Diversity within a liberal framework’
– not endorsing cultural practices that are in themselves illiberal and oppressive.
- Diversity to be confined to the ‘private’ sphere, leaving the ‘public’ sphere as a realm of integration.

Pluralist multiculturalists

- Greater emphasis on diversity than on unity.
- Diversity as value in itself.
- Embracing identity politics - defending 'oppressed' cultures and minority groups.
- Rejecting that liberal values have any priority over their rivals.

Cosmopolitan multiculturalism

- Defending cultures of indigenous peoples.
- Emphasis on multiple identities.
- ‘Multiculturalism lite’ - cultural identity as a lifestyle choice.

Must readings for this lesson:

- Devetak: pages: 76-90.
- Text on “Political Ideologies” provided by the Lecturer.

Political Conservatism, Nationalism, Fascism and Anarchism

PIR 331, Theories of International
Relations

Dr. Islam Jusufi
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CONSERVATISM

Conservatism

- Defined by the desire to conserve.
- Resistant and suspicious of change.
- Themes: tradition, human imperfection, organic society, authority, property.
- Tradition: reflecting accumulated wisdom of past, and institutions/practices that have been 'tested by time'; it should be preserved for benefit of living and for generations yet to come.

Conservative views of human nature

1. Human beings as limited, dependent, security-seeking creatures.
2. Morally corrupt, tainted by selfishness, greed, thirst for power.
3. Human rationality unable to cope with infinite complexity of world.

Institutions and values, authority and property in Conservatism

- Institutions and Values: result of natural necessity, and to be preserved to safeguard society.
- Authority: basis for social cohesion, giving people sense of who they are and reflecting hierarchical nature of social institutions.
- Property: gives people security and independence from government, encourages respect to law and property of others.

Emergence of Conservatism

- Late 18th century and early 19th century.
- Arising as reaction against economic and social change, symbolized by French Revolution (1789).
- Resisting the pressures of liberalism, socialism and nationalism, standing in defense of traditional social order.

Variants of Conservatism

- Authoritarian Conservatism: autocratic and reactionary; government 'from above' as only means of establishing order. (collapsed with the fall of fascism, with which it collaborated).

Variants of Conservatism - 2

- Paternalistic Conservatism: reform from above preferable to revolution from below; wealthy have obligation to look after poor; middle way to state-market relations and welfarism.
(proved to be successful, allowing to adapt tradition, hierarchy, authority to new conditions).
- Libertarian Conservatism: economic liberty and least possible government regulation.

Criticism of Conservatism

- Conservative thought criticized that it amounts to ruling class ideology.
- Resisting change, it legitimizes status quo, defends interests of elite groups.
- Conservatism becoming incoherent.
- Conservatism's resilience stems from its flexibility enabling it to embrace welfarist and interventionist policies.

NATIONALISM

Nationalism

- Belief that nation as central principle of political organization.
- Two assumptions: humankind is naturally divided into distinct nations, and nation only is legitimate unit of political rule.
- Nationalism as doctrine: All nations being entitled to independent statehood; World should consist of collection of nation-states.

Nationalism as ideology

Nationalism as ideology in three forms:

- Political Nationalism: any attempt to use the nation ideal to further political ends.
- Cultural Nationalism: regeneration of nation as distinctive civilization, and thus defending national language, religion, or way of life.
- Ethnic Nationalism: ethnic groups descending from common ancestors, requiring intense sense of distinctiveness and exclusivity.

Political nationalism's variants

Liberal, Conservative, Expansionist, Anti-Colonial.

- Liberal Nationalism: assigning to the nation a moral status similar to that of the individual, meaning that nations have rights, in particular the right to self-determination; nations are equal.
- Anti-Colonial Nationalism: linked with struggle for 'national liberation' in Africa and Asia.

Political nationalism's variants - 2

- Conservative Nationalism: concerned more with national patriotism; Nationhood rooted in the idea of shared past, turning nationalism into a defense of traditional values.
- Expansionist Nationalism: aggressive and militaristic form of nationalism, associated with racialism and chauvinistic beliefs.

Nationalism's impact

- For more than two centuries, nationalism shaped history in world, making it perhaps most successful of political doctrines.
- Nationalism re-drew the map of Europe (1919, decolonization, 1991).
- WWI and WWII and conflicts as results of aggressive nationalism.

Character of Nationalism

- Normative character of nationalism: progressive and reactionary, democratic and authoritarian, rational and irrational, and left-wing and right-wing.
- Supporters argue that Nationalism is means of enlarging freedom and democracy.
- Opponents argue that Nationalism is oppressive, and is linked to intolerance, suspicion and conflict.

FASCISM

Fascism

- Individual is nothing; individual identity must be absorbed into the group identity.
- 'New man', prepared to dedicate his life to glory of his nation or race, and to give unquestioning obedience to a supreme leader.
- Fascism as a revolt against ideas and values that dominated Western political thought from the French Revolution onwards.

Fascism's variants

- Fascism as 'anti-character'; defined by what it opposes: anti-rational, anti-liberal, anti-conservative, anti-capitalist, anti-bourgeois, anti-communist.
- Mussolini's and Hitler's Nazism as two principal manifestations of fascism.
- Italian Fascism as extreme form of statism with absolute loyalty towards 'totalitarian' state.

German Nazism

- Constructed on racialism.

Core theories:

- *Aryanism*: belief that German people constitute a 'master race' and are destined for world domination.
- *Anti-Semitism*: portraying the Jews as inherently evil and aimed at their eradication.
- Neo-fascism or 'democratic fascism' often linked to current anti-immigration campaigns.

History of Fascism

- Origins can be traced to 19th century.
- It was shaped by WWI.
- Emerged most dramatically in Italy and Germany.
- Fascism as a specifically inter-war phenomenon, linked to historically unique set of circumstances: WWI's legacy of disruption, economic crisis, militarism and nationalism.

ANARCHISM

Anarchism

- Belief that political authority in all its form, and especially in the form of the state, is evil and unnecessary.
- Anarchy meaning: without rule.
- State as offence against the principles of freedom and equality.
- Core value: unrestricted personal autonomy.

Anarchism - 2

- Anarchist preference for stateless society developed on the basis of two rival traditions: socialist communitarianism and liberal individualism.
- Anarchism thus as a point of intersection between socialism and liberalism: a form of both 'ultra-socialism' and 'ultra-liberalism'.

Anarchism variants

- Collectivist anarchism or classical anarchism: idea of social solidarity or 'mutual aid'; belief that proper relationship amongst people is one of sympathy, affection and harmony. Such as social equality and common ownership.
- Individualist anarchism: Individual pursuit of self-interest should not be constrained by any collective body or public authority; overlapping with libertarianism - belief in the market as a self-regulating mechanism.

Impact of Anarchism

- Anarchism never succeeded in winning power.
- Anarchism suffered from three major drawbacks:
1. Its goal to overthrow the state is considered to be unrealistic.
 2. Anarchists have rejected the conventional means of political activism, such as forming political parties, and have had to rely upon capacity of masses to engage in rebellion.
 3. Anarchism does not constitute a single, coherent set of political ideas.

Impact of Anarchism - 2

- Anarchism has challenged other political creeds.
- Anarchists have highlighted destructive nature of political power.
- It has countered statist tendencies within other ideologies, i.e. liberalism, socialism and conservatism.
- Anarchists address issues such as ecology, transport, urban development, consumerism, new technology.

Must readings for this lesson:

Text on Political Ideologies
provided by the Lecturer.

Europeanization

PIR 331, Theories of International
Relations

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Changes in understandings of Europeanization

- Initially, Europeanization referred to European level of structures.
- Later, it defined EU effects on countries.
- Europeanization as particular type of transition i.e. adopting EU regulations.
- Process of institutionalization of European system of governance at national level.

Olsen on uses of Europeanization

- as changes in external territorial boundaries,
- as development of institutions at EU level,
- as penetration of national governance,
- as exporting forms of governance typical for Europe beyond European territory,
- as project aiming at unified Europe.

Borzel on Europeanization

As a two-way process: bottom-up and top-down dimension.

- Bottom-up dimension - as uploading, constructing EU system of governance.
- Top-down dimension – as downloading, about its domestic impact.

Others on Europeanization

- Schmidt: EU having greater impact on member states with unitary character, than to those with federal structures.
- Jorgensen: Europeanization leading to "multi-level governance", according to which "decision making competencies are shared by actors at different levels".

Responsive and Intended Europeanization

Europeanization as “Responsive” or “Intended”.

- Responsive: where little effort is made to introduce into domestic system EU norms; it comes as response to pressures.
- Intended: intention to transfer into political systems the norms of the EU.

Mechanisms of Europeanization

- Europeanization as EU-driven conditionality or domestically driven.
- Europeanization driven by different institutional logics, “logic of consequences” (EU sanctions, rewards) and “logic of appropriateness” (when states are persuaded to adopt EU rules).

Europeanization stages

Stages of intensity of Europeanization:

- Europeanization episode: Articulation of EU occurs as a singular event.
- Issue Europeanization: When there is entry of EU in broad front on various issues.
- Identity Europeanization: parties articulate their positions with those of EU.
- Subordination Europeanization: parties widely accept values offered by Europeanization.

Europeanization mechanisms of impact

- Compulsory Impact: carrots and sticks, compelling actors to change their policies.
- Enabling Impact: specific actors within country link their political agendas with the EU.
- Connective Impact: socialization and domestic empowerment through financial assistance.
- Constructive Impact: transforming local identities into those of European nature.

Conditionality approach

- Conditionality: Copenhagen criteria, *acquis communautaire* and other democracy, human rights and rule of law conditionalities.
- Imposition of conditionality assumes existence of difference or “misfit” between EU policies and policies on the ground.
- Conditionality worked best when countries have credible promise of membership.

Impact of Conditionality

Whether country honors conditions depends:

- Nature of EU impact;
- Factors of a country and of EU;
- EU strategies;
- Proximity of countries to EU;
- Seriousness of membership perspective;
- Financial supporting programs.

Top down process

- Instruments used by EU are “top down process”.
- “Top-down” approach does not cause problem as EU is seen as provider of benefits.
- “Top-down” approach emphasizes existence of “misfit” at domestic level with EU requirements.

Misfit

- Where there is misfit between EU requirements and domestic circumstances, “adjustment pressure” builds up at domestic level.
- Adjustment pressure varies from one country to another.
- Variations in adjustment pressure are explained by existence of “facilitating actors” at domestic level such as financial assistance, readiness of domestic actors to implement change.

Other mechanisms for change

Besides conditionality, there are other mechanisms that produced impact.

- Mechanism of referential: where EU becomes reference of domestic political action.
- Mechanism of horizontal: convergence through socialization pressures, financial assistance, networking, benchmarking, learning.
- Mechanism of discourse: Europeanization as discourse engaging rhetoric.

EU and other sources of change

- Important to distinguish EU influence from other sources of changes - globalization, modernization, other actors.
- Do Europeanization outcomes reveal convergence? No inevitability of convergence.

APPLYING EUROPEANIZATION TO WESTERN BALKANS, ALBANIA

Research on EU-WB relations in 1990s

- Research agenda on EU integration of WB is recent.
- After 1990s, “European integration of WB” became sub-research in EU studies.
- Initially “Europeanization” was not used for EU-WB relations.

Introduction of Europeanization to Eastern Europe

- EU's impact beyond its borders occurred in 1990s with European Economic Area (EEA); then, with Central East European countries (CEECs) and WB, when they declared intention to join EU.
- EU impact on CEECs and WB occurred by imposing conditionality - EU demands to adopt rules (Copenhagen Criteria).

What kind of Europeanization in WB?

- CEECs identified themselves as European from outset.
- In WB there was no real regime change.
- WB established something resembling democratic system, but this was adopting what was norm for post-communists, rather than internally driven process.

What kind of Europeanization in WB?

- 2

- WB motivation for EU membership was EU as elite club, which can offer status and security.
- Little understanding and enthusiasm for adopting EU requirements.
- Thus, Europeanization in CEECs was “intended” and that of WB was “responsive”.
- European integration in WB was developed in response to external pressures and shocks, without clearly defined goal.

Calculation of costs and benefits of EU membership in WB

- CEECs were convinced that benefits outweighed costs; WB's commitment to accession is weaker.
- Elements of bargain in CEECs: commitment to membership, understanding of commitments, willingness/ability to carry out.
- No comparable understanding in WB, thus, it may not lead to same outcome (or may take longer).

Conditionality changing in WB

- Copenhagen criteria of 1993 +
- Arrest of war criminals and cooperation with Intl Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia,
- Reform of the police,
- Fighting organized crime and corruption,
- Good neighborly relations,
- Furthering ethnic and religious reconciliation,
- Implementation of specific peace agreements.

Europeanization, Conditionality, Facilitating factors

- Sequence – Europeanization, conditionality and facilitating factors – as framework of Europeanization of WB.
- Europeanization as major reference point for changes seen in WB.
- However, it has not produced results by itself.
- Conditionality, combined with the facilitating factors, supported the change in WB.

Progression of relations: EU – WB

- Contractual relations.
- Regional approach (1997).
- Membership prospects (SAP).
- Crisis management.
- Policy orientation towards EU membership and formalization of links (SAA).
- Pre-candidate status consultation procedures.
- Pre-accession consultation procedures.

EU as a crisis manager (1999-2003)

- EU taking role of UN/NATO.
- SAP and EU membership perspective.
- ESDP/CFSP and ESS development.
- EU as main trading partner.
- Security challenges shifting from maintaining peace to dealing governance and state institutions, issues closer to EU.
- Strategy of 1999-2003: Membership and Security presence.

Candidate state building (2004-present)

- EU from crises manager to integrationist.
- Growing talk on membership acceleration.
- Need for comprehensive approach.
- Remained part of Europe with no date for accession.
- Ending post conflict reconstruction.

Candidate state building - processes

- Active role of EU in regional affairs.
- Formalization of links – SAA.
- Association of problems with those of EU.
- Human factor.
- Award of candidate status.

Candidate state building - definition

- Recipient of large pre-accession assistance, assistance that goes beyond the previously “third party”.
- Close follow up of the issues from individual DGs.
- Part of studies of EU.
- With different color status in European maps.

“Candidate state building”

- Stabilization and democratization of a weak state making it able to deliver services to its citizens and thus be able to absorb and implement European norms and standards.
- EU’s policy towards WB started to shift from presence of EU’s security missions to institution building dimension through EU membership perspective and acquis related assistance.

Content of Europeanization in WB

- Stabilization: EU stabilization tools in order to sustain peace and stability.
- Democratization: EU disseminating democracy model.
- Association: EU promoting integration norms, covering Copenhagen criteria and *acquis communautaire*.

Intensity of Europeanization in WB

- Europeanization in WB was weakest when it consisted of singular event such as signing of SAA, which can be called an *Europeanization episode*.
- When there was entry of EU in broad front on various issues, we have had *issue Europeanization*.
- Local parties articulating their positions with those of EU - *identity Europeanization*.
- WB not able to move to next stage which is *subordination Europeanization*, when parties widely accept the value offered by the Europeanization.

Must readings for this lesson were:

Must readings:

Elbasani (Europeanization Travels to the Western Balkans)

Grabbe (How does Europeanization affect CEE governance?).

Foreign Aid

PIR 331, Theories of International
Relations

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What is foreign aid (FA)?

- Basic meaning: transfer of money, goods and services from one nation to another.
- FA as financial flows, technical assistance, and commodities that are designed to promote economic development and welfare.
- FA appeared in inter-war years (1919-1939) and intensified during Cold War.

FA categories

FA flows in three broad categories.

- Official development assistance (ODA): aid provided by donor governments to low- and middle-income countries.
- Official assistance (OA): aid provided among rich countries.
- Private voluntary assistance: grants from non-government organizations, charities.

Scale of FA

- Global ODA increased to \$68 billion in 1992, to more than \$100 billion in 2010s.
- EU, US, Japan world's largest donors (in terms of dollars).
- Norway, Denmark, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Sweden, Saudi Arabia world's largest donors in terms of a share of donor income.
- Pledge is to reach 0.7% of GDP in aid by 2025.

Who Gives FA, and Who Receives It

- Historically most FA has been given as bilateral assistance directly from one country to another.
- From North to South, but increasingly between South and South.
- Donors also provide FA indirectly as multilateral assistance such as via UNDP, which pools resources.

Why do Donors Give FA?

- Economic growth.
- Peace.
- Democracy.
- Political (E.g. support to Egypt and Israel; Taiwan aid for recognition of their independence; aid from former colonizers and former colonies).
- Security and defense cooperation.
- UN voting.
- Encourage exports from donors (“tying aid”, “rules of origin” principles).

Theoretical perspectives on FA

- Realism: tool to influence political judgments of recipient nations.
- Liberal institutionalism: tool to enhance economic, political development; fulfillment of obligation of rich nations toward poor; internationalization of welfare policies.
- World system theory: means of preventing development of recipients, promoting unequal accumulation of capital in the world.

Theoretical perspectives on FA - 2

- Societal perspective: reflection of social relations of states as individuals have social relations.
- Practices theory: practice of signaling a social hierarchy or symbolizing domination.
- Dependency theory: neocolonial exploitation of backward nations; FA serving maintain colonial relations.

What kind of practice is FA?

- FA is foreign policy practice.
- Is FA instrument of foreign policy? Yes and No.
- FA independent of foreign policy.
- States have interests abroad which cannot be secured by military means or by diplomacy.
- FA helps achieving particular interests.

Types of FA

- Humanitarian foreign aid.
- Subsistence foreign aid (budgetary support).
- Military foreign aid.
- Bribery.
- Prestige foreign aid.
- Foreign aid for economic development.

Is FA a bribe?

- Much of FA is in nature of bribes.

FA differs from traditional bribe in two ways:

- FA justified for economic development,
- Money and services are transferred through institutions designed for economic aid.

FA is less effective than bribes for purchasing political favors.

FA for military purposes

- To establish and maintain alliances.
- Division of labor between two allies: one supplying money; the other providing manpower.
- Military FA extended not only to allies but also to certain uncommitted nations.

Military aid for uncommitted nations

- Purpose not so much military as political.
- It seeks political advantage in exchange for military aid.
- Giver expects recipient to abstain from a political course.
- Military FA in the nature of a bribe.

Military aid as Prestige Aid

- What appears as military FA may also be in nature of Prestige FA.
- Giving modern weapons for underdeveloped nations does not perform military function.
- It only increases prestige of recipient nation.
- Being in possession of modern machinery, a nation can at least enjoy illusion of having become a modern military power.

Prestige Aid

- Prestige Aid has in common with bribes as its purpose is disguised by alleged purpose of economic development. E.g. Airport without traffic; airline operating at a loss all.
- They owe their existence to feeling in underdeveloped nations for symbols of development rather than investments satisfying needs of the country.
- Giver's prestige is enhanced as prestige aid comes relatively cheap.

Aid for Economic development

- Economic Aid is provided as a result of formation of capital and accumulation of technical knowledge. E.g. Marshall Plan.
- Marshall Plan's political origins were forgotten; it was justified as a economic measure.
- However, it is not always recognized that this success was made possible only by the fact that recipients of Marshall aid were among leading industrial nations.

Aid for Economic development - 2

- Assumption is that underdevelopment is result of lack of capital, which can be taken care through injection of missing ingredients.
- However, a nation may suffer from natural, social, human deficiencies which no capital supplied from outside can cure.
- Beggar nations may receive aid, but if character is not transformed, what they receive as aid is not to be used for economic development.

FA clashing with status quo

- Reforms asked by FA are in attack against status quo in recipient nations.
- FA given will fail and will perform function of bribe to strengthen status quo.
- To give FA for economic development without stipulating conditionalities will lead to failure.
- But also to give FA with conditionalities results in nationalistic resentments.

FA disrupting local social fabric

- FA can disrupt social fabric of recipient nations.
- By establishing new elite, it loosens and destroys social aspects of recipient nation (family, tribe), in which the individual had found himself secure. And it will not be able, at least not soon, to provide a substitute for this lost social world.
- The vacuum so established will be filled by social unrest.

FA leading to revolutions

- Promotion of change through FA may lead to uncontrollable revolutions (Consider cases of Orange Ukraine, Arab Spring).
- In many of the underdeveloped nations peace and order are maintained only through monopoly of force by the ruling group.
- Revolution may start, as it did in Middle East, or in some parts of Eastern Europe, may lead to chaos.

FA clashing with local philosophies

- Political effects of FA are lost if its source is not obvious to recipients.
- If recipient disapproves political philosophy of the giver, political effects of FA are lost.
- FA remains politically ineffectual as long as recipient says either: "Aid is good, but the politics of the giver are bad"; or "Aid is good, but the politics of the giver-good, bad, or indifferent-have nothing to do with it."

What type of allocation is FA?

- Foreign aid consists of goods and services that are owned by donors, allocated to other nations.
- Three types of resource allocations in a society: economic exchange, redistribution (welfare), giving.
- Foreign aid falls in third category.

FA as a gift

- Gift extended from one country to another (from a donor to a recipient).
- Gift in pre-modern times used to prevent conflicts.
- FA is unreciprocated gift.
- It is expression of unequal social relations between donor and recipient.

Giving FA as reflection of inequalities

- Condition from which FA arises is basic *material inequality* between donor and recipient: one has resources to give that the other lacks.
- FA goals as secondary to a more basic role of affirming *social inequality*.
- FA's influence on inequalities: reinforcing (realism), mitigating (liberalism) or worsening (world system theory).

FA as practice of symbolic domination

- Men holds the door to women (but indicates women weakness).
- You are obliged to laugh when boss tells the joke (indicating who is boss).
- The same applies to FA.
- FA as practice of symbolic domination.

Practice of FA to Western Balkans, Albania

- Initial focus of FA to Albania, WB: humanitarian and emergency assistance.
- Later: rebuilding infrastructure, fostering reconciliation and return of refugees.
- As Albania, WB moved deeper into the reform: developing government institutions and legislation, approximation with good governance norms, reinforcing democracy and rule of law, free market economy.
- Current focus: assistance to institutional capacity.

FA content and FA providers to Albania, Western Balkans

- Providers: mainly North, but FA also flows from South countries.
- Content: legislative development, organizational development, material support, training, operational implementation; support to civil society and private sector.

Assessment of FA to Albania and WB

- Supported stabilization, democratization, poverty reduction, growth.
- However, lack of absorption capacities.
- FA perpetuating bad governments, enriching elite, or just wasting.
- FA to be dramatically reformed.
- Weaknesses in rules for FA allocations remain.

Must readings for this lesson:

- Morgenthau (A Political Theory of Foreign Aid).
- Hattori (Reconceptualizing Foreign Aid).
- Radelet (A Primer on Foreign Aid).