Lecture 20

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Review of Course // Study Guide for Final

# Review course by theoretical tenets/principles, looking for similarities as well as differences across issue areas. Also, review course by issue area, looking for how each deals with it. Basically, cutting the same information in two different ways.

## Focus:

### In all four issue areas there are significant efforts at international cooperation but conflict nonetheless exists.

### Does the level of cooperation vary across issue areas? In which issue areas does it seem that states create institutions more and abide by their rules more? In particular, look at variation in areas in which EU built institutions (especially economic and environmental) and those where it did not (particularly security realm).

### Is the conflict primarily between countries or between other actors?

### to what extent can institutions actually replace conflict with cooperation in which outcomes are any different than they would have been otherwise.

### to what extent is conflict between genders and/or races visible in each of the issue areas? How do both international conflict and international cooperation "avert our gaze" from the extent to which women and people of color are exploited more (or at least in different ways) than men?

## Actors: Are states the major players in each of the four issue areas? How important are non-state actors, whether NGOs or individuals, in explaining what we see?

### All three theories think states are important to outcomes in international relations

#### Realists recognize that non-state actors exist but think they have little if any influence on international outcomes

#### Institutionalists think that non-state actors, including MNCs, NGOs, and IGOs can influence how states interact and what outcomes they receive

#### Feminist theories see state as less important driver of what happens than gender divisions. Real action is interactions between men and women, and between masculine and feminine ideas and approaches

### Role of international institutions/regimes/treaties

#### Realism: implication is that international institutions and international organizations have little effect on behavior and outcomes in real world. No cooperation, only strategic interaction that may develop patterns over time, but those patterns only reflect continuity in the power and interests of the states involved.

#### Institutionalism: international institutions and regimes can help provide opportunities for cooperation that would not otherwise exist among states. They don’t negate influence of power and interests (that realists focus on) but they can channel it in certain ways.

#### Feminist theories: even if international institutions facilitate cooperation, they still reinforce and re-create the gendered notions of how men and women should interact, so they do not necessarily benefit women

### HR and environment - involvement of NGOs and non-state actors.

### MNCs in IPE but also in other areas.

### Can even talk about NGOs in security issues (landmines campaign) and with respect to EU (role of NGOs is important there too, though less discussed in Parsons lecture).

### Look at Rwandan genocide, as a case where the dominant delineation of the actors involved breaks across racial lines, as an artifact in part of Belgian colonialism, rather than across national lines

## Goals:

### relative gains very important in security realm;

### absolute gains more important (but not exclusive concern) in economic affairs and environment;

### relative v. absolute gains doesn’t even make sense in human rights arena.

### Connections between gains in environment and human rights and security is thin, so it's harder to say that security-seeking of states is driving their behavior, since it would be hard to know what it would look like if it was.

### Gains from point of view is many lies not in gains for nation but rather gains for their “group” over some other group

### Realists: survival and power; therefore zero-sum game in which states’ major concerns are with relative gains

### Institutionalists: states seek survival, but often can seek goals that go beyond that, such as economic, social, and environmental well-being. They are generally more concerned with absolute gains (doing better than they were previously) than with relative gains (doing better than other states)

### Feminist theories: maintain existing power structure in ways that re-create and reinforce the exploitation of women by men, weaker people by stronger, and nature by man

## Means:

### As control over resources AND as influence over outcomes

#### Realism – power comes from military strength

#### Institutionalism – power comes from asymmetries in interdependence

#### Feminist theories – power comes from ability to facilitate cooperative action

### Military violence (including the development and perhaps even the use of nuclear weapons) are considered legitimate when providing for state security;

### gender-based violence, whether against women or men, may not be considered illegitimate but it often goes without a response. Alternatives to violence as a means of resolution of conflict are too rarely considered.

### but not considered legitimate when trying to achieve economic goals (though during colonial period it was considered a legitimate use of state power in service of economic goals);

### positive economic pressures but not military efforts are considered legitimate in environmental affairs

### diplomatic pressure and military efforts are considered appropriate and legitimate in human rights arena but economic pressures are not.

### And non-military solutions make an increasing difference in some areas of the world, as in the changes in Myanmar as Aung San Suu Kyi has gained political legitimacy, perhaps averting civil war there.

### Realists: force is usable, effective and fungible. "Difference of national and international politics lies not in the use of force but in the different modes of organization for doing something about it" (Waltz, 99).

### Institutionalists: economic, social, and even environmental power can also be important, even as military power is also important. Military power cannot always accomplish the goals of state. Means are multiple - power comes from asymmetries in interdependence and military power is not always fungible, effective and is often costly.

### Feminist theories: states use gendered notions and ideas to reinforce the notion that the security of the state is paramount, that military means are the way to provide for it, and that it is worth both killing and dying for.

## Organizing principle:

### Anarchy still important, hence the problems we see.

### Power and interests play role in all areas, but rules seem to make more difference in "low politics"

### Institutions mitigate anarchy in some cases -- EU is the premier case but there are others.

### Effectiveness of institutions is evidence that they can SOMETIMES make a difference and mitigate anarchy.

### The gender-based hierarchy that exists across countries and internationally is not being attacked or dismantled by institutions. Nor are the numerous racial divides BUT some are breaking down as development occurs, as noted by Zakaria – immigration rules matter because if Americans treat immigrants badly they will contribute to the growth of other countries, not to the growth of the US.

## Dynamics:

### states are not always simply seeking to have more power than other states, though they often are doing that

### sometimes states are spending considerable energy in joint problem solving

### very little effort at the international level is being spent remedying the vast range of gender-based inequities and differences that exist in the world, whether in terms of women being victims of rape (during war or not) or men being selected out for massacre, or equal pay for equal work or other things.

## Conflict, cooperation, and harmony

### Know the differences between them

### Realism – conflict is common and harmony sometimes happens, but can’t (or very difficult to) create cooperation from conflict situation

### Institutionalism – conflict is common but can create cooperation with institutions and regimes, although its difficult to do so

### Feminist theories – conflict is partly common because of perceptions about where power comes from and because of goals of domination of masculine approaches to the world

# Application to different issue areas (security, trade, human rights, and environment)

## Security

### Focus: conflict more common, but even here some cooperation in form of arms control regimes seems to exist, but can question how much these regimes actually constrain state behavior

### Actors: states seem to be crucially important actors and nonstate actors play lesser role BUT landmines is case of NGOs playing important role as is evidence of terrorism

### Goals: states are largely concerned with survival in security realm and best evidence of this is size of military budgets of states that don’t go to war much. But states don’t spend all their money on their militaries and some don’t spend very much at all. Some states are more threatened than others. States vary in their concern with security.

### Means: military force is major element, BUT economic force is used as in example of US providing economic aid to get N. Korea to give up their nuclear weapons.

### Organizing Structure: anarchy prevails largely – states can fight whenever they want to, BUT arms control regimes provide some, albeit limited, constraints

### Dynamics: struggle for power seems to fit quite well

### Feminist theory: accurately predicts how little attention is paid to the abuse of women that goes on as part of war, whether involving "comfort women" (military prostitutes) during WWII or rape as part of war, or sex-selective massacre.

### Views:

#### Realists think its primary (and perhaps only) thing states care about

#### Institutionalists think states sometimes can provide sufficiently for security that those states can afford to not worry so much about security and can focus on other things they care about such as economic well-being, environmental protection, etc.

#### Feminist theories think security defined as protection of national boundaries often does not translate into security of women, and may come at their expense

## IPE

### Focus: still conflict, but efforts at cooperation - GATT agreement is good example of trying to create bigger pie, but conflict over how pie is shared. EU good example of extent to which economic cooperation appears possible and may even contribute to mitigation of security problems, not just economic ones. Dependency theory says more conflict than liberal view.

### Actors: states but also multinational corporations. Also not unitary rational actor model. Note how need to know whose powerful to know how they will respond. Best example here is that understanding why there are tariffs in most countries depends on knowing different sectors of economy – free trade is in interest of state AS A WHOLE but not in interest of import-competing sector

### Goals: interdependence seen as a threat if only looking from security perspective but seen as necessary if looking at from economic growth perspective. Trading only occurs when security already taken for granted

### Means: economic growth by trade rather than by force as in colonial era. Military means not useful for opening up markets.

### Organizing Structure: some anarchy and self-help but some rules. WTO unlikely to really begin telling US what to do.

### Dynamics: struggle for power, but also for economic gains.

### Feminist theory: role of women and people of color and their domination in the work force not fully engaged or addressed. Extensive amount of unpaid labor by women is not accounted for or addressed in international institutions..

## Human rights

### Focus: cooperation of states for sake of individuals. But still much conflict. Used as another arena of conflict during cold war.

### Actors: concern about how individuals are treated rather than how states interact. NGOs clearly play important role.

### Goals: human rights goals outside the usual

### Means: means are inadequate in most cases to do what needs to be done. States unwilling to use available means for this low priority issue. Nonfungibility of power. NGOs have power

### Organizing Structure: anarchy and sovereignty still at play. Especially sovereignty in this case. No universal rules unless everybody agrees to them. At same time, pressures to conform, while weak, exist

### Dynamics: not struggle for power, but struggle for autonomy. But also struggle for cooperative agreement about issues that are not necessarily international relations, but have become so.

### Feminist theory: arguably, women's rights are better incorporated in international institutions than in national governments but still plenty of room for improvement. Likewise, concerns of people of color are receiving somewhat more attention in Human Rights arena then elsewhere.

## Environment

### Focus: conflict and cooperation. Cooperative effort necessary. Tragedy of the commons. Each of us individually better off not to cooperate but collectively that makes us worse off.

### Actors: concern about how individuals and corporations, as well as states, deal with the environment. NGOs clearly play important role.

### Goals: much broader than usual set.

### Means: nonfungibility of power. Military power not useful for preserving environment.

### Organizing Structure: no way to enforce rules we agree to.

### Dynamics: power still at work. Brazil has power to control US. Malaysia has power not to sign agreement. But still see a searching for joint rules.

### Feminist theory: human/male domination of nature parallels male domination of women and resistance to changing this parallels resistance to changing male domination of women.

# Things to study

## Balance of power, security dilemma, prisoners’ dilemma, tragedy of the commons, bipolarity

## Counterfactuals and evidence as means of evaluating theory

## Economics, gains from trade, protectionism, development issues

## EU and how its developed

## Regime theory and institutions

## Effectiveness of international institutions

## Basics of human rights: types of human rights - econ, cultural, social vs. political and civil

## Basics of international environmental protection

## Tragedy of the commons

# Applicability of theories to this new world?

## Theories of liberalism and realism will continue to provide us with insights into the interactions of states for a long time to come. We need to pick and choose different parts of these theories to understand different situations but they provide a useful framework for thinking about international interactions.

## Feminist critiques likely to develop over time and help us see how gender and gendered theorizing influence international relations and the study of international relations.

## Hope to have given you better understanding of the world of international relations.

# Individuals can make a difference:

## Jody Williams and Campaign to Ban Landmines

## [Razia](http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cnn.heroes/2012.heroes/razia.jan.html) [Jan:](http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cnn.heroes/2012.heroes/razia.jan.html) Afghan-born, lives in Massachusetts, provides free education to Afghan girls

## Skateistan <https://vimeo.com/32234310>