

BLOCK III :
ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES
ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Unit – 1

Postmodernism

Unit Structure:

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Objectives
- 1.3 Definitions and Concept
- 1.4 Origin and Development
- 1.5 Attributes
- 1.6 Ideologues of Postmodernist Theorists
- 1.7 Contributions
- 1.8 Limitations
- 1.9 Summing Up
- 1.10 References and Further Reading

1.1 Introduction

Postmodernism has been a widely discussed concept in subjects like architecture, art and music, literature, cultural studies, gender studies, international relations, political science, sociology etc. Over the years, the study of postmodernism has gained much currency among scholars transcending the traditional disciplinary boundaries. However, the concept has often been misunderstood since it is not considered as a coherent set of principles and bears multiple connotations. Moreover, scholars have tried to define postmodernism considering own field of enquiry. Therefore, an in depth study of the concept itself is a prerequisite before we embark on postmodernism in the context of international relations. However, as a preliminary remark, it can be observed that postmodernism in international relations has been considered as a departure from the classical world view marked by “new and complex articulation of world conditions and issues”. As a reaction to modernism for its inability and failure to address the world issues, postmodernist theorists try to interpret events of international relations in a more objective way.

1.2 Objectives

This unit is an attempt to understand postmodernism as an idea and how it has been understood in international relations. After going through the unit you will be able to -

- Explain the definitions and concept of postmodernism

- Understand origin and development of postmodernism in international relations
- Discuss the various ideologues of postmodernism and their contributions
- Understand the issues involved with the concept of postmodernism
- Express contributions of postmodernism and its limitations

1.3 Definition and Concept

Postmodernism as an idea is not easy to define. Scholars across disciplines have tried to define the concept from different perspectives considering their field of enquiry. However, we hardly come across any well accepted definition of postmodernism in true sense of the term. In fact, there is no unanimity among the scholars on its definition. Regarding the definition of postmodernism, Geoffrey Bennington observes that, “there is an unusual degree of disagreement as to what postmodernism is and perhaps the disagreement about the meaning or existence of the postmodern is precisely what defines postmodern” (cited in Devetak 1999: 62). British scholar Andrew Heywood has also described postmodernism as a “controversial and confusing term” (2012: 62). According to him, it was first used to “describe experimental movements in western arts, architecture and cultural development in general” (ibid). One of the primary factors behind this complexity has been the very nature of postmodernism and the way it has been described across disciplines. Nevertheless, the concept has largely been considered as a pull of ideas embedded with “distrust towards everything and lacking any clear cut directions” (Pathak 2020: 85). In fact, the idea goes against or opposed to the principle of any formal definition attached with a given ideology or concept. It is more akin towards a non-formal kind of discussion/debate bereft of traditional definitions.

Like its definitions, postmodernism is very difficult to conceptualise. Some scholars have tried to conceptualise it as an ‘ideology’ like any other ideologies – an ‘ism’ that many people across the world believe and practice. However, it is not something a ‘coherent set of principles or doctrines’ as has been mentioned earlier. As an idea, it is a critique of the “existing set of ideas or classical understanding of truth, reason, identity, and objectivity, of the ideas of universal progress or emancipation, of single networks, grand narratives or ultimate grounds of explanation” (ibid). It describes the world as “contingent, ungrounded, diverse, unstable, indeterminate, a set of disunited cultures or interpretations which breed a degree of skepticism about the objectivity of truth, history and norms, the ‘givenness’ of natures and the coherence of identities” (ibid). The postmodern theorist denies the

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existence of certainty of any idea or absolute universal truth. According to them, there is no such thing as certainty, rather they emphasise on discourse, debate and democracy which will enable to deconstruct the prevailing thought (Heywood 2012: 62).

Stop to Consider :

Postmodernism

Postmodernism facilitates ‘new ways of seeing the world’. It is like ‘resisting the grand narratives’ of absolute truth and certainty. Jean-Francois Lyotard (1924-1998) in his *La Condition Postmoderne* published in France in 1979 observes that, “we now live in an era in which legitimising ‘master narratives’ are in crisis and in decline. These narratives are contained in or implied by major philosophies, such as Kantianism, Hegelianism, and Marxism, which argue that history is progressive, that knowledge can liberate us, and all knowledge has a secret unity. The two main narratives Lyotard is attacking are those of the progressive emancipation of humanity – from Christian redemption to Marxist utopia – and that of the triumph of science. Lyotard considers that such doctrines have ‘lost their credibility’ since the Second World War: simplifying to the extreme, I define postmodern as incredulity towards metanarratives” (in Butler 2002: 13).

1.4 Origin and Development

Postmodernism has often been mistaken of recent origin. In fact, over the years, the term – postmodern has increasingly been used not only in academic discussions; but in day-to-day life style including fashion, art, culture, and so on. However, it needs to be pointed out here that, the concept has been travelled through a long past dating back to the 16th century Europe that continued up to middle of the 20th century. This long period that roughly covers four hundred years constitute the modern age – the enlighten period of European history. J. M. Thompson in an article published in ‘The Hibbert Journal’ in 1914 used the term for the first time. Through his writing, Thompson tried to understand the changes that took place within the Christian society of that time. In the subsequent period, it was used as an “experimental movements in western arts, architecture and cultural development” (Heywood 2012).

One of the fundamental issues associated with the understanding of postmodernism is modernism. In fact, postmodernism has often been considered as a continuation or an extension of modernism. Postmodernity, according to Andrew Heywood (2012), “sometimes portrayed as the late

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modernity, has both thrown up new ideological movements and transformed established ones”. It began as a result of the industrialisation process in Europe that culminated into the growth of new set of ideas, doctrines, scientific inventions etc. The industrialisation period in Europe had been marked by expansion of capital, machines, market and so on. However, the developments could not resolve many of the problems emerged during the period and as a reaction to it postmodernism emerged. In other words, “while modern societies were structured by industrialisation and class solidarity, postmodern societies are increasingly fragmented and pluralistic ‘information societies’ in which individuals are transformed from procedures to consumers, and individualism replaces class, religious and ethnic loyalties” (Heywood 2012).

In international relations, the concept gained currency after end of the Second World War particularly in France. The postmodernist theorists consider international relations in terms of how issues of language, ideas, norms, abstract etc. have affected political actions (Lyotard 1984). As it has been mentioned earlier, origin of postmodernism is closely related to modernism. In fact, it is not possible to understand postmodernism without looking at how modernism as an idea was developed in Europe after 18th century. As a European phenomenon, modernism was related to scientific and technological development which was aimed to improve human conditions. The technological innovation that led to the creation of aircrafts, automobiles, machines, and other electrical equipments resulted social and economic development of the entire human society. As a result, human life became easy, safe as well as faster than ever. However, despite its enormous contributions, one cannot nullify the negative impact of scientific and technological innovations as had been witnessed in both 1st and 2nd World War. The scientific expertise/knowledge was rather used to develop dangerous explosives including nuclear bombs. The untold sufferings caused by these two World Wars particularly the 2nd World War revealed the negative aspects of modernity. As a result, people started to question the necessity or the very idea of modernity since it resulted discomfort and disruption rather than improvement of human life.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is postmodernism?
2. Explain why postmodernism as an idea is difficult to define?
3. Discuss how did postmodernism emerge as a reaction to modernism?
4. Explain the characteristics features of modernity that emerged in Europe?

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1.5 Attributes

After going through the definitions, concept, origin and development of postmodernism, certain attributes can be inferred. First, one of the primary attributes of postmodernism is that, “there is no basic objectivity in the world, everything involving human beings is subjective in nature”. This is equally true in the context of international relations while analysing the complex relationships among different countries across the world. Second, the discourse of ‘power’ and ‘domination’ and how they influence each other constitute one of the core issues in the understanding of postmodernist thought. Michel Foucault (1926-1984), one of the most influential postmodernist theorists of our time have talked about this relationships in his various writings which has been discussed in the subsequent portion of the unit. Third, postmodernist thinkers have always emphasise on the principle of “pluralism and relativism”. It has rejected the doctrine of ‘absolute value’ and abstract ‘belief’.

SAQ :

Do you believe that, postmodernism is a realistic concept? Give reasons to justify your position. (20+60 words)

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1.6 Ideologue of Postmodernis Theories

The concept of postmodernism received wide attention since 1960s particularly from the French scholars. Friedrich Nietzsche (1844 – 1900), Michel Foucault (1926-1984), Jacques Derrida (1930 – 2004), Jean Francois Lyotard (1924-1998), Ernesto Laclau (1935-2014), Chantal Mouffe (1943 -) etc. are some of the foremost postmodernist theorists and intellectuals who have made significant contributions towards the development of postmodernism over the years. However, as has been pointed out earlier, postmodernism as a continuation or break away from modernity has a long past and it has been evolved from time to time. Therefore, an understanding of the philosophers who have contributed towards its development seems necessary.

Friedrich Nietzsche (1844 – 1900), a German philosopher and cultural critic was one of the influential modern thinkers who had ‘anticipated

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the emergence of postmodernism' since the post Enlightenment period. The 19th century philosopher wrote extensively and most of his works were published in his later period of life. Some of his notable works include – Daybreak (1881), The Gay Science (1882), Beyond Good and Evil (1886), On the Genealogy of Morality (1887). He was a critic of the traditional European morality, religion and rationalism. He criticised the conventional philosophical ideas and questioned the principles of reason, truth, scientism, universality etc. attached with modernity. Moreover, he took on the issues of the social and political ideas which were associated with the notion of modernity. Nietzsche's criticisms primarily based on "psychological diagnoses that expose false consciousness infecting people's received ideas". One of the important aspects of his ideas was the insistence on the importance of power. In fact, Nietzsche's central idea revolves around the "will to power doctrine" – where everyone tries to enhance their power. According to him, it is the 'desire for power and domination' that denies/nullifies the claim to possess truth. Because of his ideas, Nietzsche was often associated with modern thinkers including Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud who had advocated the principle of 'hermeneutics of suspicion' against the traditional values of modernity.

French philosopher and historian – Michel Foucault (1926-1984) has been considered as one of the most prominent postmodernist thinkers. His exceptional ideas and contributions on issues of clinical science, sexuality, psychiatry, power etc. have generated critical debates across disciplines in the contemporary period. In fact, Foucault has arguably made the most influential analysis of the 'relationship between discourse and power through his writings'. According to him, "power is never localised here or there, but rather employed and exercised through a net-like organization". It needs to be pointed here out that, Foucault tried to analyse 'power relations' in terms of its 'distinct modalities, strategies, tactics, practices, and techniques'; not power in itself. The central argument of Foucault was based on issues of "power" and "the structuralist and the post-structuralist movements" that spans through some of his critically acclaimed works that include – History of Madness in the Classical Age (1961), The Birth of the Clinic (1963), The Archaeology of Knowledge (1969), Discipline and Punish (1975), The History of Sexuality (1976). In addition, Foucault is credited with two significant posthumously published lecture series – Security, Territory, Population (1977-1978) and The Birth of Bio-politics (1978-1979) delivered at various platforms across Europe, United States of America and other countries.

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Jacques Derrida (1930 – 2004), the French philosopher and literary theorist has often been considered as one of the founder of postmodernism. He is known for his idea of ‘semiotic analysis’ which is also known as ‘deconstruction’ which he used in his book – *Of Grammatology* (1967), for the first time. In literary term, deconstruction has been considered as a ‘philosophical theory of criticism’ that attempts to unearth the deep rooted contradictions. In fact, deconstruction has been considered as a “reaction against the old assumption of the presence of a stable centre, objectivity, and absolute truth”. He criticised and questions the western political philosophy and western culture as well. In fact, Derrida famously wrote “all my essays an attempt to have it out with this formidable question”. His notable works include – *Speech and Phenomena* (1967), *Writing and Difference* (1967) and *Margins of Philosophy* (1972). Moreover, Derrida’s is also best known for his idea of ‘post-structuralism’.

Jean Francois Lyotard (1924-1998), the French philosopher and cultural critic is another foremost postmodernist philosophers. His book – *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* published in 1979 is an important contribution in the understanding of postmodernism. In fact, the book is considered as the Bible in the study of postmodernism. Lyotard emphasised on the replacement of ‘grand narratives by little narratives’ while examining the changing nature of knowledge in the postmodern period. As an advocate of “relativism of knowledge” he refuted the “scientific rationality” while saying “let us wage a war on totality, and let us celebrate differences”.

Stop to Consider
Post Structuralism

Post-structuralism is a philosophical and literary theory that emerged in France during 1960s as a critique to structuralism. It rejects the notion of a literary text “having a single purpose”. It rather emphasises on to create “new and individual purpose, meaning and existence for a given text”. Jacques Derrida was one of the foremost proponents of post-structuralism.

1.7 Contributions of Postmodernism

As it has been discussed, postmodernism as a concept has no abstract principles or doctrines. It is a loosely formulated concept that questions the

existing knowledge. That is why, many scholars consider postmodernism as a “movement that arose independently” in different fields of enquiry. Moreover, since it is not restricted to any particular discipline, therefore, postmodernism has touched almost all the branches of literature, humanities, social sciences etc.

In postmodern theory, no one is superior hence no one is inferior as well. The traditional notion of being superior in terms of race, culture, gender, etc. has no reference in it. Hence, the postmodernist theorists have emphasised more on “little narratives” by deconstructing the “grand or meta-narratives” or by shifting the importance from “centre-periphery world setting to a pluri-centric world”. Critiquing the existing truth or established knowledge, the postmodernist thinkers have set forth an important beginning by exploring new ideas, styles etc. in different fields.

Check Your Progress

1. Discuss Michel Foucault’s contribution on postmodernism?
2. What is deconstruction? Discuss why did Derrida challenge western philosophy or western culture?
3. Explain the various attributes of postmodernism?
4. Do you believe that, postmodernism has added knowledge to the existing knowledge system?

1.8 Limitations

Postmodernism has its own limitations and thus, it is not devoid of criticisms. One of the major factors behind the criticism is the very nature of the concept since it has no definite structure or set of doctrines. Many of the contemporary thinkers have criticised postmodernism because of its ‘vagueness’ in interpreting the social structure. Critiquing the postmodern theory, Naom Chomsky (1928 -), one of the most influential public intellectual of our time argues that “it is meaningless as it has nothing to add to empirical and analytical knowledge”. Moreover, postmodernism has been criticised for “undermining all major accomplishments of post-Enlightenment western modernity” and it has been alleged to contribute “a rebellious, irreverent impulse at the core of modern intellectual activity which constructs little and damages much” (Mishra 3). At the extreme point, it has also been leveled as an “intellectual scandal” that the critics consider as an “accumulation of directionless subjectivities that constitute anarchical excess” (ibid). Pauline Rosenau argues that “postmodernism criticises the inconsistency of modernism, but refuses to be held to norms of consistency itself”.

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You should remember the following points :

- Postmodernism is a complex idea having no unanimous definition.
- Emergence of postmodernism can be traced back to the 16th century enlighten period of European history.
- It is considered as a continuation or an extension of modernism.
- Friedrich Nietzsche (1844 – 1900), Michel Foucault (1926-1984), Jacques Derrida (1930 – 2004) etc. are some of the important ideologues of postmodernist theorists.
- Postmodernism gives more importance on “little narratives” rather than “grand or meta-narratives”.
- It has shifted issues from “centre-periphery world setting to a pluri-centric world”.
- Postmodernist thinkers criticise the existing knowledge and explores new ideas and doctrines in different fields of enquiry.
- Postmodernism has been criticized for its ‘vagueness’ in interpreting the social structure, lack of “empirical and analytical knowledge” and so on.

Check your Progress :

1. What is postmodernism? Discuss its characteristics.
2. Explain the two methods used by Michel Foucault in his thought?
3. Critically discuss the contributions of postmodernism in international relations.
4. Discuss the limitations of postmodernism.

1.9 Summing Up

Postmodernism is a very complex idea to understand. The complexity added further due to the multiplicity of its uses in different contexts across disciplines. Nevertheless, as a reaction to modernity, postmodernism has ushered new ideas, developed new perspectives to look at how things can be interpreted differently. It teaches us to critique and challenge the existing ‘truth’, the established knowledge. In the process, it has itself faced criticisms from different corners. But, despite the challenges, postmodernism has emerged as a significant way to analyse socio-political relationship because of its increasing emphasis on ‘debate, discourse and democracy’. It is because of the fact that, the postmodern

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theorists believe that, “the way of understanding and interpreting the world has changed or needs to be changed”.

1.10 References and Suggested Reading

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Unit – 2

Critical Theory

Unit Structure:

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Objectives
- 2.3 Concept and Definitions
- 2.4 Origin and Development
- 2.5 Ideologues of Critical Theory
- 2.6 Critical Theory in International Relations
- 2.7 Contributions
- 2.8 Summing Up
- 2.9 References and Suggested Reading

2.1 Introduction

Critical theory, an initiative of the Frankfurt School, Germany, has been considered as a significant theoretical development discussed in a wide range of disciplines since its emergence in 1923. As a departure from the “traditional theories”, critical theory attempts to evolve an “alternative path of social development in accordance with the essence of Marxism” (Gaubas 2013: 308). It has been considered as the “representative of Neo-Marxism” – an extension of the Marxian philosophy that seeks to understand society from “emancipatory values”. As the name itself suggests, critical theory is a set of doctrines or philosophy that “questions the modern social and political life through a method of immanent critique” (Burchill et. al 2005: 138). Since its inception, critical theory has been able to generate new ideas and debates across disciplines that include – philosophy, literary criticism, humanities, psychology, economics, gender studies, cultural studies, international relations etc.

2.2 Objectives

This unit is an attempt to understand the emergence of critical theory in international relations. After going through the unit you will be able to –

- Understand the concept of critical theory
- Explain origin and development of critical theory in international relations
- Know about the ideologues of critical theory and their contributions
- Analyse the contributions and limitations of critical theory

2.3 Concept and Definitions

Critical theory is difficult to conceptualise in a very precise manner. As has been pointed out above, critical theory is a set of theories or combination of ideas which critiques or questions the existing philosophy or principles. The study of critical theory is very open in nature and therefore, it is involved with wide range of disciplines and issues that includes – feminism, postmodernism, post-structuralism, constructivism etc. It has been considered as a post-positivistic approach that tried to explain the complex power relationships including international relations. Development of critical theory has primarily been influenced by two set of principles or ideas. First, influence of the Marxian philosophy and the emergence of the Frankfurt School popularly known as Neo-Marxist thinkers. Second, contributions of the German philosopher – Jurgen Habermas (born 1929), who has been considered as the second generation of critical theorists and the narratives of the “post-nationalism and discourse ethnics” (Chaudhuri, n.d.).

The primary objective of the critical theorists, in the words of Max Horkheimer (1972), is to – “emancipate human from slavery” and “create a world which satisfies the needs and powers of human beings”. Therefore it is envisaged that, the critical theorists strive not only to challenge and dismantle the traditional forms of theorizing, but it also problematises and seeks to dismantle entrenched forms of social life that constrain human freedom (Burchillet. all 2005: 140). Accordingly, O. P. Gauba has mentioned about three principles upon which the critical theory is based on. First, the knowledge of truth cannot be solely based on the information obtained through scientific method; ethical standards should also be invoked to determine the truth. Second, the use of technology should be confined to the fulfillment of essential needs of human beings; it should not be allowed to become the source of technological domination. Third, political philosophy should focus on the conditions of alienation in the capitalist society and motivate people to win freedom from these oppressive conditions (2013: 309).

The critical theorists consider the society as its “object of analysis”. It tries to draw attention to the “relationship between knowledge and society, which is so frequently excluded from mainstream theoretical analysis, critical theory recognizes the political nature of knowledge claim” (Burchill et. all 2005: 139). Regarding critical theory, David Held observes that,

“the exponents of the critical theory tried to develop a critical perspective in the discussion of all social practices, that is a perspective which is

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preoccupied by the critique of ideology – of systematically distorted accounts of reality which attempt to conceal and legitimate asymmetrical power relations. They were concerned with the way in which social interests, conflicts and contradictions are expressed in thought, and how they are produced and reproduced in systems of domination. Through an examination of these systems they hoped to enhance awareness of the roots of domination, undermine ideologies and help to compel changes in consciousness and action” (A Dictionary of Marxist Thought, edited by Tom Bottomore: 1983, cited in Gauba 2013: 308).

The critical theory has been referred as the “Hegelian brand of Marxism” by the Frankfurt School. They consider it as a “blend of Marxist political economy, Hegelian philosophy and Freudian psychology” (Heywood 2012: 124). It needs to be pointed here out that, the Frankfurt School has been termed as the “new left” – a term that refers to “an ideological movement that sought to revitalize socialist thought by developing a radical critique of advanced industrial society, stressing the need for decentralization, participation and personal liberation” (Heywood 2012: 124).

Stop to Consider

Neo-Marxism is the new addition or an extension of the classical Marxian philosophy. It is neither considered as a “fixed doctrine”, or a “single theory” nor any “specific school of thought”, rather it is a combination of various “approaches and ideas”. It has largely been considered as a departure from the classical Marxian philosophy of historical materialism – one of the core concepts of the Marxian theory. Rather it combines various forms of “consciousness as the proper subject of social analysis”. It is also regarded as an “intellectual orientation which maintains its faith in some of the basic tenets of Marxism and tends to highlight their new aspects”. Antonio Gramsci (1891 – 1937), Louis Althusser (1918 – 1980), Rosa Luxemburg (1871 – 1919), Theodor Adorno (1903 – 1969), Herbert Marcuse (1898 – 1979), Jurgen Habermas (born 1929) etc. are some of the chief exponents of Neo-Marxism. As an idea, Neo-Marxism has been involved with Humanism, Structuralism, Existentialism, Psychology, Economics etc.

2.4 Origin and Development

Origin of critical theory can be traced back to the Frankfurt School established in 1923 at the Institute of Social Research, University of

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Frankfurt, Germany. But, the political situation in Germany during the period because of the rise of Adolf Hitler (1889 – 1945) forced the Frankfurt School to relocate to United States for few years. However, they could return back to Frankfurt, Germany in early 1950s – few years after the end of the Second World War. The chief exponents of the critical theory include – Max Horkheimer (1895 – 1973), Theodor Adorno (1903 – 1969), Walter Benjamin (1892 – 1940), Herbert Marcuse (1898 – 1979), Erich Fromm (1900 – 1980), Leo Lowenthal (1900 – 1993) etc. popularly known as the Frankfurt School. They all have made significant contributions in the development of the critical theory in the twentieth century. In the subsequent period, German scholar – Jurgen Habermas (born 1929) contributed immensely in its development.

The origin of critical theory was influenced by the writings of German philosophers like – Immanuel Kant (1724 – 1804), George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1820 – 1895), and Karl Marx (1818 – 1884). In addition to that, writings of Friedrich Nietzsche (1844 – 1900) and Max Weber (1864 – 1920) also impacted in the emergence of critical theory. Moreover, some scholars have argued about the influence of the “classical Greek thought” on its origin. It needs to be pointed here out that, critical theory developed as a part of the “critique of positivism on epistemological grounds”. The critical theorists have questioned positivism on various grounds. First, it has rejected the “presence of an objective external reality” as advocated by positivist theorists. Second, the critical theorists have challenged the “subject-object distinction”, and third, it questioned the “possibility of developing a value free social science on the basis of scientific assumptions of positivism” (Chaudhuri, n.d.).

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Analyse the role of Frankfurt School in the development of critical theory?
2. How does critical theory impact the classical understanding of Marxian philosophy?
3. Does Neo-Marxism nullify classical Marxism?
4. Write a note on the inter-disciplinary nature of critical theory.

2.5 Ideologues of the Critical Theory

As has been mentioned above, emergence of critical theory has been the offshoot of the contributions made by the Frankfurt School. It needs to be

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mentioned here that, the development of critical theory passed through a critical time witnessed in the twentieth century. The devastation caused by the Second World War, the economic crisis of 1930s, disillusionment of the soviet socialism etc. all have impacted the Frankfurt School to look beyond the traditional theories to analyse the world order. As a result, many critical theorists came out with their ideas in the development of critical theory. Among them, Max Horkheimer has been considered as one of the chief exponents of the critical theory. In fact, he is credited with coining the term itself. In his essay on “Traditional and Critical Theory” published in 1937, he tried to differentiate the traditional theory from the critical theory. According to him, “the traditional mode of theorizing was limited to the registration and explication of phenomena in abstraction from their social contexts and origins, on the other hand, critical theory focuses on the concrete genesis of factual-social conditions and especially on the role of human agency and productivity in the process” (Dallmayr 1984: 471). According to Max Horkheimer (1972), critical theory intended “not simply to eliminate one or other abuse, but to analyse the underlying social structures which result in these abuses with the intention of overcoming them” (cited in Burchill et. all 2005: 139). German philosopher and sociologist –Jurgen Habermas (born 1929) is one of the prominent exponents of critical theory. In fact, he is considered as the second generation of Frankfurt School critical theorists who have written extensively on issues including international relations. Some of his notable works include – The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere (1962), Knowledge and Human Interests (1968), The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity (1985), The Theory of Communicative Action (1981), The Future of Human Nature (2001) etc. However, it needs to be pointed out here that, Habermas was himself a critic of the first generation of Frankfurt School. In fact, he tried to “develop and remodel critical theory into new dimensions” by continuing the “critique of reason and rationality” of the Frankfurt School of thought. He developed the idea of communicative action that aims to “transmits and renew cultural knowledge in a process of achieving mutual understanding”. Besides, his analysis of the “relation between knowledge and human interests and discourse ethnics” has been very significant in understanding and evolving an “alternative critical positions within international relations” (Yalvac 2017: 6).

STOP TO CONSIDER

1. Positivism is a philosophical theory emerged in early nineteenth century. German sociologist – August Comte has been considered as the founder of positivism. According to him, all societies have three basic stages – theological, metaphysical and scientific. Positivism is a

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philosophical system based on empirical method to investigate the issues in social and physical science as well. It emphasises on scientific method which is considered as the “only source of true knowledge”. It is considered as the “gold standard” as described by Smith Steve (1963), “against which other theories are evaluated”. However, positivism faced a lot of criticisms because of its inherent limitations. In fact, the critical theory is a part of the post-positivist approach to look at the issues beyond positivism.

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2.6 Critical Theory in International Relations

International relations as a field of enquiry emphasis on the relationships exist among the countries. It is a continuous multidisciplinary process that involves the study of foreign policy analysis, diplomacy, international security and development, global political economy and governance, environment and so on. The emergence of critical theory as a “European development” that had witnessed arguably the most turbulent period in the twentieth century as mentioned earlier, interpreted the complex relationships among different countries going beyond the traditional theories of liberalism, realism, Marxism etc. However, it is only since the beginning of the 1980s that, the critical theorists can make a real impact on the study of international relations. Since then, the mainstream international relations have witnessed emergence of different types of critical international relations theory.

The critical theorists have challenged the mainstream understanding of international relations and tried to evolve an alternative approach to analyse the complex issues pertaining to the global affairs. In the process, the critical theorists ventured into areas of critical importance and tried to develop new approaches in international relations, challenging the hitherto established principles or concepts advocated by the positivist theorists. In this regard, mention needs to be mentioned about Jurgen Habermas – often considered as the second generation of the Frankfurt School and his idea of communication action theory. In fact, during that time, the international theorists started to “critique the limits of realism” by drawing upon Habermas theory. In the subsequent periods, other critical international theorists like Robert Cox, Richard Ashley, Mark Hoffman, Andrew Linklater etc. – have contributed immensely in the development of critical theory in the study of international relations.

SAQ :

Do you believe that, the emergence of critical theory has radically

changed the study of international relations from its earlier avatar? Give reasons to justify your position.

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2.7 Contribution

Emergence of critical theory has unfolded many important dimensions which were hitherto unknown in the study of international relations. In fact, the critical theorists have contested most of the principles made the mainstream international theorists. The critical theory has put forwarded an alternative perspective to look at the social issues that aims at “decreasing dominations” and at the same time “levering freedom in all forms”. As it has been pointed out earlier, one of the most important contributions of the critical theorists has been their unwavering support for “human emancipation form slavery”. Unlike the classical Marxist theorists, the critical theorists envisaged a “society free from exploitation, slavery and greed”. According to them, the objective of social struggle is “human emancipation on a large scale in a fully rational society” (Dallmayr 1984: 473). In order to do that, the critical theorists sought for a society wherein the “idea of a state of affairs in which man’s action no longer flow from a mechanism but from his own decisions” (ibid). Moreover, the critical theory has made significant contributions in the development of Marxian philosophy – albeit in a new form i.e. the Neo-Marxism. Like the Marxist thinkers, they oppose the capitalist ideology which is based on exploitation and extraction of resources. At the same time, they were also “dissatisfied with the soviet socialism”. Therefore, the contributions of the critical theorists to map an alternative narrative have been of immense significance across disciplines.

Points to Remember

- Critical theory, an extension of the Marxian philosophy is an initiative of the Frankfurt School, Germany.
- It is also considered as “representative of Neo-Marxism”.
- Critical theorists tried to evolve an alternative approach to analyse the complex issues pertaining to the global affairs.
- Emergence of critical theory in international relations can be attributed to the devastation caused by the World War II, 1930’s economic crisis, disillusionment of the soviet socialism etc.

- Jurgen Habermas has contributed immensely in development of critical theory.
- His idea of communication action theory which is based on “renewal and transmission of cultural knowledge” challenges the traditional understanding of international relations.

Check your Progress

1. What is critical theory? Discuss how critical theory is different from traditional theories?
2. Discuss the factors that led to the emergence of critical theory in the study of international relations?
3. Explain the contributions of Jurgen Habermas in the development of critical theory.
4. Discuss the contributions of critical theory in the study of international relations.
5. What is Neo-Marxism? Why critical theory has been considered as the representative of Neo-Marxism?
6. Write a note on ‘Positivism’. Discuss the limitations of positivism put forwarded by the critical theorists?
7. Discuss the limitations of critical theory?

2.8 Summing Up

Ever since its emergence in 1923 – as a part of the initiative of the Frankfurt School, Germany, the critical theorists have come across a long journey. In the process, they have developed new ideas and insights to look at the complex social, political etc. relationships. As a departure from the traditional theories, the critical theorists have tried to provide a “critique of the dogmatism” available in traditional modes of theorizing. The critical theory remains a vital philosophical tradition which tries to create an alternative path away from “slavery and greed” that aims at “human emancipation”. One of the fundamental attributes of critical theory is that, it questions the existing knowledge system – thereby tries to create a better future. This critique reveals the unexamined assumptions that guide traditional modes of thought, and exposes the complicity of traditional modes of thought in prevailing political and social conditions. (Burchill et. all 2005).

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Unit 3 :
Social Constructivism

Unit Structure:

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Objectives
- 3.3 What is constructivism?
 - 3.3.1 Emergence
 - 3.3.2 Constructivism as social theory
 - 3.3.3 Variants of Constructivism
 - 3.3.4 Central themes
- 3.4 Key theorists-Onuf, Wendt and Kratochwil
- 3.5 Criticism
- 3.6 Summing Up
- 3.7 References and Suggested Readings

3.1 Introduction

For the better part of the last half of the 20th century, the foundational theories of international politics have been based on the premise that understanding relevant or significant actions of states—such as engaging in or refraining from war, cooperating economically or not—requires taking into account the political structures, such as the system of states at the international level or the world's commodity and financial markets. State security, with an emphasis on a state's power in comparison to other states, is the most important concern for realists. For a liberals, the most important issue might be related to economic concerns, specifically how they affect internal politics. In a sense, both of these dominant theories have presumed that human behaviour is driven by interests and that the best way to understand one's interests is to consider one's position within a broader framework. However issues towards the end of the Cold war such as rise of global NGOs, environmental and women movements, need to respect global human rights norms had gained momentum. What this meant was that national interests were always shifting, and that new ideas and passions could emerge from any given societal context, regardless of national borders. Social constructivism or constructivists are interested in middle-range theory and the influence of social variables in global affairs.

The goal of this unit is to discuss theory of constructivism and its significance in understanding of international relations. The efforts of important thinkers

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who have defined the constructivist method must be examined in order to gain a better grasp of the subject of international relations. Furthermore, the chapter emphasises the significance of norms, ideas, and principles in moulding state goals.

3.2 Objectives

The unchanging material principles of classical IR theory have been widely criticised by constructivists. They put an emphasis on the social aspects and the potential for transformation of international relations. In this unit, prime objective is to

- Describes the importance of norms and ideas in shaping state interests
- Explain the emergence and features of constructivism
- Understand the key themes of constructivism
- Analyze the contribution of key theorist that have shaped the constructivist approach to IR

3.3 What is Constructivism?

Constructivists emphasise mid-range theory and take into account the influence of societal variables on international relations. According to the constructivists, normative and ideological frameworks may shape how people see themselves and what they care about. Constructivists believe that agents and structures are inextricably linked. As a structural theory, the following are the central assertions of constructivism-one, nations serve as the primary units of study in international relations; two, inter subjective, rather than material, structures underpin the states system; and three, these social structures play a significant role in the formation of state identities and interests.

3.3.1 Emergence of Constructivism

The Constructivists found inspiration in the theoretical developments of disciplines such as philosophy and sociology. Roles provide identities, which are instantiated, propagated, and modified via performance—this ancient Greek notion is the cornerstone of constructivism. All interactions between people and groups of persons (including but not limited to governments and nations) occur in the context of the social world, which is a sphere of human knowledge comprised of ideas, concepts, languages, discourses, signs,

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signals, and agreements. The social world, as an intersubjective domain, is only meaningful to those who created it and are a part of it on a daily basis; such persons feel at home in the social world because they constructed it and understand it.

Understanding foreign policy requires learning about the different parties involved and the rules that govern their interactions. The most rapidly expanding alternative school of IR theory is constructivism, although its rapid expansion is in large part due to the fact that it has yet to be well defined. Like all social disciplines, international relations (IR) requires ideas to make sense of the world it is attempting to study. Within IR, numerous opposing and contradictory viewpoints are promoted by various schools of thought. In what are referred to as the "great debates," the virtues and shortcomings of each school of thought have been largely debated. World War II sparked the first 'Great Debate,' which included talks between realists and idealists, with the latter initially prevailing before being supplanted by the former. In the 1960s, the second 'Great Debate' pitted traditionalism against behaviorism, with the former focusing on the complexities of international politics and the latter emphasising the identification of commonalities among seemingly unrelated events. Since the third "Great Debate" intersects with the fourth "Great Debate," it is more difficult to identify its precise boundaries. It was a debate between liberalism, realism, and socialism, and it took place in the 1970s, as is widely accepted. These first two schools of thought gave rise to the rationalism school of thought, while anarchism impacted the reflectivist school of thought that would become central to the fourth "Great Debate. Constructivism emerged as a theory of international relations in response to criticism of earlier theories. Constructivism is one of many postpositivist, postmodern, and poststructuralist theories that developed in the late 1980s in part of the 'fourth debate' in IR between positivists and postpositivists.

Stop to Consider

Constructivism as “middle ground”

Constructivists embrace positivist epistemology, which includes hypothesis testing, causality, and explanation, but they adhere to an intersubjective ontology that emphasises norms, social actors and structures, and the reciprocal formation of identity. "Constructivists" are academics, primarily in the United States, who see themselves as falling between the rationalist and poststructuralist camps. As a result of this

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middle ground, constructivist theory development and public acceptance of a social ontology have become priorities. Another constructivism shifts this middle ground by stressing the inseparability of a social ontology and social epistemology. Both agree that the 'possibility of a reality to be formed' is true, in contrast to poststructuralists who doubt it.

Nicholus Onufin "The World of our making" (1989) introduced constructivism to the study of international relations; as a concept it sought to explain how international structures are determined by ideas and how the identities and interests of states and other non-state actors are shaped by the structures. Ronen Palan highlights that the term "constructivism" was used in the early 1920s by a group of Soviet artists and architects to describe a new movement in the visual arts. On the other hand, the term "constructivist" is now often used to refer to an epistemic stance that has nothing to do with Soviet constructivism. Constructivist epistemology is an approach to the study of knowledge that was largely influenced by Immanuel Kant's notion of synthetic knowledge. Constructivist epistemology contends that knowledge cannot be the result of passively receiving information but must rather be the result of the activity of an active subject. What agents do is not mechanically determined by the structure, as Giddens argues. Intersubjective perception and meaning are part of the interplay between structures and actors. While actors are limited by structures, they may influence those systems by their own creative analysis and action. Using this as a jumping off point, IR constructivists propose a broader definition of anarchy.

According to Christian Reus-Smit, there were four main causes for the popularity of constructivism. In a first step, prominent rationalists, intent on reclaiming the theoretical and political high ground they previously held, threw down a gauntlet to critical theorists, daring them to go beyond mere theoretical criticism and into a more substantial examination of international relations. Second, the neorealists' and neoliberals' explanatory pretensions were demolished by the end of the Cold War since neither had anticipated or could sufficiently explain the systemic upheavals changing the global order. Third, by the early 1990s, a new generation of young academics had developed who, although agreeing with many of critical international theory's central assertions, saw room for originality in the field via conceptual elaboration and empirically informed theoretical growth. Last but not least, the new constructivist perspective advanced with the help of the enthusiasm that established scholars showed in adopting it, bringing it from the fringes to the centre of theoretical debate as a response to their own frustration with the analytical failings of the dominant rationalist theories.

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Constructivism often regarded as reflectivist or relativist is seen as "the middle ground" between radicalism and rationalism. So, the idea that the field is "taking a constructivist turn" has gained traction. Some argue that constructivism is a viable third option to realism and liberalism because it provides alternative generalizable causal explanations of the elements of international politics, albeit ones that put an emphasis on identity and meaning rather than interests decided by structural factors. For others, constructivism should offer a rudimentary criticism of not only conventional theories, but also their positivism origins, which assume scholars can operate independently from the social and political contexts they purport to study. Constructivists may concur that international politics is social and cultural, evolving in part from the meanings people assign to objects, but they do not agree on a uniform method for analysing international politics.

Check Your Progress

1. What do you understand by constructivism? (20 words)
2. Why is constructivism seen as a "middle ground" (40 words)

3.3.2 Constructivism as Social Theory

Social theory broadly comprehends the interaction between social environment, social behaviour, and the interaction between social systems and people. This kind of theory is essential in the social sciences in general. Constructivists are a school of thought in social theory that puts an emphasis on how reality itself is constructed by individuals and groups. Human interactions, particularly international relations, are founded on concepts and principles rather than material forces. This is the idealism tenet of constructivism, in contrast to the positivist tenet of most of the social sciences.

Constructivists believe that social reality is not a given, but rather the consequence of the beliefs and assumptions held by the people who comprise that social reality. Despite the claims of positivists and behaviourists, it is not an objective reality whose rules can be discovered by scientific investigation and explained by theoretical frameworks. There is no link between the natural world and the worlds of politics and civilization. Natural norms do not exist in the areas of politics, economics, and society. The passage of time does not occur independently of or indifferently to human thoughts and goals. This implies that sociology, economics, politics, and history cannot be considered "scientific" in the

sense indicated by the word positivist. The social world is the domain of human cognition, including but not limited to: human beliefs and values; human conceptualizations; human discourses; human signs, signals, and agreements; and human groups and states. Because of the interdependence of its constituent parts, the social world can only be understood by those who have a personal stake in it.

Physical things are an important part of the social order, and 'material resources' are one kind of factor that contributes to the many social structures. In this sense, constructivism embraces materialism. What actually important, however, is what such items signify in people's minds in the form of ideas and beliefs. Territory, people, weapons, and other material assets, for example, comprise the global security and defence system. The intellectual component of international security is as important as, if not more important than, the physical assets themselves, since the latter are meaningless without the former.

So, it is helpful to highlight the split between the neorealists' (and neoliberals') materialist viewpoint and the constructivists' ideational one. According to the materialist world view, the primary motivating forces in international politics are power and national interest. Military might, supported by economic and other means, is the ultimate measure of power. The term "national interest" refers to a nation's pursuit of its own national power, safety, and prosperity. Ideas, according to social constructivists, are always crucial. The assumption is that the physical world is inherently equivocal and requires a higher level of interpretation. So, the meaning of actual power is determined by thoughts.

Stop to Consider

Positivism

The term "positivism" is used to describe the scientific study of human society. The overarching goal is to codify universal, abstract laws that control the social cosmos's operational dynamics. The relationships between cosmic forces are defined by a set of rules. Positivism holds that laws should be scrutinised in light of empirical data. Auguste Comte advocated positivism as a means of giving the nascent discipline of sociology a scientific veneer of respectability. Theorists like Herbert Spencer and Emile Durkheim enacted data-driven laws embodying this argument.

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Constructivists focus on widely held intersubjective beliefs (as well as ideas, concepts, and assumptions). Ideas must be widely held in order to have any influence; nevertheless, they may be held by a wide range of institutions, including enterprises, governments, communities, and people. Individuals' ideas are their own distinct set of beliefs, goals, and attitudes that serve as overarching guides for individual actions and social choices. With its focus on the intersubjective conceptions that govern international relations, constructivism is an empirical approach to the study of international relations. The theory displays several novel approaches to enquiry. How do we make sense of major international events and episodes if the social and political environment consists essentially of shared ideas? In general, constructivists oppose mechanistic positivist explanations of how the world works. This is due to the fact that positivists did not give due attention to the subjective nature of the interactions between people.

Stop to Consider

Four types of ideas

According to Nina Tannenwald (2005), there are several types of ideas. "Ideologies or shared belief systems" are a systematic collection of doctrines or ideas that represent the social needs and goals of a group, class, culture, or state. "Normative (or principled) beliefs" are convictions about what is good and wrong. These are beliefs and attitudes that describe criteria for differentiating right from wrong or just from unjust, and they imply corresponding behavioural standards, such as the role of human rights norms during the conclusion of the Cold War. "Causal beliefs" are beliefs concerning cause-and-effect connections, also known as means-end interactions. Lastly, "policy prescriptions" are detailed programmatic concepts that aid policy makers by detailing how to address certain policy issues. They are at the heart of policy disputes and are linked to particular plans and policies.

Constructivists agree with Max Weber that understanding (*verstehen*) is essential for sociological enquiry. When it comes to providing scientific explanations based on hypotheses, data collection, and generalisation, however, they vary on how closely the social sciences may resemble the principles and methodology of the natural sciences. Nevertheless, constructivists disagree with the concept of an objective reality, claiming that researchers in the social sciences will never find a universal truth about the world. Many influences and incomplete perceptions of a complex environment are constantly at play in the pursuit of truth and its absoluteness.

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Check Your Progress

1. Why is constructivism a social theory?
2. What are intersubjective beliefs? Elaborate. (60 words)

3.3.3 Variants of constructivism

In the outset, Hopf in his article "The promise of constructivism in international relations theory" (1998) divides the constructivist movement into "conventional" and "critical" schools of thought. Critical constructivists seek human emancipation and enlightenment by unmasking naturalised order and asymmetrical power relations in our social world, while conventional constructivists seek to produce new knowledge and insights based on "minimal foundationalism" by accepting that a contingent universalism may be necessary and possible.

Second, Fearson and Wendt in their article "Rationalism v. constructivism: A skeptical view" (2005) split constructivism into three separate strands based on their epistemological positions: positivist, interpretivist, and postmodern. These three constructivisms, according to them, provide different answers to the following two epistemological questions: "Whether knowledge claims about social life can be given any warrant other than the discursive power of the putative knower (relativism issue)" and "Whether causal explanations are appropriate in social enquiry." While a positivist response is yes to both questions, an interpretivist response is yes and no, and post-modern constructivists say no to both (Fearson & Wendt, 2005). Fearson and Wendt argue that one cannot talk of "constructivism" in the singular since their epistemic differences are essentially profound.

Constructivism is not a very coherent theme but it is divided into many separate sub-schools, each with significant theoretical roots in common. To begin, constructivists have an interest in exploring how social processes and things themselves are "created." Second, they frequently emphasise the importance of the mutual constitution of agents and structure, believing that intersubjective reality and meanings are necessary pieces of information to have in order to have a proper understanding of the social world, provided that these pieces of information are "contextualised" appropriately. Lastly, all constructivist variations in their distinct research methodologies are underpinned by a methodological holist research strategy rather than a methodological individualist point of view.

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3.4 Key theorists - Onuf, Wendt and Kratochwill

Although there is no universally accepted definition of constructivism, with emphasis on ideas, norms, and interests as primary factors in shaping state behavior, the theoretical insights by a number of scholars which have enriched the concept. In "World of Our Making," Onuf proposed the first constructivist theory of international relations in 1989. While it had little immediate impact, it provided the groundwork for further research, which Wendt utilised in his seminal paper 'Anarchy Is What States Make of It' (1992), which has subsequently proved popular. In his book "Rules, Norms, and Decisions" (1989), Kratochwil further expounded on the concept of constructivism

Onuf places a lot of importance on the intersection of international law and international relations as one of his primary areas of study. His constructivism has a connection to this approach since it is predicated on the investigation of different sets of rules. In the book "World of Our Making," a constructivist approach to the study of international relations is presented. Onuf's goal is to position the study of international politics within an operational model of political society and to make the study of international politics a significant addition to the field of social theory. According to Onuf, constructivism "applies to all domains of social enquiry" and has the capacity to bring together things that at first glance seem to have no connection to one another. The idea that people are inherently sociable is where it all gets started. To put it another way, our social interactions are what give us humanity and shape us "into the type of creatures that we are." To put it another way, constructivism is predicated on the idea that individuals and society are continually engaged in a process of mutual construction. The world is shaped by people's deeds, which might take the form of verbal or physical activities. According to Onuf, the meaning that may be derived from human social interactions is contingent on the presence of rules. Because of this, every investigation into the workings of society has to begin with the rules. According to Onuf, a rule "is a statement that instructs people what [they] should do." Rules offer direction for human behaviour and, as a result, make it possible for individuals to share meaning. In addition to this, rules are what make it possible for individuals, as well as social constructions like states, to take on the role of actors within society. Rules, on the other hand, provide agents with options, the most important of which is whether they choose to obey the rules or not. Agents function inside an institutional context, which may be seen as the context of consistent patterns of norms and associated activities, while at the same time, they act on the setting in which they are operating. As a

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result, they as a group alter it, but not in the way that they would choose on their own. The results of actions may often not be anticipated. Structures are the long-lasting patterns that are formed by rules, institutions, and unforeseen consequences. The conceptualization of rules in Onuf's system is dependent on speech activities. Onuf divides them into three groups, which he calls assertives, directives, and commissives, according to the manner in which the speaker seeks to make an impact on the world. The reaction of the addressee is critical to the accomplishment of speech actions. They are only applicable within a certain context. On the other hand, if a speech act is performed on a regular basis with similar results, then it is considered to be a convention. Conventions eventually become rules after agents reach the consensus that they ought to continue doing what they have invariably done in the past. In light of his line of thinking, there is no universally accepted truth. The arguments that are used to justify the facts that we take for granted cannot be separated from the realities themselves. Concepts and occurrences do not exist in isolation; rather, they are inextricably linked and must always interact. So, knowledge can only be understood in reference to a particular setting. Because of this, the context is very important. And rules are necessary for understanding context since context is based on how language is constructed. The connection between "word" and "world" is made possible by conventions and actions of communication.

Wendt, who rejects traditional methods, calls himself a "constructivist." In his article 'Collective identity formation and the international state' (1994), he provides the following definition of constructivism:

Constructivism is a structural theory of the international system that makes the following core claims: (1) states are the principal units of analysis for international political theory; (2) the key structures in the states system are intersubjective, rather than material; and (3) state identities and interests are in important part constructed by these social structures, rather than given exogenously to the system by human nature or domestic politics.

Since identities and interests are constructed and reinforced by intersubjective behaviour, Wendt argues that the manner in which international politics is conducted is not natural but rather artificial. Wendt in his article 'Anarchy is what States Make of it' in International Organization (1992) contends that "ideas can change, states do not have to be enemies: 'anarchy is what states make of it'". The approach prioritises one's identity, which is considered more essential than one's preferences. Individual and contextual conceptions both shape and are

shaped by these exchanges. As a consequence, the fabric of society is woven. Changes to the existing highly competitive international system may occur as a consequence. Two elements of Wendt's relationship to Anthony Giddens' structuration theory are particularly noteworthy. Wendt, first, provides an answer to the “agent-structure” conundrum that is analogous to Giddens'. The assumption that there are "really" existing structures in the world is fundamentally at odds with empiricism. Wendt makes the crucial premise that there is a reality independent of the mind, and not only in terms of the material world, but also in terms of the social world. To rephrase, Wendt is attempting to describe what he sees as an objective social reality that exists independently of our own minds.

Stop to Consider

Agent –Structure debate in IR

According to theorists like Wendt (1987) and Doty (1997) in some way, humans and social structures might be thought of as being conceptually related and mutually engaging. “Interdependence and co-constitutiveness” characterise the relationship between the actor and the structure. In its most basic form, the agent-structure problem may be broken down into two interrelated questions: one ontological and one epistemological. Namely, what kind of entities are they, and how are they linked to one another? The debate has spread across many subfields of social science and reflects concerns that have been around for a long time about various dualisms, such as subjectivism vs objectivism, determinism versus voluntarism, and holism versus individualism. In conclusion, agent-structure theorists are unable to provide any scientific or objective foundation for determining whether the force of agency or that of structure is at work in any particular circumstance.

Wendt agrees with (Neo) Realists that anarchy and self-help characterise the international system, but he disputes their view that self-help is a necessary feature of anarchy. Wendt uses (Neo) Realism as a foundation for his argument. To illustrate how self-help and power politics are socially produced in an anarchic condition of affairs, Wendt presents an argument. Wendt bases his constructivist argument on the idea that individuals in an anarchic society might be driven to care about others' safety. Wendt argues that interpersonal rather than objective factors influence

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behaviour. Actors' identities, which may be summarised as "highly solid, role-specific understandings and expectations about self," are based on community meanings and provide the basis for the development of interests throughout the process of conceptualising situations. People's ability to create and maintain relationships with others is the single most essential element in deciding whether or not a particular environment will be characterised by anarchy or security.

In his essay titled "Errors Have Their Benefit" (1984), Kratochwil investigates the rules and norms that have a part in political life and their interpretation. Kratochwil is critical of traditional approaches to international relations (IR) theory for having a limited view of politics and human behaviour. His explanation owes a tribute to practical philosophy, particularly speech act theory, as well as to jurisprudential theories as well. Importantly, he maintains that an examination of international politics must be conducted within the framework of norms, which themselves must be correctly comprehended. Political interactions take place on the basis of understandings that are only partly shared, even if these understandings are challenged. These understandings clarify political interactions for both the players and the spectators, which helps with analysis. Since social issues do not have answers that are logically essential, and because social conditions are inherently ambiguous, analysis has to focus on how concerns about validity claims are settled via discourse. He further asserts that an action only has significance if it can be positioned within a framework that is inter subjectively shared by several individuals. When appropriate reasons need to be put out for actions and choices, selecting a narrative to follow becomes required and important.

Stop to Consider

Life cycle of norms

Ideas and norms are important in IR, according to constructivists. As a result, the formation of norms in IR takes place in phases. According to Finnemore and Sikkink (1988), the idea of norm influence may be broken down into three distinct phases. Persuasion by norm entrepreneurs plays a significant part in the first step, "norm emergence," followed by the second stage, "norm cascade," when the acquired norms are widely accepted, and the third stage, "internalisation," when they are no longer open for public debate.

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	<i>Stage 1 Norm emergence</i>	<i>Stage 2 Norm cascade</i>	<i>Stage 3 Internalization</i>
<i>Actors</i>	Norm entrepreneur with organizational platforms	States, international organizations. networks	States, international organizations. networks
<i>Motives</i>	Altruism, empathy, ideational. commitment	Legitimacy, reputation, esteem	Conformity
<i>Dominant mechanisms</i>	Persuasion	Socialization, institutionalization. demonstration	Habit, institutionalization

Source: Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, International Norm Dynamics and Political Change, International Organization, Autumn, 1998, Vol. 52, No. 4, pp. 898.

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- Check Your Progress**
1. What are the different variants of constructivism?
 2. What is the agent-structure problem in IR?
 3. What are norms? Why are they important?

3.5 Criticism

According to neorealists, the most significant challenge that states confront is "anarchy," which is a problem that constructivists do not adequately analyse; it is the problem of uncertainty. Neorealists believe that constructivists fail to adequately address this issue. Dale Copeland believes that the constructivist approach used by Wendt underplays the reality that states have a difficult time acquiring reliable knowledge on the motives and intents of other states. The existence of dishonesty considerably exacerbates the issue of ambiguity, which already existed. Constructivists have a tendency to make the assumption that social contact between states is always honest and that states really seek to explain and comprehend each other's motivations and intents. This is a common misconception held by constructivists. Nonetheless, there is a widespread element of deceit in the ties that many nations have with one another. To put it another way, when it comes to peace, do governments only seem peaceful or do they really practise it? Constructivists, according to Robert Jervis's argument, are unable to explain the following: how norms are developed, how identities are moulded, and how interests are specified. There are some Marxists that have a negative view on constructivism. The material structure of global capitalism and its

growth since the sixteenth century are at the centre of Wallerstein's world system theory. This view does not provide much space for constructivists' focus on the ways in which people interact socially.

Constructivists will respond to this criticism by arguing that anarchy is a more nuanced concept than the neorealists have given it credit for being. It is not necessary that it will always result in self-help, mutual antagonism, or the possibility of violent confrontation. Constructivists, with their focus on the significance of social theory and the precise studies of social interaction in international relations, tread new ground. This is an important point to make. And as we have seen in the previous section, a number of constructivists place an emphasis on the function of domestic norms, which is a field that international society theorists study very little. It has been established by constructivists that 'ideas matter' in the field of international relations. They demonstrated that culture and identity play a role in defining the players and the interests at play in international relations.

Check Your Progress

1. In a few sentences, describe some of the problems with the constructivist theory
2. What is "anarchy" in international relations?

3.6 Summing Up

Constructivists believe that ideas and beliefs drive state behaviour on the world stage. Material forces are vital, but they are secondary to "ideas." At the heart of social constructivism is the investigation of the significance of human perception or consciousness in shaping the course of history. The international system is based on concepts rather than military might. The phrase "social theory" is used to describe a more all-encompassing body of thought in regards to the social realm. Constructivism is a school of thinking in social theory that holds that reality is socially constructed. The social world is unpredictable. Ideas, concepts, languages, discourses, beliefs, and so on make up the social world, which is a realm of human cognition. There are four main types of ideas: ideologies, normative views, opinions about the link between causes and consequences, and policy prescriptions. In "conventional" constructivist philosophy, one school of thought maintains that it is possible for humans to find "why one thing leads to another," sometimes known as a causal explanation for the occurrences that we see in the world. Accordingly, the constructivist methodology for analysing data

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"depends on publicly available material and the potential that its results may in some broad sense be contested." There is another school of thought that is known as "critical" or "post-positivist" constructivism. This school of thought maintains that making "truth claims" is impossible, that power and truth are inextricably intertwined, and that the primary mission of this school of thought is to expose and criticise the dominant world views that make such claims.

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Unit 4 :

Feminism in International Relations

Unit Structure :

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Objective
- 4.3 Feminist Theory
- 4.4 Origin of Feminist Theory
- 4.5 Feminism in International Relations
- 4.6 Types of Feminist International Relations Theories
 - 4.6.1 Liberal Feminist International Relations Theory
 - 4.6.2 Critical Feminist International Relations Theory
 - 4.6.3 Postcolonial Feminist International Relations Theory
 - 4.6.4 Post-structural Feminist International Relations Theory
- 4.7 Feminism and Global Politics:
 - 4.7.1 Feminist views on War and Security
 - 4.7.2 Feminist critique of Realist Theory
- 4.8 Summing up
- 4.9 References and Suggested Readings:

4.1 Introduction:

This chapter deals with one of the significant theories of studying International Relations i.e., feminist theory. Feminist theory to study International Relations emerged during the post-cold war period. It was in the 1980s that feminist scholars started taking part in research of different academic disciplines. In due course of time, it expanded to the discourse of International Relations as well. According to the feminists, women were always excluded from domestic as well as international political life. International Relations was considered to be the exclusive domain of men.

4.2 Objective:

This unit is an attempt to analyze the feminist theory of International Relations. After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- Discuss the meaning of feminism and feminist theory
- Explain the origin of feminism.
- Understand the feminist international relations theory
- Discuss the feminist views on security, power and war

4.3 Feminist Theory:

Before delving into the details of feminist international relations theory, let us first understand what is feminism. Feminist international relations theory came into existence in the 1980s, but feminism or feminist theory as a social theory emerged long back. The main thrust of feminist theory is to understand the gender inequality prevalent across the world and to eliminate such discrimination or subordination faced by women. The feminists believe that the construction of gendered norms are unequal towards women and that men are regarded to be superior to women. The feminists also argue that women had a long history of economic, political, physical as well as social subordination as a result of such unequal gendered construction. Thus, feminism is all about providing equality and justice to all women. They believe that the diverse experience of women has been neglected and overlooked throughout history. Therefore, they made an attempt to rewrite and re-examine histories by including the role and experiences of women.

Feminism or feminist theory believes in equality between men and women. Feminist theory vehemently criticizes patriarchy. Patriarchy is a social system that puts men at the helm of social and political affairs. In patriarchal societies, men are considered to be superior to women. In patriarchal families as well, the male members are considered to be the head of the family. The male members take the important decisions regarding the household and these decisions are imposed upon the female members. Feminist theory thus criticizes patriarchy and aims at an equal relationship between men and women.

Stop to Consider :

Points to Remember

- Feminist international relations theory came into existence in the 1980s. But as a social theory it is very old.
- Feminist theory believes that women had to face subordination for a very long time as social construction of gendered norms consider men to be superior than women.
- The feminists therefore try to eliminate such inequality to promote justice and equality for all women.
- For a better understanding let us first discuss the difference between sex and gender. Sex is comprised of the biological attributes of human beings. While gender comprises of the roles and behavior constructed by the society and attributed to male and female sex. Sex therefore is biological while gender is a man-made construct.

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- The society has assigned specific functions to male and female on the basis of their gender. These gendered norms constructed by the society creates inequality among men and women. The main motive of the Feminists is to mitigate this inequality and provide justice for all women.
- The society tries to inculcate gender specific role and behavior in the minds of men and women since their childhood. The girl child is taught to play with dolls and kitchen toys as it is believed that once they grow up, they will have to get married, produce babies and take charge of the kitchen and household chores at their husband's house. On the contrary, the boys are given toys like cars and guns to inculcate in them a sense of physical superiority and masculine characteristics. The boys are taught to behave in a certain way, for e.g., boys are taught that they are physically strong and that they should not display their emotions in front of everyone. If a boy cries, it is very often told that "Boys don't cry" or "Why are you crying like a girl". Physical weakness and being emotional and sensitive are regarded to be the characteristics of a girl.
- The favorite color of the boys should be blue and girls should love the color pink is another such social construct that the society imposes upon the small children.
- The social construct regarding occupations is also significant.

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4.4 Origin of Feminist Theory:

The feminist theory is centered around two key assumptions; firstly, women faced deprivation and subordination on the basis of their sex and secondly, this subordination needs to be eliminated. Although the term feminist theory or feminism is of recent origin but similar views and ideas can be traced back to ancient civilization of Greece and China. The book written by Christine de Pisan titled "Book of the City Ladies" (1405) was one such example that contains significant feminist arguments. In this book Christine put forward certain arguments against the misogynist writings by male authors of the day. However, it was only in the 19th century that feminist movement in an organized manner took place. "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman" by Mary Wollstonecraft published in 1792 is regarded as the first text of modern feminism.

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The feminist movement became organized with a specific aim by the mid-nineteenth century. The feminists realized that they do not have political and legal rights which are enjoyed by their male counterparts. So, the feminist movement during this period centered around the demand for female suffrage, the right to vote. This phase is known as the first wave feminism. In this period the feminist movement campaigned for equal political rights for men and women. The men were already exercising the legal and political rights that women have been denied from a very long time. It was believed by the feminists that if women are provided with the right to vote, all the existing discriminations against women will soon disappear. The feminist movement for equal political and legal rights emerged as the strongest in countries with advanced political democracy. In 1840s, the Women's movement in USA got inspired by the campaign against the practice of slavery. In 1848, US Women's Rights Movement was born with the famous Seneca Falls Convention. The women suffrage movement in USA got a momentum in 1869 with the establishment of the National Women's Suffrage Association. Movements demanding for women's suffrage emerged in other western countries as well. An organized women suffrage movement emerged in the United Kingdom during the 1850s.

The first wave feminism came to an end as countries started providing voting rights to women, the first country being New Zealand in 1893. The US constitution was amended to grant voting rights to American women in 1920. The United Kingdom introduced female suffrage in 1918, but the women had to wait till 1928 to exercise their right to vote. The feminist movement came to a halt after women were granted the right to vote. The major objective of the first wave was female franchise and right to vote was achieved. Many feminists were of the view that once women receive equal legal and political rights as of men, they will achieve complete emancipation. But it did not happen; after the grant of voting rights to women the feminist movement only weakened. In 1960s the feminist movement was reinforced with the advent of the second wave of feminism.

The second wave of feminist thought was relaunched with the publication of *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan in 1963. Her book portrayed the social construct that believes women find pleasure and fulfillment in household work and bearing children. The women were actually unhappy and frustrated as their role was confined to household chores and taking care of their children. She named it 'the problem with no name'. The second wave feminism made it clear that the grant of equal legal and political right was not enough and it did not solve the real problems of women. So, the feminist

ideas and arguments took a radical and revolutionary turn during the second wave of feminism. Feminist writers like Kate Millet in her book “Sexual Politics” (1970) and Germaine Greer in “The Female Eunuch” highlighted personal, psychological and sexual facets of discrimination upon women. In the earlier phase the feminist movement was limited to only political aspect of discrimination but the second wave feminists pushed this border and reached out to women suffering from personal and psychological discrimination. The objective of the second wave feminism is to achieve ‘women’s liberation’. They also believed that only political or legal changes are not enough to fulfill this objective, a revolutionary social change is the only way to achieve ‘women’s liberation’.

Ever since the emergence of Second Wave in the 1970s, feminist thought has gradually transformed into a distinctive ideology. It challenges the conventional and mainstream political thought and provides an alternative perspective to political theories. Feminist movement or simply feminism, has been successful in creating awareness about gender issues and providing gender perspective to a wide area of academic disciplines. Feminist organizations have also become quite common in western as well as developing countries in today’s world. Apart from these, feminism today has a wide spectrum of ideas that can be categorized into various types like- liberal feminism, socialist/ Marxist feminism, radical feminism, postmodern feminism, black feminism, lesbian feminism, transfeminism and so on.

4.5 Feminism in International Relations:

Although feminist theory as a social theory was present since a very long time, it got its place in the study of International Relations in the late 1980s. Feminist International Relations theories provided an alternative way to look at international relations. They advocated the use of gendered perspective or gender lens to look at global politics, which was being ignored earlier. There are two major ways to include feminist theories in the discourse of international relations, these are known as empirical feminism and analytical feminism.

Empirical Feminism is influenced by liberal feminism and they believe in adding women to prevailing analytical frameworks. It is known as empirical feminism because it deals with representing women in a discourse like International Relations which is conventionally dominated by male. They argue that the contribution made by women in the making of global politics

has been overlooked. But this way has its own limitations in providing a gender lens to the study of international relations. The first limitation being the demonstration of gender as empirical category rather than analytical category. The second limitation identified with empirical feminism is its inability to give sufficient importance to eliminate gender imbalances.

On the other hand, analytical feminism gives prominence to the gender biases that exist in the mainstream theories of international relations, like realism. Analytical feminism reveals the hidden biases of mainstream theories. Although mainstream theories are said to be gender-neutral, but the social and political context of these mainstream theories are rooted in male domination. The objective of analytical feminism is to uncover the “masculinist bias” reflected by the mainstream theories of international relations.

The feminist international relations theorists argue that women have been under-represented in the state as well as in global governance. Therefore, women participation and women representation in a state is very crucial to understand the status of gender imbalance in a state. In a gender unequal state women are under-represented and their experiences and skills are completely neglected in the practice of government. Apart from neglecting their skill and experience, women are often deprived of the socio-political and economic power possessed by the governmental positions.

The international feminist theorists influenced by the feminist work in other disciplines to reveal that women are excluded from participating in governmental activities ever since the emergence of the state. The feminist international relations theorists also criticized some of the basic texts of the discipline like Hobbes’ *Leviathan* and Machiavelli’s *The Prince* for articulating the idea of state without giving due representation to women. These texts were written at a time when women had no legal status and they were considered to be an object or property of the male members. Women were believed to be weak and emotional, therefore the responsibility to protect women from politics was given to men.

Carol Pateman criticizes the idea of Hobbes that a heterosexual marriage which subordinates women is essential for establishing civil society and that eventually led to the formation of state. Consequently, the idea of state put men at the ruling position over women through legal and social violence. Thus, according to the feminist international relations theorists state was not to be regarded as a neutral institution, rather it was the major source of

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power relations between the genders. Men were always considered to be physically strong and hence they were entrusted with the responsibility to protect women. This was also visible in the armed forces of the states, as only male members were allowed to join the armed forces. Megan Mackenzie argues that women were forcefully excluded from military to reaffirm the stereotype that men have superior skill in combat. To quote Aaron Belkin, soldier 'attain masculine status by showing that they are not-feminine, not-weak, not-queer, not-emotional'.

The whole process of state formation and its post effects neglected and overlooked the role of women. The feminist international relations theorists thus posed the question- "Where are the women?" Search for an answer to this question led to re-evaluation of the emergence of state. The formation of state led to the creation of social and political relations on the basis of marriage which resulted in subordination of women. The military or armed forces constitute the structure of the state. This structure is also based on a power relation between the genders where men are provided with the responsibility to protect women. The feminist international relations theorists believe in deconstructing the idea of state and military as they try to portray the power relation between men and women as natural relationship. Such kind of relationship was constituted to justify violence against women in the name of protection.

4.6 Types of Feminist International Relations Theories:

The major objective of the feminist international theory was to eliminate the gender bias existent in the discourse of international relations. While all the feminists agree that domestic as well as international politics was regarded as a man's domain, they have different views on how subordination of women happened and in what ways these biases can be eliminated. On the basis of this varied ideas or interpretations, feminist theories of international relations can be categorized into different types or strands. In this chapter we will discuss four of the most significant types of feminist international theories. These are explained below:

4.6.1 Liberal Feminist International Relations Theory:

Liberal feminists challenge the way women gets represented in the national or international platform. They believe that there are very few women at the position of power and hence, advocate that such powerful position should

be extended to women as well. To eliminate gender inequality from governance they argue that women should be put at the top most positions of national and international governance. According to the liberal feminists there is a wide gap in terms of distribution of power between the sexes, therefore they argue that laws should be changed to increase women representation. The number of women international organizations is very less. To quote Gquel website ‘as of September 2015, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights has no female judges; the International Court of Justice has 15 judges and only 3 are women; the United Nations Human Rights Committee has 18 members and only 5 are women’.

Liberal feminists believe that inequality between men and women challenges the process of human development and it can also cause violence and war. Liberal feminist international relations theorists argue- ‘the fate of nations is tied to the status of women’. Many liberal feminists are of the view that ‘systemic gender inequality and discrimination against women are the root causes of violence’.

4.6.2 Critical Feminist International Relations Theory:

Critical feminists are influenced by Marxist and socialist theories. This theory of international relations centers around the role of women in the economy and mode of production. They criticized the belief of liberal feminists that power will bring positive change and including women at the powerful positions of governance will solve the problem of discrimination against women. One theorist of critical feminism Iris Young argues that there are two major reasons behind oppression of women. First one is “patriarchy” and second one is the mode of production. As mode of production is mostly controlled by men it creates class struggle and leads to alienation of women from work.

As a believer in Marxist and socialist traditions, critical feminist theorists view gender discrimination and class oppression is interconnected. According to critical feminists, gender discrimination is made more prominent with the division of ‘paid’ and ‘unpaid’ labour. The work done by women are often devalued and considered unpaid. This division of paid and unpaid labour treated a ‘double burden’ of work on women. Women who work, be it waged labour or some other works are supposed to do household chores at the same time, which leads to a double burden of work. They also believe that not all women face similar experiences by virtue of being a woman. Therefore, they criticize the notion of considering the experience of white women to be universally applicable.

1.6.3 Postcolonial Feminist International Relations Theory:

Postcolonial feminists try to highlight the issue of gender and women during the colonial times and how it continues to have an impact even today. They argue that colonization of all women did not happen equally. Women from the global South had to suffer from colonialism, while the women from global North got benefits of colonialism. Pettman referred to the status of global South women as ‘Inferior sex within the “superior race”’.

The colonizers made it evident that the women of global South need protection from their male counterpart. The justification to do so is quoted by Spivak as ‘White man saving brown women from brown men’. The postcolonial feminists argue that this kind justification for protection often led to violence against women. Such kind of violence against women in the name of protecting them was visible during the wars launched by the United States against Iraq and Afghanistan. The Postcolonial feminists challenge such kind of imposed rights upon women as it violates the sovereignty of women and gives man agency or authority over women.

The postcolonial feminists argue that the recent challenges of climate change and environmental exploitation faced by the world community are also a legacy of colonialism. Although these challenges have impact all over the world, the poor women of global South will be the worst sufferers. The majority of women of global south are dependent on agricultural products. The postcolonial feminists also call out against the construction that gives women the responsibility to conserve the environment by labelling them ‘closer to nature’, but without any authority or agency over their own work.

4.6.4 Post-structural Feminist International Relations Theory:

The post structural feminist theory of international relations is mostly drawn from the work of Judith Butler. While most of the feminists view gender as a social construct on the basis of sex, Butler gives an opposing argument. According to her, sex is a construction of gender. Gender is not caused by sex, but sex itself is an effect of social construction. She challenged the conception of biological sex, as sex itself was a fixed and permanent referent. She further explains that the idea of “Biology is destiny” leads to the cultural construction of sex. Butler also talks about the concept of “Gender performativity”. It assumes gender to be what one performs, not what one is. Therefore, gender cannot be chosen freely. The performances to be done by different genders are highly regulated within the context of

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heterosexuality. The post-structuralists try to reveal the construction of gender in the mechanisms of international relations and how gendered power relation is created.

4.7 Feminism and Global Politics:

Global or international politics is all about the struggle for power. International relation was gender blind for a very long time. It was only during the cold war that feminist theorists have challenged this view and started looking at international relations using a gender lens. International relations is guided by the power relations between the states. The feminist scholars challenged the notion of power to be shaped by masculine traits. The concept of power is deeply rooted in unequal gendered norms. The history of power struggle reveals that men controls women leading to subordination of women. In international relations men are given a central position while women remained as secondary actors. Feminists challenged the whole notion of masculine conceptualization of power. Feminist scholars are completely against the consideration that masculine experience is a universal experience. Feminists also argue that considering male experience to be universal provides only an exclusionary view of international relations. For a better understanding of the role of women in global politics we will have to understand how feminist view the major elements of global politics. Global politics centers around the concepts of power, security, war.

4.7.1 Feminist views on War and Security:

The analysis of security is integral to the study of international relations. The prime objective of the states is to protect its national security. Again, the responsibility to protect one's state is vested in the armed forces constituted by men. The threat to one's national security comes from external forces i.e., other states. In the name of protecting national interest states often resort to the use of violence which leads to war. The objective of national security is to minimize the chances of war therefore states try to build a strong-armed force. Feminist scholars do not agree to such notion of security as they believe it to be based on masculine assumption of rivalry. They believe in an alternative notion of security i.e., the notion of 'human security'. The event of war is regarded as creation of men and women are given a secondary position during war. The UNESCO Charter begins with the sentence that 'since wars are made in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that peace should be made'. Wars according to feminists is a gendering activity. During the same war men and women suffer differently. Feminists

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argue, war re-enforces the stereotype of gender and re-structures gender relations. Women constitute the majority of victims in a war. The decision regarding the conduct of war is taken by men, as they actively participate in political and public life. Women had to suffer because of decisions taken by men. Feminist scholars are of the view that in the policy making level women are barely visible. Therefore, policy decisions are taken by men. Wars are fought by the armed forces constituted by men. Even though women do not take part in wars, they also constitute a big portion of the casualties. With the advent of modern weapons wars spread out to civilian areas as well. Statistics show that non-combatants constitute more than 75% of war casualties. Sexual violence on women at the time of war is another lethal impact of war on women. War rape is another serious crime faced by women during wars. Military prostitution is another such heinous crime against women that needs the spotlight.

Stop to consider

Women and War

Feminist scholars consider war to be associated closely with masculinity. The senior political and military positions in a state are dominated by the male members, implying that major decisions regarding war and peace to be made by men. The justification behind the conduct of war is termed as 'protection myth' i.e., it is the responsibility of men who are inherently powerful to protect the weak and vulnerable women. Even though women do not take part in war, they get brutally affected by war. For example, in World War II 25 million militaries died, whereas the number of civilian deaths was 42 million, most of which were women. In armed conflicts majority of victims are women and children. Another serious concern with wars is that, sexual violence and rape has been used as a 'systematic, organized tactic of war'. War rape is not a new thing; the evidence of war rape can be find in the Old Testament of Bible. Some examples of war rape instances are-

- *'by 1993, the Zenica Centre for the Registration of War and Genocide Crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina had documented over 40,000 cases of war-related rape, and'*
- *'between 23,000 and 45,000 Kosovo Albanian women are believed to have been raped during 1998–99, at the height of the conflict with Serbia'.*

Apart from war rapes, another serious cause of concern is military prostitution. Military prostitution is not only physical and exploitation of women but it also includes economic

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exploitation. It can influence international politics as well. One such example is

- *‘the exploitative sexual alliances between Korean prostitutes and US soldiers defined and helped to support the similarly unequal military alliance between the USA and South Korea in the post-war era. By undertaking to police the sexual health and work conduct of prostitutes, the South Korean government sought to create a more hospitable environment for US troops, sacrificing the human security of the women concerned for the benefit of national security’.*

4.7.2 Feminist Critique of Realist Theory:

Mainstream theories of international relations have neglected women and their experience for a very long time. International relations mostly dealt with masculine and patriarchal aspect of the state. The realist theory of international relations focused on state and national security where women had no place. The major argument of the realist theory was that state is the primary protector of national security. Here, the state was given the responsibility to protect as state was viewed as a masculine entity. Feminist scholars criticized this notion of realist theory for considering state to be masculine and neglecting the role of women. Feminist scholar Rosemary Grant criticizes realism for considering patriarchy to be essential for maintaining social order. As a result of this notion of the realist thinkers, women were excluded from the governance of the state. Feminists also criticized the realist idea of identification of citizens as male and “other”. Women came under the “other” category and regarded as outsiders.

Realist theorists consider men to be the major actor of the state. This was visible in the writings of Thomas Hobbes and Machiavelli. They have placed sovereign man at the center of state affairs. Another realist thinker Hans Morgenthau argued that “nature of man” was at the center for theorizing international relations. It is in the nature of men to dominate and thus men were placed at a superior position for the existence of the states in international politics. Therefore, feminist theorists came up with an alternative to mainstream theories of international relations as theories like realism have excluded women from international relations.

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Check Your Progress

1. When did feminism start in International Relations?
2. What does feminism advocate in International Relations?
3. What is the name of the book authored by Christine de Pisan?
4. What is the goal of liberal feminism?
5. Who wrote the book “Sexual Politics” (1970)?
6. What does post-colonial feminism study?
7. How does feminism see security?
8. Who wrote The Feminine Mystique?
9. Who wrote “A Vindication of the Rights of Woman”?
10. Who wrote Bananas, Beaches and Bases?
11. How do feminists define power?
12. How do feminists analyse the state?
13. What is the feminist critique of Realism?
14. Why do feminists see war as a gendered process?
15. What is the feminist vision of security?
16. How did feminism’s ‘second wave’ differ from its ‘first wave’?
17. Why is the distinction between ‘sex’ and ‘gender’ so important in feminist theory?
18. Write a short note on Postcolonial Feminist International Relations.
19. Discuss the feminist theory to study international studies.
20. What are the different types of feminism in international relations?
21. Discuss the feminist vision of security and war?

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4.8 Summing Up:

Feminism advocates for equal rights of both men and women. Women have a history of exploitation and subordination and feminist theory emphasizes on correcting the past misdeeds by giving women equal rights and opportunities with men. Feminism believes in equality of men and women and it fights against the social constructs that consider men to be superior than women. Feminist international relations theorists argue that women were under-represented in state and global governance. They criticize mainstream theories like realism for accepting patriarchal norms to be essential for sustaining social order. The feminist international relations theorists also criticize the conventional notion of security and power for sidelining the experiences of women.

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UNIT 5 : ECOLOGISM

Unit Structure

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Objectives
- 5.3 Ecologism
- 5.4. Origins and Development of Green Political Theory
- 5.5 Types of Green Ideology
- 5.6. Themes of Green Ideology
- 5.7. Green Ideology and global Environmental Politics in Contemporary Times
- 5.8 Summing Up
- 5.9 References and Suggested Readings

5.1 Introduction

Making peace with nature is the defining task of the 21st century. It must be the top, top priority for everyone, everywhere.

António Guterres, United Nations Secretary-General
Letter from the Executive Director, UNEP in 2020.

According to the *State of the Global Climate 2020-*

- Some 9.8 million displacements, largely due to hydrometeorological hazards and disasters, were recorded during the first half of 2020.
- Disruptions to the agriculture sector by COVID-19 exacerbated weather impacts along the entire food supply chain, elevating levels of food insecurity

World Meteorological Organization, 2021

The above statements and statistics reflects the importance of protection of the environment and conserving global commons in contemporary times. At a time when climate change, ozone depletion and increasing use of pesticides in agricultural produce has become the norm, Green political theory or ecologism as a school of thought not only raises philosophical questions,

like-what is the relationship between man and environment, but it combines normative thinking with empirical suggestions, like –what can be done. Ecologism, as an ideology is not only concerned with human-nonhuman relations but also seeks to enquire into the role of the state and non-state forces in the protection of the environment.

5.2 Objectives

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Know the concept of ecologism,
- Discuss importance of green ideology,
- Understand the challenges the state faces in maintaining the delicate balance between environment, market and development.

5.3 Ecologism

The field of international relations has gradually widened to include environmental issues. In the face trans-boundary character of environmental challenges, vulnerabilities of the states stands exposed. While science and technology has helped become humans become more efficient, it has also contributed to increase in use of plastic, wastage and ‘sink’ problems. Therefore, the emergence of ecologism as school of thought in largely linked to understanding the causes of ecological degradation but as humanity becomes deeply involved in exploitation of nature, it also seeks to provide solutions to this challenge.

Ecologism, as a broad approach not only focuses on relations between the human and the nonhuman it also looks into state policies and its impact and the environment. Furthermore, ecologism also studies the political and economic impact of burning issues like climate change, deforestation, and displacement. Ecologism is part of green political theory should be seen as an ‘ideology’ as it is prescriptive in nature.

Ecologism argues that the earth and its resources are finite. The rapid growth of population and coupled with excessive consumption of natural resources has led to undermining of ‘nature’, which has had major consequences for the vulnerable segments of the society and which will have long term repercussion for greater humanity. Planet earth is finite and there is indeed ‘limits to growth’.

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**Stop to Consider :
Green Movement**

Green Movement, it encompasses the terms environmentalism and ecologism. Though often used interchangeably, there is a subtle distinction between the two. Environmentalism as term is not an 'ideology' but rather denotes its concerns about protection of the environment from human intervention. It argues about the need for a 'managerial approach' to issues of pollution control, climate change and resource management. Ecologism- as a philosophy, human beings is only part of the greater nature. As an ideology, it stresses the need for radical changes in the relationship between man and the non-human world.

5.4 Origins and Development of Green Political Theory

The origin of 'green' political theory can be traced to the Industrial Revolution and its negative fallout. The Industrial Revolution led to major changes in rights of the workers, mechanisation of means of production and excessive use of natural resources. It must be recalled that the industrial revolution was also linked with colonialism and imperialism; it did create a sense of injustice amongst the vast majority of the underdeveloped nations. With the emergence of the science of ecology and later the integration of science, ethics and politics in diagnosing and providing answers to socio-ecological and related problems, especially issues around pollution control and life styles and the quest for 'good life', that the 'ecological crisis' in the 1960s became more mainstream.

In the 1970s, issues of global warming, excessive use of natural resource, deforestation the 'limits to growth' thesis gained prominence. There was a feeling amongst the global community about the eminent ecological disaster if rampant industrialization continues at the same pace. Again, there was a growing consciousness about the interconnected need between the human and the non-human world and the need for its protection as well as its conservation. As 'rights of animals' became increasingly more important, so too did the need for the protection of the 'global commons'. The idea of a 'sustainable society' and respect for universal human rights gained momentum in mainstream political discourse. The attempt to 'humanise' the development process started to make rapid strides - humans and ecology were increasingly recognized as being part of a 'web', intricately related. Green political theory is prescriptive in nature and includes transformation of the 'economic world'. Furthermore, green political theory seeks to extend the 'moral community', as it seeks to highlight not only the challenges for the present generation but

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also seeks to provide a roadmap of 'sustainability' for the future generations.

The origins and development of green political theory can be explained in terms of 'waves'. The 'first wave' of green political theory was primarily focusing of ecologism as an ideology. The 'second wave' was characterized by the debates between green political theory and other mainstream theories of International Relation such as liberalism, socialism, feminism etc. The 'third wave' reflects the applied nature of green politics and to its interdisciplinary character.

As the world become engulfed in various ecological issues- deforestation, artificial floods, climate change and sustainable development, the key challenge for green political theory is to reflect on the variety of environmental concerns on an equal footing. The standpoint of individual, communities and nations on finding solutions to environmental problems will greatly differ. Additionally, the interdisciplinary character of the subject matter makes this approach to understanding world politics very vast in character.

5.5 Types of Green Ideology

Green ideology is not only 'human-centered thinking' which draws its inspiration from other established political traditions, but it also reflects on mechanism to address various ecological challenges. Green ideology is not a very coherent 'ideology' because it not only encompasses divergent goals but the different sub-schools envisages various aspects of the human –non human world.

Stop to Consider :

Anthropocentrism :

It is a viewpoint that human beings are the central entities in the world. Ethical principles are applied only to human being not for other living beings. While being opposed to eco-centrism, it refers to 'human centered nature'. It gives primacy to needs and values of human beings at the cost of nature.

Some of the important sub-traditions within green ideology are:

Modernistecology : It is a sub-school within the green ideology framework that is practiced by mainstream political parties and environmental groups. Also known as 'reformist ecology', it continues to espouse the goal of economic growth within the capitalist framework with 'environment sustainable practices'. Thus it is also known as 'shallow ecology'. One of

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the essential features of this school is the recognition that natural resources are 'finite' and there are 'limits to growth'. Pollution, environmental degradation and excessive use of non-renewable natural resources will result in greater harm for the larger humanity in the long run. It is a school that believes in 'sustainable development'.

Stop to Consider :

Sustainable Development :

The watchword of this form of green ideology is therefore sustainable development (in the sense of 'weak' sustainability) or, more specifically, environmentally-sustainable capitalism. As, in economic terms, this means 'getting richer more slowly', modernist ecology extends moral and philosophical sensibilities only in modest directions.

This school of thought is often criticized by the radical ecologists as being 'part of the problem rather than part of the solution'. Often it supports the idea of 'green capitalism' or market based solution to larger environmental problems. Amongst others, it believes in greater taxation for industries without questioning the idea of 'capitalism'. Often promoting the use of 'green technology', this school of thought has been greatly favoured by the conservatives and global industrialists. It espouses the idea of 'responsible consumption'. It looks at the role of the state in a more favourable manner, i.e. the government has an effective role to play in protection of environment and promote the optimal use of its natural resources.

Social ecology : This term was coined by Murray Bookchin. Broadly it refers to the idea that environmental degradation is linked to existing social structures. Therefore, any measure to protect the environment will require radical social change. Furthermore, it can be classified into three distinct ideas-Social ecology, thus defined, encompasses three distinct traditions:

- **Ecosocialism :** According to this tradition, the relentless quest for profits under capitalist mode of economy has resulted in environmental crises. This viewpoint has been greatly favoured by the German Greens and followers of Marxist ideology. The key argument is that the market economy has led to 'commodification' of the nature. Capitalism breeds consumerism, hence the constant quest for growth has led to environmental degradation. Therefore all attempts to protect the environment will require radical social change and even 'social revolution'. For the Ecosocialists, 'socialism is naturally ecological'. However, it must

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be recalled that a mere change in ownership of means of production does not imply protection of the environment.

- **Eco-anarchism** : This theory while rejecting the idea of a ‘government’, a ‘stateless society’ is advocated by the anarchists; a stateless society is based on ‘diversity’ and ‘mutual respect’. There are no external regulators in a stateless society. This stateless society is one composed of communes and is rather ‘decentralised’ in character. Life in such societies is rather closely connected with the natural environment and is based on the idea of ‘self-sufficiency’ through small scale industries, without any dependence on the external factors except the ecology. As a result of this close connection are decentralized communities and the natural environment which in turn leads to long term respect for the ecology. This school of thought is has been greatly influenced by the ideas put forth by William Morris and Kropotkin. Murray Bookchin’s ‘Our Synthetic Environment’ (1962) stressed on the idea that ‘social stability’ can be only achieved through ecological balance. Largely this school of ecologism believes in the importance of ‘participatory mechanism’ in management and conservation of natural resources.
- **Ecofeminism** : This school of thought has now emerged as a powerful force in academia as well as in practice. The key theme is that the destruction of ecology and the natural environment is related to ‘patriarchy’; the larger natural world is under threat from patriarchal elements and institutions of power. It is the ‘sexual division of labour’ that allows men to assume dominance over women and the nature.

The relationship between women and nature is not a new one; the ‘Gaia paradigm’, named after Greek goddess of Earth, reinforces the idea of living organisms interacting with the inorganic elements through a self-regulating mechanism. Feminism advocates values of cooperation, nurturing and reciprocity which is adequately reflected in the relationship between women and nature. For the eco-feminists, patriarchy promotes the dominance of culture over nature which needs to be challenged.

Deep ecology: It is also known as ‘eco-centrism’, the term ‘deep ecology’ was coined in 1973 by Arne Naess. It is ‘deep’ for it asks more fundamental questions about ecology and the need for its conservation. At the heart of this school of thought, is the contradiction between the irreconcilable differences between ecology and anthropocentrism. This viewpoint advocates ‘bio-centric equality’ and that all species have ‘equal right to live

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and bloom'. It is a more radical in its approach for it advocates 'ecological consciousnesses, where the distinction between humankind and nature is questioned. The idea of nature being 'valueless' and a resource that can be exploited endlessly has been severely criticized the deep ecologists. As a result, advocates of this school stress the need for a paradigm shift in the way humans think about the natural world. It stresses the need for maintenance of 'ecological balance over the achievement of narrowly human ends'. Advocating the importance of 'population control', 'bioregionalism', 'wilderness preservation' and 'simple living' it challenges the mainstream views about the state and its measure to conserve the ecology. However, deep-ecologism has been seen as rather 'socially conservative' as well as 'philosophically and morally flawed'. In practical terms, anthropocentrism and ecology are mutually reinforcing.

Theorists in Green Politics	Key works
Arne Naess	Ecology, Community and Life style (1989)
Murray Bookchin	Ecology of Freedom (1982)
Vandana Shiva	Monocultures of the Mind (1993)
Carolyn Merchant	The Death of Nature (1983)
Garrett Hardin	The Ecology of Freedom (1982)

5.6 Themes of green ideology

Andrew Heywood in 'Political Ideologies' (2017) highlights that despite of being composed of different schools with different philosophical underpinnings, there are certain key themes that pervades across this ideology. They are-

- **Ecology** : It is the central theme of all forms of green thought. Ecosystems are not 'closed' but rather a reflection of harmony- all plants and animals depend on each other. The natural world is complex web of ecosystem, known as 'ecosphere'. When looked upon from a deeper perspective, ecology is contradictory to the needs of 'humankind', where capitalism and industrialization have often thought to be the answer to all the developmental challenges across the globe. The depletion of finite resources degradation of environment will surely hurt nations in the long run.
- **Holism** : It refers to the interconnected character of nature and its surroundings. 'Holism' suggests that different parts are organically connected; parts cannot be understood in isolation. A 'system' best

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reflects this reciprocal relationship between parts and the whole, each capable of influencing the other.

- **Sustainability** : Human beings have been accused as being particularly insensitive towards nature. The natural world and its resources have been seen as a tool which can be over-exploited, endlessly. ‘Tragedy of the commons’ has become a reality. Global environmental problems such as climate change and deforestation have become a reality that has come to haunt vulnerable communities. Therefore the international community must come up with solutions wherein ‘sustainable’ practices for protection of environment gets imminence. At the current pace of global industrialization, the fragile ecosystem will surely collapse, whereby the future generations will suffer.
- **Environmental ethics** : While the issue of ‘sustainability’ of the environment, as to how much is to left for the future generation, remains a complex question unanswered; an alternative moral standards need to be developed. Peter Singer’s views on condemning of ‘speciesism’ i.e. the belief that one species is superior to the other, must be put forth. Like humans, animals also have rights; they also feel pain and pleasure. Therefore, rights of human beings cannot be above those of animals. Likewise Goodin (1992) argues about the ‘green theory of value’ wherein natural resources should be prized because they are a result of a natural process rather than human action.
- **From having to being** : Green philosophy provides us a critique materialism and capitalism in different ways. Largely because capitalism promotes consumerism which in turn affects our natural habitat. The prevalence of a consumerist society means that delicate balance between ecology and human needs will continue to be hampered. Therefore there is a need to develop alternative or post materialist lifestyle, where the quality of life is enhanced while giving up consumerist way of life. Sharing, caring, spirituality and newer modes of green transportation is now promoted by green thinkers.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is ecology?
2. What is ecofeminism?
3. What is sustainable development? Elaborate.
4. What is anthropocentrism?
5. What is environmentalism? Discuss.

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5.7 Green Ideology and Global Environmental Politics in Contemporary Times

In contrast to the mainstream theories of international relations, green ideology has emerged as a powerful narrative. Ecologism as a theory has been able to draw attention in the field of international relations because of their focus on ecology and its ability to discuss about the relations between the human and non-human world. What makes this ideology different from others is that it is not only prescriptive in nature, but gradually states are now beginning to implement the measures suggested by different environmental movements and the civil society.

The issue of environment- its conservation, degradation and promotion has become a global one, for it truly encapsulates multiple actors-each operating under its own philosophy of what is considered to be the right balance between human and the non-human world. Environmental degradation is truly a global problem which no state can confront on its own, rather it has to be addressed at different 'levels' and through a multipronged approach. Climate change and rising sea levels, excessive use of fossil fuel, deforestation, floods and droughts have become truly impacted nations across the globe.

Check your Progress

7. What is Agenda 21?
8. When was the UNEP established?
9. What is deep ecology?
10. What is ecoanarchism?
11. When is the World Environment Day celebrated?
12. In which year was the IPCC awarded the Nobel Prize?

In India, environmental movements too have made their presence felt is shaping state policies towards development projects.

International NGOs	Year	Place/Headquarter	Area of interest
Global Footprint Network	2003	California, USA	Sustainability, ecological footprint and biocapacity.
Greenpeace	1971	Amsterdam, Netherlands	Climate change, anti-nuclear issues, commercial whaling, deforestation, genetic engineering.
Rainforest Alliance	1987	USA	Conservation of biodiversity and ensure sustainable livelihoods.
The Climate Reality Project	2006	Washington, D.C., U.S	Climate change education.
Traffic (conservation programme)	1976	Cambridge, UK	Trade in wild plants and animals.

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Wetlands International	1937	Netherlands	Sustain and restore wetlands.
World Wide Fund for Nature	1969.	Switzerland	Conservation and reduction of threats to the diversity of life on Earth.
Conservation International	1987	USA	Protect nature - fresh water, livelihoods and a stable climate.

Globally, environmental movements have become key players in shaping state policies towards environment. Such movements seek to address 'resource', 'sink' and 'ethical problems'. All these problems are intimately connected with rapid consumerism, faulty state policies, high population growth rate and rapid industrialization.

Several international NGOs are now involved in addressing issues pertaining to environment and its conservation.

Environmental movements in India	Year /Place
Bishnoi Movement	1700, Khejari, Marwar region, Rajasthan state.
Chipko Movement	1973, Chamoli district and later at Tehri-Garhwal district of Uttarakhand.
Save Silent Valley Movement	1978, Silent Valley, an evergreen tropical forest in the Palakkad district of Kerala, India.
Jungle Bachao Andholan	1982, Singhbhum district of Bihar
Appiko Movement	1983, Uttara Kannada and Shimoga districts of Karnataka State
Narmada Bachao Andholan (NBA)	1985, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra.
Tehri Dam Conflict	1990's, Bhagirathi River near Tehri in Uttarakhand.

Since the 1970s, the international community has taken certain key initiatives which have thrust environmental issues to the mainstream.

Environmental Moments	
Year	Event /Treaty/Programme
2019	The United Nations General Assembly declares 2021—2030 as the United Nations Decade on Ecosystem Restoration.
2017	The Minamata Convention on Mercury comes into force with the objective of protecting human health and the environment from anthropogenic emissions and releases of mercury compounds.
2016	In response to the global trafficking crisis, UNEP launches Wild for Life, a campaign to protect endangered wildlife species.
2015	The United Nations Sustainable Development Summit leads to the adoption of 17 Sustainable Development Goals as part of a new global agenda on sustainable development
2014	The Climate Summit 2014 is held at UN Headquarters in New York.

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2012	The United Nations General Assembly establishes the universal membership of UNEP's governing body, ushering in a new era of stronger international environmental governance during the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, also known as RIO+20.
2009	The Copenhagen Climate Change Conference raised climate change policy to the highest political level. Close to 115 world leaders attended the high-level segment, making it one of the largest gatherings of world leaders ever outside UN headquarters in New York.
2007	The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its efforts to build and disseminate knowledge about human-made climate change and to lay foundations for the measures that are needed to counteract such change.
2002	The World Summit on Sustainable Development takes place in Johannesburg, with a focus on improving people's lives and conserving our natural resources in a world that is growing in population.
2001	United Nations Member States adopt the Stockholm Convention. The Convention, which includes 176 parties, aims to protect human health and the environment from chemicals that persist for long periods in the environment.
2000	103 countries sign the Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety, a supplement to the Convention on Biological Diversity.
1998	The United Nations launches the Rotterdam Convention to promote shared responsibilities in relation to the import of hazardous chemicals and pesticides.
1997	The General Assembly convenes a Special Session focused on the environment. Known as Earth Summit +5, its aim is to accelerate the implementation of Agenda 21 and launch a new global partnership for sustainable development.
1996	The United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification enters into force.
1992	The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, also known as the Earth Summit, takes place in Rio de Janeiro, 3–14 June. It establishes several major environmental agreements, including Agenda 21, and opens two multilateral treaties for signature: the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Convention on Biological Diversity
1989	183 countries adopt the Basel Convention to regulate the movement and disposal of hazardous waste.
1988	UNEP and the World Meteorological Organization launch the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change with the objective of providing governments at all levels with scientific information that they can use to develop climate policies.

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1987	The World Commission on Environment and Development delivers the Brundtland Report to the General Assembly, ushering in a new approach to environmental action focused on the concepts of sustainable development.
1979	Seventeen countries agree to cooperate in research and support protections on 120 migratory species and establish the Bonn Convention on Migratory Species.
1974	The world celebrates the first World Environment Day on 5 June, under the theme “Only One Earth.”
1972	The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) is established after the first United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm, Sweden 5–16 June 1972.
1968	In one of the earliest organizing documents of multilateral environmental action, the United Nations Secretary-General delivers a report, Activities of United Nations Organizations and Programmes Relevant to the Human Environment. The report lays the groundwork for the establishment of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) as the world’s leading environmental authority.
Source: United Nations Environment Programme	
Environmental Moments: A UNEP@50 timeline	
available at https://www.unep.org/news-and-stories/story/environmental-moments-un75-timeline	

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The measures of the state to protect the environment have been questioned by many environmental groups. Many a times, most environmental groups are part of the coalition of the greater anti-globalisation/ anti-capitalism movement. International cooperation has proved to be difficult because the richer western nations blame the third world countries rapid population growth rate for environmental degradation but richer countries also consume fossil fuel at a higher rate. According to the World Bank (2021)

Stop to Consider :

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change :

“The IPCC was created to provide policy makers with regular scientific assessments on climate change, its implications and potential future risks, as well as to put forward adaptation and mitigation options. Created by the United Nations Environment Programme (UN Environment) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) in 1988, the IPCC has 195 Member countries.” (Details available at www.ipcc.ch)

Climate change has not slowed down and its connection with human wellbeing and poverty is increasingly visible. Unchecked, it will push 132 million people into poverty over the next 10 years, undoing hard-won development gains.¹

According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC,2021)-

The frequency and intensity of some extreme weather and climate events have increased as a consequence of global warming and will continue to increase under medium and high emission scenarios.

As the world faces greater uncertainty, ecologism serves as a timely reminder to the global leadership about the environmental challenges ahead. As an ideology, it certainly is based on certain normative values and it does carry with it a certain amount of persuasive power. The initiatives taken by global institutions reveal that certainly environment and its challenges have become more ‘mainstream’ in international relations.

Check your Progress

1. Who wrote ‘The Silent Spring’?
2. What is the full form of IPCC?
3. What is the full form of UNEP?
4. In which year was the Brundtland Report published?
5. What is the Bonn Convention related to?
6. The World Summit on Sustainable Development was held in which city?
7. Discuss the origin and development of green political theory.
8. Discuss the different types of green ideology.
9. What are the key themes of green ideology.
10. Write a note on global environmental politics.
11. Analyse the efforts of the global community in protection of the environment.

5.8 Summing up

Ecologism as an ideology has assumed significant importance in contemporary times. While it does have certain normative elements in its theme, it has been able to gain major foothold among academicians,

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policy makers and even the major industries which have realized that earth and its resources need to be protected. This school of thought is extremely vast but it has managed to be more than just a prescriptive ideology. The international community and various international NGOs have now picked up the pace towards addressing issues of climate change, deforestation, sustainable development, desertification and promotion of participation by local communities in their programmes.

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