

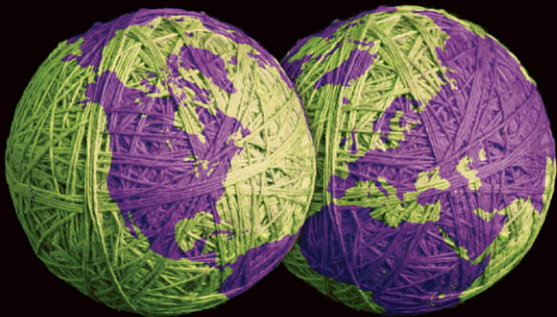
# Pearson New International Edition

International Relations, Brief Edition

2012-2013 Update

Joshua S. Goldstein    Jon C. Pevehouse

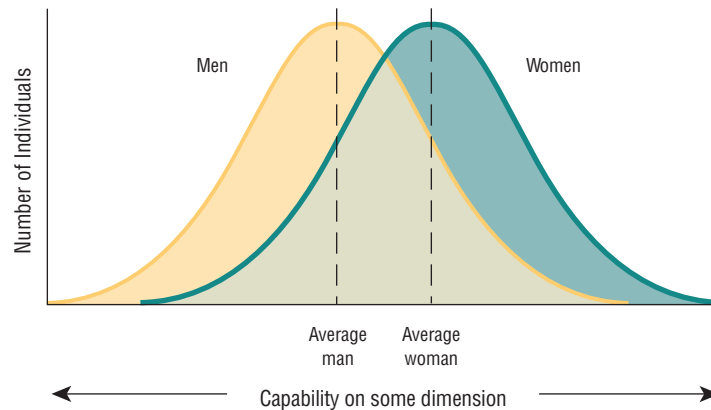
Sixth Edition



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**FIGURE 5** Overlapping Bell Curves

Bell curves show that individuals differ in capabilities such as physical strength or peacemaking ability. Although the genders differ on average, for most individuals (in the area of overlap) such differences do not come into play. Liberal feminists emphasize the area where the curves overlap; difference feminists emphasize the overall group differences.

By this logic, then, profound differences in IR—and a shift away from the utility of realism in explaining state behavior—would occur only if many women participated in key foreign policy positions. A *few* women politicians or women soldiers do not change the masculine foundations of IR. But a world in which *most* politicians or soldiers were female might be a different story. Of course, these theories of difference feminists have never been tested, because women have never attained predominance in foreign policy making in any country—much less in the international system as a whole.

In addition to the liberal and difference strands of feminism, a third strand, postmodern feminism, is connected with the rise of postmodernism.

### Postmodern Feminism

One line of criticism directed at realism combines feminism and postmodernism. *Postmodern feminism* seeks to deconstruct realism with the specific aim of uncovering the pervasive hidden influences of gender in IR while showing how arbitrary the construction of gender roles is. Feminist postmodernists agree with difference feminists that realism carries hidden meanings about gender roles, but deny that there is any fixed, inherent meaning in either male or female genders. Rather, feminist postmodernists look at the interplay of gender and power in a more open-ended way. Postmodern feminists criticize liberal feminists for trying merely to integrate women into traditional structures of war and foreign policy. They criticize difference feminists as well, for glorifying traditional feminine virtues.

Postmodern feminists have tried to deconstruct the language of realism, especially when it reflects influences of gender and sex. For instance, the first atomic bombs had

male gender (they were named “Fat Man” and “Little Boy”). The plane that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima (the *Enola Gay*) had female gender; it was named after the pilot’s mother. Similarly, pilots have pasted pinup photos of nude women onto conventional bombs before dropping them. In all these cases, postmodern feminists would note that the feminine gender of vehicles, targets, or decorations amplifies the masculinity of the weapon itself.

All three strands of feminist theories provide explanations that often differ from both realist and liberal theories. For example, in the case of response to aggression, feminists might study the need for state leaders to prove their manhood by standing up to the bad guys. This is connected with the male role as protector of the orderly domestic sphere (home, family, country) against the dangerous and anarchic outside world. Since 2001, gender roles have become increasingly visible on both sides of the “war on terror,” with both women’s positions in society and men’s concepts of masculinity becoming contested territory between the West and armed Islamic groups. Traditional theories of IR that ignore these issues may lack explanatory power as a result.

Each of these alternatives to realism has certain advantages and disadvantages as they attempt to explain world events. However, all of these theories and approaches must try to understand international conflicts and the use of military force.

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## CHAPTER REVIEW

### SUMMARY

- Liberals dispute the realist notion that narrow self-interest is more rational than mutually beneficial cooperation. Neoliberalism argues that even in an anarchic system of autonomous rational states, cooperation can emerge through the building of norms, regimes, and institutions.
- Reciprocity can be an effective strategy for reaching cooperation in ongoing relationships but carries a danger of turning into runaway hostility or arms races.
- Collective goods are benefits received by all members of a group regardless of their individual contribution. Shared norms and rules are important in getting members to pay for collective goods.
- International regimes—convergent expectations of state leaders about the rules for issue areas in IR—help provide stability in the absence of a world government.
- In a collective security arrangement, a group of states agrees to respond together to aggression by any participating state.
- Foreign policies are strategies governments use to guide their actions toward other states. The foreign policy process is the set of procedures and structures that states use to arrive at foreign policy decisions and to implement them.
- Domestic constituencies (interest groups) have distinct interests in foreign policies and often organize politically to promote those interests.

### Liberal and Social Theories

- Public opinion influences governments' foreign policy decisions (more so in democracies than in authoritarian states), but governments also manipulate public opinion.
- Legislatures can provide a conduit for public opinion and interests groups to influence foreign policy. Executives and legislators may differ on how to best achieve a state's national interest.
- Democracies have historically fought as many wars as authoritarian states, but democracies have almost never fought wars against other democracies. This is called the democratic peace.
- In the rational model of decision making, officials choose the action whose consequences best help meet the state's established goals. By contrast, in the organizational process model, decisions result from routine administrative procedures; in the government bargaining (or bureaucratic politics) model, decisions result from negotiations among governmental agencies with different interests in the outcome.
- The actions of individual decision makers are influenced by their personalities, values, and beliefs as well as by common psychological factors that diverge from rationality.
- Foreign policy decisions are also influenced by the psychology of groups (including groupthink), the procedures used to reach decisions, and the roles of participants. During crises, the potentials for misperception and error are amplified.
- Constructivists reject realist assumptions about state interests, tracing those interests in part to social interactions and norms.
- Postmodern critics reject the entire framework and language of realism, with its unitary state actors. Postmodernists argue that no simple categories can capture the multiple realities experienced by participants in IR.
- Marxists view international relations, including global North-South relations, in terms of a struggle between economic classes (especially workers and owners) that have different roles in society and different access to power.
- Mediation and other forms of conflict resolution are alternative means of exerting leverage on participants in bargaining.
- Positive peace not only implies the absence of war but also addresses the conditions that scholars in peace studies connect with violence—especially injustice and poverty.
- Feminist scholars of IR agree that gender is important in understanding IR but diverge into several strands regarding their conception of the role of gender.
- Difference feminists argue that real (not arbitrary) differences between men and women exist. Men think about social relations more often in terms of autonomy (as do realists), but women think in terms of connection. Difference feminists argue that men are more warlike on average than women.
- Liberal feminists disagree that women have substantially different capabilities or tendencies as participants in IR. They argue that women are equivalent to men in virtually all IR roles. As evidence, liberal feminists point to historical and present-day women leaders and women soldiers.
- Postmodern feminists seek to uncover gender-related subtexts implicit in realist discourse, including sexual themes connected with the concept of power.

## KEY TERMS

interdependence	government bargaining	economic classes
neoliberal	model	Marxism
international	misperceptions	conflict resolution
regime	selective	mediation
collective security	perceptions	positive peace
democratic peace	information screens	world government
interest groups	optimizing	peace movements
public opinion	satisficing	difference feminism
“rally ’round the flag”	prospect theory	liberal feminism
syndrome	groupthink	postmodern
foreign policy	constructivism	feminism
process	postmodernism	gender gap
rational model	subtext	
organizational process		
model		

## CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. Inasmuch as democracies almost never fight wars with each other, do existing democracies have a national security interest in seeing democratization spread to China and other authoritarian states? If so, how can that interest be reconciled with the long-standing norm of noninterference in the internal affairs of other sovereign states?
2. India and Pakistan are neighbors and enemies. Given the problems of misperception and bias in foreign policy decision making, what steps could you propose that each government adopt to keep these problems from interfering in the rational pursuit of national interests?
3. Peace studies claims that internal characteristics of states (at the domestic level of analysis) strongly affect the propensity for war or potential for lasting peace. For one society, show how internal characteristics—social, economic, and/or cultural—influence that society’s external behavior.
4. Would IR operate differently if most state leaders were women? What would the differences be? What evidence (beyond gender stereotypes) supports your answer?

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## GLOSSARY

**interdependence** A political and economic situation in which two states are simultaneously dependent on each other for their well-being. The degree of interdependence is sometimes designated in terms of “sensitivity” or “vulnerability.”

**neoliberal** Shorthand for “neoliberal institutionalism,” an approach that stresses the importance of international institutions in reducing the inherent conflict that realists assume in an international system; the reasoning is based on the core liberal idea that seeking long-term mutual gains is often more rational than maximizing individual short-term gains.

**international regime** A set of rules, norms, and procedures around which the expectations of actors converge in a certain international issue area (such as oceans or monetary policy).

**collective security** The formation of a broad alliance of most major actors in an international system for the purpose of jointly opposing aggression by any actor; sometimes seen as presupposing the existence of a universal organization (such as the United Nations) to which both the aggressor and its opponents belong.

**democratic peace** The proposition, strongly supported by empirical evidence, that democracies almost never fight wars against each other (although they do fight against authoritarian states).

**interest groups** Coalitions of people who share a common interest in the outcome of some political issue and who organize themselves to try to influence the outcome.

**public opinion** In IR, the range of views on foreign policy issues held by the citizens of a state.

**“rally ’round the flag” syndrome** The public’s increased support for government leaders during wartime, at least in the short term.

**foreign policy process** The process by which foreign policies are arrived at and implemented.

**rational model** A model in which decision makers calculate the costs and benefits of each possible course of action, then choose the one with the highest benefits and lowest costs.

**organizational process model** A decision-making model in which policy makers or lower-level officials rely largely on standardized responses or standard operating procedures.

**government bargaining model** A model that sees foreign policy decisions as flowing from a bargaining process among various government agencies that have somewhat divergent interests

## Liberal and Social Theories

in the outcome (“where you stand depends on where you sit”). Also called the “bureaucratic politics model.”

**misperceptions, selective perceptions** The selective or mistaken processing of the available information about a decision; one of several ways—along with affective and cognitive bias—in which individual decision making diverges from the rational model.

**information screens** The subconscious or unconscious filters through which people put the information coming in about the world around them.

**optimizing** Picking the very best option; contrasts with satisficing, or finding a satisfactory but less than best solution to a problem. The model of “bounded rationality” postulates that decision makers generally “satisfice” rather than optimize.

**satisficing** The act of finding a satisfactory or “good enough” solution to a problem.

**prospect theory** A decision-making theory that holds that options are assessed by comparison to a reference point, which is often the status quo but might be some past or expected situation. The model also holds that decision makers fear losses more than they value gains.

**groupthink** The tendency of groups to validate wrong decisions by becoming overconfident and underestimating risks.

**constructivism** A movement in IR theory that examines how changing international norms and actors’ identities help shape the content of state interests.

**postmodernism** An approach that denies the existence of a single fixed reality, and pays special attention to texts and to discourses—that is, to how people talk and write about a subject.

**subtext** Meanings that are implicit or hidden in a text rather than explicitly addressed.

**economic classes** A categorization of individuals based on economic status.

**Marxism** A branch of socialism that emphasizes exploitation and class struggle and includes both communism and other approaches.

**conflict resolution** The development and implementation of peaceful strategies for settling conflicts.

**mediation** The use of a third party (or parties) in conflict resolution.

**positive peace** A peace that resolves the underlying reasons for war; not just a cease-fire but a transformation of relationships, including elimination or reduction of economic exploitation and political oppression.

**world government** A centralized world governing body with strong enforcement powers.

**peace movements** Movements against specific wars or against war and militarism in general, usually involving large numbers of people and forms of direct action such as street protests.

**difference feminism** A strand of feminism that believes gender differences are not just socially constructed and that views women as inherently less warlike than men (on average).

**liberal feminism** A strand of feminism that emphasizes gender equality and views the “essential” differences in men’s and women’s abilities or perspectives as trivial or nonexistent.