

**DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION**

**UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL**

**MASTER OF ARTS-POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**SEMESTER-II**

**APPROCHES TO THE STUDY OF  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**CORE-202**

**BLOCK-2**

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## **UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL**

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## **FOREWORD**

The Self Learning Material (SLM) is written with the aim of providing simple and organized study content to all the learners. The SLMs are prepared on the framework of being mutually cohesive, internally consistent and structured as per the university's syllabi. It is a humble attempt to give glimpses of the various approaches and dimensions to the topic of study and to kindle the learner's interest to the subject

We have tried to put together information from various sources into this book that has been written in an engaging style with interesting and relevant examples. It introduces you to the insights of subject concepts and theories and presents them in a way that is easy to understand and comprehend.

We always believe in continuous improvement and would periodically update the content in the very interest of the learners. It may be added that despite enormous efforts and coordination, there is every possibility for some omission or inadequacy in few areas or topics, which would definitely be rectified in future.

We hope you enjoy learning from this book and the experience truly enrich your learning and help you to advance in your career and future endeavors.

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# **APPROCHES TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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# **BLOCK 2 : APPROCHES TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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## **Introduction to the Block**

Unit 8: Liberal internationalism: English School of International Relations deals with Liberal and Neo Liberal Approach to the Study of International Relations

Unit 9: Contemporary Approaches: Constructivism deals with different definitions and principals of constructivism

Unit 10: Cultural Theory deals with broad scope of what culture encompasses towards the International Relation.

Unit 11: Feminist Theory deals with Relevance of Feminist Critiques in Third World Societies.

Unit 12: Understanding of post-colonial international relation deals with Humanism and Nationalist and Trans-Nationalists in Pan Asia and Arab World.

Unit 13: Transnational Movements: Cultural and Civilizational deals with Non-State Actors and International Culture; and to describe Culture and Transnational Movements.

Unit 14: Theories of global political economy- Liberal Marxist approaches deals with Marxist Approach to the Study of International Relations and its core elements.

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# **UNIT 8: LIBERAL INTERNATIONALISM: ENGLISH SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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## **STRUCTURE**

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Liberal Approach to the Study of International Relations
  - 8.2.1 Underlying Assumptions of the Liberal Approach
- 8.3 Neo-liberal Approach to the Study of International Relations
- 8.4 Concept of World Order
- 8.5 Concept of Globalism
- 8.6 Search for Liberal-institutional Mechanisms
  - 8.6.1 Core Assumptions of Neo-liberal Institutionalism
  - 8.6.2 Functionalism
  - 8.6.3 Neo-Functionalism
- 8.7 Theory of Communication
- 8.8 Theory of Conflict-resolution
- 8.9 Let us Sum up
- 8.10 Key Words
- 8.11 Questions for Review
- 8.12 Suggested readings and references
- 8.13 Answers to Check Your Progress

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## **8.0 OBJECTIVES**

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After finishing up this unit we can able to understand:

- To know about the Liberal Approach to the Study of International Relations
- To discuss the Neo-liberal Approach to the Study of International Relations
- To highlight the Theory of Communication
- To know about the concept of Theory of Conflict-resolution and its relevance in today's society.

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## 8.1 INTRODUCTION

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Liberalism, also known as pluralism, projects a different image of world politics as compared to Realism. However, much like Realism, it too has a rather long tradition. There are many strands of liberalism but some of the common themes that run through the liberal thinking are that human beings are perfectible, that democracy is necessary for that perfectibility to develop, and that ideas do matter. Unlike the Realists, the liberals have enormous belief in human progress and the faculty of reason that each individual is endowed with. Accordingly, liberals reject the Realist notion that war is the natural condition of world politics. They also question the idea that the state is the main actor on the world political stage; although they do not deny that it is important. But they do see inclinal corporations, transnational actors such as terrorist groups, and international organizations as central actors in some issue-areas of world politics. In relations between states, liberals stress the possibilities for cooperation, and the key issue becomes devising international settings in which cooperation can be best achieved. The picture of world politics that results from the liberal view thus is of a complex system of bargaining between many different types of actors. Military force is still important but the liberal agenda is not as restricted as is the Realist one. Liberals see national interest in many more than military terms, and stress the importance of economic, environmental, and technological issues.

Keohane and Lisa L. Martin expound upon these ideas in the mid-1990s as a response to John J. Mearsheimer's "The False Promise of International Institutions," where Mearsheimer purports that, "institutions cannot get states to stop behaving as short-term power maximizers." In fact Mearsheimer's article is a direct response to the liberal-institutionalist movement created in response to neo-realism. The central point in Keohane and Martin's idea is that neo-realism insists that, "institutions have only marginal effects ... [which] leaves [neo-realism] without a plausible account of the investments that states have made in such international institutions as the EU, NATO, GATT, and regional trading organizations." This idea is in keeping with the notion of



complex interdependence. Moreover, Keohane and Martin argue that the fact that international institutions are created in response to state interests, that the real empirical question “knows how to distinguish the effects of underlying conditions from those of the institutions themselves.” The debate between the institutionalists and Mearsheimer is about whether institutions have an independent effect on state behavior, or whether they reflect great power interests that said powers employ to advance their respective interests.

Mearsheimer is concerned with 'inner-directed' institutions, which he states, "seek to cause peace by influencing the behavior of the member states." In doing so he dismisses Keohane and Martin's NATO argument in favor of the example of the European Community and the International Energy Agency. According to Mearsheimer, NATO is an alliance that is interested in "an outside state, or coalition of states, which the alliance aims to deter, coerce, or defeat in war." Mearsheimer reasons that since NATO is an alliance it has special concerns. He concedes this point to Keohane and Martin. However, Mearsheimer reasons, "to the extent that alliances cause peace, they do so by deterrence, which is straightforward realist behavior." In essence, Mearsheimer believes that Keohane and Martin "are shifting the terms of the debate, and making realist claims under the guise of institutionalism.

Mearsheimer criticizes Martin's argument that the European Community (EC) enhances the prospects of cooperation, particularly in the case of Great Britain's sanctioning of Argentina during the Falklands war, where it was able to secure the cooperation of other European states by linking the issues at hand to the EC. Mearsheimer purports that the United States was not a member of the EC and yet the US and Britain managed to cooperate on sanctions, creating an ad hoc alliance which effected change. "... Issue linkage was a commonplace practice in world politics well before institutions came on the scene; moreover, Britain and other European states could have used other diplomatic tactics to solve the problem. After all, Britain and America managed to cooperate on sanctions even though the United States was not a member of the EC."

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## **8.2 LIBERAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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Liberal approach to the study of international politics has its roots in the development of liberal political theory in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century. Closely connected with the emergence of the modern liberal state, the liberal tradition generally takes a positive view of human nature. Interestingly, some of the major contributors until the mid-20th Century were not international relations, but political philosophers, political economists, and people generally interested in international affairs. For example, John Locke, widely considered the first liberal thinker of the 17th Century, saw a great potential for human progress in modern civil society and capitalist economy, both of which, he believed, could flourish in states that guaranteed individual liberty. Liberals are generally of the view that the period since the late 17<sup>th</sup> Century constitutes a historical watershed during which a multifaceted process of modernization has introduced or enhanced the possibility of a dramatic improvement in the moral character and material wellbeing of humankind. In other words, the liberals argue that the process of modernization unleashed by the scientific revolution led to improved technologies which in turn made it possible to devise more efficient ways of producing goods and mastering nature. This was reinforced by the liberal intellectual revolution, which had great faith in human reason and rationality. Here lies the basis for the liberal belief in progress: the modern liberal state invokes a political and economic system that will bring, in Jeremy Bentham's famous phrase, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number".

### **8.2.1 Underlying Assumptions of the Liberal Approach**

Some of the important underlying assumptions of the liberal approach to the study of international politics can be identified as follows:

1. Individuals are the primary international actors: Liberals put the individual at the center of the universe and all progress is measured in terms of the interests of the individuals as the two

are perceived as inextricably intertwined. In other words, progress for liberals has always meant progress for individuals. John Locke, for example, is accredited with the creation of a constitutional state through a social contract to protect the liberties of the individuals. Such a state enables and establishes the rule of law that respects the rights of the citizens to life, liberty and property. This does not mean that states are relegated to marginal status in the liberal perspective. Far from it, the Liberals view states as the most important collective actors in our present era, but they are seen as pluralistic actors whose interests and policies are determined by bargaining among groups and elections.

2. States interests are synchronized and are both self-regarding and other-regarding: Liberals are of the view point that the interests of the states are not static but dynamic. States' interests keep changing with time because individuals' values and the power relation among interest groups keep evolving over time. Also, most liberals believe that states do not only have certain self-interests to preserve but also regard states' policies as other regarding to some extent since they believe that the growth of liberal democracy increases people's concern for other humans. These ideas can be traced back to Locke, Rousseau, and Kant. As far as the specific interests of the states are concerned, liberals accept that state survival and autonomy are important, but they are viewed as secondary interests to the primary interests of the individuals. While the liberals are generally optimistic over the long-term role of the states in supporting peace, welfare, and justice, they do realize that exploitative interests (including power over others as an end in itself are unlikely ever to disappear.
3. Both individual and state international are shaped by a wide variety of domestic and international of conditions: Liberals are of the view that the interests of both individuals and states are affected by a host of factors at the domestic and international levels. While conceding that eventually such interests are determined by the bargaining power that they possess, the manner

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in which they define their interests are shaped by a number of factors both within the state and outside the state i.e. the international arena. At the domestic level, factors like the nature of economic and political systems, patterns of economic interactions, and personal values may play decisive role. At the international level, presence of factors like technological capabilities, patterns of interactions and interdependencies, transnational sociological patterns, knowledge, and international institutions allow states to affect each other in different ways. States-the predominant collective actors-are viewed by the liberals as entities that are embedded in both their own societies and the international system, and their interests and policies are affected by conditions in both arenas. However, there is a significant difference between the Realists and the liberals on the matter of institutions and political hierarchy in the international system. The liberals feel very uncomfortable with the Realists' rather simplistic conception of the international system as anarchical. In sharp contrast to the Realists, liberals are of the view that given the pervasiveness and wide influence of the network of international institutions it would be naive not to integrate it into an overall conception of the international system.

4. Mutual interests can sustain cooperation in the international system: With the growth of liberal democracies, interdependencies, knowledge, international social ties, and international institutions, the liberals have come to believe that cooperation can be possible among states without resorting to coercive means. Unlike the Realists who believed that existence of a hegemonic (dominant) power is a prerequisite to cooperation, the liberals are of the view that cooperation can be achieved through non-coercive bargaining based on identification of mutual interests. An obvious question that arises here is what makes the liberals so optimistic about the possibility of cooperation? Their optimism about increased cooperation based on mutual interest emanates from a strong belief in the mutuality of interests, which they think will keep growing with increased

interdependencies and the spread of democratic values. Further, liberals believe that improved knowledge and communication will intensely enhance the ability of the states and other actors to better understand their common interests.

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### **8.3 NEO-LIBERAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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What distinguishes the neo-liberals from the traditional liberal scholars? Do the neo-liberals present a contrasting view of world politics from that of the traditional liberals? What is it that necessitates the prefix neo before liberalism? Are the neo-liberals closer to the Realists and Neo-realists in their orientation than to the traditional liberals? These are some of the questions that we shall try and explore in the following section. The most important distinguishing feature of the neo-liberals is their declining confidence in human progress. With the traditional liberals, the neo-liberals are far less optimistic about progress and cooperationist. This, however, does not mean that they are as pessimistic as the Realists or Neo-realists as seen in the previous Unit. As a category, the term neo-liberal refers to post-war liberal scholars who retained much of the belief of the traditional liberals except perhaps sharing their optimism. In the pre-Second World War period, most liberal writers had a strong belief in the growing, slow but steady, realization of human freedom. However, in the post-War period, the new generation of scholars became much more reluctant about committing themselves to the liberal of progress. This lack of optimism among the new generation of liberals was grounded in a number of considerations. As noted by Zacher and Matthew, "Liberals [neo-liberals] have not wanted to be branded as idealists as were many interwar liberals; the international events of this century (including two world wars and the Cold War) have made them wary about being too optimistic, and, in keeping with the ethos of contemporary social science, many have felt more comfortable about explaining than predicting".

#### **Check Your Progress 1**

## Notes

Note: i) List out the space below for your answers

1. Discuss the liberal approach of International Relations.

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2. Discuss the Neo Liberal Approach to International Relations.

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## 8.4 CONCEPT OF WORLD ORDER

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In the academic world, Neo-liberalism generally refers to Neo-liberal institutionalism (one of the strands of liberalism, which we shall discuss in detail later on in this Unit) or what is now called institutional theory. However, in the policy world, Neo-liberalism has a different connotation. In the domain of foreign policy, a neo-liberal approach seeks to promote free trade or open markets and Western democratic values and institutions. Inspired by such an ideology thus most of the Western liberal democracies have rallied around United States in its call for the "enlargement" of the community of democratic and capitalist nation-states. This brand of liberalism (Neo-liberalism) draws its ideological strength from the belief that all financial and political institutions created in the aftermath of the Second World War have stood the test of time, which provides the foundation contemporary political and economic arrangements. What further adds weight to such a view is the belief that these financial and political institutions were created and are being sustained by policy-makers who embrace neo-liberal or Realist Neorealist assumptions about the world. However, there are many who question such assumptions of liberalism. As noted by Steven L. Lantieri: "In reality, neo-liberal foreign policies tend not to be as wedded to the ideals of democratic peace, free trade, and open borders. National interests take precedence over morality and universal ideals and, much to the dismay of traditional Realists; economic interests are given priority over geopolitical ones". The post-War liberalizing or Neo-liberalism is

broadly divided into four main strands of thinking: institutional liberalism, sociological liberalism, republican liberalism, and interdependence liberalism. It is important to discuss these strands at some length as they hold the key to our understanding of some of the important theories that we are supposed to learn in this Unit. However, we shall confine ourselves to only those aspects of these strands that are of immediate concern to us for the purpose of understanding this Unit.

There is no single homogenous conception of order in world politics. Instead, one comes across competing conceptions of order in international relations theory. However, given our immediate objective and purpose, we shall focus mainly on the liberal conception of order and touch upon the Realist version only to the extent it can help draw a contrasting picture. The crucial difference between the two becomes visible from the different terms that they employ to describe order in international relations. While the Realists prefer the term "international order" to describe the nature of order in international politics, the liberals use "world order" for the same. Does it mean then that the difference between the two is merely semantic and not 'substantive'? The answer is a simple no. The Realists' conception of international order is state-centric which emphasizes stability and peace among states. The elements of such an international order are based on the traditional models of order such as the structure of the balance of power, sovereignty, and the forms of diplomacy, international law, the role of the great powers, the current forms of collective security, and the codes circumstances the use of force. Such a conception thus focuses exclusively the structure of the post-Cold War system, especially upon the number of Great Power actors and the distribution of capabilities along them. In other words, it defines order largely in terms of the operative security structure, primarily understood in political-military sense, within the international system. The concept of world order, as conceptualized by the liberals on the other hand, is a much wider category in nature and scope. In sharp contrast to the Realists to treat states as the basic units of order, the liberals take individual human beings as its key units of order and construct order in terms of rights, justice, and prosperity. Unlike the

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Realists, the liberals assert that order in world politics emerges not from a balance of power but from the interactionism between many layers of governing arrangements, comprising laws, agreed norms, international regimes, and institutional rules. The liberal conception of world order thus clearly has a widening agenda of order that encompasses, among other things, the relationship between economic and political dimensions, new thinking about security, debates about the consequences of globalization, the role of human rights, and strategies for human emancipation. Its central claim is that patterns of integration and interdependence have become so deeply embedded in the Cold War period, albeit for strategic and geopolitical reasons, that they now have a self-sustaining momentum that precludes any return to war and autarchy. An important landmark in the development of the liberal conception of world order was the setting up of an organization called World Order Models Project (WOMP). Established in 1968, it aimed at promoting the development of alternatives to the inter-state system with a view to eliminating war. For WOMPers (as they have come to be called), the unit of analysis is the individual while the level of analysis is global. Some of the key figures associated with WOMP like Mendlovitz and Falk focused on the questions of global government that today form the core of much of the work going on under the name of globalization. In the more recent years, particularly since the mid-1990s, WOMP has become much wider in its focus by concentrating on the world's most vulnerable people and environment.

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## **8.5 CONCEPT OF GLOBALISM**

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Globalism is best understood when compared to the more familiar concept of globalization. The theological, economic and cultural processes, which lead to globalization, are often believed to be objective and impersonal, independent of the preferences, attitudes and actions of those political actors whose interests they deeply affect. Those who benefit from them can accelerate them at the most only marginally. They can be stopped or reversed even more marginally by those who suffer the consequences. Globalism, on the other hand, is a perspective consciously prolife by rationalist, humanist and Universalist actors and thinkers of



both liberal and socialist political persuasions. At the core of all globalist positions are the following shared assumptions. Firstly, globalists believe the problems which the world faces are global in nature. The urgency, immediacy or intensity of these problems may vary, but they are not restricted to any particular locality, community, state or region, and therefore, if left unattended, all would suffer from their consequences. Problems of environmental degradation, population explosion, nuclear war, terrorism, narcotics and spread of HIV/AIDS are global in this sense.

Secondly, all globalists believe that the solutions to these global problems also have to be global in scope. That is so because the resources required for handling these problems are beyond the reach of any nation, region or community. Not only financial and material resources need to be pooled globally, human inputs also have to be coordinated in order to achieve required levels of efficiency and cost-effectiveness. Thirdly, all globalists believe that such coordination is possible on a sustained basis only when there is global consensus on the definition of problems as well as prioritization of preferred solutions. Such consensus in turn requires that decision-making processes are transparent and based democratic equality of participants. Given these assumptions, it is easy to see the objections, which globalists have against the kind of globalization presently taking place. They characterize it as "globalization from above" because it is being shaped by the rich and the powerful states and corporations. They exploit the tremendous concentration of wealth and power in their hands to force unequal integration on the weak and poor states and communities to further marginalize them. Globalists are not against globalization as such. But they prefer what they call "globalization from below" which would truly reflect the philosophy of globalism.

**Check Your Progress 2**

Note: i) List out the space below for your answers

## Notes

1. What is the concept of Global order?

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2. Concept of Globalism: write about it.

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## 8.6 SEARCH FOR LIBERAL- INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS

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The search for liberal-institutional mechanisms to help establish peace and ensure prosperity through cooperation goes back to the days of the League of Nations. Woodrow Wilson, the chief proponent of the League of Nations, is considered to be the first liberal institutionalism who pointed out the importance of institutions in transforming the international relations from a "jungle" of chaotic power politics to a "zoo" of regulated and peaceful interaction. Although the League of Nations experiment turned out to be a disaster, later developments in the field of international organizations like the United Nations and European Union have rekindled new hope in the philosophy of liberal institutionalism. Liberal institutionalism or neo-liberal institutionalism, as a school of thought, shot to prominence for providing the most convincing challenge to Realist and Neo-realist thinking. Although neoliberal institutionalism shares many of the assumptions of Neo-realist thinking, there" are significant differences between the two over the issue of cooperation in the international system.

Liberal institutionalists attack the Neo-realists for focusing exclusively on conflict and competition and thus minimizing the chances for cooperation even in an anarchic international system. The main claim of the liberal institutionalists is that international institutions and regimes help promote cooperation between states. But, what are institutions and regimes? And, how do they help in securing international cooperation?

Institutions, according to Haas, Keohane, and Levy are persistent and connected sets of rules and practices that prescribe roles, constrain activity, and shape the expectations of actors. Such institutions may include organisations, bureaucratic agencies, treaties and agreements, and informal practices that states accept as binding. Young, on the other hand, defines regimes, as social institutions that are based on agreed rules, norms, principles, and decision-making procedures. These govern the interactions of various state and non-state actors in issue areas such as the environment or human rights. Varieties of treaties, trade agreements, scientific and trade protocols, market protocols, and the interest of producers, consumers, and distributors, for example, govern the global market in coffee. Such regimes and institutions, for the liberal institutionalists, help govern an anarchic and competitive international system and they encourage, and at times require, multilateralism and cooperation as a means of securing national interests. The roots of this version of Neoliberalism can be seen in the functional integration scholarship of the 1940s and the 1950s and regional integration studies of the 1960s. These are better known as Functionalism and Neo-Functionalism schools of thought in the literature of international relations theory. However, before we take these up separately, it would be useful to look at some of the core assumptions of liberal institutionalism.

### **8.6.1 Core Assumptions of Neo-liberal Institutionalism**

Although the neo-liberal institutionalists do concede that states are key actors in international relations, they refuse to buy the argument of the Realists who believe that states are the only significant actors. According to the neo-liberal institutionalists, states are rational or instrumental actors that always seek to maximum their interests in all issue areas. Neo-liberal institutionalists further believe that in the present-day competitive environment, states seek to maximum ashore gains through cooperation as rational behaviour leads them.

### 8.6.2 Functionalism

David Mitrany, the most prominent proponent of the Functionalist school of thought is accredited with fashioning this alternative view of international politics in response to the security/conflict conception of the Realist and Neo-realist scholars. Mitrany argues that greater interdependence in the form of transnational ties between countries could lead to peace. He is of the view that cooperation should be arranged by technical experts and not by politicians. Some of the other important Functionalists like Joseph Nye, Ernst Haas, J.P. Sewell, Paul Taylor, A.J.R. Groom, John Burton, and Christopher Mitchell have intensely contributed to the Functionalist tradition of international relations theory. Presented as an operative philosophy that would gradually lead to a peaceful, unified, and cooperative world, Functionalism is widely regarded as the most insightful critique of the Realist framework of international politics. The main concern of the Functionalists is to develop piecemeal non-political cooperative organizations, which will not only help establish peace and secure prosperity but also render the practice of war obsolete eventually. However, this may not be forthcoming as long as the international system continues to be founded on suspicion and anarchy and war is accepted as an established means of settling international disputes. The institution of nation-states is considered to be the biggest obstacle in the path of fostering peace and prosperity. Aware of the fact those governments have vested interests and that nation-states will not be dismantled voluntarily, the Functionalists advocate a graduated approach toward regional or global unity. This, they believe, might eventually help isolate and render obsolete the rigid institutional structures of nation-states. But, how do the Functionalists propose to go about it?

As noted above, the Functionalists' prime concern is with developing piecemeal cooperative organizations at the regional level in non-political areas like economic, technical, scientific, social and cultural sectors where the possibility of forging effective cooperation among the states appears to be highly practical. These apparently non-political sectors are collectively referred to, in the Functionalist literature, as functional

sectors where the possibility of opposition or resistance appears minimal. This is based on the assumption that efforts to establish section organizations at the micro level in non-political sectors such as energy production and distribution, transportation and communication control: health protection and improvement, labour standards and exchanges etc. are least likely to be met with opposition. There is a greater possibility of successful functioning of such non-political functional organisations as these can be of mutual advantage to the participating states. The possibility of a higher success rate of such functional bodies gets further enhanced by the fact that they do not appear to pose any challenge, at least apparently, to the national sovereignty of the participating states. One of the most important assumptions of the Functionalist school is based on the concept of what is called "spillover" effect. The concept of spillover is similar to that of "demonstration" effect as used in the discipline of economics. The underlying belief of the spillover concept is that cooperation in one area would open new avenues for similar cooperation in other areas. For example, successful forging of cooperation in the area of coal and steel production would spill over into other functional areas like transportation, pollution control etc. Such a process of cooperation, the Functionalists argue, would eventually lead to political unification of a given region. The strength of the Functionalist school of thought lies in the fact that they tend to emphasize cooperative aspects of international behaviour and sidestep conflictive aspects. In contrast to the Realists who look at the world in terms of politics of conflict and irrationality, the Functionalists view the world through the prism of cooperation and reason. The Functionalists believe that the accumulation of the process of functional organisations would not only help link people and their interests across national boundaries but would also eventually relegate the nation-states to the "museum of institutional curiosities".

### **8.6.3 Neo-Functionalism**

In contrast to the Functionalist theory, which seeks to create a New World order in which the sovereign states take a back seat, Neo-

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Functionalism or the integration theory seeks to create new states through the integration of the existing states. This is achieved initially at the regional level eventually culminating, in the long run, in the creation of a single world state. The idea that integration between states is possible if the political process of spillover facilitates it is basically drawn from the experience of European Union. The neo-Functionalists thus prefer to emphasize cooperative decision-making processes and elite attitudes in order to assess the process towards integration. Erilst Haas is considered to be the chief proponent of this school of thought. Although Haas builds on Mitrany, he rejects the notion that technical matters can be separated from politics. Haas defines integration as "the tendency toward the voluntary creation of larger political units, each of which self-consciously eschews the use of force in the relations between the participating units and groups". Integration, for Haas, has to do with getting self-interested political elite to intensify their cooperation- Put differently, Haas views integration as a process by which the actors concerned begin voluntarily to give up certain powers and evolve new techniques for tackling colour problems and resolving mutual conflicts. Joseph Nye carries this theme further when he asserts that regional political organizations "have made modest contributions to the creation of islands of peace in the international system". These studies suggest that the way towards peace and prosperity is to have independent states pool their resources and even surrender some of their sovereignty to create integrated communities to promote economic growth or respect to regional problems. What distinguishes the neo-Functionalists from the Functionalists thus is that they focus primarily on formal institutions in an attempt to determine the extent to which national 21s opposed to international agencies carries out important functions.

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## **8.7 THEORY OF COMMUNICATION**

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The communication theory in international relations is considered to be an integral part of what come to be called sociological liberalist strand of thinking. Unlike the Realists who view international relations exclusively in terms of the study of relations between the governments of sovereignty states, sociological liberals assert that it is also about

transactional relations i.e. relations between people, groups, and organizations belonging to different countries. James Rosenau defines transnationalism as, "the processes whereby international relations conducted by government have been supplemented by relations along private individuals, groups, and societies that can and do leave important consequences for the course of events". As is evident from the above definition, the notion of community and the process of interdependence are considered to be important elements of international relations. The underlying assumption of the communication theory, which builds on the notion of transnationalism, is that as transnational activities increase, people in distant lands get linked and their government becomes more interdependent. This leads to a situation whereby it becomes more difficult and a costly proposition for states to act multilaterally and to avoid cooperation with the neighbours. As a result, states not only become wary of the rising cost of war but also work towards the goal of creating a peaceful international community. Karl Deutsch is considered to be the chief proponent of the communication theory, or perhaps more appropriately, communication approach in international relations. This approach seeks to measure the extent of communication and transactions between societies by watching the flow of international transactions, such as trade, tourists, letters, and immigration. The central argument of the communication approach, as articulated by Deutsch, is that a high degree of transnational ties between societies would lead to peaceful relations that would amount to more than the absence of war. Such transactions, the argument goes, will eventually lead to the development of what Deutsch calls security communities or integrated socio-political systems.

Integration in this context means that a "sense of communication" has been achieved and that people have cause to agree that their conflicts and problems can be resolved "without resort to large-scale physical force". Deutsch identifies two major subcategories of security and pluralist. He has neutralize that both of these are characterized by the absence of intra-community wars, Among the amalgamated security communities, Deutsch believes that United States fits the bill since its unified federal

structure enables it to exercise central political control over a continent sized region. Pluralist security communities, on the other hand, lack such central political authority. However, the various national Units that together constitute a pluralist security community tend to refrain from fighting one another and thus do not need to fortify their borders. North American continent and Western Europe, relatively larger areas, are believed to be good examples of pluralist security community. From the perspective of the communications approach it is clear that integration is viewed both as a process leading toward political unification and as the end product of that process and pluralist security communities.

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## **8.8 THEORY OF CONFLICT-RESOLUTION**

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Liberals are not unanimous on how to resolve conflicts in the international system. There are probably as divergent approaches to address the issue of conflict in the international system, as there are different strands within liberalism. However, what is common to all the strands is the underlying emphasis on the role of human reason and rationality in securing international cooperation; in turn will help resolve conflicts between various state actors. Moreover, it is this commonality between them, which distinguishes the liberals from the Realists who treat conflict as a permanent feature of world politics. While the Realists believe that recourse to war is a necessary condition for resolving conflicts, liberals' stress that conflicts can be resolved by forging international cooperation without actually resorting to coercive means. Unlike the Realists, as noted above, who believe that existence of a hegemonic (dominant) power is a prerequisite to cooperation, the liberals are of the view that cooperation can be achieved through non-coercive bargaining based on identification of mutual interests. Where the liberals differ from each other is how to go about it. As you might have perhaps already noticed, different strands of liberalism, as discussed above, approach the issue of resolving conflicts differently. We have already seen the views of liberal institutionalists including the Functionalists and neo-Functionalists and the communication theorists in this regard. In the following section, therefore, we shall focus primarily on those strands of



liberalism namely, interdependence liberalism and republican liberalism which we have not covered so far and see as to how do they approach the issue of resolving conflicts in the international system. This might also help us identify the points of departure of these liberals from the ones already discussed above. How do interdependence liberals seek to resolve conflicts?

Such liberals are of the view that a high division of labour in the international economy increases interdependence i.e. mutual dependence between states, which discourages and reduces violent conflicts between them. The reemergence of "trading states" such as Japan and Germany in the post-War period provides strength to the assumption of the interdependence liberalism. The underlying assumption of this strand of liberalism is that such trading states tend to refrain from the traditional military political option of high military expenditure and instead prefer to focus on the trading option of an intensified international division of labour that increases interdependence. Such an' assumption received a tremendous fillip in the wake of the end of the Cold War with the trading option being largely preferred even by very large states. Rosecrans is of the view that the end of the Cold War has made the traditional military-political option less urgent and thus less attractive. The theory of "complex interdependence" formulated in the 1970s by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye took the logic of interdependence to a new height. Distinguishing this version of post-War interdependence from the earlier and simpler kinds of interdependence in which the use of force was always an option in the case of conflicts between states. These theorists argue that the process of modernization is fast increasing the level and scope of interdependence between states. Under conditions of complex interdependence, transnational actors are increasingly becoming much more important with the consequence that military force has become a less useful instrument of policy. As a result, international relations are increasingly becoming more like domestic politics. As Keohane observes: "Different issues generate different coalitions, both within governments and across them, and involve different degrees of conflicts. Politics does not stop at the water's edge". The interdependence liberals

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thus argue that in most of these conflicts military force is fast becoming redundant.

Other sources of non-military power like "negotiating skills" are increasingly becoming much more important. Keohane and Nye thus argue that under complex interdependence states are getting more preoccupied with the "low politics" of welfare and less concerned with "high politics" of national security, which would eventually pave the way for a world free of all conflicts. Republican Liberals approach the issue of conflict via delicacy. The underlying assumption is that liberal democracies are better equipped to resolve conflicts and less prone to war as these are based on the foundation of peaceful existence and rule of law. They, therefore, argue that democracies are far more law-abiding than other political system. This, however, does not mean that liberal democracy never to war. As a matter of fact, democracies have gone to war as often as have non-democracies. But the understanding argument here is that democracies rarely fight each other. Republican liberals are, therefore, generally very optimistic about the role of democracies in establishing long-term world peace. The obvious question that arises here is what is it that makes them so very optimistic about the prospects of long-term world peace. It may be itself to look at the observation of Sorensen in this regard who argues that within the increase in the number of democracies in the world in the recent years, the prospects of a more peaceful world has, if anything, brightened that, to SLICI a world, he further argues, international relations will be characterized by cooperation instead of conflict. Michael Doyle, perhaps, most systematically addresses the question as to why democracies are at peace with one another. He advances three elements to strengthen the claim that democracy leads to peace with other democracies. First, democracies follow democratic norms of peaceful resolution of conflicts. Given the fact that democratic governments are controlled by their citizens who are generally against waging wars with other democracies, democratic government performance encourage peaceful international relations. Second, democracies hold common values which lead to the formation of what Kant called a "pacific union". Union, not in the sense of a formal peace

treaty, but a zone of peace based on the communication foundations of all democracies. Such commonalities tend to encourage peaceful ways of resolving conflicts at the domestic and international levels. Thirdly, ever increasing economic cooperation and growing interdependence between democracies strengthen international peace and utilization the chances of conflict. In the peacefulness, "the spirit of commonalities" a term coined by Kant, will result in mutual and reciprocal gain for those involved in international economic cooperation and exchange eventually rendering the practice of war obsolete.

**Check Your Progress 3**

Note: i) List out the space below for your answers

- 1. What is Functionalism and Neo Functionalism?

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.....  
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- 2. Write the Theory of Communication.

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- 3. Discuss the theory of conflict resolution.

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**8.9 LET US SUM UP**

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Although the terms are similar, neoliberalism is distinct from modern liberalism. Both have their ideological roots in the classical liberalism of the 19th century, which championed economic laissez-faire and the freedom (or liberty) of individuals against the excessive power of government. That variant of liberalism is often associated with the economist Adam Smith, who argued in *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) that markets are governed by an “invisible hand” and thus should be

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subject to minimal government interference. But liberalism evolved over time into a number of different (and often competing) traditions. Modern liberalism developed from the social-liberal tradition, which focused on impediments to individual freedom—including poverty and inequality, disease, discrimination, and ignorance—that had been created or exacerbated by unfettered capitalism and could be ameliorated only through direct state intervention. Such measures began in the late 19th century with workers' compensation schemes, the public funding of schools and hospitals, and regulations on working hours and conditions and eventually, by the mid-20th century, encompassed the broad range of social services and benefits characteristic of the so-called welfare state.

By the 1970s, however, economic stagnation and increasing public debt prompted some economists to advocate a return to classical liberalism, which in its revived form came to be known as neoliberalism. The intellectual foundations of that revival were primarily the work of the Austrian-born British economist Friedrich von Hayek, who argued that interventionist measures aimed at the redistribution of wealth lead inevitably to totalitarianism, and of the American economist Milton Friedman, who rejected government fiscal policy as a means of influencing the business cycle (see also monetarism). Their views were enthusiastically embraced by the major conservative political parties in Britain and the United States, which achieved power with the lengthy administrations of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (1979–90) and U.S. Pres. Ronald Reagan (1981–89).

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### 8.10 KEY WORDS

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**Conflict:** A conflict is a clash of interest. The basis of conflict may vary but, it is always a part of society. Basis of conflict- personal, racial, class, caste, political and international. Conflict in groups often follows a specific course.

**Liberal:** **Liberal**, an adherent of a **Liberal Party**. **Liberal** democracy, a form of government based on limited majority rule. **Liberal** Democratic Party (disambiguation) **Liberalism** (international relations), a theory of

international relations based upon co-operation and mediation rather than power politics.

**Neo Liberal:** Neoliberalism or neo-liberalism is the 20th-century resurgence of 19th-century ideas associated with laissez-faire economic liberalism and free market capitalism.

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## 8.11 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

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- 1) Identify the underlying assumptions of liberalism. Also, identify the main differences between the Realists and the liberal frameworks.
- 2) What distinguishes the neo-liberals from the additional liberal scholars? Do the neo-liberals present a consulting view of world politics from that of the traditional liberals?
- 3) Is globalization different from globalism? If so, in what respect?
- 4) Bring out the differences between Functionalistic and Neo-Functionalism. In what ways do they strengthen the liberal approach of international relations?
- 5) What is meant by the notion of security communities"? In what ways can they be realized?
- 6) How do the liberals approach the issue of resolving conflicts in international relations?

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## 8.12 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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## 8.13 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Section 8.2
- 2) See Section 8.3

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Section 8.4
- 2) See Section 8.5

### Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Sub Section 8.6.2 and 8.6.3
- 2) See Section 8.7
- 3) See Section 8.8

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# UNIT 9: CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES: CONSTRUCTIVISM

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## STRUCTURE

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 The Idea of Constructivism
  - 9.2.1 Constructivism: Some Definitions
  - 9.2.2 Principles of Constructivism
- 9.3 Constructivism in Educational Theory and Practice
- 9.4 Types of Constructivism
  - 9.4.1 Trivial Constructivism
  - 9.4.2 Radical Constructivism
  - 9.4.3 Personal and Social Constructivism
  - 9.4.4 Objectivism and Constructivism
- 9.5 Constructivist Features of Concepts in Cognitive Psychology
- 9.6 Implications of Constructivism for Education '
  - 9.6.1 Constructivist Conditions of Learning
  - 9.6.2 Becoming a Constructivist Teacher
- 9.7 Let us Sum up
- 9.8 Key Words
- 9.9 Questions for Review
- 9.10 Suggested readings and references
- 9.11 Answers to Check Your Progress

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## 9.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- To describe constructivism as a concept;
- To compare different definitions of constructivism;
- To enunciate different principles of constructivism in educational theory and practice;
- To distinguish between different types of constructivism;
- To differentiate between objectivism and constructivism;

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- To identify the constructivist features of concepts in cognitive psychology;
- To draw implications of constructivism for education;
- To identify the constructivist conditions of learning in schools; and
- To visualize how to become a constructivist teacher.

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## 9.1 INTRODUCTION

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You may do well by revisiting the doctrines of behaviorism and cognitivist, studied earlier in this block, to begin the study of constructivism. What are the assumptions made by behaviorism and cognitivist about the nature of knowledge? Both regard knowledge as static, absolute and final and believe it to exist independent of the learner. So knowledge about the world is preexisting, reliable and constant, and the function of learning and cognition is to gain this knowledge. There is this 'given world of knowledge', and that is what teachers and learners need to be concerned with. In such an instructional model of knowledge, the role of the learner is the acquisition of this fixed world of knowledge, and the role of the teacher is to dispense and transmit this to the learners. Constructivism holds sharply opposite views about the nature of knowledge. The assumptions made in behaviorism and cognitivist about the nature of knowledge is not acceptable to constructivists. Its assumption about knowledge is the most distinguishing characteristic of constructivism. As a theory of knowledge, constructivism rejects a static, passive or fixed view of knowledge and refuses to accord it an objective value. You can say that constructivism rejects absolutist epistemology, which is the basis of both behaviorist and cognitivist theories of learning. This does not mean that constructivism can be conceptualized solely in terms of its theory of knowledge. On the contrary constructivism is quite difficult to describe, as it does not refer to any one theory, model, concept or approach, but is akin to a broad label. It accommodates a range of positions and has several versions, some of which we shall study later in this unit. Not only does it not stand for any one /single approach, theory or position but denotes a broad intellectual tradition that privileges multiplicity. There is



thus no standardized definition, meaning or description that can be given to it. One can go as far as to say that one's understanding of constructivism is dependent on the theorist, educator or researcher one is reading about. Do you now understand why constructivism has been introduced in this unit by comparing it with behaviorism and cognitivist, rather than by an attempt to define or conceptualize it independently? It is a theory of knowledge and has far reaching implications for learning, pedagogy, assessment and educational practice. We will, thus, be concerned in this unit not only with understanding constructivism but also its educational implications. It is not in the traditional sense of the term a 'learning theory', as it does not propose a theory of learning, even though one comes across the term constructivist learning theory in the literature on constructivism. We conclude this introductory discussion regarding what constructivism is not and the numerous interpretations that it has, by moving on finally to the question what constructivism is.

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## **9.2 THE IDEA OF CONSTRUCTIVISM**

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Constructivism has emerged as an influential doctrine in education in the last two decades. As an area of study it has roots in multiple disciplines, like philosophy, psychology, sociology, education, cognitive science and cybernetics. Its earliest votary was an Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico, (1668- 1744), who proposed a constructivist theory of knowledge in which he regarded knowledge purely as a byproduct of human construction. This is evident in his words that "The known is the made." Since then many theorists and researchers have formulated different ideas about constructivism. Today constructivism, as an epistemological orientation, is embraced by researchers and practitioners in diverse fields ranging from science education, educational psychology, sociology of knowledge, mathematics education to instructional technology. You need not be surprised to discover that it is not only students of education like you who are studying this topic, but even those who study subjects like psychology, sociology, philosophy, anthropology and information technology, are also exploring the field. As already stated, constructivism is not a unitary construct. There is considerable debate indeed among

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educators, philosophers, psychologists and researchers about what it entails. With this background let us now try to understand what it means.

Constructivism is centered on the idea that human knowledge and learning is actively constructed by the learner, not passively received from the environment. Knowledge is always someone's knowledge. It is created or constructed by the experiencing individual. It is not impersonal or absolute. How do learners actively build or 'construct' this new knowledge? They do this on the bedrock of their prior knowledge. Learners in a classroom have their individual experiences and a cognitive structure, which are built on those prior experiences. Constructivism As an illustration of the above let us consider a school child who resides in a rural habitation adjoining a river. The child has never left the village, nor ever crossed the river, nor does she think that it is possible to do so. The teacher in the school teaches her that there is a vast body of water (ocean) that surrounds the earth. However what he/she learns and comes to believe is that the river is the ocean and there is 'no earth beyond the river. Whenever a reference is made about the earth and universe, or even if the globe is shown to her, the child draws upon her own personal construct of the earth. So knowledge construction has taken place on the basis of his/her earlier experience of the world and is, in fact, a misconception. As such the misconception cannot be accepted as 'valid knowledge' as it is in contradiction to it. Valid knowledge is defined by the concerned community of practice, which in this case is the community of geographers. For the learner, his/her knowledge construct is a viable one, as it suffices the purpose of organizing his/her experiences of the world. For the teacher, this knowledge construct is unacceptable as it falls way short of what can be regarded as 'valid knowledge.' Not only does it fall short but is as a matter of fact, in opposition to it, as the village alone is not the earth but only a part of it. Mental Model of the earth is formed by the child by fitting the new information into his/her existing mental model. These mental models are quite stable and resistant to change. Can you recall now some of your own childhood experiences and memories? Children tend to develop interesting and unique concepts not only about physical phenomenon

such as the one explained above, but even about the social world. Children who have seen only men in short hair and trousers, which is often the case in rural Indian societies, on seeing women in the same attire, refer to them as 'uncle.' They have constructed a concept of uncle (men) on the basis of certain characteristics. Even though they may be told that this is not uncle but auntie, and even if they seemingly accept what they are told, they may not necessarily believe in it. They may use the word auntie but continue to hold on to their earlier constructs. Our daily life experiences are replete with such instances. How about exploring some such interesting ideas among children around you? It is not difficult to understand the idea of non-congruence between knowledge and reality, as the main function of the knowledge constructs! Is to organize the ongoing experiences of the learner and not mirror reality. The learner tends to reformulate his/her existing structures/ constructs by connecting them to the new experiences of the world. This is what we mean when we say that in a constructivist setting, knowledge is not objective. Susan Hanley of Maryland Collaborative for Teacher Preparation, University of Maryland, gave an example of such view of knowledge. She noted that "Mathematics and science are viewed as systems with models that describe how the world might be rather than how it is. These models derive their validity not from their accuracy in describing the real world, but from the accuracy of any predictions which might be based on them." Knowledge involves mental constructs that are constructed from past experience. Whether these constructs / structures are valid, truthful or incomplete is not important. The truth content of this knowledge is insignificant. If the known is the made, there is no singular, universal absolute knowledge; if reality is pluralistic, then it is meaningless to search for or debate about what the truth is. The truthfulness of a statement has to be judged vis-a-vis the point of reference on which it is based. If a child conceptualizes a bus as a big car or a goat as a dog, he/she is doing so on the basis of some criteria.

If we adopt their criteria or view their constructions in line with their viewpoints or referents, then we may not find any flaw in the above-mentioned statements. Discrepancy arises only when we use our criteria

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to evaluate their constructions. This is not to say that children do not learn 'approved' knowledge. They do so when they adopt culturally accepted criterion. As far as the personal constructions are concerned, reality is pluralistic and there can be no single truth. When society or culture presents to the child their standpoint, reality becomes consensual, yet it may vary from culture to culture, community to community. Thus individual constructs about the same phenomenon although logically consistent, may differ from one another. Such difference may be reduced through social persuasion or growing experiences, resulting in shared understanding among the members of a community. Further, when communities come together and arrive at a larger consensus, knowledge becomes increasing. Consensus is universal as far as this world is concerned).

### 9.2.1 Constructivism: Some Definitions

In the words of Vico (1710) "We can know nothing that we have not made." According to Von Glasersfeld (1989) constructivism is based on the belief that knowledge is not passively received but actively built up by the cognizing subject and the function of cognition is adaptive... and serves the organization of the experiential world, not the discovery of ontological reality." In the words of Martin Dougiamas (1998), a student of science education at Curtin University of Technology on Internet Technologies, Australia, observed: "Constructivism is building on knowledge known by the student. Education is student centered; students have to construct knowledge themselves. Explanations can use metacognition to explain via metaphor. Semiotics, or meanings of words, is important to keep in mind. Activism is a theory, a tool, a lens for examining educational practices." Bruner defines constructivism as a learning theory in which learning is seen as an active process in which learners construct new ideas or concepts based upon their current and past knowledge (Kearsley, 1999). As evident from these definitions, there is difference in how these four scholars belonging to constructivist tradition conceptualize constructivism, since originally they belonged to different disciplinary domains and Glasersfeld are philosophers,

Dougiamas is an Information Technologist and Bmner is 'an educator. This sampling of constructivist theorists is not meant to be exhaustive but should illustrate to you the diversity of the field of constructivism. We hope that you have not failed to notice that there is no fundamental incompatibility between their ideas. One can thus surmise that notwithstanding the various versions and interpretations, some common ideas, concepts and principles surface across constructivist theories. Let us examine them in greater detail, in the next section.

### 9.2.2 Principles of Constructivism

No main ideas that can be termed as the principles of constructivism are as follows:

- The learner is not a passive entity but an active cognizing subject. He/she plays an important role in learning and development of knowledge. Knowledge is not passively received or absorbed by the learner but actively built by him/her. What more this implies is that knowledge cannot be transmitted from one learner to another.
- Learners have to construct this knowledge themselves. The function of cognition is not the discovery representation of the world but adaptation. That is to say that cognition performs the function of organizing the learner's experiences of the world. Reality and truth are not the important notions related to knowledge.

What is of significance is that the learner constructs a viable explanation of his/her experiences. It is not important whether these explanations are factually correct or mirror the reality, but rather that they are self-constructed by the individuals. The goal of cognition is thus not the representation of an objective independent reality but our own attempt to understand and organize it. In order to do so we create a version of it by our own selves. This is the process of construction of knowledge.

**Check Your Progress 1**

Note: Write your answers in the space given below.

- 1) How does constructivism differ from Behaviorism and cognitivist in term of its assumptions about the nature of knowledge?

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- 2) Rewrite any one definition of constructivism proposed by any theorist in your own words.

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- 3) Explain in your own words what you understand from the notion of constructivism.

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- 4) As a student of education, are you attracted to the doctrine of constructivism? If yes, why?

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**9.3 CONSTRUCTIVISM IN EDUCATIONAL THEORY AND PRACTICE**

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Over the last two decades, constructivism has become increasingly acceptable as a perspective in education. Not only is it becoming acceptable, but is also gaining popularity. More and more scholars, researchers, educators and educational administrators are following the constructivist approach. Mainstream literature in educational psychology is according larger space to it. In met texts, introductory or advanced,

you will find a full chapter or even a unit devoted to it. There is doing an upsurge of interest in its implications for education. Teachers at school administrators increasingly embrace constructivist practices inside and out of the classroom. We shall study some of the implications of constructivism for education in a separate section later some of the reasons that have fuelled the popularity of constructivism are the following:

Educators are increasingly rejecting the philosophical basis of behaviorism. The Assumption of the passive learner is especially unacceptable. Almost all the Contemporary writers on education regard children as active and inherently Educable. The dominant modern view of child nature is completely opposite of Behaviorism. Increasing disenchantment with behaviorism, constructivism Offers a refreshingly contrasting alternative.

- Children's knowledge often involves systematic errors and misconceptions. Constructivism alone accounts for their formation. The formation of personal constructs, misconceptions and errors will become obvious to you, as you will study about Radical Constructivism in the forthcoming section.
- It explains variability in meaning, perception and understanding that learners attach to objects and events.
- In philosophy of science, doubts have developed about the accessibility of objective reality in the area of modern physics. If objective reality is not knowable even in an area as objective as physics, then the constructivist skepticism of objective knowledge is well founded.
- Constructivist theory is compatible with the interactional and cultural emphasis of theorists like Vygotsky and Bruner.

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## **9.4 TYPES OF CONSTRUCTIVISM**

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The parameters on the basis of which various versions of constructivism can be distinguished from each other are many. This is understandable in view of the loose and broad nature of the doctrine of constructivism. It can be therefore labeled in a variety of ways giving rise to many types of constructivism some of which we are now going to study. By far the most popular classification of constructivism is done by using a continuum ranging from weak to strong. The weak form is titled as trivial constructivism, and the strong form at the other end of the line is termed as radical constructivism. To understand these two types of constructivism we will return to the two principles of constructivism that we studied in the last section. Briefly stated again, the first principle assumes that the learner is an active rather than a passive being, while the second considers the function of cognition as adaptation rather than representation.

### 9.4.1 Trivial Constructivism

Von Glasersfeld first coined this term in 1990 calling it the simplest type of constructivism. One can say that trivial constructivism is contained in all other types of constructivism, which will become obvious to you as you proceed in this section. It also parallels the argument of personal constructivism that we will discuss later in this section. Trivial constructivism agrees only with the first of the two main principles of constructivism, that is, the learner is an active player in the process of construction of knowledge. Its central idea is that learners themselves construct mental structures on the basis of what they already know. Learning is not just passive absorption of information but active construction by the learner. New knowledge is actively constructed on the foundation of prior knowledge by the action of an active learner upon the world. Knowledge is thus never impersonal, as it is always someone's knowledge. Of course that someone is the learner. That is what we mean when we say that knowledge is not independent of the learner. It is also learner dependent in the sense that new knowledge is built on the basis of what the learner already knows.



It does not dismiss the objective reality of the environment but believes that this reality is knowable by the learner through the process of personal construction. The purpose of learning and cognition is construction of mental structures that mirror this reality. As a result of cognitive development the learner made constructions become better and better representations of this reality of the environment. The Information Processing theory can be regarded as one of the weakest forms of constructivism. It is constructivist as it views learning as an active process in which the learner's thought processes are engaged. Not only the learner's thought processes are involved but even emphasized, as the learner is endowed with the capacity for thinking, problem solving and going beyond the information given. Glasersfeld even regards the theory of Jean Piaget, as a case of trivial conservatism. Our formal system of education can also be regarded as an instance of trivial constructivism. The knowledge that it seeks to disseminate or the information that it transmits is fixed - given. This given (cumulus) is a piece of a larger body of knowledge that corresponds to an objective, singular, knowable part of reality and therefore every learner is expected to learn the 'same knowledge'. It is further believed that certain cognitive processes such as comparison, analysis, synthesis etc. will help in constructing knowledge, which will ultimately approximate the accepted form or validated knowledge. The trivial constructivists do not deny that different individuals make different constructions using different cognitive processes, but they largely attribute these differences to variety of experiences. Thus the differences in constructions can be reconciled by providing learners with appropriate experiences with a view to enable them to construct 'valid knowledge'.

### **9.4.2 Radical Constructivism**

This complex and difficult to describe notion is well summarized in the words of its most ardent advocate Glasersfeld (1990), who wrote, "Coming to know is a process of dynamic adaptation towards viable interpretations of experience. The learner does not necessarily construct knowledge of a 'real' world." Radical constructivism does not deny the

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objective reality, but considers it unimportant. . According to Glaserfeld we do not even have a way of knowing this objective reality. It is colored by the lenses of the learner's eyes by way of his /her experiences. It does not even matter if this perceived reality is a representation of objective reality, as the function of learning and cognition is not to correctly represent the objective world. The function of learning and cognition is adaptation, that is, the construction of viable explanations of the experiences of the learner. These construction help to impose an order on the learner's flow of continuing experiences in the, world. By now it may be evident to you from this discussion that radical constructivism follows both the principles of constructivism, the first of the active learner and the second that regards adaptation as in function of learning and cognition, by virtue of which the place of truth in knowledge is given to viability. You may also realize how necessary it was to recall the two principles of constructivism at the beginning of this section, as these served as a criterion for conceptualizing these two major types of constructivism. Conversely, the classification of constructivism as trivial and radical helps us better understand the two main features of constructivism. Let us conclude by stating that the critical difference between trivial and radical constructivism is with regards to the general function of cognition, which both conceptualize differently, while both emphasize the active role of individual learner as the constructor.

### **9.4.3 Personal and Social Constructivism**

This is another significant dimension along which constructivism can be classified depending on whether knowledge is regarded as an individual or a social construct even though the process in both cases is subjective. Personal and social constructivism is accordingly conceptualized as two types of constructivism. The former regards knowledge construction as an individual process, while the latter puts emphasis on the social environment or the context in which the learner is situated and constructs knowledge.

#### **Personal Constructivism**

Theorists and researchers located in this position can often be identified by the fact that they call themselves as constructivist and not social constructivist. So what are the identifying features of this version of constructivism? As evident from the title it regards the individual learner as the constructor of knowledge and prioritizes the individual aspects of learning. Learning and cognitive development involve individual sense making in an experiential world. A celebrated example of this is the great psychologist Piaget's theory that is generally called genetic epistemology, which you have studied earlier. It explains learning and cognitive development in terms of structures like individual schema and mental processes like organization and adaptation (assimilation and accommodation). The learner with the help of these structures and processes constructs knowledge himself/herself. So the learner though active is alone in this process of knowledge construction. You will now agree that such a theory about learning and cognitive development, one that accords primary place to individual structures, processes and constructs, is a type of personal constructivism. In the words of Piaget (1980) himself " Education, for most people, means trying to lead the child to resemble the typical adult of his society (whereas) for me, education means making creators, even if there aren't many of them, even if one's creations are limited by comparison with those of others."

### **Social Constructivism**

Social constructivism is founded on the thesis that social processes are central to learning and cognitive development. It regards knowledge as a social construct and prioritizes the social aspects of learning and cognitive development. Some of these social aspects are language, culture, everyday practices, material objects, interpersonal interaction, peer interaction, tools and symbols. Though the concept originated in sociology and philosophy, it has become increasingly popular in education in the last two decades. Though there is no consensus as to what it stands for; in educational theory and studies the social constructivist tradition is dominated by the legacy of L.Vygotsky. The ideas of American educator J. Bruner have also contributed to its heritage

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in recent years. Social Constructivism centers on the idea that the culture is a constituent of mind and therefore provides for structures which determine the construction of reality. In this sense, no knowledge constructions are asocial or a cultural. The learner appropriates and constructs meanings in response to his or her experiences in the social contexts. Cognition is socially situated and knowledge construction is a social activity rather than an individual enterprise, an outcome of the dialectical relationship between the individual and the social context. The primary origin of knowledge is not in the learner's interaction or action upon the objective world as is believed in personal constructivism. Knowledge and knowing are not a cultural entities unaffected by sociological contingencies. Knowledge originates in the social and material history of the culture to which the learner belongs. Mental processes including higher cognitive skills have social origins. Learning, cognition and cognitive development cannot be understood without going outside the individual, to the social and cultural processes from which they originate. Learning and cognition do not begin within the individual, but occur between individuals; that is to say that they take place on an interdenial rather than instrumental plane. It is from this interdenial plane that mental processes are internalized by individuals. Learning and development occur as a result of this internalization from outside, in a process, which is inter-subjective. In order to understand how children construct knowledge we need to examine the tools of culture. The cultural tools are both, physical and psychological. The implements used for fanning, the vehicles used for transport, machines used for various purposes, corrupters etc. are part of physical tools. Culture invents these tools in order to deal with the situations and overcome the limits imposed upon us by our biology. Constructivism Telescopes, microscopes hearing- aids, spectacles etc. are all examples of physical tools. On the other hand, language, sign systems, sign language, religious systems, legal systems, social institutions, different art forms or modes of creative expressions, folklore constitute the psychological tools. There are set (shared) ways of thinking, learning and teaching in a given culture. These are all part of psychological tools. The social constructivists' fully believe that humans interact with the physical world

only through cultural tools. Thus all knowledge is mediated and constructed essentially through these tools. The social constructivists do not separate mind from culture. To them learning is a social process involving the learner, the culture and the members of the society? The manner in which children of a culture are initiated into it, especially into its knowledge system also needs to be considered. Sociocultural theorist Lave (1988) conceptualized cognition as "complex social phenomenon distributed stretched over, not divided among - mind, body, activity and culturally organized settings (which include other actors)." To conclude we can say that social constructivism believes that the locus of knowledge is not in the individual but in society; learning and cognition are inherently social; and that cultural activities, tools and symbol systems play critical role in learning and cognitive development.

#### **9.4.4 Objectivism and Constructivism**

Constructivism is often contrasted with objectivism as if the two were the opposite ends of a line. Objectivism is based on the belief that knowledge should correspond to reality. The objectivist seeks to define knowledge as a representation of the reality of the world. The real world in turn is regarded as absolute, static, objective and independent of the learner. Knowledge is to be regarded as knowledge, only if it is a truthful mirror of the world. It is thus based on the objective reality of the world and is not dependent on the learner. Knowledge is thus conceptualized as objective and independent of the learner. Constructivism holds extremely opposite views about knowledge. To the constructivist knowledge is not absolute, static, objective or learner independent. As discussed earlier in this section, constructivism regards knowledge as part and parcel of the learner and experiences with the environment. It dismisses the notion of objectivity in knowledge; as knowledge is not supposed to match or discover reality. There is no need for it to correspond to a knowable, external reality! Or to be a truthful representation of it. Truth has little role, if any, to play in the conceptualization of knowledge. The notion of truth is replaced by viability in the conceptualization of knowledge.

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What viability implies is that the constructed knowledge should enable adaptation, that is, allows the learner to organize the experiential world.

### Check Your Progress 2

Note: Write your answers in the space given below.

- 1) Employing the two principles of constructivism, distinguish between trivial and radical constructivism.

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- 2) Write a significant commonality between Personal and Social Constructivism.

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- 3) Can the terms behaviorism and objectivism be used synonymously? If not, why? Will you agree with the statement that behaviorism has emerged from the objectivist tradition?

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## 9.5 CONSTRUCTIVIST FEATURES OF CONCEPTS IN COGNITIVE PSYCHOLOGY

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Two areas of study in mainstream cognitive psychology that appear to be quite 'learner independent' are perception and memory. In the following paragraphs we explain how even perception and memory can be conceptualized in a constructivist approach. The General Theory of Perception proposes that the learner's perception of the world involves

not a passive reception for taking in of stimulation, but an active process of sense making and interpretation. The learner's prior knowledge, expectations and learning play an important role in this process of making perceptual sense of the world. F.C.Bartlett views memory as a process of reconstruction from the stored traces of previous experiences. This process of reconstruction is not different than a construction, as it involves drawing meaning from stimuli in the environment, on the basis of which this reconstruction takes place. Even memory can be regarded as a method of construction.

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## **9.6 IMPLICATIONS OF CONSTRUCTIVISM FOR EDUCATION**

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Constructivism has important and far-reaching implications for educational theory and practice. In the previous sections we have examined some of the theoretical dimensions of constructivism. In the present section we will consider the main practice related implications of constructivist principles for learning and pedagogy. We will also outline the constructivist conditions of learning and the roles that constructivism accords to the teacher and the learner. The main features of a constructivist approach to learning and pedagogy are the following:

- i. The constructivist epistemology rejects a transmission model of knowledge. Consequently education is not based on the view that there is a fixed world of knowledge, transmitting of which to the learners, is the goal of education. Teaching and learning are not like the pipelines of the water supply distribution system of a city wherein the main supply reservoir is akin to the given body of knowledge, and the pipelines that carry water to the households, if they were sending this water of knowledge to the learner. The traditional role of teachers as instructors and of learners as recipients of this instruction is out of tune with the constructivist approach. Teaching involves facilitating opportunities to consumption of knowledge and learning involves making these constructions.

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- ii. The constructivist epistemology is based on the belief that new knowledge is constructed on the basis of prior knowledge. The prior knowledge that learners bring with them to the teaching-learning situation in the classroom should be brought to the forefront. This prior knowledge needs to be incorporated in the learning experiences that constitute teaching learning. On a visit to a primary school in district Bundi in Rajasthan, a teacher showed a yellow colored object to the children of class 11 and asked, "What color is this? ". A little girl jumped with excitement and said 'Khatti!' Her response was incomprehensible till the teacher told me that khatti means 'kadhi' (a preparation of buttermilk and gram flour garnished with turmeric). Since kadhi is yellow in color, her concept of yellow color is that of the color of 'kadhi'. The teacher then presented many more examples of yellow color and said that this is 'peela rang'(yellow color). Though it is difficult to say whether that child acquired the concept of 'yellow' or not, it nevertheless does tell us how children's new learning or constructions are based on their own previous constructions. Whether the teacher or the other children had 'kadhi' in their minds, this child's notion of reality was definitely based on it.

The prior knowledge varies from learner to learner depending upon the personal and social experiences that they have had in the past. It also varies from culture to culture. Therefore all learners cannot be expected to build on the same foundation. The learners can neither understand "the same things nor understand them in the same way. If learning is a constructive process then teaching needs to provide the opportunities for it by supplying the teaching learning experiences taking in account the prior learning and facilitating the building of new knowledge on this basis. For radical constructivists especially, the basis of teaching learning process should not be a predetermined body of knowledge that may be regarded



as essential or worthwhile knowledge by the teacher or the educational system; but what the learner already knows and is concerned about. The knowledge that is connected to the learner is more important than that which may be given in any discipline or area of study. Since the vantage point of knowledge construction is this preexisting knowledge of the learner, teachers need to probe and explore in detail what is the knowledge that learners bring with them. However, the social constructivists point out that individual constructions are essentially influenced by cultural constructs (accepted body of knowledge) as knowledge is a body of Shared, 'lived in experiences. For example, the readings that fine arts such as sketches, painting, sculpture; evoke in the viewers are based on common understanding shared by a community. The social constructivists consider knowledge as consensual and therefore emphasize the importance of discussion, collaborative learning, social negotiation, persuasion, and even demonstration like projecting models and sometimes direct instruction. Thus a teacher with a social constructivist orientation would acknowledge learners' personal constructions but would lead them, through the aforesaid processes, to a shared understanding of the phenomenon. Thus when the child said khatti to denote yellow the teacher may explain, "Yes khatti is yellow color but so is a lemon or mustard flower.

Thus they all belong to the color category called 'yellow' the trivial constructivism, however, believe that knowledge is absolute, fixed and knowable. They thus stress on enabling the learner to construct and reconstruct, organize and reorganize, to structure and restructure; then understand so that it matches or at least approximates the external reality.

- iii. The constructivist perspective assumes that an active learner has the capacity to construct knowledge himself/herself. The

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learner is not somebody who needs to be forced to learn by the teacher. She has an inherent capability for it. In fact, that is how knowledge develops. However, the active construction of knowledge is not an instant process, but takes time. It requires self-reflection on the part of the learner. Piaget in fact conceptualized the notion of 'horizontal elaboration', which implied that when children first acquire a new concept, they like to mentally, just play around with it for a while, that is to say that they want to elaborate it horizontally. Teaching learning situations thus need to allow time and opportunities for this sort of horizontal elaboration, and overall active construction of knowledge.

Driver (1988) listed the following six features of the constructivist perspective as it relates to schooling:

- Learners are purposive, active and responsible for their own learning. They bring their prior experiences and knowledge to all learning situations.
- The process of learning is regarded as active in the sense that it entails activity on the part of the learner.
- Knowledge is not a thing that exists out there but is personally and socially constructed.
- It is not only the learners who bring their prior experiences to learning situations; teachers also bring in their prior conceptions to the teaching learning situations.
- These prior conceptions are consanguine not only to the scholastic subjects they teach but also to their assumptions and viewpoint about teaching and learning.

- Teaching does not involve mere transmission of knowledge. It involves the organization of the learning situation and of tasks and opportunities, which facilitate the construction of knowledge.
- Curriculum is not a given that is to be learned; but a schedule of learning tasks, materials and resources by virtue of which learners construct their knowledge.

### **9.6.1 Constructivist Conditions of Learning**

Constructivist conditions of learning are those conditions that are helpful in accomplishing the constructivist goals of education, namely; the active construction of knowledge. There is no gain saying that they emphasize the process of learning rather than its product.

Jonassen (1994) mentioned eight attributes of the learning climate that can be regarded as the constructivist environment:

- It is characterized by multiple representations of reality.
- The complexity of the real world is evident in these representations.
- Knowledge construction rather than knowledge reproduction is emphasized.
- Authentic tasks are graded as important learning situations.
- Opportunities are arranged for real world settings or case based learning.
- Learners are encouraged to reflect on experience.
- Knowledge construction is not separated from content or context.
- Social negotiation and collaboration among learners h encouraged.

Viewing learning and cognition as a constructivist phenomenon implies constructivist conditions of teaching and learning. The first condition is

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that the teaching learning situation should involve a complex learning environment. The complexity of the learning environment reflects the complexity of the real world, and allows greater real world settings and experiences. It provides opportunity for intimation with and exploration of many aspects of the environment, due to which the nature and characteristics of the world can be discovered first hand. It has also highlighted the relationship among facts, principles, ideas and concepts in the immediate environment. It offers to the learner direct opportunities for experimentation because of which he/she develops capacities, procedures and skills for learning to learn. It blows for organization of a rich variety of activities and discovery learning. The verbal presentation of readymade knowledge is avoided, while personal discovery and active construction are nourished. The second condition of constructivist teaching learning environment is multiple juxtaposition instructional content. A single approach to a complex topic/concept sidesteps its significant aspects, which can become prominent from another vantage point. The varied dimensions of concepts and idea may become obviated or emphasized depending upon the perspective with which they are approached and considered. This can and in fact does lead to partial understanding, misconceptions, oversimplification, overgeneralization, learning failure and even patterns of learning failure. All this can be avoided if the same material / concept / topic can be examined from multiple perspectives. In the words of Spiro (1991) "revisiting the same material, at different times, in rearranged contexts, for different purposes, and from different conceptual perspectives is essential for attaining the goals of advanced knowledge acquisition." Multiple juxtaposition of institutional content implies that the same teaching learning material should be examined from multiple perspectives and positions. The third condition the constructivism implies for teaching and learning is that there should be focus on authentic activities and social processes. Authentic tasks and activities are very important learning situations, as they do not separate knowledge construction from its context. Authenticity implies that these activities and tasks have to be similar to those, which the learner comes across in the real life. It should bridge the hiatus between the classroom world and the real world, while also

highlighting the usefulness of school knowledge for everyday life. A complex learning environment allows for the incorporation of this authenticity. Such knowledge so constructed is authentic knowledge belonging to the learner in the context of one's own world. Almost all academic areas offer the possibilities of designing such contextual activities. Resnick (1987) lamented that in everyday life commonsense knowledge and school knowledge are becoming more and more mutually exclusive. Most learners make little connection, if any, between what they learn in the classroom and what they need to do in real life outside the school. Organization of authentic activities and tasks helps to construct context related knowledge and thereby bridges the gap between school and everyday life knowledge. Social constructivism, as you know advocates that leaning and cognitive development cannot be understood without reference to the social context in which they exist. Social processes are not only social processes but impakmt factors of cognitive growth. Social interaction is critical for learning and cognitive development. Conversation, cooperation, peers tutoring and group works are some of its significant processes. Learners make better sense of the world when they come together to construct meaning from the observed phenomenon and experienced events. It also facilitates the use of multiple perspectives to understand complex topics.

### **9.6.2 Becoming a Constructivist Teacher**

Do you agree with the adage that teachers tend to teach as they have been taught? If you do, then becoming a constructivist teacher is a daunting challenge, as most of us have been taught in the traditional, objectivist model. Constructivism is the dominant contemporary idea in education, and has far reaching implications for how teachers teach and learn to teach. Becoming a constructivist teacher requires professional preparation in which the constructivist characteristics are cultivated and nurtured. Constructivist teachers do not consider themselves as the containers of knowledge who pour it into the learners (who do not contain it). They ardently believe that the learner is capable of constructing knowledge himself 1 herself. They are master organizers of

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learning environments, situations and experiences which are organized in a way, that they bring learners' prior understanding to the forefront while putting forth problems that are not only important to learners but also emerge out of these prior understandings. When in the classroom, for example, the constructivist teacher first and foremost probes and thereafter draws upon the preexisting knowledge of learners. This knowledge is then challenged by putting forth some information, problem or task which though related to the former; cannot be understood, solved or accomplished solely by this prior knowledge. This challenge is a manifold one, situated as much as possible in the real world and the teacher is only one of the sources at the hands of the learner to resolve it. Learners may work individually or in groups, depending upon their own preference. Peer interaction and peer learning are, however, encouraged. Even though assessment can employ the standard paper pencil tools, it needs to incorporate self-evaluation and group evaluation.

### Check Your Progress 3

Note: Write your answers in the space given below.

- 1) Write about Constructivist Features of Concepts in Cognitive Psychology.

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- 2) What is meant by Constructivist Conditions of Learning?

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- 3) Discuss the Constructivist Teacher.

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## 9.7 LET US SUM UP

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Constructivism as a theory of knowledge rejects a static, passive or fixed view of knowledge and does not accord an objective value. Constructivism is centered on the idea that human knowledge and learning are actively constructed by the learner and not passively received from the environment. Knowledge involves mental structures that are constructed from past experience. Validity, truthfulness, or completeness of the structures is not important; because if knowledge is made, there is no singular, universal absolute knowledge; if reality is pluralistic, then it is meaningless to debate about what the truth is. There are two main ideas that can be termed as the principles of constructivism:

- (i) The learner is not a passive entity but an active cognizing subject;
- (ii) The function of cognition is not the discovery or representation of the world but adaptation. Constructivism is classified into trivial, radical, personal and social constructivism. Trivial constructivism does not discuss the objective reality of the environment but believes that this reality is knowable by the learner through the process of personal construction.

Radical constructivism does not deny the objective reality, but considers it unimportant. Personal constructivism regards the individual learner as the constructor of knowledge and prioritizes the individual aspects of learning. Social constructivism is centered on the idea that the culture is a constituent of mind and therefore provides for structures which determine construction of reality. In this sense, no knowledge constructions are asocial or a cultural. Constructivists hold extremely opposite views about knowledge to that of the objectivists. Objectivism is based on the belief that knowledge should correspond to reality. Constructivism has implications for educational theory and practice. The main features of a constructivist approach to learning and pedagogy are that constructivist epistemology, rejects a transmission model of knowledge, is based on the beliefs that new knowledge is constructed on

the basis of prior knowledge, and it assumes that an active learner has the capacity to construct knowledge himself/herself. For accomplishing constructivist goals of education the learning climate has to be created accordingly.

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## 9.8 KEY WORDS

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**Constructivism:** Constructivism in education has roots in epistemology. The learner has prior knowledge and experiences, which is often determined by their social and cultural environment. Learning is therefore done by students' "constructing" knowledge out of their experiences.

**Cognitive:** Cognition is "the mental action or process of acquiring knowledge and understanding through thought, experience, and the senses".

**Radicalism:** The term "Radical", during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, identified proponents of democratic reform, in what subsequently became the parliamentary Radical Movement.

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## 9.9 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

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- 1) At the end of your study of constructivism do you believe that education should be based on a fixed body of knowledge or it should rather be based on the child's own constructions of knowledge? Do you favor the pedagogy of transmission or that of construction? Why?
- 2) Describe the teaching-learning activities you would organize to create a constructivist learning environment for introducing a topic to your class.

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## 9.10 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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## 9.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Section 9.2
- 2) See Sub Section 9.2.1
- 3) See Sub Section 9.2.2

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Sub Section 9.4.1 and 9.4.2
- 2) See Sub Section 9.4.3

## Notes

3) See Sub Section 9.4.4

### Check Your Progress 3

1) See Section 9.5

2) See Sub Section 9.6.1

3) See Sub Section 9.6.2

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# UNIT 10: CULTURAL THEORY

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## STRUCTURE

10.0 Objectives

10.1 Introduction

10.2 What is culture?

10.2.1 Types of Culture

10.3 Some discussions on the evolution of the concept

10.3.1 Nature vs. nurture

10.3.2 The Issue of Culture Diversity

10.3.3 Cultures: Sources of Conflict, Sources of Cooperation

10.3.4 Culture and civilization

10.4 Approaches to the study of culture: an overview

10.5 Different approaches to the study of culture

10.5.1 Culture and Foreign Policy

10.5.2 Initial approaches to the study of culture

10.5.3 Culture and Marxist thought

10.5.4 Cultural Studies as a discipline

10.6 Implication Cultural Studies on International Relation

10.7 Let us Sum up

10.8 Key Words

10.9 Questions for Review

10.10 Suggested readings and references

10.11 Answers to Check Your Progress

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## 10.0 OBJECTIVES

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After reading this Unit you will be able to:

- To understand the broad scope of what culture encompasses;
- To understand how culture is approached as a subject of study of International Relation;
- To describe the various approaches to culture; and
- To list the various ways in which culture has been studied, both in the past as well as now.

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## 10.1 INTRODUCTION

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In this unit we can able to discuss about the Cultural theory of International relation. Richard Ned Lebow introduces his own constructivist theory of political order and international relations based on theories of motives and identity formation drawn from the ancient Greeks. His theory stresses the human need for self-esteem, and shows how it influences political behavior at every level of social aggregation. Lebow develops ideal-type worlds associated with four motives: appetite, spirit, reason and fear, and demonstrates how each generates a different logic concerning cooperation, conflict and risk-taking. Expanding and documenting the utility of his theory in a series of historical case studies, ranging from classical Greece to the war in Iraq, he presents a novel explanation for the rise of the state and the causes of war, and offers a reformulation of prospect theory. This is a novel theory of politics by one of the world's leading scholars of international relations.

Over a distinguished career, Lebow has consistently challenged conventional categories of thinking about international relations. In this magisterial new volume, he lays out his own sweeping theory of society, history, and international order. Whereas realists start their analysis with states operating in anarchy and liberals start with societies in the modernizing world, Lebow starts with individuals, psychology, and human motives. Following ancient Greek thought, he posits that individuals build social order around a few core impulses of the human psyche: spirit, appetite, and reason. Across the ages, political orders have relied on different mixes of these primal impulses to achieve a stable peace. Drawing on philosophy, history, political science, social psychology, and theories of identity, Lebow builds a "paradigm of politics" that seeks to account for variations over time in the way governance has been organized. A rich intellectual feast ensues, as he depicts alternative world orders built around different combinations of spirit, appetite, and reason. Chapters on specific time periods explore how values and practices have evolved over the grand sweep of time, with spirit-based politics having given way to the shifting calculations of

appetite, the conflict-prone sentiments of fear, and the restraining impulses of reason. Architectonic and provocative, this book will take its place alongside other major theories of world politics

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## 10.2 WHAT IS CULTURE?

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It is important for us to know how culture is defined. The following section will discuss its meaning.

Raymond Williams in his book *Keywords* says that the word culture is "one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language". There are varying opinions and points of view as to what the word actually means or signifies. It is a good point of departure, as it suggests the problems inherent in the defining of the word, and points towards its complexity. According to Chris Jenks culture embraces 'a range of topics, processes, differences and even paradoxes'. This seems to point more towards the difficulties in circumscribing the word culture rather than resolving what the term signifies. More and more, we find ourselves encountering the word at every turn in our daily life and also in academic discourses. If we hear the common man, the newspapers and our neighbours lamenting the degradation of our culture, or talking about our ancient traditions and values implicit in our culture, and how our culture is being threatened or destroyed by the changing times, we also hear and see how culture as a discipline is increasingly being studied at various organizations and universities. This has led to the development of MA courses in Cultural Studies. In fact even as you read this, you might be aware that the study material you are reading is for a course on Folklore and Culture Studies. You must have realized that the difficulty of circumscribing the word culture comes from the varied ways in which the word is approached. Cultures can thus be "understood as systems of symbols and meanings that even their creators contest, that lack fixed boundaries, that are constantly in flux, and that interact and compete with one another".

### 10.2.1 Types of Culture

### **Types of Cultures: Political, Strategic and Organisational Cultures**

'Culture' is difficult to define but an easily understood and **important concept** in international affairs. At the basic level culture is 'the human made part of the environment' which can be communicated, and which provides the patterns, meanings and knowledge of human activity socially and in relation to the world (See Hudson 1997b, pp2-4 for some further definitions). Part of the problem with culture is that it is so inclusive that it is hard to know what to exclude (Hudson 197b, p2), and therefore it is very hard to 'operationalise' the concept and make exact behavioural experiments about it. It tends to be a fuzzy concept that is hard to usefully define.

Rather than try to cover all the meanings of 'culture', we can start this discussion by briefly outlining **three areas where culture is often found useful in discussing international affairs**. They are the related areas of **political, strategic and organisational cultures**, suggesting that different societies may structure these three areas of human activity in different ways.

A technical definition of **political culture** can be given: 'Political culture is all of the discourses, values, and implicit rules that express and shape political action and intentions, determine the claims groups may and may not make upon one another, and ultimately provide a logic of political action' (Hudson 1977b, p10). However, as Valerie Hudson has noted, this is very hard to distinguish from general notions of culture (Hudson 1997b, p10), since politics is deeply concerned about power and human relationships.

There is no denying that **leaders can often be empowered when they seem to embody or symbolise deeply held cultural beliefs** of a nation (Hudson 1997b, p13). Numerous individuals or groups have staked a place on the world stage through linking cultural aspirations with political action, e.g. the desire for a 'proper place under heaven' in modern China, on which Deng Xiaoping based many of his policies, the current aspirations of India to be recognised as an advanced technological power, France's claim to be both a cultural and military

power (under several Presidents including President Chirac), the aspirations for German unification which became a major feature of former Chancellor Kohl's leadership from 1989, were all based in part on cultural claims.

**Strategic culture** overlaps with many of the features of political culture. Strategic culture essentially concerns **the methods nations and other groups choose to achieve their goals**, and the cultural factors which affect the way they seek cooperation or competition in the international scene. As you saw last week, several thinkers have argued that China tends to have a very strong strategic tradition which influences political activity, foreign affairs and defence activities (see Fairbanks & Kierman 1974; Zhang & Yao 1996; Dellios 1994; Dellios 1997; Ferguson 1998a). From this perspective, **in times of warfare or intense conflict, certain cultural trends may be intensified**, and become even more important than otherwise.

**Organisation culture** refers to typical ways society's structure power relations in institutions, organise groups to achieve goals, and promote economic activities. Patterns of leadership, manager-worker relations, styles of cooperation and conflict, patterns of openness and secrecy, can be affected by broader cultural conceptions. Unique patterns of organisation culture, and the relationship between political and economic systems, can be detected in Carthaginian, Roman, Islamic, Chinese, Malay and Japanese culture (in general see Nathan 1993a; Nathan 1993b; Chen 1992; Ferguson 1998b), though all these cultures have also been able to adapt to changed circumstances. The **ability to build viable and strong institutions which can carry out their tasks and even adapt** their roles has been a major feature of the American and European traditions, while others would see distinctive advantages in American, Japanese and Chinese business organisations.

The overlapping of these three areas, however, suggests that 'culture' often has a very broad, background effect on behaviours and institutions, and does not determine all aspects of its legal or economic operations. Instead of looking at these three concepts separately, we will look at **how**

**culture is used in international affairs**, using a wide range of examples.

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### **10.3 SOME DISCUSSIONS ON THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT**

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It becomes important for one to know the differences between nature and nurture (as a cultural concern) and also the characteristics between civilization and culture. The following sections given below will discuss them in detail.

#### **10.3.1 Nature vs. nurture**

The ambit of the cultural was a sense of the ontology of humankind as distinct from other 'natural' kinds. Culture is a distinct category. The idea of the cultural thus focused on the symbolic, ideal aspects of human society, which are constituted through and in language and linguistic medium and other forms of human interaction. Human beings, as they developed, became very different from the other creatures of the world in the sense that they were not governed by the forces of nature in a way that other creatures were. Rather nature too was viewed through the symbolic mode of culture. This symbolic mode was, as mentioned, primarily linguistic, but with the passage of time included customs, rituals, and conventions also. In course of time, this conglomerate of symbols led to the formation of groups, various classifications and categorizations. It can be thus said that, "Culture is roughly anything we do and the monkeys don't." Lord Raglan. Culture, considered in this way, means something determined by human beings themselves. Animals function on a natural or genetic level. For example, a puppy instinctively knows the danger posed by fire. A human baby, on the other hand, needs its parents to tell about the danger or else the risk of being hurt. Culture is the repository of human knowledge that is learnt and built up over generations, transmitted through language. As soon as humans were able to pass on knowledge, orally or materially, they passed down culture. Thus culture meant the domain of the human as different from that of other creatures. This idea of the word culture foregrounds the idea of a



unified human race as different from other species. From here, the dimensions and interpretations of the word culture took an entirely different route amongst the scholars, and the idea of culture became synonymous with the ideas of categorization, classification and establishment of hierarchies within it.

There are many different accounts of how the word culture originated. The most plausible one is that which dates back to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when there was a change from the agrarian to industrial and technological way of life. There had never been anything remotely like it in the history of mankind before, and consequently, there was a tremendous upheaval in the nature of human experience. Machines and technology generated massive changes. In order to be able to comprehend these changes and also to be able to come to terms with them, a number of social theories also proliferated during this time. Urban high-rises are the manifestations of modern civilization. They exemplify human achievement, the progress of the human intellect and the triumph of the will of man. The picture here shows how these buildings help us envision an urban culture. The unprecedented changes of the times were all justified on the grounds that they were necessary for the 'progresses of mankind. Many felt though, that machines were becoming too dominant for man's good, some others felt that man was going away from his original character. Thus culture, which was, as we have just seen, initially used to differentiate between man and nature, is subsequently used to differentiate between man and machine. (Jenks 7) Culture is thus different from human nature as it is closely linked up both to progress and civilization. We need to understand its interaction and relationship which will be discussed in the next section.

### **10.3.2 The Issue of Culture Diversity**

There are several key issues which emerge from the enormous cultural diversity of civilizations, societies, and sub-communities around the world. **Cultural extinctions** have been occurring at a rapid rate over the last three thousand years, especially as small societies are destroyed or

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incorporated by more powerful groups. In the past, the formation of kingdoms and empires was the main driving force for this. Today, the main driving forces seem to be the formation and maintenance of nation-states, and the forces of globalisation. We can glimpse of these problems by the way that **languages** carried by these cultures are in some cases undergoing extinction, e.g. some 200 languages in Africa are in serious decline and may soon now longer be living languages, while 17 languages in the former USSR are in danger (Brenzinger et al. 1991; Kibrik 1991). One estimate suggests that of 'the 5,000-6,700 extant languages, more than half will probably be extinct by the end of the 21<sup>st</sup> century' (Kellman 2001).

However, **diversity can be a crucial human resource**. There is an argument from biology which suggested that a minimum number of viable species is required to maintain a stable ecosystem. Likewise, unique plants and animals once lost are almost impossible to resurrect, and their unique natural function, as well as chemical, medical and industrial uses can also be lost. The bio-diversity argument is paralleled by an argument concerning **cultural diversity**. For example, the European Union has argued that its diversity of languages is both a problem and a **resource**, and that economic efficiency can be developed while protecting a range of different subcultures and unique heritages in Europe (Attali 1997). The cultural and linguistic diversity of Europe, alongside its contesting states, may have helped drive forward the Renaissance and the Industrial revolution, in contrast to the more unifying and ultimately more stagnant state of knowledge in Imperial China (Ridley 1998). From this point of view, linguistic diversity is also a resource (Muhlhausler 1994). Likewise, the emphasis in European languages on causality and instrumentality make it difficult to really view 'nature' as more than a resource (Muhlhausler 1994), rather than a living entity with its own place in the human order.

**Biological, philosophical, linguistic and cultural diversity are all important aspects** (Sangalli 1996) of living in a wider and more adaptive society. Already, business groups and corporations have tried to

turn around this 'problem' of diversity into a resource, though sometimes dealing with cultural diversity in a rather functionalist way. Terms such as 'human resources' and 'social capital' recognise the vast array of human skills needed to create functioning large-scale modern societies. Likewise, governments, including those of Australia and the US, have tried to use the skills and knowledge of minority and ethnic groups to improve their foreign relations and trade competitiveness.

Another problem is that cultural theory can sometimes be interpreted to suggest that certain cultures are so unique that they therefore cannot readily take part in any national or cosmopolitan mix. Taken to extreme, **cultural essentialism** can feed conceptions of an **exclusive nationalism**, xenophobic conceptions of superiority, or fears of culture pollution and identity-loss (Iriye 197, p8). New or fragile nations often appeal to specific ethnic, national, religious, or cultural considerations to reinforce their sense of identity, and to develop loyalty to a new or threatened state structure, e.g. in 'Serbia' (actually two Serbian local states exist, one in rump Yugoslavia, the other within Bosnia), Bosnia, Chechnya, Latvia, Iraq, and Pakistan. Indeed, political polarisation and the creation of ethnic myths are often needed to create this kind of nationalism, and encourage ethnic groups with whom they have often lived in relative peace in the past (this is particularly the case in the Balkans and the Middle East).

Even at a more moderate level, the **contrast between national culture verses internationalism** can complicate foreign relations. In Japan, for example, the word *bunka* became popular in the 1920s in contrast to 'civilisation and enlightenment'. Rather than simply Westernising and modernising (as in the early Meiji Westernisers), this was a claim of unique Japanese 'essence' which should not be ignored in national policy (Gaenslen 1997, p266). In the broader history of Japanese foreign policy, there has been this tendency to **veer between conceptions of Japan as fitting into a basically Western world order, and Japan as a unique civilisation able to make a particular contribution in the Asian world** (Johnson 1994; Morris-Suzuki 1995). Japan can thus swing

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towards or away from various poles of cooperation, e.g. between China and the US, between seeking deeper integration in Asian verses a more general role in world affairs (Johnson 1994). This, of course, may be part of a deeper **identity crisis** in Japanese culture, turning to the West for enrichment, then back in search of unique Japanese 'soul' (Johnson 1994). Here, some of the negative cultural assertiveness of 1930s and 1940s has left a complicating legacy, with Japan for a time claiming cultural leadership of a proposed Asian co-prosperity sphere (Iriye 1977, pp134-136; For Japan's early efforts to provide a modernising role in Northeast Asia, see Kim 1980). Today, any such indirect leadership would be based on increased trade with Asia, and on Japan's *technonationalism*, combined with a comprehensive view of her security (see Ferguson 1995 for a fuller description).

Culture, in this sense, can also be 'an assertion of both national unity and national independence' (Gaenslen 1997, p266). **Culture, cultural diplomacy and particular institutional cultures can therefore form important parts of national strategy.**

The main trend recently has been to recognise that the world consists of **hundreds of different subcultures and cultural groups**, operating at the level of the village, tribe, local region, city, nation, state, and civilizational groupings. Diversity of cultures has been actively recognized as the **counterbalance to the quest for a core set of human values** (Iriye 197, p141), and the push towards some sort of integrating **global geo-culture**. Agencies such as UNESCO have actively taken on this diversity of cultures as one its key resources, and even transnational corporations, though pushing for a specific material and economic culture, are now trying to utilise cultural understandings and local cultural symbols for their own benefit. Here there is a major issue about how far regimes, governments, and systems of international governance can cope with widely diverse cultural systems. This has led to tensions in globalisation, in the pursuit of human rights, the maintenance of concepts of a truly just international law, and even within countries serious debates about pluralism, multiculturalism and national

culture (this can be so intense that it has been labelled in the US as **culture wars**, Iriye 1997, p171). Alternative models of cultural accommodation, ranging across options such as multiculturalism, political pluralism, the promotion of cosmopolitanism, and the creation of a core national culture, remain hotly debated.

### 10.3.3 Cultures: Sources of Conflict, Sources of Cooperation

There are numerous ways that cultural system reduce or aid conflict and cooperation. One of the simplest problems has been that of **cultural imperialism** whereby a dominant political or economic power can impose its power on others, or create conditions whereby its culture has preference. This was the case with most European empires (including the Spanish, French, English and Dutch). In the contemporary period, the US is often seen as directly and indirectly aiding **Americanisation**, largely through companies spreading cultural commodities (see Week 1) as well as having strong educational, research, media and publishing industries. Americanisation seems to have been experienced in part in cultures as diverse as Austria, Japan, Saipan and Australia.

However, it must also be remembered that **American culture itself has been greatly broadened by cosmopolitan influences**, most from Europe since World War I, and increasingly through more prominence to Latin American, African and Asian cultural streams. Some would argue that in large measure American culture has now become rather **de-centred** (Iriye 1997, p84) and what is being spread around the world is much more than a WASP American culture. This means there can be more bridges between commodities and local cultures, but of course does not guarantee a genuinely cosmopolitan media or multi-valued production system.

Furthermore, even though certain aspects of 'Western/American' culture may have been adopted (media, economic models etc.) this does not guarantee a complete adoption of social and political values, even today

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(see Emmerson 1998 for limitations to this *Westernism* even in East Asia. For French 'resistance', see Moïsi 1998). **Resistance remains a viable strategy** for many communities even in the face of global forces. There are 'many African, Asian, and Oceanic small-scale societies' which are alive and quite able to utilise elements of both local and Western culture (Howell 1995, p171). Diffusion (ranging from religions, arts, dance, music and views on nature) is occurring between a wide range of cultural groupings (Howell 1995, pp172-176). Likewise, since the 1990s a distinct resistance to the more superficial elements of global culture, sometimes viewed as 'anti-culture' or de-civilizing, has emerged in many countries, including Italy, France, Hungary, and India, sometimes dubbed '**culture jamming**'(2). A wide range of **patterns of resistance** can be utilized even by weaker groups ranging from **passive resistance, inertia, non-violent protest, legal obstruction, creative re-adaptation of the product, popular violence, or selective sabotage through to outright terrorism** (see Pettman 1991 for further examples).

A related problem is the issue of **cultural appropriation**, where cultural elements are taken from the context of their society and reused in a new context, often as part of an academic or commodified 'product'. This can be harmless, but in other cases leads to a complete misinterpretation of the source culture (Howell 1995, pp164-166), can infringe religious customs and in other cases is a blatant theft of intellectual property. This **knowledge is still often viewed as a type of power that can be appropriated and used by a dominant group**.

However, this does not mean that all **cultural tourism** is destructive. We can take a case once again from Bali. Here tourists regularly watch cultural performances with a unique cultural and spiritual dimension (see Hobart et al. 1996, pp129-136). In most cases the language, music, symbols and religious meanings remain beyond even an intelligent visitor. Yet certain elements can be understood at a basically human level. In the Barong dance, for example, there is a humorous, half-cooperative half-aggressive dance between a monkey and the Barong (a good mythical creature, which nonetheless has sharp teeth). The interplay

is designed to humorous, and is understood at this level by a widely diverse international audience.

### 10.3.4 Culture and civilization

*The first human who hurled an insult instead of a stone was the founder of civilization.*

- Sigmund Freud

The term civilization is often used synonymously with the word culture. Often, culture/civilization is used to refer to complex agricultural/urban modes of living, which are distinguished from other cultures in their organization and activity. Civilization/ culture is also used in a normative sense to distinguish from vulgar, barbaric, savage and inferior. In this sense, civilization signifies a state of belonging to a certain community - a static concept; the term culture is more dynamic, associated with the ideas of growth and development. This can be made clear from the below quote, Thus we move into the ideas of socialization as 'cultivating' the person, education as cultivating the mind and colonization as 'cultivating' the natives. All of these uses of culture, as process, imply not just a transition but also a goal in the form of 'culture' itself; it is here that hierarchical notions begin to emerge such as the 'cultured person' or 'cultivated groups or individuals' and even the idea of a 'high culture', all of which reduce the metaphoricity of process and begin to coalesce with the original notion of a descriptive state of being not essentially unlike the formative idea of civilization itself (Jenks 8).

#### Check your progress 1

Note: Write your answers in the space given below.

- 1) Discuss the Types of Culture.

.....  
 .....

- 2) Explain the difference between culture and nature of man.

- .....  
.....  
.....  
3) Discuss the relation of Culture and civilization.  
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## 10.4 APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF CULTURE: AN OVERVIEW

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Culture as a term has evolved through the passage of time. According to Raymond Williams, there is a stage by stage evolution of the concept of culture. The original meaning of the word was related to the tending of crops and animals. Culture in that sense was hence synonymous with agriculture. As we have discussed just now, during the Enlightenment, the word 'culture' was used synonymously with 'civilization'. Thus the use of the word was related to the progress being made during the Industrial phase of European society in particular, and was by and large referred to in the singular.

Culture is likely to be important in influencing values, world-views, and the structure of human relationships. In general, 'culture tells us what to want, to prefer, to desire, and thus to *value*.' (Hudson 1997b, p8). The way culture can affect attitudes and social relations has already been verified in a wide range of areas, including varying patterns of individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, power distance and cultural complexity. (Hudson 1997b, p8). In summary, **cultural variables can be shown to affect a wide range of social, political and business behaviours**. However, it is less clear whether a particular culture in general can ever be used to predict an individual response, the way a government may act in a particular case, or the outcome of a specific negotiation. Furthermore, individuals may utilise chunks of culturally acknowledged behaviour to meet their own ends, often in an individual or creative way (Hudson 1997b, p9). Culture and knowledge systems can also be competitive and contested; they can empower some



and exclude others. There is thus 'a darker side to knowledge: the fear of failing to master it, of being excluded from it, of becoming its object' (Hobart 1995, p49).

We can, of course, look at the way that culture influences the **decisions of leaders** and restricts government action through popular pressure. Culture is certainly an important element which affects **foreign policy**. However, at a deeper level, we can also argue that **international relations in its broadest sense are itself the product of the interaction of different cultures**. In this sense, international affairs are also an intellectual and cultural phenomenon, 'of which changing ideas of war and peace are important aspects' (Iriye 1997, *pix*). Just as to some extent national communities must be 'imagined' and created (Iriye 1997, p16, following Anderson 1983), so too international relations can be imagined and re-invented. Akira Iriye would argue that 'the internationalist imagination has exerted a significant influence in modern world history' (Iriye 1997, p16), e.g. the vision needed to create the League of Nations and the United Nations, as well as to create hundreds of diverse international organisations (IGOs, International Government Organisations and IGNOs, International Non-Government Organisations, which perform diverse international roles).

There is another crucial way in which culture shapes international affairs. The culture itself has to acknowledge that there is some sort of '**world-system**' or **world society**, and to support the idea of reaching out into this broader world. Different societies took very different views on how models of this world should be constructed. China, in the imperial past, developed a system of Asian international relations based on the **tribute system**, with a core civilised area, surrounded by frontier states linked by tribute, then a more distant 'wild' region. In traditional Western Christendom, a community of Christian nations was envisaged as the basis real community and international law - only later on would non-Europe nations be recognized as fit to join this club or be accepted as part of this 'civilised' community (Iriye 1997, p20). In Islam there was a recognition of a **zone of peace, the *Dar al Islam*** surrounded by a potentially hostile *Dar al-Harb*, the zone of war. Both Christianity and

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Islam had certain universal tendencies, trying to reach out to all of mankind. In the modern period, with the end of most European Empires, the **state system** first developed in 17<sup>th</sup> century Europe was extended to virtually all of the planet, as the world was carved up by borders based on some over 184 nation states. There has been a rapid expansion of states as some Federal states, e.g. Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, fragmented into a number of smaller entities, many of which demonstrate serious problems in the viability of the state system (see Huntington 1996, p33-36).

This state system has become dominant in the last one hundred years, but is also challenged by the **needs of states, cultures, economies and civilisations to interact**. What is paradoxical is that at the same time as the state system has strengthened, so too has the need to interact internationally, thereby supporting trends towards internationalism. We can sample this by a glimpse at some **international organisations and related developments**.

*Examples of International Cooperation Trends 1851-1945* (Compiled from Iriye 1997 & Nolan 1995).

- Creation of *Red Cross* in 1859 (and later on Red Crescent)
- 1885 International Institute of Statistics (standardising national statistical data)
- 1888 International Council of Women
- 1889 International Workingman's Association (= The Second International)
- The Hague Conference in 1899, met to strengthen international law
- Creation of 400 international institutions before World War I
- Universal Postal Union, created 1874 (standard weights and measure to aid international mail)
- Creation of Parliament of Religions (Chicago, 1893)
- Holding of 42 international Exhibitions and Expositions 1851-1914 (similar to World fairs, Iriye 1997, p30)

- Proposal to develop *Esperanto* as an international language (first textbook in 1887)
- 1910, Brussels, creation of *Union des Associations Internationales*, serving as headquarters for 132 'cross-national organizations' (Iriye 1997, p32)
- 1928 Pact of Paris, legal agreement trying to renounce use of force to end international disputes
- 1928 creation of World Association of Cooks' Societies (now has 1.5 million members in 52 countries, Iriye 1997, p173)
- The creation of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO constitution completed in 1945)

Today, there are thousands of key International Government and Non-Government organisations (IGOs and INGOs) performing hundreds of tasks (see for example National Standards Association, 1993; Henderson 1998). At first these organisations were largely focused on Western nations (the West and its empires controlled 84% of the earth's territory in 1914), with invited other members, e.g. Japan, Persia Turkey etc. However, after World War 2 it can be seen that the end of most colonial empires most had to develop a wider focus.

**Internationalism itself is therefore an attitude** and has cultural features, which found expression in new and vigorous institutions. What was emerging through these trends was: -

- a **pragmatic need to coordinate international activity** as global interactions expanded
- and the creation of '**a vision of international community interests** and ideals, an imagined world order in which these interests and ideals would overcome differences and antagonisms among nations' (Iriye 1997, p32)

The key element which was revolutionary was the idea of a mindset which used a vision of international order in transnational debates, and also went beyond narrow national culture. From this point

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of view 'the modern hero went out to conquer his enemy through creating a mutual understanding', which could only occur by developing 'a group culture which shall be broader than the culture of one nation alone' (M.K. Follett in Iriye 1997, p60).

However, **the currently used notion of a truly universal, integrated global culture**, i.e. a universal civilisation, is very much the **product of Western civilisation** (Hobart 1995, p50), and tended to develop as West nations expanded and reached out to control much of the globe. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, 'the concept of a universal civilization helps justify Western cultural dominance of other societies and the need for those societies to ape Western practices and institutions. Universalism is the ideology of the West for confrontations with non-Western cultures' (Huntington 1996, p66). It is not surprising, therefore, that the interpretation of the role of culture in international affairs is a **highly controversial and highly contested area**. Furthermore, such a claim to global dominion has a down side, since such self-confidence is 'likely to ignore what people are actually doing somewhere in the world' outside the preconceived mind-set (Hobart 1995, p68).

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## 10.5 DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF CULTURE

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### 10.5.1 Culture and Foreign Policy

One area where there has been some effort to understand the impact of different cultures has been in study the way actors (leaders or institutions) **reach decisions in foreign affairs** (Hudson 1997b, pp4-7), especially during times of crisis. Aside from individual characteristics and psychology, governmental politics and structure, it is often assumed that individuals must be affected to some degree by the differences in their societies, their historical experiences, value systems and language structures. Here micro-cultures might be important (Hudson 1997b, p16), e.g. those in particular professions, areas of research, different groups in government, the graduates of a particular university.

The **leading questions** include: -

- How do cultural differences lead **nations to predictable patterns of interaction**?
- 'Under what conditions would we expect culture to play a more important role in **international interactions**?' (Hudson 1997b, p18)
- Do '**cultural syndromes**' lead to predictable 'propensities of thought, reaction, and action'? (Hudson 1997b, p18)
- Is the **protection of national culture and identity** itself a core 'national interest'?
- What are the **dynamics of cultural change** and how can this be measured, along with its impact on foreign policy? (Hudson 1997b, p18)

Since the 1920s, however, governments have often tried to use culture in foreign affairs; promoting their own languages, music, media and views overseas (this in the past was usually a promotion of 'high culture'). It was thus recognized that there were **cultural borderlands** where different cultures interact, and of the usefulness of **cultural diplomacy**. Britain and France have been willing to promote their own language and culture as part of nation-to-nation diplomacy, e.g. the operation of the British Council throughout the world, e.g. in Malaysia. Likewise, Turkey has tried to benefit from its position as a culture borderland between Europe and the Central Asia, trying to capitalise on its access to European trade and technology, as well as a tradition cultural connection with the Turkish speaking people of most of central Asia (the cultural area known as Turkestan). Culture has had a complex interaction with questions of political legitimacy in Asia, and has had a complex impact on countries in Eastern Europe, America, and the Middle East (for examples, see Alagappa 1995 Hudson 1997a; Chay 1990).

The **Cold War** itself also saw an extremely active phase of the **use of culture** in international relations: -

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The ideal of cross-national cultural communication and understanding, of course, was compromised by the geopolitical realities of the cold war, as the United States and the Soviet Union waged what has been called World War III on all fronts. Cultural activities, ranging from intelligence gathering and propaganda in the media to student exchanges and subsidies to foreign intellectuals, became instruments of official policy. International power relations defined to that extent, international cultural relations. (Iriye 1997, p151).

Culture, then, could be put to use in **propaganda and ideological battles**. We can glimpse this in two major works published and promoted during the World War II and Cold War period. Hans Morgenthau's *Politics Among Nations: the Struggle for Power and Peace* was written in this period precisely to justify the culture of political realism in a world of conflict (see lecture 2). Likewise, Karl Popper wrote a famous work of political philosophy, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, during the early part of this period to attack both fascism and communism, arguing that both undermined democratic societies. These works supported specific political and cultural views of how societies and the international system should operate. Today, many proponents of Western-led globalisation can also be accused of Western 'globalism', i.e. supporting the dominance of a particular 'rationalistic' culture from which they benefit (for one telling critique, see Saul 1993).

Likewise, **Japan** from the 1980s also relied on **cultural exchange as one of its three pillars of foreign policy**, the other two being security and economic activities, a trend which first developed under Prime Minister Takeshita Noboru (Iriye 1997, p167). One of the key elements of this has been the promotion of Japanese cultural events overseas, and an extensive programme of student exchange which has allowed foreign students to enter Japan in large numbers. The Japanese ambassador to Australia suggested in 1998 that this student exchange remains important, and would like to see Australia make a larger reciprocal effort to bring Japanese students to Australia through scholarships and exchange programmes.

**International organisations have also tried to benefit from cultural diplomacy** and by developing cultural internationalism. The **Non-Aligned Movement** (NAM, now with 113 members), right from the Bandung Conference held in Indonesia in 1955, argued for active cultural exchange, but this was never followed up, thereby not building active bridges of understanding between Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America which would have strengthened other forms of cooperation (Iriye 1997, pp161-162). This has changed to some extent with the speeches made at recent NAM and G-77 meetings, where at least a critical view of certain aspects of the modern global system is often expressed. Note for example, the speeches made by the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dr. Mahathir at the NAM meeting in 1995 and other international conferences in that year (See Mahathir 1995a & 1995b), as well as his vigorous speech at the 1997 ASEAN Region Forum, suggesting a serious review of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). Thus the NAM conferences have tried to bring together converging political and cultural views that allow for greater cooperation among developing nations. Its current main agenda is the eradication of poverty and the move towards sustainable development in its member countries, thereby giving the organisation relevance after the end of the Cold War.(1)

Other organisations have made a positive use of culture. Aside from the heritage and retrieval roles of **UNESCO**, the **ASEAN** organisation (the Association of South East Asian Nations) has been quite successful in promoting a consensus-based system of inter-state relations based on the principle of non-interference. This has led to a certain **sharing of styles of diplomacy and business practice**, at least among elites in Southeast Asia. ASEAN itself provides a nuanced example of how trade, cultural patterns, and dialogue can mix to create a successful international organisation (for further detail, see Dellios & Ferguson 1997). ASEAN itself has largely been able to impress the wider international environment with these values through its central role in the extended dialogue groups of the ASEAN Regional Forum, and through the Asia-

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Europe meetings that have proceeded since 1996. In spite of numerous criticisms, some system of shared values in Southeast Asia does seem to be influencing foreign affairs, and to some extent resisting certain Western claims (see Dupont 1996; Hitchcock 1994 for critical accounts). The conception of '**Asian values**' is now under vigorous attack **intellectually** with the currency crises in parts of Asia, and with political problems emerging in styles of Asian leadership, especially in Indonesia. However, it must be remembered that these problems have only destabilised a small part of East Asia, and that China and Japan in particular remain powerful nations.

### 10.5.2 Initial approaches to the study of culture

One of the first definitions of culture was attempted by the anthropologist E B Tylor. According to him, culture was a conglomeration of our entire resources: 'that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society'. (Tylor, E B. *The Origins of Primitive Culture*. New York: Gordon Press, 1871). While some of are the view that Tylor was egalitarian in his approach in that in his perception, everyone had a culture, some others opine that the hierarchical notion was implicit in the differences between cultures which is a natural conclusion of the evolutionary terms in which he described culture. According to another anthropologist, L H Morgan thought, the cultural development of peoples ranged from the savage to the civilized. This clearly hierarchical concept of culture was further glaring, in that much of Morgan's study of culture was clearly subjective and judgmental. Morgan held that the relative levels of civilization are a result of a competition in which the better equipped go ahead, while the lesser are left behind. This hierarchical model was followed by others.

Herbert Spencer's model of the study of culture was also hierarchical and followed the developmental model of the organism, it determines that culture belonged to a particular people/group, was bounded and could thus be categorized. Nineteenth century anthropology was much more



than a hierarchical approach to the study of culture. Its field of discourse - various kinds of people and cultures on the globe - made it a natural resource for political gains. The model from evolution, and side by side the arguments about the progress of culture, made for a fertile ground to prove the superiority of the colonizer over the colonized, the white man over the black or brown, man over woman, rich over poor, and even adult over child. The science of craniology is an important example, in which the heads and dark skin of non-Europeans marked them as lesser beings than the white man. The superiority of men over women was sited in their bodies. Another example is of Cesare Lombroso. Cesare Lombroso's thesis on criminology linked the idea of the criminal to the shape and size of his body. Thus the theorization of culture in the nineteenth century was of a practical nature and not an abstract one, and the anthropological approach can be classified as an organized system of knowledge about the peoples of the world.

While the anthropologists mentioned above believed in the heterogeneity of culture, they were also very clear about which cultures were developed and which were not, thus laying down a clear set of formulations about the hierarchical structure of cultures on the globe. The infusionists, on the other hand were talking about an entirely different perspective to culture.

### **10.5.3 Culture and Marxist thought**

Karl Marx was the seminal thinker on the issue of culture in relation to materialism. Broadly, according to his theories, the way of life, or the culture of a people, is determined by economic forces. Culture is linked to the dominant interests in society, and these dominant forces manifest their power through the existing systems of stratification in society in ways that are manifest on the level of ideas. Thus the ideas of dominance of the ruling class are what are propagated. However this is done in a way that is subtle and disguised. Further, these ideas, or ideologies as Marx referred to them, did not just further the interests of the ruling classes, but also disempowered the majority by making them feel

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inadequate and lacking. Moreover, the ideology of dominance is propagated through ways and means that involve the powerless majority in ways that serve to secure their assent, and also to arrive at a consensus. It was Antonio Gramsci who provided modern society with a way of linking culture and class through his theory of hegemony. Using Marx's theories, Gramsci showed how dominant ideas come to hold the imagination of the majority, and the ways in which these ideas function to control the masses.

### **10.5.4 Cultural Studies as a discipline**

The shift in interpretation from Marx to Gramsci was a significant one, one which acknowledged the complex nature of social order. If the Gramscian concept of hegemony talks of the circular nature of struggle, since it is impossible for any group to dominate another completely, Mikhail Bakhtin's envisaged culture as a dialogic activity, in which meaning is constructed through dialogue. Many new approaches to culture have developed henceforth. While the materialist approach addressed culture from the point of view of class differences, in the 1960s and 1970s, age, gender, ethnicity and sexuality also came to be identified as important factors in the analysis of culture. This led to the realization that there could be no one way in which the experiences of all the various groups of people could be taken into account. The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Birmingham University, was established in 1964. This was the time that marked a shift in the focus of studies on culture. Now on, the focus of interrogation was the home and the civilized, rather than alien people and strange cultures. Cultural Studies, as this approach came to be known, was quite distinct from all that was done before this, and the direction forged by the CCCS was later taken up all over the globe. What is interesting is that while all the important figures in the earlier discussions were from the social sciences, the important people associated with the CCCS were all from the humanities. Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams, E P Thompson and Stuart Hall are the important people associated with the CCCS. Although

an entirely new direction was provided by these people to the study of culture, Stuart Hall emphasised.

In serious, critical intellectual work, there are no 'absolute beginnings' and few unbroken continuities...What we find instead, is an untidy but characteristic unevenness of development. What is important are the significant breaks - where old lines of thought are disrupted, older constellations are displaced, and elements, old and new, are regrouped around a different set of premises and themes... Cultural Studies as a distinct problematic, emerges from one such moment, in the mid-1950s.

**Check your progress 2**

Note: Write your answers in the space given below.

- 1) Discuss the Approaches to the study of culture.

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- 2) What are the Initial approaches to the study of culture?

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- 3) Write about Culture and Marxist thought?

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- 4) Discuss the Cultural Studies as a discipline.

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**10.6 IMPLICATION CULTURAL STUDIES ON INTERNATIONAL RELATION**

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**The New Cultural Internationalism**

## Notes

Cultural internationalism has been an important trend in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially after the end of World War I and again in recent years. **Cultural Internationalism** is 'the idea that world order can and should be defined through interactions at the cultural level across national boundaries' (Iriye 1997, px). From this point of view, an alternative view of world order has often been created by artists, writers, thinkers, and popular movements which is often in contrast the view of a world system dominated by great powers (Iriye 1997, p2) and the realist demands of geopolitics (see lecture 2 for these 'realist' ideas).

Some of the main trends of the new internationalism have been summarised by Akira Iriye in his important book, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*, who argues that **international cooperation goes well beyond relations between nation states**. This internationalism 'aspires to a more peaceful and stable world order through transnational efforts' on several fronts: -

- 'legal internationalism, with a stress on international law and arbitration'
- 'economic internationalism, envisaging a global network of economic exchanges; and socialist internationalism, promoted by those who believed that world peace must be built upon the solidarity of workers everywhere'
- 'cultural internationalism, the fostering of international cooperation through activities across national boundaries' (Iriye 1997, p3).

Since the end of the Cold War, a new, dynamic form of internationalism has emerged which goes well beyond merely creating some kind of humane, global culture (in the past usually rather Western in tone). If some sort of global civilisation has begun to emerge, it still remains a thin and fragile veneer covering the great diversity of cultures, religions and historical experiences (Huntington 1996, p57, following the ideas

Vaclav Havel). Instead, **major research and institutional efforts** have begun to: -

- Establish a **core of acceptable values** which could function as the basis of cross-cultural dialogue, play a role in international disputes, and even result in a more widely accepted formulation of universal human rights (see Küng 1997). Since the Vienna Human Rights Conference (1993), though there has been an attempt to extend economic and social rights, there has also been strong tensions between the effort to emphasise universal and indivisible rights (e.g. by the U.S.), and trends towards considering other cultural formulations of rights (Huntington 1996, p38)
- Develop **stronger understanding** around the world of different cultures and societies, avoiding unnecessary mistakes in diplomacy, or errors leading to heightened conflict.
- The **recognition that cultural diversity can complicate both international relations** and also create tensions with national states. Issues of national identity, diverse ethnic groups, nationalism, multiculturalism and pluralism are real and often problematic issues for many major states (the U.S., China, Russia, France, Malaysia etc.).
- The recognition of **cultural diversity as a global resource**, and efforts to preserve and further this diversity as an important global asset
- Efforts at 'cross-cultural cooperation to deal with global issues such as environmental degradation, human rights, and demographic explosion' (Iriye 1997, p8). This means that this cultural is not merely 'an add on' to economic and diplomatic efforts, but very much **at the heart of major international agendas**. As we shall see in later lectures, different cultural and religious values can be readily mobilised in environmental policies, in the fight against poverty, and in creating cooperative organisations. Cultural cooperation can be used as a force promoting environmental values and directing attentions towards

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problems such as poverty, disease, lack of education, and structurally induced crime (Iriye 1998, p176).

New movements towards recognising cultural diversity have broadened the intellectual space in which people and societies operate. It has also tended to 'enlarge the spheres in which peoples and nations' can cooperate' (Iriye 1997, pp96-97). However, **the leading question remains whether cultural diversity and cultural internationalism can work together to help define 'a stable world order'** (Iriye 1997, p175), or whether other, more explicit patterns of 'governance', based on norms and rules, need to be developed. Culture is a real force in international relations, but is no magic cure to conflict. Put another way, cultural factors may be much too dispersed an influence to deal with major economic, environmental and social problems unless expressed directly through powerful institutions. We will look in more detail at some of these institutions and their limitations in later weeks.

### Check your progress 3

Note: Write your answers in the space given below.

1) Discuss the New Cultural Internationalism.

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## 10.7 LET US SUM UP

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The trajectory of the study of culture reveals a gradual shift in emphasis from the idea of culture as what you are to culture as what you do. If we look into the theorizing of the French philosopher Michel Foucault, we see that he talks of the fact that power is present everywhere, and that power operates as much through larger structures as through local ones. He also goes on to say that power depends on knowledge for its successful operation. It is from here that Cultural Studies hypothesizes

that dominance can be interpreted as being linked to knowledge, while resistance of any kind can be analyzed as counter-knowledge. The study of culture, as we initially saw, marks a progress from the basic, pre-social aspects of man's life, through a variety of approaches and theories which attempt to study culture as the lived experience of people, to the modern day 'discipline' of Cultural Studies. Cultural Studies is not an academic discipline in itself, but one that encompasses/uses many different methods, approaches and disciplines. At the same time, what is evident is the growing popularity of the 'discipline' in universities and academic circles. This probably points to the growing relevance and topicality of the idea of Cultural Studies.

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## 10.8 KEY WORDS

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**Culture:** Culture is an umbrella term which encompasses the social behavior, and norms found in human societies, as well as the knowledge, beliefs, arts, laws, customs, capabilities and habits of the individuals in these groups.

**Cultural Relativism:** Cultural relativism is the idea that a person's beliefs, values, and practices should be understood based on that person's own culture, rather than be judged against the criteria of another.

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## 10.9 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

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- 1) Discuss the Types of Culture
- 2) Explain the difference between culture and nature of man.
- 3) Discuss the relation of Culture and civilization.
- 4) Discuss the Approaches to the study of culture.
- 5) What are the Initial approaches to the study of culture?
- 6) Write about Culture and Marxist thought
- 7) Discuss the Cultural Studies as a discipline
- 8) Discuss the New Cultural Internationalism.

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## 10.10 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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## Notes

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## 10.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Sub Section 10.2.1
- 2) See Sub Section 10.3.1
- 3) See Sub Section 10.3.4

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Sub Section 10.4
  - 2) See Sub Section 10.5.2
  - 3) See Sub Section 10.5.3
10. See Sub Section 10.5.4

### Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Section 10.6



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# UNIT 11: FEMINIST THEORY

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## STRUCTURE

11.0 Objectives

11.1 Introduction

11.2 How Do Feminists Define Power?

11.3 Feminist View of the State

11.3.1 Feminist Analysis of Nationalism

11.3.2 Feminism and Human Rights

11.3.3 Feminist Critique of Realism

11.4 Feminism, War and Peace

11.4.1 Feminism and the Security Debate

11.5 The Relevance of Feminist Critiques in Third World Societies

11.6 Let us Sum up

11.7 Key Words

11.8 Questions for Review

11.9 Suggested readings and references

11.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

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## 11.0 OBJECTIVES

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After this unit we can able to know:

- To know how Feminists Define Power?
- To know about Feminist View of the State.
- To discuss Feminism, War and Peace
- To describe the Relevance of Feminist Critiques in Third World Societies.

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## 11.1 INTRODUCTION

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Feminism is the advocacy of the rights of women. It explains that women have been disadvantaged compared to men and are subordinated to men because of a system of patriarchy. Patriarchy is a system of social structures and practices thoroughly which men dominate and exploit women. This implies two things. One of that it is not biological characteristics but social systems that are at the root of gender inequality.

## Notes

And second that not every individual man is necessarily in a position of domination, nor is every woman in a position of subordination. The Feminist movement involves struggles for political and legal rights and equal opportunities for women. Patriarchy is a system of social and power relations where men dominate and control women. It is present in different institutions and structures from family to state to international relations. Patriarchy varies according to different social systems and cultures. Patriarchy determines relations between men and women, between individuals, social groups, communities and social formations. Patriarchy has existed at different periods of times from pre-history, ancient societies, feudalism, and capitalism and is part of the globalization process. At each stage it has had its specific characteristic and intersects with all prevailing concepts like nationalism, militarism and religion. Patriarchy is a pervasive ideology but one that has been challenged and contested. Feminism incorporates many strands from the liberal, radical, socialist, and post-modernist feminists. However, a commonality in their judgement exists that gender inequalities continue to exist and that in gender roles the "private" and "natural" role assigned to women serves to make their work and labour invisible. This not only perpetuates unequal relations but also distorts the understanding of the most pressing problems of the world. Feminist scholars emphasized the process of democracy as integral for gaining rights. Most feminists challenge the doctrine of essentialism that casts women with a fixed identity, i.e. women as essentially peaceful and men as aggressors. Such projections are used in ultra-nationalist projects and dangerous political agendas. Feminists have critiqued the state, concept of power and theories of International Relations (IR) and national security doctrines. Feminism is linked with movements for women's rights and gender equality.

**Feminism** is a broad term given to works of those scholars who have sought to bring gender concerns into the academic study of international politics and who have used feminist theory and sometimes queer theory to better understand global politics and international relations.

In terms of international relations (IR) theory, a feminist approach is grouped in the broad category of theoretical approaches known as relativism, representing a divergence from approaches adhering to a rationalist outlook based on the premises of rational choice theory; reflectivity approaches, which also include constructivism, post-structuralism, and post colonialism, regard state identities and interests as continuously in flux, so that norms and identity play as much a role in shaping policy as material interests.

One of the most influential works in feminist IR is Cynthia Enloe's *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* (Pandora Press 1990). This text sought to chart the many different roles that women play in international politics – as plantation sector workers, diplomatic wives, sex workers on military bases etc. The important point of this work was to emphasize how, when looking at international politics from the perspective of women, one is forced to reconsider his or her personal assumptions regarding what international politics is 'all about'.

However, it would be a mistake to think that feminist IR was solely a matter of identifying how many groups of women are positioned in the international political system. From its inception, feminist IR has always shown a strong concern with thinking about men and, in particular, masculinities. Indeed, many IR feminists argue that the discipline is inherently masculine in nature. For example, in her article "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals" *Signs* (1988), Carol Cohn claimed that a highly masculinised culture within the defense establishment contributed to the divorcing of war from human emotion.

Feminist IR theory involves looking at how international politics affects and is affected by both men and women and also at how the core concepts that are employed within the discipline of IR (e.g. war, security, etc.) are themselves gendered. Feminist IR has not only concerned itself with the traditional focus of IR on states, wars, diplomacy and security, but feminist IR scholars have also emphasized the importance of looking

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at how gender shapes the current global political economy. In this sense, there is no clear cut division between feminists working in IR and those working in the area of International Political Economy (IPE).

Feminist IR emerged largely from the late 1980s onwards. The end of the Cold War and the re-evaluation of traditional IR theory during the 1990s opened up a space for gendering International Relations. Because feminist IR is linked broadly to the critical project in IR, by and large most feminist scholarship has sought to problematize the politics of knowledge construction within the discipline - often by adopting methodologies of de-constructivism associated with postmodernism/post-structuralism. However, the growing influence of feminist and women-centric approaches within the international policy communities (for example at the World Bank and the United Nations) is more reflective of the liberal feminist emphasis on equality of opportunity for women.

In regards to feminism in International Relations, some of the founding feminist IR scholars refer to using a "feminist consciousness" when looking at gender issues in politics. In Cynthia Enloe's article "Gender is not enough: the need for a feminist consciousness", Enloe explains how International Relations needs to include masculinity in the discussion on war, while also giving attention to the issues surrounding women and girls. In order to do so, Enloe urges International Relations scholars to look at issues with a 'feminist consciousness', which will ultimately include a perspective sensitive to masculinities and femininities. In this way, the feminist consciousness, together with a gendered lens, allows for IR academics to discuss International Politics with a deeper appreciation and understanding of issues pertaining to gender around the world.

Enloe argues how the IR discipline continues to lack serious analysis of the experiences, actions and ideas of girls and women in the international arena, and how this ultimately excludes them from the discussion in IR. For instance, Enloe explains Carol Cohn's experience using a

feminist consciousness while participating in the drafting of a document that outlines the actions taken in negotiating ceasefires, peace agreements and new constitutions. During this event, those involved came up with the word “combatant” to describe that in need during these usually high-strung negotiations. The use of ‘combatant’ in this context is particularly problematic as Carol points out, because it implies one type of militarized people, generally men carrying guns, and excludes the women and girls deployed as porters, cooks and forced ‘wives’ of male combatants. This term effectively renders the needs of these women invisible, and excludes them from the particularly critical IR conversation regarding who needs what in war and peace. This discussion is crucial for the analysis of how various masculinities are at play in International Politics, and how those masculinities affect women and girls during wartime and peace and initially eliminates them from the discussion.

Conversely, feminist IR scholar Charlotte Hooper effectively applies a feminist consciousness when considering how “IR disciplines men as much as men shape IR”. So, instead of focusing on what and whom IR excludes from the conversation, Hooper focuses on how masculine identities are perpetuated and ultimately are the products of the practice of IR. In this way, it is ineffective to use a gendered lens and feminist consciousness to analyze the exclusion of a discussion in gender in IR. Hooper suggests that a deeper examination of the ontological and epistemological ways in which IR has been inherently a masculine discipline is needed. The innate masculinity of IR is because men compose the vast majority of modern IR scholars, and their masculine identities have been socially constructed over time through various political progressions. For instance, Hooper gives examples of the historical and political developments of masculinities that are still prevalent in IR and society at large; the Greek citizen/warrior model, the Judeo Christian model and the Protestant bourgeois rationalist model. These track the masculine identities throughout history, where manliness is measured in militarism and citizenship, ownership and authority of the fathers, and finally, competitive individualism and

reason. These masculinities in turn asks one to not only use the feminist consciousness to analyze the exclusions of femininities from IR, but additionally, Hooper illuminates how one can locate the inherent inclusions of masculinities in the field of IR with a feminist consciousness.

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## **11.2 HOW DO FEMINISTS DEFINE POWER?**

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Feminist scholars show that power relations are organized on his of gender. In fact the concept of power is given masculine traits. Power is constructed as possessing force and the ability to influence others. Those without power especially drink; conflict is termed as "impotent" or "wimps" and their weakness is associated with femininity. For example in South Asia, who oppose military action are asked to wear bangles. Men are naturally associated with leadership and women are accepted as leaders if they accept masculine notions of power. The struggle for power through history, where men establish control led to the subordination of women because of their reproductive role. Political theory and International Relations give a central role to man and place women as secondary actors within state systems. Through history, the very concept of the male is linked to the notion of power. Feminists challenged this notion in order to overcome it. This is not to imply that all that we think in patriarchal stereotypes, but only that concept and institutions reflect historically and culturally conditioned ideas about knowing the world and that masculinity had become a base for these institutions. A socially constructed masculine experience is shown to be a universal experience and imposed on women and society as a whole. This preserves male privilege and reinforces social practices in the private and public spheres. Feminist's have shown up how the male experience is not the only human experience and to present only this is an exclusionary view of human relations and of international relations.

Feminists within IR often look to how conceptions of masculinity have shaped foreign policy, state identity, and security and armament during and outside of warfare. One tradition that exists within the field for this

purpose is that of feminist anti-militarism. This is a stance within Feminist International Relations that opposes weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear weaponry, and holds gender accountable in part for the propagation of militarism. Gender becomes embedded in relations of power as that which is seen to be stronger is assigned a masculinized identity, while concepts such as emotion are seen as indicators of weakness and become associated with femininity. In this way, the military strength and capability of a state becomes associated with its degree of masculinity, which feminist anti-militarists see as problematic. As disarmament could be perceived as emasculatory, states are less likely to disarm; consequently, militarism becomes normalized, downplayed, and more likely to incite warfare. These are some of the concepts that Carol Cohn and Sara Ruddick explored in their article “Feminist Ethical Perspective on Weapons of Mass Destruction,” (2003) which laid out the meaning behind what they referred to as “anti-war feminism”. They explain that it opposes the use of weapons of mass destruction whether for military, political, or deterring purposes, yet that it differs from pacifism in that it does not outright reject all forms of warfare. Such opposition stems partly from the questionability of how effective warfare/militarism is, and whether the costs, (albeit monetary, environmental, and especially human) that are inevitably incurred yet not always accounted, for are worth it.

Manifestations of feminist anti-militarism can be identified in various contexts and methods. In line with Cohn and Ruddick's (2003) aforementioned article, part of what feminist anti-militarism critiques is the framework in which weapons of mass destruction are “discussed”. Such discourse assumedly would have large influence in the outcome, as investigated by Cohn in one of her earlier articles, “Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals.” Her participation in security discussions allowed her to observe the way in which the “techno strategic” language used by American defense intellectuals was highly gendered, and assigned greater value and strength to that which was assigned masculine or highly sexualized terminology. While Cohn does not explicitly identify the use of a feminist anti-militarist view in

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this article, the ideas and subjects at hand run parallel. Relatedly, Claire Duncanson and Catherine Eschle do state their use of a feminist anti-militarist perspective in their article “Gender and the Nuclear Weapons State: A Feminist Critique of the UK Government’s White Paper on Trident”.<sup>[7]</sup> The authors borrow Cohn's rendition of the relationship between gender and nuclear weapons to examine the way in which discourses are shaped by underlying dichotomous views of masculinity and femininity. This perspective is then applied to the renewal of Trident nuclear weapons; a plan which Duncanson and Eschl argue is enabled by the UK government's use of masculinized language that seems to be constructed into the state's identity. The UK Trident Program was the cause of another expression of feminist anti-militarism, beginning a few decades earlier in the form of the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp. The 1979 decision by NATO to base ground cruise missiles at Greenham Common initiated a response from women largely associated with various feminist and anti-nuclear groups. Their opposition to such militarism was demonstrated in the persistence of peace camps, demonstrations and other forms of resistance for the following two decades (nat. archive website). Such efforts brought to life the feminist anti-militarist perception of the relationship between gender and militarism as exhibited through nuclear weaponry.

Gender theory highlights the limitations of linguistic categories, asserts the significance of intersectionality, values concrete cultural context over universalisms and essentialisms (for example, the notion of universal patriarchy), rigorously problematizes sex and gender binaries, recounts and accounts for the history of sex and gender relations, and deals directly with other theoretical strains such as structuralism, post-structuralism, socialism, and psychoanalysis. For example, in her book *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Judith Butler explores the possibility of *troubling gender* first by examining conventional understandings of gender that support masculine hegemony and heterosexist power, and subsequently wondering about the extent to which one can undermine such constitutive categories (that is, male/female, man/woman) through continually mobilizing, subverting,



and proliferating the very foundational illusions of identity which seek to keep gender in its place. Gender theory can inform critical lenses and perspectives such as Cynthia Enloe's "feminist consciousness," as well as other feminist perspectives such as *liberal feminism*, *difference feminism*, and *poststructuralist feminism*. In terms of feminist international relations, gender theory engages directly with the notion of mainstreaming gender in both *institutional politics* and *discursive politics*.

*Liberal feminism* deals specifically with policy-making, and requires that women as well as perspectives on both women's and men's lived realities are fairly included and represented in that policy-making. With regard to liberal feminism, gender theory contemplates, for example, what is meant by the term "women," whose perspectives on "women's" and "men's" lived realities are considered valuable in facilitating fair representation in policy-making, and what aspects of life are considered components of "lived reality".

*Difference feminism* focusses on empowering women in particular through specific designs, implementations, and evaluations of policies that account for the material and cultural differences between men and women and their significance. With regard to difference feminism, gender theory questions, again, what is meant by the term "women;" what factors might lead to "women" requiring specific designs, implementations, and evaluations of policies; what is considered to constitute "difference" in the material and cultural experience of "men" and "women;" and what aspects of that "difference" suppose its especial significance.

*Poststructuralist feminism* prioritizes difference and diversity to the extent that it recognizes all identities as absolutely contingent social constructions. With regard to poststructuralist feminism, gender theory points out that due to this ontological and epistemological discursiveness, poststructuralist feminism can, in some cases, risk understanding the subjects in policy-making as distinct social subjectivities primarily

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and/or exclusively in terms of gender difference, rather than in terms of the multiplicities of difference that comprise subjectivities in poststructural feminist thought. Discourse starts with the assertion that the public/private divide has meaningfully contributed to women's marginalization. In order to disrupt this marginalization, feminists must challenge the very assumptions that construct our ideas of identity and citizenship. Primarily, poststructuralist feminism seeks to advance Judith Butler's conception of gender as 'performative', whereby there is no pertinent conception of gender outside of the social construction of masculinity or femininity.

*Rationalist feminism* parallels Neorealist thought by placing the state as the primary actor within international relations. It is also linked to Liberal thought, insofar as it highlights 'democratic peace' literature, creating an overlap between the paradigms. Relating to gender, rationalist feminism explores not only how war arises, but specifically how gender affects the causes, likelihood and outcome of conflict. Rationalist feminists have, broadly, two strains of research: quantitative foreign policy and comparative case studies. Quantitative foreign policy - may, for example, explore the correlation between gender equality and likelihood of war, or the gender gap on foreign policy opinions.

Comparative case studies - may, for example, include looking at sex-selective abortions in different states, the policies that lead to gender disparity and the consequences of such gender disparity.

*Institutional politics* describes the political, material, bureaucratic, and organizational relationships and conventions that govern administrative institutions. Gender theory seeks to examine the ways in which these normalized relationships and conventions shape the policy-making processes of and within these institutions.

*Discursive politics* refers to the ways in which institutionalized norms, policy procedures, organizational identities, and material structures shape the language and meaning of gender equality and/or difference

therein. Gender theory, with regard to discursive politics, for instance, would examine the identities, the constitutive categories, created and/or perpetuated by the language and meaning of gender equality and/or difference in such international institutions.

### Check your progress 1

Note: Write your answers in the space given below.

1. How Do Feminists Define Power?

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## 11.3 FEMINIST VIEW OF THE STATE

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Feminists argue that traditional theories of the state are either descriptive i.e. deal only with characteristics like sovereignty, territory, power, or deal primarily with their role as instruments of coercion or social cohesion. States according to feminists are patriarchal in structure and support: patriarchal. For feminists states are extensions of society. Thus the feudal state, the capitalist state, the socialist state all leave features of obvious as well as covert or hidden patriarchy. Although patriarchal practice preceded state formation; states became structured because patriarchal and class systems got institutionalized. Gender and class relations backed by the power of the state and this hierarchy was reproduced and ensured by a complex of legitimizing ideologies. Women lost their right to property and came to be treated as property. The individual household unit rendered women vulnerable to and dependent on father/brother/husband. This weakened their access to countervailing power and support from larger kinship networks. Inheritance, Sexuality and reproduction were regulated by the state. For instance, adultery by women became a crime against the state and was publicly punishable. Women's role in the domestic/household sphere was regulated by the state. Women's role was confined to private to men to public spheres. For example, women were to wear a veil and were subjected to harassment.

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States gave legitimacy to this practice because of the concept women were to be "protected". For this protection they had to give up their autonomy. Men are the "natural" citizens of their state, but women have had to fight for their rights. Thus women got the right to vote only after long struggles by the women's movements. The state ensured the organisation of power relations on a gender basis. The state has formalized gender power relations by domination at the level of top personnel in withdrawal states. Gender differentiation is evident in the presence of the disproportionate number of men in the coercive structures of the state like the army or police and women most visible in the service sectors i.e. teachers, health workers and clerical support. In fact, women were supposedly "protected" from the so-called "tough professions" in order to exclude them and to prevent them from equal rights. Men were born eligible for bettering jobs and higher pay while women were managed to wrest these privileges only after struggles and debates and were given these rights only when society was haunted by the spectre of social anarchy and breakdown of family values. Writers like Spike Peterson and Zilla Eisenstein have shown the state mystified its patriarchal base by the construction and manipulation of the ideology that sees the distinction between public and private life. Feminist writers like Sylvia Wallaby systematically deconstruct the state to show its patriarchal character and point to women's labour and reproduction as objects of control by the state. Even though the state has some amount of autonomy and is not a monolith; it is structured in a patriarchal way. Its actions are more often in men's interests than women's. It is because of the long history of patriarchy and exploitation and its legitimization by the state and its structures that the patriarchal state system is so acceptable and appears apolitical and natural. The state also reflects dominant ethnic communities and class biases. The state has changed with time. These changes are often in response to pressures from social movements like the women's movement. Sometimes changes come from the democratization process and electoral pressures. For example, pressure from the women's movements for equal inheritance rights or for reservation of seats in parliament for women. Changes can also come from international pressure, for example, pressure from international

organisations on states to sign the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Though changes have been made to improve the status of women through laws and various schemes, women still face patriarchal structures of state and society. Whether in term of employment, dual burden, violence culture, etc. women continue to be discriminated against. Patriarchic has been challenged and altered but it exists. The tasks of the feminist movement thus remain.

### 11.3.1 Feminist Analysis of Nationalism

Feminist scholars have shown the relation between women and the nation as a further explanation of women and the state. The state as the structure for control and administration of a territory and the nation as a construct that make people on the basis of ethnicity and other factors incorporate gender. The concept of citizenship historically is formed the link between nation and state. Feminist writers like Yuval-Davis, Antliias, Jnyawardane and Cynthia Enloe show the links between gender and ethnic/national identity. They show that women are involved in ethnic and national processes through various ways. Women's role as reproducers for the nation and members of ethnic groups is given much emphasized by most nations. This is evident from the debates on population and growth of different ethnic and majority or minority communities. During wars and conflicts women's role as reproducers of the nation gets emphasized. Women get linked to boundaries of ethnic/national groups. The concept of "us" versus "them" or the "other" as an enemy is often borne by women in [his capacity. Women are important for the nation and nationalism as transmitters of national culture and for socializing children as citizens. Women have symbolic value for nations as signal fires of ethnic/national differences. Women wear cultural symbols on their bodies. They are asked out by their dress, type of communities etc. (For example, Hindi, Spanish, etc.) During conflicts they are that vulnerable to attack or 'protection'. Women are also participants in national, economic, political and military struggles. Women have been equal participants in national tasks when called upon and uphold the ideologies and needs of the nation like men. This aspect,

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however, is often less emphasized than their role as ethnic national markers. In this tradition, women are keepers of national culture, family tradition and indigenous religion. These values impose constraints and sanctions against women taking on new public roles. Nationalism and nationalist movements have had contradictory effects on women. For example, in both India and Pakistan women played an active role in the struggle for independence from colonial rule. In both these countries issues of reform for women, or property rights for women were not on the agenda of nationalism. While nationalism played its role in history, it homogenized people in a fixed hierarchy. Differences of class, gender, multiple identities (ethnic, religious) were covered up and demands from these groups were perceived as contributing towards disintegration of internal unity, territorial integrity or any other attribute of sovereignty. Nationalism focuses on identity and manages to paper over pluralities that in fact differentiate people within the same state on the basis of gender, ethnicity, class, caste or region. Nationalism seeks to construct a dominant nationality and in doing so covers up exploitative and unjust social relations. Nationalism creates myths that legitimize the state system in which violence is used as the ultimate arbiter of social conflicts. While internal differences are masked, the assumption of external differences is magnified and enhanced to create a bigger than life enemy image. Militarism is legitimized since force is seen as necessary for solving conflicts, defending boundaries, constructing sovereignties and legitimizing the maintenance of the state system in which violence is the ultimate arbiter of social conflicts. Historically, nationalism has promoted the image of male domination and leadership. The distinctions between nationalism and militarism are deliberately blurred. Literature and analysis of war associates men with combat, violence and activity, and women with peace, nurturing, and passivity. These images are explained by references to biological, social and historical explanation. National chauvinism exaggerates images and ideas of nationalism in a way that nationalism becomes distorted and loses its progressive contents. Doctrines of national chauvinism construct an "other" as an enemy. They conflate manhood, combat and militarism, and glorify violence as a "natural" expression of masculine and nation-

state identity. The image of the "heroic" male warriors is extended to the behavior of states. Success of a state, like that of a man is measured in terms of power, honors, valour, self-reliance, and aspects linked primarily to the "male ego". The language of nationalism is gendered. Terms like "love of country" (where the country becomes co-terminus with "mother") are transformed into images where woman serves as the repository of group identity. The nation is often depicted as the body of woman about to be violated by foreigners. National identity is equated with ideas of specific race, gender, and religion. When women are equated as mothers of the nation they signify national difference. Since women embody these values that incidents of rape during conflict occur. Rape is seen as a political act by which the aggressor attacks the honor and identity of the "other"-the enemy. This act is also seen as breaking the continuity of the social order that women are meant to uphold. By raping women the honor of the community/nation that she belongs to is dishonored and collectively punished. Feminist scholars argue that when women become symbolic figures for national identity they get fixed in a social and political hierarchy that appears to idealize women and "honor" them, but in reality bind them by fixing them in a permanently lower place in the social and political hierarchy. For example, the Rajput women in medieval India, would symbolically lie over the sword to the male of the house, but had to commit sati on their death, and were debarred from all property rights.

Nationalism can be progressive at certain times of history; for instance, during anti-colonial struggles but nationalism based on single identity religious politics is a retrogressive nationalism that destroys the real traditions of countries and peoples. Gender plays a role in the constructionism of national identity and situates women in a liberal order that is seen as essential for the nation. Women are not excluded from the concept of the nation in the way other groups may be, due to their race, religion or colour, but they are given a specific place that complements the men.

### **11.3.2 Feminism and Human Rights**

The women's movement has struggled for long to get women's rights recognized as human rights. While human rights violations can take place on any individual, women are subject to human rights violations in a gendered way. For instance, rape is a method of torture, or punishment for errant women. It was after much pressure from the women's movement that the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was proposed by the United Nations in December 1979. This convention addressed the systematic discrimination against half of the world's population. Many states have still to sign this convention. Rape has been recognised as a war crime only in the year 2000. While the CEDAW and the recognition of women's rights are important steps, in many cases these remain normative instrumentality. There is great need to create a body like the international criminal court where violations of SLIC instruments can be adjudicated.

### **11.3.3 Feminist Critique of Realism**

Even when the modern state accommodated gender issues, International Relations continued to primarily deal with the patriarchal aspects of the state. Gender remained outside the sphere of concern because of the intellectual tradition of theories of Realism and the preoccupation of the state with national security. International Relations theorists did not relate to the demands from the women's movement with the change that was to effect social and political systems. Realists argue that states are the primary providers of security and an individual secures her/ his security by virtue of membership to the national community. The image of the state as a "protector" is widely and powerfully used in Realism. The protector is attributed with "masculine" characteristics and the "protected" with the feminine. The security of the individual is inextricable from that of the state because the state protects and preserves the social order and protects individuals from invasion by foreigners and from injuries to one another. Feminist writers like Rosemary Grant argue



that Realist theory endorses patriarchy because for Realists, patriarchy is necessary for initiating social order and the state. It is for this reason that women are excluded from many prevailing definitions of political actor. International Relations theory privileges man and excludes women because it is man who is identified with the state and the state is the basis of patriarchal relations in Realist discourse. Feminists critique the Realist argument that accepts the premise that the citizen is identified with the male, and women are the "other", the outsider. Realist doctrines are directly inherited from the conception of the state where the central figure and actor is the "sovereign man" or the "hero-warrior". This sovereign man is the symbol of power in political theory, especially constructed by Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes. Later political theorists accepted and reinforced this arrangement. The Realist thinkers accepted the idea of rational choice as their actor cognition with neo-classical economic theory. Hans Morgenthau a foundational thinker of Realism, like Hobbes, states that the "nature of man" is the starting point for theorizing on International Relations. It is natural for man to dominate and all associations are based on this. The social hierarchy where men are superior is necessary for the survival of states that are the main actors in the international political system. The concepts chosen by the Realists make the exclusion of women in the international political order a virtue.

**Check your progress 2**

Note: Write your answers in the space given below.

1. Write on : Feminist Analysis of Nationalism.

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2. Discuss about the Feminism and Human Rights.

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3. Discuss about Feminist Critique of Realism

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## **11.4 FEMINISM, WAR AND PEACE**

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Wars are seen as the activity of women is positioned as secondary during war. Note for instance, the opening sentence of the UNESCO Charter that states since wars are made in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that peace should be made. This assumes that those who make war are the ones who make the peace and the nation. Since wars are seen as "nation building" exercises, it is men who appear to be most involved in this task. They then are the more privileged of the two genders in the national enterprise. Feminists see war as a gendering activity. War triggered the gender of all members of society whether they are or not combatants. Men and women suffer war but as unequal they suffer repetitively under the slight oppressive system. Feminists see war not just as the impact on women approaching, but as a system where the gender stereotypes are re-enforced and gender relations restructured. During wars women's identities get coded in a system of nationalist and gender politics (like of the nation) and their status and rights gets linked to their nation. Women have participated in wars in different ways. Women are concerned with war and militarization for a number of reasons. First, because women and children are victims of policies "that they did not plan or execute. It is men who participate in and define public life, / and take decisions about war and militarization. Even today, there are less than ten per cent of women in most parliaments. In many countries, especially in the Third World, there are no women at all in the lighter decision making bodies of the executive like the cabinet. War impacted on men and women differently. Military training and military casualties in conventional wars have been men. Women too constituted direct casualties of war. Wars increasingly are carried out in civilian areas and current statistics show that more than 75 per cent of the casualties are non-combatants that include large number of women and children. Modern weaponry is designed to hurt largest possible

responsibilities and emotional loss and it most probably an economic loss and decline of social legitimacy. In many societies where women continue to be second-class citizens or where women farm the bulk of the illiterate and unemployed, the loss of those family members in a conflict is irreparable for women. In this case they lose the main earning members and many economic and social rights that accrue from their income. For, women destitution follows quickly on the front of a war. Yet their role in the war effort, "to give their sons/ men to the nation" remains a gendered role. It has been documented by international organisations like the UNCWR that seventy to eighty per cent of the world's refugees are women and children. Women are often the sole caretakers of children; they support the extruded family, play a central economic role, and nurture traumatized children and families and restore a semblance of normalcy. Famines, food scarcity, destruction of infrastructural basic facilities, like water pipelines, roads, bridges, buildings, hospitals, fertile lands, have an impact on the entire social structure and community. Studies have shown that in conditions of food scarcity, women are likely to decrease their own food intake. In South Asia during peace but in conditions of poverty it is the girl child who would be deprived of basic needs and education. The impact of war on this destruction of the natural environment has a devastating consequence for women. Given their role as food providers and caretakers, the responsibility of the finding from alternative sources of food and water and rebuilding the environment falls on women and increases their burden disproportionately. In countries like El Salvador and Vietnam where eighty per cent of the vegetation was devastated by war, studies showed that it was peasant women who bore the burden of finding wood for fuel and growing food. The impact of the Gulf War, the economic sanctions imposed on Iraq has badly affected women and children who become the collapse and victimize of international politics and state policies. Feminist discourse places emphasis on human connectedness, dialogue and cooperation in consistent to distillation and violent confrontation. So feminists in IR do not argue for women's equal rights to be part of the military or for the right to domination. But they

want the right to speak for peace and be in positions where they call put this point of view.

### **11.4.1 Feminism and the Security Debate**

The driving forces behind women's military integration are complex and manifold, and vary according to social, political, and economic contexts. However, some patterns can be observed cross-culturally and historically (Segal 1995; Iskra et al. 2002): Women's integration has been promoted by changing military personnel needs in the course of professionalization, diversification, and, ultimately, 'civilization' of military work fields. In the United States and many other Western nations, this led to the abolishment of conscription and the establishment of all-volunteer forces. These modernized militaries featured a greater need for qualified specialists which could not be filled by the male workforce alone. On the supply side, women's integration was aided by transformations of the civilian economy which led to their increased labour market participation. In short, in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century women were increasingly needed to support large, standing, professional forces and they became better qualified for military jobs with a growing civilian component because of their participation in the workforce and rising levels of education.

However, in the US context, the strong connection between personnel needs and equality in the services meant that integration policies remained selective. Upheld exclusions functioned to limit women to those jobs for which not enough qualified personnel were available, namely support jobs on middle and lower ranks. Jobs in high demand, particularly in ground combat, but also in leadership, were protected from female competition. These patterns of inclusion and exclusion were sustained by a diversifying spectrum of military gender ideologies: Images of military women as gender-neutral professionals promoted inclusion into specialized work fields, while images of women as weak, mentally unfit, 'beautiful souls' in need of protection, or sexualized

intruders into the male domain justified exclusion from others (Stachowitsch 2012a, 2012b).

A purely functional approach to military gender integration in terms of personnel needs is however problematic for various reasons:

- 1) The exact timing and specific contents of integration measures can only be explained out of political contexts: Congressional power relations, the relationship between political and military leaderships, as well as broader socio-political environments define when and how integration is promoted and with what effects.
- 2) Military personnel demands might be a basic condition, but it was the relentless lobbying of women's rights groups and activists which ensured that integration was not only advanced for the military's benefit, but also that it served the interests of military women and improved their position within the institution.
- 3) International contexts are influential as well (Stachowitsch 2012c): In the post-Cold War era, foreign policy doctrines began to prominently feature women's rights as an objective and the protection of women from violence as a rationale for military interventions. Militarized international institutions, such as NATO or the UN Security Council, have constructed a link between gender violence and international security. A prominent example is UNSC Resolution 1325 which calls for mainstreaming gender into every aspect of UN missions in order to avoid human rights abuses and sexualized violence in peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction.

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## **11.5 THE RELEVANCE OF FEMINIST CRITIQUES IN THIRD WORLD SOCIETIES**

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Feminist theory and practice, as a pluralist project, certainly has room for both and feminists will continue to do both, critically engage with military institutions and support equality for women within them.

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Feminist disagreements over these issues will go on and likely never be settled. Meanwhile, a rights-based approach might still be the safest bet for those wishing to make a non-militaristic point for military gender integration. While some may not perceive the ‘right’ to fight, kill, and die as a desirable objective, focusing on equal access to important state institutions is preferable to arguments that women can fulfill placatory functions in the military or provide the social skills that men lack. Women should not be required to prove that they can do anything ‘better’ than men or bring any specific qualities to military and other institutions to be allowed to participate.

In conclusion, there is no easy, straightforward answer to journalists’ questions about the normative evaluation of women’s integration into ground-combat. In the light of feminist research in the areas of military, war, security, foreign policy, and international institutions, we can only conclude that full integration does not need to be ‘good’ for it to be right.

### Check your progress 3

Note: Write your answers in the space given below.

1. Write in brief Feminism and the Security Debate.

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2. What is the Relevance of Feminist Critiques in Third World Societies?

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## 11.6 LET US SUM UP

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Feminism is the advocacy of the rights of women. It explains that woman have been disadvantaged compared to Inner and are subordinated to Inen

because of a system of patriarchy. Feminists analyse state security, power, and nationalism to show that the traditional approach focuses almost entirely on state power, military strategies and is the state-centered. That is approach is patriarchal and lies biases against women and plays their role. They see war and nationalism as being gendered processes. Feminists advocate a feminist approach to state security and international relations as one that will show the gender biases and correct these biases. This unit aims to provide a more comprehensive perspective on the interrelations between the military and gender; one that more accurately reflects the state of gender scholarship on the military and feminist IR. These fields have moved beyond the strict dualism between radical anti-militarist positions which oppose women's military participation out of pacifist reasons, and 'integrationist' positions which unambiguously favour it, sometimes with patriotic overtones.

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## 11.7 KEY WORDS

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**CEDAW:** The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women is an international treaty adopted in 1979 by the United Nations General Assembly. Described as an international bill of rights for women, it was instituted on 3 September 1981 and has been ratified by 189 states

**Feminism:** Feminism is a range of social movements, political movements, and ideologies that share a common goal: to define, establish, and achieve the political, economic, personal, and social equality of the gender.

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## 11.8 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

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- 1) How do feminists define power?
- 2) How do feminists analyze the state?
- 3) How do feminists perceive nationalism?
- 4) Do feminists have a special interest in human rights? And why?
- 5) What is the feminist critique of Realism?
- 6) Why do feminists see war as a gendered process?
- 7) What is the feminist vision of security?

- 8) Is feminism relevant to Third World or India?

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## 11.9 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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## 11.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Section 11.2

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Sub Section 11.3.1
- 2) See Sub Section 11.3.2
- 3) See Sub Section 11.3.3

### Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Sub Section 11.4.1
- 2) See Section 11.5

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# UNIT 12: UNDERSTANDING OF POST COLONIAL INTERNATIONAL RELATION

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## STRUCTURE

12.0 Objectives

12.1 Introduction

12.2 Perspectives

12.2.1 The basics of post colonialism

12.3 The Humanists

12.3.1 Tagore: The Humanist Poet

12.3.2 Criticism

12.4 Nationalist and Trans-Nationalists

12.4.1 Pan Asian

12.4.2 Africans

12.4.3 The Muslim World

12.4.4 The Arab World

12.4.5 Nasser's Three Circles

12.4.6 Latin America

12.5 The Non-aligned Theory and Practice

12.6 Let us Sum up

12.7 Key Words

12.8 Questions for Review

12.9 Suggested readings and references

12.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

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## 12.0 OBJECTIVES

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After this unit we can able to know:

- To discuss the basics of post colonialism.
- To know about Tagore: The Humanist Poet.
- To discuss the Criticism- Humanism.
- To understand about Nationalist and Trans-Nationalists in Pan Asia and Arab World.
- To discuss the Non-aligned Theory and Practice.

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## 12.1 INTRODUCTION

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Most of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America had been under colonial rule of one European Power or the other. After decolonization, most of them adopted the policy of nonalignment. But, so did join either the American Bloc or the Soviet Bloc in the Cold War contest. The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America came to be known as the Third World countries. But all the non-aligned or the Third World countries did not believe identical views on all international issues. In the present Unit, you will have an overview of the thinking of prominent leaders of Third World, including Gandhi, Tagore, Soekarno, Chou, Nasser etc. You will also read in this Unit how the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America viewed the world from their common and distinct points of view.

Postcolonial International relations scholarship posits a critical theory approach to International Relations (IR), and is a non-mainstream area of international relations scholarship. According to Baylis postcolonial international relations scholarship has been largely ignored by mainstream international relations theorists and has only recently begun to make an impact on the discipline. Postcolonialism focuses on the persistence of colonial forms of power and the continuing existence of racism in world politics.

Postcolonial IR challenges the eurocentrism of IR—particularly its parochial assumption that Western Enlightenment thinking is superior, progressive and universally applicable. Postcolonialists argue that this is enabled through constructing the other as irrational and backwards.

Postcolonial IR attempts to expose such parochial assumptions of IR; for example, in the construction of white versus coloured peoples. An example is the IR story of a "white men's burden" to educate and liberate coloured men and women, to protect coloured women from coloured men. Often this is linked to other post positivist theories, for example, through Postcolonial feminism, which analyzes issues in IR through the lenses of gender and culture.

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Examples of the parochialistic nature of IR include geographical parochialism and cultural chauvinism. For the former, the construction of the Cold War era as a time of peace ignores the reality that major conflicts continued in the developing world. Furthermore, the oft-cited history of IR is constructed in western terms (more information under history); and IR has been used to justify everything from imperialism to a playground for skirmishes between the two Cold War superpowers. For the latter, the West (through IGOs such as the IMF's quick rush to "save" Asia in the aftermath of the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997–8) could be seen as both a white men's burden to save Asia or to reformulate Asian capitalism in a Western image.

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## 12.2 PERSPECTIVES

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The study of International Relations reflects mainly the preoccupation of great or powerful nations with their individual national interests, national security and very frequently their power ambitions. Being colonies and subservient to Western powers, the non-Europeans were generally treated as objects rather subjects of IR. As a result it was seldom that they were considered to have a voice in world affairs. Surprisingly the end of Second World War did not improve matters. The Cold War and its subsequent identification between two militarized camps headed. Moscow and Washington pushed issues collecting the newly emergent states of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean into mess) oblivion. The choice for that was to join as camp followers one or the other power-bloc, and thus perpetuate their subservience status as in the past. But the pattern of world affairs had changed. Along with independence, the non-European had gained a new voice-the voice of independent and sovereign nations. Though were and unable to meet the immediate needs of independence, some of these new nations were nevertheless able to keep away.

Such IR stories are purposefully limited in scope in terms of state centric modeling, cataloguing and predicting in formal terms; and like other post positivist theories, they do not attempt to form an overarching theory as after all, post positivism is defined as incredulity towards metanarratives.

This is replaced by a sensitivity and openness to the unintended consequences of metanarratives and their negative impacts on the most marginalized actors in IR. In defense, post positivists argue that metanarratives have proven unworkable. Thus, such theories, although limited in scope, provide for much greater possibilities in the normative work of developing an emancipatory politics, formulating foreign policy, understanding conflict, and making peace, which takes into account gender, ethnicity, other identity issues, culture, methodology and other common issues that have emerged from problem-solving, rationalist, reductive accounts IR.

Postcolonialism examines how societies, governments and peoples in the formerly colonised regions of the world experience international relations. The use of 'post' by postcolonial scholars by no means suggests that the effects or impacts of colonial rule are now long gone. Rather, it highlights the impact that colonial and imperial histories still have in shaping a colonial way of thinking about the world and how Western forms of knowledge and power marginalise the non-Western world. Postcolonialism is not only interested in understanding the world as it is, but also as it ought to be. It is concerned with the disparities in global power and wealth accumulation and why some states and groups exercise so much power over others. By raising issues such as this, postcolonialism asks different questions to the other theories of IR and allows for not just alternative readings of history but also alternative perspectives on contemporary events and issues.

### **12.2.1 The basics of post colonialism**

Post colonialism has specifically drawn attention to IR theory's neglect of the critical intersections of empire, race/ethnicity, gender and class (among other factors) in the workings of global power that reproduce a hierarchical IR. This hierarchy is centered not on striving for a more equal distribution of power among peoples and states but on the concentration of power. A key theme to post colonialism is that Western perceptions of the non-West are a result of the legacies of European

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colonization and imperialism. Discourses – primarily things that are written or spoken – constructed non-Western states and peoples as ‘other’ or different to the West, usually in a way that made them appear to be inferior. In doing so, they helped European powers justify their domination over other peoples in the name of bringing civilization or progress.

To better understand postcolonialism we can consider the discourses that make certain power relations seem natural or even inevitable. Post colonialism views key issues in International Relations as constituting discourses of power. This notion of a discourse allows scholars to utilize a frame of reference for thinking about the world and its problems that does not merely reside in the empirically verifiable and ‘fact’-based inquiry that drives traditional IR theories such as realism and liberalism.

Take, for example, the issue of global inequality. Postcolonialism suggests that in order to better understand how global class relations emerge and are maintained we must address ideas about why these relations appear normal. This approach points to how characterizations of global poverty are often accompanied by images and narratives of non-Western governments and societies as simultaneously primitive, hyper-masculine, aggressive, childlike and effeminate. In short, postcolonialism argues that addressing and finding solutions to poverty and global inequality come up against representations of the other that make it difficult for Western policymakers to shed their biases and address the underlying global structural factors such as how capital and resources are accumulated and flow around the world generating inequality. For this reason, solutions often focus only on intervening to support a seemingly less developed state, rather than addressing the underlying causes of global inequality.

In analysing how key concepts such as power, the state and security serve to reproduce the status quo, postcolonialism proposes a more complex view of such concepts than is characteristic of traditional theories. For example, the concept of sovereignty, and with it the

contours of the modern state, were imposed on the colonial world by European powers. Yet it is a concept that is usually taken for granted by scholars of realism and liberalism. Postcolonialism also challenges the Marxist perspective that class struggle is at the root of historical change – instead demonstrating how *race* shapes history. Analyses that focus only on class fail to consider how the identification of the ‘Third World’ (a term developed during the Cold War to describe those states unaligned to the United States or the Soviet Union) as ‘backward’, ‘primitive’ or ‘non-rational’ are linked to persistent economic marginalisation. Similarly, while mainstream IR theories see the international system as anarchy, a postcolonial scholar sees it as a hierarchy. Colonialism and imperialism fostered a long process of continued domination of the West over the rest of the world and cultural, economic and political domination still characterise global politics.

Postcolonialism also demonstrates how Western views about Islam and its adherents are a manifestation of the West’s own insecurities. The rise of political Islam across the Muslim world – watermarked by Iran’s Islamic Revolution in 1979 – not only confronted neo-imperialist interventions but also revealed the impacts of core cultural and social shifts accompanying a more interconnected global economy. In the West, however, the view of this resurgence has been interpreted by prominent policymakers and academics as heralding a ‘clash of civilizations’ (Huntington 1993) and worse, constituting a direct threat to Western civilization. Edward Said (1997) showed how Western media, film, academia and policy elites rely on a distorted lens or framework used to describe the history and culture of Arab peoples and adherents of Islam. He called it Orientalism because it constructs a particular idea of the so-called ‘Orient’ that is distinct from the West and that in a binary or dualistic way of thinking ascribes to the Orient and its inhabitants characteristics that are essentially the opposite of the West. For instance, people of the Orient may be characterised as being exotic, emotional, feminine, backward, hedonistic, non-rational and so forth. This is in contrast to the more positive attributes usually associated with the West such as rationality, masculinity, civilization and modernity. Many

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postcolonial scholars emphasise how orientalist discourses are still visible in Western representations today. Representations and perceptions matter to postcolonial theorists because they dictate what comes to be seen as normal or as making sense.

Postcolonialism owes a significant debt to Edward Said for his work on developing Orientalism. Yet Said himself was influenced by the writing of anti-colonial and nationalist thinkers such as Frantz Fanon (1967) and Albert Memmi (1991) whose works discuss the power of ‘othering’. For example, Fanon shows how race shapes the way that the colonizer relates to the colonised and vice versa by capturing how some people under colonial rule began to internalize – that is, identify with – ideas of racial difference that saw ‘others’ as inferior to white Europeans. Fanon explains that the ‘black man’ is made to believe in his inferiority to the ‘white colonisers’ through psycho-logical aspects of colonisation, such as the imposition of the coloniser’s language, culture, religion and education systems. Through such impositions, the colonised come to believe they are a culturally inferior other. This internalisation made it easier for colonisers to justify and maintain their rule. Postcolonialism thus brings into focus how racial binaries – that is, how races are constructed as different, opposite or ‘other’ – continue even after the end of formal colonial rule. It highlights how racialised othering frames not just history, but contemporary debates such as national security, nuclear politics, nationalism, culture, immigration, international aid and the struggle for indigenous rights.

An example of racialised othering can be found in discourses around nuclear non-proliferation. In such discourses, countries and their leaders in the Global South are usually deemed not to be trusted with nuclear weapons. These dominant discourses construct these states as dangerous, unpredictable or unaccountable and as violating basic norms on human rights. One need only look at how North Korea and Iran, two states that have pursued nuclear proliferation, are portrayed as rogue states in US foreign policy discourse. Yet, for decades, the West’s disregard for human rights may be seen in uranium mining that has often taken place



on lands that are populated by indigenous peoples around the world – including in the United States – and has caused death, illness and environmental degradation. Most importantly, what is often missing from the nuclear debate is the fact that the United States is the only power to have ever used nuclear weapons (aside from testing), when it dropped atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Nagasaki and Hiroshima in 1945, with horrific and devastating loss of life.

Therefore, for postcolonial scholars such as Shampa Biswas (2014), the notion that some states can be trusted with nuclear weapons while others cannot because they are less developed, less mature in their approach to human life or less rational is a racialised discourse. In debates such as these, postcolonialism asks not who can be trusted with such weapons, but rather who determines who can be trusted – and why? Simply looking at the competition between states to accrue nuclear weapons will not tell us enough about the workings of power in international relations – such as how a nuclear arms race is underpinned by the power of some states to construct other states so that they are deemed not capable of having any such weapons at all.

#### Postcolonialism and the marginalisation of women of colour

As with all theories of IR, there are internal debates among postcolonial scholars and in this case also a significant overlap with feminism – especially ‘third wave’ feminism that became prominent in the 1990s. bell hooks (2000) observed that the so-called ‘second wave’ of feminism of the mid- to late twentieth century had emerged from women in a position of privilege and did not represent African American women such as herself who remain on the margins of society, politics and the economy. She called for an alternative, critical and distinctive feminist activism and politics.

For example, does a black woman from a poor neighbourhood on Chicago’s south side experience sexism in the same way as a white woman from its wealthier suburbs? Women who share the same ethnic

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identity might experience sexism in different ways because of their class. The same might be true for women of colour and white women from the same social class. Women of colour and white women in the United States experience ‘heteropatriarchy’ – a societal order marked by white male heterosexual domination – differently even if they come from the same social class. An illustration of how this works may be found in the video of Beyonce’s ‘Lemonade’ which not only draws on how sexism is filtered through this patriarchal order but also explores how race, gender, class and sexuality are intimately intertwined in the history of black women.

The fact that some black women may be more privileged in relation to class may not take away from their experience of racism. For this reason (and others), feminist postcolonial scholars (see Chowdhry and Nair 2002) call for more attention to the intersections of race and/or ethnicity, nationality, class and gender. By doing so they address the ways that different aspects of one’s identity, such as race, gender, class, sexuality and so forth, intersect to create multiple and distinct forms of oppression so that no one aspect can be privileged over another in understanding oppression. Instead, various identities must all be understood as intersecting in producing one’s experience of oppression. This idea of ‘intersectionality’ is central to third-wave feminist approaches.

Postcolonial feminists share a desire to go beyond simply analysing the impacts of patriarchy, gender inequality and sexual exploitation. Instead, they highlight the need to fight not only patriarchy (broadly understood as the power of men over women) but also the classism and racism that privileges white women over women of colour. They question the idea of universal solidarity in women’s movements, arguing that the struggle against patriarchy as well as social inequality must be situated in relation to racial, ethnic and sexual privilege. For example, while Western feminism has often portrayed the veil as a symbol of oppression of women, many Algerian women adopted the veil, standing alongside men, when protesting French rule. To them, it was a symbol of opposition to white, colonial patriarchy. In many other parts of the colonised world,

women stood shoulder to shoulder with men in nationalist movements to overthrow colonial rule, showing that women in different cultural, social and political contexts experience oppression in very different ways. Postcolonial feminists are committed to an intersectional approach that uncovers the deeper implications of how and why systemic violence evident in war, conflict, terror, poverty, social inequality and so forth has taken root. Understanding power thus requires paying attention to these intersections and how they are embedded in the issue at hand.

Postcolonial feminism asserts that women of colour are triply oppressed due to their (1) race/ethnicity, (2) class status and (3) gender. An example can be found in the employment conditions of the many women in the Global South who work in factories producing textiles, semi-conductors, and sporting and consumer goods for export to the West. In one such factory in Thailand, the Kader Toy Factory, a fire in 1993 killed 220 female factory workers and seriously injured over 500 more. The doors to the building were locked at the time of the fire. The tragedy revealed the exploitation and deplorable working conditions of these women, who were employed by local contractors of American companies to make toys and stuffed animals for sale in Western markets. Despite decades of such abuses, there was little attention given to the conditions in these factories, or to the tragedy of the fire, in the mainstream Western media. One opinion piece captured the shocking disregard for these women's lives,

These executives know that their profits come from the toil of the young and the wretched in the Far East; they can live with that – live well, in fact. But they do not want to talk about dead women and girls stacked in the factory yard like so much rubbish, their bodies eventually to be carted away like any other industrial debris (Herbert 1994).

In another tragedy, the Rana Plaza – a garment factory in Dhaka, Bangladesh – collapsed, killing 1,135 garment workers, mostly women. It threw a spotlight on the workings of the global garment industry. Popular Western clothing lines profit from low wages, exploitation and

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sweatshop conditions by producing their clothes in countries with lax building codes and regulations and non-existent (or inadequate) labour standards. The clothing lines do not then hold the factories to account for working conditions or safety. Postcolonial scholars argue that the deeply exploitative conditions and the disregard for the safety of these workers show that lesser value is ascribed to brown bodies compared to white ones.

While there was much more coverage of this industrial accident in the Western media and the brands whose clothing was being made at the Rana Plaza did suffer some momentary bad publicity, there has been little sustained effort to right the wrongs in the operations of multinational firms. The quest for the highest possible profit margins forces developing countries into a 'race to the bottom' in which they compete to have the cheapest labour and production costs in order to attract investment from multinational corporations.

The results are low wages, exploitation and low safety standards. Post-colonial scholarship explains the failure to change these conditions by exposing how race, class and gender come together to obscure the plight of these workers, meaning that the factory overseers, like the owners of the Rana Plaza and Kader operations, are not held accountable until tragedy strikes. Even when they are held accountable, the punishment does not extend to the Western corporations further up the chain who sub-contract the task of exploiting workers – and ultimately killing some of them in these cases. It is almost impossible to imagine that a tragedy of a similar scale in a Western state would prompt so little action against those responsible or allow the conditions that caused it to continue virtually unchecked.

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## 12.3 THE HUMANISTS

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The word "humanism" is ultimately derived from the Latin concept humanists. It entered English in the nineteenth century. However, historians agree that the concept predates the label invented to describe it, encompassing the various meanings ascribed to humanitas, which

included both benevolence toward one's fellow humans and the values imparted by *bonae litterae* or humane learning (literally "good letters").

In the second century AD, a Latin grammarian, Aulus Gellius (c. 125 – c. 180), complained:

Those who have spoken Latin and have used the language correctly do not give to the word humanities the meaning which it is commonly thought to have, namely, what the Greeks call *φιλανθρωπία* (philanthropy), signifying a kind of friendly spirit and good-feeling towards all men without distinction; but they gave to humanities the force of the Greek *παιδεία* (*paideia*); that is, what we call erudition *institutionemque in bonas artes*, or "education and training in the liberal arts". Those who earnestly desire and seek after these are most highly humanized. For the desire to pursue of that kind of knowledge, and the training given by it, has been granted to humanity alone of all the animals, and for that reason it is termed humanities, or "humanity".

Gellius says that in his day *humanitas* is commonly used as a synonym for philanthropy – or kindness and benevolence toward one's fellow human beings. Gellius maintains that this common usage is wrong, and that model writers of Latin, such as Cicero and others, used the word only to mean what we might call "humane" or "polite" learning, or the Greek equivalent *Paideia*. Yet in seeking to restrict the meaning of *humanitas* to literary education this way, Gellius was not advocating a retreat from political engagement into some ivory tower, though it might look like that to us. He himself was involved in public affairs. According to legal historian Richard Bauman, Gellius was a judge as well as a grammarian and was an active participant the great contemporary debate on harsh punishments that accompanied the legal reforms of Antoninus Pius (one these reforms, for example, was that a prisoner was not to be treated as guilty before being tried). "By assigning pride of place to *Paideia* in his comment on the etymology of *humanitas*, Gellius implies that the trained mind is best equipped to handle the problems troubling society."

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Gellius's writings fell into obscurity during the middle Ages, but during the Italian Renaissance, Gellius became a favorite author. Teachers and scholars of Greek and Latin grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, and poetry were called and called themselves "humanists". Modern scholars, however, point out that Cicero (106 – 43 BCE), who was most responsible for defining and popularizing the term *humanitas*, in fact frequently used the word in both senses, as did his near contemporaries. For Cicero, a lawyer, what most distinguished humans from brutes was speech, which, allied to reason, could (and should) enable them to settle disputes and live together in concord and harmony under the rule of law. Thus *humanitas* included two meanings from the outset and these continue in the modern derivative, humanism, which even today can refer to both humanitarian benevolence and to a method of study and debate involving an accepted group of authors and a careful and accurate use of language.

During the French Revolution, and soon after, in Germany (by the Left Hegelians), humanism began to refer to an ethical philosophy centered on humankind, without attention to the transcendent or supernatural. The designation Religious Humanism refers to organized groups that sprang up during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is similar to Protestantism, although centered on human needs, interests, and abilities rather than the supernatural. In the Anglophone world, such modern, organized forms of humanism, which are rooted in the 18th-century Enlightenment, have to a considerable extent more or less detached themselves from the historic connection of humanism with classical learning and the liberal arts.

The first Humanist Manifesto was issued by a conference held at the University of Chicago in 1933. Signatories included the philosopher John Dewey, but the majority were ministers (chiefly Unitarian) and theologians. They identified humanism as an ideology that espouses reason, ethics, and social and economic justice, and they called for

science to replace dogma and the supernatural as the basis of morality and decision-making.

### 12.3.1 Tagore: The Humanist Poet

Rabindranath Tagore, the great myriad-minded creator of art, culture and literature, with a deep of philosophy life has glorified the lives of the Bengalis in its entirety. This multifaceted, gifted man embraced and assimilated the entire world culture at ease. In him we find the essence of humanity. He broke through the barrier of his own country and standing on its soil he spread out his two hands and cupped handful of elixir from the entire human races of the world. In return, he paid back the universe a deep rooted philosophy embracing international peace, friendship, brotherhood and above all the spirit of mutual co-existence and forgiveness. As a great ambassador of humanity, he sent out to the West, the simplicity our soil-bound life and its philosophy which is sober, composed and simple life-oriented. Tagore being a prolific composer of poems and songs and creator of great novels, plays, essays, travelogues, thought provoking books on agriculture, science and education, emitted sparks and rays of a humanistic philosophy in all his creative ventures. Tagore's had a colorful journey throughout his entire life of eighty years which was more adventurous, meaningful and above all humane than Odysseus of Homer's Epic thorough the quagmire, but he covered his path with the fragrance of flower petals. Rabindranath Tagore went to England at a young age of seventeen and he said in one of his writings, being in West he could realize the meaning of his life; Rabi means sun and sun rises encompassing the entire world- east, west, north and south.

As a great humanist he once wrote to Mahatma Gandhi indentifying humanism of Buddha and Christ 'In every important act of his life Buddha preached limitless love for all creators. Christ said 'Love thy enemies' and that teaching of his found its final expression in the words of forgiveness he uttered for those who killed him.

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Rabindranath Tagore, the myriad-minded universal man was politically and socially conscious creative man with sharp receptive mind. Any socially or politically wrong doings within his own country or in the outside world never escaped his attention. His pen was ever alive against any mis-doing anywhere in the world which got an outlet in this innumerable writings of varied genre. He expressed his view about West in 'Red oleanders (Play Raktakarabi): Author's Interpretation'. He expressed his opinion about the then West in the following lines 'The view that we can get of her, in our mutual dealings, is that of a titanic power with an endless curiosity to analyse and know, but without sympathy to understand; with numberless arms to coerce and acquire, but no serenity of soul to realise and enjoy.' In the same rejoinder against the opinion expressed in 'The Manchester Guardian' in regard to his play 'Raktakarabi' expressed -- 'It is an organised passion of greed that is stalking abroad in the name of European civilisation'. We need to reckon the fact; it was time when British patriotic song used to raise resonance – 'Rule Britannia rule the waves' and 'Britons never will be slaves.' In the same write-up Tagore said, 'Christian Europe no longer depends upon Christ for her peace, but upon the League of Nations, because her peace is not disturbed by forceful individuals so much as by organised Powers. Rabindranath Tagore was always against the evil force of organised Powers. Tagore was also a great propagator against the unholy spirit of megalomaniac ambition. During his first visit to United State of America, he observed intently that the menacing ghost of megalomaniac ambition and titanic wealth is gliding in the air. Tagore expressed his views about humanity in the same write-up through these following sentence- 'I have a stronger faith in the simple personality of man than in the prolific brood of machinery that wants to crowd it out.' In this rejoinder he expressed his faith in the hidden power of women and said that he painted the portrait of 'Nandini', the heroine of the play 'Raktakarabi' (Red Oleanders) as the bearer of the message of reality, the savior through death. Tagore also expressed his faith by saying that the women will rescue this world from the dominance of the unholy spirit of rapacity.



Rabindranath Tagore, being the son of a lord, a member of the upper strata of society, felt very ardently about the working class and downtrodden people of society. In his play 'Muktadhara', Dhanajoy Boiragi, a singer propagating humanity and also a common people's representative, said on the face of Ronojit, the king, that he and the working people would not pay the revenue to him as he could only have the share of surplus food of the people, but not the food of hunger of the working class. This was Rabindranath Tagore who was a tireless messenger of truth relating to human dignity and rights, despite his being a great creator of art, culture and literature. He has glorified our life in its entirety. Rabindranath will remain a North Star in our sky.

### 12.3.2 Criticism- Humanism

Polemics about humanism have sometimes assumed paradoxical twists and turns. Early-20<sup>th</sup>-century critics such as Ezra Pound, T. E. Hulme, and T. S. Eliot considered humanism to be sentimental "slop" (Hulme) or "an old bitch gone in the teeth" (Pound). Postmodern critics who are self-described anti-humanists, such as Jean-François Lyotard and Michel Foucault, have asserted that humanism posits an overarching and excessively abstract notion of humanity or universal human nature, which can then be used as a pretext for imperialism and domination of those deemed somehow less than human. "Humanism fabricates the human as much as it fabricates the nonhuman animal", suggests Timothy Laurie, turning the human into what he calls "a placeholder for a range of attributes that have been considered most virtuous among humans (e.g. rationality, altruism), rather than most commonplace (e.g. hunger, anger)". Nevertheless, philosopher Kate Soper[76] notes that by faulting humanism for falling short of its own benevolent ideals, anti-humanism thus frequently "secretes a humanist rhetoric".

In his book, *Humanism* (1997), Tony Davies calls these critics "humanist anti-humanists". Critics of anti-humanism, most notably Jürgen Habermas, counter that while anti-humanists may highlight humanism's failure to fulfill its emancipatory ideal, they do not offer an alternative

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emancipatory project of their own. Others like the German philosopher Heidegger. Considered themselves humanists on the model of the ancient Greeks but thought humanism applied only to the German "race" and specifically to the Nazis and thus, in Davies' words, were anti-humanist humanists. Such a reading of Heidegger's thought is itself deeply controversial; Heidegger includes his own views and critique of Humanism in Letter on Humanism. Davies acknowledges that, after the horrific experiences of the wars of the 20th century, "it should no longer be possible to formulate phrases like 'the destiny of man' or the 'triumph of human reason' without an instant consciousness of the folly and brutality they drag behind them". For "it is almost impossible to think of a crime that has not been committed in the name of human reason". Yet, he continues, "it would be unwise to simply abandon the ground occupied by the historical humanisms. For one thing humanism remains on many occasions the only available alternative to bigotry and persecution. The freedom to speak and write, to organise and campaign in defense of individual or collective interests, to protest and disobey: all these can only be articulated in humanist terms."

Modern humanists, such as Corliss Lamont or Carl Sagan, hold that humanity must seek for truth through reason and the best observable evidence and endorse scientific skepticism and the scientific method. However, they stipulate that decisions about right and wrong must be based on the individual and common good, with no consideration given to metaphysical or supernatural beings. The idea is to engage with what is human. The ultimate goal is human flourishing; making life better for all humans, and as the most conscious species, also promoting concern for the welfare of other sentient beings and the planet as a whole. The focus is on doing good and living well in the here and now, and leaving the world a better place for those who come after. In 1925, the English mathematician and philosopher Alfred North Whitehead cautioned: "The prophecy of Francis Bacon has now been fulfilled; and man, who at times dreamt of himself as a little lower than the angels, has submitted to become the servant and the minister of nature. It still remains to be seen whether the same actor can play both parts".

**Check your progress 1**

Note: Write your answers in the space given below.

- 1. Discuss the basics of post colonialism.

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- 2. Write about Tagore: The Humanist Poet.

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- 3. Discuss the Criticism- Humanism.

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## **12.4 NATIONALIST AND TRANS-NATIONALISTS**

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Transnationalism is a scholarly research agenda and social phenomenon grown out of the heightened interconnectivity between people and the receding economic and social significance of boundaries among nation states.

The term "Trans-National" was popularized in the early 20th century by writer Randolph Bourne to describe a new way of thinking about relationships between cultures. However, the term itself was coined by a colleague in college. Merriam-Webster Dictionary states 1921 was the year the term "transnational" was first used in print, which was after Bourne's death.

Transnationalism as an economic process involves the global reorganization of the production process, in which various stages of the production of any product can occur in various countries, typically with

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the aim of minimizing costs. Economic transnationalism, commonly known as globalization, was spurred in the latter half of the 20th century by the development of the internet and wireless communication, as well as the reduction in global transportation costs caused by containerization. Multinational corporations could be seen as a form of transnationalism, in that they seek to minimize costs, and hence maximize profits, by organizing their operations in the most efficient means possible irrespective of political boundaries.

Proponents of capitalists' transnationalism seek to facilitate the flow of people, ideas, and goods among regions. They believe that it has increasing relevance with the rapid growth of capitalist globalization. They contend that it does not make sense to link specific nation-state boundaries with for instance migratory workforces, globalized corporations, global money flow, global information flow, and global scientific cooperation. However, critical theories of transnationalism have argued that transnational capitalism has occurred through the increasing monopolization and centralization of capital by leading dominant groups in the global economy and various power blocs. Scholars critical of global capitalism (and its global ecological and inequality crises) have argued instead for transnationalism from below between workers and co-operatives as well as popular social and political movements.

Transnationalism as concept, theory and experience has nourished an important literature in social sciences. In practice transnationalism refers to increasing functional integration of processes that cross-borders or according to others trans bordered relations of individuals, groups, firms and to mobilizations beyond state boundaries. Individuals, groups, institutions and states interact with each other in a new global space where cultural and political characteristic of national societies are combined with emerging multilevel and multinational activities. Transnationalism is a part of the process of capitalist globalization. The concept of transnationalism refers to multiple links and interactions linking people and institutions across the borders of nation-states.

Although much of the more recent literature has focused on popular protest as a form of transnational activism, some research has also drawn attention to clandestine and criminal networks, as well as foreign fighters, as examples of a wider form of transnationalism.

Some have argued that diasporas, such as the overseas Chinese, are a historical precursor to modern transnationalism. However, unlike some people with Trans nationalist lives, most diasporas have not been voluntary. The field of diaspora politics does consider modern Diasporas as having the potential to be transnational political actors and be influenced by transnational political forces. While the term "transnationalism" emphasizes the ways in which nations are no longer able to contain or control the disputes and negotiations through which social groups annex a global dimension to their meaningful practices, the notion of diaspora brings to the fore the racial dynamics underlying the international division of labor and the economic turmoil of global capital. In an article published in 2006, Asale Angel-Ajani claimed that "there is the possibility within diaspora studies to move away from the politically sanitized discourse that surrounds transnational studies". Since African diaspora studies have focused on racial formation, racism, and white supremacy, diaspora theory has the potential to bring to transnationalism "a varied political, if not radical political, perspective to the study of transnational processes and—globalization".

The worldview of post-colonial states has framed, in contrast to the West, in the background of their common experience as subjects of Western power, known as Imperialism. Their immediate needs irrespective of their size/strength were to attend to the basic needs of their people and correct the ill equalities caused by the erstwhile imperialist politics. This they knew could not be attained within the confines of single nation-states. Africa and even in Latin America therefore we see attempts on the part of their new leaders to build regional organisations within the context of which nation-states could or should be constructed. This is what we call Trans-national expression of nationalism in the non-European world.

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In the remaining part of this section, we shall attempt a description of the regional organizations under the following headings:

- 1) Pan-Asian organizations
- 2) Pan-Africanism
- 3) Pan-Arab and Islamic formations
- 4) Latin American unity

### **12.4.1 Pan Asian**

It is interesting but paradoxical that the first inclination towards Pan-Asian solidarity came from two very opposite ends. One was Japan, which scored an unexpected military victory over a Czarist Russian army in 1905. This was hailed throughout Asia as a historic triumph of the East over the West. Contented a historian: "After the Russo-Japanese War, the Oriental question was the problem of Asia's revolt against its European masters." But Japan's victory made it militarily ambitious. It started to model its policies European lines. It embarked on a course of conquering China's north entities. In 1931, its troops marched into Manliuria. This aroused Asian indignation. Japan's close neighbours became afraid while many nationalist parties condemned it without reservation. In India, the leading Congress Party viewed with "horror the imperialist aggression of Japan in China attended with wanton cruelty and bombing of the civilian population." The Indian approach to Pan-Asianism was quite different. Being the central pin of Great Britain's world empire, it had over the years come to fraternize with the suffering of peoples in other colonies. At the same time, it had pledged support-moral and material-to freedom struggles elsewhere. The end of the War witnessed far-reaching transformation in Asia. The idea of "Asia for Asians" had taken creeper roots. The defeat of Japan in 1945 had released Asian nationalists from their overwhelming fear of Japanese ambitions. At the same time developments in China, Indo-China and South-east Asia alerted then about the possibility of a re-entry of

Western powers into their respective colonies. This was a dreadful prospect they were determined to resist and defeat.

This was the post-war situation in Asia when India's Provisional Government under Nehru convened the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi in March-April 1947. Nehru sketched out the purpose of this conference in his inaugural address: "Far too long have we of Asia been petitioners in Western courts and chancelleries. That story trust now belongs to the past. We propose to stand on our own legs and to cooperate with all others who are prepared to cooperate with. We do not intend to be the planning of others." A second meeting-again in New Delhi-was convened in March 1949. This meeting devoted much time in debating the situation in Indonesia. But it also prepared the ground for finning an Afro-Asian group within the framework of the United Nations. Pan-Asianism was certainly giving birth to a much greater movement, Afro-Asianism.

### **12.4.2 Africanism**

Unlike the Asians, tile Africans visualized their world as based on racial solidarity. As a movement Pan-Africanism sprang up two different sources. One was Negro agitation in Africa. Another was the breakaway Africa church movement in central, southern and Western Africa. In the first case, the settlement for black solidarity was first aired at the Pan-African Congress held in London in 1900. At this Congress, W.E.B. Du Bois, a prolific writer and university teacher, announced that the biggest question of the 20th Century "will be the colour line"-a statement that became the prophesy during the years of struggle against apartheid (or institutional racism) in South Africa. Though interrupted from time to time, Du Bois' indefatigable energy built up Pan-Africanism on a scale as vast and formidable as the Communication with International. Between 1900 and 1945, his band of followers in different places, but outside Africa. That last Congress held in Macalister in 1945, Du Bois was able to establish contact with a new generation of militant African leaders such as Kwame Nkninlah (Ghana), Jomo Kelyatta (Kenya): and George

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Padmore and Hastings Banda (Nyasaland). Buoyed by their enthusiasm and help, Du Boise pressed for "Africa's autonomy and independence"-albeit as far as possible "in this One World of groups and peoples to rule themselves subject to inevitable world unity and federation." The Manchester meeting thus acted as a catalyst to accelerate the process of decolonization in Black Africa. Du Boise, however, had to meet with a contender. This was Marcus Garvey (1887-1940), a colorful Jamaican with unerring instinct for rabble rousing among the Negroes of Harlem, New York. Garvey disdained the idea of integration among men of different races. Instead, he called for a "back to Africa" movement, which had an immunization impact on his audience. He conferred titles and honors on his followers, started a shipping company to transport Negroes from America to the black continent.

### 12.4.3 Pan- Arab and Islamic Formation

The idea of a unified body of believers (Umma) has always been present in the Islamic world. In the 19th Century, several Islamic thinkers, such as Djailal-edin-Afghani, Abdoh and Rachid has stressed the importance of the unity of Islam. But such unity could hardly be obtained. Nevertheless, the idea recurred from time to time. A further complication arose at the end of the First World War and, especially, after the fall of Caliphate. The Turkish Revolution of 1923-24 frustrated attempts on the part of Mustafa Kemal Pasha to restore the vanished glory of the Caliphate. Instead, Mustafa Kemal Pasha's (1922-38) new Republic defined the principles of state to be republicanism, nationalism, populism, statist, secularism and revolution. These principles helped the formulation of new system of public education, emancipation of women, scrapping of religious courts and their replacement by "modern scientific civil codes". Mustafa also took personal interest in devising a Roman script for the Turkish language, agricultural innovation, rapid industrialization and introduction of democracy. The sweep of his reforms was indeed breathtaking. What is more the Revolution lasted and gave new Turkey a breath of solidity that Lenin's Bolshevik revolution in Russia failed to achieve. Yet, Kemal Pasha's men failed to impact the Muslim world. For all intents



and purposes, they progressively moved towards the West. Why was it so? Was it because of geographical proximity or because the rest of the Islamic community rejected the Turkish path? Or, it is quite likely that in the view of Arab Muslims, the Turkish revolution appeared both anti-Islamic and pro-West.

#### **12.4.4 The Arab World**

Whatever be the answer, the Ottoman Empire had robbed the Arab world of a truly theocratic and political center. This caused the beginning of a phase of uncertainty among the former constituents of the old empire. In addition three major developments complicated Arab search for unity. First was the attempt by Western powers to re-establish their individual spheres of influence in the West Asia. Second, that: discovery of vast oil deposits turned the arid lands into strategically of the world's lost sanitization locations. An immediate result of this discovery was also direct involvement of American Oil corporations with Arab world. The third major factor was creation of the State of Israel in the midst always been the traditional inhabitation of Arab Muslims. By 1948, military confrontation between Israel and Arabs had become the single largest issue to tear West Asia apart.

In a sense the creation of Israel helped cement Arab unity. But uneven flow of oil income introduced rivalry and division among the Arab countries. These two contradictory factors brought to the fore two new actors viz., Arab League and Egypt. The League was founded in March 1945. As a regional organisation, it succeeded in bringing most Arab nations under a single umbrella. It also imparted a sharper edge to the anti-imperialist military of the Arabs. In the long run, however, the Arab League failed to achieve Arab unity as a counter-point to Israeli threat.

#### **12.4.5 Nasser's Three Circles**

Pan-Arab-ism for Nasser was a geopolitical concept. He conceived this idea after his daring action to nationalize the Suez Canal in 1956. This

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provoked a joint Anglo-French invasion of Egypt in league with Israel. But under American pressure the invading army withdrew leaving Egypt a free field to lead the Arab world. Nasser became a world celebrity. His prestige soared higher when in February 1958 he proclaimed the formation of a United Arab Republic by Egypt's union with Syria and Yemen. "This was seen by Arab nationalists as the first step towards the creation of a great United Arab state." By the end of 1950s Nasser had become the most charismatic figure of the Arab world. He had established intimate relations with emergent nationalist leaders of Black Africa. Many of these leaders and their followers converged in Cairo until the Egyptian capital came to be known as an African Mecca. It was at this point that Nasser wrote his famous Philosophy of the Revolution: Testament that sets out to present his views on the of Africa and Asia. As a professional soldier, Nasser stressed Egypt's importance in geopolitical terms. He could see that Egypt stood as a link between three strategic regions-Arab, Africa and the Muslim World. He outlined these as three circles "in which we shall try to concentrate all our energies." First, the Arab world-"as a compact whole" who's history and interests "are intimately linked with ours."

Second, the African circle where a dreadfitl struggle was being waged between white and black races.

Finally, the Islamic circles of which the center was Mecca being located. If pilgrimage to Mecca could be converted into a political force it could bring together the leaders of the Islamic states, the intellectuals, the Ulemas: the writers, the merchants, the captains of industry, as well as the young people in order to study the major principles of a policy, common to all Muslim nations. The basic unity of the three worlds, which he outlined, had definitely inspired Arabs and Africans. But events were moving against Nasser's grand design. Egypt's defeat in the Sinai War (1967) ruined his prestige when Israel became more aggressive in its policies. In Africa, new states emerged and its new leaders started talking about continental unity with the formation of Organisation of African Unity (OAU). Islam, indeed, was fast becoming a source of instability in

the world. States aspiring to be leaders of Islam, such as Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan, Turkey and potentially Indonesia, compete for influence in the Muslim world. No one of them is in a strong position to mediate conflicts within Islam, and no one of them is able to act authoritatively on behalf of Islam in dealing with conflicts between Muslim and non-Muslim groups."

### 12.4.6 Latin America

Unlike Asia or Africa, the Latin Americans are not indigenous to South American nations. No more than a quarter of the inhabitants claim descent from European ancestors. Almost half of the population is Creole i.e. mixed races, constitute more or less a land long middle class. The bottom layers and the poorest are composed of former Negro races and a handful minority art: the indigenous peoples or "Indians", perhaps the first inhabitants of the vast continent. A wide gulf between the wealth and privileged minority &id pitifully poverty-stricken masses further compiles this division on ethnic lines. The Latin revolution of the early 19th Century did not introduce any substantial change in this unjust order. In fact the position of Blacks and Indians became much worse. In brief, history took a reverse step in Latin America. This reversal plunged the continent in endless social. Political and military turmoil is very much observed in this regard. There were as many coups and violent disorders as were decadent dictators. This situation of penetration conflict was fertile for foreign intervention. In fact to prevent rival European powers from action in collusion with Latin, the United States directly intervened in the southern hemisphere to set aright its economy, and domestic and external relations. But the issues of Latin American) and American hegemony were becoming more complex by the end of the century. The Monroe doctrine (1823) that proclaimed that the "American continent was no territory for the European colonization" now become transformed into what US president Theodore Roosevelt announced to be US intention to act as an "international police force" for the Latin continent. Pan-American it gave rise to a profound sense of ambivalence "wising from conflict between the concept of belonging to a hemispheric and the unity

## Notes

of Latinos". This brief survey of the rise of nationalism and regional movements presents several angles for investigation. One is of course the fact that in Asia, Africa, Latin America and West Asia (in brief the entire colonial world) national and Trans-national consciousness reinforced one another almost from the start. This does not mean that the other worlds did not develop Trans-national sentiments or loyalties. Quite the contrary, we have in Europe the rise of powerful movements such as Pan-Germanic, Pan-Slavic and Pan-Jewish movements. Most such movements, however, went the nation their individual spheres. This was not so in the former cases. The concept of nation state, in their case, was to nature and climax in the formation of Trans-national organizations based on cultural, religious or racial affinities. Political liberation of a single territory from the scale of colonialism was, therefore, only a halfway house-as Ghana's independent constitution proclaimed that it would surrender its individual sovereignty soon as the entire Africa achieved freedom from racial Colonial domination.

### Check your progress 2

Note: Write your answers in the space given below.

1. Write about Nationalist and Trans-Nationalists in Pan Asia and Arab World.

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## 12.5 THE NON-ALIGNED THEORY AND PRACTICE

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### Theory

The term Non-alignment was first coined by George Liska who used to describe it

“as the policy of the states who decides not to join either of the two power blocs in world politics of postwar years ”.

However, Non-alignment as a theory in international relations was developed by Indian First Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, even before India a former colony of the British Empire became independent in 1947, on his entry into the provisional government in 1946, he declared with conviction that India would put as much distance between itself and any political groups of blocs, which were directed at one another in conflict and which in the past as in the future led to world catastrophe...but it was while Nehru was giving a speech on Dec 9 1958,that he used the nomenclature, Non-Alignment publicly as a core tenet of India's Foreign Policy, in his word he said "When we say our policy is of Non-alignment, obviously we mean Non-alignment within military bloc. It is not a single native policy. It is a positive one... we don't align ourselves with either bloc.... The policy itself can be a policy of acting according to our best judgment, and furthering the principle objectives and ideas that we have...." (Rasool & Pulwama: 2013)

The question that is always raised is what similarities does Non-Alignment as a policy have with the Non-Aligned Movement? The Non-alignment policy which in very few words means not to be aligned with any of the two power blocs, directly influenced a group of states who chooses to toll the line of Non-Alignment, a conscious effort to come under a unified body, the first path towards establishing such an organization was the Bandung Conference of 1955. The Bandung conference was held in Indonesia in 1955, it was a great historical event for the formerly colonized world, Twenty Nine (29) Asian and African countries were in attendance, significantly excluding Israel, South Africa, Taiwan and North and South Korea. The Bandung conference eventually led to the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961. Many Asian and African countries became independent after the war. They were born as nations in the midst of cold war rivalries between the Western and Eastern camps respectively led by the then two super-powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. These were not only political and ideological camps, they were also military configurations. The Soviet Union together with its East European allies formed the Warsaw

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Pact as a counter point to the military alliance of the Western powers led by the United States, NATO, or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. (Shiviji : 2012)The Non Aligned Movement is after the UN, the international organization with the most members, it represents some 55% of the world population and its member state holds almost Two-Thirds of the seat in the UN General Assembly. The Non Aligned Movement at the Bandung Conference discussed primarily subject related to Colonialism, Race Discrimination, General Disarmament and ban on nuclear weapons. (Rauch 2008)What then were the principles guiding the Non-Aligned Movement? what were the requirements for any state willing to join the Non-Aligned Movement? These aforementioned questions will be answered with a view of truly understanding the theory of Non-alignment. Five conditions were formulated and had to be fulfilled by any country seeking to participate in the Non- Aligned Movement, they are outlined below... (Singham & Hune: 1986)1.

- The country should operate an independent policy based on co-existence of states and non-alignment or demonstrate a tendency towards implementing such a policy.
- The country should permanently support national liberation movements.
- The country should not be member of a multilateral military alliance in the context of the conflict between the great powers.
- In the event that the country has agreed bilateral alliance with a great power, this alliance should not have been entered into in the context of the great power conflict.
- In the event that the country has entrusted use of military base to a foreign power, this concession should not have been made in the context of a great power. There was also the so called

principles of peaceful coexistence to be adopted by all members of the movement, they are: (Singham & Hune: 1986)1.

Mutual respect for other nation's territorial integrity

- Noninterference in the internal affairs of other country.
- Equality and mutual support<sup>4</sup>.
- Peaceful Coexistence
- Non-Aggression

### **Non-Alignment in Practice**

Having had a brief examination of the concept of Non-alignment as well as its origin, and therefore have an idea of what is expected of states who have subscribed to its principles to behave and conduct themselves, which as a matter of fact, is the crux of Non-alignment arguments among scholars. The question that always arose is, have states been able to follow and act on the Non-Alignment policy they adopted and accepted openly and agreed to pursue. Many African states have been hugely criticized for proclaiming Non-alignment but not acting it. The question therefore was, how a state that practice Non-alignment does or behaves in his or her relationship with other states. Emphasis should be made here that not only did most Independent African state at independence proclaimed to be Non-aligned they even adopted it as a core part of their foreign policy! Notwithstanding leaders of these African state has been hugely criticized by both historians and scholars and even their respective citizens to be “aligned” at one period or another, irrespective of the fact that they proclaimed to be Non-aligned. Ghana foreign policy generally has been centered on non-alignment and the practice of positive neutrality and specifically within the West Africa sub region, the principal of good neighborliness. Which enables Ghana to restore peace in a warring country as seen in the Ivorian Crises well until President Mill adopted a policy of “Isolation” (Sarpong: 2013)

## Notes

Kwame Nkrumah speaking in the aftermath of Ghana's Independence claimed that "Ghana's foreign policy was based on Dignity, Peace, Friendship and Non-alignment. This policy was conceived in the context of the atomic arms race and the cold war. However, Ghana's policy of Non-alignment did not imply indifference to the issues in the world, nor did it mean isolationism, it also did not mean anti-Western or anti-Eastern Bloc" (Botwe -Asamoh: 2005, p142) From the Western point of view Nkrumah was tagged to be "Pro East", he forged alliance with the East and he had Socialist agenda of a United State Of Africa, a form of political and economic unification of the African continent while vehemently opposing multinational entities.(Talton: 2013)South Africa initial reaction to the Non-alignment policy and the movement was indirect and began with the struggle against apartheid, where they played a fundamental role against the racist regime. South Africa had been at the core of the Movement effort to uphold the principles of freedom, justice and equality.

### Check your progress 3

Note: Write your answers in the space given below.

1. Discuss the Non-aligned Theory and Practice.

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## 12.6 LET US SUM UP

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Post colonialism interrogates a world order dominated by major state actors and their domineering interests and ways of looking at the world. It challenges notions that have taken hold about the way states act or behave and what motivates them. It forces us to ask tough questions about how and why a hierarchical international order has emerged and it further challenges mainstream IR's core assumptions about concepts such as power and how it operates. Post colonialism forces us to reckon with the everyday injustices and oppressions that can reveal them in the



starkest terms through a particular moment of crisis. Whether it has to do with the threat of nuclear weapons or the deaths of workers in factories churning out goods for Western markets, post colonialism asks us to analyse these issues from the perspectives of those who lack power. While post colonialism shares some common ground with other critical theories in this regard, it also offers a distinctive approach. It brings together a deep concern with histories of colonialism and imperialism, how these are carried through to the present – and how inequalities and oppressions embedded in race, class and gender relations on a global scale matter for our understanding of international relations. By paying close attention to how these aspects of the global play out in specific contexts, post colonialism gives us an important and alternative conceptual lens that provides us with a different set of theoretical tools to unpack the complexities of this world.

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## 12.7 KEY WORDS

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**Humanism:** Humanism is a philosophical and ethical stance that emphasizes the value and agency of human beings, individually and collectively, and generally prefers critical thinking and evidence over acceptance of dogma or superstition

**Post colonialism:** **Post-colonialism** is simply a lens through which we study literature that is set in **colonized** countries or deals with **post-colonial** issues. These issues include, but are not limited to, issues of identity, culture, politics, and economics

**Non-aligned Theory:** **Non-Alignment** as a **Theory**. The term **Non-alignment** was first coined by George Liska who used to describe it “as the policy of the states who decides **not** to join either of the two power blocs in world politics of post war years”. ... The Bandung conference eventually led to the formation of the **Non-Aligned** Movement in 1961.

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## 12.8 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

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1. Discuss the basics of Post Colonialism.
2. Write about Tagore: The Humanist Poet.
3. Discuss the Criticism- Humanism.

4. Write about Nationalist and Trans-Nationalists in Pan Asia and Arab World.
5. Discuss the Non-aligned Theory and Practice.

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## 12.9 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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- Baylis, Smith and Owens, *The Globalisation of World Politics*, OUP, 4th ed, p187-189
- Edward Said (1979), *Orientalism*, New York: Vintage Books
- Cultural Chauvinism and the Liberal International Order - 'West vs Rest' in Asia's Financial Crisis - Forthcoming in G. Chowdhry and S. Nair (eds), *Power in a Postcolonial World: Race, Gender and Class in International Relations* (London: Routledge) <http://www.isanet.org/archive/ling2.html>
- Sklair, Leslie (2000). *The Transnational capitalist class*. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Sprague, Jeb (2012). "Transnational State" (PDF). In Ritzer, George (ed.). *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization* (First ed.). Malden, MA, USA and Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. pp. 2031–2037.
- Struna, Jason (2009). "Toward a Theory of Global Proletarian Fractions". *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology*. 2–3 (8).

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## 12.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Sub Section 12.2.1
- 2) See Sub Section 12.3.1
- 3) See Sub Section 12.3.2

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Sub Section 12.4.1 and 12.4.2

### Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Section 12.5

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# UNIT 13: TRANSNATIONAL MOVEMENTS: CULTURAL AND CIVILISATIONAL

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## STRUCTURE

- 13.0 Objectives
- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Meaning of Transnational Movements
- 13.3 Non-State Actors and International Culture
  - 13.3.1 Information and International Culture
- 13.4 Religious Movements
  - 13.4.1 Dawat-i-Islami
  - 13.4.2 Different Types of International Activities
- 13.5 Transnational Communities and Civilisational Movements
  - 13.5.1 Diasporas
- 13.6 Culture and Transnational Movements
  - 13.6.1 International Journalism
  - 13.6.2 International Sports Events
  - 13.6.3 Broadcasting - Role of T.V. and Radio
  - 13.6.4 Tourism
- 13.7 Let us Sum up
- 13.8 Key Words
- 13.9 Questions for Review
- 13.10 Suggested readings and references
- 13.11 Answers to Check Your Progress

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## 13.0 OBJECTIVES

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After finishing with this unit students can able to know:

- To know about the Transnational Movements;
- To discuss the Non-State Actors and International Culture;
- To describe Culture and Transnational Movements.

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## 13.1 INTRODUCTION

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## Notes

You have read that nation-state has been, and still is, the most important actor in/of political action. In the earlier units when the concepts such as power, national interest, foreign policy, arms control, balance of power and international organization were discussed, the emphasis, explicitly or implicitly, was on the nation-state. However, in the last about three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the predominance of nation-state was challenged. There has been growing activity of several new non-state actors who, in turn, have contributed to transnational movements. Today, people-to-people relationships have become as important as government-to-government relationships. In this unit an attempt will be made to highlight the transnational movements that involve such diverse fields as sports and tourism, or religious and ethnic groups, or the cultural invasion of Western style fast food creating the so-called Mcworld. Ethnic groups and religious fundamentalism pose challenge to traditional role of the nation-state. The migration of large numbers of people has created a situation of what is called 'diaspora'. Indian community, whether in the United States, or the UK or elsewhere, carries its cultural values and civilisational traditions while trying to integrate themselves in the new countries of their adoption. These migrant communities, from several countries, may face the problem of rootlessness for some time, but soon they begin to spread their values in the host countries, and even contribute to the political lives of these countries. These transnational movements or transnational politics have both positive and negative aspects.

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## 13.2 MEANING OF TRANSNATIONAL MOVEMENTS

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You have seen that for a very long time nation-states were the only actors in international politics. They still are primary actors of politics that is called, because of relations among nation-states, as international. But with the increasing role of several non-state actors, and advent of globalisation, borders of the states have become blurred. Today, there are (besides the nation state) several inter-governmental organisations (IGOs) as also even larger number of nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) who determine the nature of politics among nations. Besides, as

stated above, people-to-people contact has become as important as government-to-government relationship. The entire field of literature on various types of non-governmental and intergovernmental activity has been named as transnational politics. The basis of such a politics is found in several movements-cultural and civilizational which involve people-to-people cooperation. These may be described as the transnational movements. Writing about globalisation during the 1990s, John Cavanagh compares it to a typical movement which he describes as “remarkable”. He wrote: “One of the movements that I find most interesting and in some ways most similar to what has been built around the world... was the remarkable transnational movement, which was rooted here in the US and England and in different parts of the world and Africa, to fight the Atlantic slave trade between about the 1780s and the early 1800s.” Thus, resistance to, and fight against, slave trade could be an example of transnational movement for it covered several countries across the world.

The concept of transnationalism was elaborated by Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye Jr. in *Transnational Relations and World Politics*, in 1972. The book emphasized the role of non-state actors such as religious and ethnic groups as well as multinational corporations and terrorist groups. They argued that well over 50 per cent of all international activity involves interactions among non-state actors and nation-states. The authors’ logical conclusion was: “An analysis of international relations on the basis of traditional model that does not include non-state actors seriously distorts reality, for it neglects a considerable and increasing amount of important transnational activity”.

To this conclusion, it must be added that people-to-people contacts have further strengthened transnational activity and movements. Thus, the transnational movements are based on the politics that includes interaction between traditional nation-state and a whole lot of sub-state, or non-state, actors. John Burton refers to the activities of actors such as political parties, ethnic groups, multinational corporations and cultural formations, which at times elude the control of their governments. These

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cannot be ignored. Burton and his colleagues argued that an exponential growth of technology, especially in the fields of communication, transportation and weaponry, has led to a situation that they prefer to describe as the ‘cobweb model of international relations’. Such a model would include the activities of not only nation-states and giant multinational corporations, but also of ethnic groups and movements such as Irish Republican Army of Ulster (Northern Ireland); Turkish Cypriot Community in Cyprus; Biafrans in Nigeria; Kurds in Iran, Iraq and Turkey; and Basques in Spain. The cobweb model would also include individuals and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) having a powerful transnational impact.

Transnational movements are not only limited to cultural and civilisational groups, but they also include, as mentioned above, numerous other non-state actors. Kegley Jr. & Wittkopf opine that the “idea that the state has full and exclusive control over its destiny is increasingly questionable. Borders are porous, and states are vulnerable both to external pressures and to challenges from people within their boundaries.”

Mathew Evangelista argues, in his book *Unarmed Forces*, those transnational movements played important role in ending the Cold War. He says, “... transnational movements of past half century were able to influence the policies and decisions of a rigid totalitarian USSR and a bureaucratized US foreign policy establishment.” The role of international terrorism and of the non-governmental organizations have been explained and analyzed elsewhere in this book. In this Unit of your course, we will examine the contribution to the transnational politics made by religious movements, ethno-national groups, transnational culture and diaspora reflecting civilizational movements.

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### **13.3 NON-STATE ACTORS AND INTERNATIONAL CULTURE**

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It has been mentioned above that non-state actors have become important activists in transnational movements (see the following Unit 33). These

actors are numerous, increasingly active, and self-assertive. Besides multinational corporations and terrorist groups, these actors include ethnic minorities within states seeking independence (such as Tamils in Sri Lanka and Basques in Spain) as well as internationally active ethnic groups in two or more countries (for example Kurds who are active in Iran, Iraq and Turkey), who challenge the authority of state and promote transnational movements. They also include religious institutions such as Orthodox Christian Church, and more aggressive and militant groups like several Islamic organisations, such as Al Qaeda. It has been observed that the diversity among these groups is striking, even though all are dedicated primarily to their own parochial interests rather than those of any particular country. Riddel-Dixon had this to say about non-state actors: “The term “non-state entity” covers an enormously broad range of groups. On the most basic level, non-state entities are associations of individuals and/or groups that are not established by agreements among states”. This broad definition includes such disparate entities as transnational corporations and the business associations they establish to promote their interests, professional associations, ethnic groups, major religious organisations, terrorist groups, and social movements. The role of non-state actors in blurring the borders of nation-states is significant. These actors create movements which operate in several countries, often using extra-constitutional and even violent means.

### **13.3.1 Information and International Culture**

Global telecommunications are profoundly changing the way of information and culture function in international relations. Information is a vital tool of national governments in their interactions with each other. Yet technology is at the same time undermining and disempowering these governments and shifting power to non-state actors and individuals. These newly empowered individuals and groups have begun to create new transnational networks worldwide, bypassing states. The power of information technology has fully revolutionized the lives of people the world over. Today, sitting at home you can dial any number on your

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telephone and speak to a friend, relative or business connection in any part of the globe. “Just a hundred years ago, the idea of instant global connection was incomprehensible,” wrote Goldstein and added, “[i]t would have seemed unthinkable that anyone could push a dozen buttons on a handheld instrument (cordless phone) and be able to talk with any of billions of people anywhere in the economically developed areas of the world (and many of the poorer areas).” Not only is this, equally fascinating, but very common now, the role of television which has created a new transnational culture in music, dance and field of soap opera. To quote Goldstein again: “Equally ridiculous was the idea that you could look at a box no bigger than a suitcase and see in it moving pictures of things happening at that moment in distant lands.” Today this is a reality. Just 150 years ago, none of the modern means of information was available. One could simply write down a letter and send it often by a horse or a sailing ship.

The media over which information travels-telephones, television, films, e-mail etc.-shape the way ideas take form and spread from one place to another. Radio and, increasingly television, reaches even the poorest areas in the Third World countries. And now websites and e-mail, besides mobile telephones, have provided unbelievable connectivity in all parts of the world. This in turn has led to numerous transnational movements. TV is particularly powerful. The combination of pictures and sounds, affects viewers emotionally and intellectually. Viewers can experience distant events more fully. For example, the live coverage of terrorist attack on World Trade Centre in New York and Pentagon building in Washington D.C. by hijacked planes on 11 September 2001 made every viewer the world over feel part of the happenings in the United States. Similarly, the havoc played by the earthquake in parts of Gujarat, earlier, had shook the humankind and made the assistance available for relief in a short period of time. While TV enabled people to see the horror, jet aircrafts enabled the assistance to reach the victims in the shortest possible time.



It is not only the people who benefit from the power of information, but also that governments also use information as a tool of power. Governments spend large amounts of money collecting information about both inside and outside the boundaries of their states. Information collected by states, non-state actors and individuals enables closer interaction between them, making for transnational politics. Governments during Cold War period often held back information from the opposite camp. But, today media is so powerful that it has become major player in world politics. The media/information culture is a vital transnational movement. The effort to run a modern economy without computers, international telephone lines, and websites and e-mail technologies would contribute to economic stagnation. As more and more communication channels carry more information to more places, governments become just another player in a crowded field. The information revolution has considerably increased the international interdependence, “making actions in one state reverberate in other states more strongly than in the past.” At the same time, by empowering non-state transnational actors, information technology is undermining the centrality of states themselves in world politics.

Joshua S. Goldstein argues that the increase in the power of transnational actors has put into action two contradictory forces. One has empowered the sub-state actors, like ethnic groups, leading to disintegration of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and proliferation of internal strife since the end of the Cold War. As sub-state actors gain power, they demand their own national rights of autonomy and sovereignty. The second force, however, is the forging of transnational communities and supranational identities. Here regionalism (European Union or ASEAN) or globalism asserts itself as an internationalized culture resting on communication links among peoples in different states. This second force (forging transnational communities) challenges the emphasis on national borders, and makes for transnational culture.

**Check your progress 1**

Note: Write your answers in the space given below.

## Notes

1. What is Meaning of Transnational Movements?

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2. Write about Information and International Culture.

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### **13.4 RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS**

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Normally religion is based on the faith of an individual or a group of people. Expectation from the believers is that

- (a) they will not force others to follow their faith, but allow every person to be free in matters of religion; and
- (b) the religion will not be mixed with politics, and that the state and religion will be kept independent of each other's. But, these expectations are often belied. In theory, religion would appear to be a natural worldwide force, for peace and harmony.

Yet, in the name of religion millions have died. The crusades between 11th and 14th centuries, left millions of Christians and Muslims dead; and the religious conflicts during the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) between Christian Catholics and Protestants took the lives of nearly one fourth of all Europeans. The partition of British India in 1947, on the basis of "two-nation" theory, played havoc with communal frenzy leaving lakhs of people-Hindus and Sikhs-killed, wounded, maimed or raped on both sides of the borders. Wholesale migration of Hindus and Sikhs from Pakistan created unprecedented human crisis. In West Asia, ongoing conflict between Arab Muslims and Israeli Jews has been responsible for massacre of innocent people; in erstwhile Yugoslavia, Bosnian Muslims were subjected to "ethnic cleansing" by the neighbouring Serbs; and the terrorist violence in Jammu & Kashmir has forced lakhs of Pandits to leave their homes and become refugees within

India, while both Hindus and Muslims are being killed in the name of jihad sponsored from across the borders.

A large number of nearly 6 billion people of the world have strong religious convictions. At the abstract level, a religion is a system of thought shared by a group of people which gives its members an object of devotion and a code of behaviour. Every religion preaches noble ideals of peace and brotherhood, yet in practice faith many a times leads to movements of hatred and violence. A system of belief provides followers of a religion with their main source of identity; and this identification often leads to misplaced perception that the values of their own religion are superior to other belief systems. Thus, while Hinduism adopts idol worship as a mode of concentration and non-violence as a value, there are others who react sharply against idol worship, that they do not mind animal sacrifice so that meat may be consumed, as food by those believers.

With the conviction that a particular religion is superior, most believers feel that their faith should be universal, and that it should be adopted by everyone throughout the world. To confirm their belief in the superiority of their religion, its followers actively try to convert non-believers to their faith, and engaging themselves in crusades to win followers of other religions to their beliefs. This is usually done through persuasion, through missionary activities to win over hearts and minds of “infidels and non-believers”. But, at times conversion has been carried out by bribery or by sword, tarnishing the image of reputed religions. Forcible conversion often leads to clashes that even turn violent. This is against the essentials of religious beliefs.

It is important to note that religions do have high ideals of their doctrines, yet activities of some people in those religions are often against the high ideals. The religious principles are sometimes abused by the “over enthusiasts” or fundamentalists. But, not all religions are abused, all the time. Kegley Jr. & Wittkopf, for example, wrote: “Consider the Hindu ideology of tolerance of different religions, which

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teaches that there are many paths to truth, and accepts pluralism among diverse populations. Similarly, Buddhism preaches pacifism, as did early Christianity, which prohibited Christians from serving in the armies of the Roman Empire.” There may be occasional aberrations, which take the shape of extreme militant religious movements. These movements bring bad name to the religion. The problems arise when religions dabble in politics.

The militant religious movements have certain characteristics. These are:

- (i) such movements that tend to view existing government as corrupt and illegitimate because it is secular;
- (ii) they condemn domestic ills of the society, and try to substitute themselves for the government;
- (iii) they try to bring all government policies and activities in the hands of believers;
- (iv) they consider themselves as universal, which means militant religious movements do not recognize international boundaries for propagation of their faith;
- (v) they are exclusionists, and all nonbelievers are treated as second-class citizens; and
- (vi) they, being militants, tend to use coercion to their objectives.

At times religious movements may be compelled to adopt tough stance. For example, as Mushirul Hassan wrote in *The Hindu*, 29 January 2003: “Muslim politics have a transnational dimension, as is illustrated by the responses to Israel’s unjust occupation of Palestine...” Once the alleged injustice is corrected, one can expect the religious transnational movements to give up militancy.

### 13.4.1 Dawat-i-Islami

One of the latest religious movements, Dawat-i-Islami was founded in 1981, and it seeks to promote Muslim brotherhood across the world. The Dawat-i-Islami, meaning invitation to Islam, was launched by Maulana Muhammad Ilyas Qadiri. Founded in Pakistan, catapulted by Sunnis, the Dawat invites the faithful to follow the sunnah, the prophetic way. Its aim is to promote and deepen the love for the Prophet and the early community of Muslims in Medina. In an article titled Da'wat-i-Islami: An Aspiring Transnational Movement, Mujeeb Ahmed, a Pakistani scholar, wrote: "The movement stands for the revival and resurgence of Islam through preaching. Its main characteristic is to preach what is righteous and what is forbidden." The members of the Dawat-i-Islami keen to follow the Sunnah, always wear white clothes, a green turban, and a miswak (a wooden stick used in place of a toothbrush) in their pockets. The movement promotes universal brotherhood among the Muslims all over the world. In that sense it is an aspiring transnational movement. The Dawat requires each of its members to become a murid (pupil) of Maulana Qadiri. Its critics, however, are not happy with, what they consider, over emphasis on wearing the green turban.

### 13.4.2 Different Types of International Activities

Many experts believe that militant religious movements tend to stimulate five types of international activities. First, is irredentism, which means an attempt by a dominant religion or ethnic group to reclaim territory once possessed by it, but later lost to another region or group? Force is often rationalised for this purpose. Second, secession or separatist revolts are attempts by a religious, or ethnic, minority to break away from an internationally recognised state. Here also force may be used. When these revolts succeed, states disintegrate into two or more political units- as happened when Pakistan was created by dividing British India, or Chechens' ongoing attempt to secede from Russia. Third, activity involves militant religion's attempt to migrate, which means departure of religious minorities to escape persecution when Jews were forced to flee

## Notes

from Germany and Austria, it was result of persecution by Nazis. There minority was not militant. Fourth, activity (though not a result of militancy) may lead to the creation of diasporas, or communities which live abroad in host countries, but maintain sentimental, economic and even political ties with their homeland (see below a separate section on diaspora). Lastly, militancy breeds terrorism.

### Check your progress 2

Note: Write your answers in the space given below.

1. Write about the Religious Movement.

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2. What are the Different Types of International Activities?

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## 13.5 TRANSNATIONAL COMMUNITIES AND CIVILISATIONAL MOVEMENTS

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Different parts of the world have been witnessing ethno-national movements. Although the state certainly remains the most powerful actor in world affairs, nationality is a potent cultural factor influencing how states perform. Many people pledge their loyalty, not so much to the state, but to their ethno-national groups. Members of these groups share a common civilization, language, cultural tradition and ties of kinship. According to E.K. Francis, “cultural affinities manifest in shared linguistic, racial, or other markers... enable one community to distinguish itself from others.” The emphasis on ethnic groups reduces the relevance of the state. Most of the states are multinational. In 1994, of the world’s nearly 190 nation-states, 120 countries had politically significant minorities. Thus, the ethnic groups are vital to the understanding of the contemporary international relations.

Karen Fog Olwig argued that “it is not possible to reduce migrants’ socio-cultural construction of places of belonging to nation-state”. Transnational migrants, depending on their trajectories and the social, economic and the political context of these trajectories, identify with family networks, with a family home and not necessarily express their feeling of belonging by joining to the activities with the country of origin.” She objects to limiting the universe of the transnational socio-cultural dimensions to formally and informally organised ethnic associations. She urges us to look at the transnational from the point of the people and develop a framework, which will capture the personal dimensions of this process. Migrations of people with different cultural and civilisational backgrounds creates transnationalism, for they link the culture of the countries of their origin with the culture of the country that they choose to adopt and settle down.

One feature of ethno-national movements is very clear. Most of them transcend existing borders of the states, for most of these groups have their presence in two or more countries like for example, Tamils in India, Sri Lanka and Singapore, just as the Jews as an ethnic group are not limited to Israel. They constitute important force in several countries including the United States. The transnational cultures and civilisations do not recognise any international borders. There is a view that the future will be darkened by violent clashes between various civilizations, or ethnic cultures. Each such clash would be as disturbing as East-West ideological clashes of the Cold War. According to Huntington (1993), the future international conflicts “will not be primarily ideological or economic”, but rather cultural between “nations and groups of different civilisations.” According to Samuel Huntington, who popularised the phrase “clash of civilisations”, there are seven or eight major civilisations. These include Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American, and possibly African.

The present day international system is said to be the product of one particular civilisation Western civilisation, centred in Europe. North American culture was largely influenced by the European civilisation.

## Notes

The Chinese and Indian civilisations are much older, but they suffered at the hands of Western imperialists. The Egyptian civilisation is another ancient civilisation. In the contemporary world civilisational movements have been largely influenced by migrants from one part of the world to another, yet civilisational movements have not really threatened the nation-state.

### 13.5.1 Diasporas

The term diaspora has become popular in recent days. With the advent of jet age of fast travel across the world, large amount of migrations have taken place, mainly (but not necessarily) from Third World countries to the Western industrialized nations. Defining Diasporas, Kegley Jr. & Wittkopf say: “The emigrants create Diasporas, or communities which live abroad in host countries but maintain sentimental, economic and political ties with their homelands.” The term diaspora includes people having their origin in one country but living in other countries while retaining some kind of link with their home country. They keep their civilization alive even in the host countries. This term may not apply to third or fourth generations, but certainly those who are still attached with their civilization and cultural values constitute a distinct group.

For nearly two centuries people were going from India to foreign lands. Very few of them went till mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century of their own choice to seek job opportunities. Most of them were taken by imperial masters as plantation workers to places like Sri Lanka, Fiji, Mauritius, Maldives, etc. Some went in order to set up business in other British colonies like Kenya, South Africa or Nigeria. But, with the availability of greater opportunities in developed countries, and fast means of air travel, large number of people began moving out of India to UK, Canada, the United States and Germany. Smaller number of people went to other countries also. Since the 1970s, the migration assumed alarming proportions, causing brain drain at home, and stress and strained relations in some cases in the host countries also.



The United States is itself known as a country of migrants. Beginning with the British, who established 13 colonies in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, many other Europeans also settled down in the United States. The term diaspora is not used for those who migrated centuries ago, but for those who are first or second generation migrants. Even then one may hear of not only Indian-Americans, but also of Polish-Americans or Spanish-Americans and so on.

The large number of migrants often organises themselves as separate groups and act as pressure groups in the host countries. Even when they acquire citizenship of the host country, they seldom forget their roots, their original customs and traditions. This helps unite them as a civilisational and cultural movement. The first ever Pravasi Bharatiya Diwas organised in India in January 2003 was a unique gathering of people of Indian origin from nearly 110 countries. The migrants fall in two categories—those who have permanently settled down in the host country and have become its nationals are known as People of Indian Origin (PIO); and there are others who retain their Indian passport but are working in foreign lands, and they are called non-resident Indians (NRI). Together they constitute Indian diaspora. There are similar Diasporas of other countries also.

For the sake of proper understanding let us make a study of Indian diaspora as the basis of transnational movement. Indian diaspora is about 20 million strong and spread across 110 countries. Bulk of them is in English-speaking countries. There are also large number of PIOs and NRIs in the Gulf region. To look at some of the figures, Indian diaspora in the United Kingdom in 2003 was as strong as 12 lakhs (12,00,000 people); USA had 16,78,765 people; Canada 8,51,000; and there were 2,17,000 in the Netherlands. In the Gulf and West Asia, Saudi Arabia accounted for 15 lakhs, Kuwait 2,95,000, UAE 9,50,000 and Qatar 1,31,000 Indians. Elsewhere, Australia is new home of 1,90,000 Indians; South Africa has 10 lakhs; Malaysia 16,65,000, Singapore 3,07,000;

## Notes

Kenya over one lakh, Mauritius 7,15,756 and Fiji has 3,36,829. There are many more spread out all over the world.

Some major points deserve special mention:

1. While many younger people born and brought up in host countries get absorbed in the local culture, most of the first and second generation migrants retain their links with the country of their origin (for example India). Most Indians in countries like the UK, USA, Canada and Australia continue with their religious beliefs, eating habits and traditions.
2. Most of the members of diaspora still prefer to marry in India and carry Indian culture with them.
3. In countries like UK and US, etc. Indians, whether in professions like medicine, architecture or information technology, or in business, contribute a great deal to the polity of their newly adopted countries. Many of them raise funds and contribute for elections of one party or the other. In the UK Swaraj Paul, an industrialist was made a peer and is a member of House of Lords. There are at least two more peers, and about half a dozen persons of Indian origin are elected members of House of Commons. There has been an Indian minister in the UK, premier of British Columbia in Canada; prime minister of Fiji (Mahendra Singh Chaudhory); there is an Indian Senator in one of the US States; and the leadership of Mauritius has its roots in India.
4. Indian places of worship, temples, gurudwaras and mosques are set up and maintained with respect and reverence wherever the diaspora has its presence.
5. Indian diaspora has popularised Indian cuisine in foreign lands. One finds numerous Indian restaurants in London, New York, New Jersey, and Amsterdam and even in Paris. British people have become fond of Indian curry and bar-be-cue.
6. Thus, a transnational cultural and civilisational movement is carried on by the diaspora. It acts as a major link between the homeland and the host country. In the first ever gathering of PIOs

and NRIs in New Delhi in 2003, Prime Minister Vajpayee remarked: “The benchmark for success, which the Pravasi community has set, are a challenge for us in India. They make us examine why the Indian is so much more innovative, productive and successful abroad than in his own country...” He added: “We do not want your riches; we want the richness of your experience.” Maintaining that India was an important player, foreign minister Yashwant Sinha appealed “to all community leaders within the Indian diaspora to try and do their utmost to organise themselves under a single umbrella so that their collective voice can be effectively heard.” Giving a new meaning to transnationalism, a Fijian minister Shiu Raj called for appreciation of all cultures, “for there is only one race, which is human race... once you do not respect one race there will be problems.” Justice Ahmed Ibrahim of Zimbabwe supported the Fijian leader, and said, “Look at each other; you will see that we are the same people.”

It is this spirit that is behind the success of transnational movements.

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## **13.6 CULTURE AND TRANSNATIONAL MOVEMENTS**

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In the age of newer means of telecommunication, a new global culture is emerging despite the great divisions remaining in cultures and perspective. Goldstein argues that in “the global village, distance and borders matter less and less. Across dozens of countries, people are tuned in to the same news, the same music, and the same sports events.” This development is likely to create transnational cultural integration that might lead to emergence of supranational identities, including a global identity. If citizens in European Union can begin to think as “Europeans”, transnationalism may enable people of UN member-countries to think as human beings and residents of planet earth. However, there is a negative side also. Global culture may turn into “cultural imperialism” dominated by the only surviving Super Power, the

## Notes

United States. The US cultural influence is as strong as its military influence.

English is fast becoming the world language and the US president may try to dominate the politics as well as culture of the world. Already the US films and TV shows dominate the world markets. The CNN news channel tries to shape the thinking of millions of viewers the world over.

The concept of 'McWorld' is an example of transnational food movement. Today, McDonald outlets can be found all over the major cities in the world selling its burgers, thus slowly changing the habits of Chinese and Indians, besides others. The Chinese noodles and fried rice have gone into background as the junk food is taking over. Similarly, Indian Puris, curries and Dosas may soon be dominated by the burgers and pizzas. The global culture reflected by "Mac Attack" opened a wave of globalisation. When the closed society of China opened up to cultural imperialism, Chinese leaders seemed unsure for years about whether McDonald's brought to China Western-style prosperity or spiritual pollution. Perhaps there was a bit of both. We may briefly mention several areas that are helping in the cultural transnational movements.

### **13.6.1 International Journalism**

Joshua S. Goldstein opined in late 1990s that although "a global culture is still only nascent and the most powerful identity is still at the national level, people have begun to participate in specific communities that bridge national boundaries." For example, international journalists are members of such a community. Journalists work with colleagues from various countries and travel together from country to country, creating a transnational brotherhood. Together they collect news and express views. "Though a journalist's identity as a journalist rarely takes precedence over his or her national identity, the existence of the transnational community of journalists creates a new form of international interdependence." Like the journalists, the scientists from different countries often work together in communities spanning national borders.

When, for example, Pakistani scientists and technologists worked together with their Chinese counterparts to develop nuclear weapons, they were working as scientists, not as Pakistanis or Chinese. Similarly, if an Indian satellite is launched with the assistance of one country or the other, a new community of scientists is evolved. When the late Kalpana Chawla took to space research, she was a member of community of space scientists more than an Indian or Indian-American.

### **13.6.2 International Sports Events**

International sports competitions constitute one of the broadest-based international communities. Millions of cricket fans, for example, watch the test matches or one-dayers. The same is true of the Olympic Games, held every four years, and the regular soccer competitions. It is true that often these competitions stir up animosities between over enthusiasts as when Pakistani team loses to India, there may be hooliganism not only in the playgrounds, but also the over enthusiasts even break their TV sets. British soccer “hooligans rampage through another European country after their team loses a game.” These events show nationalism in extreme form, as a winning cricket team’s supporters sing and dance all round with their flag raised high. Yet, sports do create transnational brotherhood. But, by and large, sports competitions have positive impact. This is how Goldstein sums up the situation: “Some people see sports as a force for peace. Sports events bring people from different countries together in shared activities. Citizens of different states share their admiration of sports stars, who become international celebrities.”

In Israel one of the most successful programs for bridging the gap between Jewish and Arab children is a soccer camp in which star players of both communities participate together as coaches. In an interesting development, the Chinese-American rapprochement of 1971 was so delicate that political cooperation was impossible until the way had first been paved by the US table tennis team that made the first official US visit to China. Sports are indeed a big uniting and cementing transnational force.

### 13.6.3 Broadcasting - Role of T.V. and Radio

Electronic media is a vital player in transnational cultural movements. It is not only the news read out on major network like the CNN, BBC and Star that create world public opinion, but films shown on TV, soap operas, sitcoms and Chat-shows go a long way in propagating Western culture particularly in the Third World countries. On its part, media in India is engaged in showing its own TV serials, sitcoms and Indian films. Some of them are based on India's own values, but many are adaptations of Western shows. This creates an international entertainment, having both positive and negative transnational impacts. Some of the large Third World countries like Brazil and India having their local contexts in TV programmes influence their diaspora and help consolidate their cultural and civilizational values. Many of the TV shows have their hidden political subtexts.

Advertising is an important source of revenue of commercial TV channels. This is aggressively done by the multinational corporations to win over the local markets and change the habits of peoples of the host countries. At times, this aggressive advertising may have negative and even frustrating impact. One such situation was demonstrated in 1991 when Albania's communist system was crumbling along with its economy. Albanians, who had been watching Italian TV channels, had exaggerated view of Italian prosperity. One commercial on Italian TV had shown cats being given their food in silver platters. Poor Albanians took overloaded ferries to go to Italy to share its prosperity. However, they were sent back home by Italian authorities.

The attack on Iraq in 1991, by the US-led coalition, illustrates how electronic media enables viewers all over the world to watch on TV. Not only that attack on Baghdad was directly telecast by the American channel CNN, but also when the bombing of Baghdad began, President Saddam Hussein reportedly sat in his bunker watching the war unfold on CNN. The CNN signal that he was receiving on his TV set originated

from a nearby hotel room in Baghdad, travelled through an overland phone connection to Jordan, then went to CNN headquarters in Atlanta (US), where it was telecast via satellite back to Baghdad. So Saddam Hussein got information about bombing on Baghdad, in his bunker in Baghdad, by way of Atlanta, at the same time that it reached millions of viewers around the world, including the leadership in the United States.

### **13.6.4 Tourism**

Tourism is another major factor in transnational activity. International tourists cross borders of nations 500 million times in a year. This includes people going for official work, business or to meet friends and relatives, but majority of them are holiday makers. People who travel to another country develop deeper understanding and appreciation of its people. People-to-people contact promotes friendship and reduces the chances of conflict and war. For example, an American citizen who visits Japan is more likely to favour US-Japanese trade, or Indians who visit the US or UK find an atmosphere of friendship that sitting at home is impossible to believe. Even when Pakistani nationals visit India, they are surprised to find total goodwill, and not the animosity that they may have expected, because of their media's false propaganda. The transnational understanding is further promoted by exchange of students who go to another country to study. The exchange of tourists promotes world peace, just as visits of leaders of government and official create better understanding between different nations. As mentioned earlier, the rapid means of travel and interconnectivity through telephones, e-mail, etc. has blurred the borders of nation-state and promoted transnational cultural cooperation, even though nationalism still occupies vital position in the lives of people.

The transnational connections forged through these various activities, according to Joshua Goldstein, "... deepen the international interdependence that links the well-being of one state to that of other states. This may promote peace, because a person who knows more about a foreign country and has developed empathy for its culture is

## Notes

likely to act as a brake on political conflict with that country and an accelerator of positive cooperation with it.”

### Check your progress 3

Note: Write your answers in the space given below.

1. Discuss the diaspora.

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2. Discuss Culture and Transnational Movements.

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## 13.7 LET US SUM UP

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Transnational movements have changed the nature of international relations. For a long time nation-states were the only actors whose mutual relations constituted the core of international relations. Lately, however, several developments have taken place that has compromised with the absolute role of the nation-states. Interdependence of states, rapid means of transport, revolution in information technology, and the emergence of several non-state actors have blurred the borders of the states. People-to-people contacts have grown manifold, making it possible for regular contacts between various communities and civilizations. It is in this background that transnational movements have been taking place.

Transnational movements are based on the politics that include interaction between traditional nation-state and a whole lot of non-state actors. These actors include religious organizations, ethnic groups, multinational corporations and international terrorist outfits. Today, “[b]orders are porous, and states are vulnerable both to external pressures and to challenge from people within their boundaries.” Information



travels fast. It has impact on transnational politics. Religious movements often become militants, and they challenge the state as well as people of other faiths.

There are groups like Al Qaeda which are committed to propagation of their faith and adopt terrorist weapons to destroy those whom they consider as their enemies. Militant religious activities may take the form of irredentism, or secessionism, or encourage migration of persecuted communities, or unite people of one nationality in foreign lands called the Diasporas, or lastly it may take the form of terrorism. Transnational movements have such inputs as journalism, sports competitions, electronic media and tourism. Advertising may also bring various cultural societies on a common platform. Transnational connections deepen interdependence, and normally promote peace because cultural and civilisational people-to-people contacts act as a brake on political conflict, and accelerator of positive cooperation.

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## 13.8 KEY WORDS

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**NRI:** Non-resident Indians

**PIO:** People of Indian Origin

**Transnationalism:** Transnationalism is a scholarly research agenda and social phenomenon grown out of the heightened interconnectivity between people and the receding economic and social significance of boundaries among nation states.

**Diaspora:** A diaspora is a scattered population whose origin lies in a separate geographic locale. In particular, diaspora has come to refer to involuntary mass dispersions of a population from its indigenous.

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## 13.9 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

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1. What do you understand by transnational movements? What, according to Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, is the concept of transnational movements?
2. How has media influenced international culture?

## Notes

3. Sum up the features of religious transnational movements. What are the different types of militant religious movements?
4. Explain the ethno-national group.
5. What is the impact of Western civilisation on transnational movement?
6. What is diaspora, and how does it promote transnational movements?
7. Describe the significance of journalism and tourism in transnational cultural movements.

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## 13.10 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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## **13.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS**

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### Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Section 13.2
- 2) See Sub Section 13.3.1

### Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Sub Section 13.4
- 2) See Sub Section 13.4.2

### Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Sub Section 13.5.1
- 2) See Section 13.6

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# UNIT 14: THEORIES OF GLOBAL POLITICAL ECONOMY- LIBERAL MARXIST APPROACHES

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## STRUCTURE

14.0 Objectives

14.1 Introduction

14.2 Marxist Approach to the Study of International Relations

14.2.1 Core Elements of the Marxist Approach

14.3 Theory of Imperialism

14.4 Theory of Colonialism

14.5 Theory of Neo-colonialism

14.5.1 Nkrumah's Theory on Neo-Colonialism

14.6 Theory of Hegemony

14.7 Let us Sum up

14.8 Key Words

14.9 Questions for Review

14.10 Suggested readings and references

14.11 Answers to Check Your Progress

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## 14.0 OBJECTIVES

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After this unit we can able to understand:

- To discuss about the Marxist Approach to the Study of International Relations and its core elements;
- To know about the Theory of Imperialism;
- To describe Theory of Colonialism;
- To know the Theory of Neo-colonialism;
- To discuss about the Theory of Hegemony.

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## 14.1 INTRODUCTION

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Marxism is both a critical approach that wants to always question the mainstream policy-driven approaches to IR theory and a classical approach via the philosophical and sociological tradition of its

namesake, the philosopher Karl Marx (1818–1883). In fact, Marxism is the only theoretical perspective in IR that is named after a person. Of the range of great thinkers available to us, Marx may not automatically qualify as being the most ‘internationalist’. In fact, most of Marx’s (and his sometimes co-author Friedrich Engels’) work was not primarily concerned with the formation of states or even the interactions between them. What connected their interests to IR was the industrial revolution, as this event was ultimately what Marx was witnessing and trying to understand. He, with Engels, developed a revolutionary approach and outlined a set of concepts that transcended national differences while also providing practical advice on how to build a transnational movement of people. Workers from factories across the world – the proletariat – were to organise themselves into a politically revolutionary movement to counter the exploitative and unequal effects of capitalism, which were accelerated and expanded by the industrial revolution. This vision of a potential link between the bulks of humanity as a global proletariat is where, and how, Marxism enters IR from a different vantage point to other theories.

In the 19th century, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote that the main source of instability in the international system would be capitalist globalization, more specifically the conflict between two classes: the national bourgeoisie and the cosmopolitan proletariat. Historical materialism was going to be Marxism’s guideline in understanding the processes both in domestic and international affairs. Thus, for Marx human history has been a struggle to satisfy material needs and to resist class domination and exploitation. Despite ideological criticism, Marxism has strong empirical advantages on its side. Firstly, by emphasizing injustice and inequality it is very relevant to every period of time as these two failures of the human society have never been absent. Marxism is a structural theory just like neorealism, but it focuses on the economic sector instead of the military-political one. Its analysis reflects the relation between the base (the modes of production) and the superstructure (political institutions). The source of structural effects is

## Notes

not anarchy, but the capitalist mode of production which defines unjust political institutions and state relations.

This economic reductionism is considered also to be a central flaw. As a solution, the neo-Gramscian school proposed a further development. By combining global capitalism, state structure and political-economic institutions, they managed to create a theory of global hegemony (ideological domination). According to this theory, hegemony is maintained through close cooperation between powerful elites inside and outside the core regions of the world system. Global governance is constituted by political and economic institutions that put pressure on the less developed and unstable peripheral countries.

From an epistemological point of view, Marxism created the foundations for critical theory and it is superior in this sense to the dominant approaches of Anglo-American international relations that are problem-solving theories. As any other critical theory, Marxism has a normative interest in identifying possibilities for social transformation and how theory is instrumental to power. This is why Marx wrote about capitalism with an interest in the social forces that would bring about its downfall hoping that humanity would be free from domination and exploitation. Realists in particular see this to be politically motivated and not objective and neutral. The normative disadvantage of Marxism is that it can be seen as Eurocentric by promoting the Enlightenment ideal of cosmopolitanism

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## **14.2 MARXIST APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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Marxism is a political and social theory that argues that social change comes about through economic class struggle. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels developed the theory in the 19th century. Marxism formed the philosophical basis for the rise of communism in the early 20th century. Important works include *The Communist Manifesto* and *Das Kapital*. Let's take a quick look at some of the key principles of Marxism.

**The basics of Marxism**

Marxist concepts are all connected by the common goal to contribute to what they perceive as the greater good of humankind and its environment. To borrow the words of Adrienne Rich (2002, 65), theory is the seeing of patterns, showing the forest as well as the trees – theory can be a dew that rises from the earth and collects in the rain cloud and returns to earth over and over. But if it doesn't smell of the earth, it isn't good for the earth.

In other words, Marxists must remain informed and reflective of the basic and most common aspects of societies and their environment. This also means that if the industrial revolution (and capitalism in general) smells of burning coal, overcrowded factories and petrol fumes, the smells of the next revolution should be less deadly, less polluting and more protective of the earth. To understand Marxism, we need to grasp the basic elements of Marx's innovations regarding the origins and functioning of capitalism. In addition, we must understand that those origins and functioning can simultaneously happen at the domestic and international level. Combining these tasks leads to arguably the most important contribution Marxism offers to IR: that the capitalist mode of production and the modern sovereign states system (that emerged roughly at the same time) are not natural or inevitable events. They are interdependent products of particular historical conditions and social relations. The work of Marxists is to map and retrace those conditions and social relations and to figure out how the capitalist mode of production and the sovereign states system emerged – as two sides of the same coin, as different coins or maybe as different currencies. Debates on the degree of interdependence between these two major historical phenomena may be ongoing, but Marxism's achievement in IR has been to stop us from thinking about them separately. Marxism also advises that concepts are not just meant to help us understand the world – they should also help us change it.

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To explain Marxism in IR, we need to start with Marx's main theory for the development of capitalism: historical materialism. Most simply, historical materialism asserts that human beings – including their relations with each other and their environment – are determined by the material conditions in which they can survive and reproduce. Therefore, Marxism asserts that material conditions can be changed by the actions of human beings as well as by events – think of climate change for example, which depends on physical phenomena as well as human behaviour. In other words, these material conditions are historical; they change over space and time. But they are also always dependent on – and often hampered by – the processes and ideas that preceded them, as the past weighs on the present. A Marxist would stress that IR is not just about states' foreign policy or the behaviour of politicians, but more about survival (or more broadly, life), reproduction, technologies and labour. If this is correct then the separation between the political and economic, or public and private, is problematic because those categories hide the ways in which states and foreign policies are determined by the social relations and structures of the global economy – such as multinational corporations or international financial institutions. Put differently, Marxism fundamentally questions what 'the international' is in IR. Whether it is anarchy for realists or international society for the English school, Marxists argue that such concepts are problematic because they make us believe in illusions or myths about the world. For example, the concept of anarchy creates the mirage that states are autonomous agents whose rational behaviour can be predicted. However, this ignores the endurance of regional inequalities and the structural and historical links between states, violence and the key actors of the global political economy.

The first application of Marxist ideas to explain international processes was by communists and revolutionaries of the early twentieth century such as Rosa Luxemburg, Rudolf Hilferding and Vladimir Lenin. These authors developed what we now call the classical theories of imperialism to understand how capitalism expanded and adapted to a world of inter-



imperial rivalry leading to the First World War and the slow disintegration of the European empires.

### **Principles**

Economics is a dominant factor that brings about change in the world according to Marxism. This is an important distinction from other major theories in international relations, such as realism and liberal internationalism that stress the dominance of the political over the economic.

Importantly, class struggle is the impetus for social change according to Marxism. The theory holds that history can be viewed as a series of class struggles where one social class oppresses others. The oppressed classes eventually overthrow the oppressor class and a new social structure arises with new oppressors and new classes being oppressed. Marx argued that the proletarian class, or worker class, was being oppressed by the capitalists who acquired most of the value of the proletarian work as profits for themselves, leaving workers with little.

Marxism predicts that the proletarian class will eventually revolt and overthrow their capitalistic oppressors, eventually establishing a classless society based on socialism. In fact, the philosophical basis of the communist movements and regimes of the 20th century, ranging from the Soviet Union to Latin America to China and North Korea, is largely based on Marxism. However, it's important to note that while Marxism supports a form of socialism, not all forms of socialism are Marxist in nature.

Marx's original theory was pretty much focused on the internal dynamics of individual societies rather than the world of international affairs. However, V.I. Lenin, one of the architects of the Communist revolution in Russia, brought Marxism international in the early 20th century. Let's see how.

### **Role in International Relations**

Lenin argued that the capitalists in European countries engaged in a policy of imperialism, or empire building, in order to extract the wealth from colonies and use part of that wealth to buy the proletarian class into submission. Thus, according to this new take on Marxism, class exploitation is not just a domestic phenomenon but occurs between States as well. Lenin also pointed out that since there were only so many colonies available to exploit, the growth of one empire will eventually come at the cost of the growth of a rival, which will lead to war as each country competes for more colonies to exploit.

Marxism is often used to explain North-South relations and the gap in the relative wealth and development of the Northern Hemisphere compared to the Southern Hemisphere of our world. It has also been used by revolutionaries in Southern States as a justification to overthrow governments that are allegedly aligned with Northern States and their exploitation of the resources and people of the South. Some noteworthy examples include revolutions in China, Korea (resulting in the split of the country), Vietnam and Cuba.

### **14.2.1 Core Elements of the Marxist Approach**

#### **1. Proletarian Internationalism:**

Marxian view of International Politics is based upon the concept of Proletarian Internationalism which in itself is based upon the concept of unity of the working class at the international level. Marxism believes that the final objective to be secured is: International Socialist Order, through proletarian internationalism against bourgeois nationalism.

- (i) The world of proletariats have a common interest, independent of all nationality;
- (ii) Working men have no country, since the proletariat of each country must first acquire political supremacy; must first constitute itself in a nation, it is itself national;

- (iii) Unit action by the proletariat is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat; and
- (iv) In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to....and hostility of one nation by another will come to an end.

## **2. Anti-Imperialism:**

Marxian view of International Politics believes that the breakup of the bourgeois world order is inevitable. Capitalism has reached its final stage i.e., imperialism. Wars, militarism and armed conflicts have become the order of the day in this imperialist stage.

### **The contemporary era of international relations shows:**

- (i) Capitalism has become international and monopolistic;
- (ii) Uneven political economic development is an absolute law of capitalism;
- (iii) Hence, the proletarian revolution is possible not only in several countries of Europe, but even in one capitalist country which would form the nucleus, the base, the hegemony, of world socialist revolution attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries.

Thus overthrow of Imperialism is inevitable in international relations and spread of socialism is the means for this end.

## **3. Self-Determination:**

Marxian approach accepts self-determination as the principle of organizing the international society. It advocates that all nations of the world must be free to determine their political destiny. Colonial system must go. Self-determination by all the nations alone can give an enduring and strong basis to international relations.

## **4. Peaceful Coexistence:**

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The Marxists advocate that all nation-states of the world must live peacefully without criticizing or undermining other's social and political systems.

### **It implies:**

- (i) Proletarian Revolution would be victorious first in several countries, or even in one country;
- (ii) It has to survive capitalistic encirclement by relying on anti-imperialist contradictions;
- (iii) The best way to achieve this is to try to work at the relations of peaceful coexistence between socialist states and, at least, some if not all the capitalist states.

The acceptance of peaceful coexistence, however, does not mean that the limits of socialism have been achieved; and that capitalism and imperialism will continue to prevail and shall never be overthrown. It only means that the struggle between the labour and capital, between the social systems, will continue in different forms till such time as the ideas and achievements of scientific socialism triumph over capitalism.

To sum up, Marxian approach to international relations is based upon the concepts of Proletariat Internationalism, Anti-imperialism, Self-determination and Peaceful Co-existence. It believes in the onward march of international relations towards its logical and destined conclusion—end of capitalism- imperialism, unity of the proletariat as one nation and true internationalism.

The Marxian approach to international relations, the socialists believe, can fruitfully explain its past, present and the future. The increased importance of international economic relations and the emerging struggle between the forces of colonialism now new-colonialism and anti-colonial Third World plus former socialist states is quoted by the supporters of the Marxian Approach to observe that these facts fully bring home the utility of Marxian Approach to international relations.

**Check your progress 1**

Note: Write your answers in the space given below.

1. What are the Core Elements of the Marxist Approach?

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### **14.3 THEORY OF IMPERIALISM**

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Theory of Imperialism concerns the global systemic outcomes of the tendency for the rate of profit to fall in the capitalist system, and the objective impact of the consequences of those dynamics, and counter-tendencies in the world economy which are now generally associated with Marxian economics. As such it is often considered distinct and differentiated from the history of imperialism that extends through earlier historic periods and economic formations. J. A. Hobson's liberal critique of the emerging phenomenon has been considered as seminal by many writers on the subject, preceding and influencing Hilferding, Lenin "the principal English work on imperialism" and Luxemburg's formulations and teaching.

Samezō Kuruma in his 1929 Introduction to the Study of Crisis ends by noting "... my use of the term "theory of crisis" is not limited to the theory of economic crisis. This term naturally also encompasses the study of the necessity of imperialist world war as the explosion of the contradictions peculiar to modern capitalism. Imperialist world war itself is precisely crisis in its highest form. Thus, the theory of imperialism must be an extension of the theory of crisis."

Frank Richards in 1979 noted that already in the Grundrisse "Marx anticipated the Imperialist approach"

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Recent scholarship by Lucia Pradella amongst the archives of still unpublished manuscripts of Marx's studies of the world economy on his arrival in London, argues that there was already an immanent theory of imperialism in his writings. Conceptualizing society as coinciding with the state and the national territory, in fact, obfuscates the constitutive role of colonialism and imperialism, and leads to a naturalization of the international inequalities resulting from capitalist development.

Lenin's theory of imperialism is the basis of much contemporary analysis of the interaction between third world and advanced capitalist countries. This paper examines the theoretical coherence of his theory. In *Imperialism*, Lenin interwove two theories—a theory of monopoly and a theory of imperialism. He attempted to prove that the rise of monopoly changed the relationship between the advanced capitalist nations and the rest of the world, and qualitatively altered the nature of capitalism within the advanced countries themselves. We argue that he succeeded in the latter, but not in the former. The attempt to equate imperialism and monopoly is untenable.

### **Conservative Theories**

Imperialism is necessary to preserve the existing social order in the more developed countries. It is necessary to secure trade, markets, to maintain employment and capital exports, and to channel the energies and social conflicts of the metropolitan populations into foreign countries. There is a very strong ideological and racial assumption of Western superiority within this body of thought.

"I went down on my knees and prayed to Almighty God for light and guidance ... and one night late it came to me this way. We could not leave (the Philippines) to themselves--they were unfit for self-government--and they would soon have anarchy and misrule over there worse than Spain's was... There was nothing left for us to do but take them all and educate the Filipinos, and uplift and Christianize them." US President William McKinley, as quoted in General James Rusling,

“Interview with President William McKinley,” *The Christian Advocate* 22 January 1903, 17. Reprinted in Daniel Schirmer and Stephen Roskamm Shalom, eds., *The Philippines Reader* (Boston: South End Press, 1987), 22–23.

### **Liberal Theories**

Imperialism is a policy choice, not an inevitable consequence of capitalism. Increasing concentration of wealth within the richer countries leads to underconsumption for the mass of people. Overseas expansion is a way to reduce costs (and thereby increase or maintain profit levels) and to secure new consumption. Overseas expansion is not inevitable, however. A state can solve the problem of underconsumption by increasing the income levels of the majority of the population either through legislation concerning wage levels (minimum wage laws, legalization of unions, child labor laws) or through income transfers (unemployment compensation, welfare).

"Aggressive Imperialism, which costs the tax-payer so dear, which is of so little value to the manufacturer and trader, which is fraught with such grave incalculable peril to the citizen, is a source of great gain to the investor who cannot find at home the profitable use he seeks for his capital and insists that his Government should help him to profitable and secure investments abroad.

If, contemplating the enormous expenditure on armaments, the ruinous wars, the diplomatic audacity of knavery by which modern Governments seek to extend their territorial power, we put the plain, practical question, Cui bono? the first and most obvious answer is, The investor . . . . Investors who have put their money in foreign lands, upon terms which take full account of risks connected with the political conditions of the country, desire to use the resources of their Government to minimize these risks, and so to enhance the capital value and the interest of their private investments. The investing and speculative classes in general also desire that Great Britain should take other foreign areas under her flag in

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order to secure new areas for profitable investment and speculation."  
John A. Hobson, *Imperialism. A Study* (1902)

### **Marxist Theories**

Imperialism also arises because increased concentration of wealth leads to under-consumption. However, since the state represents the capitalist interest it is not possible to reduce under consumption effectively through liberal strategies. Both strategies involve taking away money from the bourgeoisie and Marx and Lenin did not view this strategy as possible. Ultimately, according to Lenin, the world would be completely divided up and the rich countries would then fight over the revision of the world. This analysis served as his explanation for World War I.

"It goes without saying that if capitalism could develop agriculture, which today is everywhere lagging terribly behind industry, if it could raise the living standards of the masses, who in spite of the amazing technical progress are everywhere still half-starved and poverty-stricken, there could be no question of a surplus of capital. This "argument" is very often advanced by the petty-bourgeois critics of capitalism. But if capitalism did these things it would not be capitalism; for both uneven development and a semi-starvation level of existence of the masses are fundamental and inevitable conditions and constitute premises of this mode of production. As long as capitalism remains what it is, surplus capital will be utilised not for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the masses in a given country, for this would mean a decline in profits for the capitalists, but for the purpose of increasing profits by exporting capital abroad to the backward countries. In these backward countries profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, wages are low, raw materials are cheap. The export of capital is made possible by a number of backward countries having already been drawn into world capitalist intercourse; main railways have either been or are being built in those countries, elementary conditions for industrial development have been created, etc. The need to export capital arises from the fact that in a few countries capitalism has become



“overripe” and (owing to the backward state of agriculture and the poverty of the masses) capital cannot find a field for “profitable” investment.” Vladimir Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 1920.

### **Social-Psychological Theories**

Imperialism is objectless expansion, a pattern simply learned from the behavior of other nations and institutionalized into the domestic political processes of a state by a "warrior" class. This warrior class is created because of the need for defense, but, over time, the class will manufacture reasons to perpetuate its existence, usually through manipulation of crises.

These theories have been updated and modified by theorists who see an alliance between the warrior class and corporate interests. Most commonly this alliance is referred to as a "military-industrial complex" a phrase coined by US President Eisenhower in his farewell Address to the American people:

“In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.” President Dwight David Eisenhower, 1961

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## **14.4 THEORY OF COLONIALISM**

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Colonization theory can be historically situated within early European conquest, domination, and colonization of various countries in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. This external control of foreign territories created a metropole (the colonizing country) and colony (the colonized

## Notes

lands) based on unequal power and exploitation of the colonies by the metropole. Educational curricula and content was a key tool in enabling and enforcing the power and control of colonial regimes. The forced external control is often referred to as the classical colonial model. This model is based on political, economic, and cultural hegemony of the metropole on the colonized lands. However, contemporary colonization theory also includes what is referred to as internal colonialism, meaning oppression and domination of certain groups of people within a country.

### 14.4.1 Definition

Collins English Dictionary defines colonialism as "the policy and practice of a power in extending control over weaker peoples or areas". Webster's Encyclopedic Dictionary defines colonialism as "the system or policy of a nation seeking to extend or retain its authority over other people or territories". The Merriam-Webster Dictionary offers four definitions, including "something characteristic of a colony" and "control by one power over a dependent area or people".

The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy "uses the term 'colonialism' to describe the process of European settlement and political control over the rest of the world, including the Americas, Australia, and parts of Africa and Asia". It discusses the distinction between colonialism and imperialism and states that "given the difficulty of consistently distinguishing between the two terms, this entry will use colonialism as a broad concept that refers to the project of European political domination from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries that ended with the national liberation movements of the 1960s".

In his preface to Jürgen Osterhammel's *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, Roger Tignor says "For Osterhammel, the essence of colonialism is the existence of colonies, which are by definition governed differently from other territories such as protectorates or informal spheres of influence." In the book, Osterhammel asks, "How

can 'colonialism' be defined independently from 'colony?' He settles on a three-sentence definition:

Colonialism is a relationship between an indigenous (or forcibly imported) majority and a minority of foreign invaders. The fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonised people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant metropolis. Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonised population, the colonisers are convinced of their own superiority and their ordained mandate to rule.

### **14.4.2 Types of colonialism**

Historians often distinguish between various overlapping forms of colonialism, which are classified into four types: settler colonialism, exploitation colonialism, surrogate colonialism, and internal colonialism.

- Settler colonialism involves large-scale immigration, often motivated by religious, political, or economic reasons. It pursues to replace the original population. Here, a large number of people immigrate to the colony for the purpose of staying and cultivating the land. Australia, Canada, and the United States are all examples of settler colonial societies.
- Exploitation colonialism involves fewer colonists and focuses on the exploitation of natural resources or population as labour, typically to the benefit of the metropole. This category includes trading posts as well as larger colonies where colonists would constitute much of the political and economic administration. Prior to the end of the slave trade and widespread abolition, when indigenous labour was unavailable, slaves were often imported to the Americas, first by the Portuguese Empire, and later by the Spanish, Dutch, French and British.

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- Surrogate colonialism involves a settlement project supported by a colonial power, in which most of the settlers do not come from a same ethnic group as the ruling power.
- Internal colonialism is a notion of uneven structural power between areas of a state. The source of exploitation comes from within the state. This is demonstrated in the way control and exploitation passes from whites in the colonizing country to white immigrant population within a newly independent country.

As colonialism often played out in pre-populated areas, sociocultural evolution included the formation of various ethnically hybrid populations. Colonialism gave rise to culturally and ethnically mixed populations such as the mestizos of the Americas, as well as racially divided populations such as those found in French Algeria or in Southern Rhodesia. In fact, everywhere where colonial powers established a consistent and continued presence, hybrid communities existed.

Notable examples in Asia include the Anglo-Burmese, Anglo-Indian, and Burgher, Eurasian Singaporean, Filipino mestizo, Kristang and Macanese peoples. In the Dutch East Indies (later Indonesia) the vast majority of "Dutch" settlers were in fact Eurasians known as Indo-Europeans, formally belonging to the European legal class in the colony.

The impacts of colonization are immense and pervasive. Various effects, both immediate and protracted, include the spread of virulent diseases, unequal social relations, detribalization, exploitation, enslavement, medical advances, and the creation of new institutions, abolitionism, improved infrastructure, and technological progress. Colonial practices also spur the spread of colonist languages, literature and cultural institutions, while endangering or obliterating those of native peoples. The native cultures of the colonized peoples can also have a powerful influence on the imperial country.

Different theories have been propounded by different European thinkers to legitimize the act of colonialism. It has been a serious concern for both

the moral and political philosophers in the Western tradition. Political theorists have tried to figure out the relationship between the concepts of justice and natural law, and the practice of European domination over the non-Western people. The goal of this essay is to address the question of how European thinkers justified, legitimized and criticized political domination of foreign territories by the European colonists. It would also try to analyse the relationship between Western political theory and the project of colonialism.

In conclusion from the two theories, it can be inferred that the proponents of these theories tried to justify their actions in one way or the other. Moreover, despite the criticisms of these theories, the critics were not totally against the domineering of other people by Europeans; they still always wriggled out a way to legitimize colonialism through the formation of new concepts.

**Check your progress 2**

Note: Write your answers in the space given below.

- 1. Describe Theory of Imperialism.

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- 2. Describe Theory of Colonialism.

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- 3. What are the Types of colonialism?

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**14.5 THEORY OF NEO-COLONIALISM**

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## Notes

Neocolonialism, neo-colonialism, or neo-imperialism is the practice of using capitalism, globalisation and cultural imperialism to influence a developing country instead of the previous colonial methods of direct military control (imperialism) or indirect political control (hegemony). Coined by the French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre in 1956, it was first used by Kwame Nkrumah in the context of African countries undergoing decolonization in the 1960s. Neo-colonialism is also discussed in the works of Western thinkers such as Jean-Paul Sartre (*Colonialism and Neo-colonialism*, 1964) and Noam Chomsky (*The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism*, 1979).

When first proposed, neocolonialism labeled European countries' continued economic and cultural relationships with their former colonies, African countries that had been liberated in the aftermath of Second World War. Kwame Nkrumah, former president of Ghana (1960–66), coined the term, which appeared in the 1963 preamble of the Organisation of African Unity Charter, and was the title of his 1965 book *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism* (1965). Nkrumah theoretically developed and extended to the post-War 20th century the socio-economic and political arguments presented by Lenin in the pamphlet *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1917). The pamphlet frames 19th-century imperialism as the logical extension of geopolitical power, to meet the financial investment needs of the political economy of capitalism. In *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, Kwame Nkrumah wrote:

In place of colonialism, as the main instrument of imperialism, we have today neo-colonialism . . . [which] like colonialism, is an attempt to export the social conflicts of the capitalist countries. . . .

The result of neo-colonialism is that foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world. Investment, under neo-colonialism, increases, rather than decreases, the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world. The struggle against neo-colonialism is not aimed at excluding the

capital of the developed world from operating in less developed countries. It is aimed at preventing the financial power of the developed countries being used in such a way as to impoverish the less developed.

### **14.5.1 Nkrumah's Theory on Neo-Colonialism**

In *Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president and arguably one of Africa's most influential political leaders, posits his theory concerning an emerging phenomenon he describes as "neo-colonialism." According to Nkrumah, the general aim of neo-colonialism is economic domination at the satisfaction of a few. In the case of Africa, this manifests itself as imperialistic power without responsibility. Neo-colonialism in its cruelest form is the continuation of colonial policies under the guise of achieving freedom. African nations rely on their former imperial power or colonial "mother country" for defense and internal security. Imperialist nations advance their economic neo-colonial aspirations by various aid schemes under the guise of improving living standards and conditions. Meanwhile, such powers have little interest in developing the countries they aid or improving social aspects such as education. Destructive military aid, rather than helpful multilateral aid, is often given due to competing imperialistic objectives from Western powers according to Nkrumah. The end result is Africa's mass amounts of natural resources are utilized to develop external Western nations such as the United States, Western European countries, and Japan rather than their own economies. As African countries export and provide cheap raw materials to help imperialist powers industrialize, they simultaneously create spheres of influence while supplying such powers with a market for their expensive finished goods.

To combat this dangerous trend of neo-colonialism on the African continent, Nkrumah delves into several solutions. First and foremost, Nkrumah asserts that the concept of unity must be applied to the economic realm of both individual nations and the continent as a whole. Nkrumah declares, "Quite obviously, therefore, unity is the first requisite

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for destroying neo-colonialism.” Economic unity specifically requires re-organizing African countries to specialize in the production of crops and goods that they are most suited for. It also lays the groundwork for unified agricultural, transportation, and communications policies. From economic unity stems the principle of non-alignment, or not cooperating solely with capitalist, socialist, or mixed economies. Instead, Nkrumah argues that careful national planning and investing with the country’s interest in mind makes African countries the masters of their own destinies. Secondly, Nkrumah speaks of political unity as a concept that must go hand in hand with economic unity: “When Africa becomes economically free and politically united...a new struggle will arise within which the liquidation and collapse of imperialism will be complete.” Nkrumah also declares, “Economic unity to be effective must be accompanied by political unity. The two are inseparable, each necessary for the future greatness of our continent, and the full development of our resources.”

This quest for a unified Africa to eradicate the continent of the ills of neo-colonialism that Nkrumah passionately writes about in 1965 begs the question, how successful have national and continental economic planning initiatives such as the African Development Bank (which Nkrumah applauds in his book following its establishment in September 1964) been in the 21st century? Do organizations such as the African Union exemplify Nkrumah’s hopes of a politically unified continent? For the most part, large-scale attempts at economic and political unification in Africa have failed in modern times due to an insistence on implementing policies according to Western ideologies and notions of development rather than philosophies that benefit Africa.

The African Development Bank (ADB), as Nkrumah explains, originated with the goal of developing an international code to govern foreign investment, increase African economic development and social progress, and promote carefully regulated private capital investment amongst member states. In recent years, the ADB has received very little attention as an organization originally designed to “...finance activities that help



reduce poverty and promote sustainable development.” Instead of operating as an independent body that utilizes economic principles that benefit Africa, the AfDB works closely with the World Bank and the European Union through co-financing to promote “trade & investment liberalization” as well as “privatization” of state owned companies. Such neo-liberal concepts pave the way towards neo-colonialism, as Nkrumah warns. Additionally, reports such as *Examining the African Development Bank: A Primer for NGOs* by the Bank Information Center state “...the AfDB has not done a good job of putting its policies into practice, partly because of the lack of financial and human resources it devotes to policy implementation.” The report also asserts, “The AfDB is struggling to define its priority lending areas and determine its “comparative advantage” vis-à-vis the World Bank and other donors.” The AfDB is responsible for only 6% of overall assistance to Africa because it “lacks the financial resources, the staff capacity and the range of staff skills and experience of the World Bank.” As a result, the AfDB closed all field offices in 1995 and now has little influence past its headquarters in Cote d’Ivoire or Tunisia. As *Africa’s Failed Economic Development Trajectory: A Critique* by Franklin Obeng-Odoom suggests, the AfDB is after unification based on a globally accepted view on development that defines economic growth in terms that exclude important African economic features such as the number of women in the informal labor force. In essence, the AfDB has largely failed as a tool to promote economic unity throughout Africa as Nkrumah had hoped during its inception. Instead, the AfDB serves as yet another instrument of what Nkrumah terms, “Western ideological warfare” by advancing ideological notions of neo-liberalism that hamper unification efforts.

Another area in which unification has failed is the case of the African Union. The BBC states that the African Union (AU) is a “pan-African organization whose goal is to propel a united continent towards peace and prosperity.” The AU’s main goals are political and economic integration, poverty reduction, development, and participation in the global economy. Prior to 2002, the organization was known as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and acted as a speaking forum for

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influential African leaders in the 1960s during decolonization. Yet, the AU has been experiencing some financial woes just as the AfDB. To keep the AU financially afloat, they accepted an offer by China to invest over \$200m for its new headquarters. This has caused many to speculate about China's desire to buy power and influence over the AU.

Additionally, African nations such as Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Nigeria, and South Africa make up only 40% of the money needed for the AU's yearly operating budget. The rest comes from China, the European Union, and America. However, there are some that applaud the AU's progress in addressing peace and security concerns. An article in the *Economist* entitled "The African Union: Short of Cash and Teeth" suggests that the AU has improved when it comes to exerting political pressure on nations that display "undemocratic behavior." However, the same article states that the AU's rhetoric has become more "pragmatic" by shunning "the lingo of Marxist liberation" in favor of economic integration. One can evaluate this statement as yet another example of an attempt at political unification that fails to abide by Nkrumah's vision for a non-neocolonial Africa. In his book, Nkrumah clearly describes neo-colonialism as Marx's class war on an international scale, with a division between the wealthy West and poor working class of the Global South. Nkrumah goes on to predict that the capitalist structure will be overthrown on a global scale since it is the root of the imperialistic tendencies that lead to neo-colonialism. Nkrumah also stresses the inclusion of African nations with socialist governance for the sake of political and economic unification. Thus, the African Union's shift towards becoming financially dependent on the West while rejecting socialist nations and Marxist ideology demonstrates a dangerous step backwards in the war against neo-colonialism.

After careful examination of the two main large-scale attempts at economic and political unification in 21st century Africa, the African Development Bank and the African Union, one can determine that both initiatives fail to live up to the standards set by Kwame Nkrumah. Both still heavily rely on Western powers for aid and exclude African theories

of development and socialist ideologies in their agendas. By perpetuating the ingredients of neo-colonialism, these two institutions are also perpetuating neo-colonialism itself. Both organizations appear to be nothing more but tools used by the West to ideologically infiltrate the minds of African leaders. By utilizing the African Development Bank, the World Bank can advance its neo-liberal notions of privatization and state owned companies that have crippled the economies and industrialization efforts of so many African nations. In the same manner, China and the European Union use their financial support of the African Union to influence policies. A return to Kwame Nkrumah's original strategies for combating neo-colonialism must be properly implemented to reverse the vicious cycle of over-reliance on Western powers. More openness should be expressed for continental planning agendas that include nationalization, socialist African political structures, Marxist ideology, and true economic unification. African nations must stop falling prey to the very same divide and conquer techniques used by Western powers to exploit the region during the Age of Imperialism. Only then can the tide of neo-colonialism truly be stopped.

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## 14.6 THEORY OF HEGEMONY

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### What does the Hegemon Do?

The system is a collective good which means that it is plagued by a "free rider" syndrome. Thus, the hegemon must induce or coerce other states to support the system. The US system tries to produce democracy and capitalism, thus it champions human rights and free trade. Other nations will try to enjoy the benefits of these institutions, but will try to avoid paying the costs of producing them. Thus, the US must remain committed to free trade even if its major trading partners erect barriers to trade. The US can erect its own barriers, but then the system will collapse.

Over time, there is an uneven growth of power within the system as new technologies and methods are developed. An unstable system will result if economic, technological, and other changes erode the international

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hierarchy and undermine the position of the dominant state. Pretenders to hegemonic control will emerge if the benefits of the system are viewed as unacceptably unfair.

Hegemony is the power or dominance that one social group holds over others. This can refer to the "asymmetrical interdependence" of political-economic-cultural relations between and among nation-states (Straubhaar, 1991) or differences between and among social classes within a nation. Hegemony is "dominance and subordination in the field of relations structured by power" (Hall, 1985). But hegemony is more than social power itself; it is a method for gaining and maintaining power. Classical Marxist theory, of course, stresses economic position as the strongest predictor of social differences. Today, more than a century after Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote their treatises about capitalist exploitation of the working class, economic disparities still underlie and help reproduce social inequalities in industrialized societies.

Technological developments in the twentieth century, however, have made the manner of social domination much more complex than before. Social class differences in today's world are not determined solely or directly by economic factors. Ideological influence is crucial now in the exercise of social power. The Italian intellectual Antonio Gramsci—to whom the term hegemony is attributed, broadened materialist Marxist theory into the realm of ideology. Persecuted by his country's then fascist government (and writing from prison), Gramsci emphasized society's "super structure," its ideology-producing institutions, in struggles over meaning and power (1971; 1973; 1978; see also Boggs, 1976; Sasson, 1980; and Simon, 1982). A shift in critical theory thus was made away from a preoccupation with capitalist society's "base" (its economic foundation) and towards its dominant dispensaries of ideas. Attention was given to the structuring of authority and dependence in symbolic environments that correspond to, but are not the same as, economically determined class-based structures and processes of industrial production. Such a theoretical turn seems a natural and necessary development in an era when communications technology is such a pervasive and potent

ideological medium. According to Gramsci's theory of ideological hegemony, mass media are tools that ruling elites use to "perpetuate their power, wealth, and status [by popularizing] their own philosophy, culture and morality" (Boggs, 1976: 39). The mass media uniquely "introduce elements into individual consciousness that would not otherwise appear there, but will not be rejected by consciousness because they are so commonly shared in the cultural community" (Nordenstreng, 1977: 276). Owners and managers of media industries can produce and reproduce the content, inflections, and tones of ideas favorable to them far more easily than other social groups because they manage key socializing institutions, thereby guaranteeing that their points of view are constantly and attractively cast into the public arena.

**Check your progress 3**

Note: Write your answers in the space given below.

1. Describe Nkrumah's Theory on Neo-Colonialism.

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2. Write about the Theory of Hegemony.

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## **14.7 LET US SUM UP**

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The role of theories and knowledge more generally is to reveal what is real and what is an illusion. Historical materialism – the theory that drives Marxism – tries to apply this advice by grounding the understanding of international relations in the ways in which people have transformed the land, produced things on it and are ultimately dependent on its resources for shaping political institutions such as the state and international organisations. Marxism has made several inroads in the development of the discipline of IR by being intrinsically concerned with

## Notes

the ways in which people – and groups – interact and produce things across borders, as well as how they organise themselves through institutions to manage and contest the production and distribution of things across the world. More specifically, it argues that the construction of modern borders is determined by, or linked in various ways to, the development of capitalism. Therefore, it makes us question the natural or inevitable character we tend to ascribe to our economic and political systems. In other words, if a system is not as real and fixed as we first thought, because it has a particular and relatively short history in the broader course of humanity, then it becomes much easier for us to imagine the various ways it is challenged and how it could be transformed to a system that, Marxists hope, will better redistribute the wealth of the world. Marx himself wrote that philosophy is often too concerned with interpreting the world, when the real point is to change it. Marxism as a theory of IR has certainly answered that call and, regardless of variations within the theory family, to be a Marxist always means to challenge one's ideas about the world.

Imperialism is simply a manifestation of the balance of power and is the process by which nations try to achieve a favorable change in the status quo. The purpose of imperialism is to decrease the strategic and political vulnerability of a nation.

"...we are engaged in 'pegging out claims for the future'. We have to consider, not what we want now, but what we shall want in the future. We have to consider what countries must be developed either by ourselves or some other nation and we have to remember that it is part of our responsibility and heritage to take care that the world, as far as it can be moulded by us, shall receive the Anglo-Saxon and not another character. Remember that the task of the statesman is not merely with the present, but with the future. We have to look forward beyond the chatter of platforms, and the passions of party, to the future of the race of which we are at present the trustees, and we should, in my opinion, grossly fail in the task that has been laid upon us did we shrink from responsibilities, and decline to take our share in a partition of the world which we have

not forced on, but which has been forced upon us." Earl of Rosebery, Speech at the Royal Colonial Institute, 1st March 1893.

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## 14.8 KEY WORDS

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**Imperialism:** Imperialism is a policy or ideology of extending a nation's rule over foreign nations, often by military force or by gaining political and economic control of other areas.

**Colonialism:** Colonialism is the policy of a nation seeking to extend or retain its authority over other people or territories, generally with the aim of economic dominance. The colonising country seeks to benefit from the colonised country or land mass.

**Neo Colonialism:** Neocolonialism, neo-colonialism, or neo-imperialism is the practice of using capitalism, globalisation and cultural imperialism to influence a developing country instead of the previous colonial methods of direct military control or indirect political control.

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## 14.9 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

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- 1) Bring out the core elements of Marxist approach to international relations.
- 2) What does Hobson mean by "becoming taproot of imperialism"? How have the scholars reacted to his theory of imperialism'?
- 3) How is colonialism different from imperialism'? Also highlight the Marxist views on colonialism.
- 4) What do you mean by neo-colonialism? Do you agree with the view that even after the end of colonialism, it continues to operate under the garb of neo-colonialism'?
- 5) Do you agree with the view that Nkrumah's is the pioneer of the theory of neo-colonialism'? Outline his main thesis.
- 6) In what ways, do you think the Marxist theory of hegemony helps in enriching our understanding of the dynamics of international politics'?

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## 14.10 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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## 14.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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Check Your Progress 1



- 1) See Sub Section 14.2.1

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Sub Section 14.3
- 2) See Sub Section 14.4
- 3) See Sub Section 14.4.1

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Sub Section 14.5.1
- 2) See Section 14.6