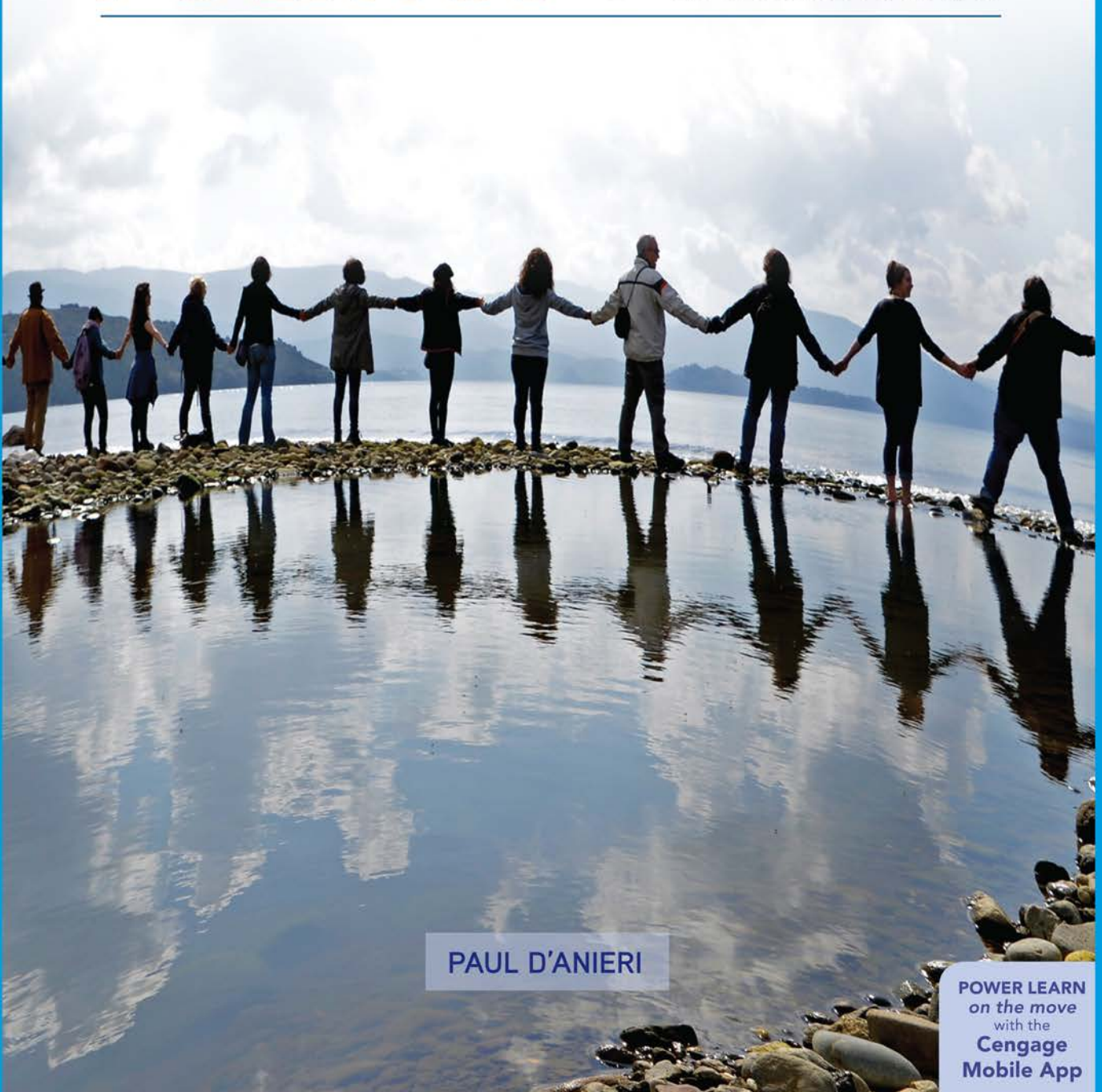


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PAUL D'ANIERI

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FIFTH EDITION

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Power and Purpose in Global Affairs

Paul D'Anieri

University of California, Riverside



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International Politics: Power and Purpose in Global Affairs, Fifth Edition
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Cover Image: Anjo Kan/Dreamstime.com

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Library of Congress Control Number: 2019920404

Student Edition:

ISBN: 978-0-357-13617-1

Loose-leaf Edition:

ISBN: 978-0-357-13624-9

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Printed in the United States of America
Print Number: 01 Print Year: 2021

DEDICATION

*To My Children
Jacey, Courtney, Zachary, Joe, and Lily*

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LETTER TO INSTRUCTORS

Dear International Politics Instructor:

The mission for the course in international politics, as I see it, is to provide students with the analytical skills and conceptual apparatus to understand and analyze international politics. Although much has changed in international politics since I began teaching the course just after the end of the Cold War, this underlying goal has not. I continue to believe the biggest benefits our students get from the course are the concepts we teach and the habits of inquiry we instill. The course is not just a course on international politics or political science; it is a central component of a liberal education. Therefore, I continue to present many of the issues addressed in the text in terms of questions or puzzles, and to examine multiple answers. I also introduce concepts that have application beyond international politics, such as different dimensions of power, collective action problems, social construction, and the distinctions between the five paradigms of international politics we discuss. In this edition, I add a brief discussion of critical theory.

The themes of **power and purpose** recur throughout the text. This scheme reflects one of the main debates in contemporary theorizing—the debate between rationalist and constructivist approaches. I also want to prompt students to inquire about these two concepts when thinking about world issues. Many discussions of contemporary problems focus on the desire to achieve a particular purpose (such as “development”), without giving sufficient attention to the limitations on actors’ ability, or power, to bring about that end. Similarly, we need to think about how actors’ goals are formed and how they change, and why some are controversial and others go unquestioned. The notions of power and purpose are explored in depth in Chapter 1, and then are reinforced throughout the text, with a discussion focused on power and purpose at the end of each chapter.

The **five paradigms** that dominate Chapters 3 and 4 (realism, liberalism, economic structuralism, constructivism, and feminism) recur throughout the text. They arise explicitly again in Chapter 10, when they are applied to international political economy, and in Chapter 14, when they are applied to international environmental politics.

A third recurring theme is that of **continuity and change**. Chapter 2 surveys the evolution of the contemporary system, and subsequent chapters address the historic roots of many of the phenomena that concern us today. An explicit goal is to ask whether traditional concepts are adequate to understand contemporary problems, and to identify what is so new that we may not yet have the concepts needed to understand it.

New to this Edition

- This edition provides a list of recommended readings at the end of each chapter, something that users requested.
- Language treating gender as a binary category has been replaced with non-binary alternatives.

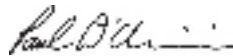
- The text is updated throughout to use recent examples wherever possible. Although this is not primarily a course about current events, recent examples help students to engage with the material.
- Chapter 4 now includes discussions of World System Theory, Dependency Theory, and Critical International Relations Theory.
- In several places, the global rise of populism is treated, both as a possible cause and effect of international political behavior.
- In Chapter 5, the discussion of the media, public opinion, and foreign policy has been rewritten to account for the changes brought by the rise of social media. A feature in Chapter 6 focuses on confirmation bias and “fake news.”
- The discussion of international trade (Chapters 10–11) takes into account both the debate over Brexit—which was still underway as the book was being completed—and the trade war between the U.S. and China.
- The discussion of climate change negotiations now covers the Paris Agreement and the U.S. decision to withdraw from it.

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Like many of my colleagues, I was inspired by talented and dedicated teachers. The best of them ignited my interest, sharpened my thinking, and raised my aspirations. As teachers, we cherish the moments we see a light bulb go on in a student's head or stand back and watch students engage in a thoughtful discussion. I have sought to provide a book that in content and style helps dedicated teachers inspire curious students.

Sincerely,



Riverside, California

August 2019

danieri@ucr.edu

LETTER TO STUDENTS

Dear Student:

Unanticipated crises in international politics seem to emerge on a weekly basis. In the past few years, we have witnessed a war between Russia and Ukraine, the emergence of the “Islamic State” from conflicts in Syria and Iraq, the collapse of global energy prices, growing consequences from climate change, and an emerging trade war. At the same time, some features of international politics—war, poverty, and the struggle for influence—seem eternal. How are we to make sense of all this? International politics presents us with many puzzles, most of which have no clear solutions. And yet the stakes are very high—responding incorrectly to these crises and challenges can lead to war, pandemic, and poverty. The puzzling nature of international politics combined with the high stakes of the issues involved make it a dramatic subject.

The book is built around the theme of “power and purpose.” What goals are actors seeking to attain, and who defines those goals? Are the goals complementary or competing with those of other actors? Those are questions of purpose. Power concerns how actors pursue those goals; what resources do they have: money, weapons, prestige? The concept of power has several meanings, and exploring these will help us understand international politics, and many other areas of politics and the social sciences.

Features

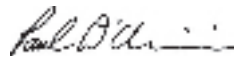
- **Learning objectives** and **chapter outlines** for each chapter serve both to preview the key themes and help with review.
- **Consider the Case** begins each chapter with a brief case study from history, recent or more distant, to illustrate the real-world importance of the themes of each chapter. Each chapter ends asking the student to **Reconsider the Case** in light of the discussion in the chapter.
- **Policy Connection** discusses contemporary policy problems, showing how policy makers apply the concepts presented in the text.
- **History Connection** addresses the theme of continuity and change, tracing the origins of contemporary issues in historical cases.
- **Geography Connection** uses maps to convey the increasing role of geospatial tools in understanding contemporary politics.
- **Connection to You** (available online) relates the problems discussed in the text specifically to today’s university student. This feature illustrates how distant issues actually influence us considerably, and describes numerous ways we as individuals can seek to shape international politics.
- **Power and Purpose** ends each chapter summarizing how the ideas presented relate to the themes of power and purpose. These discussions help to illustrate the dimensions of power and their relationship to actors’ goals.

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In the time since I took my first international politics course as an undergraduate, the world has transformed dramatically, first by the end of the Cold War, then by the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and the wars that followed. It has been transformed as well by accelerating globalization, the information revolution, and the rise of China. Many of the facts I studied as an undergraduate are today irrelevant. But many of the concepts I learned—the tools for thinking about international politics—have not only remained relevant but have helped me and others make sense of the bewildering changes we have encountered in our lifetime. My aspiration for this book is that it provides you with a set of tools you can use to analyze a wide variety of new situations that you may encounter.

Sincerely,



Riverside, California

August 2019

danieri@ucr.edu

RESOURCES FOR STUDENTS & INSTRUCTORS

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Cognero for *International Politics: Power and Purpose in Global Affairs, 5th Edition*

ISBN 9780357136232

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Acknowledgments

This book owes its existence to wonderful teachers, students, family, and friends. Carolyn Merrill has been a wonderful friend and a supportive editor. She was instrumental in convincing me to write the first edition over a decade ago. Laura Hildebrand and Claire Branman provided persistent and positive help in thinking through this edition and bringing it to fruition. Emily Hickey made many valuable corrections and suggestions

that have improved the text. The rest of the team at Cengage has been efficient and helpful in putting the book together, including Valerie Hartman, Senior Marketing Manager; Sarah Cole, Senior Designer; Erika Hayden, Learning Designer; and Haley Gaudreau, Product Assistant.

Many of the changes in this edition came from the suggestions of reviewers. In particular, they urged me to provide students more exposure to postcolonial theory and critical theory. Reviewers' advice led to many other improvements, though I did not heed all their suggestions, and the shortcomings that remain are my responsibility.

My students over the years have provided both inspiration and input. Their curiosity and optimism make teaching worthwhile, and they have offered a steady stream of suggestions about content and presentation.

As I get older, I appreciate more than ever the teachers that I had many years ago. In particular, Michael Schechter at Michigan State and Peter Katzenstein at Cornell inspired me both with their research and their teaching. They demonstrated the impact that talented and dedicated teachers and mentors can have.

My wife Laura has always supported my scholarly endeavors, even when they take me away from home or occupy my weekends. She has been a great sounding board for my ideas about how to approach various topics, and never hesitates to point out the bad ones.

This book is dedicated to my children, Jacey, Courtney, Zachary, Joe, and Lily. As I write this, the youngest has just completed college. She provided valuable feedback on the writing style of this edition. From the beginning I have been energized by the understanding that I was writing for students like them.

Reviewers

We would also like to thank the instructors who have contributed their valuable feedback through reviews of this text and their participation in focus groups:

Frank Fuller, Bloomsburg University
 Phil Kelly, Emporia State University
 Alynna Lyon, University of New Hampshire
 Howard Sanborn, Virginia Military Institute
 Hamid Serri, University of North Georgia
 John Spohn, Liberty University
 Stuart Strome, Santa Fe College
 Scott Wallace, IUPUI
 Joe Weinberg, University of Southern Mississippi
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 Linda Adams, Baylor University
 Susan Allen, Texas Tech University
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IMAGE 1.1 Syrian Refugees Protesting in Zaatari Refugee Camp, Jordan, March 2014
Anadolu Agency/Getty Images

1 Introduction: Problems and Questions in International Politics

Learning Objectives

- 1-1** Identify ways in which international politics are linked to everyday life.
- 1-2** Distinguish between explanatory and normative theory.
- 1-3** Identify the links between theory and policy.
- 1-4** Elaborate on how theories are evaluated in political science.
- 1-5** Apply the concept of levels of analysis in international relations.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- Purpose: The Goals of Politics
- The Problem of Power
- Puzzles with High Stakes
- The Goals of the Book
- The Science of International Politics
- The Role of Theory
 - What Is a Theory?
 - The Uses of Theory
 - Normative Theory: The Purpose of Action
 - Levels of Analysis

Imagine you are president of the United States. It appears that Iran is acquiring nuclear weapons. How do you respond? Your advisers are divided. One group advocates a hard line: Threaten a military attack unless Iran proves it has stopped the program. Only the threat of a U.S. assault, these advisers contend, will persuade Iran to change course. Another group counsels a conciliatory policy: War is an expensive and unpredictable policy, they say, and the threat of it makes it more likely, not less, that Iran will seek nuclear weapons. Both groups warn that if you do not take their advice, you may be responsible for prompting the use of nuclear weapons against the United States. Who is correct? How can we predict the consequences of each policy option?

Imagine you are the president of China. Other countries are increasingly insisting that you stop punishing those who speak out against corruption and human rights abuses. Your economic growth is based on huge trade surpluses with those countries, so it is important that the trade relationships be preserved. On the other hand, you fear that increasing freedom may destabilize your government, and you believe that may be the real goal of Western powers. You are not sure that those countries will ever really follow through on their implied threats. After all, their companies are desperate to sell goods to your booming market, and their governments rely on your lending to fund their deficit spending. Does participating fully in the global economy require becoming more like Western countries politically? Or is it possible to keep one's domestic political arrangements completely separate from one's international economic relations?

Imagine you are an average citizen in a democratic country voting in a national election. The candidates have similar positions on most issues but differ about how best to combat terrorism. One candidate argues that good intelligence gathering is the key to identifying terrorists before they strike and favors extensive monitoring of phone and internet traffic. Another candidate argues that such surveillance provides relatively little benefit and constitutes an invasion of our privacy. Whom do you vote for? What are the sources of terrorism? What policies can reduce the threat?

Imagine you have joined a group devoted to alleviating poverty in Africa. A philanthropist has just given the group \$1 billion to reduce poverty. How should your group spend the money? Should you focus your work on educating government decision makers to make better decisions? Should you invest in primary education to reduce the illiteracy rate? Should you spend the money on health care to reduce the drain of illness on the economy? What are the causes of global poverty? What are the cures?

These four scenarios cover a wide range of issues and views, but in each case you face difficult choices that can be made wisely only if you understand how international politics works. In each case, moreover, a bad decision will be costly. These examples illustrate an important point: International politics matters to everybody, in one way or another. It affects the daily lives even of people who know nothing or care nothing about it.

Each of these scenarios also illustrates why international politics is an interesting—even a dramatic—subject. International politics can be thought of as a set of vexing puzzles with very high stakes. Millions of lives are on the line when leaders try to avoid war or try to use war to accomplish their goals, or even when they choose policies on trade, development aid, or environmental collaboration. International politics involves ethical quandaries, such as whether the effort to reduce terrorism justifies torture or whether it is acceptable to stand aside in the face of famine or genocide. It involves the highest aspirations of humankind, such as the dreams of ending war and eliminating global poverty. And it involves the lowest depths to which individuals and societies sink—mass murder, terrorism, and famine.

This book seeks to help you understand the puzzles that comprise international politics today. These puzzles challenge our intellect, and the choices we make or do not make, as citizens and as societies, will have far-reaching consequences. Wise choices may help avert wars, starvation, and environmental collapse. Poor choices can lead to disaster. That combination—difficult dilemmas and high stakes—is what makes international politics an exciting subject. That we live in a rapidly changing world only increases the risks and the challenges.

Purpose: The Goals of Politics

The scenarios in the previous section bring up questions of both *power* and *purpose*, two themes that run throughout this book. Purpose refers to what actors want, and power refers to how they go about getting it. Power and purpose are therefore central concepts in understanding political behavior, and are therefore at the center of the most widely applied theories of international politics. Each approach has particular notions of what constitutes power and of what the most important goals are that actors are pursuing. It is useful to return to these concepts again and again. Neither purpose nor power is always evident. Focusing on them helps us to make the implicit explicit, and in doing so reveals essential characteristics of the international political process.

What are various actors trying to achieve? **Purpose** refers to the *goals* or *aims* of political action. In this book, we consider a wide range of actors, including states, individuals, bureaucracies, firms, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), international organizations, and terrorist groups (see Figure 1.1). Regardless of the actors, we need to consider the purposes they are trying to achieve. To what extent do the actors on a given issue have shared or competing purposes? How do the purposes of states and of the international community change, and what happens when they do? These questions are central to the study of international politics.

purpose

The goals that actors pursue, including the notion of *national interest*. Whether actors see themselves as having shared or competing goals is a central concern.

The Problem of Power

Power is an essential concept in the study of politics, but how to define it, and how it works, are widely debated. For our purposes, it is sufficient to highlight five different meanings of the term *power*. These five concepts, taken together, provide some sense of the range of ways power works in politics, and the range of approaches one can take in studying it.

The simplest and most widely used meaning of the term power is the ability to compel another actor to do (or not to do) something. When one country uses military force or economic sanctions to compel another to surrender some disputed territory, we see power as coercion.

In many cases, institutions are given authority on certain issues, and the rules of those organizations convey power. This institutional power can be far-reaching, but it depends on the underlying agreements on which the institution is based—which in some cases seem unquestionable and in others are fragile. In Chapter 7, we examine the United Nations (UN), which has been given authority over a variety of functions. The UN General Assembly operates according to a one-state/one-vote rule, but the Security Council allows five “great powers” to veto any resolution, assigning a different level of institutional power to those five.

power

The ability of an actor to achieve its goals. Exactly what constitutes power and how to measure it are vexing problems in international relations.



AP Images/STR

IMAGE 1.2 A Bomb near Colombo, the Capital of Sri Lanka, Tears Apart a Packed Passenger Train The tactic of suicide bombing was developed by the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka.

THINK IT THROUGH What kind of power is suicide bombing? What effects can it bring about and not bring about?

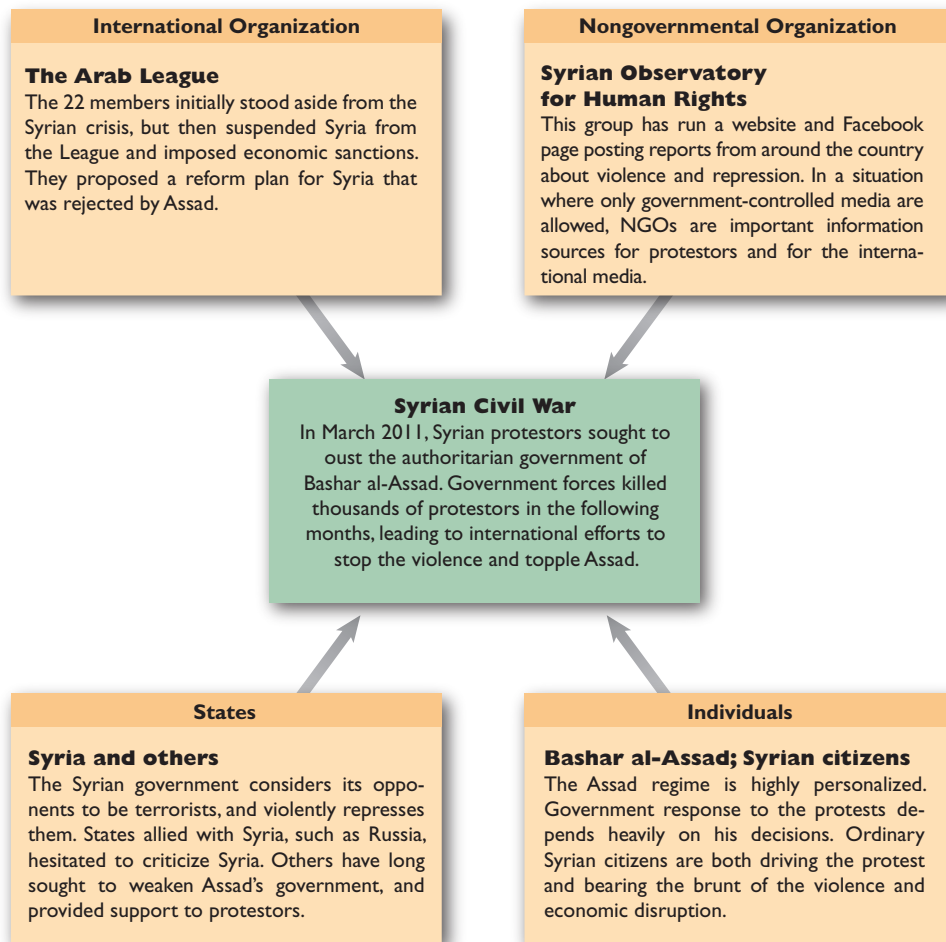
Sometimes we can get others to do what we want without threatening or outvoting them. In Chapter 4, our discussion of constructivist theory examines how shared norms (values) shape behavior. To the extent that we can get others to adopt our values, and to the extent we have prestige, our arguments may carry more weight. This prestige, and the ability to use it persuasively, is sometimes called “soft power.” If others share our purpose, we do not need to compel them. In this conception, purpose and power begin to overlap.

Some assert that the ultimate power is to have social relations arranged in such a way that others serve one’s interest voluntarily, and without thinking about it. This is referred to as “structural power” because it resides in the very structure of social relations. To have one’s interests accepted uncritically as natural, or as the only way things can be, is to have influence that is not even noticed and, therefore, cannot be easily challenged. For example, scholars critical of capitalism (Chapter 4) point out that in capitalism most everyone accepts as natural an arrangement in which the owners of corporations make vastly more than employees, who may work equally hard. In this view, capitalism gives structural power to those who own firms.

A very different view sees power in the ability of multiple actors to work together to accomplish what they cannot do separately. In this view, power is not directed *at* other actors but works *with* other actors. Put differently, this view stresses *power to* rather than *power over*. Liberal theorists (Chapter 3) and feminist theorists (Chapter 4) point out that collaborative power can have a significant impact in international politics.

These five different meanings of power (and we could identify more) are summarized in Table 1.1.

Theorists disagree about which forms of power are most important. Those in the realist school (Chapter 3) tend to find compulsion most fundamental because it does not rely on any underlying agreement on the value of money, voting rules, or social norms. Adherents of other schools of thought argue that compulsion is a very expensive way to get things done, and that a great number of goals cannot be gained with it. They find that these other notions of power drive most of what goes on in international politics. Determining which kind of power is most important is not as crucial as acknowledging that power is contextual. This means there are very different ways in which power and purpose are linked. In compulsion, there is a clear distinction between the goal and the power used to achieve it. In structural power, having others accept one’s goal is itself a form of power. In cases where actors share purposes, collaborative power may be important, as the actors work together to achieve the common goal. In fact, soft power may forge this shared purpose. But when actors disagree about goals, other forms of power, such as coercion, may be more relevant.

FIGURE 1.1 Political Actors in the Syrian Civil War**TABLE 1.1**

Type of Power	Brief Definition	Example
Coercion	Compulsion; use of force or threats	Seizing territory with a military force; economic sanctions
Institutional Power	Power based in rules	Passing a new rule in an international organization
Soft Power	Prestige; ability to persuade	Having others seek to imitate one's political or economic model
Structural Power	Unquestioned "rules of the game" that benefit some actors	The belief that large banks are "too big to fail"
Collaborative Power	Additional power created when multiple actors work toward a shared goal	Alliances; joint scientific research

Puzzles with High Stakes

International politics today is a series of puzzles with immense consequences. A great deal—including money and lives—depends on the answers and solutions we reach. Unfortunately, we are unable to answer many questions in international politics with certainty. The problem is not that we have no answers but rather that, for most important questions, we have two or more good answers, along with considerable debate concerning which is correct. A few of the questions that are most prominent today can be used to illustrate this point.

- **What are the sources of terrorism?** It seems that religion often plays an important role. But of all the religious people in the world, very few, even among the most devout, commit terrorism or support it. Therefore, some people argue that individual frustration and alienation cause specific individuals to become terrorists. Others point to the role of poverty. Ultimately, there is no simple explanation for why one person becomes a terrorist and another does not, or why one group seems to condone terrorism while another does not. Yet governments and individuals must make decisions every day on the basis of answers to these questions, even if those answers are tentative.

- **How likely is World War III?** Another major war would likely involve the use of many nuclear weapons, and therefore would be cataclysmic. It seems, therefore, that states would be crazy to start such a war, or even to risk one. If so, could more states getting nuclear weapons make the world more safe rather than less? Perhaps this explains why several states are seeking to get nuclear weapons. But might a war start by accident

or miscalculation? What are the sources of war? And what are the most effective ways to prevent a catastrophic nuclear conflict?

- **What are the causes and consequences of poverty around the world?** Many people argue that global poverty is a result of the way the international economy works: Competition from advanced economies makes it impossible for poor countries to succeed. Many others, however, make the opposite argument: Competition, they say, increases efficiency and wealth. Poor countries would benefit from more international competition, not less. There is evidence for both arguments. For the lives of billions of people, making the right call on this issue is essential.
- **Should we, and can we, turn back globalization?** Is globalization a force to be feared or a force for good? Many people fear the consequences of globalization and want governments to take steps to limit it. Others disagree, arguing that globalization brings many benefits, including economic growth, poverty reduction, and better government. Still others argue that, whether we like it or not, globalization is an inevitable economic and social process and that those who try to fight it will be left behind.



AP Images/TATAN SYUFLANA

IMAGE 1.3 A Polluted Canal Runs Through Jakarta, Indonesia Gaps between the richest and the poorest are increasing worldwide.

THINK IT THROUGH What are the causes of poverty? Does the globalization of trade and finance help or hurt?

- **Is the United States a declining power?** Is China's rise inevitable? What might slow or reverse the perceived decline of the United States or sidetrack China's rise? What are the forces that lead to the rise and decline of the power and influence of different countries? What might be the consequences when a new dominant power emerges? These questions have been applied to historical and contemporary cases. Leaders around the world are seeking to answer them, and to apply the answers successfully to their own states.
- **Is the international community obliged to intervene when a country's government is abusing the human rights of its own people?** Beliefs about the circumstances in which outsiders can, should, or must intervene are shifting. Traditionally, interference in others' internal affairs was generally prohibited, but that changed during the wars in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) intervened in Libya in 2011 to prevent Muammar Gaddafi from massacring opposition forces. In 2012, a similar situation arose in Syria. If intervention was permitted, was it *required*? The policies adopted in one case can create difficult precedents for others.

Often we cannot delay making a decision until we have arrived at a perfect understanding of a problem. We must learn to evaluate the different arguments on a pressing question and decide which we (as individuals or as a society) find most compelling. We base our policies on answers to questions, even when we are highly uncertain about those answers. In other words, we are forced to choose a side in key debates even when we would rather delay. Academic debates, therefore, have immense practical significance.

The Goals of the Book

This book aims to help you evaluate everyday arguments about international politics and foreign policy by connecting these everyday arguments to scholarly research in the field. Friends, parents, teachers, bloggers, and “experts” routinely make assertions—often with great confidence—about how international politics works and about what policies governments, groups, firms, and individuals should adopt.

Every argument about politics and policies embodies some hypothesis about cause and effect, such as, “if the US raises tariffs, China will make concessions.” Such a hypothesis is based on an identifiable series of assumptions. We can scrutinize those assumptions and decide whether we agree. Similarly, each argument is supported by at least some evidence (and is probably contradicted by other evidence). We can evaluate that evidence and identify its strengths and weaknesses. For each argument, there are also competing hypotheses based on different assumptions and different evidence (or on a different interpretation of the same evidence). We want to be able to identify and explore the competing arguments. In the example above, one might easily argue the opposite: “if the US raises tariffs, China will not make concessions.” We want to understand where those different interpretations come from. This is the focus of the academic field of international politics.

In sum, we want to accomplish three basic goals.

- First, we want to better our own understanding of international politics. More than learning facts, this means learning how to ask the right questions and to evaluate evidence about possible answers. This will allow us to achieve our second goal.
- Second, we want to make informed evaluations about how the world works—about causes and effects—and about what choices should be made. We might use these evaluations to decide whom to vote for, where to invest, or where to volunteer.



THE GEOGRAPHY CONNECTION

Predicting Instability

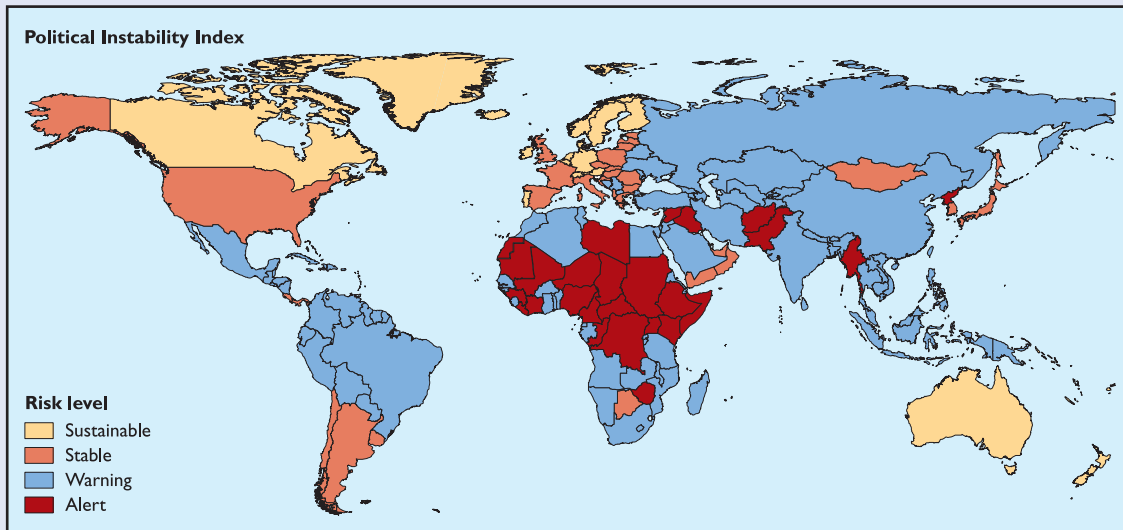
This map shows the political instability index of countries, as assessed by the Economist Intelligence Unit, part of the English newsmagazine *The Economist*. We want to judge instability in the world for any number of reasons: It could affect the value of investments, the flow of migrants, the supply of goods, the security of democracy, or the need to intervene militarily. But what do we mean by “stability”? And how do we measure it? These are the kinds of questions to which academics, investment bankers, intelligence services, and humanitarian organizations devote considerable energy.

Predicting unrest is difficult, but success can help actors prepare for or even prevent the worst consequences.

Critical Thinking Questions

1. How would you define “stability” in international affairs?
2. What things that can easily be measured do you think would be the best predictors?
3. How would you figure out whether your model was better than those of your classmates?

MAP 1.1 Political Instability



Source: Economist Intelligence Unit, *The Economist*, 1/08/2019, economist.com/graphic-detail/2019/01/08/the-retreat-of-global-democracy-stopped-in-2018

- Third, we want to be able to engage in intelligent debate about important public policy issues. Whether the goal is to convince someone to vote for a particular candidate, to gain support for a particular policy, or simply to challenge our parents, we want to be able to bring theory and evidence together to create compelling arguments.

The Science of International Politics

Some statements about international politics are very general, whereas others are quite specific. In either case, the goal of analysis is to decide whether to accept or to reject an assertion.

International politics is generally considered a part of the discipline of political science. The idea that there can be a science of politics is often regarded with skepticism. However, whether or not we admit it, we all behave as though we can discover patterns in politics. We form generalizations about what tends to happen in certain kinds of circumstances, and about what we might do to promote some outcomes and prevent others. Without some belief that we can explain and predict political behavior, our choices would be completely random. Political science cannot aspire to the same level of certainty as physics, but it has a crucial role to play in prompting us to make our beliefs about causes and consequences as explicit as possible, and then to subject them to scrutiny.

How do we do this? The branch of political science known as **methodology** studies how best to verify or reject different hypotheses (assertions) about politics. However, there is profound disagreement among political scientists about which methodological approaches are best. There is equally profound disagreement about the extent to which the study of politics can be or should aim to be *scientific* in the way that term is used in the natural sciences.

Natural scientists perform laboratory experiments in which they isolate and control the variables they are studying. Political scientists, in contrast, are unable to perform experiments on world leaders or on the effects of different policies. Having seen the German reaction to the election of François Hollande as President of France in 2012, we cannot run another trial in which someone else wins and then measure the different reaction. We have only the data that we can collect and observe from the real world, and we struggle to find valid comparisons and to control for factors that may skew our results. Even within the social sciences, political science offers fewer clear-cut concepts, methods, and measurements than economics or psychology. We are not seeking laws of nature that have no exceptions, like the law of gravity, but rather generalizable tendencies in the patterns of international affairs.

This book uses a general model of political science represented by the following process:

1. Begin with a question, such as “What causes war?” The question must be clearly defined. For example, the analysis should specify whether “war” is defined only as war between countries, or whether it includes civil war as well.
2. Identify potential answers (hypotheses). These may come from history, from political theory, from conventional wisdom, or from some observed pattern. Two prominent hypotheses about the causes of international war are: (1) war results from an imbalance in military power, and (2) war results from the choices of aggressive leaders.
3. Determine what patterns we would observe if each hypothesis were true. What patterns would be evident if war resulted from an imbalance of power? Every time there was an imbalance of power, there would be a war, and there would never be a war without an imbalance of power.
4. Decide how to define and measure the key factors. How is power defined? How is it measured? How much imbalance is supposed to matter? Issues of definition and measurement lead to a great deal of controversy about findings. Difficulty in defining and measuring power makes it difficult to definitively resolve the relationship between power and war.

methodology

The set of principles, strategies, and practical steps used to evaluate competing hypotheses.