SEEING WITH "SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION": VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORIES

By

Adrien Jahier

Submitted to Central European University,
Department of International Relations and European Studies

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts International Relations and European Studies

Supervisor: Professor Xymena Kurowska

Budapest, Hungary
2009

16709 words

ABSTRACT

Towards the increasing complexity of International Relations theories with different opposite schools of thought that dominate the inter-paradigm debate, this piece of work takes this diversity as a strength to observe and understand the evolution of international affairs in the global international system. Associated with the 'sociological imagination' argumentation, this diversity can allow any individual around the world to become aware of the interlinks between one's own life and international affairs. In order to grasp those interlinks, the thesis argues for the interest that represents visual representation as a way to stimulate one's sociological imagination in International Relations theories.

Therefore, after considering the interest that symbolizes visual representations in International Relations, the problem was the following: how should one visually represent an IR theory? This work argues for an alternative method directly derived from the 'sociological imagination' methodology and notably its call for the use of "vagues notions and images"[1] but also the model of cognitive map. Defining a theory as being above all a set of concepts with a specific logic defining their arrangement, I claim that the levels of analysis in International Relations are the best methodological tools to analyze different International Relations theories that can be then translated into a visual representation.

The major findings of this research work is a map of the field which is supposed to stimulate one's 'sociological imagination'. I have made an attempt to represent two well-known theories: Kenneth Waltz's neorealism and Alexander Wendt's conventional constructivism. The first attempt was a success whereas the second one was not. Representing a neorealist theory, notably through its materialist nature, is more accessible than a meta-theory like conventional constructivism. However, considering the latter as being a contribution to the former, an attempt to represent both theories in a same picture has been done. The last step was to apply them to a case-study which is the European Security and Defence Policy missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

---

[1] C. Wright Mills, *The sociological imagination*, (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 212
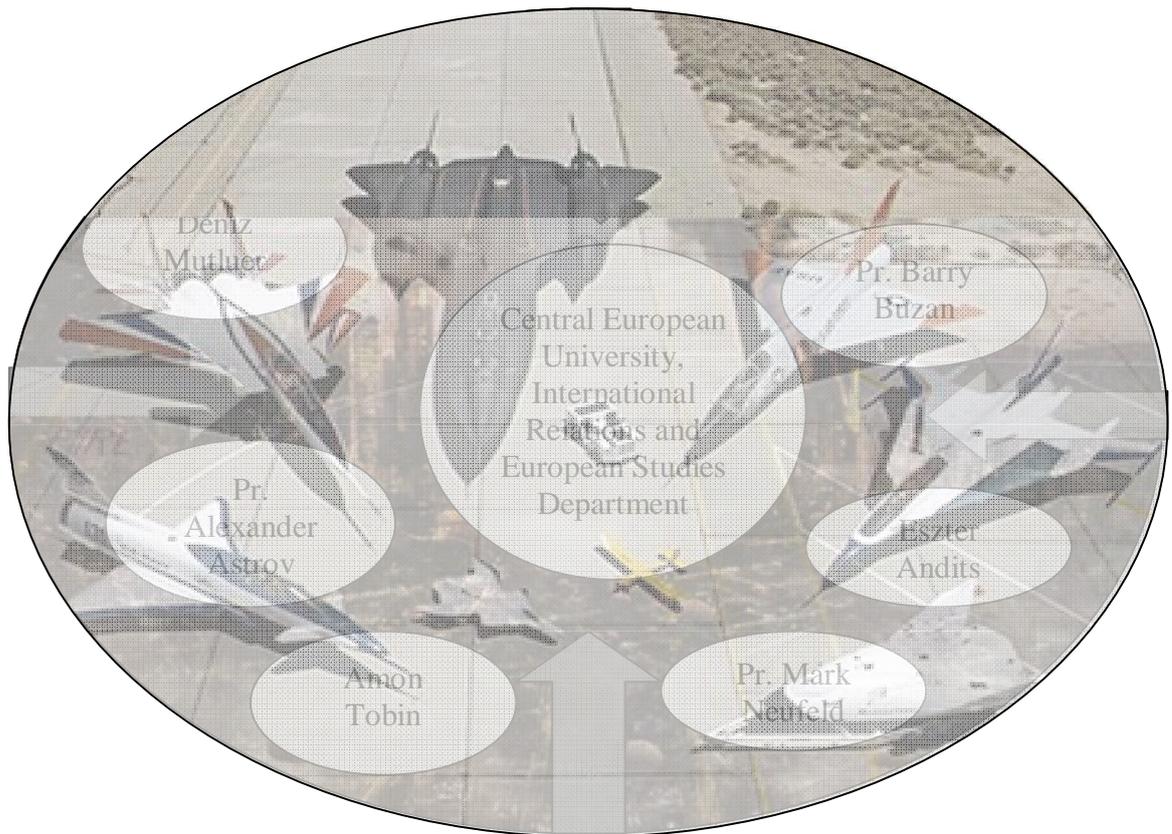
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Deniz Mutluer

Pr. Barry Buzan

Central European University, International Relations and European Studies Department

Pr. Alexander Astrov

Eszter Andits

Amon Tobin

Pr. Mark Neufeld

TABLE OF CONTENT

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

INTRODUCTION

For International Relations as an academic field, theory-building is the ultimate step, the most important and fundamental one. Notably after Kenneth Waltz and his well-known *Theory of International Politics* (1979), the discipline has developed a more coherent and visible structure through theorization. As Stefano Guzzini pointed out, this ultimate process has allowed different researchers around the world to share a common intellectual background and thus, move them 'out of the (semi)-periphery'[2], creating a new international academic circle. In parallel to that phenomenon, different schools of thought have emerged, the most well-known of them being realism, pluralism/interdependence and Marxism/radicalism[3] .

Since theory in International Relations has become an increasingly important issue, many books, several intended for students, were edited in order to summarize the different schools of thought which dominate the academic debate. Most of them provide a general overview of the main ideas put forward in a theory. Among the tools generally used in this kind of publication which may facilitate the understanding and memorizing of a particular paradigm, key concepts and key ideas are central, especially through their insertion within a table. For instance, as Ole Waever presents in his article *Rise and Fall of the Inter-paradigm Debate*[4] relying on Rosenau's work, the state-centric tendency is associated to realism, the multi-centric one to pluralism/interdependence and the global-centric one to Marxism/radicalism. They are basic ideas about these paradigms which may enable students to easier understand and memorize the "architecture" of a specific theory more easily. It may also be considered as a starting-point: taking into account the basic ideas of a theory, students will find further possible developments in the article which provides more in-depth information about different theories.

One could raise the following questions: is it the only way to summarize a theory? Is there not any other way to represent a paradigm?

In what follows, I provide an argument for considering alternative possibilities not only to employ key-concepts as a way to understand and memorize International Relations theories but also to make them more accessible and thus, democratic. Towards the increasing complexity of International

---

[2] Stefano Guzzini, 'The Significance and Roles of Teaching Theory in International Relations', Review of International Studies 22(4): 319
[3] Ole Waever, 'The Rise and Fall of the Inter-Paradigm Debate' in: Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (eds) International Theory: Positivism and Beyond: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 149
[4] Ibid., p.153

Relations theories which led some scholars such as Ole Waever to talk about the 'incommensurability'[5] within the discipline, i.e. the tendency within some paradigms to go so far in their analysis that they could not interact with other ones, it seems fundamental to investigate the issue of understanding and contributing to International Relations through alternative methods.

My argumentation is based on the interest that represents visual representation as an alternative method: vis-à-vis this increasing diversity in the discipline, historically situated in a new period which is the global international system, the visual representation makes sense because it stimulates one's sociological imagination. Aiming to grasp our own lives with world history, the 'sociological imagination' argument gives a more personal, democratic approach to International Relations theories. Thus, the contribution to the field that I want to bring is a new approach to apprehend those theories thereby making them more accessible. Between International Relations, cognitive sciences, education studies and sociology, the overall thesis claims that IR theories is a unique tool to realize one's self within our global international system through the use of visual representations which stimulate one's sociological imagination.

Justifying the use of visual representation by such an argument, I attempt to provide some elements to answer the following question: why and how should one work out a visual representation of IR theories?

First of all, I have to justify the interest that the use of visual representations may represent in International Relations by dwelling upon the concept of 'sociological imagination': rarely not to say never used in the discipline, this concept associated with the diversity of IR theories makes more sense about the understanding of international affairs in the configuration of the global international system. Yet, the most appropriate way to stimulate it is the use of cognitive maps.

What is a cognitive map? Is it already present in International Relations literature? To answer these questions will be the goal of the second chapter. Between cognitive sciences and International Relations, the idea will be to confront both of them in order to define a theory as being above all a set of concepts with a specific logic defining them and therefore, introducing the central proposal of my thesis put forward in the third chapter.

Making an attempt to give a graphical representation of the field with its different schools of thought, I will base my argumentation on the levels of analysis as being my set of concepts. This theoretical framework will be again my reference to visually represent Kenneth Waltz's neorealism and Alexander Wendt's conventional constructivism as well. Then, I will give several visual representations

---

[5] Ole Waever, 'The Rise and Fall of the Inter-Paradigm Debate' in: Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (eds) International Theory: Positivism and Beyond: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 158

of Kenneth Waltz's reasoning in order to provide a conclusive 'picture' and I will attempt to do so for Alexander Wendt's thought.

Eventually, after defining a specific visual representation for each theory, I will apply them to a particular case-study which is the European Security and Defense Policy missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Being analyzed from both angles, I will work out some cognitive maps, attempting to highlight their utility.

CHAPTER I - THE INTEREST OF THEORY AND ITS PLURALITY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AS A STENGTH FOR THE DISCIPLINE

In what follows, I argue that International Relations theories are without any doubt a field with a strong heterogeneity that should be considered as a strength. However, before such considerations, I want to shed the light on the interest that may represent IR theories as a means to give a meaning about international affairs. This diversity is historically situated and corresponds to the last evolution of the international system whose most original phenomenon is globalization. Finally, the 'sociological imagination' coupled with IR theories makes sense in such a context and introduces the tool that visual representation may represent.

1.1 About the interest of theory in International Relations

Before providing any argument about the interest that theory may represent in International Relations, I have to discuss certain elements of its definition first. James Dougherty and Robert Pfaltzgraff define theory as 'systematic reflection on phenomena, designed to explain them and to show how they are related to each other in a meaningful, intelligent pattern, instead of being merely random items in an incoherent universe'[6]. In the same way, Paul Viotti and Mark Kauppi characterize it "as a way of making the world or some part of it more intelligible or better understood," by going "beyond mere description of phenomenon observed and engaging in causal explanation or prediction based on certain prior occurrences or conditions"[7]. Both definitions put forward the existence of patterns to international events and suggest that IR theories are about revealing those patterns. This link between IR theory and pattern is central to this thesis as my following chapters will attempt to explain. Basically, IR theories, as the title of Jennifer Sterling-Folker's book suggests[8], makes "sense" of the complexity of international affairs and the myriad of facts that composes it.

Why theorization in International Relations (as an academic discipline) is necessary for training of the future actors of world affairs? More generally, why theorization is a fundamental step in International Relations? Stefano Guzzini, Senior Research Fellow at the Danish Institute for

---

[6] Jennifer Sterling-Folker, *Making sense of international relations theory*, (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006), p. 4
[7] Ibid.
[8] Jennifer Sterling-Folker, *Making sense of international relations theory*, (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006)

International Studies (DIIS)[9], attempts to provide some justifications about the interest that may represent theory in International Relations in his article "The Significance and Roles of Teaching Theory in International Relations"[10].

As anybody can guess, every kind of empirical work needs a theoretical framework[11]. Everyone needs and adopts, at least subconsciously, some theoretical perspectives in order to give a meaning to the wide range of facts that surrounded him. For instance, if you are interested in a specific topic in international affairs such as in the latest development of the Belarussian-Russian relationship or the Rwanda genocide, you will have to cope with a huge quantity of information. If you "google" "Rwanda genocide", you will get 338 000 pages which include the expression in their content[12], including 441 videos[13]. What is the best strategy vis-à-vis so many resources? One of them would be to read and watch everything but it is clearly impossible. Besides, if you do it, what would you really know? Probably many facts … but is it really the most relevant? The best strategy is probably to privilege some perspective and thus, select some facts. To take again my example, anybody may adopt different perspectives about the reasons that are connected to the start of the Rwandan genocide: the assassination of Juvénal Habyarimana, the ethnic tension between the Tutsi and the Hutsi or the support that other countries may have played in that tension such as francophone African countries or France itself. The point is that we see and understand international relations with different perspectives. As a journalist who has to give eye-catching headlines, anybody interested in a particular topic in international affairs and not only a political analyst has to choose a specific perspective to analyze this particular issue.

Furthermore, theory does not only enable us to explain some data but also constitutes it which justifies the idea that theory is merely incontrovertible[14]. Theory and facts can not be separated from each other. Even when they pretend to be as much practical as possible, most of the analysis about international affairs includes some theoretical considerations that constitute the base of their comment. For instance, Caryle Murphy, a journalist from the *Washington Post*, emphasized the importance of some unresolved conflicts such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as the major cause of the 9/11 events.

---

[9] For further information, please read the following webpage: http://www.diis.dk/sw11172.asp

[10] Stefano Guzzini, 'The significance and Roles of Teaching Theory in International Relations', *Journal of International Relations and Development* 4(2), 98-110

[11] Stefano Guzzini, 'The significance and Roles of Teaching Theory in International Relations', *Journal of International Relations and Development* 4(2), p. 98

[12] The results of the search are available at the following address: http://www.google.com/search?hl=fr&client=firefox-a&rls=org.mozilla%3Afr%3Aofficial&hs=Y4M&q=%22rwandan+genocide%22&btnG=Rechercher&lr=

[13] The video results of the search are available at the following page: http://video.google.com/videosearch?hl=fr&client=firefox-a&rls=org.mozilla:fr:official&hs=Y4M&q=%22rwandan%20genocide%22&lr=&um=1&ie=UTF-8&sa=N&tab=wv#

[14] Stefano Guzzini, 'The significance and Roles of Teaching Theory in International Relations', *Journal of International Relations and Development* 4(2), p. 100

She wrote that "if we want to avoid creating more terrorists, we must end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in a way both sides see as fair."[15] This is a classical statement about the centrality of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict whose theoretical perspective is without any doubt liberal. The journalist clearly believes in the role that actors in international affairs may play in terms of relationships, negotiations. Thus, the analysis is not "realist" at all, seeing the world in terms of balance of power, but rather in the way actors interact and negotiate on the international stage through some common rules and institutions which are the only means to resolve conflicts. Each analysis includes a theoretical perspective. Again, theory is incontrovertible.

Then, Stefano Guzzini explains that the teaching of theory in International Relations broadens the mind of the future practitioners[16]: having some theoretical tools, they can give a meaning to world affairs and reflect upon their own perception. In diplomacy, they can integrate a cross-cultural environment more easily and develop within it their negotiation skills more effectively. Diversity is one of the major characteristics of the discipline and becoming familiar with its major schools of thought leads the student to "juggle" with different perspectives about international affairs which can only broaden his mind. There is not one theory of international relations, but several reflecting the diversity of this world and of the people who analyze it.

Eventually, teaching and researching in International Relations theories give the opportunity for this growing discipline to have a more coherent and visible structure[17]: all researchers in this field around the world share now a common intellectual background and, thus, exchange their last works which creates a kind of emulation. Consequently, more and more researchers do belong to this specific academic circle, moving them « out of the (semi)-periphery »[18].

The author mentions some examples such as the last tendency for some companies to recruit students in « soft social sciences » like International Relations and not Law or Economics for the reasons mentioned above[19].

Therefore, theory which makes sense about international affairs is, first of all, necessary for the comprehension of its complexity and is, secondly, even incontrovertible. Nobody can separate theory from facts. However, this sort of statement about theory is not specific to International Relations as a discipline. In what follows, I would like to dwell on the historical context in which International Relations is in line and attempts to analyze, that-is-to-say the global international system.

---

[15] Henry R. Nau, 'Perspectives on International Relations: Power, Institutions, and Ideas', 2nd Edition, (George Washington University), p. 3

[16] Stefano Guzzini, 'The significance and Roles of Teaching Theory in International Relations', *Journal of International Relations and Development* 4(2), p. 103

[17] Ibid., p. 106

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

1.2 The illustration of International Relations theory: the global international system

Barry Buzan and Richard Little propose in their book *International Systems in World History* a very valuable insight about the major characteristics of the transformations that the international system has undergone those last decades[20]. With the progress of transport technology (sailing ship, railways, roads, and aircraft), great distances were abolished and the major physical obstacles on human interaction that defined international systems for several millennias gave way to a more interconnected world where the economical and military realms were both integrated into a more united geographical space[21]. Beyond those well-known considerations, a very important and new phenomenon developed which is a 'higher consciousness of being part of an international system' which lead the actors of this global international system, not only states but also new entities such as Non Governmental Organizations, to formulate and agree on some common norms in order to make the political and economical interactions within the system more integrated[22]. The idea is that none citizen within a state can ignore the international forces that shape one's political life as well as private life.

At the same time, this globalization process makes people aware of the diversity of the world: through some communication channels like the Internet, different national, ethnic and linguistic points of views emerge and have to interact and cope with each other. Therefore, the globalization does not only mean the progressive formation of a single society beyond any national cleavages but also the awareness of the coexistence of different viewpoints. This paradox is the historical context in which International Relations theory was born and has been developing: in a world where it is merely impossible to ignore the existence of one's multiple neighbours, International Relations theory makes sense about the diversity of that international global system.

---

[20] Barry Buzan and Richard Little *International Systems in World History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)
[21] Ibid., p, 296
[22] Ibid.

1.3 The plurality of IR theories as a strengthens for the discipline

In academic circles, it is commonly admitted that teaching International Relations implies a presentation of the inter-paradigm debate with three major streams: realism, pluralism/interdependence and Marxism/radicalism. Ole Waever, professor in International Relations at the Institute for Political Science (University of Copenhagen), aims to criticize the viability of this traditional way of teaching by pointing out one of its main problems: incommensurability[23]. I agree about his main conclusion, incommensurability, by providing in the third chapter a tool which will attempt to go beyond the extreme complexity that the discipline can sometimes point out. However, I still think that this extreme diversity is more than a strength for the discipline: it is only by and for diversity that the discipline can bring an intellectual interest to any student willing to understand the 'patterns' of international affairs. In that perspective, I would like to base the argumentation of diversity as a strengthens for the discipline on the following statement written by Hanna Arendt:

'Only in the freedom of our speaking with one another does the world, as that about which we speak, emerge in its objectivity and visibility from all sides.[24]

The crucial point of this statement is that freedom of speech is the only condition to properly apprehend the world in its complexity. One single speech can not recognize the full diversity of that world and thus, narrows our mind. From Hannah Arendt's perspective, politics is freedom that is to say the possibility to read, analyze, understand, discuss and criticize anything in the public sphere. The debate in International Relations is totally in line with this idea: vis-à-vis both the plurality of national, ethnic and linguistic viewpoints and the growing feeling to belong to a single global community, the discipline is a direct answer to the process of globalization with different schools of thought symbolizing the diversity of the world but analyzing the same object: the global international system. Nevertheless, what is exactly the debate in this discipline?

Ole Waever in his article outlines an overview of the main debates in the discipline: in the 1940's,

---

[23] Ole Waever, 'The Rise and Fall of the Inter-Paradigm Debate' in: Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (eds) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 149-84

[24] Hannah Arendt, *The Promise of Politics*. Schocken

the academic debate was realism versus idealism, focusing more on the analysis of politics whereas the second one which took place during the 1950-1960's emphasized methodology with an opposition between behaviouralism and traditionalism[25]. However, the most important debate in Ole Woever's opinion was obviously the third debate: radicalism rise and self-reflection were the main characteristics of this latter[26]. Since « the discipline was the debate », different schools of thought disagreed and leads the author to talk about incommensurability. From this time, International Relations scholars realized that the discipline did not enter into a « normal » debate because different paradigms went so far in their analysis that they could not interact with each other[27]. Any student in International Relations theories is often struck by this increasing complexity which may look like to the Tower of Babel with a cacophony of different voices: realism, liberalism, neorealism, neoliberalism, English school, critical theories such as Marxism, social constructivism, feminism, post-colonialism compose the major theories of the discipline[28].

Again, the point is that we see and understand international affairs with different perspectives. Whereas some scholars such as Ole Woever criticize the inter-paradigm debate since it may lead to 'incommensurability', I argue that, first of all, nobody can ask the representatives of the discipline to stop 'disagreeing' since it is the essence of politics and its study to argue. But this is not the only reason: each of us is embedded in a certain culture, has a specific set of norms and values, has a particular intellectual background and belongs to a specific generation. As a matter of fact, we have different experiences that shape what we are and what we are becoming. Then, this leads me to apprehend this 'diversity' as a prerequisite to develop one's "sociological imagination".

---

[25] Ole Waever, 'The Rise and Fall of the Inter-Paradigm Debate' in: Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (eds) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 150
[26] Ibid., p. 155
[27] Ibid.
[28] My ambitions here is not to give a descrition of those major schools, rather to take them as a whole, symoblizing a certain diversity.

1.4 'Sociological imagination' and IR theories in a global international system: a new perspective

'When a society is industrialized, a peasant becomes a worker; a feudal lord is liquidated or becomes a businessman. When classes rise or fall, a man is employed or unemployed; when the rate of investment goes up or down, a man takes new heart or goes broke. When wars happen, an insurance salesman becomes a rocket launcher; a store clerk, a radar man; a wife lives alone; a child grows up without a father. Neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both.'[29]

It is with this paragraph that C. Wright Mills introduces his most famous book, *The Sociological Imagination*. In 1997, a survey conducted by the International Sociological Association asked their members to select the most influential books of the XXth century: they ranked *The Sociological Imagination* as second[30], behind Max Weber's *Economy and Society*. Therefore, this book is extremely important in sociology but as the result from the conflicting relationship between both disciplines, the 'sociological imagination' does not seem to be a popular concept in International Relations. I claim, however, that the 'sociological imagination' is an excellent opportunity to transform the diversity of the discipline which may lead to a certain 'incommensurability', to a chance to become aware of the interlinks between international affairs and our own personal life. The links of our life with international affairs have never been as strong as nowadays because of the characteristics of the global international system previously described.

The diversity in International Relations theories with its different schools of thought, each of them being a particular prism about international affairs, is a tool which gives a meaning to the human plurality of the global international system. Associated with the 'sociological imagination', this necessary quality of the mind which 'enables its possessor to understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals'[31], everybody can find one's theory that gives meaning to one's private life. Allowing anyone to become aware of the higher structures whose one is the component, the contribution of the 'sociological imagination' is that any individual can grasp history and biography and the relations between the two in society. Vis-à-vis the plurality of the global

---

[29] C. Wright Mills, *The sociological imagination*, (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 3
[30] International Sociological Association, Books of the Century, TOP 10, http://www.isa-sociology.org/books/books10.htm
[31] C. Wright Mills, *The sociological imagination*, (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 5

international system, the 'sociological imagination' argumentation associated with IR theory implies a realization of oneself within the world described in the paradigm.

As an individual from the Western world, liberalism associated with the 'sociological imagination' allows to reunite the liberal moral values of mankind with broader societal structures that-is-to-say democracy and states that adopt that form of government. The individual can more easily understand the intersection between both, positioning one's in a specific space and period of time. Unlike liberalism, as an individual from the Third World, post-colonialist theory in International Relations may make sense by providing a new reading of world history which is not only written by Westerners. As a woman but also as a man, feminism in the discipline makes individuals think about one's gender and how it shapes our comprehension about international politics.

Additionally, the overall discipline with its diversity leads people to shift from one perspective to another, from a geographical location to another, from a certain period of time to another, from a gender to another, which is central to the 'sociological imagination' argumentation. C. Wright Mills considers this intellectual capacity to shift from a certain level to another one as being the core idea of his argumentation[32].

In this new historical process which is globalization, it is more than necessary to become aware of the international structures that influence every life around the world, by shifting from different levels of analysis. For instance, if someone looses one's job similarly to millions of other people around the world because of the on-going financial crisis, he or she has to take into account a set of different knowledge such as the doctrine of free-market, the behaviour of financial actors, the economical history of financial crises, the evolution of modern technologies and its impact in the world economy or the importance of certain states within it. The capacity to shift from each of those considerations associated with some IR paradigms such as Marxism or Liberalism will help this individual to become aware of the international structures above from which one will eventually, allow a person to realize oneself within a particular society and period of time.

Those considerations have several consequences: this relationship between the 'sociological imagination' argumentation and IR theories is that the latter might be more accessible. Being more democratic since they have the potential to 'speak' to every citizen around the world, they will not be condemned to be only taught in universities. Thus, the person who develops it becomes aware of his own position within this global international system.

---

[32] C. Wright Mills, *The sociological imagination*, (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 7

Eventually, the contribution to the discipline might be a more individual appropriation of IR theory. The traditional one-way relationship from the scholar to the student would be thus modified since the latter will be able to make their own contribution through the development of their own sociological imagination.

However, a question remains: how can one practically stimulate one's 'sociological imagination' with IR theories? According to C. Wright Mills, the basic reasoning in sociological imagination is based on three different sets of questions: 'What is the structure of a particular society and how does it differ from other varieties of social order? Where does this society stand in human history and what are its essential features? What varieties of women and men live in this society and in this period, and what is happening to them?'[33].

1.5 Further details about how to stimulate one's sociological imagination

According to C. Wright Mills, developing, encouraging, stimulating one's sociological imagination requires a certain tolerance for ambiguity, what the sociologist called "vagues notions and images"[34]. Thus, to be uncertain, confused or doubtful about the appropriate use of different concepts is more than necessary to developing one's sociological imagination and the original ideas that will result from them[35].

At the end of his book, C. Wright Mills provides some necessary steps to stimulate one's sociological imagination.

The 're-arranging of the file'[36], i.e. mixing up and resorting concepts in order to look for potential links between them is fundamental. The subtend idea is to try as many options as possible in order to get new original links which go beyond the commonly admitted ones[37].

Thus, that 'technique of cross-classifying'[38] is the most appropriate way to imagine new ideas but also analyze and criticize the old ones. As he clearly mentions, 'for a working sociologist, cross-classification is what diagramming a sentence is for a diligent grammarian. In many ways, cross-classification is the very grammar of the sociological imagination'[39].

---

[33] Robert E. Wood Homepage, Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Criminal Justice, Rutgers University', Excerpt from C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination', http://www.camden.rutgers.edu/~wood/
[34] C. Wright Mills, *The sociological imagination*, (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 212
[35] Barbara Trepagnier, 'Mapping Sociological Concepts', *Teaching Sociology*, Vol. 30, No 1 (Jan. 2002): p. 108
[36] C. Wright Mills, *The sociological imagination*, (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 212
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.

The overall process has to be conducted with an 'attitude of playfulness'[40] towards the phrases and words in order to stimulate one's sociological imagination. The search for synonymous corresponding to a specific meaning is particularly relevant in the theorization process because it facilitates the process of breaking an abstract concept into more concrete ones[41].

Again, as I already mentioned above, considering opposites allows getting the best insights[42]. To take into account a plurality of level of analysis gives the opportunity to get the best combinations between concepts and thus, a broader perspective on the topic. From that perspective, C. Wright Mills also advises to exaggerate some ideas, assumptions. For instance, if not only one village would be pre-literate but the whole population of a country with 30 million inhabitants, what would be the consequences for that state?[43]

Comparison between what can be compared is necessary by knowing world history[44]: 'without such knowledge, no matter what else he knows, he is simply crippled'[45].

Applying those prescriptions requires a specific method. In the next chapter, I argue about the interest that visual representations may represent, notably cognitive maps as these are the most adequate means to stimulate one's sociological imagination within the discipline of International Relations.

Theory in International Relations is more than necessary: it is above all incontrovertible. Making sense about the functioning of international affairs, its diversity through the existence of different schools of thought is in line with a specific historical context which is globalization. In an epoch of 'higher consciousness of being part of an international system'[46] coupled with a deeper awareness of the great diversity that composes this world, those different theories that constitute the discipline result directly from that historical structures. Furthermore, the promise that may represent the 'sociological imagination' argumentation for International Relations is to make the field more accessible and democratic by making an attempt for each individual to get closer to the intersection between one's own life and the world structures whose one is both an actor and spectator. Stimulating one's 'sociological imagination' requires a certain sense of

---

[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] C. Wright Mills, *The sociological imagination*, (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 212
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Barry Buzan and Richard Little *International Systems in World History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 296

abstraction and ambiguity whose one of the best method for which is the use of visual aid. The ambition of the next chapter is to justify the use of visual representations in International Relations to stimulate this 'sociological imagination'.

CHAPTER 2 – FROM THE STUDY OF A CONCEPT TO ITS VISUALIZATION: THE INTEREST THAT REPRESENTS THE COGNITIVE MAP

We live in a culture dominated by pictures, visual simulations, copies, reproductions, imitations and fantasies. By using new technologies, visual representation is in total adequacy to the historically situated period that I defined in the previous chapter. It is precisely because we live in an 'information age' where the access of information is easier and more democratic (Web 2.0: Wikipedia, a free multilingual encyclopedia written by volunteers around the world - Youtube, 'Broadcast yourself', Google scholars, Google books, blogs in general, so on, so forth) that visual representation is more and more privilegied. Whereas television was and is still a one-way communication relationship from the TV producer to the audience, the new technologies take over this traditional logic, giving the opportunity for people around the world to bring also their own contribution to the growing complex system of information. Therefore, the visual is everywhere in our environment but seems to be underestimated as a potential tool of learning in International Relations. The aim of this part is to throw light on the interest of thinking about visual representation of a theory through an investigation of the latest developments in cognitive science but also in International Relations. Thus, my reasoning will be divided into three sub-sections: first of all, I will present the last developments in cognitive sciences regarding the concept of visual representation. Then, I will confront it with a literature review in International Relations. From those both elements, I will give some preliminary considerations about how to graphically represent a theory in International Relations, introducing therefore the third chapter and its models of visual representations.

2.1 Visual thinking and the cognitive map: the best way to stimulate one's sociological imagination in International Relations Theories

2.1.1 Cognitive science and visual thinking: a short introduction

The metaphor of space is nothing new. In order to remember the structure of the argumentation of a speech, the speaker of the ancient and medieval times used columns, statues or trees of one's spatial

environment, each of them being associated to a specific argument. Later, during one's speech, he just had to retrace the exact path that he took which was supposed to summarize one's overall argumentation. Based on this metaphor, the spatial-territorial analogy applied to knowledge allows anyone to transfer from a 'literal domain' to a 'figurative domain' concepts, procedures and tools[47].

The basic idea with the role of cognitive map and knowledge space that it encloses is that knowledge space is not a passive representation of reality but a tool for the production of meaning[48], being also a communication device[49]. From that perspective, the map is not a static tool but a poetic and political tool that Deleuze and Guattari in 'A thousand Plateaus' attempt to define:

'Make maps, not tracings. The maps does not reproduce an unconscious closed on itself; it constructs it. The map is open, connectable in all its dimensions, and capable of being dismantled; it is reversible, and susceptible to constant modification. It can be torn, reversed, adapted to montages of every kind, taken in hand by an individual, a group or a social formation. It can be drawn on a wall, conceived of as a work of art, constructed as a political action or as a mediation. Contrary to a tracing, which always returns to the 'same', a map has multiple entrances'[50].

Cognitive science is the relevant intellectual framework here since it proposes different concepts to visually represent ideas. Among them, the first one is unmistakably picture/visual thinking. Given its very broad meaning, it will be an appropriate starting-point to suggest more precise cognitive concepts such as cognitive and mind maps.

Everyone thinks with words. For instance, the sentences that I write for this paper express a thought whose meaning is given by a succession of specific words. However, verbal thought is not the only way to express an idea, a concept, a logic, a feeling, an emotion. For instance, mathematical or musical thought are some examples of non-verbal thoughts. Visual thinking is also a non-verbal thought which is, however, underestimated as a tool to understand and memorize a concept.

In International Relations, the general requirement within all the departments around the world is to read the core texts written by the most emblematic scholars of the discipline. A text is nothing else than verbal thought which excludes any visual representation.

---

[47] Marco Quaggiotto, Knowledge cartographies: Tools for the social structures of knowledge (Changing the Change Conference, Turin 2008) http://www.knowledgecartography.org/PDF/knowledge-cartographies.pdf
[48] Marco Quaggiotto, Knowledge cartographies: Tools for the social structures of knowledge (Changing the Change Conference, Turin 2008) http://www.knowledgecartography.org/PDF/knowledge-cartographies.pdf
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.

However, many people would rather prefer a visual representation of thought instead of this traditional way to read texts: visual thinking is without any doubt a pertinent alternative way to teach which may offer some very useful insights.

Visual thinking may be defined as being 'symbols graphically linked by mental associations to create a pattern of information and a form of knowledge about an idea.'[51]

Among these tools put forward by cognitive sciences, I would like to focus on cognitive maps as an alternative to teach International Relations theories. In the literature review that I conducted in cognitive sciences, I have to cope with very different interpretations, definitions of this concept which points out the intense academic debate in this field. My intention here is to give a brief description of the evolution of the term.

First of all, cognitive maps are not cartographic maps. However, the most common definition of cognitive maps puts an emphasis above all on the spatial dimension of our environment: they are mentally the geometric layout of the differentiated topography of a space[52]. In other terms, cognitive maps refer to the process by which an organism makes representation of its environment in its brain[53]. Everybody builds a mental representation of one's spatial environment (home, place of work, etc…). Without cognitive maps, it would be totally difficult to find one's bearings. In other words, one would always get lost.

However, this definition which highlights the spatial dimension of our environment is very restrictive: some other scholars assume that features of the physical environment are only one part of the significant parts of human cognitive maps[54]. Such a hypothesis implies that our norms, our values, our ideas, our concepts about life and the interactions between them constitute cognitive maps. Basically, this more broad definition of cognitive maps illustrates the relationships among concepts[55] which may be relevant in my aim to propose an alternative way to teach International Relations theories.

---

[51] Hartley, J. (1996). Text Design. In D.H. Jonassen (Ed.), *Handbook of research for educational communications and technology* (pp. 795-820).New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan

[52] Julio Portugali, The construction of Cognitive Maps (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1996), 45

[53] Ervin Laszlo, Ignazio Masulli, Robert Artigiani, Vilmos Csanyi, The Evolution of Cognitive Maps - New Paradigms for the Twenty-First Century (Luxembourg: Gordon and Breach Publishers - The World Futures General Evolution Studies, volume 5, 1993), p. 1

[54] Ervin Laszlo, Ignazio Masulli, Robert Artigiani, Vilmos Csanyi, The Evolution of Cognitive Maps - New Paradigms for the Twenty-First Century (Luxembourg: Gordon and Breach Publishers - The World Futures General Evolution Studies, volume 5, 1993), p. 25

[55] Barbara Trepagnier, 'Mapping Sociological Concepts', *Teaching Sociology*, Vol. 30, No 1 (Jan. 2002): pp. 108

My idea is to use lines, symbols, words, connections and images in order to illustrate the relationships between concepts. Therefore, the main idea is to intuitively understand and learn by association with a visual aid.

2.1.2 Cognitive map, the stimulus of the 'sociological imagination' in International Relations theory
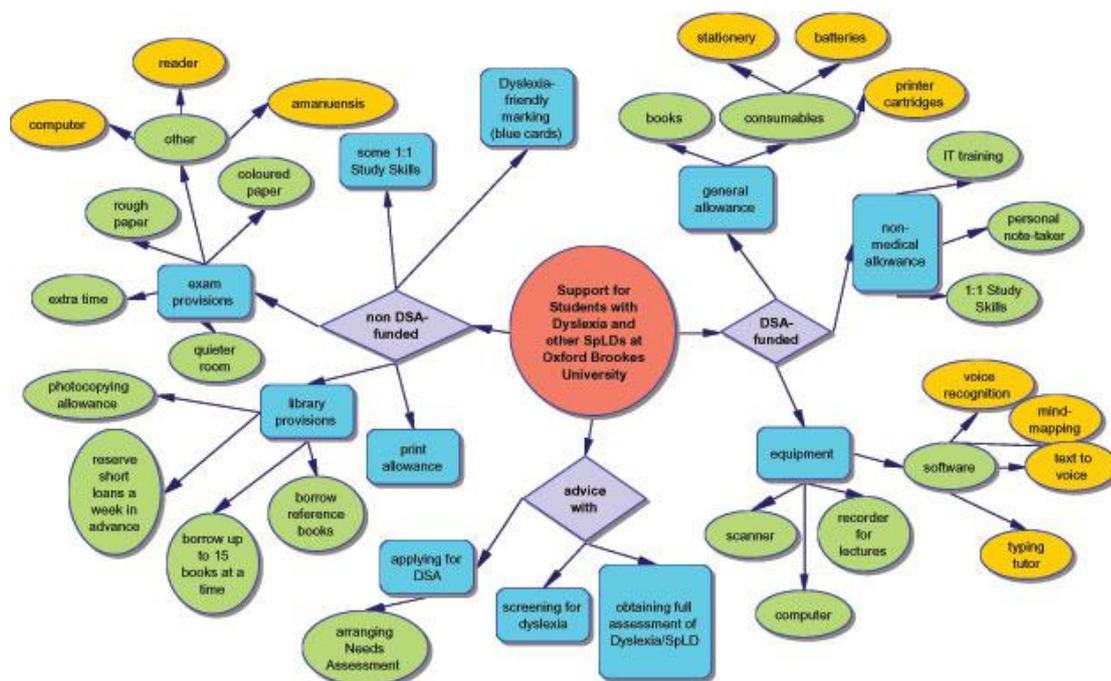
Example of cognitive map 1 - Dyslexia/Specific Learning Difficulties Service Mind Map Source: Oxford Brookes University - http://www.brookes.ac.uk/student/services/dyslexiaspld/mindmap.htm

Anybody who is supposed to work out a cognitive map about a theory has to try different combinations, links between concepts within a same paradigm which may lead one to question one's understanding of the society or/and the world and, thus, one's position within it. Thus, he can more easily understand the intersection between one's life and the global international system in which one lives. Why?

Before finalizing one's own cognitive map, students are solicited to think about different combinations, experiencing thus diverse cognitive maps, leading one to think with creativity and

18

playfulness, both being the bases of the 'sociological imagination'[56]. To work out a cognitive map is like to have a puzzle in front of one's eyes and try different combinations.

Thus, one can adopt an attitude of playfulness toward the 'puzzle' which is in front of one. Indeed, by using different lines, symbols, words, connections and images that have a real meaning to the person who is conceiving the cognitive map, the exercise may take shape of a game.

Besides, the 'technique of cross-classifying'[57], so important for the 'sociological imagination' argumentation, is more than respected and leads the person to think creatively: by drawing different combinations, one will get different ideas whose some of them might be original and interesting for his ambition to understand one's position within the global international system.

Most of the time, the obsession of the 'right' answer is counter-productive in social sciences courses: they do not enable the students to make some links between different concepts which are the architecture, the web of a paradigm. The text symbolizes the idea that 'it is like that' but reading does not mean that one understands it through the establishment of links between concepts put forward by the scholar in the text.

Example of cognitive map 2: http://meganbesecker.wordpress.com/2008/10/06/mind-mapping/

---

[56] C. Wright Mills, *The sociological imagination*, (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 212
[57] C. Wright Mills, *The sociological imagination*, (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 212

A visual aid with a focus on relationships between concepts through an intense utilization of different visual tools such as images, lines or symbols, develops abstract thinking. It might be particularly relevant in International Relations theories because thinking relationally and abstractly in this discipline is essential. Indeed, in order to use an IR theory such as neorealist theory, a student has to understand the basic concepts which compose it such as 'material capabilities', 'state', 'balance of power', 'anarchical structure of the international system'. Then, to analyze an international event through realist prism requires a coming and going between these different concepts and the case-study. Mind map and its visual representation of relationships between concepts is, thus, very useful.

Besides, having a visual aid in front of one's eyes lead the student to see a theory or a concept as a 'whole' which is very pertinent to understand and memorize holist theories such as Marxism which emphasize the influence of the structures of society to explain the behaviour of the individual. Indeed, the articulation between the base, that-is-to say relations of production and means of production, and the superstructure, ie. education, family, religion, mass media or politics, within Marxist theory is a basic hierarchy between two concepts (the superstructure being of course higher than the base) with an interdependent link between them (the base can not exist without the superstructure and vice-versa).

2.2 Visual representation in International Relations theories

After arguing in support of using visual representation as a pedagogical tool to represent a theory in International Relations, I have to evaluate its utilisation in the discipline through a deep literature review of, first of all, the core texts but also the handbooks devoted to the study of theories in International Relations. Basically, the following literature review is based on the texts provided in the syllabus of the course 'Concepts and Theories of World Politics', all the books of the section International Relations - Theories of Central European University library as well as all the online databases available on the website of the library[58] through a search by key-words highlighting the visual representation of international relations. I chose only patterns which give a kind of general insight about a theory.

2.2.1 Neorealist and neoliberalist attempts: an interesting starting-point

---

[58] Please see http://www.library.ceu.hu/databases.html

One of the scholars who laid the foundations of theorization in International Relations and used a visual representation to illustrate his argumentation is Kenneth Waltz in his *Theory of International Politics* (Annexe 1).

According to Waltz, the international system is like a circle highlighting the importance of the structure because it is "*the concept that makes it possible to say what the expected organizational effects are and how structures and units interact and affect each other*"[59]. Thus, the circle is the visual representation of the main concept in Waltz's theory, i.e. the structure of the international system. The function of arrows is to indicate the determinism in which states are in the given international system : the structure of this system influences their decision, both on domestic and international level. Waltz highlights this distinction between domestic politics and international one in neorealist paradigm with the graphical opposition between N1,2,3 which are states 'internally generating their external effects' and X1,2,3 which are states 'acting externally and interacting with each other'[60]. In other terms, this simple pattern summarizes the neorealist dichotomy between domestic and international politics with a clear focus on the weight of the structure of the international system which has a great influence on the main actors of this one : the states.

Two other well-known scholars such as Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye do not hesitate to graphically represent the core ideas of their theories through patterns. In *Transnational Relations and World Politics*[61], both use two patterns in order to illustrate the basic shift of their reasoning to analyze international affairs.

As the title mentions (Annexe 2), this pattern aims to represent the classical vision of international relations and, thus, the realist/neorealist paradigm. Indeed, the central actors are governments or, in other words, states. However, societies and international organizations are represented as well but the pattern implies that they are coordinated around governments. Even though international organizations are graphically represented above states, the key of arrows between both of them highlights the importance of the state ('interstate politics'). Moreover, there is a clear hierarchy between societies and states, the first ones being represented below the second ones. In other terms, the links between different actors of the world are very symmetric. Nevertheless, the use of double-way arrows between

---

[59] Kenneth Waltz, 'Theory of International Politics (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979), p. 100

[60] Kenneth Waltz, 'Theory of International Politics (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979), p. 100

[61] Robert O. Keohane, Joseph S. Nye, Jr., 'Transnational Relations and World Politics' (Harvard University Press, June 1972), p. xiii

all those three actors implies that there is a mutual relationship and not only a one way one. To my knowledge, this pattern goes beyond the classical neorealist paradigm by ascribing a reciprocal characteristic of the relationships between those three actors and introduced to some extent the second pattern which represents the architecture of Robert O. Kehane and Joseph S. Nye's paradigm.

This second pattern (Annexe 3) is based on the first one but with the addition of new arrows which symbolize the core concept of neoliberalism: transnational interactions. Even though the position of the three different actors remains similar, the pattern reverses the classical hierarchy between societies, states and international organizations. The use of a third arrow which represents transnational interactions undermines the traditional hierarchy between societies, governments and international organizations. With such a visual representation, both IR scholars put forward the concept of asymmetrical and complex interdependence: societies do not interact only with states but also with other societies and international organizations. Therefore, the idea is that states have lost their classical domination in international affairs with the possibility given to other actors to interact on the international stage. Thus, the world described by both authors is more complex and very different in comparison with the traditional view to analyze international affairs as mentioned above.

Those three patterns which symbolize the dominant theories in International Relations (neorealism and neoliberalism) are for several reasons very interesting. First of all, they illustrate the argumentation of those scholars by attempting to summarize the basic architecture of their paradigms. The main merit of their patterns is their simplicity. With basic visual tools such as arrows or, for one of them, a circle as well as a set of abbreviations, a quick look on the patterns allow the student to understand and memorize some rules of their paradigm. Furthermore, the frequent use of arrows highlights the fundamental issue in cognitive understanding and learning : the relationships between concepts. Nevertheless, the whole is far from the last development in cognitive science. In graphic terms, the map is very poor: there are not colors or even images which would stimulate the intuitivity of the student. To sum up, their simplicity is at the same time an advantage and a disadvantage : they allow us to easily understand and memorize the main ideas of a paradigm but not the whole theory. They are excellent starting-points to go further in the understanding of their analysis but can not be considered as a full picture of a paradigm. Barry Buzan, professor at the London School of Economics, is Tony Buzan's brother who is a famous popularizer of the cognitive map in the United Kingdom and one could easily guess that he is very inspired by cognitive mapping. His book, *International Systems in World History*, written with Richard Little, proposes two interesting patterns.

2.2.2 Barry Buzan and Richard Little's patterns: a more complex visual representation but still incomplete

The first one (Annexe 4) is a visual representation of the Westphalian international system of states. Once again, the student can find two basic graphical tools which are the circle and the arrow. The utilization of a circle of black color in contrast with white one emphasizes the concept of 'centralized government'. In other terms, according to both IR scholars, beyond the different forms of political powers at that epoch, the concept of 'centralized government' is the main mental representation to analyze Westhpalian period. Such a core concept implies that those political authorities carry out a strict sovereignty over their territory. This importance of sovereignty, resulting from the centrality of political power, is graphically expressed by the addition of a second circle whose circumference materializes the external boarders of the states. Between those double circles which represent the Westhaphalian state, the space is empty which denies the possible importance given to the structure of the international system or the role played by other actors. The only relationship between those states are the classical diplomatic ones, materialized by a black arrow.

The second pattern (Annexe 5) is more complex but is based on the first one. Aiming to represent 'the postmodern international system', the crystal-clear element is the permeability of the boarders of the state. Whereas the concept of sovereignty was central in the previous pattern with this second circle whose circumference materialized the external boarders of the states, the dashed circumference of the second circle in this second pattern highlights the destabilization of the Westphalien role devoted to the state : to have an exclusive right to control its territory. Besides, a third circle is added to the previous ones whose importance in terms of superficy lead all of them to share common space, creating a kind of entity which is the 'transnational economic, societal and political space' where multinational and international organizations are situated.

One of the main interpretations that one can draw from both patterns is that by using the same graphical tools, it is easier to compare two different representation of the international system at two different epochs. However, whereas the first pattern was very simple and easy to understand, the second one with an accumulation of arrows was a little bit confused which put forwards the following idea: a visual representation must not be too complex because its educational purpose might be compromise. Unfortunately, as in Waltz, Nye and Kehoane's patterns, the whole lacks of colour and is very far away from the cognitive models. After such a literature review, it is time to put forward a model of visual representation in IR theory which goes beyond the disadvantages of the visual aids already mentioned.

2.3 A map of knowledge in International Relations: a theory is above all a set of concepts

Based on the literature review in International relations and notably its disadvantages as well as the principles of cognitive maps, I will attempt to visually represent a paradigm. However, I have to deconstruct the notion of theory by dividing it into a set of concepts and then highlighting the links between them. Thus, I do not aim to define what an IR theory is since I already did it in the first chapter. I would rather think about theory in cognitive terms.

One of the most important characteristics of cognition is that objects, entities are treated in thought and language as members of conceptual categories[62]. For example, the word 'table' refers to a mental grouping of objects that are individually different but which have certain characteristics in common: there are circular or rectangular tables which may be red, blue or white but they are always qualified as 'tables'. More generally, concepts are mental representations of objects, entities of events, stored in memory.

Concepts are essential because one could not organize one's own memory without them. If one has to give a particular term to the different tables that could exist , one will have so many details that it would be impossible to retain the essential information about them. Thus, both memorization and communication would be impossible.

Therefore, it is central to all cognitive activities including perception, action, memory and communication to successfully group different items into conceptual categories according to their shared characteristics. This is the principle of cognitive economy (Rosh)[63]: the cognitive system of human beings aims to reflect perceived world structure in a set of categories which provide maximum information with minimum efforts. In parallel, the principle of shared ability constraints[64] plays a great role : among different members of a cultural group, everyone is supposed to share common understanding about the concepts present in the group. Regarding neorealist scholars, the central concepts in their analysis are the ones put forward by Waltz, notably power or structure of international system. Sharing the same concepts, they can easily understand each other and propose a common vision of the international system. As Richard Ashley pointed out through his concept of

---

[62] Ilona Roth and John P. Frisby, Perception and Representation – A Cognitive Approach (Stratford: Open University Press, 1989), p. 13

[63] Ibid., p. 23

[64] Ibid. p. 23

practical realism in John Hertz's work[65], both realist scholars and politicians share a common interpretation of the international system based on an historically established tradition. Thus, the concepts of 'security dilemma', 'balance of power', 'anarchical structure' constitutes a 'moral consensus' shared by political and academic circles.

But the most fundamental in a paradigm is the links between concepts: relationships between conceptual categories may be mentally represented as hierarchies between high concepts and lower ones. As Rosch argued[66], everybody naturally uses hierarchies to mentally represent links between categories : the concepts at each level within a hierarchy have particular characteristics. The highest level is the basic one because the concept(s) that it includes are both more informative and economical than at other levels. 'anarchical structure of the international system' is the highest concept in neorealist theory: with a very general term, one has the core idea of neorealism, its highest concept around which sub-hierarchies and concepts are situated. For instance, resulting from the anarchical nature of the international system, 'national security' is a sub-concept from the core one but is at the same time higher than other sub-notions like economic factors.

Cognitive sciences propose an interesting insight about the utility of visual representation as a tool to understand and learn International Relations. The most important, however, is probably its potentiality as a way to stimulate one's 'sociological imagination'. By working out one's own cognitive map of an IR theory, anybody has to 'juggle'between different concepts, each of them being associated with a specific range of shapes and colors. In the next chapter, I will make an attempt to conciliate that approach that considers theory as a set of concepts but by basing it as much as possible on the literature review mentioned above and notably on Kenneth Waltz's model.

---

[65] Richard Ashley, "Political Realism and Human Interests", International Studies Quarterly, 25(2) (1981): 204-26

[66] Ilona Roth and John P. Frisby, Perception and Representation – A Cognitive Approach (Stratford: Open University Press, 1989), p. 54

CHAPTER III - THE PROPOSAL: VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF IR THEORIES

In order to work out some visual representations for different theories, I have to use common concepts that I will translate into different cognitive maps. Nevertheless, I would like to use the visual representations already put forward in the literature review of the second chapter as a starting-point. Therefore, I will base my cognitive maps on the already existing visual representations drawn by Kenneth Waltz in order to bring to the field a contribution whose foundations are familiar to most of the people interested in IR theories.

I suggest that the levels of analysis commonly used in International Relations are probably the most appropriate concepts on which I can elaborate some interesting visual representations. In the next part, my ambition is therefore to justify the use of those set of concepts in order to work out in the second part some models of visual representations of two theories which are Kenneth Waltz's neorealism and Alexander Wendt's conventional constructivism.

3.1 The levels of analysis in International Relations: the set of concepts of IR theories

Under the influence of the behaviourist movement, the issue of levels of analysis came into the field of International Relations during the 1950's. Three American writers such as Morton A. Kaplan, J. David Singer and the most famous one Kenneth N. Waltz tried to understand foreign affairs by relaying on the concept of levels of analysis. Then, throughout the development of the discipline, different interpretations of those levels of analysis have taken place, reflecting thus to a certain extent the great diversity of International Relations theories that I described in the first chapter.

Barry Buzan's chapter in *International Relations today*[67] makes an attempt to reconsider the problem of levels of analysis in International Relations by providing a report about the use of this set of concepts in the discipline. His main argument is that although the levels of analysis in International Relations have allowed an improvement of the rigour of thinking, not much has been accomplished about thinking about the idea itself[68].

---

[67] Barry Buzan, The Level of Analysis Problem Reconsidered, in *International Relations Theory Today*, ed. Ken Both and Steve Smith, (Pennsylvania State University Press, March 1995), pp. 198-216

[68] Ibid., p. 204

To summarize his thought, the level of analysis problem may be interpreted in two ways: an ontological approach sees levels as being about "*different units of analysis*"[69] whereas an epistemological one sees them as being about "*the types of variables that explain a particular unit's behaviour*"[70]. In other words, the first approach aims to create a classification where the main levels are the individual, the unit and the system. The second one emphasizes on three main variables which are the interaction capacity, the structure and the process. Barry Buzan proposes some definitions for each of those concepts[71]. Basically, the interaction capacity means the level of transportation, communication and organization capacity in the system[72]. The structure is the principle by which units within a system are arranged[73]. The process is defined by the interactions among units within the constraints of the two others levels[74].

I presuppose that I can interpret a theory according to those levels of analysis which constitute the set of concepts that compose each theory as described in the previous chapter. For instance, neorealist theory and Waltz see the international system and its anarchic structure as the most important level with the state as being a secondary unit.

My interpretation of the levels of analysis gives me the opportunity to use them as a common key to represent theories. I will give in what follows some examples of patterns which use the concept of levels of analysis.

Thus, my proposition is the following: aiming at understanding world politics and its different interpretations that-is-to-say its theories, I assume that a graphic model may be developed through the representation of the levels of analysis involved in each theory. In other words, a specific way of visual representation could be used as a means to understand the key ideas of an international theory and to stimulate one's 'sociological imagination'.

---

[69] Barry Buzan, The Level of Analysis Problem Reconsidered, in *International Relations Theory Today*, ed. Ken Both and Steve Smith, (Pennsylvania State University Press, March 1995), pp. 198-216
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid., p. 204-205
[72] Ibid. p. 205
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.

3.2 A map of the field as a way to stimulate one's sociological imagination

As a general framework to approach the discipline and the different theories that compose it, I can already give a general visual representation which is only based on the first meaning of levels of analysis, i.e. as "units of analysis". Basically, the simplest classification of "units of analysis" that one can easily provide is the individual, the unit (state, society, class, international organization) and the international system. From that categorization, I infer the following hypothesis: if one can summarize each level of analysis as belonging to another one, I can argue that the international system includes the unit which includes the individual. Such a hypothesis may be easily graphically translated by three concentric circles which highlight the inclusive nature of those three "units of analysis".
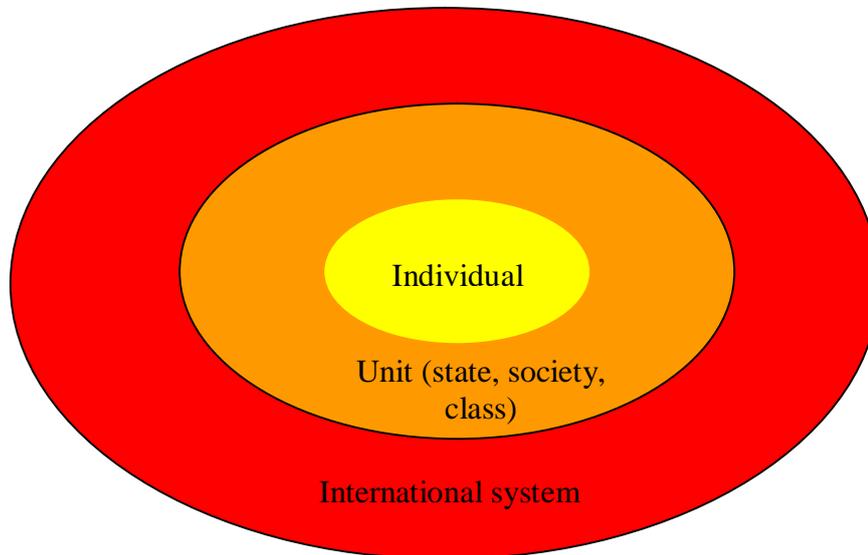
Visual representation 1 : the three basic 'units of analysis' in International Relations theory

From this first visual representation, I can propose a more elaborated range of "units of analysis" including the individual but also the bureaucracy/the class, the state, the regional system[75] as well as the international system associated for each of them with a specific International Relations theory. Again, my first hypothesis which stipulates that an IR theory may be summarized by a particular level of analysis is fundamental.

Regarding idealism, it is commonly admitted that individual and notably one's moral principles are clearly put forward by this IR theory. They are supposed to be translated into that of nations. Idealism

---

[75] By regional system, I mean any sort of regional organization such as the European Union (EU), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) or the African Union (AU).

also highlights the role of the form of government. Thus, democratic governments are supposed to be the most appropriate form of government to apply those moral values.

Marxism and bureaucratic politics emphasize the role of an alternative level of analysis, between the individual and the state, which is respectively the class and the bureaucracy. As regards Marxism, nations around the world are divided with opposite class lines: those who own the means of production, the bourgeoisie, and those who do not, the proletariat. Those two classes compete for the control of the state, being for Marx the best instrument to impose either the will of the bourgeois class or the proletarian revolution.

The state is without any doubt the major level of analysis privileged by realism. Viewed as 'black boxes', regardless of their form of government, all states look for maximizing their power in a competition with each other because of the anarchical nature of the international realm.

Last but not least, the neo-neo debate between realism and liberalism agree on the preponderant role of the international system, being for both of them the major unit of analysis, with the structure and its anarchic structure being the major source of explanation.

As a consequence, I can give the following table which associates a specific level of analysis as being a "unit of analysis" to the IR theory which privileges it as the main explanation of international politics.

Theory	Idealism	Marxism/Bureaucratic politics	Realism	Neorealism/Neoliberalism
Specific "level of analysis"	Individual/Regional system	Class/Bureaucracy	State	International system

Taking again the graphical model of concentric circles but associated with the information included in the table above, I have the following visual representation of International Relations theories:
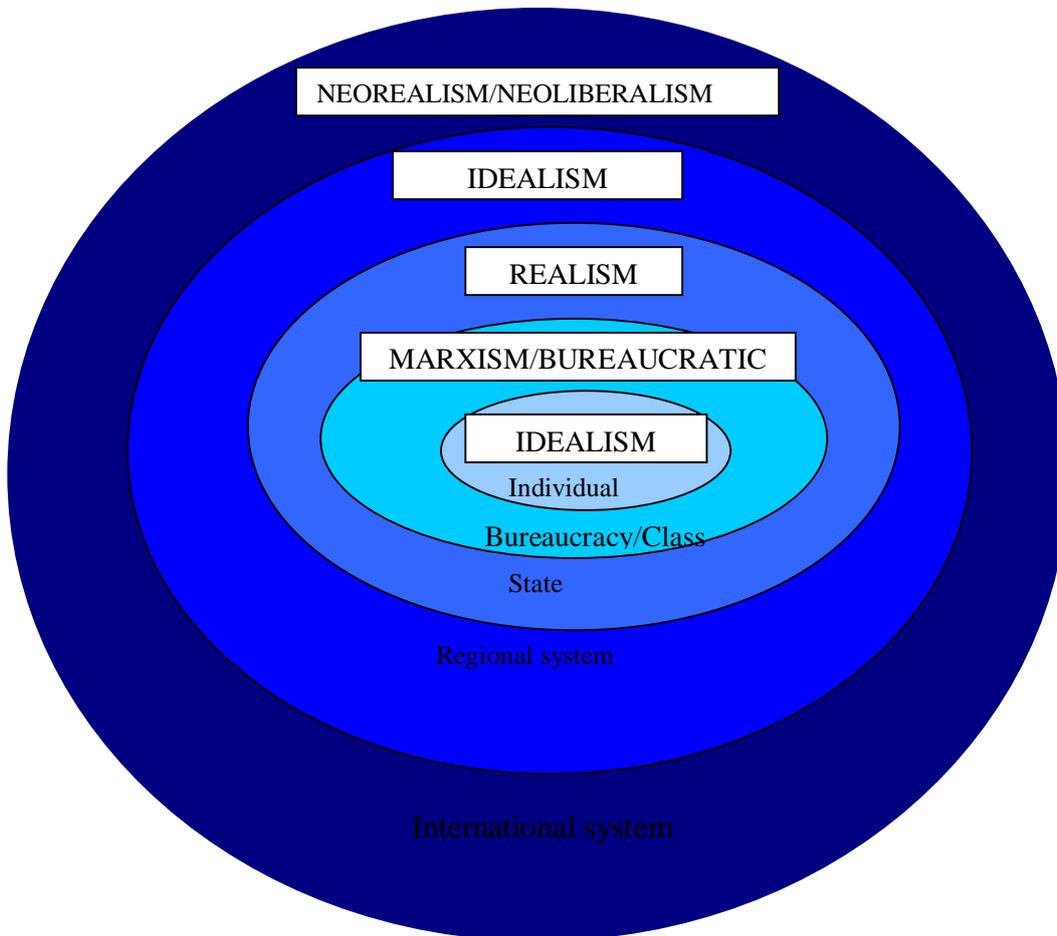
Visual representation 2: A map of the field - International Relations theories with their respective 'unit of analysis'

Such a visual representation of the field presents a very interesting insight in terms of stimulating one's sociological imagination.

First of all, this cognitive map uses 'vague notions and images'. Indeed, it represents an extreme simplification of the diversity in IR theories where 'units of analysis' like 'state' or 'international system' are not clearly defined. From that uncertainty, the individual and first of all me can express more easily one's imagination by first of all, attempting to do honour to the 'technique of cross-classifying'[76].

Indeed, to give this cognitive map, I had to elaborate different combinations, the most important being probably the inclusive nature of those different 'units of analysis' where the individual is at the centre and the international system is the broadest circle including myself but also the 'state' or the 'regional system'. Therefore, such a reasoning led me to think about my position within the international system. To position myself at the centre of this cognitive map makes me aware of the

---

[76] C. Wright Mills, *The sociological imagination*, (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 212

role that liberalism may play in my philosophy. Indeed, a representation of IR theories where individual is at the centre might be the result of a strong believe for liberalism.

Besides, I can also question the influence that other units play such as the 'state' or the 'regional system' in my analysis of the international system where the individual is at the centre. I am French and I belong to a sub-regional system which is Europe or the European Union which explicitly contributed to laying the foundations of the philosophy which I am a receptor but also an actor of. Modern liberal thought originated in and influenced the politics of France. The European Union, with the building of a supra-national organization, symbol of a deep international cooperation, is a strong liberal project.

In addition to that philosophical element, I also have to think about the influence of that liberal philosophy in International Relations theories: is this representation merely the result of my liberal philosophy or of my analysis of International Relations theories as being individual-centred? Probably both considerations are concomitant and the interest that I gained with this cognitive map is that I am now aware of it. Besides, I had to consider opposites which help me to get interesting insights: Marxism and liberalism are totally opposite paradigms but my cognitive map makes me understand that the class is above all composed of individuals. The boarder between both is not so distinct and I realize that it is the complexity itself of both paradigms: liberalism 'speaks' to the individual which may belong to a class whereas Marxism 'speaks' to the classes around the world and notably proletariat, which are above all constituted of individuals. According to those paradigms, who I am? Am I a member of a class or an individual?

Therefore, I realize through this cognitive map some insights about the intersection of my life as being a French living in Europe and therefore, receptor of a socially and historically determined education, and the international structures of the global system. To some extent, with this simple visual representation, I take part to the realization of myself.

As suggested by C. Wrights Mills, I can also exaggerate an idea: if I erase on my cognitive map all the 'units of analysis' except the state and the international system, what would be the consequences? This is precisely the point of the next part.

3.3 Kenneth Waltz's neorealism and Alexander Wendt's conventional constructivism: a comparative perspective

As I mentioned before, the visual representation of an international relations theory is not present in most of the International Relations books. My ambition is, however, to propose a visual

representation of two main IR theories which are Kenneth Waltz's neorealism and Alexander Wendt's conventional constructivism.

The first one is without any doubts incontrovertible. His book *Theory of International Politics*, published in 1979, proposes to reformulate the realist school of thought in International Relations into a positivist social science, laying thus the foundations of a more rigorous discipline and bringing up the issue of theorizing and its different ways to do so. Kenneth Waltz was one of the first to open a door which is still open: how can one theorize international politics? Besides, as we already know, he used in his book a visual representation to explain his theory. Being incomplete since it is supposed to represent a specific part of his argumentation and not the whole theory, my goal is to attempt to represent his theory by successive visual aids which summarize the different steps of his argumentation in order to provide a conclusive representation. Thus, the latter will pretend to visually represent the whole theory.

The second book is Social Theory of International Politics written by Alexander Wendt. First of all, I justify such a choice by the intellectual connection between his writing and *Theory of International Politics* by Kenneth Waltz. Indeed, his book is a direct answer to the canonical text of the neorealist school of thought: Alexander Wendt shares with Kenneth Waltz some basic key assumptions about international politics such as the persistence of anarchy in the international system and the centrality of states within it. However, contrary to neorealism and its materialist explanation, Alexander Wendt proposes a cultural explanation of those assumptions, challenging their profound nature. Thus, his ambition is to give a more complete view of international affairs. Consequently, the interest to visually represent the main points of his theory will give a more complete "picture" of Waltz's one since the former will be based on the same theoretical assumptions of the latter.

But before any attempt to visually represent both theories, I have to give some insights about the methodology that I am going to put forward. As mentioned above, the levels of analysis would be again my theoretical framework. Nevertheless, unlike the previous visual representations, I will base the following ones not only on the concept of level of analysis as being merely "units of analysis" but also as being "sources of explanations" (interaction capacity, structure and process).

Therefore, the idea is to use both conceptions of levels of analysis as common tools to represent both theories:
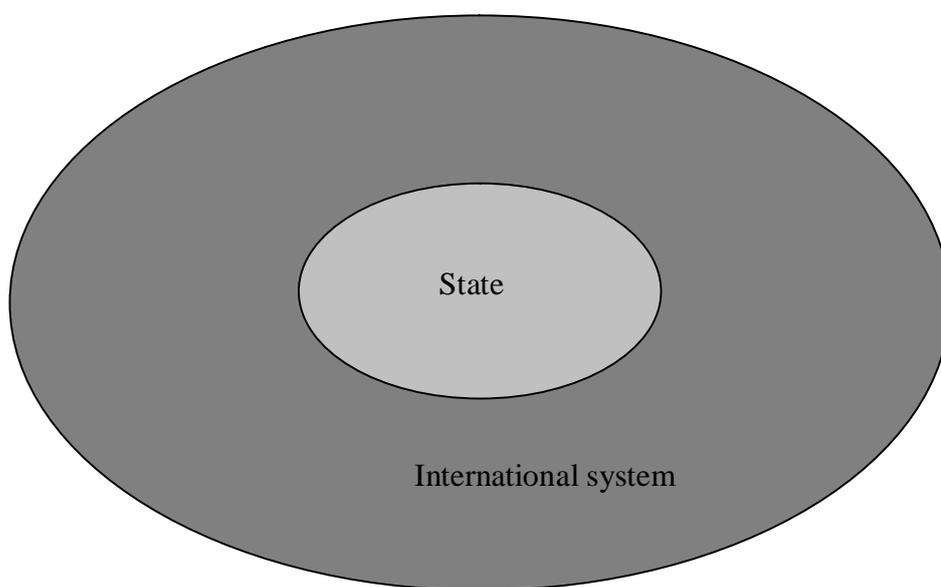
<u>Neorealism</u>

Units of analysis		**Sources of explanation**	
System	Interaction [77] capaci	Structure	Process
	High	the arrangement of the units: anarchy	Balance of pow
		the differentiation of units by function: similar units	
		the distribution of capabilities across units: polarity => number of great powers	
Subsystem			
Unit (state)	High	the arrangement of the units: hierarchy	Integration
		the differentiation of units by function: specialized units	
		the distribution of capabilities across units: political system	
Bureaucracy			
Individual			

3.3.1 Some models of visual representations for neorealism

[77] Barry Buzan mentions that 'In historical perspective, the impact of low density on the logic of anarchy becomes very clear: the variable of interaction crucially affects the meaning and construction of the system. When interaction capacity is low, even the existence of a meaningful international system is in question. Structural logic is suppressed or weakened by thinness of interaction. Waltz simply presupposes than an adequate level of the right type of interaction (strategic) exists to make structural logic work, but in fact this has not been the case for most of history. Interaction capacity is a distinct variable, not a constant' (Buzan, Jones and Little, 1993, chapter 4). In what follows, I will take the high level of interaction capacity for granted and therefore, I will not represent it visually.

Again, Barry Buzan's article – The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations Reconsidered[78] – is central to my analysis. He mentions the dualist pattern between system and unit put forward by Hollis and Smith (1990)[79]. Attempting to go beyond the classical opposition between system and unit, they suggest forming three set of pairs of system-unit dryads which are system-state, state-bureaucracy and bureaucracy-individual. Thus, the left-hand level plays the role of the system and the right-hand one is the unit[80].

Based on this method, I can graphically represent the system-state dryad as being a visual representation of neorealism with still the model of concentric circles.

Visual representation 3 : neorealism

---

[78] Barry Buzan, The Level of Analysis Problem Reconsidered, in *International Relations Theory Today*, ed. Ken Both and Steve Smith, (Pennsylvania State University Press, March 1995), pp. 198-216
[79] Ibid., p. 204
[80] Barry Buzan, The Level of Analysis Problem Reconsidered, in *International Relations Theory Today*, ed. Ken Both and Steve Smith, (Pennsylvania State University Press, March 1995), p. 204

### 3.3.1.1 Domestic politics as being the preliminary case-study

According to Kenneth Waltz, "the national realm is variously described as being hierarchical, vertical, centralized, heterogeneous, directed and contrived; the international realm, as being anarchic, horizontal, decentralized, homogeneous, undirected and mutually adaptive."[81]

Additionally, integration and specialization are two key-words to qualify the real of domestic politics: 'In a hierarchic realm, the units are differentiated, and they tend to increase the extent of their specialization. Differentiated units become closely independent, the more closely so as their specialization proceeds.'[82]

If I take Kenneth Waltz's pattern of international politics as being a model on which I will conceive my own map of domestic politics (please see the literature review in the previous chapter), I can use his graphical tools, that-is-to-say the circles and arrows to represent those same characteristics.
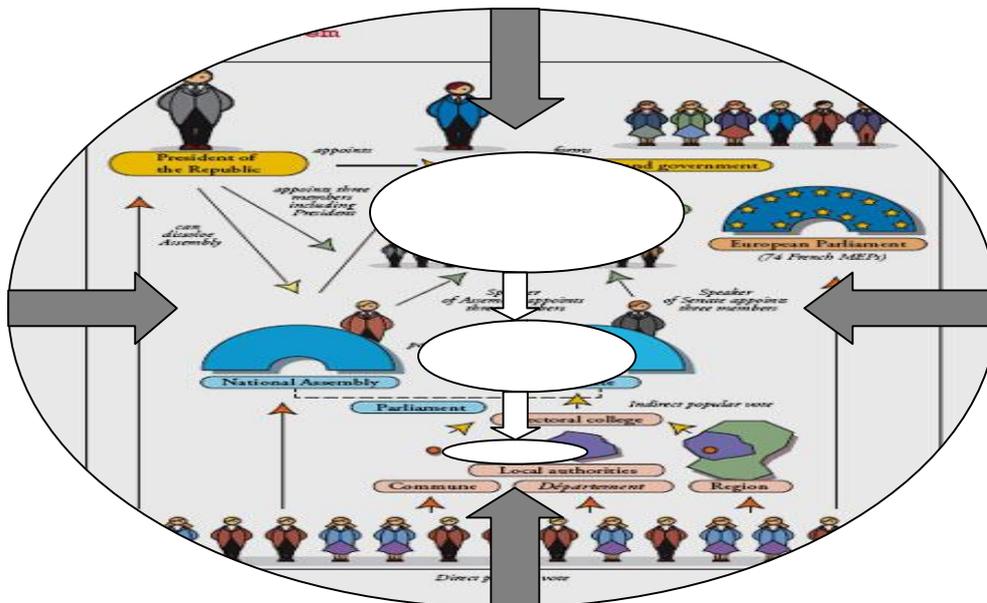
Visual representation 4: Domestic politics according to Kenneth waltz's neorealism
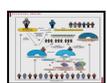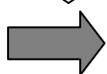
 Structure

 Political entities within the state (with each of them being a particular Specialization)
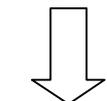
 Integration between units

 Influence of the structure on the units (political entities)

---

[81] Kenneth Waltz, 'Theory of International Politics (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979), p. 113
[82] Ibid., p. 104

3.3.1.2 International politics as being the second-case

Based again on the pattern provided by Kenneth Waltz, I can generate this second visual representation.

To be clear, one has to bear in mind Kenneth Waltz's analysis about his conception of international politics: first of all, states are similar units, equal to each other.

International-political systems, like economic markets, are formed by the coaction of self-regarding units. International structures are defined in terms of the primary political units of an era, be they city states, empires, or nations. Structures emerge from the coexistence of states. No state intends to participate in the formation of a structure by which it and others will be constrained. International-political systems, like economic markets, are individualist in origin, spontaneously generated, and unintended. In both systems, structures are formed by the coaction of their units.[83]

The states that are the units of international-politcal systems are not formally differentiated by the functions they perform. Anarchy entails relations of coordination among a system's units, and that implies their sameness.[84]

Furthermore, the structure of the international system is defined by three important elements:

Structures are defined, first, according to the principle by which a system is ordered. [85]
[…]
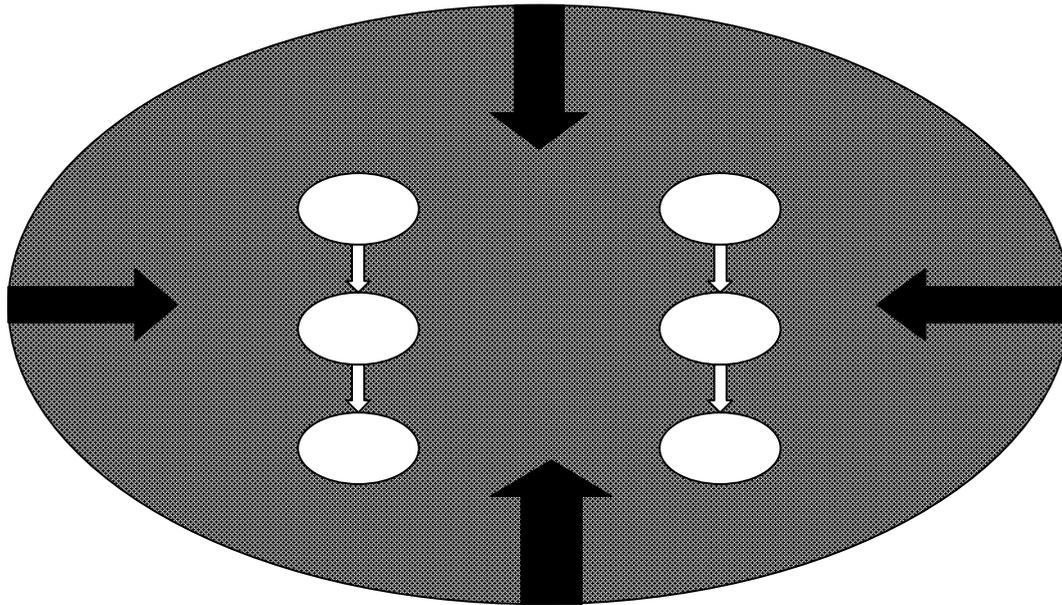Structures are defined, second, by the specification of functions of differentiated units.
[…]
Structures are defined, third, by the distribution of capabilities across units.[86]

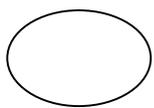[83] Kenneth Waltz, 'Theory of International Politics (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979), p. 91
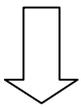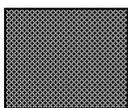[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid. p. 100
[86] Ibid., p.. 101

Visual representation 5: International politics according Kenneth Waltz's neorealism

states as similar units, equal to each other

relation of coordination between states

structure: anarchic, similar units, distribution of capabilities across units

Influence of the system over states

However, the major problem of that visual representation is that it does not fully show the three parts of structure according to Kenneth Waltz. This hatched key is very abstract and does not allow the reader to realize the major constituents of the structure in the neorealist world politics, that-is-to-say its anarchic nature with similar units and a distribution of material capabilities across units marked by the number of great powers.

Besides, one can become aware of a major problem: if the structure is different from the agents, how can the structure include also similar units? Kenneth Watlz tackles this problem which is the essence itself of the structure-agent debate in International Relations by providing the following explanation:

"Capability tells us something about units. Defining structure partly in terms of the distribution of capabilities seems to violate my instruction to keep unit attributes out of structural definitions. As I remarked earlier, structure is a highly but not entirely abstract concept. The maximum of abstraction allows a minimum of content, and that minimum is what is needed to enable one to say how the units stand in relation to one another. States are differently placed by their power. And yet one may wonder why only capability is included in the third part of the definition, and not such characteristics as ideology, form of government, peacefulness, bellicosity, or whatever. The answer is this: Power is estimated by comparing the capabilities of a number of units. Although capabilities are attributes of units, the distribution of capabilities across units is not. The distribution of capabilities is not a unit attribute, but rather a system-wide concept."[87]
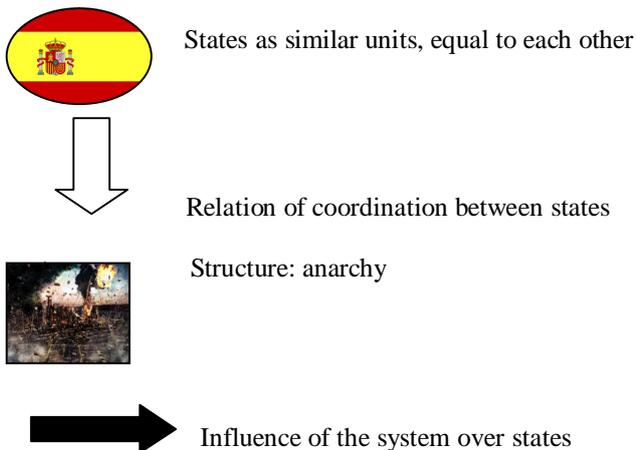
Therefore, the complexity is to represent capabilities as an attribute of the units but also its distribution across them as an attribute of the structure itself.

In what follows, I attempt to go beyond this obstacle by providing a more dynamic visual representation based on the utilization of pictures with the goal to illustrate the three constituents of the structure of the international system: anarchy, distribution of capabilities across units and similar units.

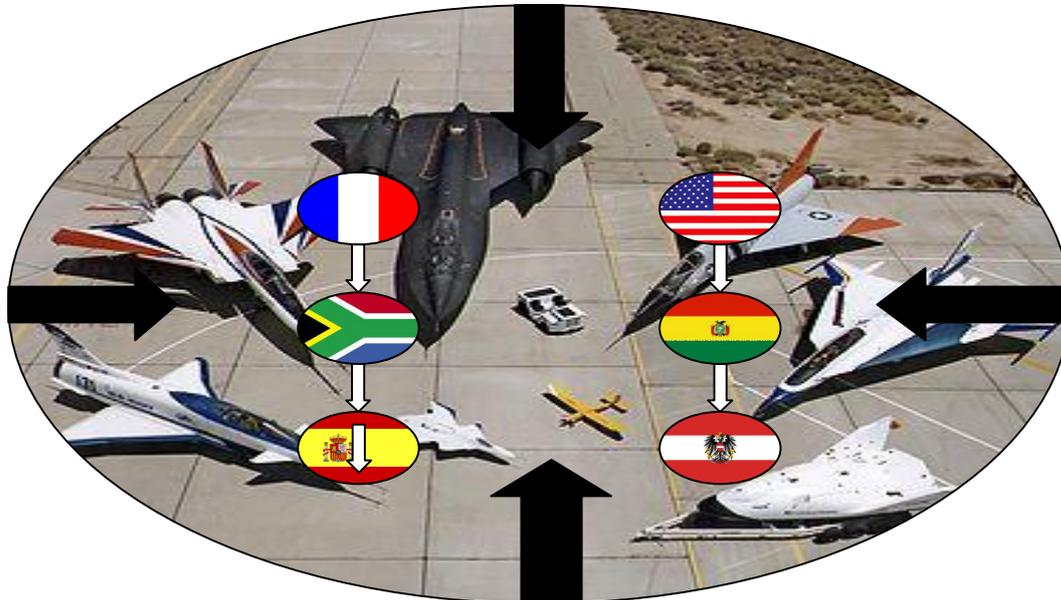[87] Kenneth Waltz, 'Theory of International Politics (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979), p. 97 - 98

Visual representation 6: International politics according to Kenneth Waltz's neorealism and the role of anarchy

States as similar units, equal to each other

Relation of coordination between states

Structure: anarchy

Influence of the system over states

This visual representation of the international system according to Kenneth Waltz mainly focuses on one specific part of the structure of the international system, probably the most significant one, which is its anarchic nature. For Waltz, this state of anarchy is a state of war. In order to give a clear representation of anarchy and war, I decided to look for some pictures with Google Pictures, typing key-words such as 'anarchy' or 'war' and I chose a picture from a video game called 'World in conflict'[88]. Again, such a choice is only justifiable by the meaning that I give to this picture as being a

---

[88] 'World in Conflict' is a real-time strategy video game. For further information, please check out the following website: http://worldinconflict.uk.ubi.com/
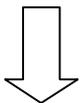
representation of war and therefore, anarchy. Even though I think this picture may 'speak' to many individuals, I can not ensure that it has a universal meaning.

Visual representation 7: International politics according to Kenneth Waltz's neorealism and the role of the distribution of capabilities

 States as similar units, equal to each other

 Relation of coordination between states

 Structure: distribution of capabilities across units

 Influence of the system over states

This second visual representation attempts to show the distribution of material capabilities across units which is the complex problem that I defined above. Indeed, the complexity is to represent capabilities as an attribute of the units but also its distribution across them as an attribute of the structure itself. Even though the distribution of material capabilities is represented as being the structure of the international system, capabilities as attributes of the units are clearly identified: the units are outside of the structure and its distribution of material capabilities.

40

The following visual representation attempts to go beyond this problem while representing three components of the structure of the international system's structure.
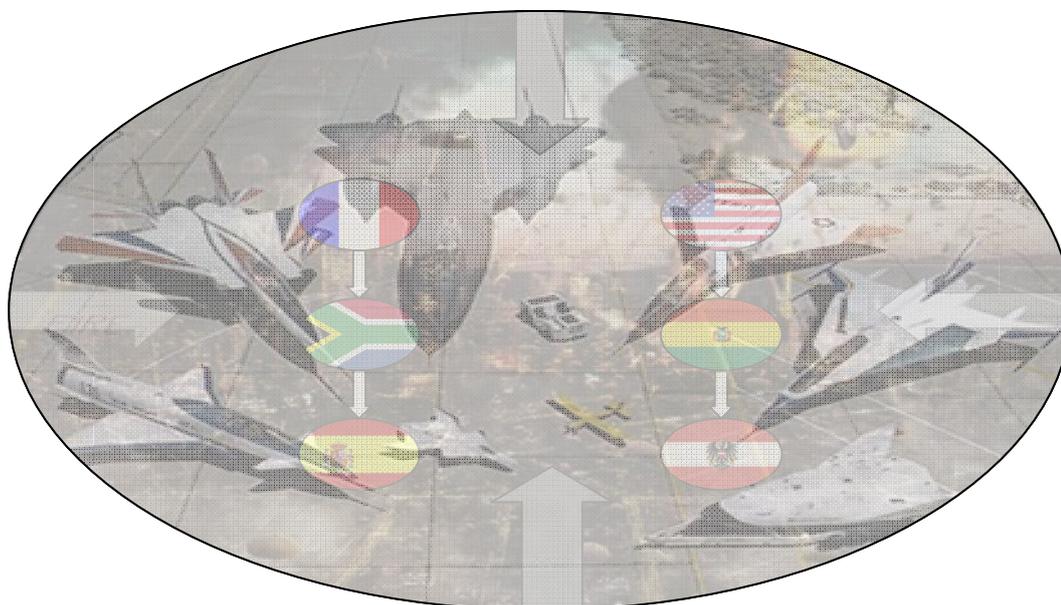
Visual representation 8: International politics according to Kenneth Waltz's neorealism and the role of anarchy coupled with the distribution of capabilities across units being similar (1)

The superposition of two pictures, one representing the material capabilities and the other one the anarchy, that-is-to-say the state of war, over the units composing that structure, that-is-to say states, gives us a more accurate outcome. Indeed, both pictures being transparent over states highlight the ambiguity of the structure, being different from the agents, i.e. states, but also composing them. Thus, each state has certain capabilities but different according to their positioning in the international system and vis-à-vis other units.
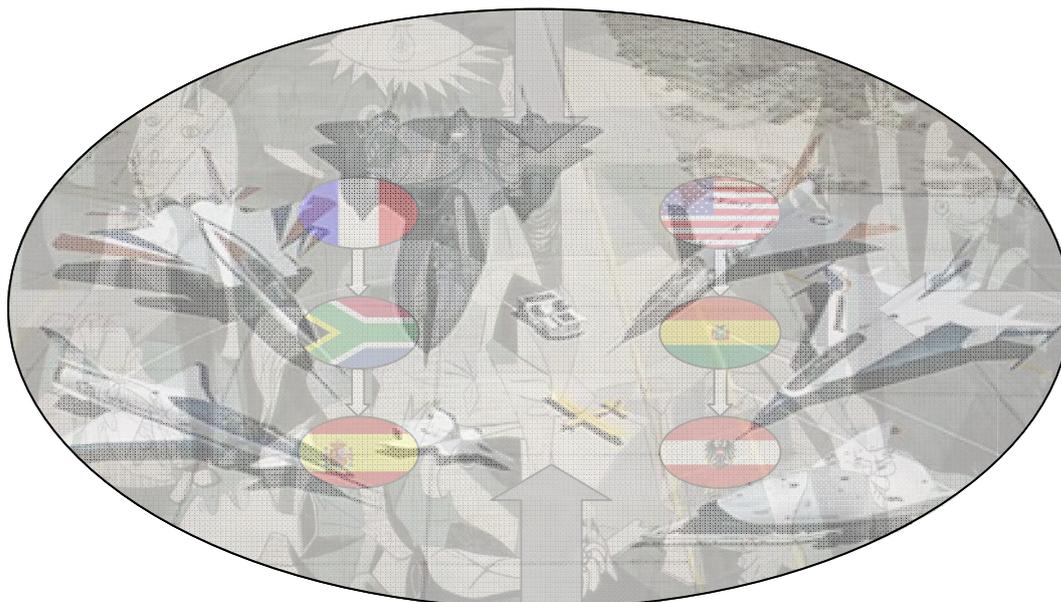
Visual representation 9: International politics according to Kenneth Waltz's neorealism and the role of anarchy coupled with the distribution of capabilities across units being similar (2)

The use of different pictures, each of them having a meaning to the individual, allows a more personal approach to international politics. If I choose a reproduction of 'Guernica' by Pablo Picasso, it is precisely because it corresponds for me to the most emblematic artistic visual representation of war. I have never been involved in any conflict throughout my life but anybody else who had to experience war could have chosen a more personal picture. Again, the idea is to get closer to the intersection between our own life and the global international system in which we live. We all have different viewpoints to apprehend war, the key-concept in International Relations theories. Instead of giving an universal definition, either visual or not, the 'sociological argument' takes the diversity of humanity for granted and allows therefore, more flexibility, bringing a more personal approach to International Relations theories where the scholar is not the only thinker: by creating this visual representation, I had to think about the three main components of the structure according to Kenneth Waltz's neorealism and give for each of them the most meaningful representation. I had to link two concepts such as 'war' and 'anarchy' with other ones such as distribution of capabilities across units and the similarity itself of the latter. Those links between different concepts leads me to work out a visual representation which pretends to see the international system as a whole. I have on one page a representation of the main characteristics of Kenneth Waltz's theory which is particularly useful: by memorizing this visual aid, I can easily remember the basic rules of the neorealist paradigm.

Furthermore, I have fulfilled this task with 'attitude of playfulness'[89], a prerequisite to stimulate one's 'sociological imagination'.

3.3.4 Further details: the balance of power

---

[89] Kenneth Waltz, 'Theory of International Politics (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979), p. 212

The balance-of-power theory is central in Kenneth Waltz's book and his clear ambition is to produce a theory which deals with the results created by the uncoordinated actions of states[90]. From this theoretical framework, the political scientist develops a set of typical behaviours that states are supposed to follow. Basically, a state may decide to engage in either balancing or bandwagoning behaviour[91].

In what follows, I propose to illustrate the different steps of his thought by a set of successive visual representations based on the first pattern that I worked out to represent international politics.
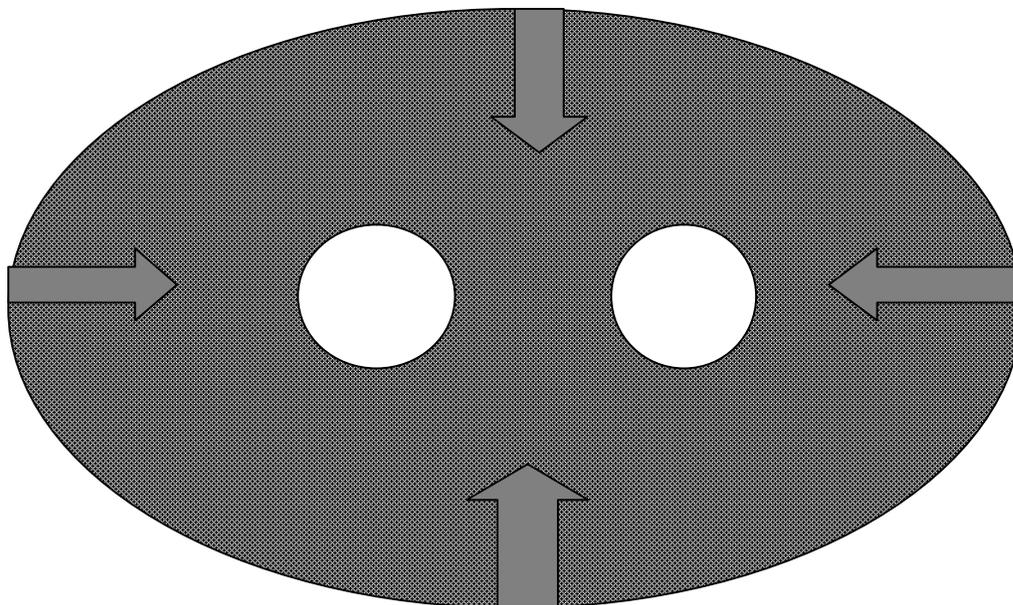
Visual representation 10: Balance of power

Kenneth Waltz goes against the common understanding that a classical balance-of-power behaviour is at least composed of three states. Two is the key-figure to understand any kind of balance-of-power behaviour[92]. From the coexistence of only two single powers in a self-help system where none of them can really weaken the other[93], parity or rather stability between competing forces becomes the main
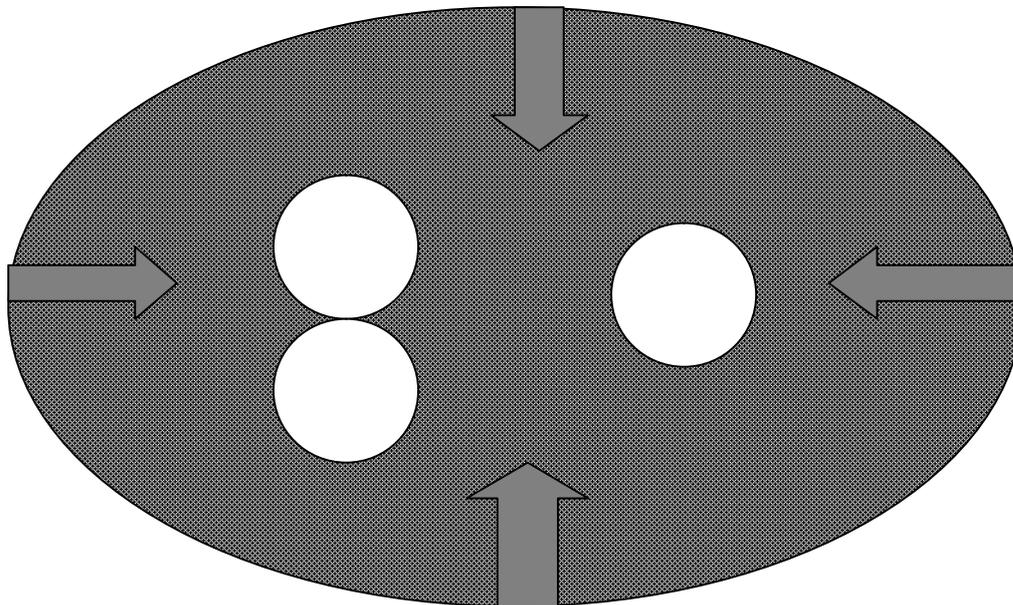
---

[90] Kenneth Waltz, 'Theory of International Politics (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979), p. 212
[91] Ibid., p. 125
[92] Ibid., p. 118
[93] Ibid.

characteristic of the international system. This is the reason why the bipolar structure of the Cold War is the most stable and peaceful[94].

Visual representation 11: No balance of power

The contrary is easy to visually represent and understand: an unbalance between two coalitions where, for instance, a coalition is numerically more powerful than another one, characterizes the opposite of a balance-of-power situation.

Balancing is the typical behaviour of the neorealist international system. Not all the states are willing to belong to the same coalition which would form a sort of world hegemony. States are rather inclined to create, join, leave or destroy some coalitions. As Kenneth Waltz mentions, the first goal of any state in this system is not only to maximise its power but rather to maintain its position within it[95].

This leads him to say: "If two coalitions form and one of them weakens, perhaps because of the political disorder of a member, we expect the extent of the other coalition's military preparation to slacken or its unity to lessen."[96]

---

[94] Kenneth Waltz, 'Theory of International Politics (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979),, p. 161
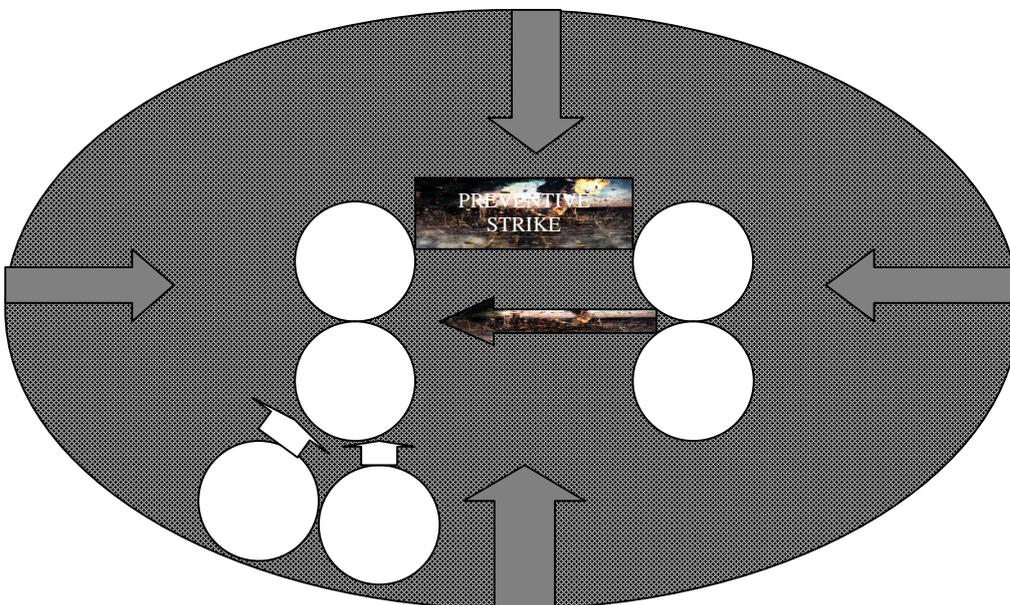[95] Ibid., p. 126

[96] Ibid.
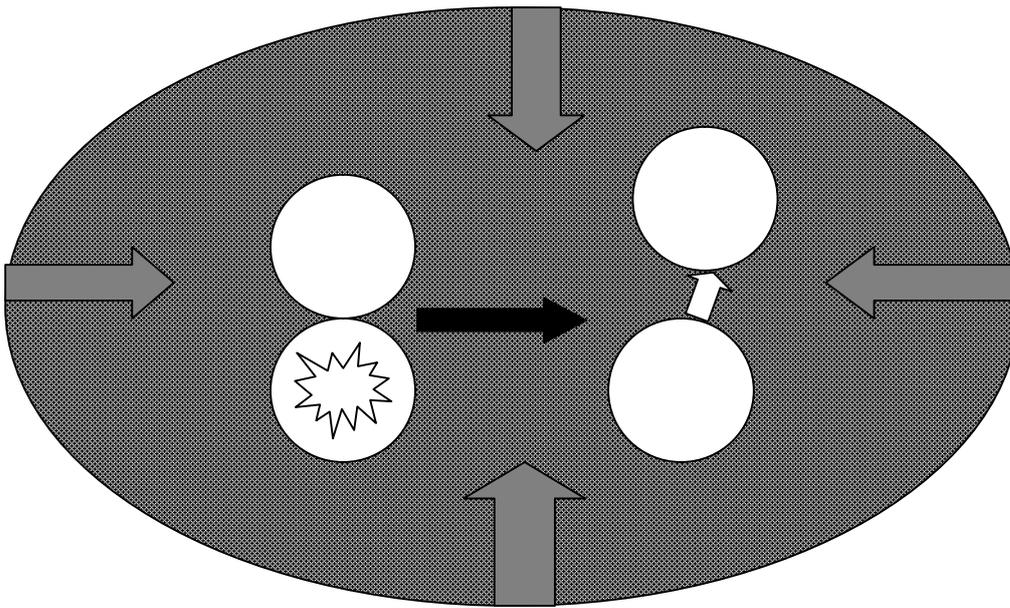
Visual representation 12: consequence of the weakening of a coalition over another

"Given two coalitions, for example, the greater success of one in drawing members to it may tempt the other to risk preventive war, hoping for victory through surprise before disparities widen."[97]


Visual representation 13: preventive war

"Secondary states, if they are free to choose, flock to the weaker side; for it is the stronger side that threatens them. On the weaker side, they are both more appreciated and safer, provided, of course, that

---

[97] Kenneth Waltz, 'Theory of International Politics (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979), p. 126

the coalition they joined achieves enough defensive or deterrent strength to dissuade adversaries from attacking."[98]
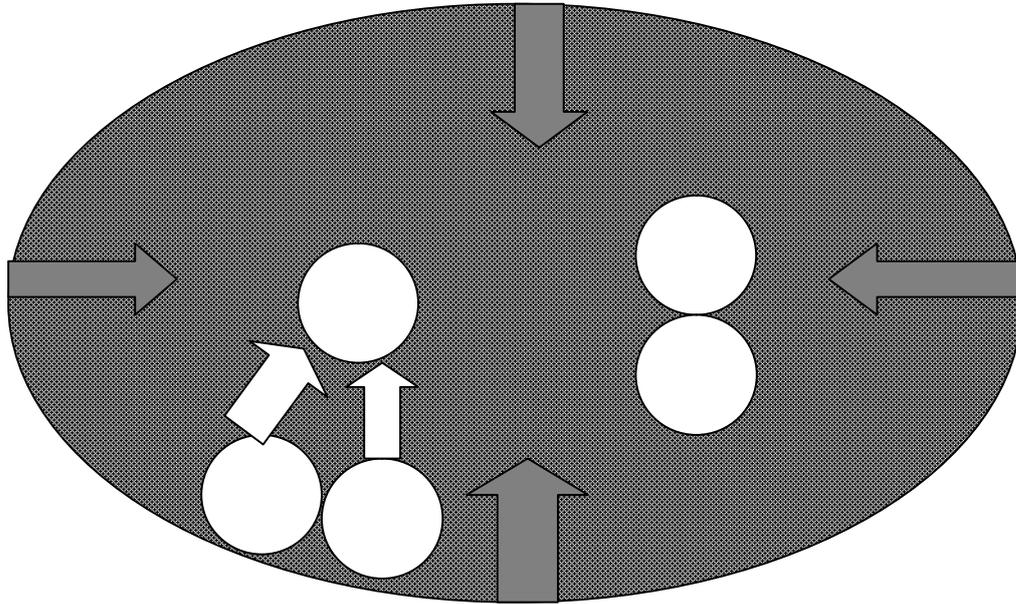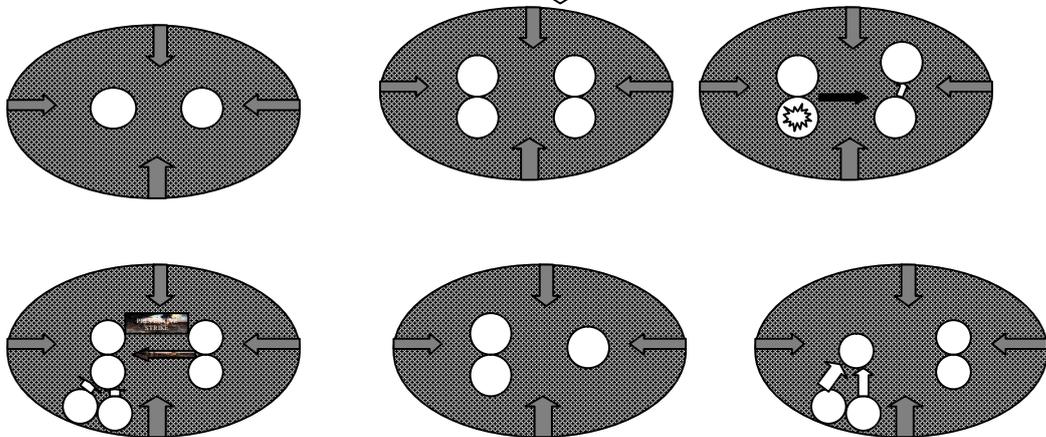

Visual representation 14: secondary state and their tendency to flock to the weaker side

---

[98] Kenneth Waltz, 'Theory of International Politics (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979), p. 127
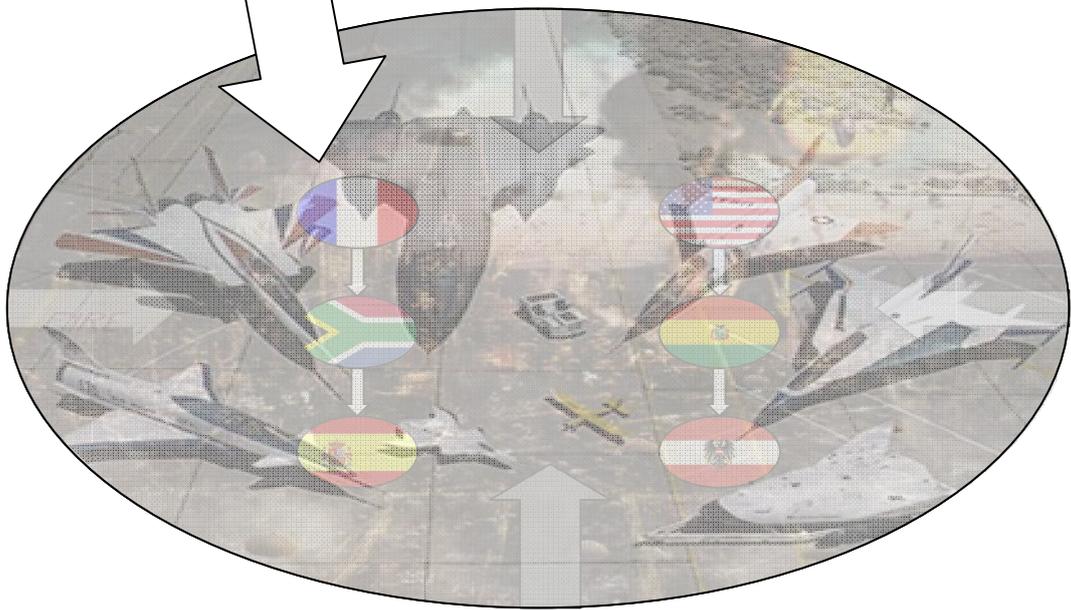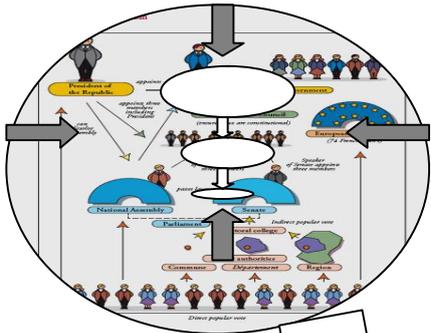
PROCESS

Visual representation 15: Conclusive visual
representation of Kenneth Waltz's neorealism

48

3.4.1 Constructivism: an unsuccessful attempt

However, Alexander Wendt's conventional constructivism is based exactly on the same levels of analysis than the ones put forward by Kenneth Waltz. Consequently, the utilisation of those same levels of analysis would lead to the same visual representations. For many reasons, his constructivism summarizes probably the most challenging approach to the dominant neorealist school of thought and therefore, constitutes a clear obstacle in my ambition to visually represent it.

From my analysis of the book *Social Construction of International Politics*, the ultimate mistake would be to consider it as a theory of international politics such as Kenneth Waltz's neorealism. I argue that Alexander Wendt does not propose to the discipline a theory of the international system, rather a constructivist approach for the already well-established neorealist paradigm. Though his choice between theory and approach might be to some extent ambiguous, its overall pretends to exclude any opportunity to work out a real theory itself of international politics: "Constructivism is not a theory of international politics."[99] This sentence, mentioned twice in the book, is here to dispel any doubt about his ambition.

Therefore, Alexander Wendt's conventional constructivism is not a theory, rather an approach to international politics, mainly targeted to call into question the basic assumptions of Kenneth Waltz's neorealism. Consequently, my methodology based on the commonly admitted double interpretation of levels of analysis is not appropriate because Wendt agrees on the main conclusions of neorealism but disagrees on their causes. For instance, he assumes the distinction between domestic and international politics, state-centrism and the existence of anarchy which are the pillars of Waltz's neorealism:

"If so, we can continue to speak of domestic and systemic politics as distinct domains."[100]

"My premise is that since states are the dominant form of subjectivity in contemporary world politics this means that they should be the primary unit of analysis for thinking about the global regulation of violence. (…) The point is merely that states are still the primary medium through which the effects of other actors on the regulation of violence are channeled into the world system."[101]

"I assume at the outset that this structure is an anarchy, defined as the absence of centralized authority."[102]

---

[99] Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Studies in International Relations, 1999), p. 7
[100] Ibid. p. 13
[101] Ibid. p. 9
[102] Ibid. p.245

Therefore, Alexander Wendt leads us to think about the nature of those assumptions, offering thus a metatheory of neorealist theory. In one sentence, the structure of international politics is not only material as neorealists would argue but also socially constructed by the states that compose it.

Assuming that his book is thus an analysis of the true nature of neorealist assumptions, my ambition is to propose a visual representation strongly tied with the one associated with Kenneth Waltz. However, even if one can work out a visual representation of IR theory, is it possible to do the same for a metatheory?

I have to say no. I have made several attempts but every time I had to cope with this problem: how can I represent ideas? Indeed, Kenneth Waltz's neorealism is above all a materialist theory whose visual representation is not so difficult. Nevertheless, how one can graphically represent key-concepts such as identity, norms, rules, institutions, conventions, ideologies, customs, and laws which compose common knowledge[103]? What would be the method to visually represent the influence of idea in the concept of anarchy in Alexander Wendt's conventional constructivism, notably in his attempt to define three categories, Hobbesian, Lockean and Kantian, each of them corresponding respectively to a specific kind of relationship, enemy, rival and friend[104]? From my point of view, it is just impossible.

However, I made an attempt to represent the basic idea of his book, that-is-to-say the relationship between ideas, interests and the structure of the international system. Since Alexander Wendt's ambition is to question the basic assumptions of Kenneth Waltz's neorealism, I have to include the pattern of this relationship into the conclusive one that I put forward for Waltz.

'I argue that Waltz's conclusions depend on the "distribution of interests" (the phrase is Stein's) in the system. Note that this does not call Realism into question as long as those interests are in turn constituted by material forces. Later in the chapter I, I argue that interests are in fact ideas, which does problematize Realism.'[105]

---

[103] Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Studies in International Relations, 1999), p. 159
[104] Ibid., p. 308
[105] Ibid., p. 103

IDEAS

INTERESTS

PROCESS
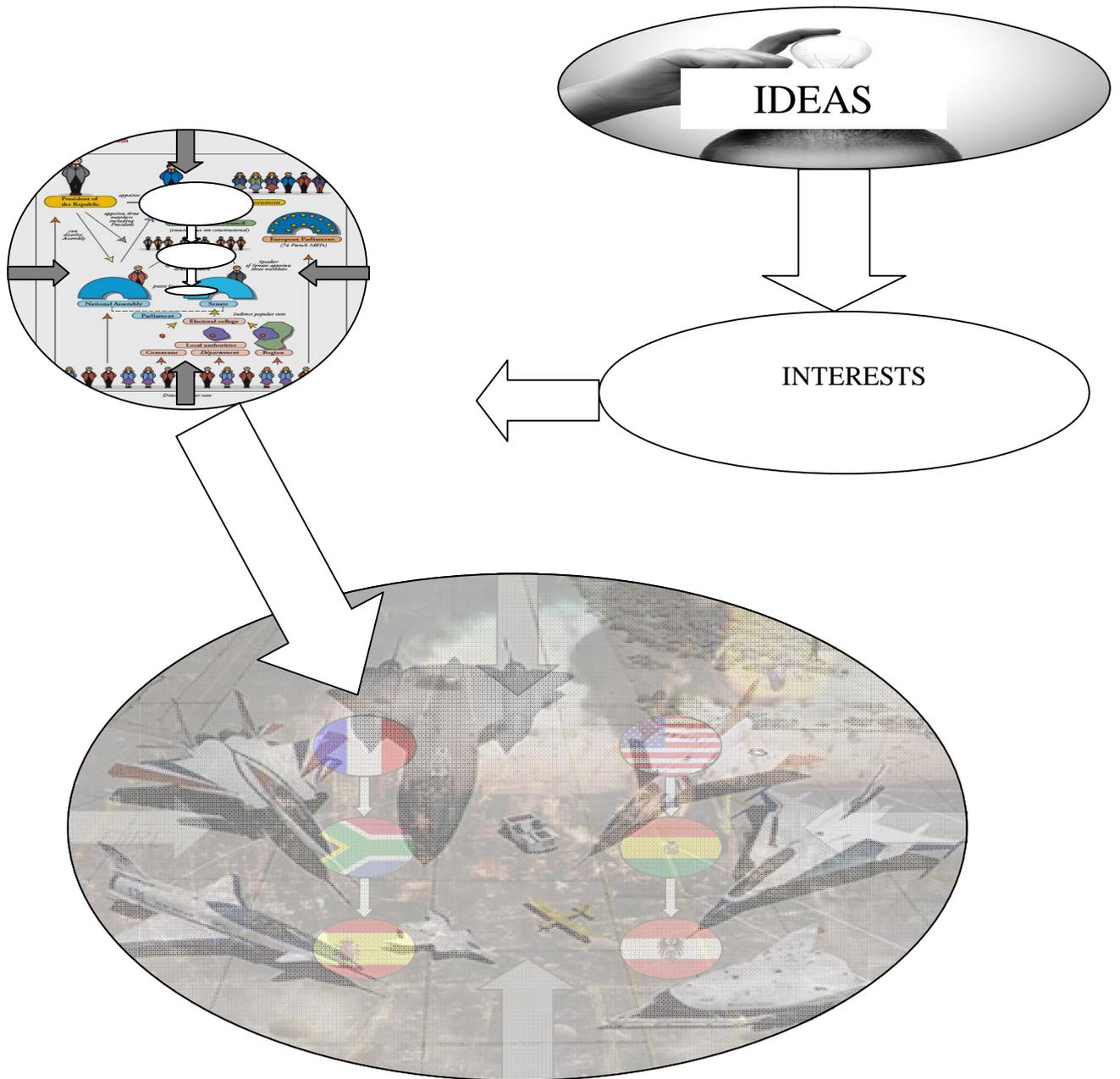
This attempt to visually represent   Kenneth

Visual representation 16: The contribution of Alexander Wendt's conventional
constructivism to Kenneth Waltz's neorealism

Waltz's neorealism and Alexander Wendt's conventional constructivism gives us interesting insights about my central research question which is again why and how does one graphically represent an International Relations theory. Based on the literature review in cognitive sciences and International Relations from the previous chapter, the idea was to start from the visual representations already used in the latter and notably Kenneth Waltz's pattern about international politics while associating some elements generally used in cognitive maps such as a large range of shapes and colors. The central idea was, however, to divide the analyzed theories as a set of concepts in order to give them methodological background. I chose the levels of analysis as a common set of concepts in International Relations theories. I could provide a map of the field where each theory was associated to a specific 'unit of analysis'. This visual representation gives me the opportunity to stimulate my own sociological imagination: with such a simple cognitive map, I have become aware of some basic elements about my own position in the international system. My Kenneth Waltz's cognitive maps made with pictures that 'speak' to me make me understand the basic functioning of neorealist theory of international politics. Such an attempt was easy because Kenneth Waltz's theory is simple and materialist. For instance, to represent the distribution of material capabilities across states just require a picture of military equipment. From my point of view, unlike neorealism, Alexander Wendt's conventional constructivism is difficult to visually represent: again, how can one give a representation of the influence of idea in the concept of anarchy? However, considering his work as being a metatheory of neorealism, I made an attempt to work out his theory but as a complement of Kenneth Waltz's theory. My ambition now is to apply them to a case-study.

CHAPTER IV – A CASE-STUDY: THE EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICY MISSIONS IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

After having put forward some models of visual representation for both Kenneth Waltz's neorealism and Alexander Wendt's conventional constructivism, the ambition here is to apply them to one case-study which is the European Security and Defense Policy operation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

4. 1 A means to counterbalance NATO and the American hegemony

The European Union launched two military operations in the Republic Democratic of the Congo, in 2003 and 2006 respectively. What regards the first one, the operation Artemis, its joint action[106] stipulates the following aims: "to contribute to the stabilization of the security conditions and the improvement of the humanitarian situation in Bunia, to ensure the protection of the airport, the internally displaced persons in the camps in Bunia and, if the situation requires it, to contribute to the safety of the civilian population, United Nations personnel and the humanitarian presence in the town."*[107]* For the EUFOR RD Congo, its joint action 'underlined the importance of elections as the foundation for the longer term restoration of peace and stability, national reconciliation and establishment of the rule of law in DRC'[108]. More generally, the European Union 'supports the transition process in the DRC'[109] through its EUFOR RD operation in the country. Both missions are assessed as quite successful since they managed to fulfill the aims set in their mandate.

---

[106] 'Joint action, which is a legal instrument under Title V of the Treaty on European Union (common foreign and security policy, CFSP), means coordinated action by the Member States whereby all kinds of resources (human resources, know-how, financing, equipment, etc.) are mobilised in order to attain specific objectives set by the Council, on the basis of general guidelines from the European Council.'
European Glossary, Joint action (CFSP), http://europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/joint_action_cfsp_en.htm

[107] Adoption by the Council of the Joint Action on the European Union military operation in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), 9957/03 (Presse 156), 5 June 2003, http://ue.eu.int/.

[108] Official Journal of the European Union, COUNCIL JOINT ACTION 2006/319/CFSP of 27 April 2006 on the European Union military operation in support of the United Nations Organisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) during the election process, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:116:0098:0101:EN:PDF

[109] Ibid.

In what follows, I argue that what motivates the EU member-states to launch military operations in Africa is nothing else than a classical struggle for power in order to counterbalance the United States. As a matter of fact, Kenneth Waltz's neorealism is more relevant to analyze the ESDP operations because they propose us a very pertinent framework to answer to the following question: what are the real motivations, intentions of the EU to intervene in the Democratic Republic of the Congo? However, considering Alexander Wendt's conventional constructivism as a metatheory of neorealism, I will also apply the constructivist framework and its associated visual representation in order to give a more 'complete' picture about the true motivations of the ESDP missions in the DRC.

Under French supervision, Operation Artemis had been the first EU mission outside the NATO structures: the European intention was to clearly show to the American military and political staff its capacity to lead an independent mission without any help from them. Besides, both missions were also an excellent opportunity to tell apart towards the American hegemony: in the 1990's and still nowadays, NATO has not been traditionally focused on Africa, rather on the Middle East since the American interests are unmistakably in that part of the world. Therefore, the EU's willingness was also to bring the African issue on the international agenda, mainly defined by the United States and their fight against terrorism.

Both Clinton and Bush administrations have perceived the ESDP development with suspicion, giving credit to my argument that EU implemented a counter-balance policy towards the United States: the American willingness to make the collaboration between the NATO and the ESDP is only motivated by the opposition to see an independent EU army which would challenge its hegemony. The Pentagon explicitly states that the purpose of NATO cooperation with the EU ('Berlin Plus') is 'to prevent the creation of an EU counterpart to Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) and a separate 'EU' army…'[110] A US Congress report concludes that 'French officials have long argued that the EU should seek to counterbalance the United States on the international stage and view the ESDP as a vehicle for enhancing the EU's political credibility'[111].

Hubert Védrine, former French Foreign Affairs minister, openly recognizes the ambition of the EU to defy the American hegemony and its unipolar perception of the international system: 'Europe is the best answer to globalization and the predominance of one single superpower – the United States'112. In those conditions, both the Artemis operation and the EUFOR RD Congo were means to challenge

---

[110] Barry R. Posen, 'ESDP and the Structure of World Power', The International Spectator, 1/2004, p. 11, http://www.iai.it/pdf/articles/posen.pdf

[111] Sally McNamara, 'Executive Summary: Shaping the NATO—EU Relationship: What the U.S. Must Do', *The Heritage Foundation*, October 8, 2008, http://www.heritage.org/research/europe/bg2195es.cfm

[112] Ibid.

the American domination by creating a wide counter-coalition. Indeed, even though France played a great role in both interventions, many other states which are traditionally on the American side contributed to them by sending their own national soldiers. For instance, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Ireland, Poland, Slovakia and the United Kingdom belonged to the EU nations for the EUFOR RD Congo. Even though those states obviously belonged to the European Union, their integration into an independent EU operation is highly symbolic: except for Ireland, all those countries belong to NATO, their entrance being for most of them very new. As a consequence, their participation undermined their common position about the importance and the utility of the United States as the major power in the international system. Basically, they recognize that NATO is not the only military means to resolve problems around the world: the EU can also ensure such a role.

Thus, such a behavior is in line with Kenneth Waltz's principle and its visual representation that I presented in the previous chapter:

"Secondary states, if they are free to choose, flock to the weaker side; for it is the stronger side that threatens them. On the weaker side; they are both more appreciated and safer, provided, of course, that the coalition they joined achieves enough defensive or deterrent strength to dissuade adversaries from attacking."[113]
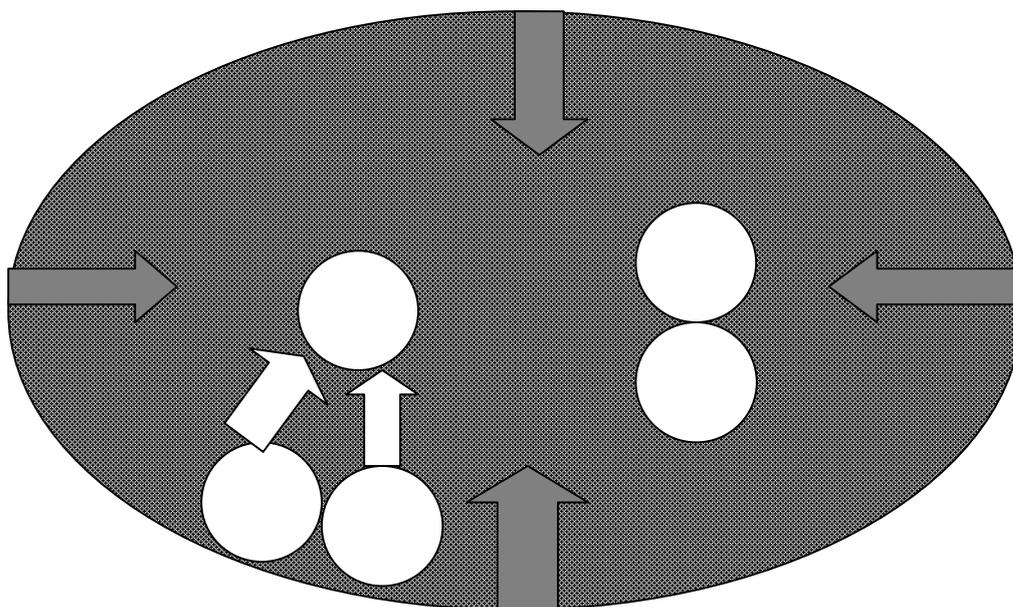

Visual representation 14: secondary state and their tendency to flock to the weaker side

One is free to change, modify it with new colours and lines in order to give to the overall picture a more dynamic and meaningful aspect. This is only by associating different graphical combinations that

---

[113] Kenneth Waltz, 'Theory of International Politics (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979), p. 127

one can stimulate one's sociological imagination and get the most interesting insights about the situation.
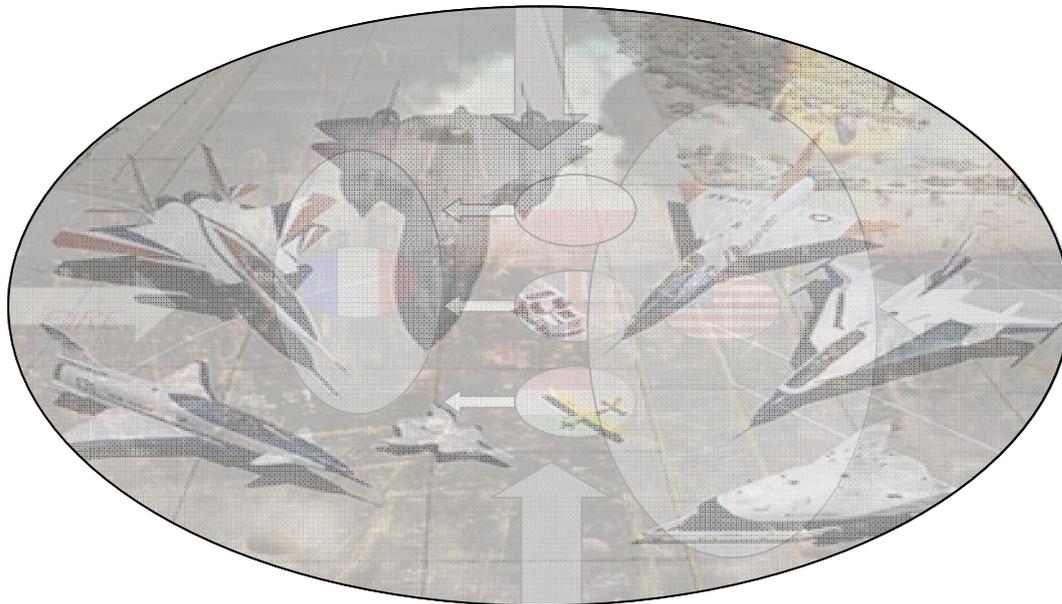
Visual representation 17: ESDP missions in the RDC or a means to counterbalance NATO and the American hegemony

However, I would argue that the ESDP project is not so much to differentiate itself from NATO and the United States. What it is looking for is a similar struggle for power in international politics. In a neorealist perspective, this struggle which is a security competition, leads powers to imitate the successful projects of their opponents. Therefore, ESDP's ambition is nothing else than taking NATO responsibility in its management of international crises. NATO was a successful project which contributed to some extent to the prevention of direct confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States. Though the organization has been living in an identity crisis since the collapse of the Soviet Union, it is still an efficient military tool that Europeans had to ask for support so as to intervene in their own continent in the Kosovo war in 1999. The ESDP is still a 'midget' next to NATO but the operations in Africa were a good opportunity to maximize or rather improves their material resources. One has to keep in mind that both France and the UK are the major military spenders in Europe.

4.2 Constructivist visual representation: a more complete 'picture'

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, to visually draw a representation of Alexander Wendt's conventional constructivism implies a distinction between ideas and interests, the former influencing the latter. Both ESDP missions in the Republic Democratic of Congo may be analyzed through this distinction, completing thus the radical realist interpretation that I provided above.

Before any sort of military intervention, a consensus about a common policy between France and the UK towards Africa had already emerged: the fundamental St Malo meeting between the French president of that time, Jacques Chirac, and the British Prime minister, Tony Blair promoted the ambition to spread European values in Africa[114]. Without any doubt, this meeting represents the constructivist ideational framework of the missions that the European Union wanted to implement Africa and more precisely, in the Republic Democratic of the Congo. In Cahors (France), the UK and France agreed to work together to oversee political crises in Africa, the cause of such an attitude being the 'profound historic link with Africa' (Chirac)[115]. At the Toucquet Summit (4 February 2003), both countries agreed on the necessity to build a strong cooperation between France and the UK to build a DRC national army[116].

Given the overwhelming French role in both operations, to dwell upon the constancies in the French foreign policy and namely its strategic and economical interests is more than important to understand the real intentions of those EU missions. In what follows, I will give some elements about French interests but also German and British ones which result from the ideational framework previously described.

Basically, it is commonly admitted that French foreign policy has two tendencies on the one hand, a supranational, idealistic willingness to make the EU stronger and on the other hand, a nationalistic tendency to enhance the role of France as a great power on the international stage. In what follows, I claim that France used the European structures as a means to pursue European but also national interests.

Before any ambition to launch a European intervention in the RDC in 2003, France was already preparing a mission which was supposed to be called 'Operation Mamba'[117]. However, the French president of that time, Jacques Chirac, recognized the opportunity that a European mission may present for his country and the EU: after the division concerning the military intervention in Iraq, Operation Artemis was an appropriate means to show a European unity and gain therefore some

---

[114] Catherine Gegout, "Causes and Consequences of the EU's military intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo: A Realist Explanation", European Foreign Affairs Review 10, 2005, p. 428

[115] Ibid., p. 432

[116] Ibid.

[117] Kees Homan, "Operation Artemis in the Democratic Republic of Congo" in "European Commission: Faster and more united? The debate about EU's crisis response capacity", Netherlands Institute for International Relations "Clingendael", May, 2007, p.2 http://www.clingendael.nl/publications/2007/20070531_cscp_chapter_homan.pdf

political benefits on the international stage. Again reunited, the EU was able to agree on the first military intervention beyond its boarders and thus gave a stronger image to itself and to the world. The second operation, EUFOR RD Congo, confirmed the first 'try' and reassured the EU as being more than an economical or political actor but also a new military might. As General Christian Damay mentioned, that mission was a contribution to the concept of European army: 'I am very satisfied because I believe that we have a very well-functioning unit' […] 'Now we really have the beginning of a European army'[118].

In addition to those European interests, France has more particular interests: after the controversial French Turquoise Operation in Rwanda in 1994, the country needed to restore its reputation in Africa through the implementation of a successful mission with official humanitarian goals. Furthermore, an intervention under the European flag limited the risks of casualties for the French troops and thus, possible negative repercussions in the French public opinion. More generally, those EU missions under French command is in line with France's relationship with Africa and the so-called 'Françafrique' where French interests are always highly represented: France has signed many treaties with its former colonies and still plays a great role in many African conflicts in order to ensure its influence. For instance, the country still has a few thousand soldiers in Ivory Coast in the framework of the Operation Licorne under the UN umbrella. Albeit the RDC is not properly a former French colony but a Belgian one, France already had experience in the region and speaks the same language. To some extent, both military interventions were a means for France to rekindle its traditional strategic interests with Africa but under an European gilt. However, the European Union is not only France and the latter has to convince the two other major powers of the continent: Germany and the United Kingdom.

Germany's interest was to get closer with former enemies through a common European defense policy which eliminated any unilateral use of military force. In a more realist perspective, one could argue that his prime ambition was also to become an incontrovertible nation on the international stage, attempting to maximize its own interests like France. Indeed, its opposition to the war in Iraq with France gave to the country some self-confidence about its capacity to say 'no' to the dominant power and consequently, strengthened its symbolic role of a great power in the international system.
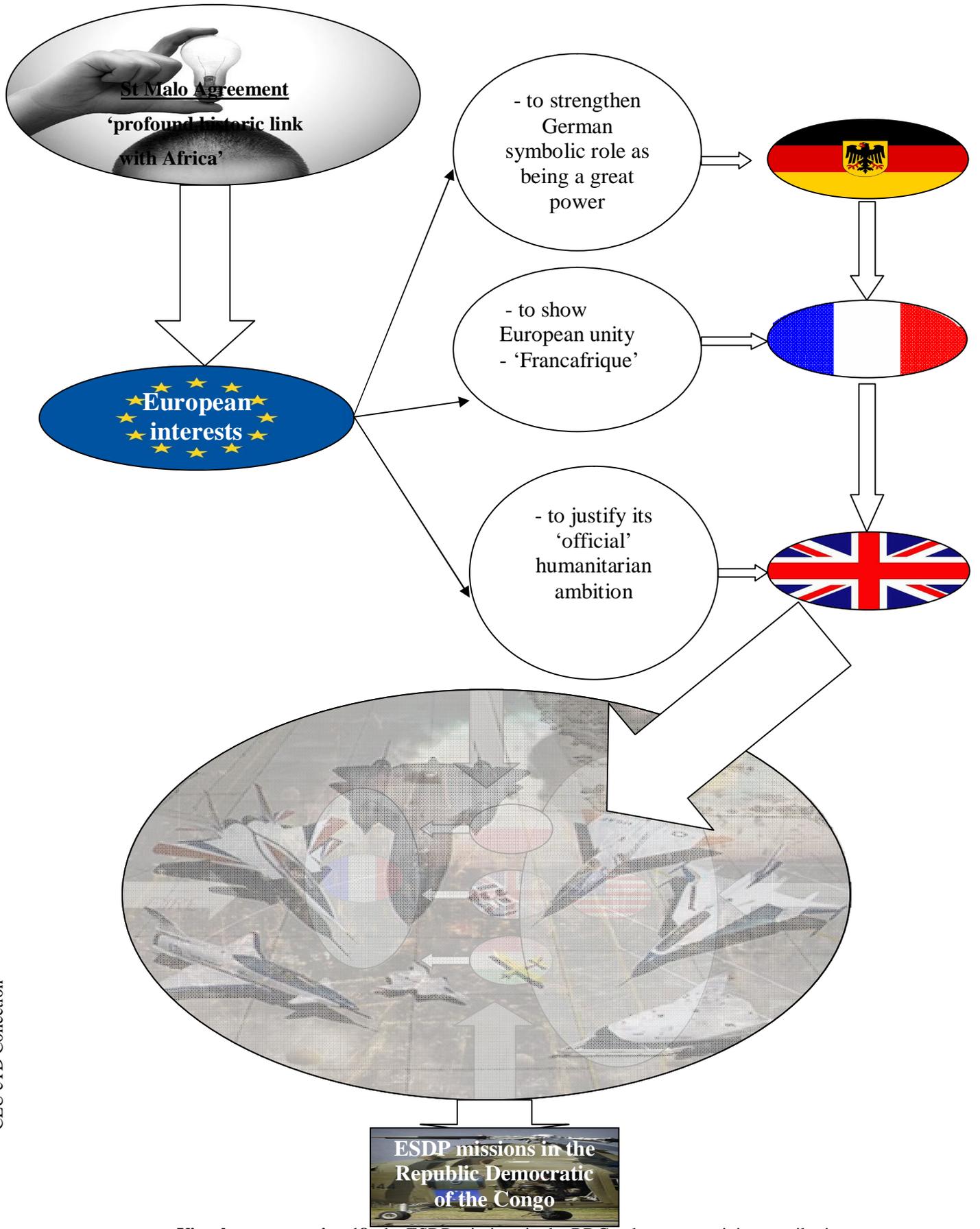
The United Kingdom's intervention is more difficult to explain. Indeed, contrary to France, the UK does not have very strong ties with Africa. Its intention was more symbolically political: for Operation

---

[118] Honor Mahony, 'General eyes 'European army' after Congo mission', *EU Observer,* 01.12.2006, http://euobserver.com/?aid=23005

Artemis, only 85 British composed the EU troops and 71 of them were Royal engineers[119]. Thus, this symbolic intervention was rather a way to justify its 'official' humanitarian ambition and to do honor to its ESDP meetings with France mentioned above.

Based on these considerations, I propose to draw the following visual representation:

---

[119] Catherine Gegout, "Causes and Consequences of the EU's military intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo: A Realist Explanation", European Foreign Affairs Review 10, 2005, p. 438

St Malo Agreement
'profound historic link
with Africa'

European
interests

- to strengthen German symbolic role as being a great power

- to show European unity
- 'Francafrique'

- to justify its 'official' humanitarian ambition

ESDP missions in the Republic Democratic of the Congo

Visual representation 18: the ESDP missions in the RDC – the constructivist contribution

60

This brief case-study highlights the utility of visual representations as a way to illustrate an argumentation. Since most of the requirements for an assignment in International Relations is to apply a theoretical framework to a case-study, why not working out also its cognitive map, its visual representation? The interest is that a pattern on only one page gives a general summary of the ideas of the paper. Besides, constructing it out forces the student to structure his thought by dividing it into different steps which are graphically translated into sub-patterns. And again, the 're-arranging of the file'[120] that-is-to say the manipulation of different concepts and ideas, the whole being done in an 'attitude of playfulness'[121], stimulate one's 'sociological imagination', bringing IR theories closer to the individual.

---

[120] C. Wright Mills, *The sociological imagination*, (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 212
[121] Ibid.

CONCLUSION

As the title of the thesis suggested 'Seeing with 'Sociological imagination: Visual Representations of International Relations Theories', the aim of this work was to introduce a very popular concept from sociology into the International Relations discipline so as to bring to this field a very innovative contribution: not only proposing a map of the field but also different visual representations of Kenneth Waltz's neorealism as well as Alexander Wendt's conventional constructivism.

As regards the question 'why should one work out visual representations of International Relations theories?', I claimed that the diversity of the discipline, historically situated in the context of globalization, is a strength: associated with the 'sociological imagination' argument, it leads any individual around the world to grasp the intersection between one's own life and the international structures of which an individual is both an actor and spectator. In other terms, one can realize oneself in the system in which one lives. Yet, the most appropriate way to stimulate one's 'sociological imagination' in that context is the conception of visual representations.

As regards the sub-question 'how one should work out visual representations of International Relations theories?', I put forward a specific model of visual representations: based on a literature review of both International Relations and cognitive sciences, I define a theory as being above all a set of concepts with a certain logical arrangement between them: the levels of analysis in International Relations are most likely to be those concepts which became thus my methodological tools to visually translate a theory into its representation. Proposing a map of the field which is supposed to stimulate my 'sociological imagination', I attempted to graphically represent Kenneth Waltz's neorealism: the scholar has already recourse to a simple pattern of international politics which was my base. Kenneth Waltz's neorealism is a logical theory whose visual representation was quite easy. The only problem was to symbolize the three components of the structure of the international system, attempting to preserve the ambiguity of the distinction between the role played by agents and the structure itself. The 'sociological imagination' argument was mainly about the representation of war. Either confronted by the war or not, the interest for each individual is to select or made the picture of war that is the most expressive for him. A visual representation of Alexander Wendt's conventional constructivism was a fruitless attempt. From my analysis of the book Social theory of International Politics, I figured out

that his theory is not a theory, rather a metatheory of neorealism. I became aware that it is impossible to give a representation of it. At the same time, I realized that its visual representation is only possible as a complement to the neorealism's one. Therefore, I put forward a more complete picture of neorealism with the contribution of Alexander Wendt's conventional constructivism.

From that 'picture' of both approaches of international politics, my last step was to apply it to a case-study which was the European Security and Defence Policy missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The interest of the picture was mainly to summarize on one page the major steps of my reasoning which aimed to explain the major reasons that led the European Union to intervene in this country.

Several contributions result from this work: assuming the saying 'do it by your own', the overall thesis argues for a more accessible field where one can visually interpret a theory of international politics, realizing thus one position within the global international system. This method of individually tailoring IR theories can potentially modify the classical one-way relationship from the scholar to the student as now any individual can also bring one's own contribution. Besides, towards the increasing complexity of the field, the simplification that any sort of visual representation brings makes those theories more accessible and therefore more meaningful for our own lives.

The possible evolution of this project would be without any doubt associated with the technological progress of the global international system: the use of some special freeware which allow more interactive visual representations would be the first steps. Then, the results would be uploaded on some websites or forums where everybody around the world could read, analyze, understand, discuss, criticize, and argue them in this virtual public sphere, and therefore contribute to the diversity and therefore the debate that characterize International Relations theories.
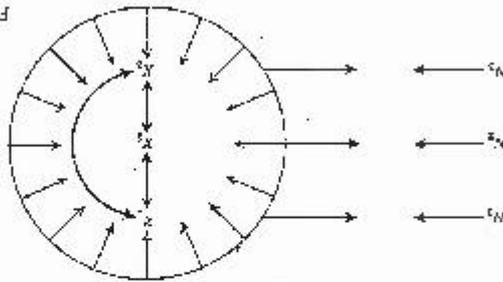
APPENDICES

Appendx 1 – Kenneth Waltz's pattern: international politics

Because systemic effects are evident, international politics should be seen as in Fig. 5.2. This circle represents the structure of an international-political system. As the arrows indicate, it affects both the interactions of states and their attributes.* Although structure as an organizational concept has proved elusive, its meaning can be explained simply. While states retain their autonomy, each stands in a specifiable relation to the others. They form some sort of an order. We can use the term "organization," to cover this preinstitutional condition if we think of an organization as simply a constraint, in the manner of W. Ross Ashby (1956, p. 131). Because states constrain and limit each other, international politics can be viewed in rudimentary organizational terms. Structure is the concept that makes it possible to say what the expected organizational effects are and how structures and units interact and affect each other.

Figure 5.2

Thinking of structure as I have defined it solves the problem of separating changes at the level of the units from changes at the level of the system. If one is concerned with the different expected effects of different systems, one must be able to distinguish changes of systems from changes within them, something that would-be systems theorists have found exceedingly difficult to do. A three-part definition of structure enables one to discriminate between those types of changes:

• Structures are defined, first, according to the principle by which a system is ordered. Systems are transformed if one ordering principle replaces another. To move from an anarchic to a hierarchic realm is to move from one system to another.

*No essentials are omitted from Fig. 5.2, but some complications are. A full picture would include, for example, coalitions possibly forming on the right-hand side.

65

Appendix 2 - Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye's pattern: transnational interactions and international politics

ISO

G₁   G₂

S₁   S₂

—————— Classic interstate politics
- - - - - - - Domestic politics
·········· Transnational interactions

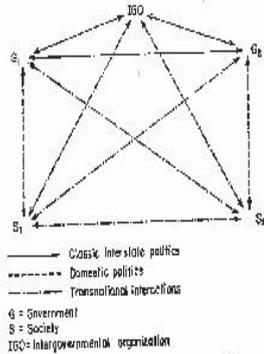G = Government
S = Society
ISO = Intergovernmental organization

Figure 2. Transnational interactions and interstate politics

cert with these foreign military officers against other elements of the American government to achieve common political goals. Leon N. Lindberg and Stuart A. Scheingold have noted the development of coalitions among agricultural officials from various countries of the European Economic Community (EEC): "The Ministers of Agriculture of the six and their aides and advisors, charged with primary negotiating responsibility along with the Commission, have come to share preoccupations and expertise. They are subject to similar constituency demands, engaged in annual budget battles against their respective Ministers of Finance, and they seek the same general goals of improving the conditions of farmers and of modernizing agriculture. Indeed, in the eyes of many of their colleagues in other governmental ministries, they have come to form 'an exclusive club,' thoroughly defended by impenetrable technical complexities."

The position of a governmental actor, however, is more visible and thus more easily known than his behavioral role. Furthermore, an actor's position is classifiable in one of three categories—governmental, intergovernmental, or nongovernmental—whereas his role may slide back and forth between the three. Even with perfect knowledge it would become extremely difficult and ultimately arbitrary to say exactly where a governmental agent stops playing

a governmentally defined role and begins to act "on his own." Furthermore, since the essays in this volume focus primarily on nongovernmental activities and organizations, a definition that stresses the governmental/nongovernmental/intergovernmental distinction focuses attention on the relationships with which we are most concerned here. For a first approximation that can be easily applied in widely varying essays, therefore, we use the narrower and more precise definition, centering on the position of an actor, rather than a broader and vaguer definition in terms of role. In the conclusion, in which we contrast a world politics paradigm with the state-centric paradigm, we reintroduce the dimension of role and discuss the problems and prospects that it raises. The reader should be aware, therefore, that in this introduction we use the phrase "transnational relations" as shorthand for "transnational interactions and organizations," whereas in the conclusion we also consider relations between governmental actors that are not controlled by the central foreign policy organs of their governments.

Many transnational interactions take place without the individuals involved leaving their localities or the organizations maintaining any branches outside their countries of origin. Domestic industries, trade unions, and farmers engage in international trade without necessarily changing their loci of activity; bankers can move vast sums of money without leaving their offices; student groups may broadcast their views via world television while remaining in Paris, Cambridge, or Tokyo; the New York Times would somehow be obtained in other world capitals even if it did not maintain sales offices abroad. Thus, purely domestic organizations, such as national trade unions, can participate in transnational interactions.

Yet, we are also concerned with the activities of nongovernmental organizations that do operate regularly in several states. Transnational relations by our definition therefore include the activities of transnational organizations, except within their home states, even when some of their activities may not directly involve movements across state boundaries and may not, therefore, be transnational interactions as defined above. Thus, the activities of IBM in Brazil or Unilever in the United States are within the context of transnational relations even though some of these activities may take place entirely within Brazil, on the one hand, or the United States on the other. It would seem extremely artificial, for example, to exclude an arrangement made between Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and the French government from the arena of transnational relations merely because all negotiations for the agreement may have taken place in Paris.

Multinational business enterprises, international trade union secretariats,

66

Appendix 3 - Barry Buzan and Richard Little's pattern: the basic form of the Westphalian international system of states
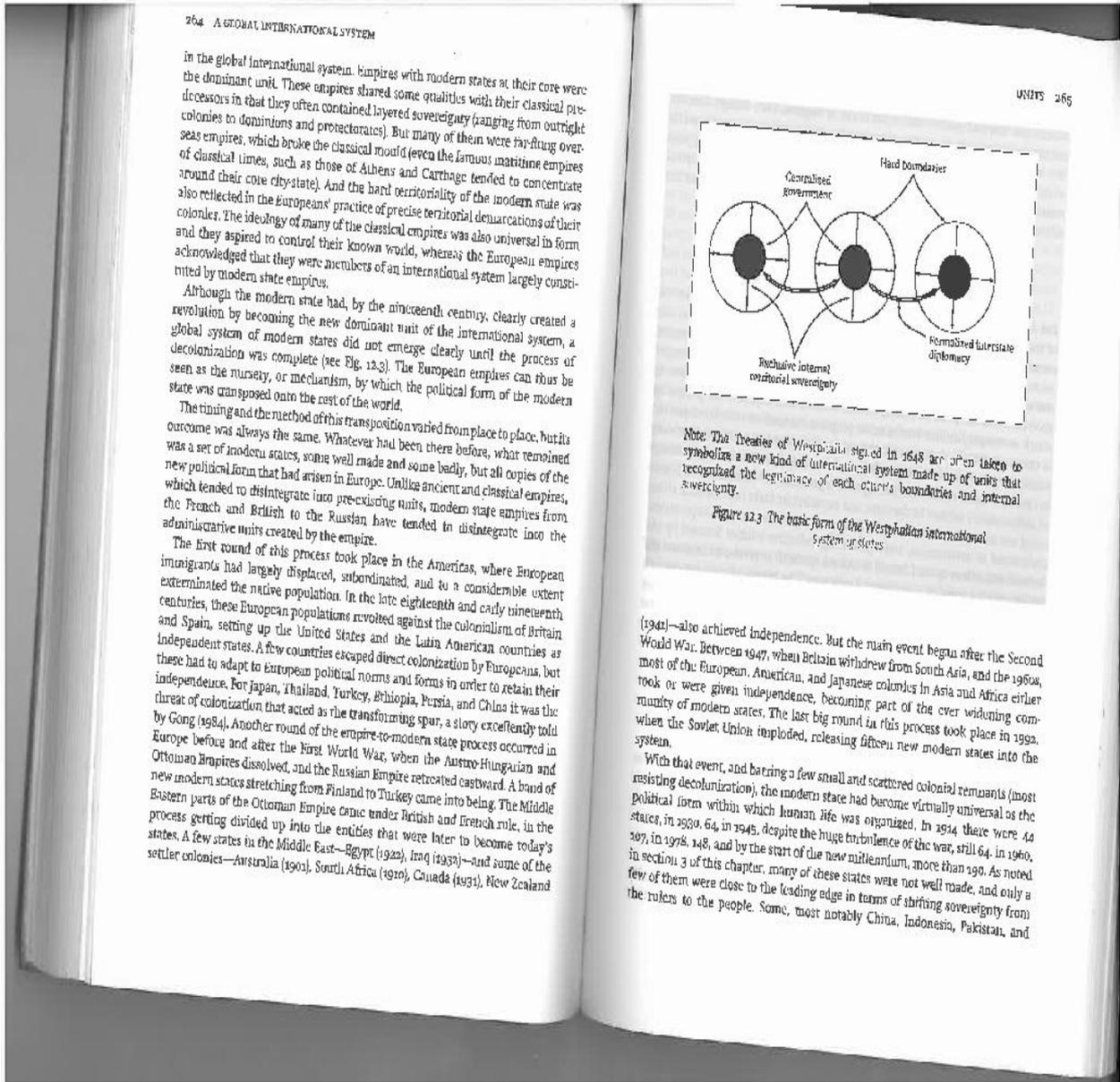
Appendix 4 - Barry Buzan and Richard Little's pattern: the basic form of the post-modern international system

mode is already under question, and may be entering into a significant change. A postmodern international society might well still rest on the state as the ultimate source of political authority, albeit moderated by some international legal bodies with independent power to generate some types of international law (e.g. ICJ, European Court of Human Rights). In this way, international society would retain a strong Westphalian foundation based on like units with equal legal and diplomatic rights. But it would have to add to this an agreed set of principles of differentiation, which set out the rights and obligations of different types of unit—states, TNCs, INGOs, IGOs—and how they relate to each other. The rationale for these principles of differentiation would have to rest on the liberal logic of division of labour. Firms and states would have to accept the historical evidence that neither performs efficiently when it tries to do the other's job, and that their legal rights and obligations need to be clearly demarcated. There are already signs of developments in this direction in the framework of laws about incorporation, finance, property rights, and suchlike that define the relative autonomy of non-state units and how they relate to the postmodern state. Ultimately, however, states would be responsible for enforcing these laws, although IGOs, such as the UN and NATO, are also likely to be given increasing responsibility for enforcing international law by means of force where necessary. As a consequence, the norm of non-intervention will become increasingly less significant.

Perhaps the biggest space for transformation of structure in the international system lies in world society. This most laggardly of sectors is, in historical terms, much the most resistant to globalization, and its relative backwardness might be counted as one of the major impediments to the further expansion of global international society (Buzan 1993). Mosler (1980: 27) argues that 'today's international society cannot find its identity as a community in an ideal concept of the world supported by all the members', and this view is supported by the often anti-Western outbreaks of parochialism such as 'Asian values', 'Islamic fundamentalism', and 'Hindu nationalism'. All of these are projections out of the ancient and classical era into what some perceive as a post-Western future, and they underpin the fashionable speculation about a 'clash of civilizations'. But as argued in Chapter 15, foundations have now been laid that might permit the emergence of a stronger world society—'Mondo culture' as Buzan and Segal (1998b) have called it. While not impossible, this looks like a slow-moving development, albeit one that, like further developments in social interaction capacity, would have implications for both dominant units and system structure.

Figure 16.1 The basic form of the postmodern international system
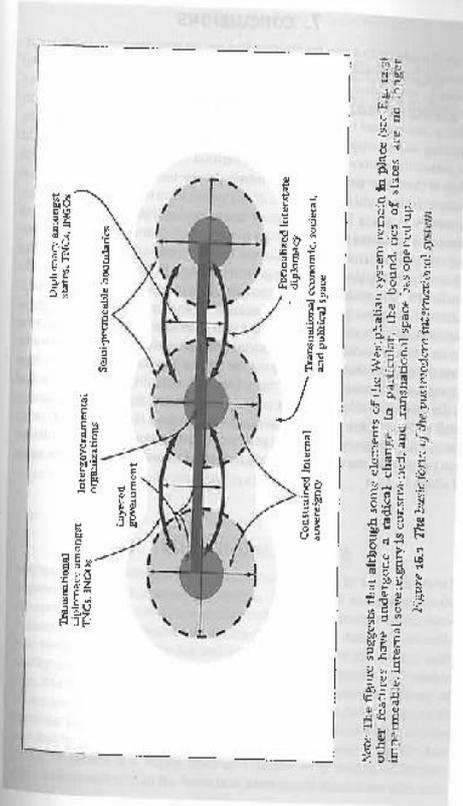
Note: The figure suggests that although some elements of the Westphalian system remain in place (see Fig. 12.3) other features have undergone a radical change. In particular, the boundaries of states are no longer impermeable: internal sovereignty is constrained, and transnational space has opened up.

68

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Articles

    International Relations/European studies

Guzzini, Stefano, 'The significance and Roles of Teaching Theory in International Relations', *Journal of International Relations and Development* 4(2), 98-110

Ashley, Richard, "Political Realism and Human Interests", *International Studies Quartely*, 25(2) (1981): 204-26

R. Posen, Barry, 'ESDP and the Structure of World Power', *The International Spectator*, 1/2004, http://www.iai.it/pdf/articles/posen.pdf

McNamara, Sally, 'Executive Summary: Shaping the NATO—EU Relationship: What the U.S. Must Do', *The Heritage Foundation*, (October 8, 2008), http://www.heritage.org/research/europe/bg2195es.cfm

Gegout, Catherine, "Causes and Consequences of the EU's military intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo: A Realist Explanation", *European Foreign Affairs Review 10*, (2005)

Homan, Kees, "Operation Artemis in the Democratic Republic of Congo" in "European Commission: Faster and more united? The debate about EU's crisis response capacity", Netherlands Institute for International Relations "*Clingendael*", (May 2007), http://www.clingendael.nl/publications/2007/20070531_cscp_chapter_homan.pdf

    Sociology

Trepagnier, Barbara, 'Mapping Sociological Concepts', *Teaching Sociology*, Vol. 30, No 1 (Jan. 2002)

- Books (including chapters of book)

International Relations

Waever, Ole. 'The Rise and Fall of the Inter-Paradigm Debate' in: Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (eds) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Jennifer Sterling-Folker, *Making sense of international relations theory*, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006

Henry R. Nau, *Perspectives on International Relations: Power, Institutions, and Ideas*, 2nd Edition, George Washington University

Barry Buzan and Richard Little, *International Systems in World History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000

Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1979

Robert O. Keohane, Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Transnational Relations and World Politics*, Harvard University Press, June 1972

Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge Studies in International Relations, 1999

Political theory

Hannah Arendt, *The Promise of Politics*. Schocken

Sociology

C. Wright Mills, *The sociological imagination*, Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1980

Cognitive sciences

Hartley, J. (1996). Text Design. In D.H. Jonassen (Ed.), *Handbook of research for educational communications and technology* (pp. 795-820).New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan

Julio Portugali, *The construction of Cognitive Maps*, Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1996

Ervin Laszlo, Ignazio Masulli, Robert Artigiani, Vilmos Csanyi, The Evolution of Cognitive Maps - New Paradigms for the Twenty-First Century, Luxembourg: Gordon and Breach Publishers - *The World Futures General Evolution Studies*, volume 5, 1993

Ilona Roth and John P. Frisby, *Perception and Representation – A Cognitive Approach*, Stratford: Open University Press, 1989

- Articles (newspapers)

Honor Mahony, 'General eyes 'European army' after Congo mission', *EU Observer,* 01.12.2006, http://euobserver.com/?aid=23005

- Websites

International Sociological Association, Books of the Century, TOP 10, http://www.isa-sociology.org/books/books10.htm

Robert E. Wood Homepage, Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Criminal Justice, Rutgers University', Excerpt from C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination', http://www.camden.rutgers.edu/~wood/

- Official documents

Adoption by the Council of the Joint Action on the European Union military operation in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), 9957/03 (Presse 156), 5 June 2003, http://ue.eu.int/.

Official Journal of the European Union, COUNCIL JOINT ACTION 2006/319/CFSP of 27 April 2006 on the European Union military operation in support of the United Nations Organisation Mission in the

Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) during the election process, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2006:116:0098:0101:EN:PDF

- Paper presented at a conference

Quaggiotto, Marco, "Knowledge cartographies: Tools for the social structures of knowledge", Paper presented at the 'Changing the Change Conference', Turin, Italy, 2008 http://www.knowledgecartography.org/PDF/knowledge-cartographies.pdf