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Why is There International Theory?
The Pedagogic Need for a Heuristic of World Politics

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Abstract

The growing sociology of International Relations as a discipline has highlighted the halting global diffusion of international theory production. However, theories in the discipline's core and semi-periphery are relatively diverse today. The potential and desire for more globally diffuse IR knowledge production will likely raise new questions and produce further variety of theory concerned with alternative *problematiques*. Today, the IR student is grappling with this pluralistic core and semi-periphery as well as the disciplinary ambitions of the core's perforation and multiplication. This dissertation investigates the implications of this pluralistic and global turn for the educational practice of IR. It is argued that the pedagogic introduction of a heuristic of world politics has several perspicuous and critical benefits for the student and discipline. The literature this dissertation covers includes: IR theory, the philosophy of science and IR, the history of IR, the sociology of IR, and the pedagogy of IR.

Contents

Acknowledgements	5
Introduction	8
Part I: Theory For What? Theory For Whom?	13
Part II: What About the World Beyond IR Theory?	31
Part III: Where Are the Students?	40
Conclusion	54
End Notes	57
Bibliography	65

Acknowledgements

An interesting aspect of James Der Derian's account of his study under Hedley Bull is that he was working with an instructor, department, and even discipline of International Relations as yet unopened to contemporary Continental philosophy. Der Derian professes it was,

in a dialogue of disagreement with Bull that I learned much, for he forced me to test and temper my early engagement with continental philosophy by a combination of analytical rigor and informed scepticism that no subsequent critic has since matched. I believe it is ample testimony to the philosophical power and ethical value of Bull's disposition that he was able to guide and support students through journey's into intellectual territories that he found alien to his own.¹

This account prompted the writing of this prefatory acknowledgment because my International Relations education in contrast has been much the opposite. Der Derian was one of many pioneers in IR who lit new coals in the 1980's and 90's. Following the impact of their work my generation has been exposed to a discipline in a lively state of expanded contentions. So, as Der Derian professes his gratitude and indebtedness to Bull and Bull's teachers, I am also grateful and acknowledge my indebtedness to my many teachers and the generations of teachers and students of IR before them.

It has been from my teacher's guidance that my intellectual journey found root and grew. Several years ago now, within an undergraduate lecture on the theory of IR at the University of British Columbia, my professor R.M.A Crawford (himself a former student of K.J. Holsti) expressed exasperation about a general and pedagogical neglect of Martin Wight in North America. Neglect of, "one of the most important international thinkers of the twentieth century!" he nearly shouted in protest. That moment set down two intertwined impressions in my memory, the image of my teacher quite frustrated, and my feeling of wonderment at who Martin Wight was and what made him so important.

I still have my written note of the speaking-point that had brought Wight into my teacher's lecture, which I had forgotten until now. The note reads that Wight's political thought exemplifies the kind that R.B.J. Walker critiques in *Inside/Outside*. I find that note, in many ways, indicative and typical of IR's changed dichotomies and questions.

Following that lecture I found my way to *Diplomatic Investigations* and Wight's essay, 'Why Is There No International Theory?' a question from which has since wandered my various inquiries. That essay instilled in me interest in the history of international ideas and the theoretical development of IR. Perhaps my intuition was to look back, far back, for a missed pathway or lost way out from a disorderly discipline and world beyond.

When I travelled to Aberystwyth University this trajectory was abruptly knocked into an alternative orbit. My encounter with Hidemi Suganami's teaching dashed the constellation of my intellectual interests across the philosophical firmament where IR and international relations enfold. Once, with reference to the influence of C.A.W. Manning on his own thinking, Suganami professed to a large graduate student audience, "I can't stand philosophically phony arguments." This remark, for me, revealed something of a characteristic trait to subject every argument to logical and conceptual scrutiny unto a philosophical level.

My encounter with Suganami was brief yet rich. His challenging questions and critical comments guided me to follow the flight path of my inquiries beyond the discursive terrains from which they departed and to see how far into new knowledge the intellect could possibly be taken. The combination of the historical eye and philosophically critical mind has brought me to many new subjects of inquiry. However, before I was prepared to move on I sat down to systematize their relation. Perhaps, so I might not lose my new way. This dissertation's heuristic idea was largely a product of that thinking.

In effect, the attention to education and pedagogy in this dissertation does not mean to exaggerate any problems in the state of affairs. This dissertation is intended to be a well-argued contribution. It is not a patch in the hull of IR's disciplinary ship, or a new and sharper telescopic lens, but rather a sextant to help the future student know where they are and where they wish to go.

Introduction

The academic world of International Relations and international theory is a cacophonous place, perhaps especially for the new student. IR discourse has its own vast intellectual topography and historicity. Learning this amorphous moving target is a challenging endeavor. That is, finding one's own questions and contributory inquiries is hard when both the subject-matter and methodology of the academic pursuit are contested through theoretical debates. In this way absorbing IR's theoretical questions is a primary task and hurdle for the student. For the combined reasons of IR's theoretical contentiousness and the importance of the student's task of learning, addressing the question of IR's proper pedagogical methods is warranted. The general roadmap this dissertation follows in this inquiry has two movements. Parts I and II, together making the first movement, address the question of what is the academic subject-matter of International Relations. With this discussion in hand, Part III addresses the prize question of what are the best methods for teaching and learning that subject-matter.

Today, it is worth asking how IR education and pedagogy should rise with the pluralization of theories and *problematiques* along with ambitions of studying world politics on a global scale. This dissertation argues what is needed is critically pluralistic curriculum and reflexive emancipatory pedagogy. In making a case for what this entails it will be argued that the further development of engaged pedagogy is needed, as suggested but undeveloped by M.A. Neufeld in his 1995 *The Restructuring of International Relations Theory*.² By further developing Neufeld's suggestion the provision of a heuristic of world politics to new students is suggested. The heuristic is argued to succinctly provide critical questions helpful for intellectually navigating a pluralistic IR curriculum in pursuit of professional academic

and political development and excellence. It provides the critical and reflexive wherewithal for the student to gain some control over their engagement of a pluralistic world politics.

This thesis will be argued in three parts. In Part I, an assessment of the relations between the socialization function of political theory and the philosophy of science will make the case that a critically pluralistic education is politically and philosophically appropriate. In Part II, a meditation on the meaning of calls for a disciplinary turn towards the study of world politics will argue these calls constitute a profound expansion of IR's curricular subject-matter but also the earnest engagement of the discipline's proposed core theoretical questions, not its disintegration or transcendence. And in Part III, based on the findings and positions of Parts I and II, an ideal-type of engaged IR pedagogy will be presented from which the case for the pedagogic utility of a heuristic of world politics will be derived.

Hedley Bull's speech and printed article, 'International Relations as an Academic Pursuit' set out three broad questions to determine what the proper academic pursuit of IR should be. They are helpful guides to approaching the main questions of this dissertation. Bull asked,

1. What is and what should be the subject-matter with which students of international relations are concerned?
2. What approaches and methodologies are helpful in studying this subject-matter, and how should the student of international relations choose among them?
3. What are some of the guidelines that an academic specialist in international relations should follow in pursuing his work in the university and society at large?²³

This dissertation addresses the first two of these questions, while at times may touch upon or imply positions on the third. Bull treated the third question briefly with five succinct points on the public intellectual role of IR specialists at the end of his speech. Yet, I think

that topic involves sufficient discussion to constitute a dissertation in its own right. I intend to pursue that inquiry at a later date.

Presently, this dissertation takes its cue from the first two questions for two reasons. First, because the answers to Bull's questions have changed substantially since his day. In this way the intended audience is academic as this dissertation attempts to speak about the discipline itself. Second, because answering Bull's first two questions provides the substance from which to extrapolate this dissertation's manageable research question and guiding goal of determining what is the ideal pedagogical method of engaging new students in an education of IR today. The dissertation's general approach is based on Stephen Petrina's clarification that the relation between curriculum and instruction is dialectical. A position in one determines a position in the other.⁴ By revisiting Bull's questions to determine curriculum, we can clarify an ideal-type of pedagogy.

Since Bull first set out his questions IR has followed a course of pluralization, the parameters of which K.J. Holsti detailed in *The Dividing Discipline* with the notion of new *problematiques* and the question of IR's potential to be an ideal academic community.⁵ For Holsti, a *problematique* is a core question, topic of inquiry, or research agenda that constitutes an ideal academic community which transcends national differences.⁶ Later, Chris Brown surveyed and investigated IR's theoretical plurality through the notion of new normative approaches, which are juxtaposed to objectivist, empirical, or positivistic approaches.⁷ Coinciding with these discussions of disciplinary and methodological diversity, calls for post-structuralist study of world politics entered IR discourse in the works of Richard Ashley, James Der Derian, and Robert Walker's *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory*.⁸ From these developments popular and defensible positions on the questions of methodology and disciplinary coherence have changed since Bull's day.

The bearing these discursive complications have on IR as something to learn and teach is quite pronounced. They have placed an increasingly theoretical and philosophical reading requirement on the IR student trying to see the forest through the trees. In this context Ken Booth correctly argues that, “As a result of developments since the early 1980’s students in IR are provoked to think about what they are doing and why they are doing it in more fundamental ways than in the past.”⁹ Due to this introspective learning environment hardly is there time to read everything of relevance. This situation at one time, at least in the U.S., was the exact reverse. As C. Fuller put it in his 1957 survey of the field,

An ‘integrated curriculum’ may still be fragmented for a student so far as his intellectual outlook and processes are concerned. No method now used to help a student achieve an integrated view of the problem of foreign policy can attain anything like complete integration because the theoretical work pertaining to international relations as a field of study is so little advanced.¹⁰

Today, the situation is reversed but the symptom is largely the same while it is also in some ways different. There is so much theory in introductory curriculum it is hard to master it all and spend time learning the literature of Economics, History, Sociology, and Law. But also, the problems that theories are integrating inter-disciplinary readings for have diversified beyond foreign policy, diplomacy, and the causes of war. The literature of IR is broader in a quantitative sense, but it is also deeper in a qualitative sense. For these reasons, clarifying what IR is, as something to learn and teach, should be revisited today.

It has been fruitful to investigate the implications of this growth and change for the curriculum and instruction of IR. This dissertation proposes a way for the student beyond responding to pluralism as a hedgehog who knows one big thing or a fox who knows many, to use Berlin’s metaphor.¹¹ Perhaps, it is harder today to be a confidently hardheaded IR hedgehog, due to the volume of critical and postmodern theory. Perhaps, it is easier because we drift apart. Yet, practically speaking, it is hard to be a fox in an intellectual pursuit that

has a fragmenting core but no periphery, and where theoretical divisions run across both political philosophy and the philosophy of science, not to mention class, nationality, language, and culture.¹² However, theoretical plurality does not necessarily imply the disintegration of the academic pursuit of IR and addressing its education and pedagogy is a helpful way to contribute some spadework to disciplinary coherence.

Part I:

Theory for What? Theory for Whom?

“There is no unity between school and life, and so there is no automatic unity between instruction and education”

Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*

What constitutes an education in IR? The concept and philosophy of education is frequently considered essentially contested.¹³ The nature of IR is similarly contentious and IR education today at an undergraduate level is centered on the learning and teaching of a multifarious variety of theories. While IR scholars investigate increasingly diverse topics, theoretical questions draw us together. They are a common concern because IR’s many ongoing theoretical debates, as a body of literature, cohere a living intellectual forum for debating what constitutes our political world and what is important for study in it. To learn the subject-matter of IR the student needs to come to grips with this body of theoretical thought. What then, is an ideal education in IR theory? From this question follows the critical questions, education in theory for what and for whom? Because IR has fortunately not been divided as Political Theory has been from Political Science the function of an education in IR theory is simultaneously an instruction in social science methods and a political socialization of the student. On this basis, I define IR theory broadly, as ideally encompassing both political philosophy and social-science methodology. The argument following this definition is a defense of an ideal-type of a critical undergraduate IR education that is theoretically pluralistic, since its function is political socialization, but contains coherence around common core theoretical questions.

This argument will be made in three discussions. Following Bull's first question, the subject-matter of IR will be clarified and an argument for the socializing function of theoretical education will be demonstrated by examining the works of some founding IR thinkers. Then, following Bull's second question, the contestation over methodologies and the philosophy of science in IR will be argued to be misguided. Third, the various forms of theory in IR will be given coherence in theory broadly defined, on which will be based an ideal-type of IR education that prioritizes the socialization function of IR theory. This essay, constituting Part I of this dissertation, is about untangling our debates and demonstrating how the protean and sundry academic pursuit of IR can hang together as a teachable subject-matter. It is a complex argument and italicized signposts will mark its three discussions.

A Pluralistic Subject-Matter with a Socializing Function

In this untangling of the debate and question concerning what IR's subject-matter is, it is helpful to return to Martin Wight's 1966 essay, 'Why Is There No International Theory?' It is a rich text with an erudite flair that befits its question. It has enriched me as a student and I have sought to master it. The fame and present utility of the essay is partly derived from the import of its further questions for thinking about what the subject-matter of IR is. It contains two interrelated pairs of implied questions. Wight asks,

1. if, "It might be a good argument for subordinating international theory to political theory" depending on the question, whether, "the division of international society into separate states is a temporary historical phase[?]" And;

2. he postulates, is there, "a kind of recalcitrance of international politics to being theorized about?" if ultimately, "is there no international theory except the kind of rumination about human destiny to which we give the unsatisfactory name of philosophy of history[?]"¹⁴

Must there, should there, will there be an international practice? Can there, should there be an academic pursuit of international theory? Despite Wight's own argument on the moral and intellectual poverty of the IR enterprise, his kind of questions, as Butterfield put it, "had

the virtue of picking up the right end of the stick.”¹⁵ This is because they question the possibility and desirability of IR theory in relation to the historical contingency and conceivable inhumanity of the states system.

I turn to Wight’s essay and its questions rather than Thucydides’ traditionally central text and core questions on the relation between necessity and morality, power and the causes of war, because the subject-matter of IR is at a crossroads today. Today, Wight’s questions are possibly more central to the discipline than Thucydides’, whose significance is in some ways itself wrapped up in answers to Wight’s questions. Thucydides is not everywhere read as an uncritical source for understanding IR, nor do his writings speak to all of our questions today. The problem scholars are concerned with today is as Butterfield argued about international society and law, “*We are creating these things, or refusing to create them, by the way in which we think about them.*”¹⁶ The core question today is more *Hamlet* than *Antigone*, the general mood more *Odyssey* than *Iliad*. We often question the meaning of international society reflexively and we generally investigate subjects beyond diplomacy and the causes of war.

The subject-matter of the discipline depends on our response to Wight and our squaring his questions with our additional new ones about gender, class, development and capitalism, the environment, indigenous politics, etc. In one hand, the increasing volume of theory which Wight recognized had “become a flood” in his day, and its increasing sophistication as an intellectual activity, from Waltz to C. Enloe, Beitz to C. Brown, and Wight to R.B.J. Walker certainly justifies Snidal and Wendt’s recent claim that there now is an existing body of international theory and theoretical exegesis.¹⁷ Teaching this body of thought is a plausible answer to the question of what IR’s introductory curriculum should be.

Yet, in the other hand, Buzan and Little have argued the discipline has failed as an intellectual project because it is a consumer of ideas not a producer, and that it has failed to generate significant public debate or public intellectuals.¹⁸ Is the twentieth century's body of IR theory worth teaching? Should it be replaced? Buzan and Little's first point may be accurate. Perhaps IR thinkers consume ideas because they have been inclined toward problem-solving with a notion of engaging in an applied social science.¹⁹ Their second point is also accurate, but IR's dearth of public intellectuals is a result of how the guidelines of the academic pursuit of IR (Bull's third question), have often aimed to produce literature for consumption by political elites not the general public.²⁰ While Buzan and Little's points are accurate, they concern how IR has been conducted, not what its subject-matter is and if it is intellectually infeasible or objectionable.

Buzan and Little move on to argue that globalization has forced the IR student to understand her subject, "not just in the terms of the relations among states but also in terms of an entire network of ... how humankind is organized politically, economically, socially, and ecologically and how [these spheres] play into each other."²¹ In response they suggest the discipline should be re-launched as a comprehensive study of world systems, which involves a Wallersteinian approach that is open to theoretical pluralism and combined with historical sociology.²² They argue, that without such a re-launch the discipline may have no intellectual independence. However, while IR is different in *kind* from other disciplines it is not different in *type*. IR is a genus of the family of studies in humankind (anthropology, sociology, history, etc.) made distinct by the telltale traits of its kind of core questions, not its level of analysis. IR has always been inter-disciplinary and study of the world system simply raises the level of analysis from the state to the global level.

IR thinkers have long been uncertain about the levels and causal images of analysis.²³ Raising it to the top, as Buzan and Little suggest, does not provide disciplinary purpose and coherence because it does not resolve the question of what IR's subject-matter is. The intellectual possibility of suggesting a final analysis of the globe in entirety is derived from the desire to control it, which is an ambition of doubtful feasibility and questionable desirability. A global-systems theory approach would merely produce an array of theories analogous to those already in IR discourse, just as Gilpin demonstrated parallelism between IPE and IR.²⁴ The under-currents of thought dividing IR similarly run through all Western social sciences and humanities. The pluralistic turn and opening of issues is not unique to IR. It is late.²⁵

What coheres a discipline is the recognition of shared core questions to be investigated and debated, not an arbitrary choice of analytical level. Who loses and gains by giving a particular level an intellectual monopoly? Plurality of analysis is politically appropriate and an intellectual apartheid of disciplinary monism (classically expressed in IR as the realm of knowledge concerning only the relations between states) is more likely to impede understanding than benefit it. The desire for disciplinary sovereignty through demarcating its boundaries is bound up with the desire of worldly control. Yet, as a political subject-matter, not a physical subject, IR involves both many points-of-view on its meaning as well as on what agents and structures within the various levels of analysis are important in the life of what Manning described as the "social cosmos."²⁶ This plurality of points-of-view is the reason why the problem of war, important though it is, is not IR's only concern today, as Holsti discussed.²⁷ This plurality is the reason why IR today requires core questions that fit a clarified notion of world politics. It is hard to say at this point in the discussion what the core questions of world politics are, or should be. Suffice it to say that post-structuralist calls

for a disciplinary turn towards the study of world politics above and beyond the relations of nations and states represents a profound expansion in the subject-matter of IR.

Presently, I will say my position on the subject-matter of IR is that the student of international relations today is a member of an intellectual society interested in the socio-politico-economic wellbeing of humankind. IR is no longer a specialist discipline and cannot be an ideal academic and professional community as Holsti argued for.²⁸ IR scholars share the common interest of humankind's political wellbeing but approach the subject-matter with a variety of specific concerns and methods that follow from their various points-of-view. IR's pluralization of problematiques has inevitably made it a general discipline like Medicine, wherein each of us customizes our expertise upon particular specialty, such as environmental politics, terrorism studies, neocolonialism in Latin America, or global equity. The student enters an inter-disciplinary web of what Manning describes as, "varieties" and "types of 'worldly' wisdom."²⁹ Each has the study and application of theory in common and contributes to the complex and inter-related health of world politics. IR students have always studied more than diplomatic history, yet it was the problem of war which formerly integrated inter-disciplinary studies around the relations between states.³⁰

Yet, our questions have rightly multiplied because the constituency of IR's academic pursuit is very diverse. IR theory today is for several purposes, while at the same time it has also diversified in methodological dimensions. Since we have critically recognized the diversity of points-of-view involved in this global academic pursuit the diversification of problematics and generalization of IR is politically warranted. This has made IR a general not specialist discipline. IR scholars have multifarious questions and ideas about the world, and there are various problems in it. The reasons for why Medicine investigates and debates the question of good practice are not too dissimilar. As the introductory quote to this essay

suggests, that just as, “There is no unity between school and life, and ... no automatic unity between instruction and education” the subject-matter of IR is the socio-politico-economic wellbeing of humankind, but in academic practice IR is a harbor of contentious histories and theories, and is itself subject to who is in port of call, who is harbor master, and what is happening in the world around it.³¹

From this position on the subject-matter so pluralistically defined, an ideal education in IR theory is not only instruction in epistemic methodology, with all its following options of various units and levels of analysis and rigors of validity. A pluralistic IR curriculum is also an education in political socialization. This is because theories, often containing the machinery of methodological validity, are politically ideological in the way they construct and attribute meaning to social reality through the way they convey a particular view of its ontological nature and prioritize some agents and structures and their problems above others.³² This is why theory is a common concern. Our conception of the political world determines what is important, what inquiries we make, and how we live. IR harbors realist man-o’-wars, ships of liberal commerce, and vessels of reflexive exploration. If Alfred Zimmern, the discipline’s earliest pedagogue, were to read today’s textbooks he might ask, ‘why is there so much International Theory?’ We would reply with Robert Cox’s critical phrase, “theory is always *for* someone and *for* some purpose.”³³ Who IR theory is for is diverse. This diverse constituency is part of the reason why IR textbooks are rightly pluralistic. Yet, the socialization function of theory adds the common contemplation on the coevalness of our conceptions of the political to it.

As Bull and Yost said of Wight’s famous taxonomy, his theoretical traditions are more imposed categories, rather than intellectual traditions, devised in part for pedagogical purposes.³⁴ From these pedagogical constructs, the student is to develop her own,

“connoisseurship” for understanding and participating in international society, as Manning described the product of IR education.³⁵ Arranging our texts into theory categories is also done to convey the important divisions on the meaning and nature of the subject-matter. While there is suspicion that this is done in the hopes that the next generation might settle our differences and solve our problems, perpetuating a kind of “heroic practice” as Ashley describes it, a pluralist education in theory also attempts to set out the important questions for the student to make up their own minds upon.³⁶

An education in theory provides the intellectual and cultural wherewithal to participate in international society, as diplomats or scholars, presidents or protesters. The student should develop a disposition towards politics that enables her to act, not merely analyze. Political *bildung*, *phronesis*, and *being-to* the world are apart of an education in IR, just as is analytical skill and methods of validity.³⁷ To limit theoretical approaches and curriculum, as the educationist, political theorist, and statesman Wilhelm Von Humboldt argued, is to presume to have all the right questions and possible answers on how the world should be ordered and how we should live in it.³⁸ Since we must submit we cannot presume to have such knowledge, we should be pluralistic. This liberal position is not controversial. Yet, in an emancipatory sense, if theory has a socialization function, the intellectual needs of the student require guidance to explore the possibilities of political life in a wider reflexive and creative way if they are so inclined. The textbook comprehensively containing all our theories does not contain all the ways of political being. This is crucial. Like star charts, pedagogical textbook and reading-list devices should teach the student how to navigate, not where to go.

The founding figures of IR such as Zimmern, Manning, and Morgenthau wrapped their work and the discipline itself around the socialization function of IR. Alfred Zimmern,

at Aberystwyth University first committed IR to developing the socializing power of education. He understood the discipline as training worldly internationalists able to rise and meet the demands of functioning the League of Nations. Keenly aware of the task of changing international culture he professed in his work *Learning and Leadership*, “we have established an international political organization without providing the people with the means for understanding or controlling it.”³⁹ Perhaps his was a so-called idealist project but it was also overtly a project centered on socialization through education. The IR specialist, for Zimmern, would be trained to *live* as an internationalist. He explains, “To have learnt to open the mind to hitherto unknown and even inconceivable states of thought and feeling is to have undergone a permanent change. It is like learning to swim. Once a swimmer always a swimmer.”⁴⁰ However, while Zimmern saw no need for theory, his liberal internationalism was an implicit theory, a Western one contrary to the laissez-fair international theory of Vattel, and the nationalist nineteenth century way of life.

As another figure in IR’s founding and committed pedagogue, C.A.W. Manning’s understanding of the socializing function of theory, or structure, as he referred to it, was well developed.⁴¹ His *Nature of International Society* was written as an introductory text for undergraduate students with the explicit intention of providing them with a correct understanding of the theoretical structure of international society, so they might become functioning adult citizens.⁴² On the nature of international theory, Manning argued,

It is as if mankind had one morning responded to the suggestion: ‘Let’s play sovereign states.’ [And] because if that ever did happen it was rather long ago that we in our day, having never not been engaged in the game, may have failed to recognize the theoretical, artificial, non-natural basis on which it has all been going on.⁴³

By instructing students in theory of the social structure of our world, Manning aspired to provide them the wherewithal to engage it as worldly citizens. However, Manning was less critical of the colonial nature of international society’s expansion and of who the study and

functioning of the states system benefits and oppresses.⁴⁴ Manning's London Syllabus provided a guide for the student to formulate their own way in the Western social practice of international society.⁴⁵ Today, as will be clarified, an education in world politics aspires to provide not only more critical approaches to international society but ways beyond it.

However, it has been a long road to pluralistic education in theory. Hans Morgethau's significant influence on the U.S. academy, centered at the University of Chicago, was hardheadedly concerned with the socialization function of theory. His view was anti-pluralist, and he avowedly pursued a perfect theory based on general and timeless laws. His magnum opus *Scientific Man Versus Power Politics* and his later introductory textbook for the student *Politics Among Nations*, presented his view on what that theory should be. Morgenthau was explicit about the social function of that particular theory, which presumes a socializing function in a theoretical education. He argued,

A theory of politics presents not only a guide to understanding, but also an ideal for action. It presents a map of the political scene not only in order to understand what that scene is like, but also in order to show the shortest and safest road to a given objective. The use of theory, then, is not limited to rational explanation and anticipation. A theory of politics also contains a normative element.⁴⁶

This is exactly right. However, while scholars are of course free to pursue investigations into timeless social laws, Morgenthau was wrong to force his particular realist views on a generation of students, and misguided to attempt to shape the discipline around dogmatically realist foreign policy analysis. Neoliberalism and neorealism are echoes of earlier explicitly normative *phronetic* positions on our social practice that is international relations and society. Yet, they emphasize the *epistemic* focus of social science.

The Philosophy of Science Does Not Limit Methodological Pluralism

In the history of the discipline, Dr. Kenneth W. Thompson, funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, correctly sought to institutionalize the prioritization of a practical

phronetic approach above an epistemic one with the 1954 Conference on Theory in Washington, and the meetings of the British Committee on the Theory of International Politics, which produced *Theoretical Aspects of International Relations* and *Diplomatic Investigations* respectively.⁴⁷ In this movement Waltz himself recognized the mutual importance of political philosophy and political theory, arguing, “The first without the second can be sterile; the second without the first can easily produce either chaos or a pseudo-scientific scholasticism.”⁴⁸ However, the misguided inter-paradigm debate was erroneous in that it considered the questions of epistemology and ontology to have singular authoritative answers.⁴⁹ It considered theories to be mutually exclusive paradigms, which is misguided, since as social theories they are generally coeval in culture despite hegemonies, and they are not all necessarily concerned with the same social practice, hence the pluralization of problematiques. The distinction between theory and practice introduced by scientific ambition is untenable and the ideal of paradigmatic monism associated with it is misguided. The student ideally should study a plurality of theories and approaches so to develop their own personal practical political character.

IR theories today are for diverse problematiques and diverse people with different interests and points of view but it is the common theoretical debate between them on the question of political knowledge and human interests that coheres them. The variety of debates on the nature of particular specialist problematiques are theoretical but not necessarily common. This said, the second task of Part I is to turn to the philosophy of science and clarify what actually draws our various camps together and what draws them apart and thereby come to a cats cradle understanding of theory broadly defined, so to give the discipline coherence necessary for building an ideal-type of education in IR.

Classically, E.H. Carr argued in *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* that Zimmern's project represented, "the primitive, or 'utopian', stage of the political sciences."⁵⁰ Without analysis of opposing interests, utopianism, for Carr, was the will to power of the status quo. Carr equated realism with empirical analysis but recognized that, "Political science is the science not only of what is, but of what ought to be."⁵¹ For Carr, utopian theory and realist theory meant respectively, intentionality and sociology of interests. So he warned his student reader, "Clarity of thought has not always distinguished students of international morality, who have generally preferred the role of the missionary to that of the scientist."⁵² For Carr, our intended utopias should be realistically attuned to other competing interests.

This is interesting, since it is our conceptions of politics which are prime, because they determine the questions we ask and what we measure. It is our world-view, the cultural and individual condition of our intellectuality, which determines our questions. This is why IR education should strive to be pluralistic not merely in diversity but reflexively as well. The same mind, when taking a point-of-view upon its previous point-of-view from another's perspective can understand why it made previous inquiries instead of others. More will be said on this in Part III.

In a far more developed account than Carr's on the role of science King, Keohane, and Verba's *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research* takes the position that the differences between qualitative and quantitative inquiry are stylistic not substantive because the same epistemic logic of inference should underwrite both.⁵³ However, P.T. Jackson has recently clarified that there are a wider variety of different epistemic methodologies for making equally valid claims other than scientific inference as King, Keohane, and Verba define it. He provides a taxonomy of methodologies comprised of

neopositivism, critical realism, analyticism, and reflexivism.⁵⁴ However, as Suganami has clarified, these methodologies represent different questions that are in dialectical not zero-sum relation.⁵⁵ Neopositivism asks questions of regularity, analyticism asks counterfactual questions. The same problem can be investigated by various different questions. The answer to Michael Doyle's neopositivist question of whether democracies have engaged in wars with one another leads to counterfactual questions about whether it could have been otherwise, and from there one's mind turns to contemplating the causal powers of democratic peoples or states through a critical realist approach. Relativism is not an issue for the social scientist versed in various methodologies, since she can both pursue various different kinds of methodologically systematic questions and understand the variety of methodologically distinct claims or answers.⁵⁶ Our epistemological divides are not decisive and should be debated for the political implications of their prioritization of some kinds of questions and problems over others, not their scientific status.⁵⁷

In *Making Social Science Matter* Bent Flyvbjerg helpfully employs the Aristotelian trichotomy of knowledge to argue for making *empisteme* and *techne* subservient to *phronesis* in the social sciences because predictive power is an impossible ambition when dealing with the social subject.⁵⁸ Whether or not that is the case, the point is that phronesis, which denotes practical judgment and assessment of values, is a crucial component of an undergraduate education. To engage politics practically, that is phronetically, the student must consider what they are engaging it for. It is the question of what knowledge is for, rather than the epistemic question of how to know (and its prior question of ontology that is, what to know), and the technical question of know-how.

Theory Broadly Defined to Give a Pluralist Subject-Matter Coherence

Adopting Flyvbjerg’s Aristotelian trichotomy enables us to define theory broadly, so to encompass both the debates of the philosophy of science and political philosophy, as well as incorporating interdisciplinary *techne* where possible and appropriate. What is *techne* and skill but reliable, ready-to-hand, taken for granted theory? However, in IR, interdisciplinary studies also provide a general body of information and reliable claims, which normative and epistemic theory integrate to answer our political questions.

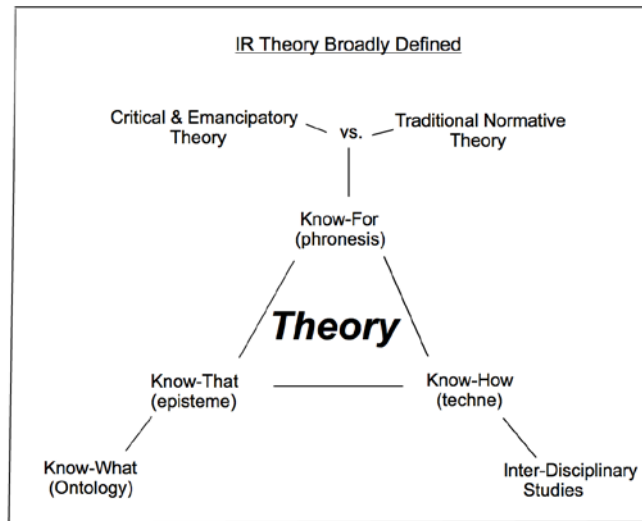


fig.1

While the syllabus is the preserve of the teacher and the courses on offer that of the department’s judgment, an ideal-type of undergraduate IR education can be derived from clarifying the diverse and political nature of its subject-matter. The point of defining theory broadly is to give the various kinds of international *theoria* being produced today coherence through categorization and clarification of their relations, so to formulate an ideal-type of IR education.⁵⁹ In ‘International Relations as an Academic Pursuit’ Bull provided his own “point of view” on his three questions.⁶⁰ Yet, it is better if IR is cohered around open core questions, since IR has many points of view.

Ideally, the student, rather than being merely educated in the various IR theories (which are constellations of positions on the various aspects of theory broadly defined), will be educated in the various positions on the four proposed core questions of theory broadly defined.⁶¹ A) What are the various ontological subjects, agents, structures, or practices we might investigate? A key approach to determining an answer to this question is investigating the nature of politics as a distinct human activity. Christian Reus-Smit argues,

our *conceptions of politics* will affect the universe of human practices we seek to engage, as well as our modes of engagement. If politics is indeed reduced to a form of strategic action, and the political realm to that of government, engagement will, in all likelihood, take one form. If politics is cast more broadly, however, as encompassing the constitution of social identities, processes of interest formation, moral and ethical deliberation, as well as instrumental action, for example, then we end up with a very different understanding of the ideas that are politically relevant, and of the political universe with which we might engage.⁶²

Critical recognition of the root nature of this question for political inquiry is what makes Wight more pivotal than Thucydides today. Contemplating and debating our philosophical and cultural conceptions of politics determines what constitutes the subject-matter of our inquiry. B) What are the various epistemic ways in which we might investigate the subject-matter? Hence, the necessity of instruction in methodology. C) What are the various reasons we might investigate them for? This question is essentially one of political philosophy and is intimately even dialectically related to question A. Lastly, D) what interdisciplinary knowledge might we apply to these questions? The diverse body of IR theory with its various phronetic positions, ontological backgrounds, problematics, and methodologies present at hand today can richly inform these questions.

The proposed ideal-type of education in IR consists of the student being familiarized with the variety of positions on the core questions of theory broadly defined via pluralistic education, developing politically phronetic social character through forming personal political opinions and professional positions on those questions, and meanwhile determining

a particular problem or issue to specialize in and apply theory towards. IR's self-organization into departmental 'churches' should be wary of anti-pluralistic influence by state and corporate power, yet scholarly agglomeration is well and fine so long as groups contribute to the discipline's core questions and provide pluralistic undergraduate education.⁶³

How then, returning to Bull's second question, is the student to decide on various phronetic positions and epistemic methodologies in theory broadly defined and the various specialized problems it concerns? The student can make various inquiries with different methods but in the socialization of the student the essential debate to internalize is the political and philosophical phronetic debate (question C), which determines what they are engaging in learning and knowledge production for. Bull's defense of the classical approach was sound since as he argued it, "is characterized above all by the explicit reliance upon the exercise of judgment" in addressing "moral questions" and, "in *framing* hypotheses" as well as even "the *testing* of them."⁶⁴ This emphasis on judgment is correct since, while the student shall eventually specialize upon a particular problem of narrow focus such as Russian foreign policy, East Asian development, lunar sovereignty, or a broad focus such as the causes of war or global justice, these problems have different politically charged schools of thought within them. Addressing the question of how the student is to decide is essential and most important for the student of IR today.

The pragmatist position on truth as human good emphasizes *techne* and *phronesis* at the expense of *epistemology* and *ontology*. The student may follow this route. However, the pragmatist's majority-rule means of settling the politically phronetic know-for question is not entirely satisfying in an education meaning to produce political intellectuals.⁶⁵ The problem is the relation between what Horkheimer succinctly described as critical vs. traditional theory and Cox as critical vs. problem-solving theory (see *fig.1*).⁶⁶ Critical theory views the function

of knowledge as the emancipatory revolution from the problems of prevailing beliefs and ideas. Traditional or problem-solving theory is adherence to solving the problems society has traditionally recognized as being important.⁶⁷ It is a difference of approach to knowledge craft like that which distinguishes the artist from the artisan. Individually and personally coming to grips with this debate through study and thought will narrow down the approaches for the student. Combine this with the student's own personal interests and motivations and a phronetic way and specialization should become evident in the student's mind through an undergraduate education.

The point here is not to settle the debate of critical and problem-solving theory, but again to make the point that since it is a debate, a pluralistic education in critical and traditional theory is necessary. This requires education in political philosophy, which is a socialization of the student in political culture. Students need to be made aware of the phronetic question of their theoretically pluralistic learning experience. For, an ideal undergraduate education in IR is not so much an education of what is and how one ought to be, but in ways one can be, since pluralism follows from the point that there is no necessary connection between instruction and life.

In Part I, the question of the subject-matter of IR and approaches to it have been addressed. The position has been taken that IR has changed from a formerly specialist discipline to a general one, containing a variety of specialist problematics. This general subject-matter with a plurality of purposes and approaches has been attempted to be given coherence in a schema of theory broadly defined, which includes political philosophy, social science methods, and relevant inter-disciplinary studies. This is offered as a node of common concern that provides core questions for a pluralistic undergraduate IR education and IR research generally. Furthermore, a socializing function has been attributed to

normative phronetic theory. And lastly, a pluralistic education in theory so defined and characterized has been argued to constitute the basis of an ideal-type undergraduate education in IR.

Part II:

What About the World Beyond IR Theory?

“This great world ... is the mirror in which we must look at ourselves from the proper angle. In short, I want it to be the book of my student”

Montaigne, ‘Of the Education of Children’

Zimmern argued IR is an academic pursuit with an international ‘point of view’ and is not and should not be a distinct discipline.⁶⁸ This position is both problematized by contemporary calls for a turn towards the study of ‘world politics’, and contains the rumination of a way to rise with these ambitions. A critical recognition of a multiplicity of points-of-view on political history and a quasi-multiplicity of worldly political practices both problematizes the notion that IR is about *something* and confirms it. That thing is the root theoretical question of the meaning of politics as a human activity (questions A and C of theory broadly defined). This question underlies IR’s contemporary inquiries into the disciplinary implications of IR as inter-cultural political theory, the related diversity of problems of concern, and the puzzle of IR as both a global and international academic enterprise. The assessment presently is that calls for studying world politics profoundly expand the subject-matter of IR but do not necessitate a transcendence or disintegration of the discipline. On this basis, the argument is that such study earnestly engages the core questions of know-what and know-for at the heart of an ideal-type of education in IR theory, as outlined in Part I.

The turn towards world politics could be characterized as another of what W.T.R. ‘Bill’ Fox describes as ‘growing points’ of the discipline, where theoretical multiplication increases the points-of-view on the multidimensional subject that is IR.⁶⁹ This is the notion

that more heads are better than one. However, post-structuralist ‘world politics’ is best understood as a new ideal for the academic pursuit of IR, in the way Olson describes theoretical offshoots in IR’s history. Different movements and generations understood the ideal function and ambition of the IR enterprise differently. Despite ensuing debates, Olson explains these various ideals are coeval in our discourse since, “None of them has fully disappeared (nor should have done), nor is any of them predominant.”⁷⁰ The turn to world politics is a new ship in IR’s harbor, what it brings with it is a new disciplinary ideal, as Olson suggests. Bull accepted an IR discourse, “more generally about world politics” and often called for non-Western theory.⁷¹ However, for post-structuralists, the pair of words ‘world politics’ express an entirely different meaning. Contemporary calls for the study of world politics not only introduce alternative points-of-view to the subject-matter of IR, they aspire to an ideal of an academic pursuit that produces reimagined emancipatory conceptions of politics. This is a deepening in IR’s theoretical roots because it contributes to IR’s core questions. In this way it represents the discipline’s earnest engagement. However, its emancipatory intent also implies a profound broadening of IR’s subject-matter.

In conceptualizing the present inquiry into the disciplinary and educational implications of an academic pursuit of post-structuralist world politics I conceived of crafting an historiography of international ideas. This I thought would determine the meaning of the turn to world politics by demonstrating how it came to be desirable. However, reflexively speaking, an historiography would merely constitute my point of view amidst a variety of critical historiographies of IR. The problem, as Nicolas Guilhot explains, is that, “histories have their own blind spots and limitations ... Depending on the point of view they adopt.”⁷² Different characterizations of the subject-matter of IR are dependent on different origin stories of the present. George Lawson, in his treatment of the philosophy of

history in the social sciences, broadly distinguishes a 'scriptural' approach that works-out abstract historical lessons, from 'butterfly' histories which scrutinize the contingencies of how the present became possible.⁷³ It is again the difference of traditional and critical theory. History, like theory, is multifarious and politically charged.⁷⁴ This is why intellectual history is rich. From it one may reflect on their own' place in the history of being. Yet, since I mean to speak to the discipline, and not benefit some segment of it wherever or whenever, I decline to provide an historiography of international thought.

Critically reflexive historiographies of world politics have partly inspired a growing sociology of the discipline. If the core is problematic, what lies beyond it? Waever and Tickner in *International Relations Scholarship Around the World* attempt to catalogue what kinds of scholarship are, "actually done around the world and why."⁷⁵ Ancharya and Buzan in *Non-Western International Relations Theory* work to, "introduce non-Western IR traditions to a Western IR audience."⁷⁶ These sociological inquiries have four underlying egalitarian ambitions for their empirical data. Though Tickner and Waever recognize that, "There is always disciplinarity,"⁷⁷ one motivation is the identification and mitigation of the causal processes that produce Western and particularly U.S. ideological hegemony. Another is the search for non-Western perspectives on Western IR theory and practice. Third is the search for non-Western alternatives. The fourth overriding ambition is the distillation and realization of an ideally democratized egalitarian IR communication network and content. This is the ideal of a diffusion of power over knowledge production. However, while investigating the question of the existence and shape of power or communication barriers in our knowledge production and opening-up disciplinary communication networks is well and good it is political culture which is at issue. The point this sociological discourse misses is that world politics means emancipation from state-centric politics, which happens to be

Western. Both sociological works problematically categorize theory state by state and Ancharya and Buzan's work explicitly and exclusively explores non-Western state-centric theory.⁷⁸

The disciplinary ambition of these sociological works is the construction of a global but singular discipline. They miss the point that IR needs to be transformed in a more profoundly egalitarian way if it is to seriously engage its important questions. A global discipline where U.S. scholarship is one member in a more equal international academic society is not necessary or desirable if discourse does not engage theory beyond Westernized conceptions of politics. Opening up our communication should not aspire to build a global IR language, a discourse of Babylon and final inter-cultural analysis of IR, because the ideal of world politics is not only an articulation of non-Western points-of-view and ways of political being. Genuine democratization of IR discourse means the emancipation of multiple political realities and their potential reimagination in the social life of world politics (not their synthesis). This implies a profound expansion of IR's subject-matter since pluralizing what and who it is for expands what it concerns. World politics means discussing new *problematiques* and new approaches with different political ideals beyond Western and Westernized politics. This project necessitates political multilingualism through reference to core questions (not hegemonic problems such as 'high politics' or great power war) if IR is to retain coherence.

The basic impetus of the academic ideal of world politics is the claim that the intellectual hegemony of sovereign practice over our conceptions of politics marginalizes and oppresses people outside and inside the masculine, bourgeois, and modern West. Indigenous politics is a lightning rod often used in this emancipatory discourse. Karena Shaw has argued that indigenous politics is the Other constituting hegemonic conceptions of

the political and what IR is as a subject.⁷⁹ Indigenous politics exemplifies the insider outsider problem of IR as inter-cultural political theory since many indigenous peoples reject claims to sovereignty as well as the domestication of their politics to sovereigns. They reject both territorial and hierarchal practices and concepts of sovereignty and anarchy that constitute traditional IR theory and practice. Post-colonial critiques of IR discourse characterize the history of Western international ideas, from Vitoria on, as the ideological discourse of the imperial and neocolonial West, and they critique international histories that silence indigenous voices and perspectives.⁸⁰ However, gender, race, and class critiques make the same point. From these critiques counterfactual histories can be imagined where alternative points-of-view shaped the nature of IR's inquiries. The turn to world politics does not merely mean studying non-state actors. It also means opening up the subject-matter of IR to different and marginalized points-of-view on world history, different conceptions of politics, and different political practices. However, world politics means more than inclusion of alternative points-of-view, because the complete motivation of the ideal of world politics is emancipation, which necessitates reflexive inquiry. World politics is not only a critical point-of-view, it aspires to new ways of political being.

There is precedence for a disciplinary purview of political life beyond state activity. C.A.W. Manning and Alan James discussed, "the nascent society of all mankind" and "global social dynamics" beyond international society.⁸¹ However, contemporary calls for a turn to the academic pursuit of world politics add critical impetus to an expansive subject-matter of IR's concern. Agathangou and Ling assert the most ambitious expression of the disciplinary ideal of world politics. They argue IR's knowledge practice is hierarchical even inside its Western core and needs to be transformed through an approach called Worldism. In this approach, traditional IR is but one point-of-view amongst, "many versions and

understandings of world politics.”⁸² Worldism is a collection of reflexive principles for academically engaging world politics as a multiplicity of world-views on politics upon and beyond what IR has traditionally concerned.⁸³ Aganhangou and Ling argue Worldism is the correct approach for IR because it has the capacity to emancipate politics from its marginalizing and oppressive theory and practice.⁸⁴ They write, “Worldism openly declares its desire to realize another world ... that reflects collaboration at all levels, ‘out there’ and ‘in here,’ to sustain an open, inviting and profoundly democratic environment.”⁸⁵ Worldism is an exemplary and even compelling example of post-structuralist world politics.

However, the question of which is the best approach, ideal, or research program for the discipline overall leads to debates and sour grapes because people will research diversely what and however they see fit. So they should. Social sciences do not follow Kuhnian progression and political change should not be enforced through a transcendent curriculum.⁸⁶ Theories of IR and politics generally have always been plural, though that plurality has not always been recognized. If we recognize IR as inter-cultural political theory, it inherently contains many points-of-view, within and beyond the political culture of the West. The states system has globally expanded but as the indigenous example points out, it is not universal. Thus, IR’s subject-matter is vastly expanded with a turn to world politics, to include various political problems and approaches for different people in different and overlapping places with divergent political world-views.

Educationally, this bespeaks Montaigne’s advice that, “This great world ... is the mirror in which we must look at ourselves from the proper angle. In short, I want it to be the book of my student.”⁸⁷ However, the IR student should be informed of the pluralistic history of theory, since, “theory itself has a history” as Bull argued, “and theorists themselves elaborate their ideas with the preoccupations and from within the confines of a particular

historical situation.”⁸⁸ Today there are at least two intellectual cultures in the core and semi-periphery of academic IR, with a variety of camps within them, Worldism being one.⁸⁹

Future generations of IR scholars will affect the discipline’s harbor through their own conservative or progressive positions on their world-view and scholarly practice through critical or traditional theory.

The most potent argument post-structuralists make in their call for a turn to world politics is the claim that studying hegemonic conceptions of politics reifies them and their associated problems in political practice.⁹⁰ This point may be correct. Western intellectual culture has profoundly changed with developments in continental philosophy and IR is changing with it by moving to explore alternative political knowledge within, east, south, and beyond. The causes of this development are intuitively associated with freedom from the Cold War’s intellectual compulsion to study ‘high politics’, the unfolding logic of equality in Western social, political, and intellectual culture, and the recognition that the knowledge practice of the natural sciences cannot discipline social sciences. Yet, as Olson observed, past ideals of knowledge will remain within our academic collective conscience, none of them ever being fully extinguished. Nor should they. There is no end to diversification of thought, since the history of ideas has historicity. The world is both wide and old. While IR’s subject-matter is profoundly expanded by the emancipatory ideal of world politics, its curriculum is not transcended. I feel sorry for the future IR student who will have more to be informed of. However, I am envious that they will likely be more critically informed by new points-of-view and sophistications of ideas.

Walker’s contribution in *After the Globe, Before the World* provides a discussion for crafting a disciplinary coherence that can rise with IR’s vastly and diversely expanded subject-matter. For Walker, the shift towards world politics means a reimagining of political

mentality in disciplinary theory and political culture. Walker argues this ideal requires serious engagement with IR's fundamental assumptions on what I have characterized as the discipline's core questions in Part I. He argues, "the most important implication that can be drawn from many diverse and contradictory literatures on contemporary political life is that the assumption that international relations is either a synonym or antonym of world politics must be placed in very serious contention."⁹¹ For Walker, liberal notions of globally transcending or realist notions of faltering under anarchy represent the traditional Western positions on IR's core question of the nature of politics. He attributes a hegemonic modern Hobbesian concept of the political to this prevailing IR discourse that constitutes IR's traditional subject-matter of state, anarchy, and their escape.⁹²

However, Walker suggests a turn towards studying world politics by reimagining our positions on IR's core questions. He envisions an emancipatory reimagination of sovereign thought and practice though not necessarily its practical dissolution. World politics does not mean radical anarchy, the world state, or looking for a better IR theory beyond the West, it means a the aspiration of fundamentally reimagining our world-view in a way that questions the desirability of such solutions to the problem of sovereignty. The ideal of *a priori* re-imagination in Walker's call for a turn world politics means a serious engagement with the discipline's constitutive core questions on the nature of politics and the purpose of our academic pursuit in it. While world politics may mean a vast expansion in the subject-matter of IR, since it means to democratize who and what IR is for, it does not mean the disintegration of the discipline, since adding in the ideal of reimagining our constitutive points-of-view merely means a deepening sophistication in our common theoretical core questions not their abandonment or transcendence. 'Thucydides' questions are still with us, and are important, yet investigating why Thucydides is important and for whom, and

engaging the question of what it means to reimagine the world wherein Thucydides has become important are also vital inquiries.

The complication of IR's fundamental questions and expansion of its subject-matter casts the student today into an immense, deep, and tempestuous ocean of thinking space. Yet, the hope is to develop a disciplinary coherence that capitalizes on our unavoidable pluralism through dialogue upon core questions of common concern. If, as Montaigne suggests, we should take a world point of view to develop our own learning, it is again through studying the worldly variety of positions on our common questions of understanding the nature of politics as a human activity that can cohere the discipline and an ideal-type of IR education. Common familiarity with various positions on the proposed core questions provides the discipline with coherence, greater critical awareness, and potentially greater perspicuity between positions.

In Part II, the question of the educational implications of calls for a disciplinary turn towards an academic pursuit of world politics has been addressed. The turn has been characterized as the introduction of the academic ideal of intellectually emancipating IR discourse and international practice through reimagined understandings of politics. This has been argued to represent a sophistication of IR's discourse not its intended transcendence or dissolution. However, it is also recognized that the addition of this ideal to IR represents a profound expansion of the subject-matter of IR's concern. The problem and goal this raises for Part III, is how to pedagogically provide the new student the means by which to avoid being intellectually lost in a sea of thinking space.

Part III:

Where Are the Students?

“The student who enters upon the study of public affairs will have learnt at the university to exercise his mind upon a printed matter. He will know that the function of a book is to stimulate his intelligence, not to befuddle it, to serve as an instrument for his own thinking rather than as its lifeless substitute”

A. Zimmern, *Learning and Leadership*

The ideal-type of an undergraduate IR education, clarified in Parts I and II, has two kinds of content: a familiarization with the plurality of positions and approaches to the core questions of theory broadly defined, which includes social science methodology or *episteme*, and second, the preliminary readings and inclination towards studies in a specialization. The end function of these contents is both the political socialization and professionalization of the student. Thinking dialectically, as suggested by Petrina, the ideal-type of pedagogy derived from this educational ideal includes clear and comprehensive instruction in the variety of systematic methods of validity and a maximally pluralistic political reading.⁹³ Yet, importantly, an ideal pedagogical approach should also be able to guide the student’s intellectual and cultural engagement of political life so they might gain some control over the development of their own political socialization. The provision of a critical heuristic is suggested as a helpful intellectual tool for that engagement.

In the context of increasing class sizes a realistic rendering of this ambitious ideal of political socialization and professionalism requires devising a pedagogical method to make IR’s ideally pluralistic curriculum intellectually manageable for the new student. The present argument will be made in three movements, a review of the present state of pedagogical affairs, an examination and further elaboration of Neufeld’s engaged pedagogy programme,

and the outline of a critical heuristic intended to compliment the exemplary pedagogical devices and approaches in IR today.

Hagmann and Biersteker's recent sociology of IR pedagogy details how reading lists in the U.S. core and European periphery of the discipline are often less paradigmatically, geo-culturally, and gender pluralistic than the pedagogical ideal-type would aspire to.⁹⁴ Their findings suggest that, "As long as the merits of IR teaching, and especially the virtues of pluralist teaching, are not valued more strongly as a skilled scholarly achievement, current teaching patterns are unlikely to change significantly."⁹⁵ They rightly call for more reflexive or self-critical understanding of political, cultural, and gendered hegemonies at play in pedagogy, so to foster a more pluralistic curriculum, discipline, and world politics.⁹⁶ While pluralistic pedagogy can, should, and will likely increase in proportion to the ever budding growing points in IR, the student today is nevertheless already under heavy learning demands in their exposure to IR discourse. Coming to confident grips with both Anglo-American and Continental approaches as well as the history of international and political thought is all necessary for gathering an informed grasp of the theoretical debates in IR.

Aware of the problem of pluralism for the student Steve Smith rightly argues, "the question of how one chooses which theory to use" as IR diversifies, "is an absolutely central issue."⁹⁷ He provides two general criterion by which the student can judge the question. First, pragmatically "decide which theory you find most useful" and second, by one's own reflexive devices set about, "answering the question why that is the case."⁹⁸ That is, why do I find this theory useful? Smith is correct to suggest a reflexive move by the student.

IR textbooks for many years have become increasingly pluralistic and some innovative pedagogical devices are starting to be developed. The popular Oxford introductory IR textbook series *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*

attempts to synthesize the theoretically pluralistic textbook style with the thematically centered textbook by focusing exposition upon the broad issue of globalization.

Understanding a complex idea or process from several points-of-view or lenses is helpful but does not give the student the intellectual tools necessary for the question of choosing a point-of-view so to navigate the text's six companion volumes.

Edkin's and Zehfuss' exemplary textbook *Global Politics: A New Introduction* begins to fill this student need by cohering IR literature around questions. The student guided by this approach will first worry about which questions are most important and then go about inquiring, presumably as Smith suggests, with the approach they find most useful, since all the main questions are still divided by differing theoretical approaches. Understanding how theories are constructed and for whom is essential for the student to navigate through a pluralist education in the pursuit of coming to grips with their own political socialization. Focusing on questions and considering who is asking them and why some are prioritized above others is an excellent way to approach a pluralist education.

Der Derian and Cynthia Weber also provide helpful pedagogical means to approach a pluralistic curriculum. The pedagogical approach of Weber's exemplary textbook *International Relations Theory: A Critical Introduction* denaturalizes IR theories and critically engages the socializing function of theory by presenting theories as popular myths we live by. Weber's pedagogical problem was that the IR student's she taught tended to consider a particular theory as 'the truth' if they found it compelling.⁹⁹ The aim of her mythologizing approach is to have students, "critically rethink *all* the theories" so to give students the critical ability to engage academic, "IR [as] a site of cultural practice."¹⁰⁰ For example, as an analogy for realism, Weber uses the narrative of William Golding's *Lord of the Flies* to demonstrate that without fear both the story and theory would not work.¹⁰¹ The IR student is meant to gain

the question of fear in world politics not its assumption. Overall, the point of Weber's approach is to denaturalize and politicize the mainstream so to pluralize curricular content to include marginalized points-of-view as well as enabling student's to more critically engage their political socialization.

Der Derian provides similar critical maps and travel advice for the coming generations of students. He informs the discipline of good routes from where it intellectually comes from, and provides travel tips, but he does not dictate a destination. Travelling out from Martin Wight's famous tripartite taxonomy Der Derian made two excellent suggestions. First, he provided a new taxonomy of traditions and political ways of being, new ways of walking, to compliment Wight's Machiavellian realists, Grotian rationalists, and liberal revolutionists. Der Derian advises the student and scholar to approach world politics with Nietzschean relativist, Ghandian revelationist, and Beauvoirean irenist intellectual-political dispositions. The Relativist questions truth claims, identifies wills to power, and exposes where power has made knowledge. The Revelationist is concerned with the truth force of love and soul power, and the path of non-violence. Lastly, the Irenist is concerned with emancipation from the violence and injustice stemming from gendered social practices.¹⁰² Like Wight's taxonomy, Der Derian's is a pedagogical device designed to illuminate important questions and divisions for the student on IR's expanded subject-matter with the inclusion of Continental and non-Western approaches.¹⁰³ The pluralist approaches Weber and Der Derian provide are excellent in themselves.

However, Der Derian's second suggestion, the intertextual approach, gets to the point of investigating why some theories seem more useful than others.¹⁰⁴ By studying the relational speech acts of IR texts, he explains,

an intertextual strategy attempts to understand the placement and displacement of theories, how one theory comes to stand above and silence other theories, but also

how theory as a knowledge practice has been historically and often arbitrarily separated from 'events,' that is, the materially inspired practices comprising the international society.¹⁰⁵

An intertextual strategy empowers the student with the ability to investigate the historical process that shapes conceptions of the political for themselves, relativize Thucydides' questions, and potentially overcome Wight's, "by generating new interpretations of the world text."¹⁰⁶ The intertextual strategy means to emancipate the student's and scholar's mind and actions from the endowed inter-subjective understandings and social practices of past generations. Weber's approach also suggests this direction but Der Derian is more explicit.

However, whose emancipation is an intertextual approach for and what is it emancipating students from? As Beier critically points out, Der Derian's approach is still an *intratextual* approach, since the content of its emancipatory analysis is the hermeneutic circle of academic IR, which is of generally Western origins.¹⁰⁷ Der Derian's approach enables imaginings beyond IR's harbor but it does not readily or easily look beyond it into non-abstract theoretical and non-textual expressions of political life. For example, what about art or oral histories? Political being and expression is rich and diverse. If Der Derian's intertextual approach is the critical study of the process of the political in IR theory through analysis of the contextualized speech-act of texts, Beier's more radical standard is an inter-aesthetic approach. A maximally pluralist curriculum should be open to using Beier's wider net since, as has been argued, the earnest engagement in the core questions of IR today necessitate a vastly expanded subject-matter to include non-Western and non-state centric points-of-view.

Overall, Neufeld's suggestion to pursue engaged pedagogy helpfully navigates the dual ambitions of Beier's amelioration of Western ideological hegemony and Der Derian's

ambition of reflexively re-imagining politics. These ambitions are different but are not in conflict, since the earnest engagement of IR's core questions necessitates expanding the discipline's subject-matter not transcending it. By focusing on the student's point-of-view and intellectual enrichment, engaged pedagogy offers a way to pedagogically pursue both ambitions. Neufeld suggests practicing engaged pedagogy by "drawing links" between local and global politics.¹⁰⁸ This means the pedagogical compliment to an introductory theoretical curriculum as outlined above involves articulating local points-of-view on the core questions of theory broadly defined.

However, this suggestion by Neufeld only develops the first "generative word" aspect of Freire's approach and leaves untouched the second "generative theme" which functionally fulfills Der Derian's ambition of re-imagining politics.¹⁰⁹ Freire's first aspect satisfies the politically necessary pluralism of knowledge by articulating the local and marginalized. The second "generative theme" means to illuminate the epistemological social constructivism of knowledge for the student's understanding. Together, the pedagogical approach means to clarify for the student both the variety and nature of knowledge. These two pedagogical goals are the two reasons why Freire is concerned with local knowledge. Articulating the local both explores alternative knowledge and creates new knowledge. Combined, these goals mutually satisfy and navigate Beier's and Der Derian's pluralist and reflexive ambitions.

Politically, Neufeld's call for engaged IR pedagogy readily meets Beier's more radical pluralist standards by potentially engaging every point-of-view. Conventional liberal pedagogical approaches emphasize the teacher's value neutrality. Neufeld more radically but correctly argues for pluralism of engaged pedagogy which, "entails identifying within the experiences and knowledge students bring with them to the classroom."¹¹⁰ This requires

drawing connections between the local students' point-of-views and global politics along the same lines as the feminist approach to articulating how, "the personal is international."¹¹¹ Emphasizing the educational theory of Paulo Friere, Neufeld's engaged pedagogy emancipates local political points-of-view by occupying the study of world politics in the classroom with them, rather than preoccupying the classroom with imported IR. No syllabus can be comprehensive of every worldly point-of-view. Yet, if engaged pedagogy was widely practiced in IR classrooms, discussion in the discipline would be aggregately more pluralistic and the problem of an oppressive marginalizing curriculum would be reduced to a question of access to education. This access problem can be addressed, as Flyvbjerg and Simmons argue, by turning towards an extra-academic pedagogical approach where students engage in local case studies and the classroom attains a fully outward communal orientation by critically relating issues of local communities and the globe.¹¹²

Epistemologically, for Freire, since knowledge has historicity, new knowledge is imminent, and therefore education is about producing not transferring knowledge.¹¹³ Students, to be educated, need to understand how knowledge is produced. His generative method is partly Socratic social construction. He argues,

Knowing is a social event with nevertheless an individual dimension. What is dialogue in this moment of communication, knowing, and social transformation? ... Dialogue is the sealing together of the teacher and the students in the joint act of knowing and re-knowing the object of study.¹¹⁴

For Freire, sharing and cohering points-of-view around an object of study constitutes knowledge. However, his pedagogical approach has more to it than that. Since knowledge is subject to change dialogue is ongoing and the teacher can re-learn the subject-matter. For Freire, meaningful learning means not only producing new knowledge but developing the capacity of critical consciousness, *conscientização*. He argues, this necessitates, "stimulating 'perception of the previous perception' and 'knowledge of the previous knowledge' [and

thereby] the appearance of a new perception and the development of new knowledge.”¹¹⁵

This is the ideal of reflexive learning, which means being able to critically reflect upon ones prior questions and beliefs so to produce new insights and ideas. This reflexivity is exactly what Smith suggests and Der Derian means to provide the student and discipline with his intertextual approach.

Freire’s generative theme as ongoing dialogue and learning for reflexive *conscientizacao* offers a pedagogical approach to guiding the student’s engagement of the socialization function of theory. Why is there international theory? Partly it was created in hopes to socialize the student, state, and society of states. Yet, being filled with theory is not what students intellectually need to become socio-politically competent graduates, since knowledge and politics are subject to change and imminent critical re-evaluation. IR students need to know how to critically navigate the proposed chaotic world of an inter-aesthetic pluralism and be able to cast their own theoretical anchors where and when need be.¹¹⁶ It is hoped that a graduate with critical reflexive capacity, “will know” as Zimmern argued for the worldly internationalist, “that the function of a book is to stimulate his intelligence, not to befuddle it, to serve as an instrument for his own thinking rather than as its lifeless substitute.”¹¹⁷ This critically generative intellectual capacity relieves the mind from the need to defensively adopt the tactics of the hedgehog and fox and reflexively empowers them to engage the phronetic question of what they inquire for.

A student need not know everything (though that would be nice) or one thing exhaustively (though that is also nice). Enriching and exercising the intellect requires pursuing questions that follow from considering what knowledge is for and for whom. What is pedagogically important is guiding IR students to deeply consider the core phronetic questions and teaching IR students how to professionally inquire into world politics. A

pedagogical approach to IR that fits the ideal-type is not limited to instilling and measuring student knowledge of the variety of theory and methods of validity but (as Freire argues about learning generally) evidence of and capacity for reflexively learning new knowledge.

To facilitate reflexive learning Freire devised a somewhat complex dialogical method for the classroom involving a process of interpretation, evaluation, sharing, and later reassessment by both teacher and student.¹¹⁸ Yet, Freire's system consumes the structure of an entire course to produce a reflexive product. I hope to provide a more direct and succinct delivery of critical and reflexive capacity, since throwing Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (in print since 1970) at professors will not likely relieve students of the learning frustrations they are suffering under a growing, deepening, and always contentious discipline.

Much like Freire, Novak and Gowin in their authoritative work *Learning How to Learn* (21 printings) have argued that, "Learning about the nature and structure of knowledge helps students understand how they learn, and knowledge about learning helps show them how to construct new knowledge."¹¹⁹ To facilitate this learning they devise a heuristic out of a gathering of critical questions for students to apply to expository material. The point for Novak and Gowin, like Freire, is to learn how the knowledge was generated, rather than merely memorizing it or pragmatically employing it.¹²⁰ Understanding how knowledge is socially constructed when, where, and for whom enables the student to critically evaluate given objects of knowledge as well as engage in their own knowledge production. By transmuting Novak and Gowin's heuristic to IR the hope is to relieve the student from the anxious compulsion to choose a theory as Smith and Weber observe, become a theory wonk, or theoretically indifferent, which are tendencies I have witnessed amongst my peers (and even some scholars).¹²¹ The hope is to systematize, in a pedagogically feasible form, the critical capacity required by an ideal education in IR.

Theoretical pluralism is driving IR inquiries into meta-theory (for an example, see P.T. Jackson’s *The Conduct of Inquiry in International Relations*). The student trying to find their place and way today is driven to meta-reading of an increasingly philosophical kind. What Novak and Gowin provide are, “methodologies for educating about metaknowledge and metalearning.”¹²² Metaknowledge means knowledge about knowledge and, “metalearning refers to learning that deals with the nature of learning, or learning about learning.”¹²³ The heuristic Novak and Gowin present for the student when applied to a given object of knowledge (be it textual or extra-textual), deconstructs and thereby demonstrates how worldly knowledge is constructed. The point is to give the student a more critical and masterful grasp of expositional material such as theoretical IR literature. The heuristic is based on Gowin’s “five questions’ procedure, a scheme for ‘unpacking’ the knowledge in any particular field.”¹²⁴ The contribution here is to tailor these questions to the overt political nature of theoretical IR knowledge and add in an explicitly reflexive step in accordance to Freire’s example and as suggested by Smith.

Gowin’s Heuristic	Transmuted to IR
1. What is the telling question?	What is the major problem/issue?
2. What are the key concepts?	What is the world-view?
3. What are the methods of inquiry?	What are the methodic questions of inquiry?
4. What are the major knowledge claims?	What is the inter-aesthetic context?
5. What are the value claims?	What are the political interests and values?
6.	What are my positions on these questions and why is this the case?

fig.2

Gowin’s five questions are transmuted in fig.2.¹²⁵ His first, ‘what is the telling question?’ means to guide the student to investigate what is the impetus to the creation of a given object of knowledge. I do not change this question substantively just make its phraseology more direct and to the point of, ‘what is the major *problem* or issue?’ The notion of a ‘telling question’ itself requires unpacking. Focusing on the problem prompts the same

inquiry by the student in a more straightforward way. Next, I abandon Gowin's second question, 'what are the key concepts?' since IR textbooks and introductory literatures are actually already very good at succinctly presenting key concepts. I consider concepts the cognitive basics that precede any meta-learning. Thus, I replace the question with the far more searching 'what is the *world-view*?' This question should open up the student's mind to the cultural and historical source of a given piece of IR knowledge. IR theories are rightly often metaphorically referred to as lenses but these lenses themselves have origins. The world-view question is hard, ties the other questions together, and is dependent on them. Thirdly, Gowin's question, 'what are the methods of inquiry?' is left largely in tact and changed to 'what are the methodic *questions* of inquiry?' as methodologies were clarified to be dialectically related questions in Part I (see, p.23-25). The transmutation of Gowin's fourth question, 'what are the major knowledge claims?' is somewhat complicated. Since knowledge is considered by Freire, Gowin, and Novak to be shared meaning, I essentially consider objects of knowledge, relevant to IR, to be speech-acts, since they are made meaningful within a context of claims. Furthermore, since the subject-matter of IR is expanded by Beier's arguments to the investigation of inter-aesthetic contexts, Gowin's fourth question is rephrased to 'what is the inter-aesthetic *context*?' Gowin's fifth question, 'what are the value claims?' is not substantively changed but I attempt to make it more analytically penetrating since IR often explicitly concerns political values. I change the fifth question to, 'what are the *political interests and values*?' The concept of 'interest' involves analysis of power relations while the concept of 'political' and the word 'value' preserves the point of the student grasping values (i.e. conservative or progressive, critical or problem-solving) underlying knowledge. The added sixth question, following Smith's phraseology, reflexively asks, 'What are my positions on these questions and why is this the case?' This is the reflexive step

meant to give the student perception of their perceptions. If the student can apply the heuristic as a double movement, once before learning, once after, deeper reflexive insight of Friere's kind is attainable.

The student can apply these questions on their own for meta-learning but if they do so in conjunction with the teacher's guidance or in dialogue with other students they can engage in meta-knowledge *making* themselves. Since knowledge is constructed, my intuition is that answering these questions is a dialectical process. That is, their answers are inter-dependent in a mutually constitutive sense. In this way their order is not crucial. However, to maximize the reflexive impact of the sixth question, it should be addressed last when analyzing a given piece of IR knowledge. For clarity, let me reiterate the transmuted questions with some examples and discussion.

1. What is the *problem* or issue a text, body of texts, or inter-aesthetic body of knowledge is concerned with? E.g. war, class, poverty, gender, religion, colonialism, indigeneity, etc. IR theories readily become distinguished by this question. Mainstream theories fall under the traditional problematic of war, critical and emancipatory approaches variously under the other problems.
2. What is the *world-view*? This is the most searching question. It should be approached culturally and historically not geographically. Within Western academic culture, there is, broadly speaking, a continuum of Continental and Anglo-American philosophical ontologies with Marxist approaches somewhere in the middle. However, providing a taxonomy of world-views for the student to answer this question would defeat the pedagogical purpose of the question, since any taxonomy as an analytical construct would be value laden, time-bound, and parochial. The point is to guide the student to understand where and when underlying assumptions came from. This is a hermeneutic inquiry.
3. What are the methodic *questions*? E.g. Have democracies gone to war with one another? This question leads to investigating the methodological tools such as inference,

reflexivity, or even purely normative analysis. The hope is that the student will grasp the kind of underlying question and ask what other questions might be made or why others were not.

4. What is the inter-aesthetic *context*? Answering this question well involves investigating both the intended audience and the marginalized voices of the text, body of texts, or extra-textual body of knowledge.
5. What are the *political interests and values*? I.e. nationality? Western? bourgeois? masculine? conservative or progressive? critical or problem-solving? Who's equality? The answer relies heavily on the answer to 4, context.
6. What are my positions on these questions and why is this the case? This is the reflexive step. Study, thought, and essay writing will generate answers but following Freire, the student should address this question more than once to gain a deeper reflexivity on their point-of-view.

It is hoped that this heuristic gathering of questions can help the student navigate the broadening and deepening political discourse of IR in a more fruitful way than the defensive hedgehog or fox who, by merely retaining knowledge, reify it. Earnest inquiry into these heuristic questions can lead the student to inquiries beyond the classroom and into political life. Students informed of the variety and nature of knowledge may reflexively look upon themselves from worldly perspectives and consciously engage the socializing function of an education in IR theory. They will be able to engage knowledge actively and be enriched by the work of past generations and not be frustrated or overwhelmed by the pluralistic efforts of their teachers. The hope is that the succinctness of these questions allows them to be pedagogically disseminated quickly and easily. Perhaps, this can be done in a way that can deepen the power of the 'thinking cap' routine IR teachers often use when explaining theories. Why am I thinking this way? Why would I wear this cap?

In Part III, the question of how to render the pluralistic ideal-type of curriculum intellectually manageable for the new IR student has been addressed. An ideal-type of IR pedagogy has been argued to include clear and comprehensive instruction in the variety of social science methods, inter-aesthetic theoretical pluralism, and reflexive intellectual tools for approaching political socialization. An elaboration of Neufeld's engaged pedagogy has been argued to satisfy pluralism, both by ameliorating Western curricular hegemony and facilitating reflexive learning for reimagining politics. Furthermore, a reflexive heuristic of world politics has been offered as a succinct pedagogical device to aid students in critically attaining the meta-knowledge and reflexive capacity necessary for gaining some creative control over the development of their own political socialization besides the defensive tactics of the hedgehog and fox.

Conclusion

The argument and inquiry of this dissertation has grown out of the major disciplinary questions presented to me in my IR education. Its inquiry constructs a meta-dialogue between Holsti's question about IR's disciplinary coherence and Ashley, Der Derian, and Walker's questions about disciplinarity. It is in this way a meditation on the body of knowledge I have received. However, by considering these questions from the alternative angle and question of the student's educational point-of-view, this dissertation means to submit a creative pedagogical contribution that is more than the sum of its parts.

IR students today are engaging an intellectual academic society not an ideal community as Holsti argued for.¹²⁶ However, the problems of disciplinary fragmentation or dissolution are not necessarily imminent if the academic pursuit of IR can cohere itself around the core questions of theory broadly defined which are of common interest to academics and students with diverse points-of-view and problems of concern, yet who commonly investigate the socio-political economic well-being of humankind. Such a pluralistic discipline and subject-matter suggests the appropriateness of a theoretically pluralistic IR education. However, this pluralistic education should be critically conscious of the socializing function of an education in political theory. Furthermore, it has been argued that the question of the meaning of post-structuralist emancipatory world politics for IR compounds the problem of educational pluralism, yet it does not confound it.

In addressing the question of IR's subject-matter and the main pedagogical problem of pluralism I have taken Bull's first two questions, noted in the introduction, as guiding starting points. To review, Bull asked,

1. What is and what should be the subject-matter with which students of international relations are concerned?

2. What approaches and methodologies are helpful in studying this subject-matter, and how should the student of international relations choose among them?¹²⁷

In response to these questions the subject-matter of IR has been argued to be constituted by the core questions of theory broadly defined, particularly the question of the nature of politics as a distinct form of human activity. The approaches and methodologies helpful in studying this subject-matter are argued to be pluralistic. Addressing and contemplating the critical vs. problem-solving debate has been argued to be a helpful way for the student to independently develop their own political disposition and thereby formulate their choices within and beyond IR's theoretical plurality. Furthermore, the reflexive application of the six-question heuristic upon the subject-matter of study by the undergraduate student and teacher has been suggested as a systematic method for gaining critical and reflexive insight from the vast and diverse inter-aesthetic knowledges in world politics.

The student faced with a phalanx of political theories and approaches should be supplied with intellectual tools designed to show them how to navigate such political terrain. These tools involve meta-learning and reflexive understanding of theoretical knowledge. During my personal education in IR theory thus far I have on occasion felt intellectually drawn and quartered by a menu of theories sometimes concerning different problems but that are nevertheless politically at odds. This professionally torn feeling is anecdotal but I suspect it might garner widespread empathy amongst IR students.

To be sure theoretical approaches will come and go with historical pressures and developments in the history of ideas. With this conviction Ken Booth rightly argues, "Consequently, we can only rely on the best anchorages for our ideas, which shift as the human journey continues, but which offer the best promise, in their own context, for trying

to answer the central questions.”¹²⁸ Surely, educated IR students should be ready and able to cast anchors as need be. Yet, the rub is determining the best anchorages.

To be able to meaningfully make sense of and work with the fluidity and diversity of worldly problems imbricated within IR’s ongoing theoretical debates, the student needs to not only understand how to cast anchor but what for. To develop this know-for understanding in the ongoing academic pursuit of world politics, students need to be exposed to the meta-learning of a critically pluralistic education through reflexive pedagogical devices like the heuristic questions this dissertation suggests. Only from a critical understanding of the diverse points-of-view in world politics and the creative nature of the pursuit of knowledge can students find their own meaningful questions and contributory inquiries.

End Notes

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- ¹ James Der Derian, 'Introduction: Critical Investigations' in James Der Derian (ed.) *International Theory: Critical Investigations* (London: MacMillan, 1995), p.vii.
- ² Mark Neufeld, *The Restructuring of International Relations Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.116-121.
- ³ Hedley Bull, 'International Relations as an Academic Pursuit' in Kai Alderson and Andrew Hurrell (eds.) *Hedley Bull on International Society* (London: MacMillan Press, 2000), p.248.
- ⁴ Stephen Petrina, 'The Politics of Curriculum and Instructional Design/Theory/Form: Critical Problems, Projects, Units, and Modules' *Interchange*, vol.35 (2004), pp.81-126.
- ⁵ K.J. Holsti, *The Dividing Discipline: Hegemony and Diversity in International Theory* (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1985), p.1-13, 128.
- ⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷ Chris Brown, *International Relations Theory: New Normative Approaches* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).
- ⁸ See, Richard Ashley, 'Three Modes of Economism', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 27 (1983), pp. 463-496; Richard Ashley, 'Untying the Sovereign State: A Double Reading of the Anarchy Problematique', *Millennium, Journal of International Studies*, vol. 17 (1988), pp. 227-262; Richard Ashley and Robert Walker, 1990, 'Conclusion: Reading Dissidence/Writing the Discipline: Crisis and the Question Of Sovereignty in International Studies', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 34 (1990), pp. 367-416; James Der Derian, 'The Boundaries of Knowledge and Power in International Relations' in James Der Derian and Michael J. Shapiro (eds.) *International / Intertextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics* (New York: Lexington Books, 1989), pp.3-10; and R.B.J. Walker *Inside/Outside* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
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- ¹¹ A reference to Isaiah Berlin's fable of the two kinds of intellectual, knowing one big thing, or many, in 'The Hedgehog and the Fox' in Henry Hardy and Aileen Kelly (eds.) *Russian Thinkers* (London: Hogarth Press, 1979), pp.22-81.
- ¹² The phraseology of this sentence is indebted to Ken Booth who informed me he once heard C.A.W. Manning say International Relations is a discipline with a core but no periphery.
- ¹³ David Carr, *Making Sense of Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy and Theory of Education and Teaching* (London: Routledge, 2004), p.4.
- ¹⁴ Martin Wight, 'Why Is There No International Theory?' in Herbet Butterfield and Martin Wight (eds.) *Diplomatic Investigation: Essays in the Theory of International Politics* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1966), pp.17-34.
- ¹⁵ Herbert Butterfield, 'Notes for a Discussion on the Theory of International Politics' in Karl W. Schweizer and Paul Sharp (eds.) *The International Thought of Herbert Butterfield* (New York: Pargrave MacMillan, 2007), p.182.

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- ¹⁶ Emphasis added. Herbert Butterfield, 'Comments on Hedley Bull's Papers on the Grotian Conception of International Relations' in Karl Schweizer and Paul Sharp (eds.) *The International Thought of Herbert Butterfield* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), p.202.
- ¹⁷ Wight, 'Why Is There No International Theory?' *Diplomatic Investigations*, pp.17; Duncan Snidal and Alexander Wendt, 'Why There Is International Theory Now' *International Theory*, vol.1 (2009), pp.1-14.
- ¹⁸ Barry Buzan and Richard Little, 'Why International Relations has Failed as an Intellectual Project and What to do About It' *Millennium Journal of International Studies*, vol.30 (2001), p.19-22.
- ¹⁹ For discussions of critical and problem-solving approaches see Robert Cox, 'Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory', *Millennium, Journal of International Studies*, vol. 10 (1981), pp. 126-155; and Robert Cox, 'Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method', *Millennium, Journal of International Studies*, vol. 12 (1983), pp. 162-175.
- ²⁰ This is an approach Bull did not fully endorse, advocating instead Noam Chomsky's position on the public responsibility of the intellectual. See Hedley Bull, 'International Relations as an Academic Pursuit' in Kai Alderson and Andrew Hurrell (eds.) *Hedley Bull on International Society* (London: MacMillan Press, 2000), p.262-263; see also, Aaron McKeil, 'Is IR a Force for Good in the World Today?' *e-International Relations*, August, 2012, <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/08/24/is-ir-a-force-for-good-in-the-world-today/>.
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- ²⁹ C.A.W. Manning, 'Varieties of Worldly Wisdom' *World Politics*, vol.9 (1957), p.149, 161.
- ³⁰ Holsti, *The Dividing Discipline* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1985), p.8.
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- ³² For the priority of ontology see Colin Wight, *Agents, Structures, and International Relations: Politics as Ontology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.2; for the meaning constitutive function of theory see Mark Warren, 'What is Political Theory/Philosophy?' *Political Science and Politics*, vol.22 (1989), pp.606-612.
- ³³ Robert Cox, 'Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory' *Millennium – Journal of International Studies*, vol.10 (1981), p.128.

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- ³⁴ Hedley Bull, 'Martin Wight and the Theory of International Relations: The Second Martin Wight Memorial Lecture' *British Journal of International Studies*, vol.2 (1976), p.110-113; David S. Yost, 'Introduction: Martin Wight and Philosophers of War and Peace' in Gabriele Wight and Brian Porter (eds.) *Four Seminal Thinkers in International Theory: Machiavelli, Grotius, Kant, and Mazzini* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.21.
- ³⁵ C.A.W. Manning, *The Nature of International Society* 2nd edition (London: MacMillan Press, 1975), p.6, 150, 182, 194-195, 202.
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- ⁴² C.A.W. Manning, *The Nature of International Society* 2nd edition (London: MacMillan Press, 1975), p.xvi, 197.
- ⁴³ Manning, *The Nature of International Society* (1975), p.132.
- ⁴⁴ For Manning's colonial disposition see Hidemi Suganami 'C.A.W. Manning and the Study of International Relations' *Review of International Studies*, vol.27 (2001), pp.91-107.
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⁴⁸ Kenneth Waltz, 'Political Philosophy and the Study of International Relations' in William T. R. Fox (ed.) *Theoretical Aspects of International Relations* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), p.67.

⁴⁹ Michael Banks, 'The Inter-Paradigm Debate', in *International Relations A Handbook of Current Theory*, Margot Light and A.J.R. Groom eds. (London: Printer Publishers, 1993), pp. 7-26.

⁵⁰ E.H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* 2nd edition (London: MacMillan Press, 1978), p5.

⁵¹ E.H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* 2nd edition (London: MacMillan Press, 1978), p.3-5.

⁵² E.H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* 2nd edition (London: MacMillan Press, 1978), p.147.

⁵³ King, Keohane, and Verba, *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference on Qualitative Research* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), p.3.

⁵⁴ P.T. Jackson, *The Conduct of Inquiry in International Relations: The Philosophy of Science and its Implications for the Study of World Politics* (London: Routledge, 2011), see entire work, but especially, p.37.

⁵⁵ Hidemi Suganami, 'Meta-Jackson: Rethinking Patrick Thadeus Jackson's Conduct of Inquiry' *Millennium Journal of International Studies*, forthcoming.

⁵⁶ P.T. Jackson, 'Fear of Relativism' *e-International Relations*, July 3, 2012, <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/07/03/fear-of-relativism/>.

⁵⁷ Suganami, 'Meta-Jackson' *Millennium Journal of International Studies*, forthcoming.

⁵⁸ Bent Flyvbjerg, *Making Social Science Matter: Why Social Inquiry Fails and How it Can Succeed Again* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.1-38.

⁵⁹ The most entertaining and astute comment is made by William T. R. Fox, where he argues, in his Preface in W.T.R. Fox (ed.) *Theoretical Aspects of International Relations* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), p.xii, that:

The range of propositions variously described as theoretical is so broad that it would almost seem that any fairly general statement about world politics that is not palpably absurd would qualify. This is perhaps as it should be. We have been theorizing all the time. The need is for us to gain a greater theoretical self-awareness so that we can subject our theories to a more sustained and penetrating critical analysis.

⁶⁰ Hedley Bull, 'International Relations as an Academic Pursuit' in Kai Alderson and Andrew Hurrell (eds.) *Hedley Bull on International Society* (London: MacMillan Press, 2000), p.248.

⁶¹ Neorealism is an easy example because Waltz valued theoretical parsimony. Neorealism considers states and their aggregate structure to constitute question A. It uses the counterfactual method of comparison for B and the purpose of avoiding war for C. It mines diplomatic history and strategic information for D.

⁶² Christian Reus-Smit, 'International Relations, Irrelevant? Don't Blame Theory' *Millennium Journal of International Studies*, vol.40 (2012), p.535, emphasis added.

⁶³ For the position counter to my own see David Lake, 'Why 'isms' Are Evil: Theory, Epistemology, and Academic Sects as Impediments to Understanding and Progress' *International Studies Quarterly*, vol.55 (2011), pp.465-480; for discussion see Monteiro, Nuno P. and Ruby, K. G. 2009, 'IR and the False Promise of Philosophical Foundations' *International Theory*, vol.1(2009), pp.15-48; and for excellent discussion see Christian Reus-Smit, 'International Relations, Irrelevant? Don't Blame Theory' *Millennium Journal of International*

Studies, vol.40 (2012), pp.525-540; for a discussion of the uneasy influence of states and corporations in universities see, Ken Booth, 'The Writing on the Wall', *International Relations*, vol. 21 (2007), pp. 360-366.

⁶⁴ Hedley Bull, 'International Theory: The Case for a Classical Approach' *World Politics*, vol.18 (1966), p.361, 366-367.

⁶⁵ For a rich intra-pragmatist discussion see Richard Rorty, 'Dewey and Posner on Pragmatism and Moral Progress' *The University of Chicago Law Review*, vol.74 (2007), pp.915-927; for a classic discussion of the role of the political intellectual see Noam Chomsky, 'A Special Supplement: The Responsibility of Intellectuals' *The New York Review of Books*, Feb.23, (1967), available online at: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/1967/feb/23/a-special-supplement-the-responsibility-of-intelle/?pagination=false>.

⁶⁶ Max Horkheimer, 'Traditional and Critical Theory' in Matthew J. O'Connell (trans.), *Critical Theory: Select Essays* (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 2002), pp.188-243; Robert Cox, 'Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method', *Millennium, Journal of International Studies*, vol. 12 (1983), pp. 162-175; for discussion see Ken Booth, *Theory of World Security* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.47n29.

⁶⁷ This debate is generally analogous to that which Ashley adopts from Habermas' *Knowledge and Human Interests* his influential article, 'Political Realism and Human Interests' *International Studies Quarterly*, vol.25 (1981), pp.204-236. It is analogous in that the categories Horkheimer and Cox use (critical vs. traditional/problem-solving) and those that Habermas and Ashley use (practical, technical, and emancipatory cognitive interests) both divide knowledge according to its intended purpose or cognitive interest. Habermas' terminology could be substituted and may in some ways be more insightful but Horkheimer's is more succinct and gets the main point across that the student, in order to develop her own political disposition and theoretical orientation, must contemplate and explore the question of what knowledge is for.

⁶⁸ Statement quoted in, William C. Olson, 'The Growth of a Discipline' in Brian Porter (ed.) *The Aberystwyth Papers: International Politics 1919-1969* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p.13.

⁶⁹ W.T.R. Fox, 'Growing Points in the Study of International Relations' *The American Study of International Relations*, vol.6 (1968), pp.97-116.

⁷⁰ William C. Olson, 'The Growth of a Discipline' in Brian Porter (ed.) *The Aberystwyth Papers: International Politics 1919-1969* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p.16.

⁷¹ Hedley Bull, 'New Directions in the Theory of International Relations' *International Studies*, vol.14 (1975), p.277; Hedley Bull, 'The Theory of International Politics, 1919-1969' in Brian Porter (ed.) *The Aberystwyth Papers: International Politics 1919-1969* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p.54-55.

⁷² Nicolas Guilhot, 'One Discipline, Many Histories' in Nicolas Guilhot (ed.) *The Invention of International Relations Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), p.3.

⁷³ George Lawson, 'The Eternal Divide? History and International Relations' *European Journal of International Relations*, vol.18 (2012), pp.203-226.

⁷⁴ This historical digression restates the critical pluralist position of Part I. The student, as Montaigne advises, should "be taught not so much the histories as how to judge them." This means the IR student should be educated in the variety of historical methods so to see how historical knowledge is made but the student also needs to become critically cognizant of the socio-political implications of adopting and believing differing world histories and

disciplinary historiographies. Quote from, Michel de Montaigne, 'Of the Education of Children' in Donald M. Frame (trans.) *Michel de Montaigne The Complete Works: Essays, Travel Journal, Letters* (New York: Everyman's Library, 2003), p.140.

⁷⁵ Arlene B. Tickner and Ole Waever, *International Relations Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p.23.

⁷⁶ Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan, *Non-Western International Relations Theory: Perspectives on and Beyond Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2010), p.2.

⁷⁷ Arlene B. Tickner and Ole Waever, *International Relations Scholarship Around the World* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p.17.

⁷⁸ P.T. Jackson, 'Book Reviews' *International Relations*, vol.9 (2011), p.748-750; Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan, *Non-Western International Relations Theory: Perspectives on and Beyond Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2010), p.10-16.

⁷⁹ Karena Shaw, 'Indigeneity and the International' *Millennium Journal of International Studies*, vol.31 (2002), pp.55-81.

⁸⁰ Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan, 'Why is There No Non-Western Theory? An Introduction' *International Relations of the Asian Pacific*, vol.7 (2007), p.300; Edward Keene, *Beyond the Anarchical Society: Grotius, Colonialism, and Order in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.60-96; Roger Epp, 'At Wood's Edge: Toward a Theoretical Clearing for Indigenous Diplomacies in International Relations' in Robert M.A. Crawford and Darryl S.L. Jarvis (eds.) *International Relations: Still an American Social Science?* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp.299-324.

⁸¹ Manning, *The Nature of International Society* (1975), p.177, 201.

⁸² Agathangou and Ling, 'The House of IR: From Family Power Politics to the Poiesis of Worldism' *International Studies Review*, vol.6 (2004), p.21.

⁸³ Agathangou and Ling, 'The House of IR: From Family Power Politics to the Poiesis of Worldism' *International Studies Review*, vol.6 (2004), p.41-45; for a similar alternative see, Meera Sabaratnem, 'IR in Dialogue ... but Can We Change the Subjects? A Typology of Decolonizing Strategies for the Study of World Politics' *Millennium Journal of International Studies*, vol.39 (2011), pp.781-803.

⁸⁴ Agathangou and Ling, 'The House of IR' (2004), p.35-45.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p.45.

⁸⁶ Kuhn himself argued that, that in many social sciences, "there are always competing schools, each of which constantly questions the very foundations of the others See Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p.161-162.

⁸⁷ Montaigne, 'Of the Education of Children' p.141

⁸⁸ Heldey Bull, 'The Theory of International Politics 1919-1969' in Brian Porter (ed.) *The Aberystwyth Papers: International Politics 1919-1969* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p.32.

⁸⁹ This is a double reference to C.P. Snow, 'The Two Cultures' *Leonardo*, vol.23 (1990), pp.169-173; as well as Martin Hollis and Steve Smith, *Explaining and Understanding International Relations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

⁹⁰ See, Walker, 'Realism, Change, and International Political Theory' *International Studies Quarterly*, vol.31 (1987), pp.65-86.

⁹¹ Walker, *After the Globe, Before the World* (New York: Routledge, 2010), p.22.

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- ⁹² Ibid, see Chp.1,2,3; and Walker, 'Realism, Change, and International Political Theory' (1987), pp.65-86.
- ⁹³ Stephen Petrina, 'The Politics of Curriculum and Instructional Design/Theory/Form: Critical Problems, Projects, Units, and Modules' *Interchange*, vol.35 (2004), pp.81-126.
- ⁹⁴ Jonas Hagmann and Thomas J. Biersteker, 'Beyond the Published Discipline: Towards a Critical Pedagogy of International Relations' *European Journal of International Relations*, forthcoming, p.33.
- ⁹⁵ Ibid, p.33.
- ⁹⁶ Ibid, p.33.
- ⁹⁷ Steve Smith, 'Introduction' in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith (eds.), *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity Second Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p.3, 11.
- ⁹⁸ Ibid, p.12.
- ⁹⁹ Cynthia Weber, *International Relations Theory: A Critical Introduction*, second edition (New York: Routledge, 2005), p.xvii-xviii.
- ¹⁰⁰ Cynthia Weber, *International Relations Theory: A Critical Introduction*, second edition (New York: Routledge, 2005), p.xvii-xviii, 4, 182.
- ¹⁰¹ Cynthia Weber, *International Relations Theory* (2005), p.13-34.
- ¹⁰² James Der Derian, 'Hedley Bull and the Case for a Post-Classical Approach' in Der Derian (ed.) *Critical Practices in International Theory: Select Essays* (London: Routledge, 2009), p.301-305.
- ¹⁰³ Hedley Bull, 'Martin Wight and the Theory of International Relations: The Second Martin Wight Memorial Lecture' *British Journal of International Studies*, vol.2 (1976), p.110-113; David S. Yost, 'Introduction: Martin Wight and Philosophers of War and Peace' Gabriele Wight and Brian Porter (eds.) *Four Seminal Thinkers in International Theory: Machiavelli, Grotius, Kant, and Mazzini* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.21.
- ¹⁰⁴ See Cynthia Weber, *International Relations Theory* (2005), p.1-11, 177-187.
- ¹⁰⁵ Der Derian, 'The Boundaries of Knowledge and Power in International Relations' in Der Derian and Michael J. Shapiro (eds.) *International/Intertextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics* (New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1989), p.6.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁷ J. Marshall Beier, *International Relations in Uncommon Places: Indigeneity, Cosmology, and the Limits of International Theory* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p.20, 30, 193, 222, 223.
- ¹⁰⁸ Mark Neufeld, *The Restructuring of International Relations Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.120.
- ¹⁰⁹ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed: 30th Anniversary Edition* Myra Bergman Ramos (trans.), (London: Continuum, 2005), p.110.
- ¹¹⁰ Mark Neufeld, *The Restructuring of International Relations Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.120.
- ¹¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹¹² Bent Flyvbjerg, *Making Social Science Matter: Why Social Inquiry Fails and How it Can Succeed Again* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.9, 24, 71-72, 167-168; William Paul Simmons, 'Making the Teaching of Social Science Matter' in Bent Flyvbjerg, Todd Landman, and Sanford Schram (eds.) *Real Social Science: Applied Phronesis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp.246-263.

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- ¹¹⁶ Ken Booth, '75 Years On: Rewriting the Subject's Past –Reinventing Its Future' in Steve Smith, Ken Booth, and Marysia Zalewski (eds.) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.338.
- ¹¹⁷ A. Zimmern, *Learning and Leadership: A Study of the Needs and Possibilities of International Intellectual Cooperation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), p.45.
- ¹¹⁸ Denis Goulet, 'Introduction' in Paulo Freire, *Education for Critical Consciousness* (London: Continuum, 2005), p.viii; Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed: 30th Anniversary Edition* Myra Bergman Ramos (trans.), (London: Continuum, 2005), chp.3.
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- ¹²⁷ Hedley Bull, 'International Relations as an Academic Pursuit' in Kai Alderson and Andrew Hurrell (eds.) *Hedley Bull on International Society* (London: MacMillan Press, 2000), p.248.
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