indeed in the interests of the ruling hegemons, its benefits for peripheral states and regions is far less apparent

- HOWEVER, despite the dominance of the present world order Cox maintains Marx’s belief that capitalism is an inherently unstable system and is full of internal contradictions which will make it collapse inevitably – economic crisis will lead to the emergence of counter-hegemonic movements but the success of such movements is not assured

**Feminism**

Feminism emerged in the 1960s and 1970s and was a movement dedicated to achieving economic, political and social equality for women. The most important goal for feminist theory is to explain women’s subordination; there are different types of feminist theories all with different reasons for women’s subordination.

- Liberal feminists believe removing legal obstacles can overcome women’s subordination
- All other post-liberal approaches see patriarchy as being deeply rooted in society and thus, women’s subordination cannot be overcome by legal obstacles
- Marxist and socialist feminists explain women’s subordination through the labour market
- Post-colonial and poststructural feminists believe we can’t generalise about all women they’re all differently placed in society depending on class and race

**Liberal feminism**

- Investigate issues of refugee women, income inequality, human rights violations affecting women disproportionately such as trafficking and sexual war
- Believe the key to women’s equality is to remove legal and other obstacles that deny them the same rights and opportunities as men
- Many IR feminists disagree with liberal feminism, post-liberal feminist theories point out that in many societies even if all possible legal obstacles have been removed and yet inequality continues to exist, we need to look deeper into gender hierarchies instead

**Feminist critical theory**

- Looks at ideational + material manifestations of gendered identities
- Sandra Whitworth, a feminist critical theorist, claims that understanding gender is dependent on material conditions of women and men in particular circumstances + gender is dependent on ideas men and women have about their relationship to one another
- Whitworth demonstrates how changes in meaning of gender had differing effects on these institutions’ population policies at different points in history

**Feminist social constructivism**

- Feminist social constructivists look at the processes in whereby ideas about gender influence global politics and ways that global politics shape ideas about gender
- The regulation of home-based work is a major area of debate for feminists since most home-based workers are women (low wages + poor conditions = justified on the grounds that home based work is not ‘real work’)
- Ideas about femininity contribute to the internationals community’s debates about institutionalizing home-based workers’ rights

**Feminist poststructuralism**
Poststructuralist feminists say we understand reality through our use of language and they focus on the relationship between knowledge and power - those who create knowledge gain a lot of power.

Feminist poststructuralists demonstrate how men have generally always been seen as the ones with the knowledge (and thus, power), this is not the case for women however.

Charlotte Hooper points out how we cannot understand IR without understanding the implications of the fact that IR is conducted mostly by men.

Gendering war
- Military training depends on the denigration of anything considered feminine, e.g. to act like a soldier is not to be womanly.
- The image of a soldier is related to the ‘protection’ myth which paints an image of a soldier as being a just warrior, self-sacrificially protecting women, children and others who are vulnerable.
- Entry into US led war in Afghanistan was justified partially by intervention on behalf of presumably helpless Afghani women while the Taliban’s response was also shaped by gendered justifications of protecting ‘their’ women from western influence.
- MOST feminists believe that equality dictates that women should serve in the military HOWEVER some feminists believe women should avoid fighting in men’s wars.
- In the 90s we became accustomed to less militarized models of masculinity (global businessman conquered the world instead, e.g. Bill Gates) after 9/11 militarized masculinity returned and it was a huge influence in the 2004 elections with Bush and Kerry highlighting their military/national guard services as qualifications for presidency.

Feminist definitions of security
- Feminists define security more broadly as the absence of all forms of violence, including physical, ecological and economic and they look at security from the bottom up rather than from the top down, meaning we start with security of individual or community rather than state or international system.
- In wartorn states, governments may be too preoccupied with national interests and thus neglect its citizens, especially women, from experiencing physical security.
- Since feminist theories view security-seeking behaviour as being linked to masculinity, the likelihood of achieving a peaceful solution to a conflict is reduced. Conciliatory gestures are seen as being weak and not in the national interest.

Gender in the global economy
- Women everywhere around the world in various societies earn less than men, it is estimated that on average women earn two-thirds of men’s earnings despite working longer hours, and when they do reach top positions they almost always earn less than men.
- Why there is a disproportionate number of women in marginal, under-rewarded economic activities cannot be attributed to legal restrictions because such legal restrictions don’t exist in many countries where this is still the case.
- Gendered division of labour exists.
- Gendered division of labour began in the early 17th century Europe – definitions of males + women were becoming polarised – the term ‘housewife’ emerged and this reinforced the gender dimensions of this split. Gendered constructs like breadwinners and housewife have been central to modern Western definitions of masculinity, femininity and capitalism.
- Association of women doing domestic work at home have become institutionalised and naturalised – meaning it is seen as natural for women to do domestic work – by
States sovereignty in many ways have been eroded voluntarily, one example is that of the EU through a number of treaties binding states to common legal norms and procedures as well as the European Union’s ability to influence a country’s laws. Some erosion of sovereignty has been involuntary such as when other states get involved in another nation’s humanitarian or extreme repression problems when it should be a domestic problem (e.g. Haiti and Iraq).

- In situations like these the role of international organisations like the UN would come down to helping to strengthen or even rebuild civil society and hence, enabling the government to exercise some of its sovereign rights (manage economy, limit effects of pollution, restore public order and justice)
- The UN, thus, has to strike some balance between replacing and building the sovereignty of their members states
- The UN must therefore try to rebuild the administrative, political, judicial and economic structure of the state in order for it to exercise its legal sovereign rights. This, however, needs to be done in a way that respects human rights broadly and there needs to be some sort of international consensus and some agreement between the international organisation and the local authorities
- Rebuilding a “state under stress”
- “The UN must not be seen as a neocolonial usurper of state sovereignty, but as ultimately restoring it”

*Ethics and world politics: Introduction
Duncan Bell*

There are a number of reasons for the shift towards ethics in world politics. One reason is the changing character of world politics, the end of the Cold War opened up a new range of political possibilities, generating wide range of debates over the character of the ‘new world order’. A range of violent conflicts in the 1990s (Iraq, Rwanda, and Kosovo) raised a lot of questions over the ethics of war in particular whether western forces should send troops to protect human rights.

Robert Cox: ‘Theories are always for some one and for some purpose’

- Deontologists → rules out to be followed because they are right in themselves and not because of the consequences they may produce
- Consequentialism → judges actions by the desirability of their outcomes
- Realism → judges a statesperson’s actions as right or wrong depending on whether they serve the state’s interests
- Utilitarianism → judges acts by their expected outcomes in terms of human welfare and the ‘greatest good of the greatest number’

Cosmopolitans (including deontologists and utilitarians) argue that morality itself is universal: a truly moral code will be applicable to everyone because what defines us morally is our humanity. So national boundaries are irrelevant. Cosmopolitans also say there are no good reasons to rule anyone out of ethical consideration. Since no morally significant differences exist between people, everyone’s interest should be judged from a disinterest position.

Anti-cosmopolitans argue that national boundaries provide important ethical constraints → fall into 2 different streams: realism and pluralism. Realism argues that because of the existence of international anarchy and sovereignty the only ethics are those of self-interest and survival while pluralism argues that anarchy does not prevent states from agreeing to a minimal core of standards.

- Both pluralists and realists argue that morality is ‘local’ to particular cultures, times and places so its impossible to claim access to a single account of morality