

**From Old White Men to What?
Critical Reflections on the Mission
to Globalize International Relations**

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to Globalize International Relations

PhD Dissertation

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Full disclosure: I am writing these acknowledgements on a beach in Mexico with a cocktail in my hand. It is moments like these that make me realize how lucky I am to not only having worked with issues that I am enthusiastic about, but also to have worked on a project that has taken me to new places, connected me with new people and expanded my horizons.

As a Mexican expression goes: “lo bailado nadie te lo quita”. What you have danced, no one can take away from you. However tough at times, this PhD has taken me on new adventures and it has been a dance. Now I am off to embark on new adventures and to dance some more.

Maiken Gelardi
Isla Holbox, Mexico
November 2019

Preface

This report summarizes the PhD dissertation “From Old White Men to What? Critical Reflections on the Mission to Globalize International Relations,” which was written at the Department of Political Science, Aarhus University, from September 1, 2016, to August 30, 2019.

In addition to this summary report, the dissertation consists of the following four self-contained papers:

- Article 1: “Moving Global IR Forward: A Road Map,” *International Studies Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viz049>.
- Article 2: “Comparing Arabism and Latinidad: Theoretical Traveling within the Global South,” co-authored with Morten Valbjørn, under review.
- Article 3: “Global South Theorizing: The Case of Human Security,” revise and resubmit, *Alternatives*.
- Article 4: “Lost in Translation: Incorporating Indigenous Cosmovisions into the Discipline,” under review.

This summary report provides an overview of the dissertation. The report motivates the general issues guiding the research, positions the individual arguments and contributions in relation to each other and in relation to the broader literature, and it outlines key theoretical debates, findings, and implications. In this way, the report explains the relationship between the four articles and shows how they are part of a single, interconnected story.

For further details, please refer to the individual papers.

Chapter 1: Introduction¹

How can we understand the world if we only listen to the privileged? Can we design a world for everyone without everyone in the room? At its core, this is what this dissertation is about.

Around the world, we are currently witnessing a push to acknowledge diversity. There is increasing awareness that our understanding of the world has been written by white Western men and that the failure to include other perspectives is driving an unintentional bias (Perez 2019). This failure to include other people is so systematic that it is more a pattern than a mere coincidence. Parts of anthropology and philosophy have long pointed to these issues (Herzfeld 1987, Joseph, Reddy, and Searle-Chatterjee 1990, Latour 2004, Viveiros de Castro 2004, Blaser 2013), but we also see the debate reflected in such diverse fields as Biology, Psychology, and Health Studies (Gould 1996). For instance, while “tropical” diseases such as tuberculosis, dengue, and leprosy account for 90% of the global disease burden, less than 10% of global spending on health research is spent on studying such diseases (Remme et al. 2002). Consequently, many of them are now also referred to as “neglected diseases” (WHO 2013). Those suffering from them live predominantly in developing countries, where there are limited resources to spend on health research. This is one of the major reasons for the lack of research on these diseases; there are simply fewer studies because these diseases are of less importance to the West, where the resources for health research are concentrated. However, the problem of inequality goes beyond biases in which topics receive attention. The inequality problem might also influence the actual studies; that is, “our results” or “our truths.” Consider Medicine, for instance, where women have systematically been excluded from studies because their hormonal cycle may influence the results (Holdcroft 2007). Instead, the male body is considered the default body, whereas the female body is perceived as deviating from the standard, even though female bodies make up half of the global population. This begs the question: Why is the male body the default?

As these two simple examples clearly demonstrate, science is not equal. Some topics receive more attention than others (as in the case of the neglected diseases), and discrimination might influence our measurements and theories (as in the case of the male default body). So while we may perceive science as objective, science might in fact be highly biased. What is deemed valuable to

¹ All translations of quotes from non-English texts are my own.

investigate is a matter of perspective, but the perspectives that matter are those of white, Western men.

One might assume this pattern of parochialism, Western-centrism, and discrimination to be less pronounced in a discipline such as International Relations (IR), which is concerned with global politics and interactions between different societies. Hence, the IR subject matter would be expected to render the discipline inherently more global and diversity-sensitive. And yet this does not appear to be the case. On the contrary, Walker observes that there has been little concern for culture and diversity (Walker 1992), and Valbjørn argues that the discipline seems to be blind to its own Western-centrism (Valbjørn 2008b). In an empirical analysis of IR syllabi, Biersteker (2009, 320) succinctly concludes that IR is “rationalist, positivist, US-centric, monolingual, recently published, and written by men.” Publication and citations patterns are also skewed this way (Biersteker 2009, Maliniak, Powers, and Walter 2013, Maliniak et al. 2018).

These observations have led Inayatullah and Blaney (Inayatullah and Blaney 2004) to conclude that IR is hamstrung by its Western-centrism, making it unable to speak about dynamics outside of the West. When mainstream IR theories (that are based on and developed from Western experiences) get into trouble trying to explain dynamics outside of West, it is commonly claimed that these Global South² countries are not behaving as expected, “dismissed as aberrations to the norm” (Smith 2010, 66). As with women in Health Studies, a certain abnormality is thus ascribed to the Global South, whereas the West is conceived as the standard. One might then ask, how international is International Relations? This discrepancy between a global subject matter and a pervasive disciplinary Western-centrism is the topic of investigation for this dissertation.

Since the turn of the new millennium, an important discussion within the IR discipline has therefore concerned what various scholars have termed “post-Western,” “non-Western,” “Global IR,” and “globalizing IR” (Mandaville 2003, Acharya and Buzan 2007, Bilgin 2008, Acharya 2014a, Peters and Wemheuer-Vogelaar 2016, Jørgensen 2017). These scholars pose this very question: How *international* is International Relations? To this question, one can identify three interacting and overlapping dimensions in the debate: an “inward-looking” dimension, 2) an “outward-looking” dimension, and 3) an “inter”-dimension (Hellmann and Valbjørn 2017, for an alternative division see Peters and Wemheuer-Vogelaar 2016).

The “inward-looking” part of the debate begins with the observation that, as a discipline, IR has been far less international than one would assume given

² See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the terms “the West” and “Global South.”

its object of study. Numerous studies demonstrate how many IR theories that are claimed to be universal are based on rather narrow European/American experiences (Jahn 2000, Valbjørn 2008b, Hobson 2012). In this regard, important work has been done on uncovering the unseen structures in academia and highlighting the structural forces working behind and influencing our methodologies, theories, and knowledge claims (Cervo 2008, Kristensen 2012, Villa and de Souza Pimenta 2017). Much of this debate has been occupied with discussing whether IR is (still) “an American social science,” as Stanley Hoffmann famously noted (Hoffmann 1977, Crawford and Jarvis 2001, Smith 2002, Biersteker 2009). Newer studies add nuances to these claims by qualifying when, how, and to what degree this American dominance remains true (if it ever was) (Kristensen 2015), while also pointing out the implications of reproducing the self-image of IR as a Western discipline (Turton 2015b).

Another part of the debate has been busy mapping how international relations are studied outside of the West (Tickner and Wæver 2009) in what can be termed a more “outward-looking” research agenda. These mappings of IR with Chinese, Russian, Japanese, Iranian, African, Latin American, and Indian characteristics (Tickner 2003a, Inoguchi 2007, Smith 2009, Yaqing 2009, Tsygankov and Tsygankov 2010, Aydinli and Biltekin 2018, Moshirzadeh 2018) have demonstrated how IR is practiced differently in different parts of the world. More recently, however, distinctions have been added to this debate, with studies showing how the narrative of Western dominance has a tendency to essentialize the Global South as inherently different (Alejandro 2018). Instead, studies have pointed to the fact that difference might take its form in an act of mimicking, where the Global South imitates the West in ways that are “almost the same but not quite” (Bhabha 1984, Bilgin 2008). By searching for some radical difference, we might inadvertently essentialize the Global South. It can also lead to the Balkanization of IR, where the discipline is divided into “national ghettos,” each with its own particular theories (Buzan 2016).

These insights have resulted in a growing awareness regarding a third “inter”-dimension wherein a strand of scholars argue for the need to revise, pluralize, and globalize the discipline with insights from the Global South (Tickner 2003b, Acharya 2011, Hurrell 2016, Hellmann and Valbjørn 2017). This requires moving a step further in order to connect what has been unearthed in previous mapping exercises in order to counter the Western parochialism of the discipline but also to counter the insularity of Global South insights. In other words, the ambition shifts from being about investigations into “difference” in different places to investigating how these differences and insights can converse with one another and contribute to IR more generally (Fierke and Jabri 2019).

Although some scholars maintain that there is no issue of Western-centrism in IR (see Chapter 2), there seems to be growing consensus that it is necessary to globalize IR. Most recently, President David Lake (2016) of the American Political Science Association acknowledged and problematized the existing parochialism in IR. Hence, the question no longer appears to be whether or not IR is Western-centric or even the importance of hearing Global South voices. Instead, we seem to have moved on to more varied and complicated questions regarding which type of diversity we are expecting/wanting to find and, in turn, how we can engage with these perspectives. In this regard, much confusion remains about the mission to globalize IR. What does globalizing actually mean and entail? Hence, the objective of the dissertation is to provide a comprehensive presentation of this debate and examine a number of possible ways to advance this mission. The dissertation is therefore built around the following general problematques:

What do we mean by globalizing IR?

How can we go about globalizing IR?

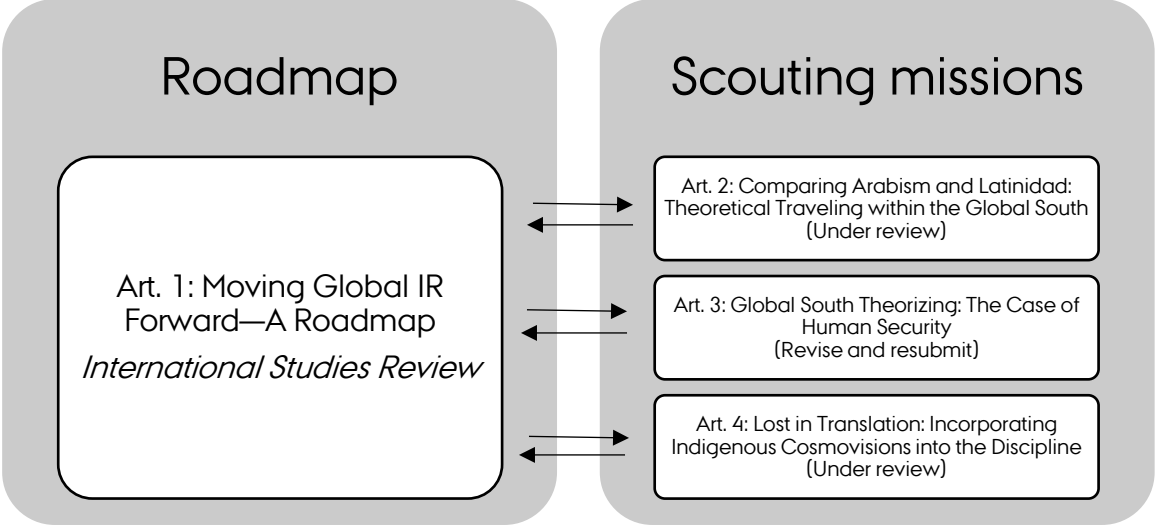
The process of revising, rethinking, and rebuilding the discipline is clearly neither monolithic nor homogenous, and “globalizing IR” obviously means very different things to different scholars. Researchers have different understandings of this mission depending on their location, methodological outlook, identity, subject etc. Consequently, there are very diverging avenues and destinations for the mission to “globalize IR.” This complicates matters, as people might agree with the mission but not on the way to move forward. There have not been sufficient reflections on this discrepancy within the “globalizing IR” debate. This dissertation addresses this gap by examining various diverging positions in the debate about globalizing IR and offering reflections on the reasons for the bifurcation in the debate. The dissertation also provides a systematic and comprehensive mapping of the different contested paths one can take to globalize the discipline in order to give scholars the necessary tools to understand and reflect on their own positions as well as those of others. In so doing, the study contributes to a better understanding of the configuration of the discipline and the globalizing-IR debate, and it provides us with guidance on how to move forward and advance the discipline.

As the passage above might infer, this dissertation engages with the most fundamental and essential debate in the discipline: What is IR and how do we want it to look? In other words, our fundamental understanding and vision for the IR discipline is at stake. The nature of this study is, thus, discipline-oriented and takes the form of a meta study (see Chapter 2). Zhao uses a traveling

metaphor to define a meta study: “If a primary study is a long journey to an unfamiliar place, then meta-study involves frequent pauses for rest, identifying directions, revising travel plans, or even having second thoughts on the final destination” (Zhao 1991, 381). If efforts to globalize IR can be considered such long journeys, then this dissertation in turn identifies a need for a rest; a pause to allow us to establish an overview over these journeys by identifying where we are coming from, where we are at present, and the possible directions in which the discipline might continue in the future. These directions are mapped out in Article 1 and summarized in Chapter 6. I specifically identify three contested issues within the debate about globalizing IR: Who can speak, how to go local, and how to make the local global. The reflection on these issues has been insufficient, and the reflection that has taken place has often only pertained to one of the questions instead of seeing them as interrelated parts of the same debate. All three questions essentially relate to the first problematique: *What do we mean by globalizing IR?* Different answers to the three issues provide us with different avenues for *how to go about globalizing IR*—the second problematique. Much of the debate has been rather theoretically abstract about how IR scholars could go about globalizing the discipline, but with few concrete examples. This dissertation also addresses this gap by providing tangible examples of how to actually go about globalizing IR; that is, how to acknowledge or include Global South theorizing in IR. Articles 2, 3, and 4 thus constitute three independent “scouting missions;” that is, initial explorations into unknown territory, and they follow the travel paths unearthed in Article 1. The three articles exemplify three different ways of going about globalizing IR or, in other words: three different travel paths (the findings are summarized in Chapter 8). The objective of these “scouting missions” is two-fold: 1) to provide tangible examples of different ways of going about globalizing IR, and 2) to identify both the potentials and pitfalls you might encounter when embarking on these missions to new and unexplored places. In this way, the three “scouting missions” also feed back into the roadmap presented in Article 1 by qualifying these theoretically derived and abstract travel paths and by demonstrating both the promises and pitfalls associated with them.

The relationship between the four articles is depicted below.

Figure 1: Thesis Overview



The summary is structured as follows: Chapter 2 reviews the so-called existential crisis of IR and argues why such a meta study is useful in this particular situation. Chapter 3 clarifies the use of the concepts “the West” and “Global South,” which are central to this project. Chapter 4 begins with a bird’s-eye view examining the general problem of Western-centrism and parochialism in science in general. This chapter thus situates both the dissertation and IR disciplinary developments within larger debates about what constitutes scientific knowledge, feminism, and post-colonialism. After this more general introduction into the debates about parochialism, Chapter 5 zooms in on the IR discipline and studies the current configuration of the discipline: Who writes the texts and what do they write? In other words, this chapter provides an overview over where we are coming from and where we are currently situated. Building on these insights, Chapter 6 looks to the future. Here, I examine the debate about globalizing IR and show that behind the immediate consensus, considerable disagreement exists. I thus identify three general diverging positions in the debate: the traditionalist, the moderate, and the radical. These three positions differ in their view on how IR can engage with these new insights. In Chapter 7, I nuance these positions by deconstructing the debate about globalizing IR and identifying the fundamental contested issues that determine our understanding of the discipline and how to advance this mission. After this comprehensive mapping and systemization of the globalizing IR debate, Chapter 8 investigates these findings more concretely by providing tangible examples of how to actually go about globalizing IR. Finally, Chapter 9 summarizes the overall findings. Based on my research in this dissertation, I then conclude with a personal assessment of the “globalizing IR” mission and my vision for the future.

Chapter 2: IR in Crisis and the Need for Meta Studies

The core texts in IR are mainly written by men based in the US and Europe (see Chapter 5). But why should we care? Some scholars claim that we should not. In fact, it has even been argued that “too much pluralism leaves us with a divided discipline that not only fails to speak with one voice, but cannot even agree on what we should be studying, focusing on, or seeking to explain” (Schmidt 2008, 108). There might be some truth to this claim. The IR discipline has indeed been argued to be in an existential crisis (Gofas, Hamati-Ataya, and Onuf 2018). This image of a discipline in crisis is supported by the abundance of studies with titles such as “The End of IR Theory” (Dunne, Hansen, and Wight 2013), “Why IR Has Failed as an Intellectual Project” (Buzan and Little 2001), “Does It Matter if It’s a Discipline? Bawled the Child” (Jackson 2018), “The Struggle for the Soul of International Relations” (Gofas, Hamati-Ataya, and Onuf 2018). This existential crisis partly owes to the fact that a discipline is not an objective space but something that is continuously being constructed and reconstructed through the scientific practices in the field. As such, the IR discipline is a self-defining field of study continuously in search of its own identity. As Turton (2015a, 247) states, “the label of ‘discipline’ and the act of declaring an academic field as a discipline are a disciplining move itself.” The discipline is in part established by its institutionality, which denotes the academic practices employed by an academic community. The various organizations, conferences, and workshops organized around IR continuously reaffirm its status as a discipline (*ibid.*). This institutionality is also criticized for being skewed, however, as it is driven by the power-centers in the West and with unequal opportunities for Global South scholars to participate. Another defining characteristic of a discipline is a certain degree of coherence about content. Such coherence does not necessarily imply a universal consensus (Buzan and Little 2001), but rather the ability to have a coherent debate about what constitutes the content of this particular field of inquiry (Schmidt 2016).

IR has traditionally focused on inter-state relations. For instance, major textbooks in the field define IR as “the study of the global state system” (Jackson and Sørensen 2016, 5) and as a discipline “concerned with the political, economic, social, and cultural relations between two countries or among many countries” (Grieco, Ikenberry, and Mastanduno 2015, 2). Most main-

stream textbooks also begin by outlining the three major theories of IR: realism, liberalism, and constructivism.³ In this sense, IR does not appear to be in an existential crisis but rather an agreement on what constitutes the core of the discipline. Celebrating the unity of IR, Mearsheimer (2016) thus explains the lack of non-Western IR theories with the claim that there is no unique theorizing to find: Non-Western scholars use the same theories as Western scholars. Content analyses of academic journals partially support this claim (Tickner and Wæver 2009, Medeiros et al. 2016). In the case of Latin America, the most severe conclusion is found in the Medeiros et al. bibliometric content analysis of South American journals, spanning 7,857 articles from 2006–2014. Their conclusion is that “one cannot identify, apart from a positivist and qualitative preference, any major genuine trend of South American IR, nor any significant attempt to contribute to the new ‘Global IR’ ideas” (Medeiros et al. 2016, 25). A realist interpretation of this fact is that states and regions are like units, so why should there be particular local theories if states behave in a similar manner? Hence, it is the universal relevance and applicability of existing mainstream theories that renders them the dominant feature of IR scholarship in the Global South (Mearsheimer 2016). Others argue that IR is in fact characterized by both diversity and theoretical pluralism (Palmer 1980, Turton 2015b), and that you find everything from realist to critical scholars within the US (Porter 2001). The extended argument is that IR is not in a crisis, because there is already a theoretical diversity that subsumes any geo-cultural differences. Consequently, it is argued that “place matters less than the content of one’s ideas, and the content of ideas are not highly correlated with place” (Maliniak et al. 2018, 449).

Yet the scholars who are positively engaging with the globalizing IR debate disagree, and increasing attention is being paid to international dynamics that are being overlooked within the current configuration of the discipline. Particularly, there has been a focus on the Western-centrism of the theories, scholars, and methodology making up the discipline (Neuman 1998, Acharya and Buzan 2007, Tickner and Wæver 2009). Steve Smith (2002) identifies two main areas of concern: The fact that what currently constitutes legitimate scholarship in IR is defined by the American mainstream view and that this results in many global inequalities not falling within the boundaries of what has been set aside as IR. Similarly, Arlene Tickner (2003b, 300) notes that “IR reinforces analytical categories and research programs that are systematically

³ See *International Relations Theory: A New Introduction* by Knud Erik Jørgensen (2018) for an exception. This textbook instead begins by questioning and problematizing the existing notions of a “theory.”

defined by academic communities within the core, and that determine what can be said, how it can be said, and whether or not what is said constitutes a pertinent or important contribution to knowledge.” In this way, IR sets the boundaries for what is considered important and relevant, yet the knowledge of global realities often transcends these constructed disciplinary boundaries (ibid, 309). In his seminal work, R. B. J. Walker (1992) contends that the binaries making up IR’s identity, such as “inside/outside” of the state, “nature/society,” and “similarity/difference,” are not universal givens but rather products of history that are continuously reproduced. Walker has received widespread support for this claim. For instance, Luciano Tomassini and his colleagues (Tomassini, Moneta, and Varas 1991, 295) also claim that the distinction between “inside/outside” the state is blurring, and that “the classic school’s reductionist interpretation and the tendency by the specialists to reinforce the different themes by analyzing these in completely separate ways, begin to be increasingly inadequate in accounting for the contemporary international reality.” A supporting example could be how drug cartels and the ensuing violence have been ignored by traditional IR thinking (Tickner and Mason 2003), as they are often considered a domestic concern instead of a problem of a transnational, hybrid character. In other words, the select focus on inter-state relations excludes certain actors and certain problems, whereby the discipline attempts to own the definition of international with a very limited understanding of what this means.

While the “nature/culture” binary has received less critical attention than “inside/outside,” a new strand—sometimes termed “post-human IR”—has attempted to bring this discussion to the forefront of critical debates (Burke et al. 2016, Eroukhmanoff and Harker 2017). Parts of this debate engage with a “more-than-human approach,” where other-than-humans (e.g., animals, earth beings, and other sentient entities) are considered living social forces that both influence and give sense to humans’ lives (Inoue and Moreira 2016, de la Cadena and Blaser 2018). In this way, nature is considered constitutive of the social world, which challenges the ontological distinction between “culture” and “nature,” where cultured humans are perceived as existing separately from nature or even as its “master” (Descola 1996). According to this strand, however, “IR scholars still do not seem conscious of the limitations of IR’s mainstream agenda” (Pereira 2017, 3).

If IR’s disciplinary lines can be considered a construct (Griffiths and O’Callaghan 2001) then the line demarcating IR is one drawn by scholars, and there are temporal, spatial, and individual variations in this demarcation. The current push to globalize IR embraces this fact and argues that IR must tackle the issues facing states, non-state actors, and citizens around the world in or-

der to be relevant, regardless of whether it interferes with the constructed disciplinary lines drawn between IR and other fields of social science. Is poverty not an international phenomenon? Are drug cartels not a transnational phenomenon? Is the challenge of indigenous groups to the state and nationhood not something we observe in various parts of the world? The argument is that ethnocentricity and Western-centrism have limited our understanding of “the international.” It is this argument that leaves IR in a crisis: questioning the internationality of IR goes to the heart of the discipline and of its ongoing struggle to define itself. “While many other disciplines are probably just as unequal, this state of affairs carries a particular irony for so-called ‘Internationales Relationists’,” write Tickner and Wæver (2009, 4). If IR is not international, then what is it? What can and should we study within IR, and where do these disciplinary boundaries lie? Who decides these limits? Arguably, these questions make IR a discipline experiencing an existential crisis, and a discipline desperately attempting to establish and reaffirm its own identity.

2.1. Why a Meta Study?

Meta studies have been argued to be particularly useful in situations of disciplinary crisis or upheaval (Zhao 1991, Valbjørn 2008b). As argued above, IR is currently undergoing an existential crisis, and we are observing “a struggle for IR’s soul” (Gofas, Hamati-Ataya, and Onuf 2018, 3). Questioning the internationality of IR is tantamount to questioning its core identity. This study is concerned with how we can bring IR to better terms with the challenge of globalizing the discipline so that we can advance it. To obtain a better grasp of this existential mission, a meta study of the current debates about globalizing IR is useful, and this dissertation offers exactly this.

As presented in the introduction, Zhao (1991, 381) uses a traveling metaphor to define a meta study: “If a primary study is a long journey to an unfamiliar place, then meta study involves frequent pauses for rest, identifying directions, revising travel plans, or even having second thoughts on the final destination.” If efforts to globalize IR can be considered such difficult and long journeys, then Article 1 can in turn be considered a pause for rest; a pause for rest that provides an overview over these journeys by identifying the possible directions in which the discipline can continue. There are various directions, because an agreement on where we come from does not necessarily translate into an agreement on where we should be going.

The “scouting missions” (Articles 2, 3, and 4) can in turn be perceived as initial journeys to unfamiliar places. In these articles, we embark on three different journeys—three different ways of going about globalizing IR—and we

discover the pitfalls along these untrodden paths. In this way, the three “scouting missions” feed back into the roadmap presented in Article 1 by qualifying these theoretically derived and abstract travel paths and by demonstrating the limits and pitfalls associated with them. This leads to a new “pause for rest,” where we can consider how the findings and experiences from these journeys relate to what we already know, as well as what they mean for our future travel plans. This summary constitutes this second pause for rest.

Methodologically speaking, a meta study involves critically reviewing literature from many different fields and strands and uncovering patterns and unseen connections in order to make us reflect on where we are coming from as well as providing us with guidance on where to go. I therefore review the state of the art in various fields and diverse topics that are all somehow related to the “globalizing debate.” In this manner, the four articles and this summary provide a systematic overview over these many and diverging literatures spanning from philosophy of science to anthropology to feminist studies and to traditional mainstream IR, connecting them to each other and to the debate about globalizing IR. I identify interfaces and differences between the studies, framings, critiques, proposed solutions, etc. which allows me to detect possible patterns in these diverse bodies of studies, for example patterns related to “subtle differences in setting, subjects, and researcher” (Bangert-Drowns 1986, 388). In Article 1, for instance, I show how one’s attitude to the question of scholarly identity might influence which globalizing approach seems most suitable, as it resonates with one’s core assumptions and views on how to research Global South perspectives. In this way, I identify a possible connection between one’s position in the debate on whether the social identity of a researcher matters with the debate about strategies for theory travelling. These two debates are often considered separately.

To summarize, this meta study of the debate about globalizing IR is, thus, a systematic reflection on the processes involved in previous studies of this debate in terms of “where we are and where we are going” (Fuhrman and Snizek 1990, 27). I examine the different realms of IR in order to understand and advance the discipline. This involves not only the description of “what is” but also the reflexive search for “what should be” (Zhao 1991). I therefore agree with the argument that meta studies constitute “legitimate and crucial enterprises” (Ritzer 1990, 4), as such studies can improve our understanding of the current situation and existing issues, and, in light of these issues, they can provide us with guidance on how to move forward. The critical reading of the globalizing-IR debate in this meta study thus constitutes a comprehensive framework that can be used to evaluate the generalized commitments and societal impacts that inform IR theorizing (Colomy 1991). In other words, this

dissertation enables us to critically analyze and understand the various globalizing efforts, which in turn allows us to discard ill-defined critiques and instead replace them with a knowledge of where this disagreement is coming from, and how to move forward with this knowledge in mind.

As stated above, meta studies have numerous advantages. However, they have also been criticized for being too abstract and offering too little concrete value. They have been criticized for being too closely related with philosophy of science and, by extension, “the last refuge for those who cannot make a real contribution to the discipline” (Rosenberg 2016, 312). They have been accused of being more about academic navel-gazing than providing real value, “meta-theory does not go anywhere; it is basically a reflexive specialty” (Collins 1986, 1343). Similarly, Skocpol (1987) refers to meta studies as a dead-end that obscures the concrete benefits of primary studies and instead risk creating artificial ideal-typical categorization. Together, the charge against meta studies is that they become too abstract, too much a philosophical endeavor, and too far removed from the social world. In order to accommodate this critique and not only end up with abstract discussions about the promises and pitfalls associated with globalizing IR, this dissertation provides concrete examples of how to actually go about globalizing IR. Articles 2, 3, and 4 thus exemplify three different ways of going about globalizing IR, and I employ different methods in each article (see Chapter 8). In this way, I also show how there is not one particular way of globalizing IR when it comes to methodology and methods, as researchers can use everything from positivist to ethnographic approaches. Together, these articles constitute concrete examples of how globalizing efforts can look, making this theoretical debate more tangible. This helps to qualify the debate, as it makes sure that we are “talking about the same thing,” and these concrete studies also point to more applied issues that might be overlooked in the abstract debate. Consequently, this dissertation also qualifies as “a grounded meta-study” borrowing a term from Valbjørn (2008a). In a grounded meta study, the implications and limits of various positions in the general debate on a given topic are explored by grounding them in concrete analyses (primary studies). These analyses might be embedded in one particular region; in this case, Latin America.

For this dissertation, the implications and limits of the various debates on globalizing IR are explored by looking at the case of Latin America.⁴ These particular analyses take the form of three scouting missions (Articles 2, 3, and 4) taking place in various parts of the globalizing IR debate in Latin America. I do not claim that these studies provide a comprehensive account of the globalizing IR debate in general or even a comprehensive account of the debate in

⁴ I will discuss my reasons for focusing on this region in further detail in section 2.3.

Latin America. As Chapter 3 reviews, then, neither the Global South nor Latin America is a uniform entity; experiences from one place are not necessarily identical to the experiences in other parts of the Global South. Yet these primary studies can serve as an illustration of the debates, highlight the complexity, and serve heuristic purposes (George and Bennett 2005). In this way, the more general insights of the meta study are also useful to scholars located outside of Latin America, while the primary studies might serve as an inspiration to explore similarities or differences within the Global South. While the debate and the reflections of this meta study are global, they are thus grounded in insights from Latin America.

Hence, the grounding of the meta study serves two functions: 1) Insights from the meta study flow to the primary studies, and 2) insights from the primary studies flow to the meta study (Valbjørn 2008a). First, this meta study is grounded in primary studies in and of Latin America. This serves the function of emphasizing the link between the general debates on ethnocentrism to the understanding of IR in Latin America. This is done by questioning how this ethnocentrism might have affected *what* is talked about in IR and *how* it is talked about. The second function reverses the relation, as the lessons from the primary studies can be used to both challenge and qualify the general investigation in the meta study. In this way, the dissertation also shows that meta studies and primary studies are not necessarily at odds.

2.2. The Gaze of a Young White Woman

Critical self-reflection is required when writing a project like this. First, I am writing a meta study about how IR scholars are constructing, reproducing, and perhaps altering the discipline. Meta studies are often perceived as objective gazes on a topic, but one might question if I am not actively engaging in the same disciplinary construction with this type of project. In writing about the IR discipline, I am also a disciplinary practitioner involved in constructing the discipline. As Gunnell (2018, 545) writes, “it is not easy to be both a practitioner and a meta-analyst without suffering some degree of cognitive dissonance.”

Secondly, there is the paradox of my own position as a white European woman writing about making IR less Western-centric. Positionality and reflexivity are core concepts within anthropology and ethnography, but these concepts have been underexplored in IR, with critics perceiving it as professional narcissism and academic navel-gazing. These scholars reject subjectivity and positionality and maintain that the world can be observed from a neutral position. However, an influential strand of critical scholars has criticized IR’s erroneous collective imagination of being able to observe from a neutral

point of view (Cox 1981, Booth 1996, Hamati-Ataya 2013, Amoureux and Steele 2016). The philosopher Santiago Castro-Gómez (2005) has also referred to this as “the hubris of the zero point.” People can have different experiences of different things (different stories to be told), but also different experiences of the same things (different perspectives on the same story) (Smith 2009). Consequently, believing that everyone experiences the same and perceive things in the same way is a rather vain point of view. Scholars therefore argue for the need to focus on the positioning of the beholder and why one narrative is chosen at the expense of other possible narratives (Hall 1996). Interrogating your own positionality is not merely putting in a disclaimer in front of your analysis, but seriously considering how your positionality affects the research you make (Alcoff 1991). Neumann and Neumann (2015) specifically identify three different kinds of situatedness influencing one’s research: 1) pre-data production, which concerns how the scholarly self came to pick the research issues and theories that resulted in this and that research question and not others; 2) data production, which concerns how the scholarly self shapes the context in which data are produced; and 3) textual production, which concerns how the scholar documents the resulting scholarly work.

Taking these scholars’ arguments seriously, I must then reflect critically on my own location and positionality as a researcher when embarking on this journey. Following Neumann and Neumann’s suggestion, I first question my own reasons for choosing these narratives. I am a privileged Danish woman. This privilege means that I have had the opportunity to travel around the world, experiencing other cultures and being confronted with my own preconceptions. There are an infinite number of possible research topics, and yet I chose to work on the ethnocentricity of IR in general and overlooked Latin American insights in specific. I have spent years studying, working and living in Latin America, both before and during this PhD project, and I therefore felt a connection with the region before embarking on this project, a connection which grew deeper over the course of the project. My connection to Latin America is the reason for choosing this research topic and these narratives. In some ways, one can perceive my time in Latin America as fieldwork (especially my time working in academia) and myself as an ethnographer embedded in Latin American society and academia. As Clifford (1997, 22) describes it, an ethnographer is a “homebody abroad,” as their field becomes their home away from home. They embed themselves in their environment and learn the language, personal, and cultural competences needed to make them part of this new context. However, in some ways my time and life in Latin America also transcend the traditional notion of fieldwork, as it is not an experience bound in time but rather my reality. Latin America has indeed become my second home (my future home), and this certainly influences my research. The stories

I tell, the examples I use, and the writers to whom I refer—I came in contact with all of them due to my connection to this region. The goal of ethnography is precisely to achieve a more nuanced understanding of the world from other perspectives than simply one's own (Pader 2006, 163). Had I never lived in Latin America, my dissertation would not be on this topic and would not look the same.

Secondly, it is important to recognize that my research is situated in a context. As a Danish researcher located in the West, my first exposure to the debate about globalizing IR came from articles published in American journals. I was very inspired by the Global IR debate in its less critical form, and yet my privilege allowed me to move in and out of the region during the period of conducting this project, which put me in contact with more critical approaches to this debate, especially at Universidad del Rosario in Colombia. My time spent researching and writing this dissertation has mainly been divided between Denmark, Colombia, and Ecuador. Moving in and out of the region in this manner has affected my research substantially. During my time in Denmark, I did more positivist comparative analyses (Article 2), while my move to Ecuador led me to engage with indigenous cosmovisions, a topic I would not have encountered in Denmark (Article 4). Even if I had encountered these indigenous cosmovisions while in Denmark, I probably would have engaged with them in a different manner. Being embedded in the cultural context of Ecuador and Bolivia and talking to indigenous scholars and leaders there made me realize that I cannot understand these cosmovisions completely as they are; instead, they require some form of translation on my part. Hence, the title of my article, "Lost in Translation." Had I written this article in Denmark, it is more doubtful that I would have come to this realization.

These shifts in location are also reflected in my writing style, the third kind of situatedness upon which to reflect. The articles that I have primarily written in Denmark have a clear, bulleted structure and include various illustrative figures (Articles 1 and 2), whereas the articles developed in Colombia and Ecuador (Articles 3 and 4) are more fluid and complex in their composition and language. In these articles, I engage with literatures in Spanish that do not translate well into a simplified academic English language. As Fanon (1952/2015) reminds us, language is more than grammar; it is also about syntax and grasping the morphology. But above all else, language is also about assuming a culture. This scientific expression is designed to meet the theoretical needs of the West but may constrain scholars trying to address other issues (Hountondji 1992). While I am located in the West, the question of language might be one of the areas of intersection between my position and those of scholars from the Global South. Living in Latin America, I am working,

speaking, and living in a third language that is not my own. Even when in Denmark, however, I am working and writing in a second language that is not my own. The hegemony and pressure of the English language is then also exerted on me. Living in three languages and “thinking in between languages” turns language into an epistemological project, where language becomes relation instead of fact (Mignolo 2012). It makes me aware of the promises and pitfalls of translation. In this way, it is exactly my “pluri-linguaging” (ibid.) and moving back and forth between cultures, contexts, and languages, that makes me able to conduct this particular project. There is, thus, a layer of voices to these writings.

And yet even in my more “fluid” articles, I probably still address and present the narrative in a manner that is different from both Latin American and indigenous writers. Moving between regions has not made my studies (or me) “Latin American,” nor do my writings reflect a cultural syncretism. I am not Latin American, nor do I claim to possess a Global South voice. However, my shifting positionality has opened up and altered my Western interaction with the topic, making these distinctions less fierce and, in turn, created the “practical condition for fruitful dialectics” (Estermann 2015, 15). I therefore hope to be viewed as an ally for Global South scholars in the struggle to be recognized in a hegemonic discipline.

Chapter 3: Defining the West and the Global South

In the previous chapter, I argued for the need to hear Global South scholars and labelled myself an ally of these Global South scholars, all while recognizing my location as a white, Western woman. But what do all of these labels mean? Indeed, labels such as “the West” and “Global South” must be utilized with precaution.

As Peters and Wemheuer-Vogelaar (2016, 4) warn, “defining the concepts ‘Western’ and ‘non-Western’ is at best a difficult and at worst a dangerous endeavor.” This warning builds on the idea that spatial categories denote more than geography and that defining these categories is difficult, as it involves reproducing certain imaginaries and relations. In this regard, critical meta-geography and critical geopolitics have directed attention to the innate unnaturalness of geographic units, demonstrating how they are instead socially constructed (Dalby 1991, Agnew 1994, Dodds and Sidaway 1994, Ó Tuathail 1996, Hettne 2005, Agnew 2016). Instead, these units might be identified as the “spatial structures through which people order their knowledge of the world” (Lewis and Wigen 1997, xi), or even “spatial imaginaries” (Dalby 2002). The social science representations of these spaces relate to how we perceive the world, as they naturalize a certain way of imagining and dividing the world which, in turn, provides a sort of geopolitical reasoning (Lewis and Wigen 1997, Dalby 2002). In other words, the categories that we (choose to) use to order our conception of the world are neither natural nor objective. These categories denote more than mere geography, and they are grounded in a particular context.

The development in the spatial categories used in IR attests to this fact. One can thus identify an evolution from primarily using the categories “First, Second and Third World” to preferring the “West/non-West” binary, to the current popular distinction between “Global South/Global North” (Dirlik 2007, Acharya 2014b, 48-50, Kleinschmidt 2018). In itself, such an evolution is evidence of the constructed nature of these concepts. There is no static truth to the geographical units we utilize in the social sciences; instead, we continuously construct and reconstruct our spatial imaginaries. Secondly, while these spatial categories denote many of the same areas and peoples, they are rooted in different contexts and emphasize different characteristics. For instance, the terms “First, Second, and Third World” were used to distinguish the formerly colonized societies from the modernizing capitalist and socialist

societies (Dirlik 2007). Hence, using these terms underlines political-economic aspects, developmentalism, and a clear hierarchical relationship. In some ways, the “West/non-West” binary can be perceived as a widening of this, as these terms are not only related to the developmental debate and but also wider theoretical issues. The “West/non-West” binary is commonplace in IR but has also come under criticism (Chakrabarty 2008). Hutchings (2011, 644-645), for instance, points to two issues: “Firstly, whatever the differences between them, ‘non-Western’ experiences and perspectives remain defined in a negative relation, and, secondly, the idea of ‘non-Western’ IR preserves a link between truth and cultural/geographical location.” The criticism is that the non-West is defined as the negation of the West, “a neat ethnocentrism which defines nine-tenths of the people of the world in one negative term” (Cohn 1987, 35). The negative relation in which the non-West is defined as the opposite of the West is problematic to the extent that it reinforces a view of the non-West as something radically different to the West; particularly, when the West is continuously associated with truth, rationalism, and science (see section 4.1). Hence, Stuart Hall (1992) makes the point that the West is an idea or concept, a language for imagining a set of complex stories, ideas, historical events, and social relationships. In this way, “the concept of the West functions in ways which (1) allow ‘us’ to characterize and classify societies into categories, (2) condense complex images of other societies through a system of representation, (3) provide a standard model of comparison, and (4) provide criteria of evaluation against which other societies can be ranked” (Smith 2012, 44-45). However, this function of the West also obscures the diversity within the West and homogenizes the areas and people included in this category (Jørgensen 2000, Jørgensen and Knudsen 2006, Breitenbauch 2013).

The most recent development in IR is using a third set of categories: “Global North/Global South.” Together with the “West/non-West” binary, these categories are the most utilized categories in the debates about globalizing IR. Here, Global South becomes a more positive definition, even though it is still contrasted with the Global North and in a directly opposed relationship to it. Similarly, we also observe the same homogenizing tendencies with these concepts, as Global North and Global South both include incredibly diverse geographies, cultures, peoples, and experiences (Blaser 2013, 553).

In short, then, these differences show how these binaries are not merely empirical terms but also social constructs that are situated in their own historical and social context. These spatial categories are often conceived as separate and discrete. Yet by being binaries, they are relational per definition, as these concepts would not exist without each other (Barkawi and Laffey 2006). Scholars have pointed to how the West did not emerge in a vacuum and that it is also shaped by non-Western ideas and traditions, which have then been

appropriated and molded in a way that is now “claimed Western” (Halperin 2006, Hutchings 2011). Similarly, the non-West/Global South have been shaped and defined by their relation in terms of their “otherness” to this Western construct, again showing the intimate and constitutive relationship between the two (Mignolo 2005, Bilgin 2008). Yet while reality is complex, these analytical distinctions are useful, as they enable us to grasp and identify abstract features and draw them together in a situation where we might otherwise have overlooked their interconnectedness (Jackson 2017).

While the “West/non-West” categories are widely used in IR (especially in older texts), I have chosen to use the concepts “West/Global South” throughout this dissertation. While “the West” remains the most utilized concept in this debate, I have chosen to combine it with the more positive term, “Global South.” Not choosing one of the more clear-cut binaries is a deliberate choice on my part, and a small attempt at countering the binary logic inherent in this kind of geopolitical reasoning. While there is the obvious danger of reiterating old categories when engaging with this language, these are the exact categories used by scholars attempting to globalize IR. However, Hutchings (2011, 646) argues that this globalizing mission cannot “be achieved by the restatement of the categories of self-identified ‘Western’ social theory, however much they reflect the collective common sense of those that explicitly identify either with the ‘West’ or the ‘non-West’.” Instead, she suggests “a deconstruction of such self-identifications and a calling into question of the meanings of dialogue that continue to dominate mainstream and critical IR.” This is what I am attempting to do in my articles and this summary. In Chapter 7, I thus first examine who and how this supposed difference may take form, and Chapter 8 questions the types of dialogues/theoretical travelling that have been suggested as a way of globalizing IR. Article 3 also specifically addresses this issue by pointing to the danger of using the terminology “the West” and “the Global South” in a way that reemphasizes binary logics and their constitutive effects, and it exposes the complexity regarding what we consider “Global South” and “Global South theorizing”. Consequently, I do not use these terms casually, but with caution and attention to their constructed nature and their homogenizing effects.

Chapter 4: The World Is Written by Old White Men

As mentioned in the introduction, there is increasing awareness about how the world has been designed for and by white, Western men, and that the failure to include other perspectives is a driver of an unintentional bias. IR is a Western-centric discipline disguised as an objective, universal field of study. This issue is by no means limited to IR, as it permeates many fields of study and even the notion of science in general. In this chapter, I therefore situate the dissertation within the broader debate on Western-centrism in science and introduce and connect the project to insights from other related fields of research, such as feminist and post-colonial studies.

4.1. What Is Science?

The notion of “science” has been in play in IR debates since the beginning of the scholarly study of international relations (Jackson 2010). Yet Western-centrism and parochialism are not a problem of concern to IR alone; they also affect the entire notion of science. Indeed, “the very idea of a scientific method is in itself largely a philosophical invention,” particularly regarding social sciences, where it “assumes a logical symmetry between natural and social sciences, when what is actually involved is quite different forms and orders of inquiry” (Gunnell 2018, 545). The notion of social science is, thus, a construct. And what we conventionally think of as “science” is rooted in a Western cultural understanding with a particular conceptualization of phenomena such as time, space, subjectivity, and reality (Aikenhead and Ogawa 2007, Smith 2012).

There is a logic of separation underlying the conventional notion of science where the subject is separate from the object, dreams are different from reality, and where time is independent of space. However, these assumptions are not universal. In the Andean indigenous language Quechua, time and space are collapsed into one word, “pacha.” While the word denotes a duality, it also linguistically underscores a correspondence between the two, as time and space become complementary and inexorably interconnected (Estermann 2015, 166, Janeta 2015, 75, Yampara Huarachi 2016, 64). This contrasts with the dominating Western view of time and space as separate entities (and in some instances even factors one can utilize and control for in your research design). In this way, the separatist logic underlying the dominant notion of

science is neither universal nor cultureless, but to some degree a Western construction.

Another of the most pervasive assumptions within Western social science is the notion of “one world.” In research, we attempt to get closer to knowing this single container world. And yet in many cultures, the idea of life as a set of differently enacted worlds prevails; not one world, but many (Viveiros de Castro 2004, Law 2015, Blaney and Tickner 2017). In parts of the Amazon, the jaguar’s world and life experience is considered just as real as the human experience, meaning that we have multiple realities or worlds coexisting simultaneously (Michaux 2017). Similar expressions of the existence of multiple worlds exist in various cultural settings. In order to challenge and expand on these established conceptions (as well as my own), I stayed at a Buddhist temple in South Korea. In a conversation about Buddhist ways of life with one of the monks, he gave the example of a child playing with a doll and talking to it. The parents may only see the child playing with the doll. That is their world. Yet the child is having an actual conversation with the doll. “Why is this less real when it is the child’s reality?” he asked. According to the monk, many worlds can be enacted at the same time. However, this understanding clashes with the dominating notion of science. The instant reaction to these understandings might range from “unscientific garble” to “a different view.” But even labelling it “a different view” undermines the difference; we are not dealing with a “plurality of views of a single world, but a single view of different worlds” (Viveiros de Castro 2004, 6). This is not a question of different perspectives, but of different understandings of the nature(s) of reality(/ies) and existence.

These examples demonstrate that existing theories, methodologies, and epistemologies are not neutral. What counts as experience is not neutral. Rather, experience is approached in an empirical logical positivist sense within the Western scientific tradition. Experience is something we can measure. As Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2008, 81) reminds us, however, then “social experience is much more ample and varied than what the scientific tradition and Western philosophy recognize and consider important.” Experiences that are deemed outside of the conventional notions of scientific experience, such as dreams, legacies, communication with non-human beings, or even the experience of non-human beings, become “othered” and delegitimized by treating them as myths and labelling them “unscientific” (Law 2015). Invoking this notion of “scientific” privileges some modes of inquiry over others, as science is perceived as good and valuable, whereas “unscientific” experiences are not considered worthy of investigation (Jackson 2010, 10). The unquestioned adoption of Western standards to judge what passes as legitimate IR knowledge silences some of the Global South voices (Smith 2010, 66).

As I discovered during my research, the Western-centric notion of what constitutes science is therefore responsible for concealing and degrading alternatives. In Article 4, I describe how indigenous cosmovisions profoundly challenge the political, ontological, and epistemological commitments underlying both the dominant understanding of science and the discipline of International Relations. As other scholars also have pointed out, this has led to indigenous insights being relegated to the non-scientific and therefore deemed irrelevant to the study of international relations (Picq 2013). As Sheryl Lightfoot (2016, 24) writes, “these assumptions can overlook, silence, or completely erase Indigenous peoples, their political communities, and their alternative ways of being in the world.”

As Zalewski (1996, 346) succinctly puts it, theory is not just a noun but also a verb: “Thinking of theory as a noun reinforces the impression that it is a thing which may be picked up and used and refined if necessary. But thinking of theory as a verb implies that what one does is 'theorise' rather than 'use theory'.” Theories do not merely reflect the world; they help shape it. Similarly, Puruwa-Quechua intellectual Janeta (2015) notes that how Western science talks about knowledge is also cultural. Here, knowledge is made into an objective fixed thing that you can “get.” But this translates uncomfortably in other parts of the world, as knowledge is not a static noun but a dynamic process of “coming to knowing,” or “ways of being in the world.” This constitutive condition means that “in as much as knowledges are world-making practices, they tend to make the worlds they know” (de la Cadena and Blaser 2018, 11). If theorizing shapes our understanding and actions, then by extension our theories make up the world(s) in which we live. The extended argument is that theoretical knowledge is productive of the world as much as it is reflective of that which already exists. In the words of Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012, 46), “ideas about these things help determine what counts as real.”

This is not necessarily to say that Western science is wrong and that other forms of knowledge are better. Instead, this project aims to draw awareness to other ways of conceiving knowledge, science, and theory, and to stress the power in defining what is regarded as science.

4.2. Insights from Feminist Studies

The debate about pluralizing IR is essentially a debate about only hearing the stories, theories, and the people from one geo-cultural location: the West. Consequently, it is a debate about bias, exclusion, and overlooked narratives. Feminist scholars have been raising these issues for a long time with an emphasis on gender. When embarking on a journey through the “globalizing IR” debate, it is therefore important to recognize the crucial insights that feminist

studies both inside and outside of IR have brought to the table. The title “From Old White Men to What?” denotes this influence.

In 1949, Simone de Beauvoir wrote that the “representation of the world, like the world itself, is the work of men; they describe it from their point of view, which they confuse with the absolute truth” (Beauvoir and Parshley 1974, 161). The same point could be made about Western scholars: They describe the world from the Western point of view but confuse it with absolute truth. Many of the issues and dynamics pointed to by feminist scholars are thus analogous to the globalizing mission: the exclusion, and parochialism, and the forgotten particularity of the male view. Perez (2019, 23) explains the latter: “When you have been so used to as a white man, that white and male goes without saying, it’s understandable that you might forget that white and male is an identity too.” As Catharine MacKinnon (1983, 639) has labelled it, the world has then ascribed a certain “point-of-viewlessness” to the white male perspective. This perspective has become the standard, and “its particularity the meaning of universality.” Analogously, the Western view of international relations has become the standard. Western theories are often perceived as universal, whereas theories originating in the Global South are mostly limited to being a stand-alone piece about their “own” region or country and somewhat insulated (Callahan 2004, Wæver 2018). In other words, Global South theories become “the particular,” whereas universality is reserved for theories originating in and explaining the West. As feminists have pointed out, however, “failing to include the perspective of women is a huge driver of an unintended male bias that attempts (often in good faith) to pass itself off as ‘gender neutral’” (Perez 2019, xiii). Learning from feminist studies, we should worry about the unintended geo-cultural bias that tries to pass itself off as universal.

Yet feminist scholars do not agree on everything, and there are various strands of feminism within IR that provide and envision different solutions for a less patriarchal discipline. Sandra Harding (1986, 24) has identified a strand that is more aligned with conventional IR: feminist empiricists. They argue that the social biases in existing theories can be corrected by a stricter adherence to the existing methodological norms of scientific inquiry. This version of feminism is appealing, “because it leaves unchallenged the existing methodological norms of science; this means that it would be more easily accepted in the broader social scientific community” (Tickner 2005, 2). Other feminist strands disagree on this point. Take this passage by Pateman and Gross (1987, 191-192), for instance:

It was not simply the range and scope of objects that required transformation: more profoundly, and threateningly, the very questions posed and the methods used to answer them, basic assumptions about methodology, criteria of validity

and merit, all needed to be seriously questioned. The political, ontological and epistemological commitments underlying patriarchal discourses, as well as their theoretical contents required re-evaluation.

More radically, a postmodernist strand of feminism also argues that there is no one true feminist story of reality; instead, we need to embrace the particular histories and “fractured identities” (Harding 1986, 28). As Haraway (1988, 583) frames it: “only partial perspective promises objective vision ... Feminist objectivity is about limited location and situated knowledge.”

A similar division is also present in the globalizing-IR debate (see Chapter 6). Some argue for a soft inclusion of Global South insights. For example, some proponents of the Global IR framework prefer to situate alternative ways of understanding within the dominant IR framework to enrich it “with the infusion of ideas and practices of the non-Western world” (Acharya 2017, 823). Other scholars maintain that this type of dialogue is “an encounter staged and scripted” by the powerful (Hutchings 2011, 640) given that the entry ticket to participating in this dialogue is accepting the foundation of IR and, with it, a particular way of knowing. Although well-intentioned, such dialogue denies autonomy to alternative voices by inadvertently reproducing the function and form of colonial knowledge production (Beier 2009, 25). These scholars are therefore in favor of a more radical break with the existing framework, as this is the only way to escape a reproduction of the inherent marginalization present in the current IR discipline.

Feminist studies have taught us about the challenges with recognizing internal differences without letting these take front stage. This is an important experience for the globalizing-IR debate. Although there are different conceptions of what globalizing IR means, with scholars envisioning different destinations (I will illustrate these different destinations in Chapter 6 and 7), the different strands are still bound together by the same concern about ethnocentrism. When engaging in debates about what divides these scholars, it is therefore also important not to lose sight of what unites them.

4.3. Insights from Post-Colonialism

When embarking on a journey through the debate about globalizing IR, it also becomes necessary to recognize the critical insights provided by postcolonial theory. Globalizing IR is a debate about geo-cultural location, and post-colonial theory addresses how the historical processes affect both the global hierarchy and knowledge production (Taylor 2012, Geeta and Nair 2013, Seth 2013). It relates to insights from post-structuralism about how meaning and identity are constituted by imaginary binary adversarial relationships “us/them,” “West/non-West,” etc. We make sense of something by identifying

what it is not. In effect, there is an arbitrariness to which differences are assigned importance, but certain social and historical practices have made some meanings dominant. An example of such an arbitrary difference is the example of the *chola paceña*, the clothing used by indigenous women in Bolivia (Barragán 1992). This style of clothing originally borrowed from European fashions, where “the large skirts of the *pollera*, flowered Manila shawl, and Borsalino bowler hat were originally adopted in acts of cultural mimesis intended to give indigenous migrants to the city social mobility and access to markets” (Postero 2017, 72). Yet the meaning of this style has been transformed in recent years and it is now perceived as “a form of resistance against cultural assimilation, as the clothing items have come to be seen as emblems of an oppressed and subaltern ethnicity” (Rivera Cusicanqui 2010, 46). What was once perceived as European is now viewed as Indigenous. This example serves both as an illustration of how differences and meanings are formed by imaginary binary adversarial relationships and how these meanings are constituted by social and historical practices that change over time; in essence, these meanings and differences are neither inherent nor natural.

Colonialism builds on the binary construction of “us/them,” “civilized-uncivilized, and “colonizer/colonized” leading to recurrent stereotypes about cultural differences and racial otherness. There is, thus, a power in determining these differences, and we still see this power today. Even though colonialism as a political project is (mainly) in the past, the colonial structures and this binary thinking still affects how the world looks today (Castro-Gómez and Grosfoguel 2007, Moraña, Dussel, and Jáuregui 2008). On this subject, Anibal Quijano (2007) points out how the dominant power structures inherent in colonialism still influence contemporary society in what he terms “coloniality of power.” Not only do we still observe a hierarchical relationship between the West and Global South in terms of economic exploitation and political influence, but colonialism has also left a legacy of epistemological domination: a “coloniality of knowing.” This is the core argument in post-colonial theory. In this way, post-colonialism is deeply intertwined with reflections on the construction of science and knowledge summarized in section 3.1. Post-colonial theory interrogates the historical and political foundations of the discipline and the relation to its current configuration, and “the social world it produces as a consequence” (Gruffydd Jones 2006, 6). It is “a way of thinking about knowledge production, and how certain kinds of knowledge can act as a prop to economic or military or physical domination” (Mgonja and Makombe 2009, 29). Post-colonial theory points to how the construction of what constitutes as knowledge is inflicted by the colonial past. One example is the relegation of Indigenous knowledges to myths, because science and knowledge are associated with ideas about the civilized scientific man, something that stands in

contrast to the pervasive ideas about indigenous peoples who have been constructed as the antithesis of the modern civilized man. This relationship is still reflected in contemporary society, where we can also observe a certain “coloniality of being” in the form of how coloniality still affects the lived experiences of the people in these regions (Maldonado-Torres 2007, Mignolo 2003). Post-colonial studies are therefore important “to understand the implications of silencing other worlds that should be taken into account in the way both IR and our daily international relations are constructed” (Trowsell et al. 2019).

Chapter 5: The Old White Men in International Relations

In Chapter 4, I reviewed how various stands including feminist and post-colonial studies have exposed the parochialism of science in general. In this chapter, I zoom in on the discipline of IR in order to provide an overview of the state of diversity in IR: Who writes the texts and what do they write? In other words, this chapter provides an overview over where we come from and where we are currently situated.

Already in 1977, Stanley Hoffmann published his legendary “An American Social Science,” claiming IR to be a parochial, US-centric discipline. Important work has since been done on uncovering the unseen structures in academia and highlighting the structural forces working behind and influencing our methodologies, theories, and knowledge claims (Holsti 1985, Booth 1996, Wæver 1998, Smith 2002, Acharya 2011, Peters and Wemheuer-Vogelaar 2016). An influential project in this regard has been the *Worlding Beyond the West* book series, which investigates how IR knowledge is produced in different sites around the world. One conclusion from this project is that

the predominance of the American Academy in international relations is manifested in many ways, from the number of lecturers, the number of doctoral programs offered, the number of doctoral students and thesis, the number of university presses and scholarly journals, to the predominance of epistemological, theoretical and methodological approaches made in the USA among different academic communities around the world (Tickner, Cepeda, and Bernal 2012, 6)

All around the world, the same texts constitute the IR canon. Moreover, these core texts are primarily written by old white Western men and embedded in one particular way of viewing both science and the world.

Bibliographic analyses of publication patterns further support this claim of parochialism (Kristensen 2018). The most prestigious journals are published in the US or Britain, illustrating both the economic and epistemological power that these centers have. While these journals are in principle open for everyone to publish in, not everyone does; there is a clear overweight of American and European scholars (UNESCO 2010, Tickner 2018), and citation patterns also appear to be skewed. Studies show that “a research article written by a woman and published in any of the top journals will still receive significantly fewer citations than if that same article had been written by a man”

(Maliniak, Powers, and Walter 2013, 917). While gender biases are well-documented, one can only assume that the “the problem likely extends to race, nationality, and beyond” (Kristensen 2018, 256). There are many material reasons for these imbalances, which I will briefly summarize. Although this project focuses more on the immaterial inequality, the two are mutually constitutive.

One of the important hindrances is language, as it is necessary to write and publish in English to be recognized globally (Smith 2006, 9). In fact, 80% of all academic, refereed social science journals are edited in English, including all of the top journals (UNESCO 2010, 143). Yet in many Global South countries, English is not the first language, and while this is also true for many European countries, one could speculate that the knowledge and level of English is greater in Europe due to better and higher investment in education (made possible by their economic development and position in the core). Taking myself as an example: I am writing this dissertation in English. Although my English is fairly strong due to good early education and university studies with a predominantly English syllabus, my university also provides professional proofreading of any articles I plan on submitting. This service is crucial in order to get past that first hurdle of “desk rejection,” where language is often a key factor. Such revisions weed out “unprofessional” errors and ensure that the argument is easily understood. But this service also costs, and many universities cannot afford to offer it. I therefore gain a competitive edge when it comes to publishing, an edge that is not given by merit but instead a result of my position at an affluent European university.

Language is also more than mere grammar. It also functions as a constraint in terms of the different intellectual writing styles in various areas of the world (Wæver 1998, 694). Mastering the English language is not in itself sufficient; one also needs to know how to present one’s line of argumentation in a Western-dominated social science. This essentially means that the writing style—and more problematically, the “scientific designs”—respond to the needs of Westerners but not necessarily those of Global South scholars (Hountondji 1992, Canagarajah 2002). This scientific expression is designed to meet the theoretical needs of the West but may constrain scholars trying to address the issues facing the Global South. This also goes the other way. Pedro Janeta Janeta (2015), a Puruwa-Quechua intellectual, argues that language is a way of systematizing thoughts and philosophies and, thus, the axis of the construction of knowledge. According to Janeta, someone who knows Quechua would therefore have an easier time understanding indigenous worldviews, because the Quechuan language is more suitable for structuring an understanding of them. In this way, language influences and constrains both how you think and what you can convey.

However, these considerations also carry the danger of leading to another type of parochialism and exclusion, where the ability to speak for a certain geo-cultural location derives on “authenticity.” As Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012, 14) narrates:

one of the many criticisms that gets levelled at indigenous intellectuals or activists is that our Western education precludes us from writing or speaking from a ‘real’ and authentic indigenous position. Of course, those who do speak from a more ‘traditional’ indigenous point of view are criticized because they do not make sense (‘speak English, what!’).

I will examine the question of “who can speak” in more depth in Chapter 7. The point of including this point in this chapter is to highlight the intimate connection of this question to the material politics of language.

There are many more facets to the material side of inequality in IR: the cost of access to research (and you need to quote the state of the art to get published); how the teaching burden is bigger at less affluent universities (which means less time for research); and how funding for research in Global South countries is often more policy-oriented and directed at specific issues (and not the type of research to be published in influential journals). Taken together, all of these factors leave us with the impression that material factors matter for understanding the continuing Western dominance of IR and science in general. However, I have chosen to focus on the theoretical inequality/lack of diversity in IR in this dissertation. In the following, I will therefore turn to examine how this Western dominance actually looks in IR: Who writes the canon and what do they write? These two questions divide the debate into two central parts: the Western-centrism of the scholars being heard in IR and the Western-centrism of the theories/perspectives making up the discipline. I will review these two parts below.

5.1. The Face of IR

There are two major elements to a discipline: the texts and the academics. But the second part is sometimes forgotten under the guise of universal and objective knowledge claims. However, if we look at the scholars whose articles, theories, and approaches we learn about in IR (and perhaps even adopt and use), a discernible pattern emerges. In an empirical analysis of IR syllabi, Biersteker (2009, 320) succinctly concludes that “the nature of American IR parochialism is that it is rationalist, positivist, US-centric, monolingual, recently published, and written by men.” In the 2014 TRIP survey, respondents from around the world recognize US scholars as the “most influential” in the discipline and those who make the most “interesting research” (Maliniak et al.

2018). The survey also shows that US authors dominate IR syllabi around the world; “the geographic distribution of assigned authors, in short, reinforces the notion that the United States is hegemonic in the discipline, that the flow of ideas is largely outward from an insular United States” (Maliniak et al. 2018, 462). Regional studies of IR syllabi from around the world also reflect this tendency (Schoeman 2009, Tickner 2009). Put crudely, the IR scholars influential enough to make it to the IR syllabus all look the same: They are white, Western men.

Publication trends also reveal a disproportionate number of American scholars being published and to a lesser degree European scholars (Friedrichs and Wæver 2009, Kristensen 2015). In fact, bibliographic studies show that “‘the rest of the world’, encompassing the GS [Global South], and even rising powers such as Brazil, India, and China, account for a paltry and stagnant share of all research articles, between 0% and 3%” between 1966 and 2010” (Tickner 2018, 347). Such parochialism means that (foreign) scholars focusing on the Global South are scarce. If they publish in a language other than English, they are excluded from the debate.

This bias in “who writes IR” has been severely criticized. Feminist standpoint theory, for instance, recognizes how the social identity of a researcher matters (Harding 1986, 25). If the social identity of a researcher matters for how they see the world, then this point must also matter for the Global IR project. As Kenneth Booth (1996, 330) famously wondered: “What, for example, would the subject look like today had its origins ... derived from the life and work of the admirable black, feminist, medic, she-chief of the Zulus, Dr Zungu?” If the response to this query is “the same,” then this quest for diversity might not matter much other than from a normal diversity perspective and the belief that everyone should have equal opportunities. If you believe that this imbalance also matters for content, however, this criticism is more severe. Such a criticism is levelled by Valbjørn (2008b), who points to the “blindness of the Self” dilemma, where scholars suffer from a lack of awareness of their own place in how they represent the Other, meaning that they are blind to their own particular perspective and how it influences their worldview. Related to this argument, reflexivist scholars argue that the knower cannot be separated from the known (Mignolo 2009). As both people and scholars, we are shaped by our experiences and, considering that we cannot separate ourselves from our experiences, this influences how we see the world. Hence, Western and Global South scholars might perceive the same things differently or focus on different issues, yet the ethnocentricity regarding who gets published means that we are currently only seeing things from one perspective—the Western—and thereby overlooking other narratives and understandings of the world. Here, the “who writes IR” becomes related to

“what is written.” I will expand on this critique of the content of IR in the next section.

Following the argument that Global South scholars perceive the Global South differently than do Westerners, one might infer that Global South scholars alone can speak about—and in particular for—the Global South. Relatedly, some scholars have criticized the reliance on Western scholars to speak for the subaltern/Global South rather than allowing them to speak for themselves, as this fails to disrupt the discursive hierarchies (Spivak 1988, Alcoff 1991). Yet there is also a danger of focusing exclusively on the geo-cultural location of the researcher. Much of the academic community is only heard of in the “great journals” when the topic of the day in the United States is specifically about a country or a region, as Kristensen (2012) addresses. In South America, local academics only tend to be heard “when the matter being dealt with is South America itself” (Villa and Pimenta 2017, 281).

As Hamid Dabashi reminds us, there is a globality assigned to Westerners and their expertise, whereas scholars outside of the West are assigned a particularity. An African philosopher is never just a philosopher; he is distinctively African (Dabashi 2015, 30-34). This has also led to some consideration when writing up this summary. I cite both Indigenous, Global South, and Western scholars in this summary. Generally, there is no mention of nationality when Western scholars are cited, but this is often different from Global South scholars. So should I indicate that I am citing an indigenous scholar, either by labelling this person indigenous or mentioning their tribe? And should I also make note of the nationality of the Global South scholars? But if I only do this with Global South scholars and do not mention the nationality of European scholars, is this labelling then not a form of othering? There are many considerations and reflections when engaging with this globalizing debate. Ultimately, I have chosen to provide this information only when this identity and positionality relates directly to the quote in question.

5.2. The Content of IR

The above section briefly reviewed the Western-centrism regarding the scholars who are being heard in IR; a Western-centrism that has arguably made the Global an object of IR study rather than an agent of IR knowledge (Tickner 2003b). Hence, it is also possible to observe a Western-centrism of the theories/perspectives making up the discipline. This has led to an argument about IR becoming “increasingly irrelevant” to the Global South (Korany 1986). There are three main arguments for this irrelevance: 1) issues are being overlooked, 2) the existing IR theories cannot account for dynamics in the Global

South, and 3) issues are only dealt with from one perspective. In the following, I will briefly summarize these three arguments.

5.2.1. The Things We Do Not See

Critics argue that many issues are overlooked by IR and, more importantly, that there is a bias to which issues are being overlooked. Researchers are formed by their experiences (Grondin and D'Aoust 2018). There is an infinite amount of possible research questions to choose from, and we come up with these questions based on what we know, what we read, and what we experience. We might not even be aware that some issues exist, because we do not encounter them. Even if we theoretically know they exist, the fact that we are not confronted with them every day renders these issues less salient in our minds. We are inspired by what we know and what we see. As anecdotal evidence, consider again my own case in point. Here, my research took a change when I moved to Colombia and Ecuador, and I started engaging with indigenous politics and indigenous worldviews. I would not have encountered these topics had I remained in Aarhus. This also means that if the scholars who dominate the discipline come from similar places with similar experiences and similar disciplinary backgrounds, then the research questions they come up with might be quite similar.

The issues that do make it onto the agenda are predominantly those that are important from a Western perspective and, in particular, the great powers. In fact, the great powers demand an unequal attention within the discipline. As Waltz once quipped, who cares about Denmark? (Jørgensen 2004, 28) And yet the majority of the people in the world do not live in one of the great power countries. And while the great powers have a major stake in shaping today's world, this power (im)balance is continuously reproduced if we only discuss matters that implicate them and not the "lesser concerns" of the rest of the world. In Latin America for instance, the research agenda has been said to be divorced from the dominating concerns (Drake and Hilbink 2002), while Arab scholars have criticized IR scholarship for being "detached from the challenges, threats, and interests of the people in the region" (Hazbun 2017, 656).

The Westphalian notion of a sovereign state is the starting point of mainstream IR theories, all of which aim at explaining conflict and cooperation between these sovereign entities, albeit in distinct ways. Nevertheless, the basic features of the sovereign state assumed in mainstream IR theory are not so basic when you look to the Global South. For example, Mason (2003, 1) claims that IR has overlooked conflicts in the Andes: "The 40-year plus armed conflict in Colombia, the violent opposition to Hugo Chavez's populism, massive

social protests in Bolivia and Peru, and Ecuador's persistent political and social instability have all been branded domestic issues, and thus not within the purview of systemic IR thinking.” Put differently, IR thinking is biased toward which actors and concerns are seen as most important (Barkawi and Laffey 2006). Along the same lines of criticism, my own work on indigenous politics might be considered unimportant for understanding global politics and consequently not a topic for IR. To this I would argue that other logics and ways of thinking and being in the world(s) is exactly a topic for IR; it is about relating to each other in “the International.” Excluding these insights and topics from the research agenda reproduces the inequality and power (im)balance, and we risk creating a list of predefined topics that are considered “acceptable” and important enough for the IR research agenda. Consequently, the Western-centrism in IR entails “a selectivized attention” (Goh 2019, 2), meaning that some issues are overlooked and there is a pattern to it.

5.2.2. The Things We See Wrong

The second critique is that IR theories cannot account for dynamics in the Global South. Several scholars have thus demonstrated the limits of the existing theories when applied to events and developments in various regions of the Global South (Tomassini, Moneta, and Varas 1991, Brown 1984, Ayoob 2002, Hinnebusch 2003). The dominance of state-centric approaches paired with a particular focus on strong powers (for instance as proposed by Waltz 1979), is “at best a poor basis for understanding and action in contemporary security environments” (Barkawi and Laffey 2006, 330). This awareness has long been present in Global South security studies, but it has also come to the forefront of Western research agendas since 9/11: “That the weak play an integral role in shaping world politics is harder to deny when a Southern resistance movement strikes at the heart of Northern power” (ibid: 333). Another example of the limits of the traditional approaches comes from Asian experiences. Here, Kang (2003, 58) shows how “the pessimistic predictions of Western scholars after the end of the Cold War that Asia would experience a period of increased arms racing and power politics has largely failed to materialize.” However, by demonstrating that the Global South is not behaving “as expected,” a certain abnormality is also ascribed to the Global South and we partake in a process of “othering” these experiences. The mainstream of the discipline has, thus, generally perceived these studies as analyses of Global South aberrations, but it has not led to a deeper critical questioning of the disciplinary status quo.

5.2.3. The Things of which We Only See One Side

While not all studies make erroneous predictions or provide wrong accounts of Global South developments, they might provide a somewhat one-sided account. This is the main argument in the third critique levelled against the current configuration of the IR discipline; namely, that many studies are written from one perspective: the Western perspective (Barkawi and Laffey 2006). The Western perspective has become the universal and standard, the zero point from where we can view the world objectively. However, this objectivity is questionable. This is especially true if we engage with studies examining “the female perspective” or the “Latin American point of view” without acknowledging that the mainstream white-male account is also a perspective. Again, we partake in an “othering” process whereby the Western perspective is (unintentionally) perceived as universal, while other views are considered particular. Relating this criticism to the first argument about underexplored issues in IR, we thus encounter a double limitation. Many Global South concerns are not at the forefront of the IR research agenda, and if we do find an example of such a treatment, it is usually in reference to the West, such as “which international strategies to use against these type of terror organizations?” In other words, even when the Global South is at the center of IR analysis, it is “not treated as the referent object” (Bilgin 2008, 287). The argument is, thus, that the inherent Westernness of the IR discipline and the traditional IR theories creates this imbalance and one-sided treatment of the Global South.

To summarize, the overall argument is that IR is becoming increasingly irrelevant because of the continuing Western dominance and reproduction of the same frames of analysis. Put simply, IR is stuck in a rut. At a workshop on the state and future of IR in Latin America held at Universidad de Rosario in Bogotá, one of the participants thus likened the discipline to a hamster wheel in which scholars attempt to interpret and reinterpret the international by referencing the same works and revisiting the same issues from the same perspective. Breaking with this disciplinary status quo, various scholars argue that the discipline should not limit but instead amplify possible themes and knowledges (Bleiker 2001, Tickner and Blaney 2012, Acharya 2016, Trowsell et al. 2019). This makes sense: When you (unintentionally) exclude more than half the world from knowledge production, you miss out on potentially transformative insights. And yet complicated questions regarding which type of diversity we are expecting/wanting to find remain, together with questions about how to engage with such perspectives. In this regard, much confusion remains about the mission to globalize IR, what globalizing actually entails,

and how it should be gone about. I will investigate these questions in the following chapters and show that behind the immediate consensus about the need for globalizing IR, there also exists considerable disagreement about both the mission and strategies for achieving this.

Chapter 6: Where Should We Be Going?

There is a bifurcation of the globalizing IR debate, with different strands and responses to how to reach the objective of a more global IR. In other words, even within the strand of scholars who want to globalize IR, there are diverging responses to the question, “Where should IR be going?” The dividing line is “whether to fight for a place in IR, for making IR more inclusive, or for abandoning IR” (Wæver 2018, 566). In this way, Wæver points to three general camps in the debate, which I label the traditionalists, the moderates, and the radicals. In this chapter, I present an overview over these three camps before qualifying and examining the various positions in greater detail in Chapter 7.

The first camp consists of what I label “traditionalists.” These scholars agree on the need for more diversity regarding both the scholars being published and the cases being used, but they do not ascribe to the post-structuralist, post-colonial argument about how constructed imaginaries have shaped today’s world. Their main mission is to work against some of the structural imbalances in the discipline, and yet they do not necessarily agree that this imbalance alters the world’s very shape. The focus is therefore less on the power inherent in the existing theories and more on expanding the case universe so that there are more analyses of Global South dynamics. An example of this position is found in many of the studies in the 2019 special issue in the *Journal of Global Security Studies*. These studies address the bias in IR, and “their main purpose is to speak to the mainstream of US scholarship, specifically, the mainstream neopositivists in the field” (Goh 2019, 402), in order to make them question their case universe, but without fundamentally challenging the mainstream theories and assumptions.

I label the second camp “the moderates.” These are scholars who go a step further than the traditionalists by also questioning the status quo of the discipline. It is not enough only to expand the case universe; instead, they argue that it is also necessary to revise the existing theories and include new perspectives. This does not extend to a mission of doing away with IR all together, but instead to making the existing discipline more inclusive. The Global IR agenda is an example of such an approach, as it aspires to greater inclusiveness and diversity in the discipline by changing the Global South from a place of “fieldwork and theory-testing” to a place for the “discovery of new ideas and approaches” (Acharya 2014a, 648). However, instead of radically breaking with the existing framework, the objective of incorporating these diverging

views is to enrich IR “with the infusion of ideas and practices of the non-Western world” (Acharya 2017, 823).

One can identify a third and more “radical” camp, which argues that it is necessary to abandon the constricting discipline and “do away with boxes all together” (Tickner 2013, 642). Their argument is that IR’s existing notions of science, theory, and methodology are so inflected and imbedded in Western modes of thinking that this “Westernness” is in the IR DNA (see also section 4.1.); in other words, the bias is inherent. As Wight argues by building on Spivak’s (1988) insights about the subaltern, “these factors do not function as barriers to entry, but instead, force alternative voices to engage in the conversation in a manner that negates the alterity that makes their contribution valuable” (Wight 2019, 65). It is therefore necessary to recognize this built-in power and inequality and go beyond the disciplinary boundaries (Bleiker 2001, Picq 2013, Inayatullah and Blaney 2004). As one group of scholars frames it: “Trying to write from within IR, we find ourselves prisoners in our own vocation. We are speechless, or even worse, cannot find words to represent the world and those within it” (Burke et al. 2016, 502). An example of scholars engaging in this work are the participants of the “doing IR differently” initiative. This initiative “seeks to understand International Relations (IR) from different ways of knowing, promoting diversity of thought and trying to generate ruptures inside the traditional ways of studying IR” (Universidad San Francisco de Quito 2018).

In the following chapter, I will qualify these three camps by examining the differences between them in greater detail, positions that create these diverging responses to the question of where IR should be going. After this qualification, I will also illustrate how these different responses play out in concrete case studies of how to globalize IR (Chapter 8).

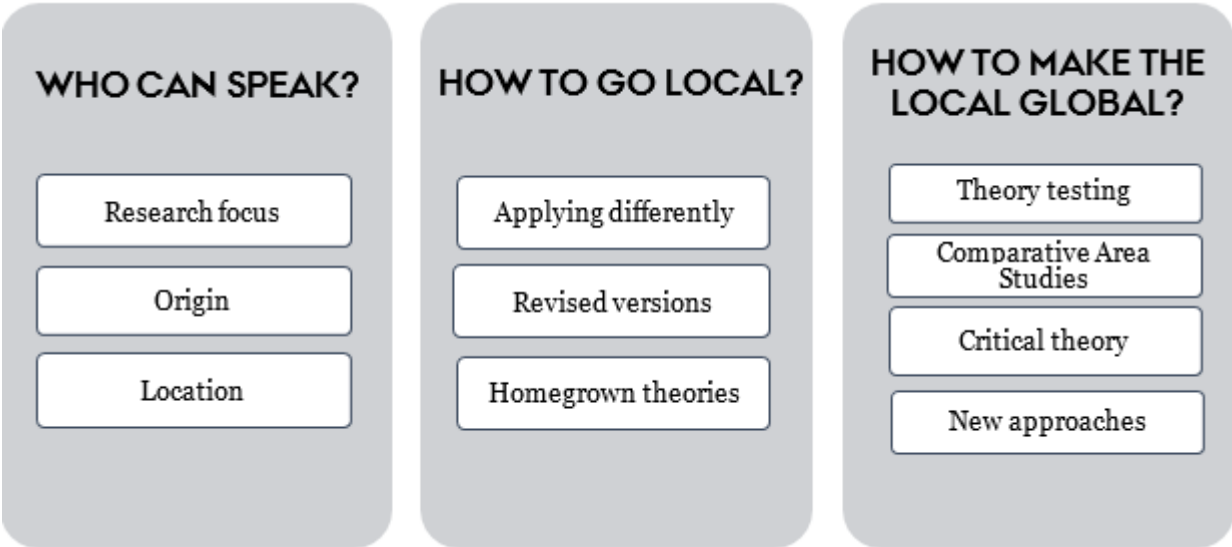
Chapter 7: Mapping the Debate

The previous chapter briefly summarized three general positions on the question of how to globalize IR. However, this debate is more complex than this simplified sketch, as these diverging positions signal that scholars might actually mean quite different things when they discuss globalizing IR. This relates to the first general problematique of this dissertation: *What do we mean by globalizing IR?*

This problematique denotes how the entire notion of “globalizing IR” is a contested issue. The first question is whether we focus on scholars or theories when we talk about globalizing the discipline, and the subsequent question then becomes which scholars and which types of theories we want to include. There are diverging answers to these questions and consequently competing notions of globalizing IR at play, which demands further investigation. In my Article 1, I thus identify three contested issues within the debate about globalizing IR: who can speak, how to go local, and how to make the local global (see Figure 2). There has not been sufficient reflection on these issues, and the existing reflections have often only pertained to one of the questions instead of seeing them as interrelated parts of the same debate. I address this gap in my article and the findings are summarized in this chapter.

These findings also interact with the second general problematique: *How can we go about globalizing IR?* Different answers to the three identified issues provide researchers with different avenues for going about globalizing IR. Differing understandings of what globalizing IR means therefore have consequences for how to proceed with this mission. I draw on the insights from this chapter in the examination of some of the possible travel paths moving forward in Chapter 8.

Figure 2: Map of the “globalizing-IR debate”



7.1. Who Can Speak?

The parochialism in IR concerns both the scholars and theories comprising the discipline. Hence, when discussing the mission to globalize IR, one of the first dividing issues is that of scholarly identity. How should “the face of IR” look? And more specifically, who can speak for and about the Global South?

This dissertation has already briefly touched on the notion of authenticity (Chapter 5) and the question of whether nationals alone can “truly” speak from a Global South perspective. The extended question is whether Westerners who spend prolonged time working and studying in their region of interest can speak for and about the Global South. Or is deep knowledge of a particular region not necessary—opening the table to general IR specialists as well? These are important questions that draw on insights and criticisms from different debates but have not dealt with one another explicitly. I bridge this gap by contributing with a typology of different scholarly profiles that builds on these debates (Figure 3). The typology is discussed in more detail in Article 1.

Figure 3: A Typology of Scholarly Profiles

	Nationals		Non-nationals	
	General IR	Regional expertise	General IR	Regional expertise
In region	Nationals working in the region on general IR	Nationals working in the region on the region	Non-nationals working in the region on IR	Non-nationals working in the region on the region
Example	Colombian working at a Colombian university on realism	Colombian working at a Colombian university on border relations between Colombia and Venezuela	German working at a Colombian university on realism	German working at a Colombian university on border relations between Colombia and Venezuela
Outside region	Nationals working outside the region on general IR	Nationals working outside the region on the region	Non-nationals working outside the region on general IR	Non-nationals working outside the region on the region
Example	Colombian working at a German university on realism	Colombian working at a German university on border relations between Colombia and Venezuela	German working at a German university on realism	German working at a German university on border relations between Colombia and Venezuela

The typology is meant as a tool for discussing scholarly identity in relation to the debate on globalizing IR. The typology makes us reflect on our own position, but it also has the added function of ensuring that we are discussing the same things when we enter the globalizing IR debate. Does globalizing IR involve hearing more regional specialists or is it really about hearing more Global South nationals? These questions matter for the debate about globalizing IR. If you believe that it is about hearing more Global South nationals, then hearing more regional specialists (like me), will not be an act of globalizing IR but instead a new way of continuing the existing parochialism. In this way, the typology is very useful when debating the first general problematique “*What do we mean by globalizing IR?*” The typology can also be used in specific cases to compare and discuss individual scholars: Does a Colombian working on realism and the rise of China possess a more authentic Global South voice than mine—A Danish Latin American specialist? Some will answer in the affirmative, while others will refute such a claim.

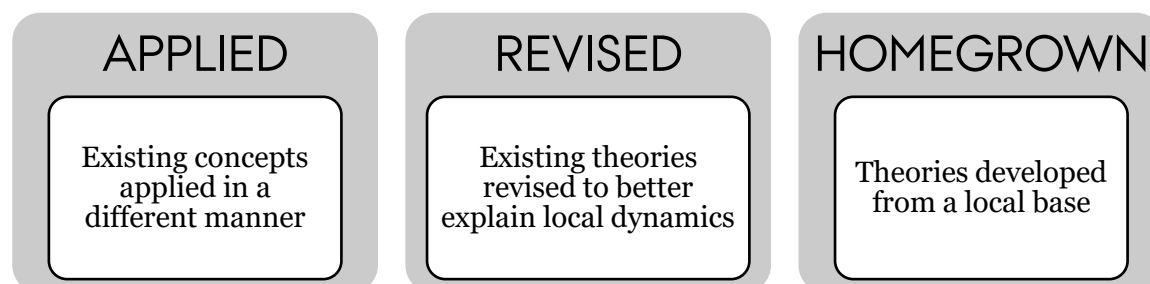
Scholarly identities are not static, and the typology can also be useful for tracing the development of one particular scholar. I can use myself as an illustrative case. In the beginning of my PhD project, I would identify myself as a “non-national with regional expertise working outside of the region” (bottom-right corner). Upon moving to Colombia and Ecuador, however, I suddenly found myself occupying the place of a “non-national with regional expertise working in the region” (upper-right corner). The first important observation to make is that this development might affect how other scholars perceive me; some might see me as better equipped to speak about and for the Global South

when I live in this region, as I am closer to the everyday life and developments here. However, this movement also had an impact on my research. Moving in and out of the region confronted me with issues and perspectives that I would not have encountered in the context of Aarhus and I engaged with these topics in a different way, as I touched upon in section 2.3 about positionality.

7.2. How to Go Local?

Globalizing IR can denote both face and content, as written above. The section above examined the “face of IR;” that is, the question of scholarly identity in relation to the debate about globalizing IR. I demonstrated that there are various positions in this debate about who can speak for and about the Global South. The next contested issue regards the content that these scholars produce: What is a Global South theory? In other words, what type of theories and differences do we expect to find in the Global South? As Jørgensen (2018, xv) argues, theoretical reflections are “all too often subsumed under the catch all umbrella concept of IR theory.” This is also a peril in this dissertation, as the term “IR theory” often becomes a single overarching concept, which collapses and conflates many meanings into it. In order to compensate for this tendency, I explore how theories and difference may take various shapes and forms. In Article 1, I thus identify three types of local theorizing: 1) applying existing concepts differently, 2) revising existing theories, 3) developing or discovering completely homegrown theories (for an alternative division see Smith 2009, or Aydinli and Biltekin 2018). These three types of theories are illustrated in Figure 4. In this way, this part of the dissertation underlines the intricacy of the question of theory.

Figure 4: Three Types of Local Theorizing



The mission to globalize IR necessarily involves recognizing theorizing done outside of Western academia. This dissertation identifies three main types of local theorizing in the Global South that range from discovering existing theories overlooked in a parochial discipline to developing new, homegrown theories. These three types of theorizing represent different perspectives on what

local knowledges and theories can look like. With this typification, I thus aim to deconstruct the idea of Global South theorizing in order to be sensitive to differences between the various forms while also identifying some similarities. I will briefly summarize the three types of theorizing (see Article 1 for details).

Various studies have shown that the same major (Western) IR theories are used around the world (Tickner and Wæver 2009, Medeiros et al. 2016). There is a certain “IR canon” (predominantly consisting of Western theories) that transverses borders, creating a high degree of reproduction. Consequently, we will not necessarily find some “exotic” different Global South theorizing. In other words, Global South theorizing might also take the form of “mimicking” Western ideas (Bhabha 1994, Bilgin 2008). And yet while these analyses point to the fact that IR theorizing in the Global South is quite similar to the West, they also find that “Western IR translates into something different when travelling to the periphery” (Tickner and Wæver 2009, 338). These same Western concepts and theories are applied in a different manner, here with the result that IR is “almost the same but not quite” (Bilgin 2009). In Latin America, for example, there is a more pragmatic use of theories, which means that “when looking at similar categories, Latin American scholars have normally seen something different” (Tickner 2008, 745). Parts of the globalizing IR debate might not consider this type of theorizing particularly “Global South” or sufficiently game-changing, while other scholars, such as Bilgin (Bilgin 2008, 14), maintain that “‘non-Western’ resistance and/or ‘difference’ may take many forms—including a search for ‘similarity’.”

The second type of local theorizing, which entails altering existing IR theories, is arguably more intentional and far-reaching. Often it is the inadequacy of the existing theories in explaining Global South dynamics that leads to acts of revising. Hence, theory revision implies an intention to adjust existing IR theories so that they are more suitable for understanding the particularities of the region in question (Acharya and Stubbs 2006, 128). Peripheral and subaltern realism are two such examples where scholars have attempted to revise realism in order to better account for developments outside of the West (Escudé 1995, Ayooob 1997). However, this type of theorizing does not completely break with the established Western base; consequently, some scholars partaking in the globalizing IR debate might argue that diversifying IR with this type of revised theories is merely a way of reaffirming the dominance and parochialism of the Western-centric thinking in IR (Vasilaki 2012). To the contrary, others argue that the established theories do partially explain how the system works (also due to their constitutive function), and it would therefore be ill advised to completely discard the established narratives (Ayooob 2002).

Instead of accepting existing assumptions, radical homegrown theories begin with a local base and then build a theory by generalizing from these local experiences on their own terms (Acharya 2011, Aydinli and Biltekin 2018). Homegrown theorizing might be perceived as the most pure and unspoiled type of Global South theorizing free from the grips of Western influence and the resulting constraints. According to one criticism, however, it is illusory to believe that such a “pure” thing exists, as the West is always reflected in the Global South and vice versa (Bilgin 2008, Mignolo 2012). As such, only focusing on and accepting this type of Global South theorizing represents a very constricting and limiting view of what can be considered Global South theorizing. This is not fruitful for dialogue and may be considered excessively radical. Indeed, homegrown theorizing might seem radical if the new theories are intended to supplant existing ones. But new theories do not necessarily have to compete, as some topics of relevance to the non-West are simply not covered in the existing IR literature (Tickner 2003b). Furthermore, such insights are often found outside of the existing disciplinary lines; that is, what is traditionally considered IR. Karen Smith (2013, 2018b), for instance, has pointed to the communal concept of Ubuntu as an underexplored source of innovative (South)-African theorizing, while scholars such as Picq (2016) and Lightfoot (2016) maintain that indigenous insights are an underexplored and undervalued source of knowledge for IR.

The examination above clearly demonstrates that these three types of theorizing represent different perspectives on what local knowledges and theories can look like. The analysis also suggests that the typification is intimately related to the two general problematiques that serve as the focal point for this thesis. The first problematique was “*What do we mean by globalizing IR?*”, and to this question the typology highlights that Global South theorizing may take various shapes and forms. Consequently, scholars participating in the globalizing IR debate might be talking about different forms of theorizing, unaware of the different notions or perhaps even in direct disagreement about what constitutes Global South theorizing.

In Chapter 6, I presented three general camps in the “Where IR should be going?” debate: the traditionalists, the moderates and the radicals. Each camp had its own response to how to globalize IR. There are various interfaces between these camps and the preferred type of theorizing. Scholars who locate themselves firmly in the radical camp and argue for abandoning a constricting discipline will not necessarily perceive acts of revising existing theories as particularly globalizing. Instead, such efforts might be considered a way of reproducing the same patterns of inequality as scholars are accepting the underlying inequality and the monopoly over the construction of theoretical

knowledge. Thus, one might infer that homegrown theorizing will be a preferred strategy among the members of this camp. To the contrary, traditionalists might have an easier time engaging with existing concepts or revised versions, as they prefer working inside the existing disciplinary lines. Depending on the type of homegrown theorizing, such efforts might be too different to absorb and include in IR, especially if such theorizing takes its inspiration from outside of the existing disciplinary lines.

The typification is also intimately related to the second general problematique, “*How can we go about globalizing IR?*” Or in other words, how to acknowledge or include Global South theorizing in IR. The answer to this question obviously depends on what type of theorizing we are trying to include or acknowledge. I will elaborate on this question in the next section.

7.3. How to Make the Local Global?

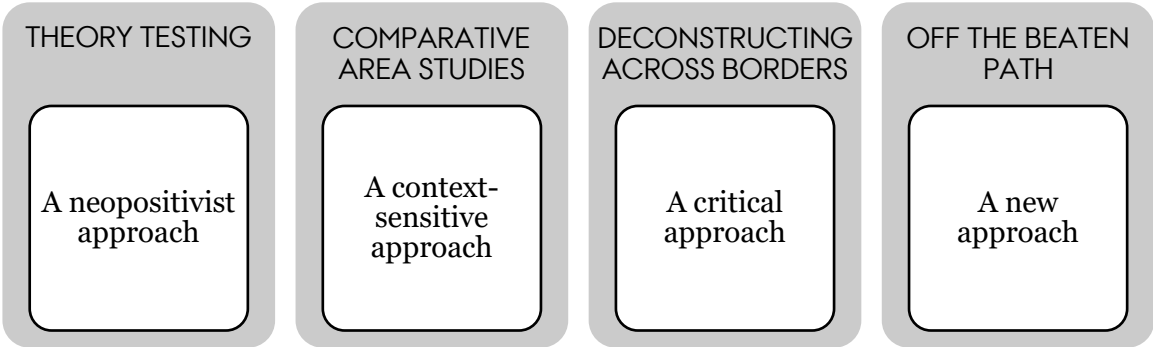
The second general problematique around which this dissertation is built is “*How can we go about globalizing IR?*” Put differently, how can we acknowledge and/or include Global South theorizing in IR. One challenge with the mission to globalize IR is that we often ascribe a certain insularity to Global South insights (Wæver 2018), where these insights are limited to being about their region (Acharya 2015). This has led to warnings about a growing nationalization or Balkanization of IR, the focus of which is on producing national schools of IR that emphasize the distinctiveness of the individual nation/region (Callahan 2001, Chen 2010, Buzan 2016). Instead, these scholars argue that it is necessary to question the inherent “globalness” of Western theories and inherent “localness” of Global South theories, and one way of doing this is by making these “local” theories travel. For instance, Deciancio (2016) argues that bringing in Latin American experiences with regionalism allows for new approaches to the same research agenda which could be useful for many developing countries, while Bandarra (2019) points to the Latin American success with nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament, arguing that important lessons can be drawn from this experience.

Yet theory travelling is a complex issue. Scholars such as Edward Said (1983), Arjun Appadurai (Appadurai 1996), and Thomas Berger and Alejandro Esguerra (2017) argue that theories and knowledge are situated in a context and that knowledge changes when it becomes divorced from this context and travels to different places. “Theory is always a response, therefore, to specific social and historical situations” (Tickner and Blaney 2012, 12). The question then becomes how such theory travelling can occur, the answer depending in great part on the theory in question and the methodological mindset of the scholar. These questions are thus related to the questions of “who can speak”

and “how to go local.” In this way, these three contested issues exist as separate considerations, yet they are interrelated in the greater globalizing-IR mission.

In Article 1, I point to four possible and distinct ways of theory travelling: 1) neopositivist theory testing, 2) Comparative Area Studies, 3) critical theory, and 4) new approaches not corresponding with existing methodological outlooks (Figure 5). These four avenues are chosen as they correspond to different methodological outlooks, displaying that there is no one way of doing Global IR; instead, it is open to a wide range of diverse scholars. I will briefly summarize these four avenues below and provide examples of how such studies look in practice in Chapter 8.

Figure 5: Four ways of theory travelling



The philosophical underpinnings of the neopositivist approach correspond to the conceptualizations and assumptions associated with a Western notion of science (see section 4.1.). The neopositivist approach involves attempting to falsify general claims against empirical evidence. It thus requires generating testable hypotheses from the local theories and, subsequently, testing whether these hypotheses can survive when applied to other local contexts. The approach is therefore suitable for theories that allow for this type of testing, which some of the mainstream IR theories do. Consequently, it is a strategy often favored by IR generalists working with this type of theories.

A second form of theory travelling engages with the Comparative Area Studies framework (CAS), which rests on the conviction that deep contextual knowledge of particular areas is needed in social sciences and that this knowledge could have relevance beyond that particular region. Scholars should accordingly seek comparable observations that speak more generally while at the same time work with a deep sensitivity to context (Koellner, Sil, and Ahram 2018). The focus on comparison and generalizability means that CAS, like the neopositivist approach, adheres to more mainstream and traditional understandings of science and theory. Contrary to a strictly neopositivist approach, however, scholars working with the CAS frameworks believe that

causal powers may unfold in diverse ways due to historical specificities and recognize the importance of local context. Deep and specialized knowledge of the region and local languages is often deemed necessary for this type of studies. Considering Figure 1, this approach appears to exclude certain scholars from the table, particularly various non-nationals and IR generalists. Consequently, one's attitude toward the question of scholarly identity might influence which globalizing approach seems most suitable and vice versa.

In their own way, critical theories also transverse borders and regions. This approach asks questions about the concepts, dichotomies, and borders making up contemporary society and urges scholars to re-examine taken-for-granted "truths." The ambition is therefore not to establish a new universal theory but to deconstruct narratives, and these critiques have resonated in various places. For example, post-colonial criticisms stemming from African scholars can certainly be relevant for scholars in Latin America and even cultivated further there. This type of theory traveling does not necessarily lend itself to a certain type of scholar, yet many authors working with critical theories appear to occupy the same scholarly profile according to the typology: "nationals with regional expertise working outside the region." Working and moving in-between regions arguably makes you reflect more on positionality and geo-epistemologies (Mignolo 2012).

Finally, I point to the fact that we might need new approaches to theory travelling. While the first three types of theory travelling differ in methodological outlook, they still correspond to established (Western) methodologies. Yet some theories (and especially homegrown theories) might build on something completely different and might not even live up to established definitions of a theory. In order to respect these "theories" in their own right without appropriating and conforming them to established Western standards, we must be open to veering off the beaten path and considering new, unexplored avenues for how such knowledge claims might travel to other contexts. This also means that we are entering uncharted territory with many new and possible ways of engaging with knowledge that cut across contexts. Ling (2019), for instance, proposes epistemic compassion as an approach, which entails a spiritual openness and consideration of others so that an alternative way of relating to and resonating with the Other—"a trialectical-third"—emerges. Alternatively, Querejazu (2017) points to the Aymaran concepts of "tinku" (meeting) and "taypi" (place of mediation and union of that which has been separated) as a way of perceiving and engaging with other realities, worlds, and beings, which are currently unacknowledged and silenced in mainstream IR. It is an emerging and developing field, and the possibilities are endless.

Chapter 8: Examples of Travel Paths

In the previous chapters, I have demonstrated the difficulties involved in simplifying and agreeing on what globalizing IR actually means. I have examined the various diverging positions in the debate about globalizing IR and provided a systematic and comprehensive mapping of the different contested paths one can take to globalize the discipline. In doing so, I have attempted to give other scholars the necessary tools to move forward with the mission of globalizing IR in a conscious manner. Nonetheless, these identified paths and reflections might still appear rather theoretically abstract, and some scholars might struggle with how to *use* these insights actively. In order to make this contribution more tangible, I therefore provide three concrete examples of how to actually go about globalizing IR; that is, how to acknowledge or include Global South theorizing in IR. Articles 2, 3, and 4 thus constitute three independent “scouting missions,” which follow some of the travel paths unearthed. The objectives of these “scouting missions” are two-fold: 1) to provide tangible examples of different ways of going about globalizing IR and 2) to identify the potentials and pitfalls you might encounter when embarking on these missions to new and unexplored places. In this way, the three “scouting missions” also feed back into the roadmap presented in Article 1 by qualifying these theoretically derived and abstract travel paths and by demonstrating both the promises and pitfalls associated with them.

The three articles exemplify three different ways of going about globalizing IR, and these “scouting missions” are therefore chosen both to illustrate a different conception of what “globalizing IR” means (problematique 1) as well as how to go about “globalizing IR” (problematique 2). Moreover, the three articles investigate issues of relevance to the Global South and Latin America in particular but which have not been at the forefront of IR scholarship. This also means that this dissertation partly becomes a dissertation about absences, and writing about absences is notoriously difficult (Santos 2008, Perez 2019). Fortunately, some absences are only “absences” within the dominant narrative. These other ways of conceiving the world might be silenced and marginalized, but they do not cease to exist. Beier (2009, 3), for instance, notes that indigenous perspectives “are not stories untold, but stories unheard in International Relations.” In this sense, these articles also challenge mainstream IR by exploring attempts at imagining politics in other ways beyond the traditional boundaries.

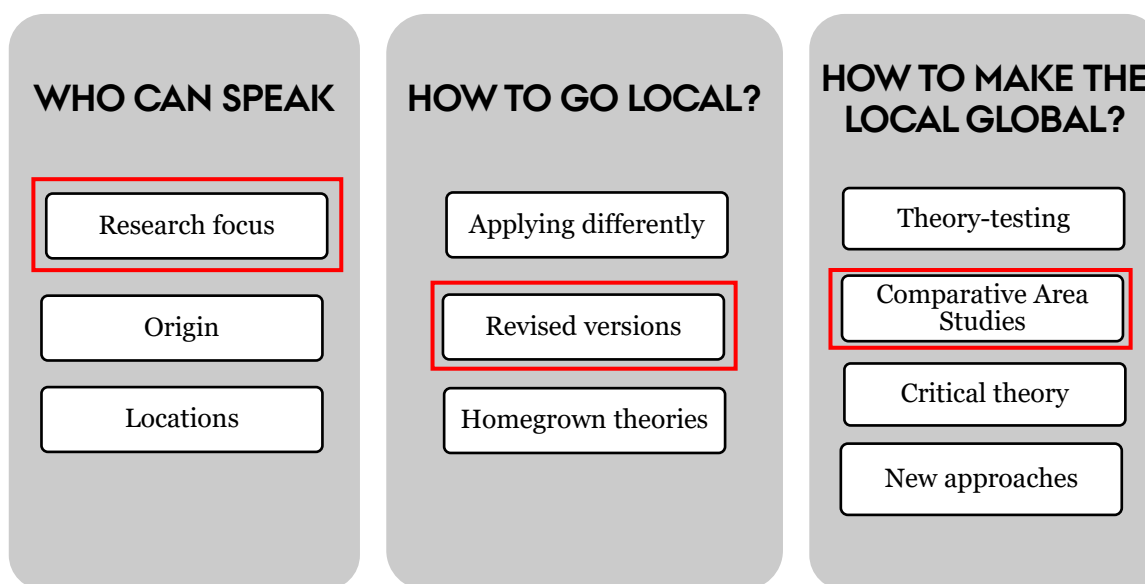
Below, I will summarize the three articles in turn and subsequently identify the travel path that each article represents by situating the article in the map in Figure 2. I will then discuss the promises and pitfalls of the travel path in question. I will begin the chapter by reviewing Article 2, “Comparing Arabism and Latinidad: Theoretical Travelling within the Global South,” then move on to Article 3, “Global South Theorizing: The Case of Human Security,” before ending the chapter with Article 4, “Lost in Translation: Incorporating Indigenous Cosmovisions into the Discipline.”

8.1. Comparing Arabism and Latinidad: Theoretical Travelling within the Global South

Article 2 is entitled “Comparing Arabism and Latinidad: Theoretical Travelling within the Global South” and co-authored with Morten Valbjørn, a regional specialist on the Middle East. IR has yet to engage sufficiently with the topic of supra-state identities, so in this article we let theoretical insights about Arab identity politics travel to Latin America. The presence of supra-state identities has often been presented as an exceptional feature of the Arab world, and it has led to various innovative accounts of their influence on regional politics. This debate has been somewhat insular, however, with these insights being limited to the Arab world. We challenge this presumption in this article by investigating if these analytical insights might also be useful in another part of the Global South: Latin America. We draw various conclusions from this attempt at theory travelling. First, we observe that a supra-state identity is not unique to the Arab world, instead identifying a supra-state identity in Latin America comparable to Arabism as well as similar sub-forms (strong or weak manifestations). The second conclusion we draw is that these supra-state identities have not had the same implications for regional politics. In the Arab World, a shared identity has led to increased interference in each other’s affairs, and yet a contrary pattern is observable in Latin America. Insights from the Arab world can also help explain this, as we discover that the timing of the sub-forms of the supra-state identity is decisive for how the supra-state identity affects regional politics. In this way, this concrete example of theory travelling in the Global South provides new insights into supra-state identities and their implications for the international relations in these two regions.

In Figure 6, I have depicted the travel path of Article 1 in relation to the general map of the “globalizing IR” debate (Figure 2). I will elaborate on this travel path in the following.

Figure 6: The Travel Path of Article 2



The first part of the travel path is the question of scholarly identity. Remembering the typology presented in section 7.1, it is relevant to examine who produced these insights into Arab supra-state identities. The debate is mainly driven by regional specialists such as Michael Barnett and Lawrence Rubin, both of whom occupy the spot of “non-nationals with regional expertise working outside of the region” within the typology. In this sense, the theory is made by scholars with great knowledge of the Middle East, but they neither hail from the region nor are they living there on a daily basis. Two white Danish regional specialists, Morten Valbjørn and myself, then wrote the present article, in which we explore the ability of this debate to travel. Both of us were located in Denmark at the time of writing. Consequently, some might not perceive this study as an act of globalizing IR. Others will.

The second part of the travel path is identifying the type of theorizing. I classify these theoretical insights about Arab identity politics as a revised theory of realism with constructivist elements, as they focus on classical balancing behavior and threat perception although they include more constructivist elements by focusing on supra-state identity. It is debatable whether the revisions are so encompassing that these theoretical insights display the character of a homegrown theory. I have chosen to classify it as a revised theory, because the general focus and language continues to be tied up to realist understandings of the world. However, such deliberation proves that this typification is ideal-typical and a tool for discussing these issues.

The revisions are grounded in particular and historical observations in the Middle East. The fact that this type of theory is informed by particularities is also one of the pitfalls when attempting to make it travel (the third part of the

travel path). We cannot expect everything to unfold in the same way. This richness in detail also means that this theory is not suitable for simple theory testing. Instead, a more fruitful way of attempting to make these insights travel is to perform a Comparative Area Study, which offers a form of theory travelling that is more sensitive to context while still using a common language that fosters such communication across regions and contexts. The study takes the particular form of that which has been labelled a “contextualized approach” or “comparative historical analysis” (Locke and Thelen 1995, Mahoney and Rueschemeyer 2003). In this type of study, researchers explore if a particular pattern of causation in a particular case might apply to other cases, and these patterns are investigated over time (Mahoney and Terrie 2008). The close inspections of particular cases allows us to explore how variables may have different causal effects across heterogeneous contexts (Mahoney and Rueschemeyer 2003, 12-13). This approach is more open and eclectic in the use of methods, allowing for employing the tools that best enable the researcher to address the problem at hand. When analyzing both the presence and the effects of regional identities, we are therefore using a wide variety of materials from song lyrics, novels, Twitter posts, and surveys to historical data and academic analyses. Identity is a social phenomenon, and a flexible approach is therefore important order to capture the phenomenon and all its facets in a context-sensitive manner.

One criticism toward this travel path might come from parts of the traditionalist camp that prefer theories that can be theory-tested and thus evaluate a theory’s utility based on its ability to explain similar outcomes. Identical outcomes rarely occur with a context-sensitive analysis such as this, and these scholars therefore doubt the global value of such contextualized insights. Another criticism might be levelled from parts of the radical camp, who will challenge the idea that a study following this travel path qualifies as “globalizing.” In this particular case, criticism can be directed at both the face and content of the study, both of which have a Western imprint. Do such studies make the discipline less parochial and more global? Alternatively, do they merely represent a more hidden reproduction of the same biases? There are both promises and pitfalls to this travel path, and your preferred route depends on your attitudes regarding the two fundamental problematiques and the related contested issues about who can speak, how to go local, and how to make the local global.

8.2. Global South Theorizing: The Case of Human Security

In the globalizing IR debate, the “West” and “Global South” have conventionally been presented as fundamentally different categories, which has disguised any interconnectedness between the two as well as variation within them. In other words, this categorization has two pitfalls: 1) it obscures the interconnectedness between the West and Global South and 2) it obscures the differences within the respective categories. There is a need for greater awareness and sensitivity to these pitfalls, especially within the globalizing IR debate, where these categories are an essential element of the research agenda. We need to consider what this interconnectedness and tendency to homogenize mean for the mission to recognize more theorizing and conceptual developments for and by the Global South.

In order to address this binary logic in the globalizing IR literature, Article 3, “Global South Theorizing: The Case of Human Security,” examines whether the concept of human security can be considered an example of Global South theorizing. It thus approaches the debate about globalizing IR from another perspective, namely, the sub-field of security studies. The debate about the limits of Western-centric theories and concepts has also resonated here, with security scholars discussing the limits of traditional security approaches and how security concerns differ in various parts of the world. The human security concept was born out of such considerations as an attempt to rethink security in a manner more aligned with the experiences of people living in developing countries (UNDP 1994, 22) or in more current terminology in the Global South (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007, 35). Other scholars have argued that the concept is imbued with Western values and concerns (Barkawi and Laffey 2006, 350). Consequently, the concept presents itself as an interesting case to critically analyze and deconstruct the notion of Global South theorizing.

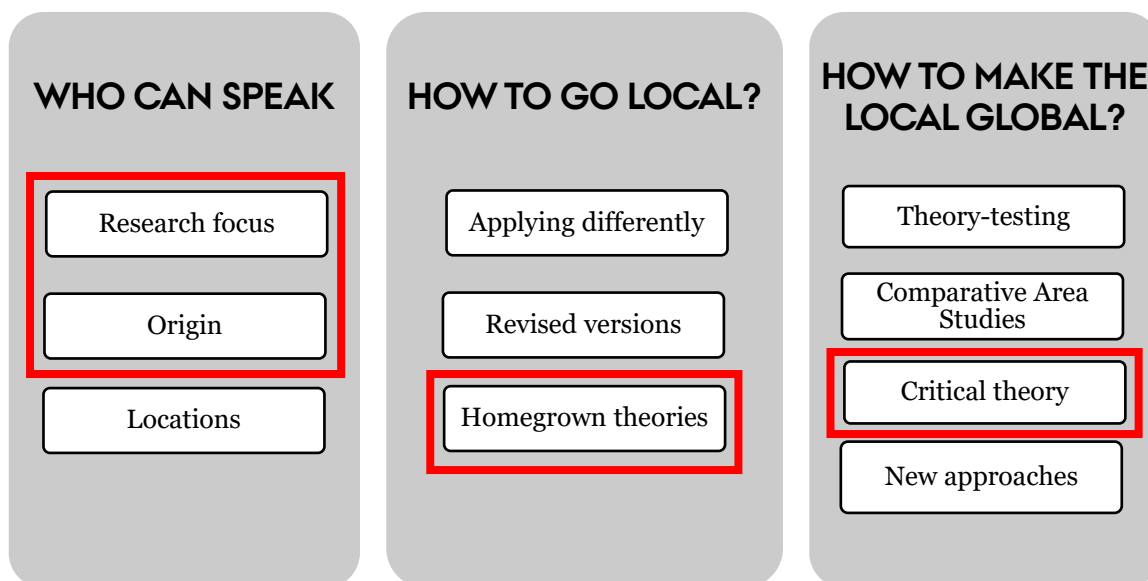
The article first (dis)entangles the Western/Global South origins and inflections of human security and finds that there is Global South agency related to the conceptual development but also Western inflections. In this way, I use the human security case to address the first pitfall with the “West/Global South” categorization and to illustrate a more general point about the complexity regarding Global South theorizing. By focusing on the opposition between the West and Global South, this dichotomy also tends to obscure the diversity within these categories by homogenizing the areas and people included in them. This is particularly interesting in the light of studies pointing to the concept’s limited success in the Global South (Chandler 2008). With the aim of countering the tendency to homogenize the Global South, I therefore examine and compare the apparent rejection of the concept in two regions of

the Global South: Southeast Asia and Latin America. In other words, I deconstruct the notion of a coherent Global South by analyzing how this conceptual development has been received in Latin America as inspired by an analysis of Southeast Asia (Acharya 2001). I identify three specific reasons for rejecting the concept: 1) a localist rejection, 2) a policy-oriented rejection, and 3) a classical rejection. All three explanations point to a shared pushback against the concept's perceived Western attributes, and one can therefore argue that the two regions appear united in their positionality against "the West." Hence, it is the contradictory relationship between the West and Global South that intrinsically gives meaning to the "Global South" category. However, the analysis also grounds these commonalities in historical experiences. While various countries and regions in the Global South have had experiences with state-building and outside intervention, their experiences are not identical and the context for understanding this apparently similar rejection therefore becomes localized. In the words of Inayatullah and Blaney (Inayatullah and Blaney 2004, 43), "similarity must be framed against difference, and difference is necessarily the context for similarity."

Overall, the article shows that designing research useful to the Global South necessarily involves deconstructing knowledge based on both binary logics and assumptions of homogeneity. The article specifically refers to the danger of using the "West" and "Global South" terminology in a way that reemphasizes binary logics and their constitutive effects, and it exposes the complexity regarding what we consider "Global South" and "Global South theorizing." In this way, Article 3 also goes to the heart of the two problematiques: 1) *What do we mean by globalizing IR?* and 2) *How can we go about globalizing IR?* It clearly shows how the two problematiques are interconnected. The analysis points to the complexity regarding what constitutes Global South theorizing, which is directly related to the first general problematique. It challenges the idea that we can delineate the West from the Global South by highlighting the relationality of these categories inasmuch as the one would not exist without the other (Barkawi and Laffey 2006, Bilgin 2008, Smith 2018a). This complicates the mission of globalizing IR, as it questions the type of diversity we expect to find and aim to globalize IR with.

I will elaborate on these points below, where I explain the distinct travel path of Article 3 (Figure 7) in relation to the general map of the globalizing IR debate.

Figure 7: The Travel Path of Article 3



The first part of the travel path is the question of scholarly identity. Article 3 actively discusses this categorization by empirically assessing the make-up of the team of experts who developed the concept.

The team behind the report consists of a group of UNDP associates and a panel of academic consultants. As an organization, the UNDP specifically deals with Global South concerns, and the team behind the report are experts in their field. Consequently, we must consider this team as having deep, specialized knowledge of the Global South. The second parameter is origins. If one follows the argument that only scholars from the Global South can speak about—and in particular for—the Global South, this parameter becomes important. If the concept is developed by Westerners, it might be unintentionally shaped by their experiences and perceptions. Human Security is an interesting case, as the UNDP team consists of a mix of both Global South and Global North nationals, which is greater diversity than what we often observe in conventional IR. “Origins” is consequently marked in Figure 7, although this categorization is ambiguous. Turning to the third parameter of location, we observe a more clear-cut picture. The entire UNDP team is located in the US, as are all of the academic consultants. One might make the argument that these experts are removed from the concerns they are attempting to address and that scholars actually living in these regions would be more in tune with the developments and sentiments here. This leaves us with a mixed picture. Scholars focusing on regional knowledge will be more persuaded to perceive human security as a “Global South concept,” whereas scholars who also consider origins and location important might be more critical of its Western foundations. This observation elegantly underlines the article’s overall point about the dif-

faculty delineating “the West” from “the Global South.” It highlights the complexity of these categorizations, even when it comes to the question of scholarly identity, which might otherwise appear rather straightforward.

The second part of the travel path is identifying the type of theorizing. To some degree, human security has been marketed as a homegrown “Global South” concept derived from theorizing about the forgotten concerns of the developing nations (UNDP 1994) but has not quite been received as such. There seems to be a discrepancy between the understandings, perception, and reception of Global South theorizing. To some Global South scholars, the concept is “not homegrown enough” (the “localist” rejection), whereas others consider the referential shift excessively radical and prefer conventional approaches (the “classical” rejection). The concept uses the language of security and works within the established framework, albeit while attempting to alter and expand it. In this sense, human security can be perceived as an attempt at revising the security concept. However, inasmuch as the UNDP team has built the concept from a local base, including insights from their field offices, the concept fits the definition of a homegrown theory. Furthermore, the objective of radically reconsidering what security means and encompasses seems to be a much more ambitious objective than mere revision. The considerations above reflect the broadness of these ideal types of theorizing. While this broadness can be criticized, this categorization is not meant to provide definitive answers. Instead, these ideal types are meant as tools capable of assisting meaningful reflections on the type of theorizing with which one is working in order to have an informed opinion on whether and why one perceives it to be an example of Global South theorizing.

The third part of the travel path is the matter of making “local” insights global. Acharya’s analysis of human security’s acceptance in Southeast Asia represents an attempt at understanding this region’s traditional understandings of security in order to comprehend and reconcile different meanings of human security, and it can be considered a critical reflexive analysis. A critical reflexive analysis clarifies the ideas and sensibilities of a particular social group, thereby highlighting the social conditions of theorizing in order to provoke greater self-awareness and self-reflection (Jackson 2010, 176-179). While Acharya’s analysis is limited to Southeast Asia, these critical questions can still be pertinent in other contexts. In Article 3, I therefore let Acharya’s analysis inspire critical clarification and reflection on Latin American scholars’ ideas and sensibilities, and I examine how localized social conditions influence their view of the concept of human security. The article thus represents an example of how critical analyses can travel across borders and regions without a conventional, universalizing objective.

In general, critical reflexive analyses also offer an approach to asking questions about the theories and categories used in IR analysis in order to examine how and why IR relies upon the theoretical and material segregations of people, territory, and knowledge (Agathangelou and Turcotte 2010, 46). In this way, these travelling reflections also help to overturn some of the homogenizing tendencies and oppositional logics underpinning the globalizing IR debate. The article takes a deconstructive approach by using the case of human security to perform a sustained critical interrogation of these concepts and binary oppositions. In this manner, the comparison of Southeast Asia and Latin America takes the form of a “de-naturalizing comparison” (Jackson 2010), where it de-naturalizes and opens up the perceived homogenous category of the Global South, thereby elucidating the tensions and contradictions inherent in this “naturalized” understanding (Ackerly, Stern, and True 2006). I perform this deconstruction by critically reviewing the diverse literature on human security and identifying patterns and contradictions. I also trace the nationality, education, and location of the individual members of the UNDP team by consulting CVs, presentations, and other information available online, as well as conducting a bibliographic probe, thereby demonstrating that the deconstructive method is not limited to textual meta-analysis. Being embedded in the critical methodology, this article represents a distinct way of going about the globalization of IR that is very different from Article 2. Again, this emphasizes that there is no one particular way of globalizing IR.

8.3. Lost in Translation: Incorporating Indigenous Cosmovisions into the Discipline

When talking about pluralizing IR, some also advocate integrating radically different homegrown theories into the existing IR framework. There have been few attempts at incorporating different worldviews into IR, however, and little is known not only about the potentials but also about the challenges of this endeavor. In Article 4, “Lost in Translation: Incorporating Indigenous Cosmvision into the Discipline,” I therefore argue why it is necessary to transcend disciplinary borders and search for lessons from similar efforts outside the IR discipline. Against this backdrop, I suggest that transferable lessons can be learned from the political experiences of Ecuador and Bolivia, where the governments have incorporated indigenous cosmovisions into their constitutions with various difficulties. Specifically, I identify two pitfalls: 1) instrumentalizing indigenous cosmovisions and 2) translating indigenous cosmovisions into more easily digestible terms. While situated in different contexts, these lessons carry relevance for the Global IR debate by showing, first,

how the incorporation of indigenous cosmovisions can be perceived as a marketing strategy wherein these knowledges are fetishized as something exotic. The same danger is present within IR, where the tendency to brand something as “Chinese IR,” “Indigenous Diplomacy,” and so on is markedly present. Simply placing an alternative label in front of existing theories and concepts does not in itself alter the discipline, and if we do not consider the meaning and challenges that these alternative worldviews represent, then such language empties these labels of meaning. Secondly, the Ecuadorian and Bolivian experiences show how incorporation is problematic, as it infers translation where alternative worldviews are filtered through dominant conceptions of what constitutes knowledge and science. As Manuela Picq framed the issue at a workshop in Universidad del Rosario⁵: “It’s like they have another color that we do not know. How can you explain how such a color looks?” This is in line with Geertz’s (1974) argument that scholarly explanations are neither accurate nor perfect renderings of what is being explained, embodying instead the scholar’s representation and interpretation of the meaning.

My plan for this article was initially to write a positive article about the potentials of incorporating indigenous cosmovisions into IR in order to truly globalize the discipline with hitherto overlooked insights. I was intending to use Bolivia and Ecuador as successful case studies in this regard. However, upon moving to Ecuador to do a research stay at the Latin American Faculty of Social Science (FLACSO) and a field visit to Bolivia, I was exposed to a different and more negative story about this political incorporation of indigenous cosmovisions. The change in location provided access to books on the topic that were unavailable outside of these countries in the form of ethnographic studies on the topic as well as texts written by local scholars and indigenous intellectuals. Access to a particular literature is a constraining factor that is often overlooked in the globalizing IR debate, but it is key to make knowledge travelling possible. I also had the opportunity to interview the former Minister of Energy and Mining in Ecuador, Alberto Acosta, who was one of the main political figures behind this policy but now one of its starkest critics. Additionally, I met with knowledgeable scholars on Ecuadorian and Bolivian politics, such as Luis Tapia, Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, Forrest Hylton, Philipp Altmann, and Jarrad Reddekop, who provided me with their respective perspectives on the topic and on the wider historical and societal context. From a positive piece, Article 4 turned into a critique of how these governments have attempted to incorporate indigenous cosmovisions by pointing to the various

⁵ “Estado y Futuro de RRII en América Latina” workshop held at Universidad del Rosario in Bogotá, Colombia, 20.02.2019

pitfalls with this “incorporation strategy” with respect to radically different worldviews.

The methods employed in this analysis are a mix of interviews, documentary analysis, and some ethnographic observations. The new information and insights that this analysis provided led to a major modification of the research question and re-framing of the article. Much of the documentary analysis builds on ethnographic studies as well as texts written by indigenous intellectuals. Ethnography is often equated with participant observation and immersion but can also be understood in broader terms as a sensibility that attempts to glean the meanings that people attribute to their reality (Schatz 2013, 5-6). Simply put, then, ethnography refers to “the methodology of endeavouring to make sense of how others make sense of the world” (Kuus 2013, 117). Ethnography recognizes that “human action cannot be investigated apart from the local meanings attached to it” (Gusterson 2008, 113), and it offers a way of shedding “new light on under-explored knowledge, linkages and understandings of world politics” (Montsion 2018, 2). While the analysis bases itself on others’ ethnographic studies, my research stay in Ecuador can also be perceived as bringing an ethnographic sensibility into the study, as it provided me the opportunity to observe how academics, politicians, but also regular indigenous and non-indigenous peoples engaged with and understood these ideas. In this sense, ethnography forms the basis of the claims made in the article.

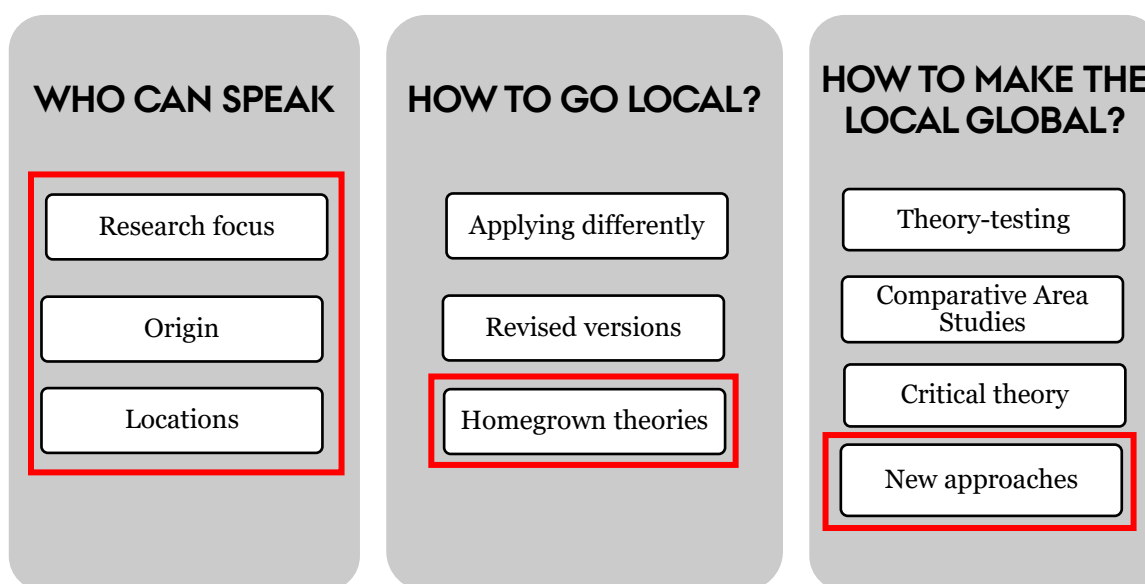
However, ethnography “does not resolve the difficulties of textual representation or automatically render scholars reflexive” (Kuus 2013, 117). This study made me aware of the difficulties of understanding these cosmovisions and especially putting these to text. First, I identified a discrepancy between texts written by non-indigenous academics and politicians and those written by indigenous scholars: the language in the form of “buen vivir” and “sumak kawsay” was different, as was the meaning. Secondly, these troubles of language and translation do not only exist between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples themselves also mention having difficulty expressing these cosmovisions in Spanish instead of Quechua (Janeta 2015). Third, I noted a discrepancy between the spoken word and those put to paper, as these cosmovisions translate awkwardly to paper and the written language. The summation of these observations made me realize that there is a translation process and a layer of voices to the representation of indigenous peoples’ cosmovisions in academic books and government policy documents. Such translation is not merely an object of study but also becomes a production of theoretical knowledge that reflects power dynamics, philosophical tensions, and where “cultural landscapes collide” (Mignolo 2012, 225).

With these observations in mind, I was aware of the pitfall of only basing the analysis of others’ renderings of the debate as well as cognizant of my own

positionality and limitations. I therefore travelled to parts of Ecuador with strong indigenous communities and engaged with people on the street, in cafes etc. On a hiking trip to the Cotacachi area, I talked to a taxi driver about my work, who upon hearing the topic took me to the home of Alfonso Morales, the President of the Union of Farmer and Indigenous Organizations of Cotacachi (UNORCAC). I ended up staying a weekend with the Morales family, where we talked about indigenous cosmovisions and the Government's attempts to incorporate them. The impulsivity and casualness of our encounter rendered our relation more informal (I was in hiking gear) and allowed for a less stylized "observer/observed" and "interviewer/interviewee" relation. I observed frustrations similar to those pointed out by other indigenous intellectuals about the Government's engagement with indigenous communities. Moreover, I also experienced how both of us were struggling to express and debate these cosmovisions in Spanish—for not to mention my own ability to grasp these worldviews in their entirety. I do not claim that this short stay constitutes an ethnographic study in itself. In this case, it would be considered that which Geertz (2000) critically calls a "hit-and-run" study: "'drive-by' ethnographies based on a couple quick trips packed with one-time interviews" (Kuus 2013, 117). Instead, I perceive these observations and encounters as a way to "vet" my ideas and observations by verbalizing and performing these theoretical and philosophical debates in an actual encounter. To the same end, I also shared my analysis with Amaya Querejazu Escobari, a scholar who herself transverses the worlds of indigenous knowledge and academia, in order to discuss my findings and to receive critical reflections on the process of translation that I myself engage in when writing this analysis.

The reflections above are relevant when considering how this article relates to the globalizing IR debate. The article represents a very distinct way of going about globalizing IR compared to Articles 2 and 3, and these three articles thus reveal the diversity within the globalizing-IR debate. In Figure 8, I have depicted the travel path of Article 4 in relation to the general mapping of this debate, and I will elaborate on this travel path in the following.

Figure 8: The Travel Path of Article 4



The first part of the travel path is the question of scholarly identity. I have marked all of the boxes regarding the question, “Who can speak?” The article examines the incorporation of indigenous cosmovisions, which makes indigenous peoples and the politicians performing the incorporation the key figures, as their ideas and writings are the focal point of this article. These key figures are from Ecuador and Bolivia, they live here, and they are therefore naturally imbedded in these regional issues and possess a vast regional knowledge as they engage with indigenous cosmovisions and the governmental politics. Hence, I would label them “nationals with regional expertise working in the region” and locate them in the upper-left corner of the typology of scholarly profiles. One might also argue that this article is a product of my translation of both indigenous cosmovisions and the critique of its incorporation, and I am a Danish scholar. It was my inability to completely transcend my Western way of thinking that led to the framing and title of the article, “Lost in Translation,” and in doing so, I have reflected upon my own positionality and how it affects the research as discussed above. Again, the typology is meant as a tool for discussion and reflection, and not necessarily as a way of “ticking the boxes,” as people will disagree on which boxes should be ticked.

The second part on the travel path is identifying the type of theory that one believes could globalize IR. In this article, I investigate the potentials and pitfalls of incorporating indigenous cosmovisions into the discipline. I classify indigenous cosmovisions as homegrown—and would even go as far as to say as close to the ideal type as we can expect to find. While these cosmovisions do not exist in a vacuum and have developed in a conversation with modernity (as this analysis attests to), they are constituted by and embedded in indige-

nous peoples' way of being in the world(s). It is also an example of how home-grown theories and insights are often found outside of the existing disciplinary lines.

The third part of the travel path is the question of how to make these insights global. On this point, this article focuses on investigating and elucidating the limits of the existing ways of going about globalizing IR. If we are dealing with radically different insights, then incorporating them into IR entails some form of translation to make these insights understandable to us and to fit into the discipline. In other words, we are applying a Western academic lens to these indigenous cosmovisions, thereby trapping them in Western assumptions and traditions (van Norren 2017) and capturing their difference (Reddekop 2018). Instead, we must understand “diversity as global diversity rather than as ‘difference’ within the ‘universal’” (Mignolo 2012, 248). However, this analysis indicates that we do not necessarily have the vocabulary and toolbox to grasp radically different insights and we therefore need new approaches if we want to globalize the discipline in this manner. This means that we are entering uncharted territory, as it is an emerging area of research and developing, but the paths have yet to be carved out. While the article therefore does not embody a new approach in itself, by demonstrating the limits of the existing ones, it emphasizes the relevance of this possible and emerging travel path. A project, which might hold some future promise is a current project on relationalities by *The Doing IR Differently Collective*⁶, which explores how relational worldviews situated in different contexts can relate to one another.

The travel path that this article follows entails rethinking IR as a discipline. It is a travel path preferred by scholars based in the radical camp, who advocate for going beyond the constricting disciplinary boundaries. In this case, indigenous cosmovisions offer a means of reimagining key IR concepts and binaries. So while the potential of Articles 2 and 3 is to globalize IR with a common language, the potential of this travel path is to encounter transformative insights that truly challenge the parochialism and Western-centrism inherent in the discipline. Scholars who do not agree with this understanding of the globalizing-IR mission will argue that focusing on such radically different insights might inadvertently create a new kind of parochialism.

Articles 2, 3, and 4 exemplify three different conceptions of “*what globalizing IR means*” (problematique 1) as well as “*how to go about globalizing IR*”

⁶ The *The Doing IR Differently Collective* is a group of scholars who discuss how to materialize shared visions of Doing IR Differently. The Collective was formed during a workshop in Galapagos on July 20–24, 2018.

(problematique 2). The diversity in these articles illustrates how the globalizing-IR debate is neither monolithic nor homogenous and that scholars operate with very different understandings of this mission.

Chapter 9: Conclusion—Where Are We Going?

How can we understand the world if we only listen to the privileged? Can we design a world for everyone without everyone in the room? This dissertation summary started by posing these questions. In the IR discipline, a strand of scholars has been busy demonstrating that we cannot understand the world by only listening to the perspectives of the powerful. They have revealed how IR is a parochial, Western-centric discipline that has overlooked, marginalized, and silenced insights from the Global South. These findings have led to a call to make IR more global, and this dissertation set out to examine this debate about globalizing IR. The dissertation identified a discrepancy in the debate whereby, on the surface, scholars appear to agree as regards the mission of globalizing IR, and yet globalizing the discipline is clearly neither a monolithic nor homogenous process, and “globalizing IR” obviously means some very different things to different scholars. This disagreement on what globalizing IR actually entails also translates into a disagreement about how to go about performing this globalizing mission. The dissertation was therefore built around the following general problematics: 1) *What do we mean by globalizing IR?* and 2) *How can we go about globalizing IR?*

As discussed in Chapter 2, this study thus constitutes a meta study and “a pause for rest.” In such a pause, we can establish an overview over the efforts to globalize IR by identifying where we are coming from, where we are now, and the various possible directions in which can continue. This dissertation demonstrated that globalizing IR is a more complex process than it might first appear. Globalizing means different things to different people—even within the same debate—and there are various ways of going about it. By deconstructing the debate, I identified three contested issues within it: 1) “who can speak,” 2) “how to go local,” and 3) “how to make the local global.” Diverging opinions on these issues lead to very different understandings of the globalizing mission and the visions for the discipline. In this manner, the dissertation also offers reflections on the reasons for the bifurcation in the debate.

First, I characterized scholarly identity as a contested issue, and I identified and examined diverging understandings of how scholarly identity interacts with the globalizing mission. The central dividing questions in this regard are if we should also focus on the scholars behind the theories, and, if so, who can speak for and about the Global South? How does our scholarly identity impact our work? In order to facilitate reflections on this issue, I developed a

typology of scholarly identities which exposes whether we share the same understandings of who can speak for and about the global South, and by extension if we are discussing the same things when participating in the globalizing-IR debate. In this way, the typology is very useful when debating the first general problematique: “*What do we mean by globalizing IR?*” Secondly, I classified different types of “Global South” theorizing, namely 1) applying existing concepts differently, 2) revising existing theories, and 3) developing or discovering completely homegrown theories. These three types of theorizing represent different perspectives on what local knowledge and theories look like; in other words, which type of diversity are we expecting to find and wanting to globalize the discipline with? Again, this issue is closely related to the first general problematique. The two contested issues that I have identified above interact with a third contested issue about how to engage with these perspectives. One of the challenges with the mission to globalize IR is that we often ascribe a certain insularity to Global South insights, where these insights are limited to being about their region and hold little value for the discipline in general. I therefore point to four possible ways that these theories can travel to other contexts: 1) neopositivist theory testing, 2) Comparative Area Studies, 3) critical theory, and 4) new approaches not corresponding with existing methodological outlooks. The variety in these four approaches highlights how there are many ways to acknowledge Global South theorizing in IR, which is the core matter of the second general problematique: “How can we go about globalizing IR?”

Together, this deconstruction exposes the complexity of the globalizing-IR debate; moreover, the analysis provides an overview and map of the possible travel paths to globalize IR as well as reflections on what the different pathways entail. One of the key contributions of the dissertation is to reveal the intimate link between the two general problematiques. The dissertation shows how your understanding of the globalizing mission and your position on the three contested issues is key for how you prefer to go about globalizing IR. While this dissertation exposes a discrepancy within the globalizing-IR debate, it consequently also endeavors to explain why these diverging visions for the discipline exist. In this way, the dissertation helps to unify previously disconnected efforts to globalize IR. While these efforts might appear very different and possibly even at odds with each other, the dissertation demonstrates how they fit into the wider mission of globalizing IR by explicating and qualifying their differences.

However, meta studies such as this dissertation have been criticized for being too abstract and offering too little concrete value. Confronting this criticism to avoid merely ending up with abstract discussions and theoretical reflections, this dissertation provided concrete examples of how to actually go

about globalizing IR, showing how to actively *use* the observations pointed out in the meta study. I thus conducted three concrete studies (“scouting missions”) that embody three different ways of going about globalizing IR. These scouting missions constituted concrete examples of how globalizing efforts can look, making the identified travel paths more tangible. These scouting missions also exposed both the promises and pitfalls of the different travel paths, thereby qualifying the observations and findings in the meta study.

By combining the meta study with actual examples of how to go about globalizing IR, I have thus attempted to give scholars the necessary tools with which to advance the mission to globalize IR in a deliberate manner. I have demonstrated how there are various ways of joining this mission, but also that the visions for where we are going can be very different: A globalized IR means different things to different people. In this way, the dissertation not only contributes to the debate about globalizing IR, it also contributes to a broader debate about the future of the discipline. What is IR? Where do the boundaries lie? And what are our visions for the future? The make-up of IR is changing, and I for one am excited to see where this is going.

9.1. My Vision for a Globalized IR

This is a meta study about how IR scholars are constructing, reproducing, and perhaps changing the discipline. While meta studies are often perceived as objective perspectives on a topic, I am also a disciplinary practitioner involved in constructing the discipline (section 2.3). I therefore want to end this dissertation by openly sharing my personal vision for the discipline.

I have been on a personal journey; both in the literal sense as well as academically. The following quote is from my first project presentation immediately after beginning my PhD project: “At its core, the project rests on a dualist conception of the world believing an observable world to exist independent of the researcher. As such, this project disagrees with the radical reflexivist stance where meaning is completely subjective.” In some ways, this quote illustrates how we are trained in (Western) universities, where traditional and positivist views of science dominate. This traditional, conservative view has almost become the safe default; it is the view of the world with which we are comfortable. In the time I spent researching and writing this dissertation, however, I became increasingly aware of how this traditional view is marginalizing accounts and silencing voices. Knowledge is power, and engaging in a reproduction of the established patterns exacerbates the inequality that we have already created. Now, I would rather describe my standpoint as post-positivist and critical. My research has convinced me that the world forms us as people and as researchers, and in turn we give form to the world.

Early in the project, I thus preferred more moderate approaches in the mission to globalize IR and I mostly engaged with revised theories and Comparative Area Studies. The fact that Article 2, “Comparing Arabism and Latinidad,” was the first article I wrote, illustrates this point nicely. I have since come to believe that IR needs a more radical transformation and that it is necessary to go beyond the disciplinary boundaries. This standpoint is evidenced in the last article I produced, “Lost in Translation: Incorporating Indigenous Insights into the Discipline” (Article 4). My own journey is a deciding factor for my awareness of the different approaches and understandings of the globalizing-IR debate. In the beginning of the project, I agreed on the mission, but I had a different conceptualization (than that which I currently hold) of what globalizing IR meant and entailed; and consequently how to go about it. This proves how one’s positionality can influence your research, as it is my own journey that has enabled me to engage with different conceptualizations and approaches and shaped the final form of this dissertation.

I want to end this dissertation by sharing my vision for the future of the discipline in the form of a re-write of some reflections presented by feminist scholars Pateman and Gross⁷ (1987, 191-192). Their argument is written in the past tense and regards feminist efforts to re-examine latent patriarchal assumptions in IR; however, I believe that their extended argument can be altered to fit the mission of globalizing IR. This altered argument perfectly captures my view on the mission to globalize IR:

It is not simply the range and scope of objects that requires transformation: more profoundly, and threateningly, the very questions posed and the methods used to answer them, basic assumptions about methodology, criteria of validity and merit, all need to be seriously questioned. The political, ontological, and epistemological commitments underlying parochial and Western-centric discourses, as well as their theoretical contents, require re-evaluation. The whole social, political, scientific, and metaphysical underpinning of parochial and Western-centric theoretical systems need to be shaken up.

⁷ The original quote is also cited in section 4.2.

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Executive Summary

While International Relations (IR) is a discipline concerned with understanding global politics and the interactions between different societies, it has conventionally overlooked, marginalized, and silenced insights from the Global South. More recently, a strand of scholars has been busy demonstrating how IR is hamstrung by its Western-centrism and that it is consequently becoming increasingly irrelevant to the Global South. There is growing agreement that it is necessary to counter this Western-centrism, but much confusion remains about this mission to “globalize IR.” What does globalizing IR actually mean and entail? This dissertation scrutinizes the prevalent understandings of this mission and identifies a number of possible ways to continue forward, thereby providing a systematic and comprehensive presentation of this debate.

First, the dissertation establishes that the process of revising, rethinking, and rebuilding the discipline is neither monolithic nor homogenous and that “globalizing IR” means very different things to different scholars. This complicates matters, as people might agree with the mission but not on how to proceed. There are thus different visions for the discipline and different strategies for achieving it. While this dissertation exposes a discrepancy within the globalizing IR debate, it also endeavours to explain why these diverging visions for the discipline exist by showing how scholars’ understanding of the globalizing mission depends on their location, methodological outlook, identity, and subject.

Much of the debate about how IR scholars can go about globalizing the discipline has been very theoretically abstract, and there have been very few concrete examples. As a second part, this dissertation addresses this gap by providing tangible examples of how to actually go about globalizing IR; that is, how to acknowledge or include Global South theorizing in IR. Three of the four articles in the dissertation thus represent distinct ways of going about globalizing IR, emphasizing the diversity within the debate. Specifically grounded in insights from Latin America, the three articles present three different challenges to the mainstream of IR by exploring attempts to imagine politics beyond the traditional boundaries.

Overall, the dissertation highlights both the challenges and promises of the globalizing IR debate, and it provides us with guidance on how to move forward and advance the discipline. The make-up of IR is changing, and this dissertation can hopefully help pave the way for a future in which white, Western men are not alone in being heard.

Dansk resumé

International Politik (IP) er en disciplin, der beskæftiger sig med at forstå global politik og interaktionen mellem forskellige samfund, men det er også en disciplin, som traditionelt har overset og marginaliseret indsigter fra det Globale Syd. På den baggrund har flere studier påpeget, at IP i stedet bør ses om en vestlig disciplin, som bliver mere og mere irrelevant for det Globale Syd. Grundlæggende stiller IP forskere spørgsmål, der er relevante fra et vestligt perspektiv, men det betyder også, at man har overset emner og udfordringer andre steder i verden. Hvis forskere så endelig har beskæftiget sig med disse emner, er det ofte sket ud fra et vestligt perspektiv, uden at man har anerkendt denne positionalitet.

Der er en voksende enighed om, at denne indgroede etnocentrisme er problematisk, og at vi bør kæmpe for at få en mere global disciplin. Der hersker dog en del forvirring omkring målet om at "globalisere IP". Hvordan skal vi helt grundlæggende forstå denne mission? Handler det om, at vi skal høre flere forskere fra det Globale Syd? Og hvordan identificerer vi en forsker fra det Globale Syd – handler det om nationalitet eller arbejdsplads? Eller handler missionen i højere grad om, at vi skal inkludere flere teorier fra det Globale Syd, og hvad definerer sådan én?

I afhandlingen undersøger jeg de forskellige fremherskende forståelser af ideen om globalisere IP. På denne måde giver afhandlingen et systematisk og omfattende billede af debatten, og identificerer samtidig en række mulige måder at komme videre.

For det første konstaterer jeg, at processen med at revidere, genoverveje og genopbygge disciplinen hverken er monolitisk eller homogen, i stedet betyder "globalisering af IP" helt forskellige ting for forskellige mennesker. Dette komplicerer sagen, da forskere godt kan være enige i en generel målsætning om at gøre IP mere global, men faktisk er grundlæggende uenige om, hvad dette indebærer. Med andre ord er der forskellige visioner for IP-disciplinen og forskellige strategier til, hvordan man skal opnå dette mål. Mens afhandlingen afslører en uoverensstemmelse inden for debatten om at "globalisere IP", bestræber den sig også på at forklare, hvorfor der er disse forskellige visioner for disciplinen ved at vise, hvordan forskeres forståelse af debatten afhænger af deres placering, metodologiske syn, identitet og forskningsemne.

En stor del af denne debat har været en meget teoretisk abstrakt diskussion omkring, hvordan IP forskere kan forsøge at globalisere disciplinen. Derimod findes der kun få konkrete eksempler herpå. I afhandlingens anden del, præsenterer jeg derfor konkrete eksempler på, hvordan man rent faktisk kan forsøge at anerkende og/eller inkludere teoretisering fra det Globale Syd i IP.

Tre af afhandlingens fire artikler repræsenterer således forskellige tilgange til at globalisere IP på, og understreger derved mangfoldigheden inden for debatten. På deres egen måde udfordrer alle tre artikler den etablerede disciplin, idet de alle tre overskrider de traditionelle grænser og forestiller sig politik på nye måder. Det gør de ved at tage udgangspunkt i debatter fra Latin America, som har været overset i IP.

Samlet set identificerer afhandlingen både udfordringerne og mulighederne i debatten om at globalisere IP. Dermed forsøger den også at komme med råd om, hvordan vi kan videreudvikle debatten og fremme disciplinen. IP's identitet, sammensætning og fokus er under forandring, og forhåbentlig kan denne afhandling hjælpe med at bane vejen for en fremtid, hvor det ikke længere kun er hvide vestlige mænd, der bliver hørt.

Resumen en español

Relaciones Internacionales (RI) es una disciplina que se ocupa de comprender la política global y las interacciones entre diferentes sociedades, sin embargo, convencionalmente ha pasado por alto, marginalizado y silenciado las ideas y pensamientos del Sur Global. Recientemente, un grupo de académicos ha venido demostrando cómo la disciplina de las RI está limitada por su centralidad occidental y, en consecuencia, ha aumentado la irrelevancia para el Sur Global. Basándose en estas observaciones, hay un acuerdo en desarrollo respecto de la necesidad de contrarrestar la mencionada centralidad occidental. No obstante, aún existe mucha confusión acerca de esta misión de "globalizar las RI". ¿Qué significa y conlleva globalizar las RI? Esta tesis examina los entendimientos predominantes de esta misión e identifica una serie de posibles formas de desarrollarla, aportando así una panorámica sistemática y completa sobre este debate.

Primero, la disertación establece que el proceso de revisar, repensar y reconstruir la disciplina no es ni monolítico ni homogéneo, y que "globalizar las RI" significa cosas muy diferentes entre los académicos. Esto complica la situación, ya que puede existir un acuerdo generalizado con la misión, pero no con la manera de avanzar. Por lo tanto, hay diferentes visiones para la disciplina y diferentes estrategias para lograr el objetivo. Si bien esta tesis expone una discrepancia dentro del debate sobre globalizar las RI, la tesis también intenta explicar por qué existen estas visiones divergentes para la disciplina, mostrando cómo la comprensión de los académicos sobre la misión de globalizar las RI depende de su identidad, ubicación, perspectiva metodológica, y tema de investigación.

Gran parte de este debate ha sido teóricamente abstracto, en lo concerniente a cómo los académicos de RI, quienes han ofrecido pocos ejemplos concretos, pueden globalizar la disciplina. Como segunda parte, esta disertación aborda esta brecha al proporcionar ejemplos tangibles de cómo hacer para globalizar la RI; es decir, cómo reconocer o incluir la teorización del Sur Global en las RI. Así, tres de los cuatro artículos en la disertación representan formas distintas de globalizar el RI, destacando la diversidad dentro del debate. A su manera, los tres artículos desafían la corriente principal de las RI al explorar los intentos de imaginar la política más allá de los límites tradicionales, y específicamente basados en ideas de América Latina.

En general, la tesis resalta los desafíos y las promesas del debate sobre globalizar las RI, además, nos brinda una dirección de cómo avanzar la disciplina. La composición de las RI está cambiando y, con suerte, esta disertación puede

ayudar a allanar el camino para un futuro donde la disciplina ya no solo se escuche a hombres blancos occidentales.