

GREEN (IN)SECURITY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY: A
CRITICAL REALIST PERSPECTIVE

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

GREEN (IN)SECURITY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY: A CRITICAL REALIST CRITIQUE

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This thesis discusses the linkage between environment and security in International Relations (IR) Theory from a critical realist (CR) perspective. It questions the dominant concept of security in IR and asks whether IR theory is adequate to understand green (in)securities. This dissertation indicates the necessity of problematizing the linkage between environment and security in terms of the socio-natural complexities and emphasizes the dialectic relations of emerging features of these insecurities without being reduced them to their biological/material or cultural/ideational dimensions. What constitutes one another common point of the approaches in IR, excluding the natural or social aspect of environmental problems is that the (re)production of agent-centrism in describing the relationship between environmental issues and security. It is argued that the linkage between environment and security should be considered as comprising of multiple, complex inequalities or injustices underlining that the question of how social structures are shaped by the non-human nature. From this point of view, the concept of

'green', rather than of the *environmental* or *ecological*, is deployed in the thesis. In this sense, the concept of green (in)security is harnessed as a synonym of the concept of socio-natural (in)security in this dissertation. In doing so, the thesis seeks to criticize positivist, post-positivist approaches, arguing for non-reductionist a green (socio-natural) approach, based on CR.

Key Words: IR Theory, Critical Realism, Security, Green Insecurity, Social Nature.

ÖZ

ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER TEORİSİNDE YEŞİL GÜVEN(SİZ)LİK: ELEŞTİREL GERÇEKÇİ BİR PERSPEKTİF

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Bu tez eleştirel gerçekçi (EG) bir perspektiften Uluslararası İlişkiler (Uİ) teorisindeki çevre-güvenlik bağlantılarını tartışmaktadır. Bu çalışma Uİ'nin en önemli kavramı güvenliği ele almakta ve Uİ teorisinin yeşil güvensizlikleri anlamada yeterli olup olmadığını sorgulamaktadır. Bu tez çevre –güvenlik bağlantılarını sosyal doğa açısından tanımlanması gerektiğine işaret etmekte; kültürel/düşünsel ya da biyolojiksel/maddi boyutlarına indirgemeksizin bu güvensizlikleri ortaya çıkaran diyalektik ilişkiye vurgu yapmaktadır. Çevre sorunlarının toplumsal ya da çevresel/fiziki yönlerini dışlayan Uİ'deki yaklaşımları birleştiren bir diğer ortak nokta, çevresel sorunlar ve güvenlik arasındaki ilişkinin tanımlanmasında fail-merkezciliğin yeniden üretilmesidir. Çevre-güvenlik bağlantılarının toplumsal yapılar insan olmayan doğa tarafından nasıl şekillenirini altını çizerek çoklu kompleks eşitsizlik ve adaletsizlikleri içerecek bir şekilde düşünülmesi gerektiğini önermektedir. Bu bakış açısından bu tezde çevresel ya da ekolojik yerine “yeşil” kavramı kullanılacaktır. Bu anlamda yeşil güven(siz)lik

kavramı sosyal-doęa kavramlařtırması ile eř anlamlı kullanılmaktadır. Bu řekilde bu tez alıřması EG temelinde indirgemeci olmayan bir yeřil (sosyal-doęa) gvenlik perspektifini savunarak pozitivist, post-pozitivist yaklařımları eleřtirecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Uİ Teorisi, Eleřtirel Gerekilik, Gvenlik, Yeřil Gvensizlik, Sosyal Doęa

To Memory of My Beloved Father, Ali Erçandırılı

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: A CRITICAL REALIST CRITIQUE OF SECURITY AND ENVIRONMENT IN IR

The world is faced with an enormous ecological crisis as a result of our social interaction with nature... If you adapt an anthropocentric view, then you will tend to ignore the fate of the planet, the existence of other species and all the conditions that must be presupposed for an adequate human existence; so that is first thing we have to accept that the planet is here independently of us. Then we have to go onto the causality in virtue of humans being largely responsible for climate change that is happening today and this is a very serious problem.
Roy Bhaskar¹

How can we better theorize security in relation to our relations with natural environment in the face of global environmental change? We live in insecure times, in a new geological epoch- *the Anthropocene*² in which the biosphere has been radically changed by human activity. According to environmental scholars, the world faces not only ecological crises due to rising temperatures, extreme weather conditions, rising oceans, and extinctions of mass species but also, a generalized crisis of the earth system. Saving

¹ Interview with Roy Bhaskar, July 21, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8YGHZPg-19k>, (April 10, 2017).

² The Anthropocene is a relatively new concept in both social and natural sciences. Even though the concept of Anthropocene was firstly used by Paul Crutzen in 2000s, the problem implied by this concept is often traced to the Industrial Revolution in the late eighteenth century; a process that intensified in the 1940s and early 1950s. P.J. Crutzen, "The 'Anthropocene'", *Journal De Physique IV*, No.12, 2002, p.1-5.

of the earth, in the age of the Anthropocene requires a radical *social* change, as natural environment is changing rapidly and fundamentally.³

On 12 December 2015, 195 countries reached an agreement in Paris to “combat climate change and to accelerate and intensify the actions and investments needed for a sustainable low carbon future” though so far 160 have ratified the agreement.⁴ After 23 years of long negotiations, including the 1992 Rio Earth Summit and collapsing of the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, the Paris Climate Change Agreement (PCCA) is considered to be a remarkable reversal of fortune of the UN-initiated climate negotiations, despite the existence of many skeptical scholars and intellectuals concerning the nature of the agreement. Even though the US’ pull out from the agreement by the Trump Administration has raised concerns about the future of the deal, PCCA’s urgent call to the states on the need to decarbonize the global economy is still taken seriously by the other signatory countries.⁵ While these developments and processes within global environmental politics brought to the fore the necessity of a synthesis of natural and social sciences in the recent years, such aim has remained largely absent from the *nature-phobic* IR theory so far.⁶

³ John Bellamy Foster, “The Anthropocene Crisis,” *Monthly Review*, September 2016, p.9-15; Jason W. Moore (ed), in *Anthropocene or Capitalocene: Nature, History, and the Crisis of Capitalism*, Oakland, PM Press, 2016; Simon L. Lewis and Mark A. Maslin, “Defining the Anthropocene”, *Nature*, No. 519, 2015, p.171-180.

⁴ The Paris Agreement on to keep “a global temperature rise this century well below 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels and to pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase even further to 1.5 degrees Celsius.” ⁴ United Nations: Framework Convention on Climate Change, “The Paris Agreement”, http://unfccc.int/paris_agreement/items/9485.php; also see. <http://bigpicture.unfccc.int/#content-the-paris-agreement> (August 23, 2017)

⁵ “The Paris Deal Pullout is More Damaging to the US than the Climate”, *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2017/jun/01/donald-trump-paris-climate-deal-pullout-us-impact>, (September 1, 2017)

⁶ The term, nature-phobia, is mostly used by the studies that neglect the social relations with natural environment in sociology. See Ted Benton, “Why are Sociologist Nature-phobes?”, Paper to the center for Critical Realism Conference-After Postmodernism: Critical Realism, University of Essex, 2008 cited in Erika Cudworth, *Environment and Society*, London and New York, Routledge, 2003, p.16.

IR, founded as a distinct discipline after the World War I,⁷ has classically focused on the conditions of peace and the causes of war. This concern of avoiding the horrors of the great wars again has distinguished studies on the “international” from concerns to understand the socio-historical development of world politics. The discipline as such has given a central importance to the development of the concept of security since its foundation.⁸ Put differently, security has been considered as an absolute component of the discipline, unchanging over time and space, ensured by the states in accordance with the principle of the “reason of state.”⁹ While security, dominated by the realist, state-centric paradigm based upon sovereignty, has privileged state as the primary referent object or agent during the Cold War,¹⁰ environmental issues have overwhelmingly been seen as part of the interstate struggle for the control of resources and the distribution of resources according to the logic of the distribution of power.

At the beginning of the 1980s, critical theories have begun to challenge the dominant

⁷ Edward Hallett Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*, London, Macmillan, 1946 (1939 first publication).

⁸ See. Pinar Bilgin, Ken Booth and Richard Wyn Jones, “Security Studies: The Next Stage?”, *Inverno*, No. 84, 1998, p.131-157. Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations*, Harvester Wheatsheaf Books, 1983; Steve Smith, “The Increasing Insecurity of Security Studies: Conceptualizing Security in the Last Twenty Years”, *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 20, No. 3, 1999, p.72-101; Simon Dalby, “Security, Modernity, Ecology: The Dilemmas of post-Cold War Security Discourse”, *Alternative*, No. 17, 1992, p. 95-98; Helga Haftendorn, “The Security Puzzle: Theory-building and Discipline Building in International Security”, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol.35, No. 1, 1991, p. 3–17; David A. Baldwin, “Security Studies and the End of the Cold War”, *World Politics*, Vol. 48, No. 1, 1995, p. 117–41; Emma Rothschild, “What is Security?”, *Daedalus*, Vol. 124, No. 3, 1995, p.53–98.

⁹ Within the process of the foundation of the discipline, Hans Morgenthau suggested a realist definition of security under the Cold War conditions in his book dated 1948, which is seen as one of the main textbooks of the establishment of IR as a discipline stating that “the national interest of a peace-loving nation can only be defined in terms of national security, and national security must be defined as integrity of the national territory and of its institutions.” Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, New York, 1948, p.440; Also see. Simon Dalby, “Security, Intelligence, the National Interest and the Global Environment”, *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 10, No 4, 1995, p.175-197.

¹⁰ Pinar Bilgin, “Beyond Statism in Security Studies? : Human Agency and Security in the Middle East”, *The Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Autumn 2002, p.100.

understanding of the concept of security.¹¹ Within the context of the broadening and deepening agenda of IR in the post-Cold War era, security studies have tried to render numerous non-traditional threats such as drugs, diseases, weapon-proliferation, failed states, and demographic change visible within the context of a new understanding of “human security.” In this atmosphere, traditional security studies, correlated with positivist IR theories have been challenged by a number of theoretical innovations that problematize the state-centric approach of IR. The literature on environmental security, as a component of the new perspective of human security, has also been on the rise through the 1990s.¹²

The 1994 UN *Human Development Report*¹³ clearly states that human security requires at least two main conditions. Firstly, people should have “safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression.” Secondly, there should be “protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily lives- whether in homes, in jobs or communities.” Environmental concerns should be added to these conditions as, environmental degradation due to the ozone holes and anthropogenic climate change

¹¹ The 1960s have marked the beginning of widespread public concern, as well as the birth of the modern environmental movements, related to the environmental degradation in the developed countries in accordance with the rapid consumption of energy and resources. Correspondingly, the developments such as the increase in population, the acceleration of the economic growth, and the emergence of new technologies have led to the increment of environmental pollution as well. In the 1970s, with the progress in international environmental governmentality, the academia has started to define environmental problems as one of the issues forming the field of international relations. Robyn Eckersley, “Green Theory”, Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, Steve Smith (eds.), *International Relations Theories Discipline and Diversity*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 258.

¹² Madeleine Fagan, “Security in the Anthropocene: Environment, Ecology, Escape”, *European Journal of International Relations*, 2016; Jon Barnett, *The Meaning of Environmental Security: Ecological Politics and Policy in the New Security Era*, 2001; Jon Barnett, “Security and Climate Change”, *Global Environmental Change*, No.13, 2003, p.7-17; Jon Barnett, “Environmental Security for People, in the Meaning of Environmental Security: Ecological Politics and Policy in the New Security Era”, Michael R. Redclift and Graham Woodgate (eds), *New Developments in Environmental Sociology*, Cheltenham, Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2005, p. 467-486, Jon Barnett, Richard Matthew and Karen L. O’Brien, *Global Environmental Change and Human Security*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 2010; Karen Liftin, “Constructing Environmental Security and Ecological Interdependence”, *Global Governance*, No. 5, 1999, p. 359-377; Matt McDonald, *Security, the Environment and Emancipation: Contestation over Environmental Change*, NY, Rutledge, 2012.

¹³ United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report 1994, p.22-23.

directly influences “human life and dignity”, threatens people’s health and personal safety in a different vein from traditional military threats. Accordingly, critical security studies, associated with post-positivist IR theories, have dealt with environmental issues such as the thinning of the ozone layer, pollution of (inter)national waters, tropical deforestation besides other issues, though the perspective has adapted a narrow definition of environment, identifying it as a problem affecting the conditions of human (in)security.

Yet, even though the last forty years have witnessed a welcomed development of critical IR theories towards the problematisation of the relationship between (human) security and environment, security studies have still not overcome the “state versus human” dichotomy within the conceptualization of environment. The focus of security has significantly shifted from the question of “how to ensure the security of the state” to a more critical, more emancipatory one that scrutinizes “for whom and what security is.” Yet, even though critical security studies have directed their attention to the dominant realist conceptualization of security as a problem of states, this problematisation has remained mostly as a critique so that the underlying reasons of the insecurities have not been explained. In this sense, the understanding of human security could not dispose state centrism as this would require, beyond a critique, a new ontological proposal. Critical IR studies have focused on the idea of emancipation of human societies and biosphere, but they have not problematized the material mechanisms or structures within which environmental insecurities materially emerge, a problem that also cause indeed the persistence of state-centrism in security research.

Identifying the limits of not only conventional IR approaches but also the critical ones in making sense of environment/nature, this thesis will argue that there exist significant problems in the ontological conceptions of both ventures in the sense that environmental/ecological issues are reduced to agential capacities (agent-centrism or agent-orientism) disregarding the entwined, complex, and socially constructed nature of environmental problems. In this regard, these endeavours have eventually reproduced a dualistic understanding of social relations within which the human as an agent is either

threatened by or poses a threat to nature. The thesis will support this critique from, what it will define as, a *green (in)security* perspective.

1.1 Defining Green as Socio-natural (In)security

What constitutes the common point of positivist and post-positivist IR approaches that exclude the natural or social aspects of environmental problems is the (re)production of agent-centrism in describing the relationship between anthropogenic environmental issues and security. Thus, approaches from both methodological stands provide us with a narrow explanation on the question of how environmental insecurity emerges. To explain the emergence of such insecurities, the link between environment and security should be investigated from a relational and holistic approach that not only considers the natural and social aspects of environmental security but also overcomes this dichotomy of the natural and the social itself.

In its search for a non-reductionist approach to security and environment, this thesis defines three intertwined sub-problems, which are located within the agent-centric characteristic of IR theory. First, within the relational but also structural context, there is a need to understand *the social construction of nature*. The *social construction of nature* means that environmental problems occur within historical social processes. As such, the social construction of nature derives from its *social nature*, which is not indeed a new view in social sciences. David Harvey's early works on the criticism of the Malthusian thesis on overpopulation and scarcity, problematizing the *production of nature* within the context of the materiality of nature and knowledge construction, have provided a very useful insight for the elaboration on the concept of *social nature*.¹⁴ At this point, Noel Castree who improves Smith and Harvey's contribution provides a simple but rather explanatory definition of the concept: "Humanity did not merely 'interact with',

¹⁴ David Harvey, "Population, Resources and the Ideology of Science," *Economic Geography*, No.50, 1979, p. 226-277.

‘interfere with’, or even ‘alter’ the natural world but materially *produced* it anew”.¹⁵ Within this context, human beings have changed all ecosystems, which, like all social systems, are not *predictable*, but *open* and *vulnerable* to interaction. This idea is thus opposite to those approaches, which posit a foundational distinction between the social and the natural, where natural entities are taken as unalterably given. Given that emphasis on the social aspect of natural phenomena, linking environment and insecurity cannot be comprehended without taking into consideration the *social* aspect of anthropogenic environmental change.

Furthermore, as critical political ecologist Alan Irwin reminds, the nature and the social are ecologically and socially co-constituted. This means social and natural beings have a hybrid or co-evolving character in the sense that insecurity depends on not only vulnerabilities,¹⁶ but also, as Jason Moore emphasizes, on multiple processes operating across *space* and over *time*.¹⁷ These explanations are very important to not only demonstrate of dialectical relation between nature and society, but also indicate the second problem in linking insecurity and environment in IR: *Reducing material questions to ideational ones*. Even though, critical IR scholars underline that addressing the social origins of environmental problems requires a new social theory that addresses social change, their efforts remain limited to an ideational (cultural) one that makes sense of the linkage between security and environment at this level only. This is to say that critical IR scholars privilege culture/ideas (such as interactions between social institutions, the role of discourse or identity/ideology) over material practices and structures. This is a reductionist view to understand socio-natural change as there exists

¹⁵ Noel Castree, “Marxism, Capitalism, and the Production of Nature”, Noel Castree and Bruce Braun (eds.), *Social Nature: Theory, Practice and Politics*, Noel Castree and Bruce Braun (eds.), Malden, Blackwell Publishers, 2002, p.191. emphasis original.

¹⁶ Alan Irwin, *Sociology and the Environment, A Critical Introduction to Society, Nature and Knowledge*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2001.

¹⁷ Jason W. Moore, “Capitalism as a World Ecology: Braudel and Marx on Environmental History,” *Organization & Environment*, Vol. 16, No. 4, 2003 p.453; Jason W. Moore, “Ecology, Capital and the Nature of Our Times: Accumulation & Crisis in the Capitalist World-Ecology”, *American Sociological Association*, Vol.17, No. 1, 2011, p.107-146.

material structural dynamics behind events and course of events, generating structural limits to power struggles as well. In this context, what differentiates green insecurity from other IR approaches is that it emphasizes not only cultural/ideational but also the material aspects of environmental insecurity by problematizing the effects of the social on the natural, improving in that way the linkage between security and environmental change. In the light of this emphasis on the social aspect of natural phenomena, the definition of green (socio-natural) insecurity focuses on not only the material dialectical relationship between the nature and society, but also the dynamics of the capitalist mode of production in producing green insecurity within the context of complex relations among states and classes, and different hegemonic projects of exploitation and rule. Indeed, many Marxist ecological thinkers rightly argue that nature is not external to *the production of knowledge* in capitalism, as the dominant socio-economic system; rather it is materially and ideologically internal to capitalist relations of production.¹⁸ At this point, the question of “how and why the linkage between environment and security is thought of” is also embedded within the materiality of knowledge construction.

However, proposing that nature is internal to social structures does not mean that there is nothing beyond social structures in terms of green insecurities. For Ted Benton, nature is “a complex causal order, *independent* of human activity, forever seeing the condition and limits within which human-being, as natural beings, may shape and direct their activities.”¹⁹ Benton’s emphasis on the *independent nature* as a material entity, which interacts with the human-beings while human beings are also depended on it at the same time, may inform the idea of nature as an independent reality in IR theory. Following Benton’s early contribution, the third problem of the IR theory on nature is that it does not adequately problematize nature *as an independent reality from human perception* in defining environmental/human security. In this difficult theoretical or practical task of

¹⁸ Michael Redclift, “The Production of Nature and the Reproduction of the Species”, *Antipode*, No. 19, 1987, p.222-223; Noel Castree, “The Nature of Produced Nature: Materiality and Knowledge Construction in Marxism”, *Antipode*, Vol.27, No.1, 1995, p.27-29; Castree, “Marxism, Capitalism, and the Production of Nature”, p. 203.

¹⁹ Ted Benton, *Natural Relations: Ecology, Animal Rights and Social Justice*, London and New York, Routledge, 1993, p. 31. emphasis added.

environmental or human security, IR scholars have avoided thinking on nature as a distinct reality, which can be altered by social activity/agency on a limited scale. Indeed, even though social agency is seen as capable of reproducing its own nature through social learning, there still exists natural limits, which cannot be reduced to the social realm. Put differently, nature as a *distinct* reality is socially constituted by human agency, but it is also an independent structure for society. This is the crucial point that is not adequately addressed by IR theorists.

In sum, this thesis defines the concept of green (in)security in terms of the socio-natural complexities and emphasizes the dialectical-relational dynamics of these insecurities without reducing them to their biological/material or cultural/ideational dimensions only. It underlies the importance of acknowledging social construction of nature in terms of not only the question of whose security is in question but also *why and how the existing insecurities emerge both naturally/materially and culturally/ideationally*. Thus, the thesis will argue that despite the differences between the positivist and post-positivist environmental studies in IR, the post-positivist approach reproduces a positivist linkage between environment and security which is based upon a technocratic understanding of nature.²⁰ In other words, according to the thesis not only the positivist or problem-solving IR approaches to environment and security, but also critical, cultural-based as well as pure materialist ecological ones are problematic to make sense of green insecurities.

From this point of view, this thesis recognizes *multiple referent objects* of (in)security such as the human or the biosphere, *multiple inequalities* such as environmental and social injustices as well as *multiple types of threat* such as climate change and poverty. However, it should be noted that the definition of (in)security in this thesis does not merely pertain to the referent objects of security or types of threat; rather *it offers a shift*

²⁰ Technocratic approach means to “a foundational distinction between the social and the natural, and assumes the latter is, at some level, fixed and/or universal.” Within that context, technocratic approaches is based upon controlling or dominating of nature. Castree, “Socializing Nature”, p. 4-5; see also. Philip W. Sutton, *Nature, Environment and Society*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 78-79.

in concern from what the referent object of security is to what the real structured and differentiated insecurities are. In other words, it suggests that the centre of attention needs to be redefined in terms of what the *underlying socio-natural strata* are; *why and how environmental insecurity occurs*, and what constitutes environmental insecurity. In doing so, the main goal of this thesis is to re-think and develop the existing literature to the linkage between environment and security in IR from a non-atomistic and non-dualistic perspective, which underlies structured and differentiated features of the relation between nature and society vis-à-vis each other. Therefore, the concept of ‘green’, rather than of the ‘environmental’ or ‘ecological’, is used here in order to emphasize that the natural is concurrently social/cultural, and vice versa. Namely, in this thesis, the concept of *green (in)security* is harnessed as a synonym of the concept of *socio-natural (in)security*.

1.2 Defending Critical Realism

The inspiration of this thesis on green insecurity comes from a limited number of historical materialist environmental studies in IR produced by scholars such as Julian Saurin, Matthew Paterson and Daniel Deudney.²¹ These studies adopt a *relational* perspective without reducing the material dimensions of environmental problems to discourse, or ignoring the role of discourse on shaping of the material. At the first stage, they criticize the state-centric and ahistorical character of environmental concerns, which are practically and theoretically subordinated in IR. They problematize reductionist character of traditional environmental IR studies and the production of environmental knowledge, and try to understand the underlying structural causes of environmental crisis within the context of a historical materialist understanding of change. Furthermore, Deudney, who calls for “bringing nature back in” to security studies from a perspective that takes nature as an independent reality, has described IR

²¹ Julian Saurin, “International Relations, Social Ecology and Globalisation of Environmental Change”, John Vogler & Mark. F. Imber (eds.), *The Environment and International Relations*, London and NY, Routledge, 1996; Mathew Paterson, *Understanding Global Environmental Politics Domination, Accumulation, Resistance*, London, Macmillan Press, 2000.

as “de-natured”.²² Deudney is critical about two kinds of studies: the studies that ignore the historical and social roots of natural problems, reducing ecological crisis to technical processes; and those that neglect nature as a specific force in itself, explaining ecological crisis on the basis of social construction only. According to Deudney, both the natural and social realms shape human action, and therefore, such structures cannot only depend upon social construction. This is to say that the social construction of nature is at work, but “nature itself is not only socially constructed.”²³

In order to contribute to these early works, which might be called as the historical materialist school on environment in IR, and elaborate on the premises of green insecurity, the thesis will follow two strategies. Firstly, it will be in dialogue with other disciplines such as environmental sociology and critical geography to address to main problem of linking the anthropogenic environmental change and security through an *interdisciplinary* approach; and secondly, it will take advantage of critical realist philosophy at the meta-theoretical level. On these grounds, it accepts that the Marxist definition of the capitalist mode of production incorporating the production of nature enhances our understanding of the social dimensions of ecological crisis, even though Marx did not foresee the current anthropogenic environmental crisis. In Marx’s legacy, capitalism, by its nature, is the defining feature of all insecurities by encouraging the commodification of everything. For eco-Marxists, ecology/nature emerges as an instrument of the inherently exploitative capitalist class rule, and the struggle for the earth should be given by the anti-capitalist forces, the most crucial of which is the working-class.²⁴ However, there exist different assessments concerning the Marxist contribution to the ecological thought. To develop a consistent dialectical approach to

²² Daniel Deudney, “Bringing Nature Back In: Geopolitical Theory from the Greeks to Global Era”, Daniel H. Deudney and Richard A. Matthew (eds.), *Contested Grounds: Security and Conflict in the New Environmental Politics*, New York, State University of New York Press, 1999, p.25-57.

²³ Daniel Deudney, “Binding Sovereigns: Authorities, Structures, and Geopolitics in Philadelphian Systems”, Thomas J. Biersteker and Cynthia Weber (eds.), *State Sovereignty as Social Construct*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 193 and Deudney, “Bringing Nature Back In”, p.50.

²⁴ Paul Burkett, *Marx and Nature: A Red and Green Perspective*, New York, St. Martin’s Press, 1999.

contemporary environmental change, the thesis will get support from critical realism (CR) as a philosophical approach and meta-theory. As Yalvaç argues, CR should not be confused with IR theories such as (political) realism for the former produces second-order, conceptual and meta-theoretical claims, while the latter implies a set of assumptions or arguments regarding the nature of (world) politics and political activity, mostly taking the role of state in the anarchical international system, power politics and self (national) interest into consideration.²⁵

It is necessary at this point to briefly look at the premises of CR, which is most directly associated with Roy Bhaskar's 1979 publication *A Realist Theory of Science*.²⁶ The most important two critical pillars of the Bhaskarian CR are *transcendental realism* and *critical naturalism*. Transcendental realism underlines the irreducibility of ontology, the *theory of being*, to epistemology. To clarify this, two important conceptions of CR should be explained. Firstly, within the context of what Bhaskar has called *intransitivity*, "the Western philosophical tradition has mistakenly and anthropocentrically reduced the question of what is to the question of what we can know."²⁷ Critical realists call this "*epistemic fallacy*" as even though science is socially (re)produced by human agency, reality cannot be reduced to human agency's knowledge. The critical realist position states that "*there is a real world out there.*" This ontological position differentiates CR from both positivism (which reduces reality to human observation -empirical regularities-) and post-positivism (which reduces reality to human thought/mind through discourse).

²⁵ Faruk Yalvaç, "Critical Realism, International Relations Theory and Marxism", Jonathan Joseph and Colin Wight (eds.), *Scientific Realism and International Relations*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, p.168-169, Faruk Yalvaç, "Approaches to Turkish Foreign Policy: A Critical Realist Analysis", *Turkish Studies*, Vol.15, No.1, 2014, p.117-138.

²⁶ CR has also been improved by Margaret Archer, Ted Benton, Andrew Collier, Tony Lawson, and Alan Norrie. For a good edited example see. Margaret Archer, et. al. (eds.), *Critical Realism: Essential Readings*, London and New York, Routledge, 1998.

²⁷Roy Bhaskar, "General Introduction", Margaret Archer et. al. (eds.), *Critical Realism: Essential Readings*, p. xii.

To put it more clearly, positivism employs a Humean account of social sciences similarly to natural sciences. For positivists, universal knowledge about the world can be achieved through observation and experimentation; in this way, the patterns of social events can be determined (via prediction) as in closed system. This is why positivists consider their methodology as a “scientific” one in social sciences. However, critical realists claim that positivism is not a method; but a philosophy based upon an ontology which reduces reality to epistemological concerns, whereas CR focuses on ontology, or on “the nature of things.” The positivist philosophy accepts that there exists a world independent of human being; yet, reducing the conception of reality to human experience positivism produces a human-based account with a subjectivist ontology.²⁸

Furthermore, the ontological position of critical realism is also different from post-positivism. For many post-positivist (hermeneutic) studies, reality is characteristically intersubjective (cultural) and can only be described through discourse and language. For post-positivist theorists, social actions occur because of the knowledge and belief about “social situations” shared by peoples. Post-positivism assumes that society is not only the sum of individuals or groups, but it consists of the relations between individuals or groups. Therefore, post-positivists describe their approach as a relational one. Herein, critical realists argue that while intersubjectivist structures, producing consciousness, decisions or choices are important to understand social behavior as post-positivists argue, there are also material structures which produce intersubjective meanings. For post-positivists reality is dependent on the human being and human knowledge, and reality exists only in human mind. In other words, for post-positivists, like positivism, the foundation of reality is based upon anthropocentric (human-based; empiricist and

²⁸ Faruk Yalvaç, “Eleştirel Gerçekçilik: Uluslararası İlişkiler Kuramında Post-Pozitivizm Sonrası Aşama” (Critical Realism: Post-Positivist Stage in International Relations Theory”, *Uluslararası İlişkiler (International Relations)*, Vol.6, No.24, 2010, p. 6; Colin Wight and Jonathan Joseph, “Scientific Realism and International Relations”, Jonathan Joseph and Colin Wight (eds.), *Scientific Realism and International Relations*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, p.16-17.

interpretivist) epistemologies, rather than a realist ontology.²⁹ CR, which argues for a “mind-independent reality”, is an approach based also on a relational social ontology identified in terms of both ideal and material relations. CR deals with structures, mechanisms and relations, generating the foundation of knowledge (events, facts), namely ontological components and preconditions of knowledge, rather than what can be known. Within this context, Yalvaç underlines that CR “shift[s] the attention of the philosophy of science from epistemology to ontology.”³⁰

Transfactuality is the second conception that helps clarify Bhaskar’s transcendental realism. *Transfactuality* in CR proposes that using *causal analysis* is essential to grasp *how we understand the world*. However, CR’s causal analysis rejects the empiricist Humean notion of causality and law (positivist) based upon the observation data. A critical realist account of causation suggests that many causes imply the non-observable internal structure. The empiricist observation-based analysis (Humean) -that is prior to external relations– to the causal analysis is found problematic by critical realists due to the fact that CR defines indeed three distinguishing domains to make sense of reality: the real, the actual, and the empirical. These domains altogether make the stratified nature of reality. The *empirical domain* - the simplest domain- which is experienced (and thus observed by positivists, and produced by discourse by post-positivists) by human agency in that such ontology does not comprise the unobservable structures; the *actual domain* relating to the possible actual events as well as experiments; and the *real domain* which denotes to the *generative causal laws and tendencies underlying powers and mechanisms that produce* the actual and the empirical domains. The *real domain* explains how and why complex causal factors come together, recognizing the existence of different kinds of causes (such as ideational and material, as well as agential and deep

²⁹ Yalvaç, “Elestirel Gerçeklik”, p. 6-7; Wight and Joseph, “Scientific Realism and International Relations”, p.16-20.

³⁰ Yalvaç, “Critical Realism, International Relations Theory and Marxism”, p. 169

structural ones) within the relational context.³¹ According to CR's stratified ontology, the real domain, which requires the consideration of the underlying structures and mechanism of a phenomenon, is not reducible to the actual and the empirical (human experience) domains. Thus, the domain of real is both distinct from and greater than the actual and empirical domains; and provides the latter with a structural context.³² Hence, in a nutshell, for critical realists "science [is] a transitive process with antecedent knowledge that is dependent on human activity, [though] its objects are intransitive objects which do not depend on either."³³

Correspondingly, CR aims to advance the philosophical, theoretical, and practical assumptions of scientific research. As Yalvaç reminds, as a meta-theory, CR does not provide political solutions in itself, but helps theories to reach *emancipatory* solutions.³⁴ According to Bhaskar, CR is compatible with Karl Marx's historical materialism (HM) in various ways that it can undertake an under-laborer role to enhance Marxist/historical materialist studies. Bhaskar argues that "critical realists tended to ...reassessment of Marx as a scientific realist, at least in *Capital*."³⁵ Materialist (but relational) approach to social history, as advanced by Marx problematizes "how a society works, its long-term tendencies, inherent patterns of social conflict, and liability to change the pattern of

³¹ Milja Kurki, "Critical Realism and Causal Analysis in International Relations", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, No. 35, 2007, p. 361-378, Milja Kurki, "Causes of a Divided Discipline: Rethinking of Cause in International Relations Theory", *Review of International Studies*, Vol..32, No.2, 2006 , p.189-216.

³² Roy Bhaskar, *A Realist Theory of Science*, Brighton, Harvester Books, 1978, London, Verso, 1986, p.56; Jonathan Joseph and John Michael Roberts, *Realism Discourse and Deconstruction*, New York, Routledge, 2004; Heikki Patomäki, *After International Relations: Critical Realism and the (re)Construction of World Politics*, New York, Routledge, 2002, p.22-41; Heikki Patomäki and Colin Wight, "After Post-Positivism? The Promises of Critical Realism", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 44, No. 2002, p. 213–237.

³³ Jonathan Joseph, *Marxism and Social Theory*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 135.

³⁴ Yalvaç, "Critical Realism, International Relations Theory and Marxism", p.168.

³⁵ Bhaskar, "General Introduction", p.xx. emphasis original.

social relationships through which people act on nature to meet their need.”³⁶ Marx has developed his concept of the “capitalist mode of production” to explore the nature of capitalist societies. Thence, the capitalist social relations of production are embedded within *socio-historical* category and subject to *change*. Within the Marxist perspective, therefore, change is “a characteristic of all systems and all aspects of system”.³⁷ Embeddedness of change to all systems also implies the dialectical and complex aspects of reality.

Joseph contends that CR can support HM in the clarification of the relation between the structure and agency. Correspondingly, Bhaskar has demonstrated the compatibility between the two approaches by re-interpreting Marx’s following well-known methodological statement:³⁸

Man make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past.

In relation to this, Bhaskar has underlined that structures do not exist independently of the activities of the agents whilst agential activities depend upon the pre-existing structural conditions. As Bhaskar has put it:³⁹

Society is both ever-present condition (material cause) and the continually reproduced outcome of human agency. And praxis is both work, that is conscious production, and (normally unconscious) reproduction of the conditions of production, that is society.

³⁶ Ted Benton, “Greening the Left?: From Marx to World-System Theory”, Jules Pretty et al. (eds.), *The SAGE of Handbook of Environment and Society*, London, SAGE Publications, 2007, p. 96.

³⁷ David Harvey, *The Nature of Environment: The Dialectics of Social and Environmental Change*, Merlin Press, 1993, p. 36.

³⁸ Cited in Gill Friedman and Harvey Starr, *Agency, Structures ad International Politics: From Ontology to Empirical Inquiry*, London and New York, Routledge, 2004, p.3.

³⁹ Roy Bhaskar, *The Possibility of Naturalism*, Hemel Hempstead, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989, p. 44.

Within that context, the common emphasis of both perspectives can be highlighted as such: the human being as an agent neither is at the origin of social relations nor holds a passive position in the reproduction of social structures. There are mutually constitutive relations between the agents and structures. In other words, structures as the ever-present conditions of change are reproduced (rather than being created or determined) by agential activities; whereas agency is constrained by structures. To enlarge upon this contention, it can firstly be noted that social agents have the potential for transformation, however they are constrained by structures that also enable agential activity.⁴⁰ As a result, CR as a meta-theory aims at transcending established dichotomies and dualisms (such as structure and agency, individualism and collectivism, mind and body, social and natural) dominating the philosophy of the human sciences through, what Bhashkar calls, *critical naturalism*.⁴¹ The term ‘critical’ here emphasizes that “it is necessary to make important qualifications to the naturalist approach,” to overcome the duality of the natural and the social.⁴²

1.2.1. Critical Realism in International Relations

CR has also made its way into the IR through the contributions of critical realist scholars such as Alexander Wendt, David Dessler,⁴³ Faruk Yalvaç, Jonathan Joseph, Colin

⁴⁰ Joseph, *Marxism and Social Theory*, p.155.

⁴¹ Roy Bhaskar, *Reclaiming Reality: A Critical Introduction to Contemporary Philosophy*, London, Verso, 1989; Roy Bhaskar, *Philosophy and the Idea of Freedom*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1991; Roy Bhaskar, *Dialectic: the Pulse of Freedom*, London, Verso, 1993; Roy Bhaskar, *Reflections on Meta-Reality: Transcendence, Emancipation and Everyday Life*, London, Sage, 2002.

⁴² Jonathan Joseph, *Hegemony: A Realist Analysis*, London and New York, 2002, p.3-4.

⁴³ Alexander Wendt, “The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory”, *International Organization*, No. 41, 1987, p. 335-370; Alexander Wendt, “Bridging the Theory/Meta-Theory in International Relations”, *Review of International Studies*, No. 17, 1991; p. 383-392; Alexander Wendt, “Anarchy is What States Makes of It: Social Construction of Power Politics”, *International Organization*, No. 46, 1992; p. 391-425; David Dessler, “What’s at Stake in the Agent-Structure Debate?”, *International Organization*, Vol. 43, No. 3, p. 337-355.

Wight, Heikki Potomaki, and Milja Kurki,⁴⁴ who have provided a meta-theoretical critique of the IR theories' main premises although each from a different perspective. Critical realist IR scholars have contributed to the debate of structure-agency and the problem of causality at different levels. At the first stage, the structure-agency debate has been brought to the IR agenda with Wendt's version constructivism in which Wendt has synthesized Bhaskarian critical realism with Giddensian structuration theory to criticize the structuralisms of Waltz and World System Theory. Wendtian constructivism will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3. For the moment, suffice it to say that Wendt has called for a new way of thinking about "anarchy" in IR, which he has made sense of within the "constitutive" theorising of international life.

At the second stage, CR has been reintroduced to IR theorizing by historical materialist scholars, who have directed their criticisms to both the Waltzian neorealism and the Wendtian constructivism this time. Critical realists in IR agree to a certain degree with Wendt's criticisms directed to Waltz in terms of the reductionism of the neorealist theory. In Joseph's words, "Wendt's alternative to neorealism is based upon redefinition of international structure as social, rather than material."⁴⁵ "Material" mentioned here refers to material capabilities (the distribution of power) as employed in Waltz's neorealist theory, while the "social" is refers to the idealist interpretation of knowledge production.⁴⁶ Critical realists in IR has criticized Wendtian analysis by arguing that for Bhaskar, rules, norms and resources should be defined in terms of generative causal mechanism. In this way, critical realist scholars have provided methodological

⁴⁴ To see edited book on CR in IR: Jonathan Joseph and Colin Wight (eds.), *Scientific Realism and International Relations*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

⁴⁵Jonathan Joseph, "The International as Emergent: Challenging Old and New Orthodoxies in International Relations Theory", Jonathan Joseph and Colin Wight (eds.), in *Scientific Realism and International Relations*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, p. 56.

⁴⁶ Joseph, "The International as Emergent", p. 56.

challenges to not only the positivist, but also the post-positivist (constructivist and hermeneutic theories) perspectives in IR.⁴⁷

There are different versions of CR in IR studies. This thesis follows Yalvaç's analysis in associating critical realism with Marxism in social theory.⁴⁸ Indeed, Yalvaç's approach in bringing Marxist categories to CR in IR has even been identified as the fifth stage of IR.⁴⁹ Rethinking on the Marxist concept of *totality* within the context of CR, Yalvaç has proposed that emphasis on social relations enables a "relational" social analysis in IR so that neither the individuals nor the society as respectively the agents or the structure is prioritized.⁵⁰ Similarly, Jonathan Joseph has argued for a "relational" approach for making sense of hegemony in international relations. Criticizing both the orthodox definition of hegemony that sees hegemony as state dominance or leadership, and the Coxian understanding of hegemony which describes hegemony in terms of ideological and consensual elements,⁵¹ Joseph has argued that the first approach to hegemony reduces social relations to the material distribution of state capabilities, while the second one privileges intersubjectivist agreements between the agents. Rather, Joseph has offered a relational understanding hegemony, in which the inter-state system cannot be thought as independent from the capitalist mode of production and class struggle.⁵² Put

⁴⁷ David Leon, "Reductionism, Emergence and Explanation in International Relations Theory", Jonathan Joseph and Colin Wight (eds.), *Scientific Realism and International Relations*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, p. 33.

⁴⁸ Faruk Yalvac, "The Sociology of the State and the Sociology of International Relations" Michael Banks and Martin Shaw (eds.), *State and Society in International Relations*, Hemel Hempstead, Harvester, p. 93-114.

⁴⁹ Emilian Kavalski, "The Fifth Debate and the Emergence of Complex International Relations Theory: Notes on the Application of Complexity Theory to the Study of International Life", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol.20, No.3, 2007, p. 435-454.

⁵⁰ Yalvaç, "Critical Realism, International Relations Theory and Marxism", p. 178-179.

⁵¹ Joseph, *Hegemony*, p.36; Jonathan Joseph, "Hegemony and the Structure-Agency Problem in International Relations: A Scientific Realist Contribution", *Review of International Studies*, No. 34, 2008, p. 109-128.

⁵² Joseph, "Hegemony and the Structure-Agency Problem in International Relations", p. 110.

differently, in Joseph's Marxist and critical realist approach, hegemony is associated with agential processes embedded within the reproduction of social structures.

In overall, criticizing both the Waltzian and the Wendtian approaches to IR as being reductionist, the critical realist scholars have emphasized the totality of social relations beyond the agent-structure or internal-external dichotomies. In doing so, critical realists have drawn attention to the “emergent”, “historical” and “changeable” features of IR concepts, such as the international, hegemony, nation-state, and anarchy. This thesis recognizes this methodological intervention as a crucial contribution to IR theorizing, though it also proposes that natural world should also be considered within the critical realist conception of social totality. It might thus be argued that critical realist analysis/critique of IR has so far proposed the development of social, but not yet socio-natural, analysis in IR. This thesis will hence remind that *nature does matter for both social sciences and IR*.

1.2.2. A Critical Realist Approach to Green (In)Security

This thesis starts from the assumption that HM's ontological emphasis on the material offers much more than physical objects and/or discourses. Colin Wight's assessment may help clarify how “the material” can be conceptualized in CR: “Every human-being is born into a culture that plays a crucial role in forming how that human develops, but the notion of being physically born requires a biological substrate that can then be subject to the effects of culture.”⁵³ From this point of view, human is both biological (physical) and cultural (ideational) being and these two cannot be separated from each other constituting the “materiality” of the human being. Before society, human as a social and biological being is born in natural environment, which is socially constructed, while agency shapes actively the environment shaped by society. Therefore, in the conception of the “material”, the emphasis on nature needs to be reinforced to develop

⁵³ Colin Wight, “The Will to Be; Human Flourishing and the Good International Society”, Margaret Archer, (ed.) *Morphogenesis and Human Flourishing*, London, Springer, 2017, p. 266.

through a conception of nature as a causal power and/or a structure. On this ground, rejecting any reductionist or mechanical schema in Marxism, CR has argued that Marxism should refrain from the naturalist ideology, and the analysis of nature, both as the inherent force and as the material world itself, requires an approach which includes the natural powers and capacities of species in the sense that the natural phenomena “result in unexpected and unintended outcomes.”⁵⁴

From a critical realist perspective, if one wants to understand the dynamic dimensions of green insecurity, structural analyses should be supplemented by causal analysis. In doing so, CR, calling attention to “stratification reality” and supporting a structural, emergent, complex and ontological approach to green insecurities, would help us understand human societies and their relationship with the biological natural world from a holistic perspective. Therefore, for a critical realist understanding responsive to the “natural world” in IR, we should talk about “changing socio-natural relations” besides problematizing, as CR does, how the structures create knowledge (the mode of knowledge) and how reality is structured. In this way, the roots of the anthropogenic environmental crisis can be understood within the context of deeper social structures.

If we rethink on the three domains of reality defined by CR in relation to green insecurity (see table I), it can be argued that while the empirical domain refers to what one experiences based on the state and human security or conflicts and risks, the actual domain consists of the level of events, namely *ecological crisis*. The real domain, on the other hand, depicts structures, powers, and mechanisms, namely social-natural relations, as well as events and experiences. Accordingly, green insecurity is described in terms of generative structures and causal mechanisms, which are combined in complex ways with contingent and entwined circumstances.

⁵⁴ Sutton, *Nature, Environment and Society*, p. 64-67.

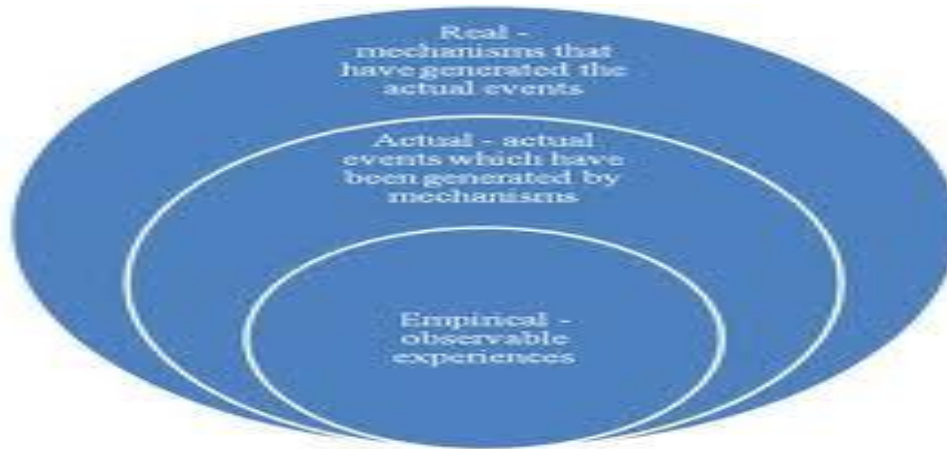


Figure 1: Stratification of Reality

Table 1: Stratification of Green (In)security

Empirical	State- Human Security, Conflicts and Cooperation, risks
Actual	Ecological/Environmental Degradations/Crisis
Real	Changing Social-Natural Relations

This is to say, green insecurity consists of both observable phenomena and the unobservable structures, underlying relations and generative mechanisms which govern them. Here, stratification of green insecurity addresses three key ontological claims. Following the critical realist concept of emergence; firstly, one should see human-state insecurity as “emergent” as a result of *changing socio-natural relations*. Secondly, green (socio-natural) insecurity is irreducible to its constituent (causal) parts. Within a non-reductionist critical realist framework, causal powers such as nature have a *mind-independent* feature. This is to refer natural limits as well as the distinct feature of nature at the same time. Namely, even though nature is socially constructed, it is irreducible to

social relations. Because of this relational and dialectical context, thirdly, green insecurity is subject to unexpected, complex and radical changes.⁵⁵

The utilization of CR as a philosophical approach to develop an interdisciplinary green insecurity perspective within IR can be summarized as follows: There are many causes of green insecurities, and CR can help on the identification of the factors which are comparably more significant than others. It is not possible to overcome environmental problems without realizing the social structures within which human beings interact with nature. As Ted Benton states, the problem is not only to explain how and why ecological crisis occurs and find a temporary solution; but also to understand which causes produce natural and social problems in order to change the social and natural structures.⁵⁶

The critical realist approach to green (socio-natural) insecurity seems to be most compatible with the basic premises of historical materialist environmental studies (both in IR and other disciplines) giving primacy to stratified (or unobservable) socio-natural relations. HM emphasizes the material and historical aspects of social-natural change enabling us to focus on the social aspects of natural change. Indeed, HM considers nature as a “superstructural (materialist) formation produced by various cultures at different historical moments.”⁵⁷ HM is also compatible with CR as it conceives natural/environmental change as relational. Within that context, the thesis will try to identify the main premises of green insecurity by departing from the contributions of the historical materialist environmental school and the critical realists in IR.

⁵⁵ Joseph, “The International as Emergent” p. 51-68.

⁵⁶ Ted Benton, “Marxism and Natural Limits: An Ecological Critique and Reconstruction”, Ted Benton, (ed.) *The Greening Marxism*, New York, The Guilford Press, 1996, p. 183.

⁵⁷ Enrique Leff, “Marxism and The Environmental Question: From the Critical Theory of Production to an Environmental Rationality for Sustainable Development”, Ted Benton (ed.), *The Greening of Marxism*, New York and London, The Guilford Press, 1996, p.139.

For a comprehensive discussion on green insecurity, an interdisciplinary approach combining IR debates in relation to critical realist and/or Marxist environmental sociology is necessary. To this end, the eco-Marxist tradition, which evaluates Marx's theory in the face of rising ecological crisis, would make significant contributions. As will be problematized in detail in Chapter 4, eco-Marxism, which focuses on the relationship between ecological crisis and capitalism, is against two kinds of ecological thought: Malthusianism (authoritarian ecology or utilitarianism) and deep ecology (radical eco-centrism). According to eco-Marxists, both Malthusianism and deep ecology are far from resolving the dualism between nature and society.

As a matter of the fact that scholars adopting CR such as Ted Benton⁵⁸, Peter Dickens⁵⁹ and Kate Soper⁶⁰ have already contributed to the historical materialist thinking on environment in the discipline of sociology, and developed critical arguments on society-nature relations. According to Peter Dickens, "a realist philosophy such as that used by Marx and later developed by Bhaskar and others start[s] by assuming the necessary connections between organism and environment."⁶¹ He has further proposed that CR's stratified knowledge perspective provides abstract and concrete levels of knowledge, where the underlying structures of natural phenomena as generative mechanisms are questioned without neglecting their historical specificities.⁶²

⁵⁸ Ted Benton, "Biology and Social Science: Why the Return of the Repressed Should be Given a (Cautious) Welcome", *Sociology*, Vol. 25, 1993, p. 1-29, Ted Benton, *Natural Relations: Ecology, Animal Rights and Social Justice*, London, Verso, 1993, Ted Benton (ed.), *The Greening of Marxism*, London, Guilford, 1996.

⁵⁹ Kate Soper, *What is Nature?* Oxford, Blackwell, 1995; Kate Soper, "Greening the Prometheus: Marxism and Ecology", Ted Benton (ed.), *The Greening of Marxism*, London, Guilford Press.

⁶⁰ Peter Dickens, *Reconstructing Nature: Alienation, Emancipation and the Division of Labor*, London, Routledge, 1996; Peter Dickens, "Linking the Social and Natural Sciences: Is Capital Modifying Human Biology in its Own Image?", *Sociology*, Vol. 35, No. 1, p. 93-110.

⁶¹ Peter Dickens, *Society and Nature: Towards a Green Social Theory*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1992, p.xv, emphasis original.

⁶² *Ibid*, p.xv.

1.3. Outline of the Chapters

In line with the explanations presented above on the relation between environmental studies, CR and Marxism, this thesis takes its starting point from the categorisation made by Faruk Yalvaç in IR studies in general and foreign policy analysis in particular between positivism, post-positivism and critical realism. It also adopts Yalvaç's approach in associating Marxism as the social theory closest to the assumptions of CR.⁶³ Given this overall framework, the thesis then expands upon this framework by incorporating environment and security which is not dealt with CR studies in IR and seeks to criticize the positivist and post-positivist approaches on their conceptualization of the relation between environment and security, arguing for a non-reductionist green (socio-natural) approach based on CR.

Accordingly, the first three chapters will examine how ontological problems are reduced to epistemological assumptions in IR theory within the context of environmental issues and security. In doing so, the thesis discusses the roots of the problem in IR theory as one of agent-centric assumptions, located in a nature-blind way. The second chapter of the thesis starts with the positivist IR theories that base on empiricist causality, and problematizes their agent-centrism. The chapter firstly demonstrates how the traditional, positivist IR theory ignores both social and natural aspects of insecurity on behalf of state-centrism. The correlations between positivist IR theory and Malthusian ecological thought, eco-liberalism and environmental scarcity are questioned to this end. Within that context, it will be argued that the deterministic and state-centric accounts of ecological problems and security as well as the blindness to natural phenomena in the IR theory are due to its empiricist nature. Thus, the two realist theories of IR – classical realism and neorealism - “reduce our knowledge on the relationship between

⁶³ See. Yalvaç, “Approaches to Turkish Foreign Policy: A Critical Realist Analysis”, p.117-138.

environment and security to simplified models or identifications of regularities”⁶⁴; namely to the conflict or cooperation between states.

The third chapter aims to present the basic principles of post-positivist IR theories on the linkage between environment and security. It looks at those post-positivist approaches, namely the constructivists and poststructuralists, feminists and posthumanist, which are associated with the deep-ecology, calling for an eco-centric approach. In accordance with the purposes of this thesis, the first part of the chapter is devoted to the constructivist studies as well as Robyn Eckersley’s very welcomed conceptualization of the Green State. In Eckersley’s work, the Green State, the construction of which requires a radical transformation of the existing state, originates from “a principle of ecological democracy”. This section will underline that despite its originality, Eckersley’s analysis still reproduces the institutionalist method while problematizing the linkage between security and environment.

Later in this chapter, the thesis tackles with the poststructuralist -such as the Foucauldian environmental studies - and (eco)feminist perspectives, which focus on the internal relations based upon the role of language in the processes of social/discursive meaning construction, albeit attributing a secondary role to the material aspect of green insecurity and ignoring the causal powers of nature. The thesis proceeds by demonstrating how post-positivist, hermeneutic accounts on the linkage between environment and security reproduce a problematic conception of environmental issues as well as the dualistic understanding of nature-society relations. For poststructuralists such as Simon Dalby and Maarten A. Hajer and most (eco)feminists, the basic cause of green (in)security is the subjective relations of the human-beings rather than objective material relations. Also, in this chapter, posthumanist IR studies’ contributions to the linkage between environment and security are investigated. This part looks at Emilan Kavalski, Erica Cudworth and Stephen Hobden’s works, which are informed by CR to make sense of

⁶⁴ Jonathan Joseph, “The Impact of Roy Bhaskar and Critical Realism on International Relations”, E-International Relations, <http://www.e-ir.info/2014/12/11/the-impact-of-roy-bhaskar-and-critical-realism-on-international-relations/>, 11.11.2014.

causation within the context of ecosystemic thinking. As will be argued, posthumanist IR studies, adopting a radical ontological position, reject the dualism between the nature and culture, defining nature with its agential capacities.

The fourth chapter of the thesis, problematizes to what extent CR-informed HM can contribute to the elimination of IR theory's socio-natural blindness in the face of anthropogenic environmental change. The first step to this end is to draw a general picture of the historical materialist green approach in IR in order to illustrate how and why HM can help the development of a non-reductionist green security approach. Then the chapter will look at Marx's legacy and eco-Marxist literature by rethinking them within the context of critical realist premises. This discussion will demonstrate that CR and relational historical materialist green approach have the capacity to challenge the deeply rooted anthropocentric attitudes within the (post) positivist science and politics by considering both social and natural aspects of reality in a wholistic way. This chapter, in the conclusion, will also focus on a critical realist critique of both positivist and post-positivist approaches on the linkage between environment and security from a relational perspective. The argument developed here will be that human beings cannot be emancipated without nature, and the positivist and post-positivist IR theories share similar ontological approaches in terms their deterministic views of the linkage between environment and security. This chapter also draws attention to the premises of green insecurity.

Lastly, while problematizing the philosophical and theoretical limits of the IR discipline regarding environment and security, the thesis offers a critical evaluation of the ways in which the PCCA has been comprehended from different IR perspectives. Food and water insecurity, which is result of climate change and global warming, is undoubtedly the most prominent and profound global environmental security issue in the world today. This is particularly true for the less developed countries, where food and water (in)security and related activities such as agriculture depend upon climate conditions more than elsewhere. Taking notice of this, the thesis will mainly question to what extent the PCCA can challenge the rising environmental problems with an ability to

uncover and describe the real environmental insecurities, and whether it can create a social order where a sustainable and healthy relationship with nature is possible. These questions will be problematized in relation to the prevailing power relations and environmental governance, and to demonstrate the importance of the underlying structures of global environmental governance in the age of Anthropocene.

Hence, this thesis aims to make a critical contribution to the ongoing discussions in IR on the linkage between security and environment through critical realist lenses. It argues that CR can redefine the problem from a non-reductionist perspective by questioning the structured and differentiated socio-natural relations including the socio-natural insecurities, inequalities and injustices. Moreover, the CR-informed HM conceptualization of green (socio-natural) security can play an important role in reshaping the normative commitments of IR theory. For, if problematizing security is one of the main concerns of IR, criticizing the anthropocentric nature of IR would be a good starting point to invite the discipline to take its essential concerns seriously. The first step to this end would be proposing to rethink natural relations as internal to IR rather than external in the age of the Anthropocene.

CHAPTER 2

THE POSITIVIST LINKAGE: ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY BETWEEN CONFLICT AND COOPERATION

This chapter focuses on the theoretical and conceptual analyses of environment and security in the positivist IR theories, specifically different versions of realist and liberal theories in IR. Deepening anthropogenic environmental crisis brings along increasing interest in the knowledge production on environment in the discipline. Thus, even though many IR scholars put environmental issues under the non-traditional concerns of IR, the linkage between environment and security occupies a substantial space in many positivist IR studies. The most significant common characteristic of such theories' conceptualization of environment and security is their state-centrism. Accordingly, the positivist linkage between environment and security is defined within the context of interstate struggle for the control of resources, a concern that leads to cooperation or conflict between states in accordance with logic of the distribution power.⁶⁵ The main argument of this chapter is that this approach neglects how and why anthropogenic global environmental problems are embedded within global social process, in which IR theorising also plays a role.

Within that context, this chapter focuses on the concern of state security as the main problematic of the positivist discourse on environmental conflict/cooperation and

⁶⁵ Kate O'Neil, *The Environment and International Relations*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009; Matthew Paterson, "IR Theory: Neorealism, Neoinstitutionalism and the Climate Change Convention," John Vogler and Mark F. Imber (eds.), *The Environment of International Relations of International Relations*, London, Routledge, 1996, p. 59-56.

investigate whether inter-state conflict or cooperation are valid concepts to make sense of the linkage between environment and security. Ultimately, the chapter claims that the positivist linkage between environment and security that is based upon assumptions on the “predictability” of and “law-like regularities” in inter-state relations is insufficient to describe and understand (in)security in terms of either the referent object of security (state versus human) or the structural context of insecurity.

One another argument problematized in this chapter to demonstrate the linkage between traditional ecological thought and positivist IR theory is that the positivist, state-centric approaches to environment and security are defined by the premises of traditional/technocentric ecological thought such as eco-utilitarianism (or neo-Malthusianism) and eco-liberalism. As will be explored below, the positivist approach to environment and security induces similar philosophical premises to positivist IR theories due its understanding of environmental politics as one based upon utilitarian ecology. This argument will also demonstrate how the production of knowledge on environment and security is embedded within power relations and how theories (re)produce ideological and political outcomes.

2.1. Realism and Environmental Conflict

Critical IR scholars do not often differentiate Hans Morgenthau’s classical realism from Kenneth Waltz’s neorealism when it comes to their common ontological conception of the world “as it is, not ought to be”.⁶⁶ However, Morgenthau is the first theorist who embarks upon this enterprise of providing a scientific basis to IR theory, and even though this enterprise has been subject to intense criticisms in the discipline, Morgenthau’s specific contributions have been largely neglected by IR scholars in the debate between positivism and post-positivism. Morgenthau’s position deserves more attention not because of its distinct emphasis on the “laws of human nature” as an

⁶⁶ Knud Eric Jørgensen, *International Relations Theory: A New Introduction*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, p. 78.

alternative position to “social law”; but because of its powerful legacy in IR that has shaped both positivist and post-positivist IR theorising so far. Indeed, Richard Ashley, having identified the practical realism and the technical realism as two different versions of political realism, associates classical realism with the former by defining it as a “hermeneutic logic articulated with a practical cognitive interest.”⁶⁷

The discussion in this part of the chapter will utilize Ashley’s categorization to distinguish Morgenthau’s classical (political) realism from Waltz’s neorealism, and focus firstly on Morgenthau’s methodology and contributions to IR. Morgenthau’s work will be paid specific attention as he has made specific claims on the role of environmental problems in international relations. Later, Waltz’s methodology will be critically overviewed primarily because it has informed both the neorealist and neoliberal theories in IR. Thus, even though Waltz himself did not ask questions about environment, clarifying the limits of his structuralism will provide us with a sound methodological ground to discuss why the neorealist and neoliberal approaches to environment in IR are far from making proper sense on green insecurity.

2.1.1. Human Nature and the Weberian Legacy: Environmental Security is for the Struggle of Power

Even though classical realism is considered to be an 2500 years old political theory, it has been redefined by IR scholars within the context of the competitions and conflicts between states in response to the idealism/liberalism of the post-World War I era that has problematized the prospects for a peaceful international order based on international norms and rules.⁶⁸ Accordingly, classical realism is not only seen as a theory that

⁶⁷ Richard K. Ashley, “Political Realism and Human Interests”, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Symposium in Honor of Hans J. Morgenthau*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 1981, p. 214.

⁶⁸ Classical realism remarks that a “practical turn” has gained again some prominence in IR studies, and many realists have returned to their roots after the decline of Waltz’s effort to “transform realism into a scientific theory”. In other words, as Waltz’s prediction-based theory has failed to foresee the end of the Cold-War, the claim of Waltz’s theory to being scientific has lost credit, which has generated the necessity to return to the roots of the theory on the part of the many realists. For the description of the term,

provides a set of assumptions in IR, but also a disposition or tradition that has emerged through the works of a series of empirical analysts.⁶⁹ Hence, although Hans Morgenthau is deemed the protagonists of realism in the IR theory, realism can be traced back to Thucydides', Machiavelli's and Hobbes' works.⁷⁰ Of those, Thomas Hobbes is known as the father of the modern defense of centralized state power and security dilemma, who has theorized how the social is problematized through the survival concerns, fears, and uncertainties of the individual in the realist thought.⁷¹

Hobbes' *Leviathan* (originally published in 1651) and his conceptualization of the “pre-social state of nature” can be associated with the “environmental scarcity” thesis that produces state incentives to have control over resources. Hobbes, as one of the classical social contract theorists, proposes an “absolute state” based upon human rationality through the problematization of nature in a specific way (state of nature, rights of nature, laws of nature). Hobbes makes a simple assumption about the state of nature: *Men who are equal interact under anarchy with the motivation of competition.*⁷² In the Hobbesian human nature, natural life is shaped by human's selfish nature, which is the main cause

'practical turn', see Chris Brown, “The ‘Practical Turn’ Prognosis and Classical Realism: Towards a Phronetic International Political Theory?”, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 40 No. 3, 2012, p. 439-456, also see. Richard Ned Lebow, “Classical Realism”, Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds.), *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 59.

⁶⁹ Jack Donnelly, *Realism and International Relations*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 6.

⁷⁰ Whereas the emphasis on the anarchical structure (as a generator of outcomes), the strategy of balance of power (as the cause of outcomes) and the problem of order are considered to be initiated with the works of Thucydides (for instance, his analysis of the causes of the Peloponnesian War) and Machiavelli (the rules/strategies of the political leadership under anarchy), these thinkers are also seen as first theorists regarding nature even if their understanding of nature are different from those of contemporary thinkers. Harlan Wilson, “Environmental Political Theory and The History of Western Political Theory”, Teena Gabrielson, Cheryl Hall, John M. Meyer (eds.), in *The Oxford Handbook of Environmental Political Theory*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016, p. 20.

⁷¹ Ken Booth and Nicholas J. Wheeler, *The Security Dilemma: Fear, Cooperation and Trust in World Politics*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, p. 13.

⁷² Jack Donnelly, “Realism”, Scott Burchill, et.al., *Theories of International Relations*, London and New York, Palgrave Macmillan, Third Edition, 2005, p. 32-33.

of insecurity. Hence, in Hobbes' state of nature, no one can provide absolute safety on his own, an assumption making "a perpetual and restless desire of power" inevitable.⁷³ Within this context, for Hobbes, a social contract would be the first step to eliminate the condition of insecurity through the formation of a centrally provided effective governmental security, which depends upon a rationally ordered relationship between the state and the individual. That is, citizens can pursue their interest only if they protect national security. Such an understanding of human nature implies that the human being establishes *control/dominance over the natural environment* to ensure *self preservation*. Since nature is one of the sources of insecurity both for the individual and the state, the best way to eliminate insecurities that would emanate from nature is to bring nature under "control". In this vein, Hobbes for instance has argued that growing population size would inevitably lead to war.⁷⁴

Rethinking on the Hobbesian conceptualization of security in relation to environment, Laferriere and Stoett argue that "if ecological degradation, as a by-product of "natural" economic competition, can be conceived as a security threat, then one may well invoke a Hobbesian solution to the threat- i.e. a strong governmental authority."⁷⁵ In this way, centralizing solutions are associated with a "Green Leviathan" on a utilitarian basis that would eliminate an environmental security problem through extensive regulatory policies and technocratic rules. It is important to note that in the Hobbesian version of realist utilitarian perspective, environmental concerns are taken into consideration only when they are related to state-security with the logical conclusion that the threat might be dealt with the use of state (military) power.

⁷³ Booth and Wheeler, *The Security Dilemma*, p. 13.

⁷⁴ Henrik Sætra, "The State of No Nature-Thomas Hobbes and the Natural World", *Journal of International Scientific Publications: Ecology and Safety*, Vol. 8, p. 192.

⁷⁵ Eric Laferriere and Peter J. Stoett, *International Relations Theory and Ecological Thought: Towards a Synthesis*, London and New York, Routledge, 1999, p. 44.

The implications of Hobbesian conceptualization of security in IR needs to be critically rethought to question the methodological premises of realism as the former have paved the way for such a security understanding in the discipline in which even the environmental questions are problematized around the notion of self-interest. The traditional security studies, shaped during the Cold War, have prioritized external military threats and considered security as a conceptual umbrella encompassing primarily military, strategic and war studies.⁷⁶ These studies have thus questioned security in terms of different levels of state security associated with war, peace and power, where security has been defined mostly on a *negative* basis as protection from and/or reaction to threats, or at best as state survival and well-being. In this respect, in 1943, Walter Lippmann has offered the following description of security: “a nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values, if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a war.”⁷⁷ In a similar vein, in his 1952 article, Wolfers defines security in terms of a nation’s rising or falling ability to deter an attack or defend itself.⁷⁸ These definitions show that for classical realism, the world is comprehended on empirical grounds rather than normative; and, the notion of security refers primarily to the survival of the state. The concept of security has been equated with the vital interests (or defence) of the state in which the state and nation are deemed as synonymous. Indeed, Hans Morgenthau has suggested that “the national interest of a peace-loving nation can only be defined in

⁷⁶ As such, for Mark Neocleous, who tackles with the historical roots of the concept of national security, ‘national security’ has begun to be used as a concept after the World War II by US Navy Secretary James Forrestal, to “develop to explain America’s relationship to the rest of the world” in which the concept of national security connotes inter-national relations rationalizing the rhetoric of the Cold War practices. Mark Neocleous, “From Social to National Security: On the Fabrication of Economic Order”, *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 37, No. 3, p. 363-364.

⁷⁷ Walter Lippmann; *US Foreign Policy: Shield of Republic*; Boston; 1943; Bilgin, Booth and Wyn Jones, “Security Studies”, p. 133.

⁷⁸ Wolfers, “National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol”, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 67, No. 4, p. 450.

terms of national security, and national security must be defined as integrity of the national territory and of its institutions.”⁷⁹

Furthermore, for Morgenthau, “the root cause of human conflict and international expansionism” amounts to “innate human aggressiveness”⁸⁰, thus it is not only that insecurity is based on self-interested human nature, but also the latter precipitates the former further. According to Hans Morgenthau, who endorsed the Hobbesian myth of state of nature, unchanging human nature is “at its core egoistic, and thus inalterably inclined towards immorality”⁸¹, meaning that (human) nature is the “product of human action.” In other words, “nature is subject to human action”, and is created in human mind. In his 1947 book *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics* Morgenthau explicitly says there exists “a correlation between our minds and *physical nature* as it is reflected in our consciousness.”⁸²

It can be argued that Morgenthau’s political realism exhibits the historical and changing features of natural environment, but unchangeable and ahistorical features of the human nature as well as human’s unchangeable relationship with the nature by virtue of unchanging and ahistorical concept of national security. As R.B.J Walker claims it, even if the narratives of national security may be described in terms of human nature, “it is a nature invoked as a way filling out the behavioral characteristics of an already idealized modern subject”, which has been differentiated in many aspects from any common

⁷⁹ Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, New York, 1948, p .440; Also see. Simon Dalby, “Security, Intelligence, the National Interest and the Global Environment”, *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1995, p.175-197.

⁸⁰ Booth and Wheeler, *The Security Dilemma*, p.24.

⁸¹ Donnelly, *Realism and International Relations*, p. 9.

⁸² Hans Morgenthau, *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1946, p.124, emphasis added.

humanity.⁸³ Therefore, in Morgenthau's analysis, historical and contextual analysis is ultimately nothing more than the "intellectual lesson", which must be taken into account by statesman in their struggle for power politics.⁸⁴

More specifically, Morgenthau's *Six Principles of Political Realism*⁸⁵ following Hobbes' arguments might be re-read in this manner. Within the context of Morgenthau's principles, natural environment is seen as one of the components of power or national security vis-a-vis other nations.⁸⁶ Further, for Morgenthau natural environment, geography or natural resources are relatively stable for a nation state vis-a-vis the components of national power that are subject to constant change such as technology or leadership. For example, Morgenthau has argued that geography had provided to the United States a unique position in comparison to other continents, ensuring the US a stable strength in providing its national security. As understood from this statement, for him, states do not have an ethical relationship with the nature, rather they give instrumental significance to nature in terms of the latter's provision of national security.

⁸³ J.B.J. Walker, "On the Protection of Nature and the Nature of Protection", Jey Huymans, Andrew Dobson, Raia Prokhovnik (eds.), *The Politics of Protection: Sites of Insecurity and Political Agency*, London and New York, Routledge, 2006, p. 195.

⁸⁴ Michael C. Williams, "Why Ideas Matter in International Relations: Hans Morgenthau, Classical Realism, and the Moral Construction of Power Politics", *International Organization*, Vol. 58, No. 3, 2004, p. 633-665.

⁸⁵ Hans Morgenthau's Six Principles of Political Realism can be specified as follows: First: Political realism believes that politics, like society in general, is governed by objective scientific laws that have their roots in human nature.' Second: 'The main signpost that helps political realism to find its way through the landscape of international politics is the concept of interest defined in terms of power.' Third: 'Realism does not endow its key concept of interest defined as power with a meaning that is fixed once and for all. The idea of interest is indeed of the essence of politics and is unaffected by the circumstances of time and space' Fourth: 'Political realism is aware of the moral significance of political action. It is also aware of the ineluctable tension between the moral command and the requirements of successful political action.' Fifth: 'Political realism refuses to identify the moral aspirations of a particular nation with the moral laws that govern the universe. As it distinguishes between truth and opinion, so it distinguishes between truth and idolatry'. Sixth: 'Intellectually, the political realist maintains the autonomy of the political sphere, as the economist, the lawyer, the moralist maintain theirs.' Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations*, p. 4-15.

⁸⁶ Johan J. Holst, "Security and Environment: A Preliminary Exploration", *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1989, p. 123-128; Michel Frederick, "A Realist's Conceptual Definition of Environmental Security", Daniel H. Deudney and Richard A. Matthew (eds.), *Contested Grounds: Security and Conflict in the New Environmental Politics*, New York, State University New York Press, 1999, p. 91-109.

It is considered that the human's (read as 'states' or 'statesman') relationship with the nature is based upon survival, security, turning natural threats into factors affecting inter-state relations. Morgenthau underlines the tragedy and insecurity of states, particularly once valuable natural resources providing economic growth are at stake, as for him the struggle and competition for natural resources is inevitable owing to the sovereign state's right to maximize its benefits.

As Litfin states, in classical realism "nature was perceived as a source of state power...through geostrategic positioning or natural resource endowments;" whilst ecological scarcities are seen as a source of violent conflict.⁸⁷ Indeed, natural environment appeared to be "resilient", "abundant", and "immutable" within the classical realist orthodoxy. This is not to say that natural limits of environment are neglected in classical realism. Yet, the identification of the role of non-social factors such as geography, climate, natural resources is realized within the context of the concept of national security. Classical realists tend to accept that there is a direct link between the natural environment as the essential quality and the states' search for power and security.

Morgenthau has not mentioned the implications of the natural environmental change, yet talked about scarcity within the context of the limited natural resources. According to Morgenthau, a country, which is self-sufficient in terms of supplying food, has a great advantage over other nations.⁸⁸ Thus, Morgenthau has interpreted the limited existence of natural resources from a statist perspective arguing that permanent scarcity of food would lead to a permanent weakness in international politics as nation states' survival would be put in jeopardy. He has also stated that these resources can be essential factors in terms of the victory of alliances. He has given the example of the two world wars in

⁸⁷ Karen Litfin, "Environmental Security in the Coming Century", T.V. Paul and John A. Hall (eds.), *International Order and the Future of World Politics*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 328.

⁸⁸ Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, p. 115.

which self-sufficiency in food played a profound role. Thus, scarcity would be the source of conflict between states or sub-groups while natural resources would have causal effects on the power of the nation-states.⁸⁹ In other words, Morgenthau has paid attention to the role the non-human world plays in the struggle for power, implying that environmental problems *may* become a cause of armed struggle.

It is perhaps worth, at this point, to briefly look at the philosophical roots of Morgenthau's theory in order to understand the historical development of the IR theory in relation to philosophical debates. As Neumann and Sending note, this might be done through the rethinking of Morgenthau's methodology within the context of Weber's rationalism.⁹⁰ Hence, the most important aspect of Morgenthau's classical realism, namely power politics among states, bears upon the Weberian *methodological individualism*.⁹¹ In other words, proposing universalistic assumptions, Weber defines politics as the struggle between individuals, while Morgenthau makes sense of international politics as the struggle for power among states.⁹² For Morgenthau, power, which constitutes the most important component of power politics, is determined by *the cultural and the political environment*, and provides *control* and domination of man by man. For Weber, explaining the actions of individuals is crucial, because what Weber calls social action is defined by the meanings individuals give to social and natural phenomena.⁹³ This is what Weber calls the "subjectivist understanding", which according to him is the distinguishing feature of sociology. Within this subjectivist

⁸⁹ Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, p. 112-113.

⁹⁰ Iver B. Neumann and Ole Jacob Sending, "International as Governmentality", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 3, 2007, p. 678.

⁹¹ Stephen Turner and George Mazur, "Morgenthau as a Weberian Methodologist", *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 2009, p. 477-504.

⁹² Neumann and Sending, "International as Governmentality", p.678.

⁹³ Indeed, from an agent-oriented and pure idealistic perspective, Weber argues that the rise of capitalism is pertinent to the Protestant work ethic in the sense that "the necessity for production is constructed through the concept of the moral virtue of hard work and individual reward." Raymond Murphy, *Rationality and Nature*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994, p. Emphasis added.

understanding of social science, Weber has not rejected the power of interconnected institutions and groups.⁹⁴ In the Weberian understanding, social collectivities have not had distinct properties so that they are all located within the subjectivist understanding of the actions of individual persons. Indeed, for Weber, “social phenomena must be explained by showing how they result from individual actions’ which in turn must be explained with reference to the intentional states that motivate the individual actor.”⁹⁵ In the Weberian *agent-oriented* analysis based on *ideal types*, the state is seen as autonomous from the society. The relationship between things is conceived as contingent, mechanic and taking place among “externally related parts of an empirical whole with no underlying reality.”⁹⁶

Morgenthau, on the other hand, argues that realism is a cogent theory because it focuses on objective laws. To put it differently, realism comprehends “human nature as it actually is” and the “historic processes as they actually take place.”⁹⁷ For Morgenthau, the international phenomena, facts and realities are made sense through objective laws that have their roots in the human nature separated from the internal composition of the state. At this point, it has to be underlined that Morgenthau’s individualist approach differs from that of Weber as it is biologically determined. Indeed, Morgenthau’s approach is about “‘will to power’, and the behavioural dynamic that drives this ‘will to power’ is ‘human nature’.”⁹⁸ There are two important points located in the “will to power” in

⁹⁴ As Wight argues, Weber did not deny a ‘distinctive configuration’ of these entities, yet, in his understanding the entities can only exist within the context of this subjective meaning. Wight, *Agents, Structures and International Relations*, p. 65. This is to say collectives such as states or industrial firms “solely the resultants and modes of organisation of the specific acts of individual men, since these alone are for us the agents who carry out subjective understandable action.” Anthony Giddens, *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory: An Analysis of the Writings of Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1971.

⁹⁵ “Methodological Individualism”, Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/methodological-individualism/>, 09.08.2016.

⁹⁶ Hannes Lacher, “History, Structures, and World Orders”, Alison J. Ayers (ed.), *Gramsci, Political Economy and International Relations Theory*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 58.

⁹⁷ Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, p. 4.

⁹⁸ Wight, *Agents, Structures and International Relations*, p. 76.

Morgenthau's approach: First, "a Hobbesian logic of competition" derived from human nature generates the structural dimension of Morgenthau's theory. Second, "a universal desire to dominate rooted in human nature." Departing from these two ontological points, Morgenthau's individualist reductionist approach is embedded within "the causes of political outcomes in biology." The biological causes shape state-behaviour as the causes of the international outcomes.⁹⁹

Hence, as Jim George correctly argues since Morgenthau has talked about "objective laws" of politics, there exists a tendency towards portraying him as "scientific positivist" in IR literature. However, Morgenthau has also methodological claims akin to those developed by post-positivist IR theories.¹⁰⁰ In other words, Morgenthau's political realism has posed properties embedded in both positivist and hermeneutic studies; and Morgenthau's Weberian methodology differentiates his perspective from the positivist causal or structural approaches. Therefore, equating Morgenthau's approach only with positivism in IR analyses is misleading.

In sum, for classical realists, *natural environment is the material world itself but it also exists in human mind and consciousness so that this perception directs state security concerns as a cause*. In the classical realist orthodoxy, the linkage between the environment/nature and security is associated with the military and geopolitical base of conflict management within the context of national security. Owing to the fact that the environment is deemed valuable for the sake of national security, the notion of natural environment is defined in terms of power, human interest and state-security (survival). Classical realism has played a basic role in the foundation of the discipline of IR and in this way the entire structure of the discipline is defined by agent-centrism, a characteristic inherited from Weber.

⁹⁹ Wight, *Agents, Structures and International Relations*, p. 77.

¹⁰⁰ Jim George, *Discourses of Global Politics*, Boulder, Lynne Reiner, 1994.

2.1.2. Waltzian IR and Environmental Security under Anarchy

Hans Morgenthau's approach is significant in terms of grasping the Weberian and idealistic methodological bases of the IR theory; even though he is not alone in the discipline in this regard. Kenneth Waltz, the most important figure in providing the structural account of international relations, shares Morgenthau's position due to his aim to propose neorealism as a research agenda for scientific inquiry in IR so that the law-like regularities of international politics can be identified.¹⁰¹ His attempt to develop a scientific theory in his books, *Man, The State and War* (1959) and *The Theory of International Politics*, (1979)¹⁰² has led him to be defined as a positivist, influenced by Emile Durkheim's structuralism and David Hume's empiricism.¹⁰³ As mentioned before, a short critical overview of Waltz's positivist methodology informed by the critical realist scholars in IR will be provided here to continue later with the neorealist and neoliberal analyses on environment.

Waltzian positivist framework is informed by Hume's empiricist analysis of causation that aims to explain "observed regularities". From this empiricist perspective where all inputs for scientific analysis are acquired through observation, there is no reality outside the human mind and perceptions. There are only "perceptions" that rely upon "impressions" and "ideas", and that depend only upon legitimation through experience. An empirical analysis accepts the importance of causality in scientific analysis, but due its scepticism on the existence of a "reality which is independent from human mind", it reduces causes to "regular succession of perceptions", and causal relations to the relation

¹⁰¹ Joseph, "The International as Emergent", p. 52, 65.

¹⁰² Kenneth Waltz, *Man, The State and War*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1959; Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, Reading MA, Addison-Wesley, Ward, Hugh, 1979.

¹⁰³ According to Hume, "there is no object, which implies the existence of any other if we consider these objects in themselves and never look beyond the ideas we form of them." Cited in, Heikki Patomäki, "Concept of 'Action', 'Structure' and 'Power' in 'Critical Social Realism': A Positive and Reconstructive Critique", *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, Vol. 21, No.2, p. 226.

between observables.¹⁰⁴ In doing so, observation-based analysis reduces the problem of causation to an epistemological issue by denying its ontological aspect. Therefore, in this understanding of science, causal relations are addressed as “regularity-deterministic” and “empirical realist”; and treated in the same way as the external relations of events as is in the “closed systems.” This might be illustrated with an example known as the *billiard ball model*, where “ball A hitting ball B for N amount times”: in the observation-based analysis, one observes that “A is the cause of B’s movement.” The nature of this connection is not dependent upon our experiment. According to this type of empiricism, one can talk about causal analysis and causal laws only when one indicates “empirical regularities” which provide predictions on the observing patterns of facts or “laws”.¹⁰⁵ Correspondingly, in the positivist regularity-determinist analysis, these regularities are necessary for any causal account. In the positivist IR, causality implies “constant conjunctions”, in the sense that the properties of entities are independent, their relations being external, controllable and reducible. Positivists define the world (the laws of nature, the entities, structures or mechanisms) in terms of our experiences in the light of the empirical and objectivist epistemology, in which the existence is observable and subjectivist ontology is not really independent of our ability to know it. As Kurki states, in the positivist analysis “theory idealises, abstracts and isolates a realm of empirical phenomena for instrumental purpose.” For example, for Waltz, “the structure of the international system is not ‘real’, but a theoretical construction that can parsimoniously account for the important observable regularities in international politics (recurrence of war).”¹⁰⁶ As a result, positivists state that causation can be thought as only within the context of “assumed” connection between patterns of facts, so that they do not possess a definition of objective reality or an ontological causal connection.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Wight, *Agents, Structures and International Relations*, p. 22; Milja Kurki, *Causation International Relations: Reclaiming Causal Analysis*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 36.

¹⁰⁵ Bhaskar, *Reflection on Metareality*, p. 38.

¹⁰⁶ Kurki, *Causation in International Relations*, p. 111.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p.111-112.

Waltz's neorealist/structuralist realism has launched a great deal of discussion in IR on the one hand, whereas it has also led to various misunderstandings on the nature of the international on the other.¹⁰⁸ Waltz starts by sorting out two kinds of theories, reductionist/individualist and systemic/structuralist. Waltz argues that classical realism (first image) as well as liberalism and Marxism (second images) fail to develop an approach to conceptualize the international structure represented by the neorealist theory of IR (third image). Having been influenced by Durkheim in the identification of the first two images, Waltz argues that in these two images "the whole is understood by knowing the attributes and the interactions of its parts."¹⁰⁹ Thus, as the whole is greater than its parts and the "outcomes are affected not only by the properties and interconnections of variables but also by the way in which they are organized," as long as the behaviour of the parts are explained, the first two images make no further effort to make sense of the whole.¹¹⁰ According to Waltz, the main problem in these reductionist theories is that world politics cannot be understood by looking at the behaviours of states only. Thus, distinguishing his theory also from other system theories,¹¹¹ Waltz proposes that world politics is not the result of interaction between states, but of the "structure".

¹⁰⁸ Waltz's theory got simultaneously involved with the inter-paradigm debate in IR. Within these years, the term of structuralism was used for dependency theory and World System theory; with Waltz's theory, a new approach to structuralism entered to IR. See. Ole Waever, "The Rise and Fall of the Inter-Paradigm Debate", Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (eds.), *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 149- 185; Faruk Yalvac, "Uluslararası İlişkiler Kuramında Yapısalcı Yaklaşımlar (Structuralist Approaches in International Relations Theory)", *Devlet, Sistem Kimlik (State, System and Identity)*, Atila Eralp (ed), İstanbul, İletişim, 1996, p. 131-184.

¹⁰⁹ Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, p. 18.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p. 60.

¹¹¹ As a concept, system describes a "situation" related in organized whole. System theories provide a framework to explain complex things in a holistic way. System theories represents ontological claim like the structure-agent debate. Systems theory has emerged in order to offer an alternative to behaviourist approaches of IR. Within that context, Morton Kaplan is one of the important figure who might be evaluated within (international) system theorists. Kaplan describes six possible patterns or structures that can emerge in international system: Multipolar (billiard ball model), loose bipolar, tight bipolar, universal (confederation), hierarchical (significant groupings), and unit veto (each can destroy all others). For Kaplan, the world has historically witnessed only two structures: the balance of power and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the post-World War II loose bipolar system: See. Morton Kaplan, *Systems*

In doing so, Waltz differentiates neorealism from realism even though the two share many key assumptions. According to Waltz, classical realism is not a theory of international politics; but rather a political thought of international politics. Neorealism, contrary to classical realism, begins the analysis by “proposing a solution to the problem of distinguishing factors that are internal to the international political systems from those that are external.”¹¹² For Waltz, Morgenthau’s realist analysis, as a first image is inevitably individualistic and the social world as formed by the struggle for power cannot be defined through human nature. Waltz states that human nature is too complex to be the reason of wars so directly and causally. Even though Waltz accepts that the nature of the individual is a triggering factor to start “the struggle of power”, power politics among states does not emerge because of human nature; but because of the anarchy in the international structure. On these grounds, Waltz argues that Morgenthau’s human nature thesis is reductionist and cannot be empirically confirmed. He asks if evil human nature led to the World Wars in 1914; why the same nature did not lead to another very likely war in 1910. For him, it is clear that states are not always free to act without any constraints.¹¹³

Turning to his critique on the liberal and Marxist perspectives constituting the second image, Waltz argues that these approaches’ focus on the ideological character of the state as the determinants of state behaviour does not make sense in explaining international relations. He questions whether emerging wars can be explained through the internal institutions of states and societies, and ultimately maintains that ideological assumptions are problematic for liberal or Marxian ideals, such as free trade or

and Process in International Politics, New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1957; Robert L. Flood and Ewart R. Carson, *Dealing With Complexity: An Introduction to the Theory and Application of Systems Science*, New York and London, Plenum Press, 1988.

¹¹² Kenneth Waltz, “Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory”, *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 44, No. 1, 1990, p. 29.

¹¹³ Waltz, *Man, The State and War*, p. 28.

equality, would not determine state behaviour in the international system. Besides, for him, there is a dispute on which one of these ideals (socialist or liberals) are good or bad for states, and even if the second image theorists would agree on which is good for states, this would still be no guarantee for a peaceful world. Despite the existence of these Marxist and liberal ideals, the World War II was not prevented.¹¹⁴ On these grounds, Waltz has based his theory upon the separation between domestic and international politics, and adopted an analytical approach in which ideologies, personality of leaders and/or economics are not important.

Having adopted Durkheim's structuralist approach to IR, Waltz denotes a fundamental role to *the anarchical state system, which enables and restrains cooperation and conflict between actors*, in explaining international outcomes (causal power). Durkheim was a structuralist theorist who rejected the idea that social phenomena can only be explained through human ideas/meanings. As Giddens underlines, for Durkheim society is not the mere sum of individuals' meanings. Even though Durkheim has highlighted many times that "society is composed only of individuals," he also stressed that "social facts" and "social currents" have an existence over and above the individuals.¹¹⁵ This is to say that people's thinking, feeling or acting, as agential behaviours, depend upon society/structure. Within that context, for Durkheim, the nature of social facts is an empirical one. Change within the social system is only explained through these empirical social facts "interlinked by cause and effect relations" in social systems.

In the light of these explanations, for Waltz, "the enduring anarchic character (non-hierarchy) of international politics accounts for the striking sameness in the quality of international life through the millennia."¹¹⁶ The behaviours of states are determined by the anarchical nature of the international system. Although his approach does not base

¹¹⁴ Cynthia Weber, *International Relations Theory: A Critical Introduction*, London and New York, Routledge, Second Edition, 2005; Michael Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace*, New York, Norton, 1997.

¹¹⁵ Giddens, *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory*, p. 22.

¹¹⁶ Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, p. 66.

on state-level analysis; Waltz insists that “unit-level causes matter”, in which the structure of the system (anarchy) affects the interacting units (states).¹¹⁷ Accordingly, Waltz defines the international system on the basis of three characteristics: Anarchy as the ordering principle,¹¹⁸ states as unit-like agents of the system, and the relative distribution of power (capabilities) within the system. In other words, states are considered to be functionally undifferentiated units, and identified as the only important collective actors of the international system in the absence of a world sovereign authority.¹¹⁹

Within that context, one of the main intrinsic problems of the Waltzian IR theory is its agent-oriented and non-relational character in which anarchy is shaped through the external relations of units. As such, Waltzian IR is based upon the macroeconomic assumption of rational self-interested actors in the international system positing a reified social ontology although it aims at the structuralist theory of IR. Waltz describes structures as playing a fundamental role in explaining international outcomes; however, as Joseph recognizes, due to its underlying Weberian understanding and Durkheimian structural analysis, “structure is nothing more than such interactions in Waltz studies. Structural questions are no more than the arrangements of the parts of a system.”¹²⁰ The system emerges as a production of individual states’ behaviour within the conditions of self-help. Put it differently, in Waltz’s analysis the concept of structure addresses the military power of states. Once Waltz describes the structure of international system, he ontologically distinguishes structure from units (states) within international system

¹¹⁷ Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, p.42.

¹¹⁸ For the contrary argument, see. Jack Donnelly, “The Discourse of Anarchy in IR”, *International Theory*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 2015, p. 393-425.

¹¹⁹ Robert Gilpin, “The Richness of Tradition of Political Realism”, Robert Keohane (ed.), in *Realism and its Critics*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1986; Robert Gilpin, “No One Loves a Political Realist”, *Security Studies*, No. 5, (Spring), 1996, p. 3-26; John Mearsheimer, “The False Promise of International Institutions”, *International Security*, Vol. 19, 1994, p. 5-49. Robert Keohane, “Theory of World Politics: Structural Realism and Beyond”, Robert Keohane (ed.), *Realism and Its Critics*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1996.

¹²⁰ Joseph, “The International as Emergent”, p. 52.

though the core reference to understand the mechanism of the international system still stands as the relative distribution of power between states. This means that Waltz cannot escape from a reductionist understanding of international relations, conceptualized through state-agency.

Waltz's scientific neorealism, which is associated with positivism, proposes a 'system' at the international level in which anarchy remains unchanged. However, anarchy should be seen as the *emergent character* of the combination of different structures and social relations as in all social phenomena.¹²¹ Accordingly, as Wight argues, "although the more complex levels of reality, for example, societies, presuppose the more basic or less complex levels, for example people, explanations of them are not reducible to the other."¹²² From this point of view the irony in Waltz's theory is that the structure or the international system that has to be abstracted from other levels of society and politics, "emerge from the co-existence of states" based on self-help or egoism as Waltz defines the structure/international system as a distinct and unchangeable form. Therefore, Waltz's theory should be seen as an agent-centric, atomistic approach rather than a structural or holistic one.¹²³

It is thus not a coincidence that neorealist approaches to security in the Cold War period have reproduced state-centrism in IR under the neorealist hegemony of the anarchy discourse. Neorealism's security understanding and conceptualization can thus be classified at both state and structure levels. Basically, neorealist security studies are part of the traditional security studies with the implication that neorealism, just like classical realism, defines security in military terms, as the protection of the boundaries and the integrity of the state. Stephen Walt who approaches security from a (neo)realist perspective puts that: "security is the study of the threat, use, and control of military

¹²¹ Joseph, "The International as Emergent", p.52-53

¹²² Wight, *Agents, Structures and International Relations*, p. 37.

¹²³ Yalvaç, "Critical Realism, International Relations Theory and Marxism", p. 177.

forces.”¹²⁴ Indeed, for Walt, (international) (in)security should be understood in terms of military capacity among states. For the neorealists, insecurity and uncertainty are inevitable in such an anarchical world. Within the understanding of traditional security, therefore, insecurity is understood as an inevitable feature of international order. Since the anarchical inter-states system (structure) has been the main and unchanging variable in security analysis, insecurity is deemed to be permanent, natural and timeless.

Locked within a security dilemma, states should seek “balance of power” in order to ensure their security in a process in which reproduction of threat becomes given. States can increase their security and power position only by balancing the threats through mutual alliances. Security, therefore, is described as “a somewhat less dangerous and less violent world, rather than a safe, just or peaceful one. Statesmanship involves mitigating and managing, [though] not eliminating, conflict.”¹²⁵ The traditional security argument that threats can only stem from the agents such as other states or terrorist organizations has been much criticized due to the ontological primacy it gives to the nation- state security. In this sense, security has been conceptualized within a nationalist and statist form by promoting the idea of security against others.

Neorealism’s conceptualization of security can also be considered within the broadening agenda of security studies. After the Cold War, one of the often-criticized aspects of traditional security analysis was the focus upon military as a primary tool in discussing world politics. The political importance of the concept of security has been enormous during the Cold War due to the military confrontation between the two superpowers and their allies. In the post-Cold War conjuncture, the military-centred understanding of security has protected its political significance though within a changing context and changing priorities. ¹²⁶ The first major strand of the broadening agenda of security

¹²⁴ Stephen Walt, “The Renaissance of Security Studies”, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 2, 1991, p. 212.

¹²⁵ Donnelly, *Realism and International Relations*, p. 10.

¹²⁶ K. M. Fierke, *Critical Approaches to International Security*, Cambridge, Polity, 2007, p. 1.

thinking has sought to redefine and extend national security. In the 1980s, the new and broadening agenda of security studies have sought to challenge the military-based understanding for its being, as Edward Kolojziej describes, “too narrow a conception of security”.¹²⁷ Endorsing this challenge, Richard Ullman, in his 1983 article entitled ‘*Redefining Security*’, has proposed to include problems such as the growth of population and the scarcity of resources to the broadening/widening agenda of security. Ullman’s significant work has been “one way of moving toward a more comprehensive definition of security.”¹²⁸ In this work, Ullman has affirmed that states “reduce their total security” and “contribute to a pervasive militarization of international relations that in the long run can only increase global insecurity” by concentrating on military and strategic security.¹²⁹

Within that context, even though some neorealists consider security as a more expansive term than “defence” or the military power of the state, attempting to broaden the scope of traditional security politics, the same concern has not been observed on the question of environmental problems. Thus, the realist account of environmental scarcity/security has been adopted without any consideration of the anthropogenic environmental change, and environmental security is problematized in terms of a concern about a prospective violent conflict over finite natural resources. Furthermore, neorealist security studies have even dissected the historical aspect of the classical realist insecurity, where security is associated with the changing considerations of the nation-state; thus, the relation between the state and insecurity is redefined on an ahistoric basis within the anarchic processes of the inter-state system.

¹²⁷ P M Morgan, “Liberalist and Realist Security Studies at 2000: Two Decades of Progress”, S Croft and T Terriff, *Critical Reflections on Security and Change*, London, Frank Cass Publishers, 2000, p. 41.

¹²⁸ Richard H. Ullman, “Redefining Security”, *International Security*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1983, p. 130.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 131.

The assumption of security under anarchy offers a “tragedy of the commons” within the context of state interests defined as survival/security and/or economic distribution of power.¹³⁰ The tragedy of the commons thesis is associated with Garrett Hardin, who argues that many resource shortages are due to survival concerns. Hardin, positing an authoritarian solution to the question of individual interest in face of the common good, suggests that without establishing authoritarian regimes based on “mutual coercion, mutually agreed upon” over common resources, exploitation of common resources causes damage to all.

John Mearsheimer’s approach to security is a good example to demonstrate the way in which realist assumptions influence neorealist environmental analyses. Accordingly, the neorealist theory on environment describes environmental problems as peripheral issues of IR (low politics). Mearsheimer, in *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (2001) has made a hierarchical distinction between the first-order (military, politics and terrorism) and second-order (non-traditional threats) sources of insecurity and uncertainty. Mearsheimer argues that international institutions have no independent effects on state behaviour. Thus, despite institutional efforts, environmental threats are unimportant for geopolitical instability as great powers treat them as “second-order problems”.¹³¹ According to Mearsheimer, there is clearly a hierarchy of problems and interests in terms of national security. Thereby, concerning the issue of anthropogenic environmental change, he holds that “the cost involved in dealing with the issues does not provide a security ‘benefit’ as a Great Power could *manage* the threat.”¹³²

¹³⁰ Garret Hardin, “The Tragedy of the Commons”, Robert Art and Robert Jervis (eds.), *International Politics Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*, New York, Longman, 2007.

¹³¹ John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, New York, W.W. Norton, 2001, p. 321; John Mearsheimer, “Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War”, *International Security*, No. 15, 1990, p. 5-56.

¹³² Marc J. Lack, *Security and Climate Change: International Relations and the limits of Realism*, London, Routledge, 2005.

As such, Mearsheimer's analysis differs from those realist studies that take into consideration nation-state security in the broadest extent. If natural problems are second order problems, how can the resource wars be explained from a (neo)realist perspective then? Michael Klare, another neorealist theorist, does not fall into this *first order* vs. *second order* trap, and turns this hierarchical distinction meaningless in his significant work, *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict* (2002). Klare has developed a (neo)realist analysis on how the American security policy has been driven towards insecurity due to resource norms and conflicts related to oil and water.¹³³ According to Klare, access to resources happens to be an increasingly apparent feature of wars, one of the clearest examples of which is the US invasion of Iraq. Klare's account on resource wars is a good example of a state-centric neorealist perspective to environmental security that considers environmental degradation as a cause of conflict. Besides this, the issue on how and why environmental problems lead to conflict depending on several social phenomena such as migration, violence, and economic decline has been also intensely debated in the last thirty years. In this debate, there exists a clear consensus on the causal role of environmental scarcity while it is also accepted that environmental scarcity does not automatically lead to war among states, or to conflict among subnational groups.

Neorealist environmental conflict/security thesis is mostly associated with (neo) Malthusianism. Malthusianism is an authoritarian version of green thought derived from the English economist Thomas Malthus' *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798). In this work, Malthus describes how population growth affects the depletion of natural resources.¹³⁴ According to Malthus, who believes that population geometrically increases faster than the supply of food available, if birth rates are not controlled,

¹³³ Michael Klare, *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict*, New York, Metropolitan Books, 2002.

¹³⁴ Thomas Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, [1798], 1993.

problems such as conflict, poverty, disease, famine become inevitable.¹³⁵ Malthus argues that providing extra goods to the poor people increases their population, thus further aggravates the problem. Malthus' theory relies on a strongly reductionist, materialist, naturalistic, and positivist scientific perspective, characteristic of the 18th century's philosophy of science. Although the Malthusian arguments regarding eco-scarcity and natural limits were initially formulated in the 18th century, these arguments have been re-interpreted in the green thought since then, leading to the development of a neo-Malthusian perspective at the beginning of the 21st century.¹³⁶ Within this context, the key problem with Malthusian explanations is that environmental concerns are equated with scarcity, where nature is reduced to its capacity of resource provision. That is why ecological degradations, as a cause of conflict, are associated with economic competition among states upon limited resources.

To turn to Klare's works again, Klare in his other book, *Rising Powers, Shrinking Planet: How Scarce Energy is Creating a New World Order* (2008), has problematized the (national) power struggle over energy resources, such as oil and raw materials within the context of the relations between the rising powers. According to Klare, the current environmental scarcity as well as climate change can lead to a condition of "unending crisis and conflict", if great powers behave in accordance with their military capabilities.

¹³⁵ As Andrew Dobson emphasizes, Malthus is the father of the idea that "dark green politics is based upon a fundamental commitment to the principle of scarcity as an insurmountable fact of life and the consequent limits of growth imposed by a finite system." Andrew Dobson, *Green Political Thought*, Oxford, Routledge, 2007, p. 61.

¹³⁶ Some green thinkers, who advocate liberal/utilitarian solutions for a sustainable world, have also been influenced by Malthusianism or and Hobbesian solution. Within this context, William Ophuls claims that by advocating a rather authoritarian and coercive world government in order to restrict the states, it should not be expected from the people to limit themselves in the scarcity societies. According to Ophuls, the ecological, complex steady-state society is required based on the "green" Leviathan. Utilitarianism (market-based approach) has been built on economic optimism, which emphasizes liberal economic growth. Many liberals advocate the privatization of resources for control rather than creating social consciousness regarding environmental responsibility. While liberals defend "freedom through capitalist growth", they look with favour on "the coercive power of the state" in the sense of ecologically harmful practices. William Ophuls, "Leviathan or Oblivion?" Herman E. Daly (ed.), *Toward a Steady State Economy*, San Francisco, Freeman, 1973; Laferriere and Stoett, *International Relations Theory and Ecological Thought*, p. 42-46.

Even though Klare underlines the importance of “a cooperative effort to develop a new search of energy and climate-friendly industrial processes”,¹³⁷ this account embellished with positivist, neorealist assumptions does not offer any alternative way of framing the implications of climate change and environmental injustice for poor communities. Within this context, Klare’s works problematize state responses to ecological problems within the context of resource scarcity and inter-state conflicts in a rather reductionist way.

Another well-known neorealist theorist on environmental conflict is Robert Kaplan, who has contributed to the debate with his concept of *geopolitical imagination*. Kaplan’s work, *The Coming Anarchy* (1994), is a good illustration of the neo-Malthusian thesis of environmental scarcity. Kaplan in this article depicts environment as a national security issue of the 21st century by emphasizing “how scarcity, crime, overpopulation, tribalism and disease are rapidly destroying the social fabric of our planet.” His deterministic/apocalyptic approach has served Western interests by identifying the “anarchic” global South as the source of environmental problems on the basis of the observation that environmental change triggers conflicts over trans-boundary resources in the South, as exemplified by the ongoing water wars.¹³⁸ The claim of environmental scarcity as the cause of national security threats underlies Kaplan’s study, updating both the neorealist thesis on anarchy and the Malthusian/Hobbesian thesis that correlates population increase with conflict.¹³⁹ According to Kaplan, there exists a strong relationship between the collapse of the nation state and the rise of the demographic and environmental scarcity, and environment is a significant national-security issue in the early twenty-first century.¹⁴⁰ Kaplan states that “wars are fought over scarce resources,

¹³⁷ Michael Klare, *Rising Powers, Shrinking Planet: How Scarce Energy is Creating a New World Order*, Oxford, Oneworld, 2008, p. 261.

¹³⁸ Jon Barnett, “Destabilizing the Environment-conflict Thesis,” *Review of International Studies*, No. 26, 2000, p. 271-288, Jon Barnett, *The Meaning Environmental Security: Ecological Politics and Policy in the New Security Area*, London, Zed Books, 2001.

¹³⁹ Robert Kaplan, “The Coming Anarchy”, *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 273, No. 2, 1994, p. 44-76.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 58.

especially water, and war itself becomes continuous with crime, as armed bands of stateless marauders clash with the private security forces of the elites.”¹⁴¹

The Malthusian-neorealist environmental conflict thesis is also associated with the Bern-Zurich group, headed by Günther Baechler, and the Toronto School, led by Thomas Homer-Dixon. For Homer-Dixon, the next issue in the post-Cold War security studies will be environmental violent-conflict owing to resource scarcity. Accordingly, resource scarcity may be triggered in three conditions: Firstly, a real decrease in natural resources due, for instance, to the clear-cutting of the forests can increase competition and conflict. Secondly, an increase in resource-demand as a result of population growth or change in consumer patterns can cause scarcity. Finally, structural factors related to the privatization of resources can influence the occurrence of violent civil conflict.¹⁴² Homer-Dixon argues that several problems such as the growing scarcity of resources, water depletion, air pollution and rising sea level in dramatically overcrowded regions may lead to social pressure, increased migration, conflict between refugees as well as subnational or intergroup conflict.¹⁴³ Building upon Homer-Dixon’s position, Kaplan argues that such developments constitute potential threats for the Southern and poor states, while they are also alarming for the North since the instability in the South can create spill-over effect or may trigger mass migration. Indeed, Kaplan’s objective in question is to demonstrate how threats based on the environmental conflict have led to political instability in several countries such as Iraq, Bosnia and Somalia. Having been influenced by Fukuyama’s and Huntington’s analyses, Kaplan also, claims that the future of the Kurdish problem in Turkey depends on the fate of hydroelectric projects that control crucial water flows into Syria and Iraq. Indeed, Kaplan’s discussion

¹⁴¹ Ibid, p. 58.

¹⁴² Rita Floyd and Richard Matthew, “Environmental Security Studies”, Rita Floyd and Richard Matthew (eds.), *Environmental Security: Approaches and Issues*, London and New York, Routledge, 2012, p. 7.

¹⁴³ Thomas F. Homer-Dixon, “On the Threshold: Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict”, *International Security*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 1991, p. 76-116: See also. Thomas Homer-Dixon, *Environment, Scarcity, and Violence*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1999.

privileges in an unhesitant way three presumptions of the neorealist thinking: states as absolute power holders in IR, separation of the domestic and the international realms, and the definition of state boundaries in terms of the boundaries of societies. In this respect, Dalby very eloquently alleges that these three elements “lead to a state-theoretical understanding of the workings of power that reifies the practices of sovereign states to suggest that they are autonomous permanent entities rather than understanding them as temporary, changing, porous arrangements.”¹⁴⁴ Hence, Kaplan’s study revisiting the assumption of anarchy as well as the resource scarcity debates is a good synthesis of realist thought and Malthusianism in security thinking.

The thesis of environmental conflict associated with the realist IR theory has attracted considerable criticisms. For many scholars, considering the environment as a (simple) causal factor in the violent conflict analysis does not offer a robust explanation. Rather, environment should be reckoned as only one of the factors of conflict rather than the sole cause of conflict as alleged by the *resource scarcity* thesis. For example, in places such as Cambodia, Nepal, Liberia, Pakistan and Rwanda, conflicts occur not because of environmental problems, but because of longstanding political and economic structural problems, which are deeply located within the reshaping of the natural environment.¹⁴⁵ Within this context, the neorealist resource scarcity thesis poses problems in terms of its basic assumptions as well as its formulation. Firstly, as Paul Robbins indicates, “the demographic explanation is consistently weak predictor of environmental crisis and change”¹⁴⁶ due to two respects: Since the *resource scarcity thesis* ignores the fact that global/capitalist societies or wealthier populations consume more resources than the larger populations of the global South, this thesis considers the relationship between

¹⁴⁴ Simon Dalby, “Security and Ecology in the Age of Globalization”, *ECSP Report*, No. 8, Summer 2002, p. 95-108;-Simon Dalby, *Security and Environmental Change*, Cambridge and Malden, Polity Press, 2009, p. 26-27; See also. Simon Dalby, *Environmental Security*, Minneapolis and London, University of Minnesota Press, 2002, p. 30-31, 66-67.

¹⁴⁵ Barnett, Matthew and O’Brien, “Global Environmental Change and Human Security”, p. 12.

¹⁴⁶ Paul Robbins, *Political Ecology: A Critical Introduction*, Oxford, John Wiley & Sons, 2012, p. 16.

affluence and technology at the detriment of the nature. Moreover, the scarcity thesis perceives environment as “a finite source” with some basic unchanging elements¹⁴⁷ to meet human needs. Secondly, the scarcity thesis is problematic in terms of its both state-centric and armed conflict-oriented analyses.¹⁴⁸ It is possible to say that the neorealist discourse on environmental scarcity, more clearly than classical realism, is grounded upon *geographically deterministic understanding of resource conflict*. As discussed in the following chapters, many critical theorists offer more nuanced visions of state-security relations and environmental concerns by taking the temporal and spatial patterns of environmental change into account.

Daniel Deudney and Simon Dalby also take notice of the same issue and argue that the neorealist account is more part of the problem than the solution¹⁴⁹ for the state-centric account of environmental security re-produces problems in a wider extent. More specifically, as Daniel Deudney warns, the military should be the last institution to be correlated with environmental concerns. In this context, he argues that a great number of the realist studies on environmental scarcity or conflict fall into error due to two methodological problems.¹⁵⁰ Although such studies claim a link between conflict and the environment, few compare the frequency of conflicts related to environmental scarcities; and environmentalism/environmental awareness itself poses a threat to the traditional focus of national security as it makes clear that hegemonic state-centric national discourses and institutions rather than environmental problems generate threats to national security. In other words, it is not very likely for environmental problems to lead to interstate wars since they often spill across international borders, and have global

¹⁴⁷ Robbins, *Political Ecology*, p. 16.

¹⁴⁸ Matt McDonald, *Security, the Environment and Emancipation: Contestation over Environmental Change*, London, Routledge, 2012, p. 3.

¹⁴⁹ Daniel Deudney, “The Case Against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security”, *Millennium*, Vol. 19, No. 3, p. 462-476.

¹⁵⁰ Daniel Deudney, “Security”, Andrew Dobson and Robyn Eckersley (eds.), *Political Theory and the Ecological Challenge*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 250.

effects beyond the borders of one nation state.¹⁵¹ The key problem with such an explanation is that it focuses solely on visible events (causality) such as violent conflict that is generated by anthropogenic environmental change and scarce natural resources, rather than underlying social structures that produce environmental injustice as well as unequal distribution of income, wealth and opportunities.

2.2. Regimes, Global Environmental Governance and (Neo)Liberal Environmental Security

The discipline of IR, which has classically focused on the analysis of the causes of war and the conditions of peace, has been faced with a series of new challenges in terms of the scope of its subject-field in the last four decades. Thus, besides other issues, environmental degradation and climate change as well as international initiatives to prevent environmental degradation such as the 1992 Rio Summit, the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, and the 2015 Paris Agreement on Climate Change have been involved to the study of the discipline turning attention into this relatively new issue area.¹⁵² Indeed, progress in, what is called by the neoliberals, international environmental regimes led to the inclusion of environmental problems to the field of international relations as early as the 1970s. The bulk of such studies have tackled with the issue of climate change, the thinning of the ozone layer, and the erosion of the Earth's biodiversity by concentrating on the study of environmental regimes privileged by neoliberal institutionalist assumptions.

¹⁵¹ Deudney, "Security", p. 236

¹⁵² For example the special issue published after the Rio Summit: Caroline Thomas (ed.), "Rio: Unravelling The Consequences", *Special Issue of the Journal Environmental Politics*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1993; more currently, after the UN's COP21 conference on Climate issue, the special issue published: SH, AM, AAN (eds.), Special Conference Issue on "Failure and Denial in World Politics", *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 3, June 2016.

Neoliberal institutionalism and liberal internationalism, as two distinct versions of liberal IR theories, should be differentiated from each other. Liberal internationalism, like realism, is a state-centric and agent-oriented IR approach that concerns itself with causal explanations and makes sense of the dynamics of international relations through the egoistic human-nature. However, such basic presumptions are redefined in liberal internationalism to produce an essentially *optimistic* position on the prospects for a peaceful world, based on liberal democracy, human rights, open/free market economy, and self-determination.¹⁵³ Liberal internationalism defines actors as individuals, groups, and states in accordance with their individualistic interests. Within this context, the determinant causal factor in international politics is the distribution of state preferences transmitted by domestic representative institutions rather than the distribution of power between states.¹⁵⁴ Hence, for liberal internationalists, environmental concerns connote the preferences defined by states which can advance the human condition.

While neorealist and neoliberal ecological concerns take the existing state of insecurity as given, liberal definition of ecological concerns is indeed idealist. For, liberalism has a close connection to Kantian cosmopolitanism, which builds bridges between the nations and cultures via transnational ties such as trade.¹⁵⁵ Accordingly, liberalism is not a systemic theory in the sense of the Waltzian IR. The most remarkable difference of liberalism from realism regards the subject of cooperation. Within this context, relying upon the Democratic Peace Theory, some liberals suggest that democratic states are more peaceful and responsible to environmental concerns while authoritarian regimes lead to environmental degradation.¹⁵⁶ However, while some liberals assume environmental cooperation between (democratic) states as given due to the assumption

¹⁵³ Laferrière and Stoett, *International Relations Theory and Ecological Thought*, p. 10.

¹⁵⁴ Patrick Morgan, "Liberalism", Alan Collins, *Contemporary Security Studies*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 38-39; Andrew Moravcsik, "Liberal International Relations Theory: A Social Scientific Assessment," *The Weatherhead Center For International Affairs*, Harvard University, Paper No. 1-2, April 2001.

¹⁵⁵ Laferrière and Stoett, *International Theory and Ecological Thought*, p. 10.

¹⁵⁶ Dalby, *Environmental Security*, p. 65-68.

that “there is no inherent security dilemma in international politics”,¹⁵⁷ neoliberal institutionalists seek to investigate the conditions of cooperation under the anarchical international system through the formation of new institutions.

This means that neoliberal institutionalism problematizes cooperation as a condition emerging “when actors adjust their behaviour to the actual or anticipated preferences of others, through a process of policy coordination.”¹⁵⁸ For (neo)realists, it is believed that it is difficult and limited to set up institutions as long as the principles of environmental multilateralism is opposite to state’s interest. Therefore, environmental security is mainly shaped within the framework of “ad-hoc state cooperation” based on the military or economic power of states. The neorealist literature on this topic highlights that such cooperation on energy –particularly oil and/or water- as well as the changes in the control over these resources depend upon the distribution of power among states in a simple zero-sum game. For neoliberal institutionalists, the realist focus and the atomistic view concerning the distribution of power are maintained, while cooperation between states, depicted as rational and unitary actors, relies on the “mutually beneficial dimensions of multilateralism in terms of increasing absolute, rather than relative, power.”¹⁵⁹ From this point of view, similar to neorealism, neoliberal institutionalist position is akin to the logic of game theory in which “rational individuals pursue their self-interests.”¹⁶⁰ To turn to another debate between neorealism and neoliberalism, it can be noted that (neo)realist security literature is dominated by the discussion of and distinction between high and low politics. In the hierarchical context of the issues of

¹⁵⁷ Morgan, “Liberalism”, p. 37.

¹⁵⁸ Charles Lindblom, *The Intelligence of Democracy*, New York, Free Press, 1965, p. 227.

¹⁵⁹ David Cipler, “Rethinking Cooperation: Inequality and Consent in International Climate Change Politics”, *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 2015, p. 254.

¹⁶⁰ Keohane, “Neoliberal Institutionalism”, p. 11; Robert Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1984, p. 51-52.; David Long, “The Harvard School of Liberal International Theory”, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 3, 1995, p. 493.

world politics, (neo)realists define environmental problems as subjects of low politics and tend to ignore these problems unless they embrace the question of military issues. On the other hand, for neoliberals, there exists no hierarchy among issues of complex interdependence.¹⁶¹

Owing to all these reasons, neoliberal institutionalist critiques of realism (particularly structural realism or neorealism) can be seen as the internal rather than the external critique of IR orthodoxy. Neoliberalism's adherence to the basic premises of Waltzian IR theory demonstrates that in the case of environmental security and politics in particular, the conditions of cooperation are embedded within and constrained by the material and institutional structures. Although neoliberal perspective of the anarchical world system adds nuance to the importance of non-state actors such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs), environmental activism, social movements, networks of civil society, private sector and multiple interstate, trans-governmental and trans-national channels, it still insists on the monolithic portrayal of states as unitary actors and on "the adjustment of the distribution of benefits and burdens"¹⁶² by assuming that all states embrace the same national interest.

Indeed, neoliberal institutionalism has not established itself in opposition to the neorealist IR theory. Neoliberal institutionalism also shares a number of normative, ontological, and methodological premises with the "centrality and primacy of state-centric, power-oriented realism."¹⁶³ Although it has a pluralist focus on the multiplicity of actors in world politics, neoliberal institutionalism, like realism, accepts that states are unitary rational actors seeking to maximize their power, defining their security interests

¹⁶¹ Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, New York, 2001, Third Edition, p. 21-32.

¹⁶² Henry D. Jacoby, et al. CO2 Emissions Limits: Economic Adjustments and the Distribution of Burdens, *MIT Joint Program on the Science and Policy of Global Change*, Report No: 9, Revised November 1996.

¹⁶³ Long, "The Harvard School of Liberal International Theory, p. 491.

in the anarchic structure of the state system. In this regard, Robert Keohane notes, “like neorealists, neoliberal institutionalists seek to explain behavioural regularities by examining the nature of the decentralised.”¹⁶⁴ Therefore, the debate between neorealism and neoliberalism (namely, the neo-neo debate) is very much limited pertaining to the explanatory role of theory. As for neoliberal institutionalists, states are not motivated solely by national interest defined in terms of military power, but indeed “social welfare issues share center stage with security issues on the global agenda.”¹⁶⁵ While the problem for neoliberal institutionalists amounts to maximizing state interests defined primary as economic interests, realism (particularly neorealism) problematizes state security and distributional conflicts in the sense of striving to maximize their utility vis a vis other sovereign states.

Within that context, the vast majority of institutionalist studies on environment focus on the conditions under which states and organizations can affect and govern environmental change.¹⁶⁶ For many green theorists, neoliberal institutionalism appears more plausible in terms of its explanatory account of the global environmental crisis even though the literature regarding regime theory does not embrace environmental issues. Rather it aims to explain possibilities of collaborative action and interaction between states by focusing on the international political economy.¹⁶⁷ While realists are pessimistic (there is no alternative/TINA) on the question of environmental degradation as explained before, liberals problematize how cooperation can be achieved under the conditions of anarchy. According to this line of argument however, the natural environment has been given an

¹⁶⁴ Robert Keohane, “Neoliberal Institutionalism: A Perspective on World Politics”, Robert Keohane (eds.) *International Institutions and State Power*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989.

¹⁶⁵ Marc Genest, *Conflict and Cooperation: Evolving Theories of International Relations*, Belmont, Thomson/Wadsworth, 2004, p. 133-140.

¹⁶⁶ Andrew Hurrell and Benedict Kingsbury, “The International Politics of the Environment: An Introduction”, Andrew Hurrell and Benedict Kingsbury (eds.), *The International Relations of the Environment, Actors, Interest and, Institutions*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1992, p. 1.

¹⁶⁷ Matthew Paterson, “Neorealism, New Institutionalism and Climate Change Convention”, The Environment and International Relations, Mark Imber and John Vogler (eds.), *The Environment and International Relations*, London and NY, Routledge, 1996, p. 64-83.

instrumental value, as in the utilitarian realist perspective, and considered to be useful only if it supplies human needs. The problem with this instrumental point of view and the problematic approach of political economy to natural environment needs to be further elaborated. Indeed, within the eco-environmental liberal perspective, the source of the problem is associated with the Lockean solution (as an alternative to the Hobbesian worldview), based upon the theory of value. Locke, as a political economist, offers an arguable value-free view, in which all values derive from individual human labour and the classical defence of the form of private property of the land and environment is maintained. In line, he suggests that the commons should be formally divided and managed through the allocation of (private) property rights in accordance with the market mechanism, defined by the production of more goods and services.¹⁶⁸

Accordingly, Hardin's metaphor of the tragedy of the commons, explained before, provide also a fundamental legitimating explanation for (neo)liberal environmental studies. Although the commons are not owned by any individual, but controlled by the state in Hardin's logic; the second step of the solution is suggested to be the need to 'privatise' commonly owned goods. Such a remark does not entail the necessity of equal rights in access to resources; rather, according to Hardin, "equal rights bring tragedy to all".¹⁶⁹ In other words, the collective effort of individually rational actions can cause unwanted and undesired outcomes.¹⁷⁰ In this regard, Hardin's analysis, relying upon "rational choice",¹⁷¹ has also been effectively embraced by the neoliberal environmental

¹⁶⁸ Laferrière and Stoett, *International Relations Theory and Ecological Thought*, p. 42; Barry, *Environment and Social Theory*, p. 214-215.

¹⁶⁹ Bert Van Den Brink, *The Tragedy of Liberalism: An Alternative Defense of Political Tradition*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 2000.

¹⁷⁰ Barry, *Environment and Social Theory*, p. 130-132.

¹⁷¹ In security studies, rational choice is associated with Game Theory which consists of "a set of techniques for analyzing individual decisions, in situations where each player's payoff depends in part on what the other players are expected to do". Rational Choice Theory follow basic assumptions: first, depends upon individualism: social and political outcomes are result of unitary actors' individual choices; second, each actor tries to maximize their utility and benefits among possible choice; third actors' preference depend upon other actors' preference namely "if A is preferred to B and B to C, then A is preferred to C"; fourth, it is important that how each player connects one another; fifth is for prediction

thinkers who resolve human-environment relations by problematizing the increasing human population and the human use of scarce natural resources.¹⁷²

Both types of liberalism focus on the role of non-state actors and phenomena such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs), environmental activism or social movements, networks of civil society, private sector and elites engaged with the issue of international environmental change whilst realism fails to recognize the role of NGOs. Whereas states continue to play their role as the main actors; non-state actors, owing to their social assets, can increase cooperation for the benefit of states' absolute interest. By underlining the significance of domestic politics and of the international institutions in shaping environmental regimes, liberal IR theory suggests that environmental problems can be *controlled* and nature itself be *managed* for the sustainability of human life.¹⁷³

Such preliminary explanations explicitly demonstrate that neoliberal institutionalist IR theory is based on the neoliberal world system by relying upon the mainstream environmental discourse that embraces the principles of individualism and privatization as a solution to the global environmental degradation. At this point, the mainstream environmental discourse, namely eco-liberalism, shortly suggests, (1) the creation of the capitalist market for the sake of natural resource-trading and consumption (2) privatisation of nature for the sake of control within the capitalist market (3) the commodification of nature so that it can be subject to markets (4) free market policy and the “withdrawal of direct government intervention from market transactions” and, (5) decentralization of civil society.¹⁷⁴ In line, eco-liberalism or mainstream environmental

if there are no mathematical mistake, the outcomes are predict. For detailed description of Rational Choice Theory; see. Stephen M. Walt, “Rational Choice and Security Studies”, *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 4, 1999, p. 5-48.

¹⁷² Barry, *Environment and Social Theory*, p. 132.

¹⁷³ Ken Conca and Ronnie D. Lipschutz, “A Tale of Two Forests”, Ken Conca and Ronnie D. Lipschutz (eds.), *The State and Social Power in Global Environmental Politics*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1993, p. 1-8.

¹⁷⁴ Robert Fletcher, “Neoliberal Environmentalism: Towards a Poststructuralist Political Ecology of the Conservation Debate”, *Conservation and Society*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 2010, p. 172.

discourse addresses the issue of economic sustainability in the sense of increasing “control” over the resources for the sake of high profitability. In that sense, in neoliberal systems, states concentrate on maintaining production rather than on how to decarbonize economies rapidly. In sum, it can be argued that competition and consumption as key processes of capitalist growth are accepted as given in this literature without any specific attention given to the environmental problems *per se*. Thus, two inter-related remarks can be stated about neoliberal institutionalist in terms of green thought in particular. Firstly, the main characteristic of neoliberal institutionalist green perspective relies upon the neorealist (Waltzian) ontological, epistemological and methodological standpoint. Secondly, liberalism and its neoliberal version are positioned in an instrumental worldview in terms of ecology.

While problematizing the causes of environmental problems and environmental insecurity, neoliberal institutionalism, like neorealism, tends to naturalize environmental insecurity by depoliticizing environmental problems and reducing them to technical processes.¹⁷⁵ For example, Keohane, Haas and Levy explain that “many environmental threats are caused by such factors as population pressures, unequal research demands, and reliance on fossil fuel and chemical products which degrade the environment.” For them “each set of issues has been considered separately, independently of possible underlying causes such as population growth, patterns consumer demand, and practices of modern industrial production.”¹⁷⁶ Accordingly, environmental conflict has various complex determinants, and can be prevented through cooperation.

Locating the state, which is unwilling to engage in environmental reforms, at the center of the bargaining processes, the neorealist literature associates the issue of cooperation

¹⁷⁵ Matthew Paterson, “Radicalizing Regimes/ Ecology and the Critique of IR Theory”, John Macmillan and Andrew Linklater, *Boundaries in Question: New Directions in International Relations*, London and New York, Pinter Publishers, p. 212.

¹⁷⁶ Peter M. Haas, Robert O. Keohane and Marc A. Levy, *Institutions for the Earth: Sources of Effective International Environmental Protection*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 2001, p. 7, 423.

under anarchy with the *hegemonic stability theory*.¹⁷⁷ In this context, whereas cooperation requires three principles for neorealists; that is, hegemony, liberal economy (ideologically embedded in the hegemonic power) and common interest for neorealist,¹⁷⁸ neoliberals suggest that states can work together without any hegemonic power through patterns of regimes. More specifically, while the dominant realist perspective assumes that cooperation among states can be achieved only when a leadership of hegemonic power exists, the neoliberals, like Krasner for instance, states that hegemonic power does not necessarily follow the distribution of power after the creation of regimes. In this process, differences among states emerge on the principles, rules, norms, even at the expense of the hegemonic power's desires. Since international regimes also protect other actors' interest and the international order, the system can be controlled through the existing regimes.

In this respect, Robert Keohane argues that “intergovernmental cooperation takes place when the policies actually followed by one government are regarded by its partners as facilitating the realization of their own objectives, as results of a process of policy coordination.”¹⁷⁹ In other words, cooperation requires the “harmony of interests”

¹⁷⁷ Hegemonic Stability Theory is originally developed by Charles Kindleberger in order to explain change in the economic regimes and development within the global political economy. For Kindleberger, hegemonic power is inevitable to provide “order” in the international system. Therefore, the decline of hegemonic power means concurrently the decline of the international economic system. According to this line of argument, cooperation can only occur on a widespread scale when a hegemonic state exists and institutionalizes the dynamics of cooperation. Not surprisingly, the debates over hegemonic stability emphasize the necessity of US hegemony to establish international economic regimes as well as the evolution of sustained cooperation after the hegemon's decline. Joseph Grieco, “Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism”, *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 3, p. 485-507, Charles Kindleberger, *The World in Depression, 1929-1939*, Berkeley, University of Colombia Press, 1973; Robert Gilpin, *The Political Economy of International Relations*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1987; Duncan Snidal, “Relative Gains and the Pattern of International Cooperation”, *American Political Science*, Vol. 85, No. 3, 1985, p. 701-726; Kenneth A. Oye, “Explaining Cooperation under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies”, Kenneth A. Oye (ed.), *Cooperation under Anarchy*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1986.

¹⁷⁸ In this regard, Waltz states that the leadership of the hegemonic state requires far-reaching international cooperation under the anarchy. For the risk of conflict may be reduced as long as it is in accordance with the principle of power balance. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, p. 298-210.

¹⁷⁹ Oran R. Young, *International Cooperation: Building Regimes for Natural Resources and the Environment*, New York, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1989; Keohane, *After Hegemony*, p. 51-52.

between individual states rather than collective interests. Inasmuch as international politics amounts to “norm-generation” and processes of “unilateral targets”, states should negotiate the conditions of cooperation to attain natural resources through *collective* security. Scholars in this area describe environmental cooperation through *global ecological interdependence* in which states should establish connections with other states in order to create a harmony of interests. Despite being skeptical about realist power politics, Keohane and Nye claim that “less dependent actors can often use the relationship of interdependence as a source of power in the process of bargaining over an issue and perhaps to affect other issues.”¹⁸⁰ In this perspective, it can be put that there are strong relations of interdependence between actors, human activities, the environment (in the sense of resources) and international regimes which can be deemed useful devices to form such collaboration.¹⁸¹ Neoliberals believe that non-traditional threats such as soil erosion, climate change, global warming, or loss of biodiversity challenge realist assumptions, and that the state within the interacting anarchical system cannot overcome the impacts of global environmental problems such as climate change.

One of the good examples of the studies that advocate the regime theoretical approach to global environmental problems is the *Institutions for the Earth* (2001) edited by Peter Haas, Robert Keohane and Marc Levy. In this work, Haas, Keohane and Levy explicitly define environmental degradation as the world’s most comprehensive insecurity that should be solved by international institutions. They argue that the states are incapable of fixing environmental problems, since they are concerned primarily with nation-state security and sustaining economic growth. The authors mention there are three major factors that impede effective environmental protection: lack of concern about the environmental threat, low capacity to manage environmental quality, and the problems of collective action related to the question of sovereignty. Within this context,

¹⁸⁰ Keohane and Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, p. 11.

¹⁸¹ Stephen D. Krasner, “Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables”, Stephen D. Krasner (ed.), *International Regimes*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1983; Conca and Lipschutz, “A Tale of Two Forests”, p. 9-10.

international community is in harness for successful cooperation.¹⁸² “Successful cooperation, in turn, requires effective international institutions to guide international behavior along a path of sustainable development.”¹⁸³ In doing so, international regimes (rule-structures) are deemed different, attributed more significance than any specific agreement or organization. In this respect, neoliberals consider institutions as “persistent and connected sets of rules and practices that prescribe behavioural roles, constrain activity, and shape expectations.”¹⁸⁴

Studies within the regime theory are mostly engaged with state behaviour in the face of changing environmental problems. Environmental change underlies one of the problems that can be solved by the states and other inter-state and/or non-state organizations such as the UN or through international (institutional) agreements. Within this context, regime theory on environmental change focuses primarily on the conditions under which international environmental regimes emerge rather than the causes of environmental change. In this sense, according to Oran Young, who defines the roles of regimes “as causal agents of international society, regimes can and often do produce consequences whose effects are felt beyond their own issue areas.”¹⁸⁵ For example, whereas according to realists, depletion of resources such as oil and other non-renewable resources generally leads to war/conflict between states in the Middle East and/or Sub-Saharan Africa in particular; regime theorists assume that treaties and cooperative governance mechanisms affect state strategies even under the anarchy.¹⁸⁶ For example, Tooke’s

¹⁸² Haas, Keohane and Levy, *Institutions for the Earth*, p. 5.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 398.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p. 4-5.

¹⁸⁵Oran Young, “The Consequences of International Regimes: A Framework for Analysis”, Adridl Underdal and Oran R. Young (eds.), *Regime Consequences: Methodological Challenges and Research Strategies*, Springer, 2004, p. 7.

¹⁸⁶Thomas Bernauer and Tobias Böhmelt, “Basin at Risk: Predicting International River Basin Conflict and Cooperation”, *Global Environmental Politics*, Vol. 14, No. 4, 2014, p. 116-138; Mark Zeitoun, Naho Mirumachi, and Jeroen Warner, “Transboundary Water Interaction II: Soft Power Underlying Conflict and Cooperation”, *International Environmental Agreements*, Vol. 11 No. 2, 2010, p. 159–178; Ariel Dinar, and Shlomi Dinar, “Recent Developments in the Literature on Conflict and Cooperation in International

work focuses on the way in which the scarcity of natural resources can be solved via cooperation in Central Asia at both the national and regional level. From a neoliberal regime literature, Tookey's works present an example for how environment insecurity can be transformed into environmental cooperation. Because of non-governmental efforts, civil society groups and international organisations in Central Asia have ended up with cooperation rather than conflicts.¹⁸⁷ However, conflict or cooperation might be only one of the ways through which security and environment are linked, for both are indeed the results of underlying socio-natural structures defining green insecurity.

There is clearly agreement on the forms of national security understanding between neorealism and neoliberalism. Accordingly, Tony Brenton argues that states privilege their interests over international agreements, shared institutions, and non-state actors, and that state decisions and acts depend on the national capital.¹⁸⁸ Indeed, cooperation depends upon the ability of institutions, which do not indeed address the normative concerns of the society such as the liberty and wellbeing of individuals, but rather focus on improving the conditions of the state.¹⁸⁹ Accordingly, neoliberal institutionalism and regime theory, borrowing the logic of security from neorealism, simply evaluate the purpose of security broader than the latter. It is true that the question of *security* does not always hold a military character within neoliberal studies, but refers also to economic or environmental insecurity. However, such perception of security differs only partially from realism. Still, in neoliberalism, (in)security is not only an element of conflict but also one of the triggering factors of cooperation. Hence, regime theorists argue that environmental crisis will continue in the absence of effective institutions and regime

Shared Water”, *Natural Resources Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 4, 2003, p. 1217–1287; Aaron Wolf, Kerstin Stahl, and Marcia Macomber, “Conflict and Cooperation within International River Basins: The Importance of Institutional Capacity”, *Water Resources Update*, Vol. 125, No. 2, 2003, p. 31–40.

¹⁸⁷ Douglas L. Tookey, “The Environment, Security and Regional Cooperation in Central Asia,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, No. 40, 2007, p. 191-208.

¹⁸⁸ Tony Brenton, *The Greening Machiavelli: The Evolution of International Environmental Politics*, London, RIIA and Earthscan, 1994, p. 8.

¹⁸⁹ Long, *The Harvard School of Liberal International Theory*, p. 495.

theorists attribute an instrumentalist mission to the international institutions. They believe that effective global actions require effective institutions since institutions are not sufficient in themselves.¹⁹⁰ They underline the importance of domestic social movements rooted in the rise of environmental concerns in the face of the weakness of the institutions.

In a similar vein, most studies about water, energy and food security, which are largely part of the neoliberal, agent-actor oriented (specific) approach, focus uncritically on the role of supranational organizations such as European Union or international organizations such as the United Nations, which hold narrowly defined decision-making processes and environmental negotiations. Accordingly, security should be defined as “potential supply disruptions”. Therefore, “adequate, affordable and reliable supplies” are the main focal point of the studies in question. As such, security is deemed a “problem of risk management”; and actors should reduce their risk to an acceptable level according to the “consequences of distributions and adverse long-term market trend.”¹⁹¹ Since energy, water or food security regards the risk and uncertainty of the distribution and supply of resources, states as the producer and the consumer have similar interests. Such studies suggest different regime change models in accordance with the regime theory for the development of the sectorial security between actors. At this stage, security is deemed a governmental ability of a state in the face of resource scarcity under the anarchy.¹⁹² By taking energy, water or food related national interests or interdependencies into consideration, such studies concentrate on the state-led economic/political security.

¹⁹⁰ Eivind Hovden, “As If Nature Doesn’t Matter: Ecology, Regime Theory and International Relations”, *Journal of Environmental Politics*, Vol.8, No. 2, 1999, p. 57.

¹⁹¹ Natalia Esakova, *European Energy Security, Analysing The EU-Russia Energy Security Regime in Terms of Interdependence Theory*, Wiesbaden, Springer VS, 2012, p. 39-40.

¹⁹² Hugh C. Dyer, “Climate Anarchy: Creative Disorder in World Politics”, *International Political Sociology*, No. 8, 2014, p. 182-200.

In sum, neoliberal intuitionism and more specifically regime theory simply focuses on “the debate over questions of governance and collective action”¹⁹³ rather than problematizing the deep causes of environmental degradation. This is not an alternative challenge that seeks to forge the definition of human or ecological security in terms of the debate of *whose security*. Nor does it problematize the ontological position of insecurities. As such, neoliberal institutionalism does not deal with how and why environmental issues emerge; rather it aims to explain the possibilities of collaborative action and interaction between states to manage the implications of environmental problems by focusing on international political economy dynamics.¹⁹⁴ Indeed, like (neo)realism, neoliberal institutionalism which is inherently and ideologically based upon atomistic egocentrism, is inadequate to understand the entire system. All three directly or indirectly stress on the linkage environment and security and all of the three formulations (classical realism- neorealism and neoliberalism) represent redefinitions of a dualistic Weberian worldview.

2.3. Concluding Remarks: Why Should International Relations be Critical?

This chapter has aimed to identify the positivist perceptions of (in)security and environmental change in IR. As the critiques of (neo)realism and neoliberalism maintain, both (neo)realism and neoliberalism define ecological problems as a “new issue area” rather than an ecological challenge. In the realist security studies, the subject of security is the nation-state; and the principal aim of security is to protect the territorial integrity of nation-states. Neoliberal institutionalism, on the other hand, tends to integrate economic security and water/food security to traditional security discourse. Many realists believe that conflict, scarcity and ecological change are directly connected whereas neoliberal institutionalists have asked under what conditions international environmental cooperation emerge without however questioning the underlying structures of environmental regimes.

¹⁹³ Hovden, “As If Nature Doesn’t Matter,” p.56.

¹⁹⁴ Paterson, *Understanding Global Environmental Politics*, p. 12.

The neoliberals, besides their neglect of the structural context of socio-natural insecurity, have defined the relation between security and environment as one based on cooperation among states and non-state actors. In this sense, neoliberal institutionalism can be considered merely as the pluralist account of neorealism in which non-state actors play a more active role. Like realism, neoliberalism fails to recognise the underlying structural dynamics of insecurities in general, reducing the reality to the interactions of individuals. Thus, they share a state (agent) centric/actor-oriented vantage point, where environmental actors are considered to have rational behaviour. Hence, both neoliberalism and (neo)realism embrace positivism, the socio-ecological assumptions of which are grounded on a billiard-ball model of state interaction.¹⁹⁵ Due to this, as also Eckersley states, “it is not in the ‘interest’ of states to take concerted action to protect the global commons, the biosphere, or even the ecological integrity of their own territory ahead of more ‘fundamental’ security and economic goals.”¹⁹⁶

The empiricist philosophy underlying the positivist IR perspectives is the main methodological limitation they face when dealing with environmental problems. For they problematize the growing population, or conflict over common resources as the cause of environmental problems, reducing emergent properties to the observable events from a statist perspective. The concept of “cause” might imply here the importance of geographical differences, changes in the amount or the use of resources, or the behaviour of less powerful actors across to environmental problems. In such a narrow and limited way of thinking about the problem of ‘cause’, what is needed to be secured is actually the *state* so that security comes to mean the actual capability or manipulation of military power.

¹⁹⁵ Joseph, “The International as Emergent”, p. 65.

¹⁹⁶ Robyn Eckersley, *The Green State: Rethinking Democracy and Sovereignty*, London and England, The MIT Press, 2004, p. 22.

As a result, positivist analysis reduces the linkage between environment and security to conflict or cooperation in this way, a critical realist account of causation emphasizes that we should talk about the socio-natural relations, namely *the social construction of nature*. The social construction of nature embraces the understanding of stratified/layered aspect of socio-natural relations by explaining why environmental change occurs. This is not to say that positivist problematizations on environmental change, identifying rising temperature or low agricultural productivity or income as problems leading to conflict or cooperation, are useless. But, even though there exist such observable causal links, there are also important social and political factors that lead to the historically specific environmental problems, which are in no way problematized by the positivist IR theories.¹⁹⁷ For example, the Darfur conflict is portrayed as the world's climate change-induced war, which also threatens to trigger new conflicts in the region. In such analyses, Sudan's economical position which is characterised as a failed or under-developed state is particularly emphasized. Accordingly, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2001) has concluded that climate change "may exacerbate resource scarcities in *developing countries*" and potentially generating "scarcity disputes between countries, clashes between ethnic groups, and civil strife and insurgency." Later (2007) it is underlined that "climate change may become a contributory factor to conflicts in the future, particularly those concerning resource scarcity, for example scarcity of water."¹⁹⁸ Even though economic determinants of environmental conflict are important, they make up only one aspect of the sources of insecurity. The realist tradition does not problematize the way in which economic determinants and environmental scarcity matter, while the liberal tradition neglect how these vulnerabilities emerge? From a critical point of view, what needs to be rather emphasized is the colonial legacy on economic development; in other words, the risk of violent conflict revealed by climate change is not because of increased

¹⁹⁷ Jan Selby, "Positivist Climate Conflict Research: A Critique", *Geopolitics*, Vol. 19, No. 4, 2014, p. 839.

¹⁹⁸ Cited in. Jan Selby and Clemens Hoffmann, "Beyond Scarcity: Rethinking Water, Climate Change and Conflict in the Sudan", *Global Environmental Change*, No. 29, 2014, p. 361. Emphasis added.

scarcity, but because of “renewed patterns of exploitation and appropriation informed-or legitimised-by new discourses of climate change.”¹⁹⁹ Scarcity makes up only one aspect of the explanation of insecurity; rather, how environmental scarcity matters and how environmental problems emerge should be questioned. Such a problematization would highlight that, not scarcity, but specific competition-induced forms of society-nature interaction are the causes of insecurity.²⁰⁰

Accordingly, contrary to positivist analyses, national security considerations themselves should be seen as the main causes of environmental insecurity. However, having normalized what needs to be indeed criticized, the realist causality linking environment and security tends to support the securitization of militarization of state, while neoliberal positivist approaches seek a solution within the existing institutional frameworks by focusing on cooperation between states. They question seldom some specific features of the contemporary capitalist order such as international trade, investment, and/or security practices, or the ideological hegemony of liberalism. Within that context, as elaborated in the following pages, the linkage between environment and security is abstracted from the interpenetrated relations of power. Any debate over the relation between the security and environment should be problematized however by focusing on the structures of global power rather than the interactions between sovereign states in an anarchic international system. In this regard, opposite to ahistorical analyses of environmental conflicts, Selby and Hoffmann put that, “conflicts are typically caused by various historically and socially specific political, ideological, economic and identity-based factors that go well beyond resource availability and distributions.”²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Selby and Hoffmann, “Beyond Scarcity”, p. 368.

²⁰⁰ Michael Redclift, “Environmental Security and Competition for the Environment”, S.C. Lonergan (ed), *Environmental Change, Adaptation, and Security*, Springer Science, Budapest, Kluwer Academic Publisher, 1999, p. 3.

²⁰¹ Jan Selby and Clemens Hoffmann, “Beyond Scarcity: Rethinking Water, Climate Change and Conflict in the Sudan”, *Global Environmental Change*, No. 29, 2014, p. 362.

This empiricist philosophy embedded within positivist IR theory can also be observed in the analysis of the current events such as the PCCA. The PCCA has been indicated as a historical turning point by the international community and media in the struggle against the human-induced climate change.²⁰² Most of the realist work done on the PCCA relies on similar positivist logic of analysis. The issue of power and national interests are at the centre of these analyses. This is not to say that for the realists, international environmental cooperation is impossible. In the face of rising environmental issues, realists say that states can support a climate agreement providing that greenhouse gas emissions are voluntary. For the realists, the pursuit of national self-interests can encourage states to interpret environmental agreement in terms of their interests.²⁰³ Since direct and indirect threats posed by the environmental degradation change according to geographical position, realists tend to interpret environmental change as a new geopolitical issue.

Within that context, in 2008 U.S. National Intelligence Council has stated that climate change, global warming, over-pollution, waste disposal, ocean acidification and an increase in extreme weather events should be thought as national security threats that may create political instability, migration crises, intrastate warfare. Similarly, the U.S. Department of Defense's "2010 Quadrennial Defense Review Report" has defined climate change as a national and global security threat. According to realists, this is the most significant motivation of Barack Obama's administration in supporting the 2015 Paris Agreement.²⁰⁴

²⁰² "Nations Approve Landmark Climate Accord in Paris", *New York Times*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/13/world/europe/climate-change-accord-paris.html?smid=pl-share>, December 12, 2015 (September 1, 2017)

²⁰³ Ken Sofer, "The Realist Case for Climate Change Cooperation", Center For American Progress, <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/news/2015/11/30/126356/the-realist-case-for-climate-change-cooperation/> November 30, 2015, (September 1, 2017).

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

On the other hand, the realists also state that the denial of the Trump administration of the climate change and the withdrawal of the US from the PCCA should be interpreted in terms of relative gains of other states. An important feature of the realist IR theory is its attempt to advance causal claims about the negative attitude of the Trump administration on the PCCA. Due to the centrality of observation, the realists tend to explain Trump administration's behaviour on the basis of rational and self-interested power policy.²⁰⁵ According to other realist interpretations however, power policy determinants of environmental governance make up only one aspect of the explanation of changing US climate policy. Trump, when he came to power in 2016, promised to promote "the interest of Pittsburgh, not Paris"; and claimed that "those interests are inherently at odds with each other."²⁰⁶ Realists argue that the Trump administration has preferred economic interests to climate security.²⁰⁷ Even though some realists define behaviour of Trump as unrealistic in terms of rationalism, the Trump Administration's withdraw from the Paris Agreement has been interpreted as realism's triumph within the context of the debate between neorealism and neoliberalism. However, the realists cannot explain the contradiction between two realist approaches on the PCCA as they all reduce the analysis to a description of leadership style, which is totally abstracted from social relations without any theoretical attempt to discuss how socio-natural relations constitute real insecurities.

From the neoliberal institutionalist perspective, the PCCA is seen as a political success in climate negotiations and traditional diplomacy. Neoliberals' analyses that focus on the United Nations' and the International Governmental Panel On Climate Change's roles

²⁰⁵ See. Sheriff Ghali Ibrahim and Iro Iro Uke, "From Kyoto Protocol to Copenhagen: A Theoretical Approach to International Politics of Climate Change", *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Vol.7, No.3, p.142-153.

²⁰⁶ H. Brands & P. Feaver, "Saving Realism from the So-Called Realists", *Commentary*, <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/saving-realism-called-realists/>, August 14, 2017, (September 1, 2017).

²⁰⁷ Robert Stavins, "Column: The Economics (and politics) of Trumps' Paris Withdrawal," *PBS Newshour*, <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/making-sense/column-economics-politics-trumps-paris-withdrawal/> June 6, 2017, (September 1, 2017).

on global environmental treaty underline the importance of international regimes in achieving such goals as the PCCA.

As already stated, the most significant feature of the neoliberal analyses of the climate change governance is that they focus on the processes of adaptation through institutions from Kyoto to Paris since 1997 onwards. In this process, before the Copenhagen climate summit of 2009, the governments agreed to limit their greenhouse gas emissions. Neoliberal institutionalists state that the Kyoto Protocol was irrational from a market perspective so that it failed to meet environmental expectations. Thus, the market cost of the adaptation of the mitigation levels of green gas emissions was more than the environmental benefits it would bring.²⁰⁸ Neoliberal intuitionists argue that the Copenhagen Accord was the first decisive action plan towards a new agreement after the Kyoto Protocol, which had required worldwide cut in emissions of about 5%; indeed, Kyoto never met its objectives although it was a fully legally binding international treaty.²⁰⁹ Accordingly, even though many environmentalists have interpreted the Copenhagen Accord as a failure, the neoliberal institutionalists have considered it as the issues of adaptation, the processes of financial support and technology transfer to the less developed countries, constituting one of the main issues in climate negotiation. Neoliberal institutionalists have also assessed that less developed countries have a structural demand for further industrialization to stabilize their economic growth. In disregard of this fact, the PCCA still adopted “low levels of climate action” for rich countries while offering little concrete assistance to the less developed ones.²¹⁰ This has been indeed a strategy learned from the Copenhagen process, which demonstrated that the national governments were unwilling to accept compulsory and internationally

²⁰⁸ Scott Barret, “Climate Treaties and the Imperative of Enforcement”, *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, Vol. 24, No.2, p.243.

²⁰⁹ Fiona Harvey, “Everything You Need to Know About the Paris Climate Summit and UN Talks”, *Theguardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/jun/02/everything-you-need-to-know-about-the-paris-climate-summit-and-un-talks>, (September 10, 2017); Backstrand and Lovbrand, “The Road to Paris”, p.3.

²¹⁰ T. Jayaraman, “The Paris Agreement on Climate Change: Background, Analysis and Implications, *Review of Agrarian Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 2, July-December 2015, p. 42.

enforced agreements. Therefore, in the PCCA, the commitments made by individual nations have been made entirely voluntary and there are no overall mechanisms for the worldwide implementation of sanctions.

For the neoliberals, all these are part of the successful environmental cooperation ensured by international institutions. However, whereas international institutions can be seen as effective in bringing climate politics into international political agenda, their role becomes questionable in explaining Trump's withdraw from Paris. Furthermore, some other questions to be critically problematised by positivist IR theorists are as follows: What are the socio-natural conditions that have enabled as well as limited environmental governance? Which underlying factors have influenced the negotiation processes?

In sum, the positivist IR theories on environment and security, rationality, state-centrism, and empiricist causality, have a very limited capability to make sense of the *anthropocentric environmental change* we have been facing. This positivist position has been challenged by the post-positivist IR theories. The next chapter will deal with the critical overview of the post-positivist contribution to the linkage between environment and security.

CHAPTER 3

THE POST-POSITIVIST LINKAGE: RETHINKING ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY, INTERSUBJECTIVITY AND THE ROLE OF DISCOURSE

The last four decades have witnessed the rise of critical/post-positivist studies in IR, which have challenged positivist approaches by emphasizing their *ahistorical* and *asocial* stand. Robert Cox's distinction between critical and problem solving theories, and Richard Ashley's criticisms of neorealism have been particularly pioneering in this critical/post-positivist turn. In a similar vein, the 1980s has also witnessed the rise social movements that are positioned against the prospects for a nuclear war, violations of human (particularly women) rights, racism, and the destruction of environment. Although they do not share the same purpose, these movements have affected each other as well as the ongoing processes of social change, bringing to the fore significant new questions about the conventional perceptions and nature of world politics.²¹¹

Within such an atmosphere, the dominant state-centric perception of security has been challenged by critical IR theorists, who have redefined the priority of security studies on the basis of human security. This chapter will critically evaluate the post-positivist perspectives to security and environment in IR, and question whether they are adequate to produce an alternative to the problem-solving/positivist perspectives on environment and security overviewed in the previous chapter. The post-positivist approaches to

²¹¹ See. Robert Cox, "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1981, p. 126-155; Richard Ashley, "The Poverty of Neorealism", *International Organization*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1984, p. 225-286; Also see: Halvard Leira and Benjamin de Carvalho, "Construction Time Again: History in Constructivist IR Scholarship", *European Review of International Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 2016, p. 99-11.

security are differentiated from the positivist ones by the formers' normative stand based upon intersubjectivity and discourse. To problematize the limits of post-positivist normative arguments in making sense of anthropogenic environmental change, this chapter will focus on the controversy between materialism and idealism, as questioned in IR by Alexander Wendt, a discussion which is also sustained by post-modernist and posthumanist perspectives. These hermeneutic and/or (inter)subjective approaches' neglect of the material aspect of the social construction of nature will be identified in the chapter as their basic weakness.

Besides this point, this chapter will criticize the post-positivist security camp in IR on two basic grounds. Firstly, even though they consider themselves critical (human- or biosphere-centric) due to their rejection of state-centric definition of security, these studies still re-produce an agent-centric, non-relational approach to the linkage between environment and security. Thus, they fail to provide us with a non-agent-centric approach to make sense of the problem. Secondly, this failure is indeed an inevitable outcome of remaining at the level of discourse in this critical endeavour.

The first section of the chapter, accordingly, assesses the constructivist agenda of security as an alternative approach to rationalist accounts to IR, whereas the second section of this chapter lays out the main tenets of the poststructuralist agenda of security. Of those, constructivist turn in security studies have taken the lead, even though poststructuralist security studies, which have posed a more serious challenge to the positivist approach to the linkage between environment and security have acquired strength in the recent years. Then, the feminist approaches to the relation between the security and environment are examined by taking eco-feminist studies into consideration. Finally, the chapter looks at the posthumanist international studies seeking to challenge the socio-natural dualism of IR.

3.1. Environmental/Human Security under the Constructivist Security Agenda: Rules, Norms and Environmental Cooperation

Environmental change has become one of the most important subjects of human security in international politics. Indeed, there is now a significant body of research indicating that environmental problems have dramatic impact on human life²¹² as they produce conditions of insecurity for the human beings. Thus, whereas human security has increasingly become part of the security studies, environmental change has been included into this novel security agenda with some new and unprecedented threats to human security such as atmospheric change, concern with water purity, species loss, industrial pollution, land appropriation, deforestation, etc.²¹³ By the same token, the debates on environmental security challenge national-state sovereignty where pollution and such factors as climate change transcend state boundaries. All these have required the reconsideration of the state-centric approach to security in environmental problems and the redefinition of the term of environmental security with reference to widespread poverty and human insecurity in contradistinction to the traditional emphasis on national security. In this evolution, constructivism has played a major role. Although there are many constructivist studies that address environmental-human security, this section focuses only those, that theoretically and conceptually contribute to the IR studies. This section will argue that despite their emphasis on human security, constructivist literature in IR has continued to correlate human security with *intersubjectivist* practices of states to a certain extent. This is to say, even it is accepted that human insecurity is led by environmental concerns, the condition of cooperation is linked to norms and rule.²¹⁴ To this end, this section will firstly look at the Constructivist approach to the linkage between environment and security, including the Copenhagen Security Studies. Then, it will problematize the way in which Robyn Eckersley's constructivist approach to ecology-state relations reproduces state-centrism.

²¹² Jon Barnett, "Security and Climate Change", *Global Environmental Change*, Vol. 13, 2003, p. 7-17; Jon Barnett and W. Neil Adger, "Climate Change, Human Security and Violent Conflict", *Political Geography*, Vol. 26, 2007, p. 639-655.

²¹³ Westing, "The Environmental Component of Compressive Security", p. 129.

²¹⁴ Barnett and Adher, "Climate Change, Human Security and Violent Conflict", p. 651.

3.1.1. An Alternative Approach to Waltzian IR: Anarchy is What States Make of It

After Waltz's positivist research agenda, Alexander Wendt's *Social Theory of International Politics* (2006) and "Anarchy is What State Make of it" (1992) have become the most cited, but also the most criticized works in IR. Wendt is known as the father of (traditional) constructivist approach in the discipline. The most essential aspect of Wendtian constructivism is the claim that the political world is *socially constructed*. Constructivism, originating from the idea of the *construction of social reality* and the *social construction of knowledge*, is mainly a critique of rationalism.²¹⁵

Wendt's contribution has been involved in the debates of "rationalism vs. reflectivism" in the late 1980s as a serious challenge to the dominant paradigms of IR. Wendt, who built his own theory on the criticism of Waltz's materialist conceptualization of structure, defines his position as a '*Via Media*' between rationalism (positivism) and reflectivism (interpretivism).²¹⁶ In *his Social Theory of International Politics*, Wendt talks about three different cultures of anarchy; a Hobbesian one, where states regard one another as enemy; a Lockean culture, where states are rivals; and a Kantian culture, where states perceive each other as friends.²¹⁷ According to Wendt, states construct their relations in accordance with their identities, which is rooted in their self-perceptions and interests. Wendt argues that identities and interests are not determined objectively; all

²¹⁵ Stefano Guzzini, "A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations", *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 142-182; also. Stefano Guzzini, *Power, Realism and Constructivism*, London, Routledge, 2013.

²¹⁶ Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 182. As response to the "third debate" in IR that caused to rising an idea of a via media is incoherent, Wendt said in his famous book *Social Theory of International Politics*: "I tried to do something that, in a justly classic paper, Fredrich Kratwill and John Ruggie in effect said could not be done: find a via media between positivism and interpretivism by combining the epistemology of the one with the ontology of the other." Particularly see. Alexander Wendt, "On the Via Media: A Response to the Critics", *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1, 2000, p. 165-180.

²¹⁷ Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*.

are shaped by social interaction. This is to say, different social structures can produce different social roles and identities in accordance with different cultures of anarchy.

The structure-agency debate is central in Wendt's account. Wendt's contribution to the structure-agency debate begins with a comparison and rejection of two IR approaches, namely the neorealism and the world system theory. Wendt makes a powerful criticism of Waltz and Wallerstein by claiming that international structure is social rather than material (as the distribution of material capabilities). According to Wendt, Waltz's theory is ultimately *ontologically individualist* in terms of its conception of the structure as one "constraining the choices of pre-existing state actors" – where the structure is reduced to the properties of states (distribution of capabilities) and state-interactions of its constitutive elements. As for Wallerstein, Wendt argues that he defines the structures of international relations in terms of "the fundamental organizing principles of the capitalist world economy" (reducing state-agency to effects of reproduction of capitalist world system), a perspective in which the problem of agency is recognized only in terms of human action instantiates.²¹⁸ For Wendt, although their systemic and "structural" explanations are quite different, they share a common problematic in terms of the structure-agency dichotomy. Wendt, who is also influenced by Bhaskarian (critical realist) structure-agency debate, argues that "the correct response is to show how structure and agency are mutually constitutive." Wendt explicitly states that "a *structurationist* approach to the agent-structure problem would permit us to develop theoretical accounts of both state agents and system structures without engaging in either ontological reductionism or reification."²¹⁹

Within this context, as a "meta-theoretical commitment", there are two main assumptions shaping Wendtian constructivism in IR: The first one is that world politics, where agents/states take action, is ideational as well as material, where such a setting

²¹⁸ Wendt, "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory", p. 335-349.

²¹⁹ Ibid, p. 349. Emphasis added.

provides an understanding that “ideas [are] all the way down”.²²⁰ This should be seen as a critique of the static material assumptions of positivist IR theory in which the material refers to the positivist definition of the distribution of power (material capabilities) between states. Secondly, ideas and material interests are *mutually constructed*, an assumption differentiating Wendtian methodology from the methodological individualist accounts of Waltzian IR.²²¹ The world of human beings is predominantly ideational, in which human-beings shape the material conditions in accordance with the “practical consciousness” through the “social learning mechanism” rather than instrumental calculation.²²² Unlike Waltzian IR and pure materialist IR theories that conceptualize interpretation in the way that “the world as it is”, constructivists perceive “the world as a project under construction, as becoming rather than being.”²²³ In this regard, Wendtian IR focuses more on the norms, shared values and identities, even though the distribution of material capabilities play a role in shaping international life. This means that the material world depends on both our interpretation and construction of social reality, described by Emanuel Adler in the way that “the material world does not come classified, the objects of our knowledge are not independent of our interpretations and our language.” Therefore, from a constructivist perspective, the world of human beings is predominantly ideational, in which human-beings shape the material (natural) conditions in accordance with the “practical consciousness” acquired through the “social learning mechanism” rather than instrumental calculation.²²⁴

²²⁰ Ibid, p. 20.

²²¹ Jeffrey T. Checkel, “The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory”, *World Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 2, January 1998, p. 324-348.

²²² Paul Williams, “Social Constructivism, International Relations Theory, and Ecology”, Eric Laferriere and Peter J. Stoett (eds.), *International Ecopolitical Theory: Critical Approaches*, UBC Press, Vancouver, 2006, p. 124.

²²³ Adler, “Constructivism in International Relations”, p.?

²²⁴ Williams, “Social Constructivism, International Relations Theory, and Ecology”, p. 124.

This focus on “language” and “consciousness and its role in international life” demonstrates the role of agency in shaping change. Within this framework Wendt argues that structural (causal) powers, such as anarchy, depend entirely on how states construct them, on states’ own identities and interests; therefore, the causal effect of self-help is not given. Ideational factors such as identity, values and norms matter in order to understand the nature of world politics.²²⁵ Accordingly, Wendt assumes that the world cannot be reduced to subjects. Agencies and structures, such as states, social institutions and norms are *intersubjectively* and reciprocally constructed.²²⁶

For Wendtian constructivism, in sum, things are embedded in an ongoing process of social construction through agency; even though their roots materially exist in the nature; things are conceived through our interpretations and language. They do not make sense without construction through languages.²²⁷ As a result of this understanding, the inter-state system is seen as “what is state makes of it” in which states construct their identities and interests inter-subjectively. This statement shows that Wendt accepts certain tenets of positivism in defining the state and states system even though he employs a post-positivist epistemology in order to explain state-behaviour. This also coincides with the idealist Weberian definition of state, in which state is excluded from

²²⁵ Constructivist claim concerning the role of rules and norms is also shared by many neoliberal institutionalists who focus on patterns of cooperation among states pursuing their self-interest. However, for social constructivists, social values and norms make sense more than neoliberal claims in that norms assist states in the identification of their interests that depend on the identity.

²²⁶ John G. Ruggie, “The Social Constructivist Challenge”, *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 4, 1991, p. 183-220. To see the discussion: Peter Katzenstein, Robert Keohane and Stephen Krasner, “International Organization and the Study of World Politics”, *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4, 1998, p. 670-679, Friedrich Kratochwill, “Constructing a New Orthodoxy? Wendt’s ‘Social Theory of International Politics’ and the Constructivist Challenge”, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1, p. 79; Wight, *Agents, Structures and International Relations*, p. 77-78.

²²⁷ There are different variants of constructivism. For example, critical constructivists are comparably more linguistically oriented. Some constructivists such as Nicholas G. Onuf and Friedrich Kratochwil focus on the role of language “world of our making” in the construction of social relations by demonstrating the capacity for agency or action. Nicholas G. Onuf, *World of Our Making, Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations*, New York, Routledge, 2012 (first publication in 1989), Friedrich Kratochwil, *Rules, Norms, and Decisions: On the Conditions of Practical and Legal Reasoning in International Relations and Domestic Affairs*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991; Adler, “Constructivism in International Relations, Sources, Contributions, and Debates”, p. 113.

its structural elements that historically and materially form it; thus, a hermeneutic understanding of reality where social meaning can only exist in human mind.²²⁸ As a result of this Weberian idealist description, state as an agent in Wendt's account is represented in "a wide range of internal organisational and political arrangements, practices, actions and disposition." Therefore, in contrast to the realist understanding, state can be defined as "democratic", "authoritarian", "liberal" or "fascist" in accordance with its institutional arrangements in Wendtian IR,²²⁹ but still its historical constitution is not explained. Moreover, insecurity and security politics are still the basis of identity, norms and shared values.

Put it differently, contrary to rationalism, Wendt asserts that "causation is a relation in nature, not in logic" and "ideas do not preclude causal effects"²³⁰, thus social science is not about "observing empirical regularities". However, as Kurki puts, his attempt to transcend the weaknesses of the rationalist-reflectivist dichotomisation *via media* ends up with reproducing the empirical- observation-based causation. In Humean framing of causation, causality is not only depended upon observation, but also ontologically upon *human perception (subjectivist ontology)*. Wendt and other post-positivists have not made adequately clear the existence of material world as *a realm outside of language*.²³¹ On the contrary, as discussed in the previous chapter, for post-positivist studies the reality (environmental or ecological insecurity) is dependent upon human mind/ language. As a result, in those studies which employ subjectivist ontology (see. Table 1), material structures lose their causal importance and are reduced to the distribution of knowledge as they are defined through interpretations and practices of actors. Wendt

²²⁸ See. Bob Jessop, *State Theory: Putting the Capitalist State in its Place*, Cambridge, Polity, 1990.

²²⁹ Leon, "Reductionism, Emergence and Explanation in International Relations Theory", p. 42.

²³⁰ Kurki, *Causation in International Relations*, p. 179.

²³¹ *Ibid*, 181.

argues that “agent-structure talk for questions about what constitutes the properties of those *actors* in the first place.”²³²

Table 2: Philosophy of Science and IR²³³

Philosophy of Science	Epistemology	Ontology
Positivism	Objective (empiricist) (we can have objective knowledge of these structures)	Subjective (Empirical Realism)
Post-Positivism- (Interpretivism)	Subjective	Subjective (ideational) (the dependence of social structure on ideas- states are people)
Wendt’s Via Media	Objective	Subjective (ideational)
Critical Realism	Subjective (we can never have an objective knowledge of these structures)	Objective (realist- social structures can be independent of our interpretations)

On the other hand, Rivas argues that in Wendt’s account, the structures are defined in terms of their “instantiation” or “existence” in the present moment of their renewal

²³² Alexander Wendt, “Levels of Analysis vs. Agents and Structures: Part III”, *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1992, p. 185, emphasis added.

²³³ Jorge Rivas, “Realism. For Real This Time: Scientific Realism is not a Compromise between Positivism and Interpretivism”, Jonathan Joseph and Colin Wight (eds), *Scientific Realism and International Relations*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, p. 209.

where structure and agency are ontologically not distinct, but *conflated*;²³⁴ meaning that social structure depends upon agential practices.²³⁵ Wendt's philosophical position which privileges ideationalist account of social structures has led to his ignorance of material structures that also posit causal powers. Rivas states that Wendt, following Giddensian structuration theory²³⁶, essentially refers to rules as structure and reduces objective realm (structure) to subjective realm (agency). In this respect, Wendt's "anarchy" as "what is state make of it" combines *the subjective (relativist) ontology of interpretivism* with *the objective epistemology of positivism*. Rivas argues that the combination of subjectivist ontology and objectivist epistemology is different from both positivism and interpretivism in which Wendt's approach is not a compromise between the two.²³⁷ Therefore, "Wendt's philosophical critique of Waltzian neorealism is unfounded."²³⁸ In other words, Wendt defines materiality in terms of distribution of

²³⁴ Conflationism means that "no difference" between agency and structure. See. Rivas, "Realism. For Real This Time", p. 220.

²³⁵ Wight and Joseph, "Scientific Realism and International Relations", p. 20.

²³⁶ The most significant contribution of Giddens, whose theory shares similarities with Bhaskarian Critical Realism, bears upon his structuration theory. In Giddens' approach, the structuration theory refers to the mutually constructed relationship between the structure and the agency. Giddens problematize the individualist/structuralist dichotomy, and according to both of them structure is not only "a constraining element of the social world", but also "the structural properties of social systems should be seen as both enabling and constraining." Wight, *Agents, Structures, International Relations*, p. 69, emphasis original. For Giddens society as the "ever-present condition" reproduces acts of human agency. Giddens has called this situation as the "duality of structure."²³⁶ Further, for Giddens social structures consist of the relationship between rules and resources. Giddens has stated that "structures can be analysed as rules and resources, which can be treated as 'sets' in so far as transformations and meditations can be identified between the reproduced properties of social systems." Anthony Giddens, *Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1981, p. 26. This is to say in Giddensian structuration theory the structure only exists in the present which depends on the intersubjectivity. Giddens in his study has used the terms of structuration to define the relationship between structure and agency is "instantiation." This means, actually, reducing ontologically structure to agents which differ from agent whilst neglecting social relations which have independent causal properties. In Giddens' analysis structures both completely depends upon the understanding and practices of agents and external to the agent. To put this point in Porpora words "the rules, norms, etc. that Giddens considers to be structure all depend for their existence on their at least tacit acknowledgement by the participating agents." In a nutshell, for Giddens structures are not objective or material but cultural. Porpora, "Four Concepts of Social Structure", 345-346.

²³⁷ Rivas, "Realism. For Real This Time", p. 204.

²³⁸ *Ibid*, 203.

capabilities while reduces reality to interpretations and practices of actors. Patomäki says at this point that Wendt and other positivists assume that the actors in international system are sovereign states so that what is important for Wendt is “how actors constitute themselves in interaction.”²³⁹

In overall, as Rivas puts, in Wendt’s approach “the real emergent existence, properties, and causal powers of social structures [are] denied; social structures are confused with both their genesis and their effects.”²⁴⁰ This means that Wendt’s ontology and philosophy explain the reality only with reference to ideational structures such as the distribution of norms, values, rules, belief and knowledge. As will be discussed below, this subjectivist (agent-centric) ontology gives way to all constructivist conceptions on environment and security.

3.1.2. Critical Security Schools: Environment as a Security Sector and Emancipation

Critical security studies, embodying particularly the concepts of the Copenhagen School such as (de)securitization and the *speech act*, have affinities with the constructivist approach. In this view, there is no absolute reality of risk and security for state-security. According to the Copenhagen School members, if several core values or problems are defined and accepted as a security issue, as an essential threat by a securitizing actor, this can be a way for the politicization of certain groups and thus the legitimization of their interests in question. Therefore, every political problem should not be turned into a security issue. As already states that for constructivists, the *intersubjective knowledge* of the states and political leaders constructs their relations with other states as friend or enemy on the basis of the constructed identity. Such point reveals the impossibility of

²³⁹ Heikki Patomäki, *After International Relations: Critical Realism and the (Re)Construction of World Politics*, New York and London, Routledge, 2002, p. 71.

²⁴⁰ Rivas, “Realism. For Real This Time”, p. 204.

making claims on the source of unchanging threats in which ideational factors, rather than material ones, are central.²⁴¹ In a similar vein, members of the Copenhagen School highlight the idea that the perception and creation of threats are related to both the politics of identity and perceptions of legitimacy. Although several comparably more “radical” constructivists focus on how and why “the narratives of national security” become dominant, rejecting the legitimation of the state-based national interests, for both constructivists (Wendtian) and the Copenhagen School, insecurity is still not a given characteristic of international politics, but *socially constructed* by the nation-state identity. Therefore, to a great extent, security does not denote the production of material conditions. Actually, what defines an issue as a threat depends on the way in which a specific matter becomes *securitized* or *de-securitized* by the securitizing actor and the referent objects.²⁴² Therefore, security, for both constructivist studies and the Copenhagen School, implies *social facts* that are only realized by the *human agency* depending on the human consciousness and language.

The theory of securitization based on the discourse formation has problematic consequences on the conceptualization of the relationship between environment and security. Within both the constructivist approach and the Copenhagen School, the basic problem pertains to the concepts such as identity, culture or norms which are privileged as constitutive features, while the issue of how they are *intersubjectively* constructed or naturalized is not explained. In other words, since constructivism addresses the identities and cultures of states as given and unchangeable, constructivist attempt to define security is problematic, ahistorical and state-centric. Indeed, for constructivists, history

²⁴¹ Peter Katzenstein, *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996; Ted Hopf, “The Promise of Constructivism in International Relational Theory”, *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 1998, p. 171-200; Matt McDonald, “Constructivism”, Paul D. Williams, *Security Studies: An Introduction*, New York, Routledge, 2008, p. 61.

²⁴² Ole Waever, “The EU as a Security Sector: Reflections from a Pessimistic Constructivist on Post-Sovereign Security Orders”, Morten Kelstrup and Michael C. Williams (eds.), *International Relations Theory and the Politics European Integration: Power, Security and Community*, p. 69-118; Michael Williams, “Modernity, Identity and Security: A Comment on the Copenhagen Controversy”, *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 3, p. 435-440. Also see: Edward Newman, “Human Security and Constructivism”, *International Studies Perspectives*, No. 2, 2001, p. 239-251.

is only a “product of *memory*” in which historical reality constructs our ideas through the political projects of historians who are indubitably social beings.²⁴³

Within this context, Buzan, Weaver and Wilde define environmental security as referring to “the maintenance of the local and planetary biosphere as the essential support systems on which all other human enterprises depended.”²⁴⁴ Although Buzan, Weaver and Wilde’s definition seem to be impeccable in the sense of the logic of environmental problems, there exists a crucial ontological problem. Firstly, for the Copenhagen School members, security is determined *intersubjectively* among states. Similar to the Wendtian IR, it can be argued that the Copenhagen School embraces a positivist ontology and a post-positivist or reflective epistemology. For this reason, there exists an incompatibility between its epistemology and ontology. Secondly, as a result of such inconsistency, the environmental security is considered to be part of state security. Indeed, the most-criticized aspect of the broadening agenda of security studies is its atomistic perspective for, even though environmental insecurities cannot be reduced to state-centrism, most insecurities are already caused by state-control. This criticism is exemplified in the works of radical environmental theorists, in which the state is seen as one of the main producers of environmental change. It is indeed within the context of the broadening agenda of security that environmental issues have come to be seen as a security sector. Although the Copenhagen School does not hold political realist position on ecological issues, the School members fall into a similar error with the positivist accounts of IR by reducing nature to the sectorial security analysis. Indeed, it can be argued that the Copenhagen School’s perspective on environment does not contribute to the security studies, but adds environment to the elements of national security. At this point, it should be noted that from a human security perspective, state-constructed securitization of global environmental change differs from securitization constructed by

²⁴³ Friedrich Kratochwill, “History, Action and Identity: Revisiting the ‘Second’ Great Debate and Assessing its Importance for Social Theory”, *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 12, No. 1, p. 5.

²⁴⁴ Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, London, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998, p. 8.

the individual. While securitization constructed by the individual prioritizes human and social needs as well as rights and values in the face of environmental change, highlighting political change, governmental policies and human rights, securitization by the state aims at preserving national state boundaries.²⁴⁵ In this sense, while securitization by the state connotes negative meaning, positive meaning is ascribed to the securitization by individuals within the context of extending security agenda.²⁴⁶

Besides the Copenhagen School, human security has also been problematized by another critical security stand, known as the Aberystwyth School. The Aberystwyth School, inspired by the Habermasian critical theory and constructivism, has identified its aim of studying security as “the expansive goal of human emancipation.” Critical theorists such as Ken Booth and Richard Wyn Jones, professors at the Aberystwyth School, have contributed to the discussion on security and emancipation by ascribing a positive meaning to security. In this sense, what is meant by “emancipation” is significant in terms of both human and environmental/ecological security. For Booth, “emancipation is the freeing of people (as individuals and groups) from the physical and human constraints, which stop them carrying out what they would freely choose to do.”²⁴⁷ Therefore, “security and emancipation are the two sides of the same coin. Emancipation is not power or order, but produces true security. Emancipation, theoretically, is security.” In this way although Booth defines global environmental change in the

²⁴⁵ Barnett, Mathew and O’Brien, “Introduction”, p. 20. Jon Barnett, *The Meaning of Environmental Security: Ecological Politics and Policy in the New Security Area*, London, Zed Books, 2001, p. 6-7.

²⁴⁶ Dalby, “Environmental Change”; Jon Barnett, “Security and Climate Change”, *Global Environmental Change*, No. 13, 2003, p. 7-17, Jon Barnett, “Environmental Security for People, in the Meaning of Environmental Security: Ecological Politics and Policy in the New Security Era, Michael R. Redclift and Graham Woodgate, *New Developments in Environmental Sociology*, Cheltenham, Edward Egar Publishing, 2001; Jon Barnett, Richard Matthew, Karen L. O’Brien, *Global Environmental Change and Human Security*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 2010; Karen Liftin, “Constructing Environmental Security and Ecological Interdependence”, *Global Governance*, No. 5, 1999, p. 359-377.

²⁴⁷ Ken Booth, “Security and Emancipation”, *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 1991, p. 319.

context of “causal complexities”²⁴⁸, security and the securitization of environment imply human well-being.

It is worth, at this point, briefly looking at Habermas’ influence on the Aberystwyth School. Habermas’ theoretical contribution is shaped around emancipation, speech act theory, and the critique of modernity and instrumental rationality. Habermas has, thus, developed a theory of “knowledge-constitutive interests” grounded on communicative rationality within the public sphere. According to Habermas, there are three knowledge-constitutive interests: The first interest is the “technical interest” (work knowledge) in which the human can predict and control the natural environment, society and/or the human behavior as objects of knowledge due to testable empiricist science and methodology. The second interest implies the “practical interest”, rested on the interpretive, cultural-hermeneutic sciences, in which social knowledge is formed by norms or by intersubjectivity between agents. The third interest connotes “emancipatory (criticism and liberation) interest” based on critical reflection, related with the critical IR theory. Habermas argues that human beings have the capacity to realize their emancipation. According to Habermas, as Patomäki cites, “*there are inter-subjective standards* in the light of which human actors can decide whether they are following appropriate discursive or practical rules in their interaction with others.” Thus, for Habermas “every (speech) act presupposes a number of rules”, meaning that one must be able to define “social rules, resources and practices in a language that, in principle, can be used by social actors to *reconstruct* their linguistic self-understanding.”²⁴⁹ As Bowring states, Habermas’ intersubjectivist theory explicitly shows this “linguistic turn” and its correlation with constructivism.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ Ken Booth, “Beyond Critical Security Studies”, Ken Booth (ed.), *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, London, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005, p.275

²⁴⁹ Cited in, Patomäki, *After International Relations*, p. 89-90. emphasis original.

²⁵⁰ Bill Bowring, “What is Realism in International Law and Human Rights?”, Jonathan Joseph and Colin Wight (eds), *Scientific Realism and International Relations*, London and New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, p.

The constructivist and Habermasian nature of the Aberystwyth school demonstrates its idealist constellation. Indeed, Booth's definition of global environmental complexities lack deep social structures, as environmental insecurity is assumed to occur only through agential intended consequences in his theory, not due to unintended consequences reflecting that structures are not distinct from the human action. This approximates the Aberystwyth School to the Copenhagen securitization theory; whereas the Copenhagen School reduces real threats such as environmental change to the speech act theory by denying the reality of threat, the Aberystwyth School ignores the materialist basis of threat by reducing human emancipation to intersubjective practices. The Copenhagen School reduces ontology to securitization patterns (state's behaviour) and its outcomes as in the positivist IR theory. For the Copenhagen School, (in)security can only be defined in relation to the state, not to the human. On the other hand, for the Aberystwyth School, emancipation is not so different from the liberal discourses' conception on human security. According to Booth, human security approach problematizes how human security is provided through the discursive politics of liberal states. While the Copenhagen School advocates *desecuritization* of state-security in favor of human security approach on the basis of a neorealist ontology, the Aberystwyth school advocates *securitization* of human-security (emancipation) through state acts. Both reduce the link between environment and security to interaction between states.

3.1.3. Environmental Security: Norms are *All the Way Down*

The basic problem of the constructivist approach in making sense of the linkage between environment and security is its *intersubjectivite* understanding of nature life, where the latter is addressed as if it does not matter in the emergence of such insecurities. For example, the constructivist scholar, Paul Williams, describes the constructivist method on global environmental problems as follows: "IR social constructs 'talking to' nature via material impact; natural resistance 'talking back' to these constructs, and contested

discourse ‘talking about’ this resistance and thereby giving it social meaning.”²⁵¹ However, the constructivist thinkers fail to demonstrate in what way the concept of nature is “socially constructed”.²⁵² For constructivists, ecological change can play a constructive role in resource management, and have an impact in the processes of learning, adapting and crafting governance strategies in dealing with resilience, absorbing change and providing the capacity to adapt change.²⁵³ However, when it comes to questioning why environmental insecurity emerges, constructivists have little to say. If we reformulate the question from a constructivist perspective, then one should problematize what the role of social structures in interacting with natural realities is. To answer this question, a constructivist should start with the statement that social reality is not causally explicable. Thus, structures are only defined in terms of *intersubjective* meanings. From a constructivist environmental insecurity approach, not only threats, risks, challenges and vulnerabilities, but also the conditions of cooperation inevitably rely upon the identities or world views of policy makers.²⁵⁴ As already stated in previous pages, according to constructivists all structures (social structures as well as the natural environment) can be explained through the human agency. In this view, natural environment is a passive external object for the social world; thereby the human as a subject can overcome natural problems via norms or rules. That is, the physical and the biological worlds are conceived as if they have no roles in the construction of social events such as the security problems. Furthermore, agents are not interested in why our

²⁵¹ Williams, “Social Constructivism, International Relations Theory, and Ecology”, p. 122.

²⁵² Litfin, “Constructing Environmental Security and Ecological Interdependence”, p. 359-360.

²⁵³ Fikret Berkes, John Colding and Carl Folke, “Introduction”, Fikret Berkes, John Colding and Carl Folke (eds.), *Navigating Social-ecological Systems: Building Resilience for Complexity and Change*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 1-21; and also, Stockholm Resilience Center: Sustainability Science for Biosphere Stewardship, “What is Resilience: An Introduction to Social-Ecological Research”, Stockholm University, http://www.stockholmresilience.org/download/18.10119fc11455d3c557d6d21/1459560242299/SU_SRC_whatisresilience_sidaApril2014.pdf. (5 July 2016).

²⁵⁴ See. Hans Gunter Brauch, “Environment and Security in the Middle East: Conceptualizing Environmental, Human, Water, Health and Gender Security”, C. Lipchin et al. (eds.), *Integrated Water Resources Management and Security in the Middle East*, Springer, 2007, p. 121-161.

social relations with the nature cause environmental insecurity, but in how we can “control” natural events through our intersubjective abilities.

Constructivists tackle with demonstrating the way in which international organizations teach and assist environmental governance. Indeed, constructivism insists on treating international regimes as they imply international law between states and the other actors in pursuance of attaining successful environmental governance. Unlike neoliberal institutionalists, constructivists believe that environmental institutions come into existence via *intersubjectively* constituted regulative rules. For many constructivists, *intersubjectivity* amounts to the institutional and discursive procedures by which international governance and/or cooperation develops. Similar to the neoliberal intuitionist approach, summits, protocols, and UN conferences -like Rio, Johannesburg, Montreal, and Paris Conferences- are constructing efforts for global environmental governance. For example, Peter Haas who employs a social constructivist approach to the relationship among mechanisms, identities, norms, and consequences of environmental actors claims that “without the prospects of hegemonic leadership, in light of the substantial growth of the influence of international institutions and non-state actors, international rule making has become the domain of multiple overlapping actors and regimes, rather than the clear-cut leadership by one state or multilateral conformity with a small and homogeneous set of shared rules backed by the enforcement mechanism.”²⁵⁵ Transboundary and global environmental change requires well-defined rules and expectations in pursuant of the multilateral governance; otherwise the states are inadequate for unilaterally protecting themselves. Even though international conferences on environment constitute weak institutional features of international governmentality, they promote the process of social learning between the states and citizens; providing a more comprehensive conceptual framework as well as an environmental policy-making agenda.

²⁵⁵ Peter M. Haas, “Social Constructivism and the Evolution of Multilateral Environmental Governance”, Aseem Prakash and Jeffrey A. Hart (eds.), *Globalization and Governance*, London, Routledge, 1999, p. 103-133; Peter M. Haas, “UN Conferences and Constructivist Governance of the Environment”, *Global Governance*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 2002, p. 73.

In this context, Haas, asking the question of which factors shape the behaviours of decision-makers, puts that one can understand how and why cooperation emerges at the international level through *epistemic communities*. The term *epistemic community* denotes “the role of networks of knowledge-based experts”. Epistemic communities, in this sense, create a reality/truth by “articulating the cause-and effect relationships of complex problems”. Thereby many policy makers and states arrange their political agenda in accordance with the new norms of environmental protection.²⁵⁶ Haas further asks when powerful actors listen to the reality/truth and how international institutions encourage environmental cooperation between states by popularizing issues and raising consciousness.²⁵⁷ Haas answers these questions by underlining that conferences create impression upon the mass public and governmental officials regarding environmental issues. Nonetheless, despite such efforts, Haas’ norm-centered perspective to ecological change and security, through which he seeks explanation of the international cooperation based on “environmental learning”, does not make sense more than the idea of the ‘tragedy of commons’.

Moreover, it is worth to underscore that constructivists, who problematize green security, are still primarily interested in inter-state issues and deal with the issue of how states should normatively respond to the environmental change at the international level.²⁵⁸ In accordance with the liberal arguments, constructivists see the increase of participation in the processes of governance as the main facilitating factor to overcome environmental problems. For example, Steven Bernstein, investigating the evolution of international environmental governance in such examples like the Stockholm

²⁵⁶ Peter M. Haas, “Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination”, *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 1, 1992, p. 1-35.

²⁵⁷ Peter M. Haas, “When Does Power Listen to Truth? A Constructivist Approach to Policy Process”, *Journal of European Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 2004, p. 569-592.

²⁵⁸ Marry E. Pettenger (ed.), *The Social Construction of Climate Change: Power, Knowledge, Norms, Discourses*, Hampshire, Ashgate, 2007.

Conference and the Montreal Protocol, suggests a liberal norm-oriented solution of environmental problems, depending upon “the liberalization of trade and finance” with the “international environmental protection”. Similarly, Bernstein deploys a “socio-evolutionary approach” offering compatibility between the existing social system and new norms.²⁵⁹ Nonetheless, the “socio-evolutionary approach”, particularly in practice, is not markedly different from the *regimes approach*. For, both problematize the existing system, as one shaped by power relationship (among the state, classes and social movements), values as well as the consequences of global environmental governance. Obviously, the constructivist approach ignores the idea that the planetary problems pose a position in which the state and its institutions are problematic and need to be challenged.

One another pioneering and more challenging work in constructivist environmental security studies is developed by Karen T. Litfin. Litfin, who correlates environmental governmentality with environmental security, interprets environmental problems in the light of the concept of ‘sovereignty’, which is composed of three elements: autonomy, control and authority.²⁶⁰ Litfin argues, although sovereignty seems to be an obstacle in front of effective environmental protection, it can be constructed in a different way as not only a simple “physical phenomena” but also a historical and social construction. To exemplify such argument, it can be pointed out that even though both the deaths of billions of microorganisms and the destruction of whale populations constitute environmental hazards, only the second one is described as a problem by the global community being subjected to restriction via international environmental agreements. In this sense, Litfin claims that “the proliferation of environmental agreements has in fact led to the complex web of ‘sovereignty bargain’” in which the nature and practices of

²⁵⁹ Steven Bernstein, *The Compromise of Liberal Environmentalism*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2002, ch.5 in particular.

²⁶⁰ Karen T. Litfin, “Sovereignty in World Ecopolitics”, *Mershon International Studies Review*, Vol. 41, No. 2, 1997, p. 167-204; Karen T. Litfin (ed.), *The Greening of Sovereignty in World Politics*, Cambridge, MA, London, The MIT Press, 1998.

sovereignty could transform into a more sustainable world.²⁶¹ Litfin even extends this argument to the subject of environmental security claiming that “international problems have been constructed by some as new sources of conflict and by others as new opportunities for international cooperation.”²⁶²

In this sense, Litfin focuses on the way in which the conceptions of ecological interdependence and the relationship between the anthropogenic environmental change and security are socially constructed through an intersubjective understanding of security. In doing so, she tackles with the deeper social, economic and political roots of environmental problems developing a reflectivist/discursive analysis. Within this context, environmental security, as part of the scientific and political discourse that depends on “linguistic practices”, can be constructed through actors as an *external referent* rather than through a state-centric security approach. In other words, owing to fact that they have no natural referents, but are socially constructed, the problems should be seen as search for opportunities for cooperation.²⁶³ Litfin, similar to the Aberystwyth School members, questions the context of securitization. From this point of view, Litfin’s approach is prone to identifying environmental problems from a normative approach within the context of the problem of sovereignty; however, her problem-solving approach results in the production of state-centric guidelines. In this sense, Litfin and the regime theorists offer similar prescriptions to rising environmental problems.

3.1.4. The Greening State: The Linking Security and Environment as What States Make of It

Green thinkers usually have two concerns with regard to environmental degradation. On the one hand, they try to identify “the root of the political origins of environmental

²⁶¹ Litfin. “Sovereignty in World Politics”, p. 167.

²⁶² Litfin, “Constructing Environmental Security and Ecological Interdependence”, p. 360.

²⁶³ Karen T. Litfin, *Ozone Discourses: Science and Politics in Environmental Cooperation*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1994, p. 3-4; Litfin, “Constructing Environmental Security”, p. 363-374.

degradation”, while they also suggest far-reaching political changes to overcome such degradation on the other.²⁶⁴ Robyn Eckersley, one of the significant constructivist scholars, offers insights for an *environmental-sensitive* analysis of state-sovereignty. Although there are scholars such as Dryzek et al.²⁶⁵ who focus on the scholarly developments on the relation between the internal legitimization and green politics, Eckersley’s work is pioneering in problematizing change both in the internal organization and the international dimension of the state.²⁶⁶ In her book, *The Green State: Rethinking Democracy and Sovereignty*, Eckersley suggests a “green democratic state” in which the institutions, the regulatory ideals, and democratic procedures of the state are informed by *ecological democracy* as an alternative to the liberal democratic state, the welfare state or the neoliberal state.²⁶⁷ The term “*green state*”, therefore, demands a radical transformation of the liberal democratic state, which amounts to a claim for a “postliberal” democratic order.

Eckersley identifies three structural positions for modern liberal democracy to be challenged: Firstly, she addresses the social structures of international anarchy -which results from international atomism caused by limited cooperation- including environmental treaties and declarations among states, contributing to the logic of the *tragedy of the commons*. Secondly, she problematizes the relationship between global capitalism and liberal democratic state as one of *anti-ecological pathway*. Thirdly, Eckersley challenges the idea of administrative hierarchy as an obstacle to the

²⁶⁴ Paterson, “Green Theory”, p. 273.

²⁶⁵ The perspective of Dryzek et al., which is based on the Weberian historical sociology, suggests that the social movements in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a structural imperative have affected the already existing state apparatus and practices. Therefore, the transformation can be achieved via the rise of the contemporary environmental social movements to increase the ecological functions of the state. See. John S. Dryzek, David Downes, Christian Hunold and David Schlosberg with Hans-Kristian Hernes, *Green States and Social Movements, Environmentalism in the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, and Norway*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003.

²⁶⁶ Matthew Paterson, “Political Economy of the Greening of the State”, Teena Gabrielson, Cheryl Hall, John M. Meyer and David Schlosberg (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Environmental Political Theory*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016, p. 479.

²⁶⁷ Eckersley, *The Green State*, p. 2.

emergence of environmental advocacy within the civil society.²⁶⁸ In the face of such points, for Eckersley, critical constructivism is able to “point to the changing practice of multilateralism, which carries the potential to broaden the roles and identities of states to include that of ecological steward, replacing the traditional role of the environmental exploiter”.²⁶⁹ Adversely, “green anarchist” studies accuse the contemporary state practices and structures as being anti-ecologist. Eckersley argues that state sovereignty, as a positive agential political order, can play a significant role in the sustainability of the eco-system in three steps: Intensive international agreements on environmental issues and the emergence of ecological multilateralism that includes environmental standards; ecological modernization as an alternative development and a new competitive strategy, which can concurrently bolster cooperation between states; and lastly, legal arrangements pertaining to environmental justice which can reinforce green democratic discourses.²⁷⁰ In doing so, Eckersley’s *green state* offers a post-liberal, transnational, cosmopolitan and representative democratic state, emphasizing the power of political discourse.²⁷¹ Thus, Eckersley suggests the notion of *ecological democracy* that differs from liberal democracy in two respects: Firstly, Eckersley rejects liberal democracy in which the preferences and interests of individuals are autonomous and problematic. Secondly, Eckersley’s approach highlights a “democracy of membership” rather than a “democracy of the affected”. In doing so, Eckersley aims to “undermine liberal democracy’s separation of the “public and private” and “territoriality”.²⁷² In this sense, Eckersley suggests that not only should the green democratic state be based on “the appearance of constitutional renovations and democratic procedures”, but also it

²⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 19-110.

²⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 20.

²⁷⁰ Robyn Eckersley, *The Green State*, p. 140; Robyn Eckersley, “Greening the Nation State: From Exclusive to Inclusive Sovereignty”, John Barry and Robyn Eckersley (eds.), *The State and the Global Ecological Crisis*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 2005, p. 161-162.

²⁷¹ Richard Anderson, “The Green State and the Prospects of Greening Sovereignty”, Karin Backstrand and Annica Kronsell, *Rethinking the Green State: Environmental Governance Towards Climate and Sustainability Transitions*, New York, Routledge, 2015, p. 66.

²⁷² Patterson, “Political Economy of the Greening State”, p. 478.

should “internalise and integrate the producer and the consumer to facilitate the green changes”.²⁷³ Indeed, in Eckersley’s analysis, although constitutional change that provides a series of normative and material shifts toward sustainability constitutes an obligation for the greening of the economy and society, it is still deemed not adequate. To a great extent, creating broad (economically and ecologically) cultural shift to an ecological sensibility needs the construction of a “green cosmopolitan public sphere”.²⁷⁴ In her articles and books in the 1990s, Eckersley argues that although both the Frankfurt School and the green movement underline “the dwindling revolutionary potential of the proletariat and its integration into the capitalist order”, both are “critical of totalitarianism, technocratic rationality, mass culture, and consumerism, both having strong German connections.” In this respect, Eckersley attempts to demonstrate the way in which Habermas’ social and political theory featuring the emancipation of human relations is inevitably instrumentalist regarding the natural environment even though her concern seems to bear upon eco-centric emancipatory solutions.²⁷⁵ Hence, Eckersley offers alternative approaches in which eco-centrism replaces Naess’ deep ecology.²⁷⁶ According to Eckersley, “eco-centrism is based on an ecologically informed

²⁷³ Eckersley, *The Green State*, p. 245-246.

²⁷⁴ Also see. Robyn Eckersley, “A Green Public Sphere in the WTO?: The Amicus Curiae Interventions in the Transatlantic Biotech Dispute”, *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 3 No. 3, p. 329-356.

²⁷⁵ Robyn Eckersley, “Habermas and Green Political Thought: Two Roads Diverging”, *Theory and Society*, Vol. 19, No. 6, 1990, p. 739-776.

²⁷⁶ Deep ecology is both a radical way of thinking on environment, and an environmental movement rising upon the idea of radical change of the relationship between nature and human. Deep ecology, concerned about the oppression and domination of all life forms, offers radical cultural changes as an alternative ethical pathway regarding nature in order to found ecologically sustainable communities. According to Arne Naess, the founding father of deep ecology, human beings should learn to identify themselves with the nature, animals and plants, and remember that they are also part of the ecosystem. For him, “every living being has intrinsic value,”²⁷⁶ as a matter of the fact that everything has value in itself; something is not valuable because of its usability for any purpose. The most significant contribution of deep ecology amounts to the concept of “anthropocentrism”, as the key cause of environmental problems. By asking deeper and radical questions about the nature and human, deep ecology rejects the anthropocentric and the instrumental definition of nature. Deep ecologists argue that it must be moved from “human centeredness or anthropocentrism as the key structuring principle of social organizations, to a nature-oriented bio-centric or eco-centric way of thinking.” If the people and the planet are to be survived, they believe that human-beings need to develop a less dominating attitude towards the Earth rather than an anthropocentric posture. Arne Naess, *Ecology, Community and Lifestyle*, D. Rothenberg (trans.), Cambridge, Cambridge

philosophy of internal relatedness, according to which all organisms are not simply interrelated with their environment but also *constituted* by those very environmental interrelationship.”²⁷⁷ Within this framework, Eckersley has defined five different strands of contemporary ecological thought and action; namely resource conservation, human welfare ecology, preservationism, animal rights, and eco-centrism. What differentiates eco-centrism from other strands of ecological thought is the embracement of a fully non-anthropocentric approach and attribution of an intrinsic value to nature. In this respect, Eckersley’s approach coincides with that of Naess; like Naess, Eckersley deems the human just one of the species within the eco-systems and advocates an egalitarian view of nature beyond the boundaries of the human. However, instead of Naess’ “biospherical egalitarianism in principle”, she deals with “a prima facie orientation of non-favouritism regarding the relationship between the nature and society.”²⁷⁸

However, in her 2004 book Eckersley has suggested an approach relying upon the reconstruction of the works of Habermas and of the neo-Habermasians by focusing on the regimes and communitive democracy rather than Habermas’ discursive communitive ethics as referred by Young and Dryzek. In this way, Eckersley, attempting to transcend the “uncritical acceptance of *a liberal political culture*”, proposes a new dialogue in which humanity’s relationship to the non-human nature should be ethically reconsidered. However, such an attempt does not ensure promoting environmental protection and environmental justice. Rather, the green state, according to Eckersley, should be comprehended as an “ongoing process of finding ways of extending recognition.”²⁷⁹ Arguing so, Eckersley examines a broader understanding of the concepts of social and

University Press, 1989; Arne Naess, “The Basics of Deep Ecology”, *Resurgence*, No. 126, (Jan-Feb) 1988, p. 4-7; Arne Naess, “Intuition, Intrinsic Value and Deep Ecology”, *The Ecologist*, No. 14, 1984, p. 5-6.; Cudworth, *Environment and Society*, p. 37-38, Ted Benton, “Deep Ecology”, Jules Pretty, et.al, *The SAGE Handbook of Environment and Society*, London, SAGE, 2007, p. 83.

²⁷⁷ Eckersley, *Environmentalism and Political Theory*, p. 51. Emphasis original.

²⁷⁸ Benton, “Deep Ecology”, p. 83.

²⁷⁹ Eckersley, *The Green State*, p. 166.

environmental justice within the context of communicative justice. No doubt, Eckersley's constructivist approach to the ecologically informed green state poses challenges to the eco-realists, who are pessimistic regarding environmental issues and security; to eco-Marxists who problematize the capitalist accumulation and its relation to the state; and lastly, radical political ecologists who advocate green communitarianism or anarchism.²⁸⁰

However, in several respects, there seems to be Wendtian conceptions at work in Eckersley's *Green State*. Eckersley problematizes her analysis around the questions of "under which conditions a green state can be developed in the international realm,"²⁸¹ and the possibility of extended environmental multilateralism in the transformation of "the logic of anarchy."²⁸² To return to Alexander Wendt's contribution to the IR studies, it can be highlighted that in Wendt's version of idealist constructivism, social systems are not *out there*; yet, arise as the result of construction. This is exactly what the human-centric understanding of science is. In this context, Wendt argues, the logic of security depends on the nature of the actors who make sense of it. Therefore, such an attitude constitutes only a vicious cycle, relying upon the intersubjectivist, agent-centric approach, neglecting the material progress of life and the "ontological status of state".²⁸³ In other words, Eckersley's Wendtian attitude in her *Green State* proposes mainly taking social movements into consideration, investigating the causes of the inequality of power and opportunity among human beings, and struggling against such disproportions.

The irony is that although Robyn Eckersley particularly points out an ecologically informed, alternative world order; her analysis is still overwhelmingly preoccupied with

²⁸⁰ Eckersley, "Greening the Nation State: From Exclusive to Inclusive Sovereignty", p. 161-167.

²⁸¹ Sebastian Maslow and Ayako Nakamura, "Constructivism and Ecological Thought: A Critical Discussion on the Prospects for a 'Greening 'of IR Theory'", *Interdisciplinary Information Sciences*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 2008, p. 140.

²⁸² Eckersley, *The Green State*, p. 15.

²⁸³ Koivisto, "State Theory in International Relations", p. 77-80.

the maintenance of the current world order. Indeed, in her 1992 book entitled *Environmentalism and Political Theory*,²⁸⁴ she has developed the eco-centric approach arguing for the *transcendent Green critique of the states system*. She has stated that “the world is an intrinsically dynamic, interconnected web of relations in which there are no absolutely discrete entities and no absolute dividing lines between the living and the nonliving, the animate and the inanimate, or the human and the non-human”.²⁸⁵ In the *Green State* later, she develops a similar eco-centric approach seeing modernity as inherently problematic in terms of the domination of nature and requiring radical structural change with a normative claim; but she also employs the Wendtian approach which reproduces modernity on the basis of the culture of anarchy. From this point of view, the core problem in her approach is that ontological framework employed by Eckersley within the context her eco-centrism and Wendtian constructivism are incompatible with each other.

Robyn Eckersley consequently reproduces a framework of analysis akin to the one she criticizes of state-centrism, as she proposes a world through the social construction of *environmental cooperation*. Accordingly, for her, environmental security can be ensured through “a negative ecological *discourse* of sovereignty”, and “environmental multilateralism” in which “the focus on re-envisioning, or ecologizing, sovereignty is misplaced and critical political ecologists should be working to develop alternatives to the principle of exclusive territorial rule.”²⁸⁶ Thus, Eckersley’s account can also be seen within the context of global environmental governance in which she investigates facilities of environmental modernization under enervated sovereignty. For Eckersley, “the dynamic of global capitalism is only one possible future for the world economy”²⁸⁷ in which structures only mean norms and discourse. In doing so, she does not

²⁸⁴ Eckersley, *Environmentalism and Political Theory*, p. 81.

²⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 49.

²⁸⁶ Eckersley, *The Green State*, p. 234.

²⁸⁷ Paterson, “Green Theory”, p. 251.

problematize the material roots of environmental insecurity, as for her material means only the distribution of wealth through defined norms. Eckersley argues that environmental insecurity is a social construct through norms and discourses; yet she does not explain the way in which environmental discourses emerge. Further, in critical environmental governance studies, there exists a general idea that state is both too small and too big to overcome local, regional and global environmental change.²⁸⁸ As a result, the “greening” in Eckersley’s analysis is based on the cooperation (as already suggested by many different kinds of regime theorists) between states in the strong version, and on ecological modernization within states in the weak version.

3.2. Critical Ecological Security, Postmodernism and the Role of Discourse

The critical and post-positivist theories in question reject the positivist definition of security and offer insights to rethink it in a broader and deeper extent. As already discussed, even though this attempt does not constitute a direct challenge to the mainstream contemplation of the linkage between the environmental change and security, the literature on environmental and/or ecological security has developed some significant, but ontologically and epistemologically limited, criticisms on how to move beyond state-centric positivist approaches. The discussion will now proceed with exploring the Foucauldian approach to environment through the contributions of Simon Dalby as well as the poststructuralist IR/security studies. Finally, feminist approaches to the relation between the security and environment will be examined by taking eco-feminist studies into consideration.

3.2.1. Discourse-Based Analysis: Unnatural Social Constructions

Poststructuralist critique on the nature of security has risen to prominence against the structuralist or modernist IR theories. For poststructuralists, international relations or

²⁸⁸ Lamont C. Hempel, *Environmental Governance: The Global Challenge*, Washington D.C., Island Press, 1996.

world politics “is not about billiard-ball states colliding in anarchy with the speed of horses or sailing ships”²⁸⁹ as all this is located in a historically and culturally differentiated world in which “discourse is all the way down.” Indeed, poststructuralism has a similar idealist and holistic ontological claim with social constructivism. Like constructivist approaches to IR, poststructuralism exhibits itself as an alternative to the positivist approaches, and emphasizes the intersubjective realm of social being. Poststructuralist environmental approaches, in a similar vein with constructivism, identify problem-solving environmental studies as unsatisfactory due to their being pro-status-quo vision. According to Peter Doran, IR theorists, adopting a problem-solving approach to international environmental studies, fail to regard dominant power-knowledge relations by concentrating their efforts on the existing institutions.²⁹⁰ Poststructuralists, on the other hand, are concerned with the patterns of meaning, an endeavour requiring “hermeneutic” social inquiry based on discourse analysis.

Poststructuralism is comparably more radical than constructivism in the sense of problematizing power relations and the social construction of reality.²⁹¹ Accordingly, the main difference between Alexander Wendt’s version of constructivism and poststructuralism rests on their relevant epistemological and methodological claims.²⁹² While Wendtian/traditionalist constructivism adopts *intersubjective* (highlighting interaction between actors) but positivist (rationalist) epistemology as well as (ideational) subjective ontology, poststructuralist epistemology challenges to the traditional constructivism by relying upon subjective (ideational) ontology and epistemology. Therefore, poststructuralism assumes that international relations should

²⁸⁹ Michael Sheehan, *International Security: An Analytical Survey*, Boulder and London, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005, p. 135.

²⁹⁰ Peter Doran, “Earth, Power, Knowledge: Towards a Critical Global Environmental Politics, Andrew Linklater and James Macmillan (eds.), *Boundaries in Question*, London, Pinter, 1995, p. 194.

²⁹¹ Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan, “Why There is no non-Western International Relations Theory?”, Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan, *Non-Western International Relations Theory: Perspectives on and beyond Asia*, New York and London, Routledge, 2010.

²⁹² Wendt, *Social Theory*, p. 24.

deal with the human-beings rather than the state or the unchanged structure of anarchy, as well as (human's) knowledge, that is interest-driven, as objects of inquiry, and involve social (power) relations of the human-beings to the analysis by rejecting meta-narratives.

Actually, poststructuralism plays a major role in the critical literature to re-think security. For instance, according to David Campbell, "contrary to a narrativizing historiography...there is always an ineluctable debt to interpretation such that there is nothing outside of discourse."²⁹³ To define discourse at the simplest level, it can be said that discourse implies the power of speeches, conversations, statements, the types of which are called in the literature as *text*. In this respect, discourse, as a central notion in the analysis of the structures of meaning, connotes not just behaviour or action, but matters for life. Within this context, R.B.J Walker who re-constructs the understanding of the Westphalian sovereignty remarks that "the subject of security" should be re-thought in the light of its object. According to Walker, such efforts can provide an approach in which the human-centered perspective prevails rather than the national security discourse, whereas the question of how the security discourse is associated with the 'outside' (national security) can be related to the 'inside'.²⁹⁴

As explained in the discussion concerning the re-thinking of security, one of the main features of environmental poststructuralist studies is that they feature the linguistic/discursive dimension of the question to relate environment and security to each other. Within this context, the most significant contribution of the poststructuralist environmental studies bears upon the problematization of knowledge about nature.

²⁹³ David Campbell, *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1992, p. 4.

²⁹⁴ R.B.J. Walker, "The Subject of Security", Keith Karuse and Michael C. Williams (eds.), *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1997, p. 61-82; R.B.J. Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Indeed, for poststructuralist studies, “nature is in effect of power.”²⁹⁵ In doing so, poststructuralist studies focus on the way in which the power of discourses regarding environmental change emerges as security issues. Within this context, the vast majority of poststructuralist environmental security studies stress primarily the “thesis of the social construction of nature” which emphasizes the “discursive aspect of the human-nature relationship, in the process that destabilizes classic Enlightenment dualisms of nature/society and culture/environment.”²⁹⁶ From this point of view, poststructuralist environmental (security) studies rest on Derrida’s deconstruction and difference (in the light of the social construction of nature) prioritising poststructuralist *relativism*.²⁹⁷ Furthermore, they are heavily affected by the Foucauldian discourse analysis. In this context, while some post-structural studies insist on seeing nature as “out there” or largely assume that “culture is made; but nature is given,” for other poststructuralists, culture bears upon the environment while the relation between them is more complicated.²⁹⁸ Within this context, since there is a significant literature on the Foucauldian approach to environment, which is represented in IR by Simon Dalby’s contributions to international environmental security studies.

3.2.2. Foucauldian Approaches to the Environment and Security

The environment is conceived in Foucauldian analyses as a field of problematization and as an “object of discourse”. The Foucauldian analyses to environment, as the Marxist and Gramscian ones, are part of the critical political ecology. As discussed above, the

²⁹⁵ Bruce Braun and Joel Wainwright, “Nature, Poststructuralism, and Politics”, Noel Castree (ed.), *Social Nature: Theory, Practice, and Politics*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 2001, p. 41.

²⁹⁶ Daanish Mustafa, *Water Resource Management in A Vulnerable World: The Hydro-Hazardscapes of Climate Change*, London and New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p. 20-21.

²⁹⁷ Bruce Braun and Joel Wainwright, “Nature, Poststructuralism and Politics”, Noel Castre and Bruce Braun (eds.), *Social Nature: Theory, Practice, and Politics*, , Oxford, Blackwell Publishers Inc., 2001, p. 48.

²⁹⁸ Simon Dalby, “The Question From Environment to Biosphere”, Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics; A New Introduction*, New York and London, Routledge, 2008, p. 43.

Foucauldian approach deals primarily with the question of “how discourses on nature create their truth.” It should be pointed out that the Foucauldian discourse analysis should not be confused with the securitization theory of constructivism or of the Copenhagen School that also dwell on discourse analysis. Foucauldian discourse analysis is different from them in terms of its ontological and epistemological premises. As Watts argues, Foucauldian approach differs with regard to the problematization of modernity as “a new form of biopower that links freedom and danger, namely security”. On the contrary, the Copenhagen School is “modelled in accordance with *raison d’etat* and necessity.”²⁹⁹ In this sense, for the Foucauldian approach, “the demand for security is neither the result of speech acts (securitization) nor a side effects of high-tech of risk societies, nor can it be reduced to an essential function of the modern state.”³⁰⁰

On the other hand, the Foucauldian discourse analysis reveals a similar emphasis with the Habermas’ theory of communicative action, as explained below. Both are “textually-oriented” approaches focusing on the context of social change that occurs via linguistic practices. However, whereas Habermasian approaches privilege agency over the (ideational) structure in explaining social change, for the Foucauldian discourse analysis, social change is molded within practices by agency without any comparison.³⁰¹ Within this context, Foucault, contrary to Habermas, does not seek to detect “a judgement about what should be done”.

In the Foucauldian discourse analysis, meaning produces and reproduces specific social positions, ideology, interest and power relations through knowledge and subjectivity. Therefore, any critical discourse based-research focuses on social change (historical and

²⁹⁹ Michael Watts, “Political Ecology of Environmental Security”, Rita Floyd and Richard A. Matthew (eds.), *Environmental Security Approaches and Issues*, London and New York, Routledge, 2013, p. 91.

³⁰⁰ Ricky Wichum, “Security as Dispositif: Michel Foucault in the Field of Security”, *Foucault Studies*, No. 15, 2013, p. 164.

³⁰¹ L. Sharp and T. Richardson, “Reflection on Foucauldian Discourse Analysis in Planning and Environmental Research”, *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning*, Vol. 3, No.3, 2001, p. 193-210.

cultural change specifically), the role of power (agency), and knowledge. In this sense, like critical realism and historical materialism, Foucauldian approaches emphasize how specific understandings are legitimized or regularised through naturalization processes. Further, in the Foucauldian approach, in a similar vein with the critical realist, Marxist or historical materialist approaches, the analysis of environment is critical of the neoliberal association of state and security in conventional environmental approaches. For the political and economic project of neoliberalism is deemed as one of the main problems, for it takes environmental problems as given.³⁰²

In this context, the main point of Foucauldian studies is that the meaning of environment for the human beings is molded via the production of discourse through power in a subjective manner. In this regard, the non-Foucauldian environmental discourse analysis is interested in the power of linguistics in constructing the social-natural relations, while the Foucauldian analysis features the importance of *knowledge* construction. Different from the modernist knowledge of nature, the Foucauldian analysis claims that our knowledge about nature is “historically and socially situated just the way all knowledge claims are.”³⁰³

Another scholar, who needs to be covered under this topic, is Maarten A. Hajer whose works have revisited Foucault’s work of discourse, power and knowledge with a specific emphasis on environment. Yet, Hajer’s analysis differs from that of Foucault in two significant senses. Like constructivist scholars, Hajer tackles with the question of how discourse molds reality. However, his first departure from Foucauldian analysis is that he considers discourse as “an ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, and which is produced and

³⁰² Thomas Lemke, “The Birth of Biopolitics”, *Michel Foucault’s Lecture at the College de France on Neoliberal Governmentality*, Vol. 30, No. 2, *Economy & Society*, 2001, p. 203.

³⁰³ Peter H. Feindt and Angela Oels, “Does Discourse Matter? Discourse Analysis in Environmental Policy Making”, *Journal of Environment Policy & Planning*, Vol. 7, No 3, p. 168.

reproduced through an identifiable set of practices.”³⁰⁴ In other words, discourse enables to understand how the reality is constructed. In this context, Hajer claims that a number of environmental problems such as global warming, drought, acid rain and ecological modernization are primarily discursive constructs. The discourse-coalition frames, produces, reproduces and transforms the ongoing conversation about “sustainable development” as in the case of contemporary European societies as part of cultural politics.³⁰⁵ In this context, the second point that differentiates Hajer from Foucault is that Hajer stresses “democratising policy making” and actor interactions.³⁰⁶ In this sense, Hajer’s early contributions to the environmental studies are influenced by the Habermasian analysis like the constructivist approaches to environment in IR.

Hajer also revisits the implications of Foucauldian concept of *governmentality*. In the Foucauldian approach, governmentality does not only imply telling “the story of how it ‘really’ was, yet it also connotes, “how the authorities and the rationality of governing have made the world as it is now understood.”³⁰⁷ In this context, Foucault analyzes security as a “dispositif” which basically implies an understanding in which “security [is seen] not as an essential part of the human condition, or an apriori social value.” Within this context, for Hajer, Foucault’s concept of governmentality can provide a framework to understand how “responses to environmental crises should also be explained in terms of the particular ideas about the respective responsibilities of government and the citizens.”³⁰⁸ Put differently, the environment is always determined by culture, whereas

³⁰⁴ Maarten Hajer and Whtske Versteeg, “A Decade of Discourse Analysis of Environmental Politics: Achievements, Challenges, Perspectives”, *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 2005, p. 175.

³⁰⁵ Frank Fischer and Maarten A. Hajer, “Beyond Global Discourse: The Rediscovery of Culture in Environmental Politics”, Frank Fischer and Maarten A. Hajer (eds.), *Living With Nature: Environmental Politics as Cultural Discourse*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 6-7.

³⁰⁶ Feindt and Oels, “Does Discourse Matter?”, p. 166.

³⁰⁷ Monica Tennberg, “Environmental Threats, Governmentality and Security in Northern Europe”, Lars Hedegaard and Bjarne Lindstrom (eds.), New York, Springer. *The NEBI Yearbook 2001/2002: North European and Baltic Sea Integration*, 2002, p. 311.

³⁰⁸ Hajer and Versteeg, “A Decade of Discourse Analysis of Environmental Politics”, p. 180.

culture (for example the consumer culture) is always fundamentally implicated in environmental politics, and molds the definition of sustainable development.

3.2.3. Critical Geopolitics and Difference

It should be noted that despite its obvious influence on security studies, only a few poststructuralist IR scholars have contributed to rethinking of environment and security. Simon Dalby is one of those few scholars who are dissatisfied with the relation established by the positivists between environment and security. Dalby, as a much cited critic of the (neo)Malthusian specification of the causes of environmental insecurity, argues that³⁰⁹ “the suggestion of environmental change might cause to rethink what we mean by security.” Dalby’s analysis, which is at the nexus of environmental sustainability, ecological security and the human existence, contributes substantially to our understanding on for whom is security, what precisely is to be secured; and under what circumstances environmental problems appear to threaten security.

Dalby essentially problematizes “why environmental change might be a problem for security.”³¹⁰ According to him, environmental problems such as climate change, global warming, pollution of water, sufficient food etc., are “externally caused security threats to the poor people living in vulnerable peripheries in the world system, caused by the rest of us.” Dalby argues that existing militarized models of natural resources are environmentally destructive, and ecologically unsustainable. Furthermore, such models also influence poor people’s vulnerability particularly in the Third World. In this way, Dalby’s account offers insights to the relations between environmental change and interstate and social differences between the rich and the poor. Herein, it should be noted that Dalby’s approach is also influenced by Ulrich Beck’s sociological discussion

³⁰⁹ Dalby, *Security and Environmental Change*, p. 2-3; Simon Dalby, “Security and Ecology in the Age of Globalization”, *ECSP Report*, No. 8, Summer 2002, p. 95-108; Simon Dalby, “Environmental Security: Ecology or International Relations”, Eric Laferriere and Peter J. Stoett (eds.), *International Ecopolitical Theory: Critical Approaches*, Toronto, UBS Press, 2006, p. 17-33.

³¹⁰ Dalby, *Security and Environmental Change*, p. 9.

of *risk society*.³¹¹ According to Dalby, “the theory of ‘world risk society’ investigates the “emergence of the discourse communities capable of arguing that the long neglected side effects of industrial production must be henceforth understood to entail risks that can deprive the system of its legitimacy and of its ‘rational’ controls.”³¹² Accordingly, Dalby argues that the historical co-evolution of ecological change and the problem of human security reveals that human security is located within Western imperialism endangering national identity. Dalby thus states that ecological security cannot be understood within the traditional parameters of territorial states since climate change and greenhouse gas emissions do not respect national boundaries at all.³¹³

Despite such universal influences and the fact that environmental dangers are global, however, less-industrialized societies are under more constraint, for Dalby, owing to the natural and socio-economic conditions. Global environmental change makes the North-South and the rich-poor gaps deeper. Most human activities damaging the environment have been undertaken by the rich consumers of the Northern states. However, poorer states of the South continue to see environment as a national security issue, particularly in military terms. Sustainable environmental programmes are not included into the security agenda along with the military issues, although people in the Third World are directly vulnerable to environmental threats.

What is more, Dalby has developed an ecological security approach, which bases on the idea of the complex systems, and the argument that human beings and ecological

³¹¹ Beck has coined the concept of risk relevant to the environmental issues in his famous book *Risk Society: Towards A New Modernity*. Beck, with his term of “risk society”, asserts that people and communities are under risks that are embedded within the modern society rising from “imported technological change” harming the ecology of localities as well as from the old risk of catastrophic and chronic hazards.³¹¹ Beck has formed a framework which concentrates on the direction of social change. Within such a frame, Beck calls for thinking about ongoing processes of industrialisation and modernization. From this point of view, Beck as Giddens employs the concept of “reflexive modernity” in order to define the new epoch of insecurities. Giddens also elaborates on the concept of “socialised nature”, Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society: Towards A New Modernity*, London, Sage Publications, 1992.

³¹² Dalby, *Environmental Security*, p. 158.

³¹³ *Ibid*, p. 141.

systems are interconnected. More importantly, in Dalby's analysis, complex inequalities do not only arise from natural problems, but also from social structures such as capitalism, patriarchy and colonialism. Dalby thus takes the agenda of human and ecological security into consideration within a historical context, stressing the connection between the human activity and environmental change.

Dalby's account is influenced by the arguments of deep ecology on the one hand, certain kinds of the poststructuralist security discourse analysis on the other hand. Dalby, in his attempt to combine the insights of deep ecology with human (and ecological) security, develops a non-state-centric account of environmental security understanding. Within this context, drawing inspirations from Foucault and Derrida, Dalby remarks that "post-modern and poststructuralist approaches... point to how modes of knowledge are power-related resources, arguing that knowledge of a particular 'truth' simultaneously enables and constrains practices." As for Dalby, the mode of knowledge in the earlier times has provided a floor to see how one should conceptualize the relation between the environment and security. In this respect, the traditional security understanding of environment in the sense of a threat from outside which relies upon differences serves to reproduce insecurity.³¹⁴

Herein, it should be noted that one of the most significant contributions of Dalby bears upon the field of *critical geopolitics*. Geopolitics is indeed a complex matter of cultural change in line with spatial practices. Therefore, the discourse of geopolitics is socially constructed.³¹⁵ Within such conceptualization of geopolitics, Dalby seeks to deconstruct traditional geopolitical discourse which is historically and deeply embedded within ideological and political structures.³¹⁶ In doing so, Dalby's works focus on the critiques

³¹⁴ Dalby, *Security and Environmental Change*, p. 8; Dalby, *Environmental Security*, p. xxix.

³¹⁵ Simon Dalby, "Geopolitics and Global Security: Culture, Identity, and the 'Pogo' Syndrome," Gearoid O Tuathail and Simon Dalby (ed.), *Rethinking Geopolitics*, London and New York, Routledge, 1998, p. 295.

³¹⁶ Simon Dalby, "Critical Geopolitics: Discourse, Difference and Dissent", *Environment and Planning D*, *Society and Space*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1991, p. 261-283; Simon Dalby, "Security, Modernity, Ecology: The

of what the role of ideology is in the transformation of the environmental discourse. For Dalby, “a critique of geopolitical reasoning” is required in order to demonstrate that mainstream environmentalist discourses are located within the traditional geopolitical discourse. Within this context, Dalby inquires, “how ecological change is tied to the expansion of the world economic system over the last few centuries.” The content of such inquiry is probably best understood “through the traces of the cultural legacy of colonialism and imperialism which is still triggered by the existence of fossil fuels”. To exemplify, it can be noted that the conditions of security and violence are related to the struggles for the control of resources as in the case of the desire to appropriate diamonds in Sierra Leone or the oil and plies in Angola. Similarly, US policy towards the Gulf countries has been a part of the policy of the perpetuation of cheap oil supplies during the Cold War. In brief, within such a framework, Dalby also highlights that there is a strong relationship between the system of international physical production and environmental change.³¹⁷

In overall, Dalby’s conceptualization of environmental security powerfully demonstrates that an effective capitalist and ecological opposition requires further critique of the state. He puts that environmental reality and inequality cannot be reduced to *critical discourse analysis*, but should be problematized within the context of colonialism, capitalism, patriarchy, and other forms social difference and otherness embedded within green insecurity. However, even if Dalby has employed a non-state centric approach and focused on social aspects of inequalities in relation to environmental change, the connection between materiality and discourse remains still *inscrutable*. Indeed, the main problem in Dalby’s account is that despite the fact that he accepts capitalism’s effect within the context of neoliberalization, he does not problematize how the commodification of nature leads to environmental destruction.

Dilemmas of Post-Cold War Security Discourse”, *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 1992, p. 114.

³¹⁷ Dalby, “Environmental Security: Ecology or International Relations?”, p. 71-74.

Put differently, Dalby's account is influenced by certain kinds of poststructuralism that underestimate concrete relations within social material structures such as power relations, different configurations of relations of production, or different class interests.³¹⁸ In Dalby's account, such relations are posterior to ideas. In other words, in Dalby's perspective, similar to Weber, the causal factor which creates change results from ideas (read as culture). This is also true indeed for Eckersley's green state. Accordingly, Dalby's emphasis is based upon the role of (critical geopolitical) discourse, possessing a subjectivist understanding within the context of socio-natural relations. In his theory, similar to Eckersley, the material is important only within the ideational context, defined as social rules, shared knowledge and subjective meanings. Dalby seems to differ from Eckersley however by his human centric approach rather than a state-centric. But ultimately, by separating states from capitalist structures (state-capital relations) as the most visible cause of green insecurity, he assumes that human security can be ensured within existing structures through the existing agencies.

3.2.4. Gendered Environmental Security

Another poststructuralist approach that make sense of the relation between the environment and security is developed by the feminists. The feminist scholars are mainly interested in identifying women's position within the natural world as well as the structural conditions responsible for women's vulnerability. For many feminist studies, the inequalities exist both between and within societies depending upon differences of class, gender and race. Any vulnerability or inequality influences the other. In certain societies, natural disaster becomes a social disaster; climate change reproduces existing social inequalities on the grounds that poorer women tend to be comparably more vulnerable.³¹⁹ However, even though the most plausible poststructuralist approach to

³¹⁸ Simon Dalby, "Critical Geopolitics: Discourse, Difference and Dissent", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*; Vol. 9, No. 3, Simon Dalby, *Creating the Second Cold War: The Discourse of Politics*, Second Edition, London, Bloomsbury Academic, 2016.

³¹⁹ Bradley C. Parks and J. Timmons Roberts, "Globalization, Vulnerability to Climate Change, and Perceived Injustice", *Society and Natural Resources*, No 19, 2006, p. 337-355.

security has been advanced by the feminist IR scholars, little has been said about the layers of green insecurity. To elaborate on this argument, this section will firstly discuss the contribution of the feminist/gender studies to IR. Subsequently, it receives support from the eco-feminist philosophy to problematize the way in which feminist/gender studies within IR ignore the historical and materialist dimensions of social reality.

Feminism has entered into the IR studies within the context of the third great debate as part of critical theories. To begin with, it should be noted that there are different voices within the feminist studies, in that there is no single feminist challenge. Feminists agree on the significance of gendered inequalities and the domination of patriarchy over sexuality, whereas they disagree on the questions of what generates women's subordination as well as how this subordination can be abolished.³²⁰

Within such context, the early feminist studies have problematized the way in which gender analysis can influence IR, their contribution being predicated only upon the conceptual and theoretical framework of the feminist conceptualization of IR. On the other hand, the second-generation feminists have sought to draw attention to the empirical case studies. In this context, for feminists, since problem-solving IR theory has never ontologically taken the gender issue into its agenda, knowledge has always been

³²⁰ Feminism does not merely amount to the domination over women; rather, the concept of gender is central to the feminist studies as explained by Laura Sjoberg in the way that "gender is not the equivalent of membership in biological sex classes. Instead, gender is a system of symbolic meaning that creates social hierarchies based on perceived associations with the masculine and feminine characteristic." Although some feminists regard the gendered issue as a specific women issue, the study of gender should be the voice of all forms of subordination, domination and exploitation on the part of the exploited and the oppressed for the other feminist scholars. In this sense, gender analysis focuses on all individuals rather than solely on women by referring to the phenomenon of masculinity. Yet, there is a shared sense within the feminist studies that women have comparably been exposed to injustices more than men. For this reason, feminism concentrates on primarily the emancipation of women. Laura Sjoberg, "Introduction", Laura Sjoberg (ed.), *Gender and International Security: Feminist Perspectives*, London and New York, Routledge, 2010, p.3; Nicole Detraz, *International Security & Gender*, Cambridge, Polity, 2012, p. 2; J. Ann Tickner, "Feminist Perspectives on International Relations", Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations*, London, Sage, 2002, p.276.

epistemologically generated by *man* and about *man*.³²¹ In brief, feminist contribution to the IR discipline stands out with respect to three points: offering a critique of gender bias in the IR discipline by uncovering the gendered knowledge; building up a *holistic* approach so as to demonstrate the way in which masculinity and femininity are socially constructed; and lastly providing new methodological tools to support non-sexist IR debates.³²²

Feminist IR theorists have made significant contributions to security studies. Feminism challenges the orthodox security definition, and deconstructs the concept of national security in different ways by using gender as a lens in the discourse analysis. According to many feminists, there is a necessary connection between the existence of patriarchy and the structural and ideological system, privileging masculinity and women insecurity. In line, feminists problematize gendered consequences of the employment of the existing discourse of militarization demonstrating the effects of wars on women. For instance, feminists have empirically shown that sexual violence (including rape) are more prevalent in warfare than in times of peace. In a similar vein, feminists also problematize the relationship among “gender-based language”, nuclear strategies and the processes of peacekeeping. Further, they focus on the daily life of women with specific attention to the difference between women who live in the South and North as well as in the peripheries and the centers of the North. In this way, feminist studies also render the structural inequalities *visible* rather than *invisible*. Furthermore, sociological feminist studies highlight the importance of a critical stance on the relationship between human needs and gendered hierarchy.

³²¹J. Ann Tickner, “Gendering a Discipline: Some Feminist Methodological Contributions to International Relations”, *Signs*, Vol. 30, No. 4, 2005, p. 2173-2188; J. Ann Tickner and Laura Sjoberg, “Feminism”, Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds.), *International Relations Theories Discipline and Diversity*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007, p. 196; Jill Steans, *Gender and International Relations: An Introduction*, Rutgers University Press, Brunswick, 1998, p. 173.

³²²Elisabeth Prügl, “Feminist Theory in International Relations”, Bertrand Badie, Dirk Berg-Schlosser, Leonardo Morlino (eds) *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*, London, SAGE Publications, 2011, p. 909.

In terms of environmental security, feminist studies underscore that women who live in the environmentally vulnerable areas encounter scarcity in terms of water and food in particular. In this sense, some essentialist (mainstream) feminists consider the presence of women within the environmental governance as crucial by underlining that women are more prone to protect nature than men, while for other feminists “bringing women into environmental policy” does not result in favor of the gendered environmental issues. According to the feminists who are in the second group, such attempt implies not more than “adding” feminine values to the environmental problems, an attitude reproducing masculine values in most aspects. Therefore, contemplation of the feminist thought and ecological thought together requires a more critical attempt in which feminism and ecologism strengthen each other. Within this context, J. Ann Tickner, in her early works, has developed an eco-feminist language to challenge the utilitarian state-centric ecological perspective. Tickner, who follows social ecologist William Leiss’ argument on the domination over nature, states that the natural destruction cannot be fully understood without problematizing the sexual metaphors of the Enlightenment scholars who employ a heavy gendered language. Tickner scrutinizes to what extent the link between the environment and security can be part of the gendered insecurity. In response, she argues that the militarized state can be a threat for both women’s security and natural resources, and state boundaries cannot be protected in face of environmental pollution.³²³ In this regard, Tickner’s contribution can also be described as sceptical of the mainstream environmental governance. She claims that feminist standpoint should also be critical of the environmental governmentality owing to fact that “women have been peripheral to the institution of the state and transnational capital”³²⁴.

It has to be recognized that some feminist studies exclude environmental concerns from their analysis, although they consider environmental problems as one of the dimensions

³²³ J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*, New York, Colombia University Press, 1992, p. 111-159.

³²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 115.

of human security.³²⁵ For example, Marxism-oriented neo-Gramscian feminist thinkers, Sandra Whitworth and Christine B. N. Chin,³²⁶ in their studies, problematize the relationship between the structural crisis of capitalism and patriarchal neoliberal state from a gender lens. In doing so, both offer insights regarding the exploitation of women's bodies and labour. However, both also ignore the way in which the exploitation of women is located within our natural relations. In this respect, Nicole Detraz's argument is important as it underlines that although environmental problems are part of the critical international security studies, "gender has not been incorporated into these debates in meaningful ways."³²⁷ Indeed, many feminist IR theorists consider the relationship between the non-human world and women/minorities as an area forming the sub-field of feminism.

Feminism can be regarded as the closest approach to the green theory/environmentalism among other IR approaches in terms of their methodological and ideological underpinnings. However, feminism has had relatively more impact on social sciences in comparison to the green theory.³²⁸ The question of why feminism needs ecology and vice versa has led to the emergence of *eco-feminism* as a *hybrid* area in the 1970s as part of the second-wave feminism.³²⁹ On the other hand, in terms of IR studies, the debate of gendered environmental security or eco-feminist challenge to the security, have already

³²⁵ Tickner, *Gender in International Relations*, p. 115.

³²⁶ Sandra Whitworth, "Theory and Exclusion: Gender, Masculinity, and International Political Economy", Richard Stubbs and Geoffrey Underhill (eds.), *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order*, Oxford University Press; Don Mills, 2006; Christine B. N. Chin, *In Service and Servitude: Foreign Female Domestic Workers and the Malaysian 'Modernity' Project*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1998; Christine B. N. Chin, *Cosmopolitan Sex Workers: Women and Migration in a Global City*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013.

³²⁷ Nicole A. Detraz, "The Genders of Environmental Security"; Laura Sjoberg (ed.), *Gender and International Security: Feminist Perspectives*, London and New York, Routledge, 2010, p. 103-126.

³²⁸ Paterson, "Green Theory", p. 256; Andrew Dobson and Robyn Eckersley, "Introduction", Andrew Dobson and Robyn Eckersley (eds.), *Political Theory and the Ecological Challenge*, Cambridge, Cambridge university Press, 2006, p. 4.

³²⁹ Val Plumwood, "Feminism", Andrew Dobson and Robyn Eckersley (eds.), *Political Theory and the Ecological Challenge*, Cambridge, Cambridge university Press, 2006, p.51-52.

progressed in a momentum as an important part of both human and environmental security studies. In this line, both Spring and Detraz, using gender analysis as a lens, demonstrate that gender security as part of human rights amounts concurrently to the issue of environmental security.³³⁰ In this context, in order to theorize the subordination of women and nature, Spring suggests the concept of HUGE (“human, gender and environmental security”) which highlights how gender analysis can foster understanding of environmental security, while Detraz advocates combining feminist and environmental security studies to develop an eco-feminist philosophy.

Eco-feminism essentially argues that many poor women have no choice, but live in marginally vulnerable areas. Such argument is based on the claim that there are particular and significant connections - whether biologically or culturally - between the exploitation and domination of nature, and subordination and oppression of women.³³¹ According to ecofeminists, therefore, feminism should be reformulated by looking at both the human and non-human sides of domination by resituating the humans within the ecosystem.³³² In this regard, within the context of the eco-feminist philosophy, Detraz harnesses the term of *gendered environmental security* which implies that “human vulnerability is gendered as is human-induced environmental degradation.”³³³ In this context, Detraz re-defines the concept of ‘ecological security’ which is indeed more plausible than the concepts of the ‘environmental security’ or ‘environmental conflict’ for the problem at stake. In this sense, according to Detraz, the discourses of

³³⁰ Ursula Oswald Spring. “Deepening Security: Towards Human, Gender, and Environmental Security: A HUGE Concept”, Paper Presented at International Studies Association 49th Annual Conference, San Francisco CA, March 26-29; Ursula Oswald Spring, “Human Gender and Environmental Security: A HUGE Challenge and Human Security, Bonn, Germany, UNU Institute for Environment and Human Security”, 2008; Nicole Detraz, *Environmental Security and Gender*, New York and London, Routledge, 2015.

³³¹ Marry Mellor, “Ecofeminism: Linking Gender and Ecology”, Jules Pretty, et al.(eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Environment and Society*, London, SAGE Publications, 2007, p.66.

³³² Plumwood, “Feminism”, p.64.

³³³ Nicole Detraz, “Gender and Environmental Security”, Rita Floyd and Richard A. Matthew (eds.), *Environmental Security: Approaches and Issues*, London and New York, Routledge, 2013, p.161.

environmental security and environmental conflict share a similar anthropocentric environmental approach in which “the environment is seen as a source of natural resources for human consumption.” On the contrary, ecological security develops an eco-centric discourse in which saving the biosphere is seen necessary for the security of the human in general, and women in particular. Such conceptualization seems to be a holistic understanding of security, in that the Earth-centric approach prevails rather than the state-centric or human-centric approaches. However, as will be discussed below, the approach is yet problematic in terms of explaining causality as it rests upon the actor’s point of view.³³⁴

Indeed, for Detraz, the language linking gendered environment and security should be based on the critical discourse analysis for both the questions of gender and ecological insecurity are created by the state-centric security discourse.³³⁵ Although Detraz argues that the gendered environmental security discourse requires the problematization of the existing relationship between the humans and the ecosystems, her analysis overlooks the dialectical material contradictions embedded in the relationship between the human and non-human worlds. Furthermore, change in Spring’s eclectic approach emerges simply within the identity, consciousness and the social representation of democratic governments (actors). Moreover, in Spring’s approach, though the source of threat is consisted of patriarchy, totalitarian institutions - such as governments and churches -, elites, the dominant culture, intolerance, and violence; the historical and material dimensions of the production of gendered insecurity are ignored.³³⁶ Herein, such criticism necessitates deeper insights from the eco-feminist thought.

³³⁴ Ibid, p.45-50.

³³⁵ Detraz, “Gender and Environmental Security”, p. 165.

³³⁶ Ursula Oswald Spring, “Gender and Disasters: Human, Gender and Environmental Security: A HUGE Challenge”, Studies of the University: Research, Counsel, Education-Publication Series of UNU-EHS, No. 8, 2008, p.8,

As feminism, there is no single eco-feminist philosophy. Different classifications are possible as liberal, postmodern and constructivist philosophies of eco-feminism. Yet, eco-feminism can also be classified in two philosophical categories: Idealist (deconstructive) and materialist eco-feminism. Idealist eco-feminism holds a non-anthropocentric radical perspective. In this respect, it is alleged that “patriarchy not only predated but also gave rise to anthropocentrism.”³³⁷ However, although the conjunction of gender and environment is valuable in terms of the green or social and natural security; the idealist eco-feminist scholars emphasize solely the referent objects such as the nature, women or humans. Even though patriarchy and capitalism appear as the (re)product of different historical and social developments, the dualism between the human and the nature are rested on a critique of the western culture from a spiritual perspective. The most distinctive feature of such approach is revealed in its strong connection with the *deep ecology* that concentrates on the cultural analysis of nature.³³⁸ To exemplify this statement, Plumwood can be referred: What is needed, according to Plumwood, is an “‘ecological identity’ based upon connection with nature.” In this context, Plumwood suggests two ways of change relying upon eco-feminist ethics: The first one connotes a “cultural challenge to the master culture’ that encourages “radical democracy, co-operation, mutuality.” The second one centers on the importance of spirituality in achieving cultural change and offers insights to change the material contradictions through materialist spirituality.³³⁹

On the other hand, materialist eco-feminism calls for more emphasis on the socio-economic structures of life by highlighting men’s and nature’s position in the global market economy.³⁴⁰ Materialist eco-feminism asserts that the structures of the domination of women are embedded within our relations with nature, resting upon the

³³⁷ Eckersley, *Environmentalism and Political Theory*, p.68.

³³⁸ Mellor, “Ecofeminism:”, p.67.

³³⁹ Cited in, Mellor, “Ecofeminism”, p.67-69.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p.69.

accumulation of capital.³⁴¹ In many parts of the world, women are exposed to several threats under the contemporary dominant form of “capitalist patriarchy”, have lower living conditions, and are more vulnerable than men, who are indeed comparably more responsible for the global environmental degradation.³⁴²

Within this context, as Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva state, materialist feminism addresses “inherent inequalities in the world structures which permit the North to dominate the South, men to dominate women, and the frenetic plunder of ever more resources for ever more unequally distributed economic gain to dominate nature.”³⁴³ Materialist ecofeminists take into account how such unequal relations are dialectically bound up with each other. Even though idealist or spiritual versions of eco-feminism also seem plausible in terms of the human beings’ changing relationship with the nature, in these studies, the role of ideology replaces discourse while the material reality is overlooked. In this vein, such idealist or spiritual versions of eco-feminism privilege “knowers” as in poststructuralism, and lead to an essentialist view of the relationship between the women and the rest of nature.

Instead of this approach, critical realist and eco-materialist feminist Kate Soper stresses the “material structures and processes that are independent of human activity (in the sense that they are not products created by the human)” scrutinizing “whose forces and causal powers are the necessary conditions of every human practice, and determine the possible forms it can take.”³⁴⁴ In this vein, Soper proposes “an ecofeminist politics that calls on us to celebrate previously derided ‘feminine’ values”, to take cognizance of “feminine ‘difference’ which culture has hitherto excluded”, as the site of renewal, that

³⁴¹ Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva (eds.), *Ecofeminism*, London and New York, Zed Books, 2014.

³⁴² Charlotte Bretherton, “Global Environmental Politics: Putting Gender on the Agenda?”, *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1998, p.85-100.

³⁴³ Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva, “Introduction: Why We Wrote this Book Together”, Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva (eds.), *Ecofeminism*, London and New York, Zed Books, 2014, p.2.

³⁴⁴ Kate Soper, *What is Nature? Culture, Politics and Non-Human*, Oxford, Blackwell, p.1332-1333.

does not “necessarily go very far in de-gendering the implicitly masculinist conception of humanity that has gone together with the feminization of nature.” In this way, Soper repudiates the eco-feminist analysis of security that is merely discourse-based and addresses the material reality of the relationship between the human and the non-human world.³⁴⁵

Such discussion demonstrates that feminist, or more specifically eco-feminist, perspective in IR is under the effect of the idealist version of eco-feminism. Indeed, the response of the eco-feminist IR to the question of “What could be the alternative? What would a new paradigm, a new vision be?”³⁴⁶ does not offer more than the securitization of the relations between the nature and women through discourse, adopting the emancipatory aim of critical security studies. For example, for Detraz, the objective of a feminist environmental security discourse, “as a tool for revealing the complexity of the security-environment linkage”, amounts to gender emancipation.³⁴⁷ In pursuance of such an objective, Detraz underlines that discourse analysis uncovers “narratives of genetic modification” and molds our understanding of the debate among feminists including “shifting the level of analysis used, highlighting the gendered sources of vulnerability to natural disaster, and problematizing popular ‘water wars’ thesis”³⁴⁸ by criticizing mainstream approaches. In line, Detraz acknowledges an *intersubjective* understanding to the relation between the environment and security, similar to the constructivist studies.

What differs her approach from the constructivist studies is indeed that her approach comprehends the problem in terms of a dialectical relationship between culture/ideas and gender. However, Detraz’s approach still privileges agent-centrism and neglects the

³⁴⁵ Mellor, “Ecofeminism”, p.127; Soper, *What is Nature?*, p. 127.

³⁴⁶ Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva, “Preface”, Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva (eds.), *Ecofeminism*, London and New York, Zed Books, 2014, p. xiii-xxx.

³⁴⁷ Detraz, *Environmental Security and Gender*, p. 70.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 13-16.

underlying structures of the subordination of women and nature; namely the material relations shaping reality. That is to say, since feminist approaches do not explain how the subordination of women and nature is structurally located within the historical mode of production, they do not refer to how internal material relations are influenced by change and vice versa. More importantly, the second point that is worth to be put implies that, as in Ursula Oswald Spring's and Nicole Detraz's contribution to the gendered environmental security studies, even though such studies take the socio-natural relations into consideration in generating women's insecurity and offer more plausible insights by focusing on the processes of the subordination of women and environmental degradation, developing a relational approach between the human and the non-human world, they still repeat the fault made by deep ecologists by ignoring the (historical) materialist aspects of environmental security.

3.3. Posthuman International Relations: Natural Agentic Capabilities and Complexity, System Thinking

In this section, the thesis looks at some features of the ecosystem thinking as well as the concept of complexity in general, besides problematizing the posthumanist contribution to the literature on environmental security in particular. In the last few years, ecosystem thinking which is a branch of biology, has entered into the social sciences accompanying, what is called, posthumanist studies in IR. Posthumanist studies, led by Stephen Hobden, Erika Cudworth³⁴⁹ and Emilian Kavalski³⁵⁰, is a new field defined by Weberian and Marxian insights as well as aspects of Foucauldian genealogy. As a normative project, it pretends to be a non-dualistic approach to socio-natural complexities in international relations.³⁵¹ Cudworth and Hobden state that

³⁴⁹ Erica Cudworth and Stephen Hobden, *Posthuman International Relations: Complexity, Ecology and Global Politics*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

³⁵⁰ Emilian Kavalski (ed.), *World Politics at the Edge of Chaos*, SUNY Press, New York, 2015.

³⁵¹ The term of posthuman an umbrella in order to describe various movements and philosophical, cultural and critical school of thought based on new methodological and theoretical debates. Posthumanism, which is also defined as post-anthropocentrism often refers to calls for a redefinition of the humanism,

posthumanism is part of critical theorizing, though it also criticizes critical theories' anthropocentric (human-centric) position.³⁵²

3.3.1. A New Materialist Research Agenda

In the first place, posthumanism is an ontological, epistemological and ethical philosophy that is embedded within new materialism. New materialism is like the term of posthuman is a “gathering steam” in social, human and even natural sciences. In this vein, first and foremost new materialism expresses clearly that as human beings we live and experience in a material world. As part of our daily lives, we (re)produce, (re)configure and consume this material environment. For this reason, our existence depends upon this materiality. However, materialism has remained so far only as the socio-economical context in the social sciences.

New materialism has not risen on the basis of a complete rejection of materialist (Marxist) and/or idealist (constructivist and poststructuralist) approaches. It might be seen as an attempt to link the former to the cultural, linguistic turn besides constituting a critic of the earlier version materialism.³⁵³ Coole identifies six aspects of new materialist

following new ontological and epistemological challenge as well as taking into contemporary scientific and bio-technological developments consideration. Posthumanism is different from transhumanism and antihumanism. Posthumanism, above all things, is not an antihumanist movement or critical school of thought; it focuses upon awareness hierarchical social constructions and draws attention the limits of previous anthropocentric and humanistic assumptions, taking a stand against human-centrism. On the other hand, posthumanism shares such common assumptions regarding the effects of technological change within eco-systems even though they have historically arisen different philosophical roots. A posthuman standpoint focusses on “a suitable way of departure to think in relational and multi-layered ways, expanding the focus to the non-human realm in post-dualistic, post-hierarchical modes.” Francesca Ferrando, “Posthumanism, Transhumanism, Antihumanism, Metahumanism, and New Materialisms Differences and Relations”, *An International Journal in Philosophy, Religion, and the Arts*, Vol.8, No.2, Fall 2013, p.26-30.

³⁵² Cudworth and Hobden, *Posthuman International Relations*, p. 10.

³⁵³ Diana Coole, “Agentic Capacities and Capacous Historical Materialism: Thinking with New Materialism in the Political Sciences”, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 41, No.3, 2013, p.451-452.

ontology.³⁵⁴ Firstly, new materialist ontology is not about “being”, rather about “becoming” as it does not refer to a process of state, but a “process of materialisation.” Secondly, it relies upon an internal agent; it is “a materialisation that contains its own energies and forces of transformations.” Therefore, it is “self-organising”, “*sui generis*” while “matter is lively, vibrant, dynamic.” A third aspect of the new materialist ontology is that the materiality in new materialist ontology is neither “causally determining nor determined” nor “its future forms teleologically prefigured.” The concept of emergence is based upon “unpredictability,” and “nonlinearity.” Therefore, it is a philosophy stressing contingency and chance rather than causal chains or laws. Fourth aspect is its emphasis on agency.

In new materialist ontology, agential capacities are defined as animates, inanimates and entities so that new materialist scholars define agency in a broad sense. According to this new materialist ontology, one does not “privilege some kinds of entity or agency over others.” Bruno Latour describes this philosophy as a “*flat ontology*” where “new assemblages and unstable hybrids are recognised to be constantly emerging and dissipating across a normatively and ontologically horizontal plane.” Coole argues, fifthly, that new materialism rejects linguistic or textual “anachronistic categories”, such as poststructuralism which reproduces dualism between nature and human and takes into “the actual entwining of phenomena” consideration. Therefore, new materialism is also related to epistemological problems. It rejects the dichotomies such as the subject/object, matter/ideal, human/nonhuman. Sixth aspect of new materialism takes into account “multiple and complex,” “variegated” and “multi-dimensional” ontology.

³⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 453-455.

3.3.2. Complexity, System Thinking, and Nature as an Agency in IR

The concepts of complexity³⁵⁵ and system are central to posthuman IR. Systems are explained as internally complex phenomena with multiple connections to other systems. Posthumanism focuses on “multileveled”, “nested”, “overlapping” and “non-saturated” relations between systems while acknowledging distinctions between human and non-human systems at the same time. Cudworth and Hobden define their perspective as one based on *differentiated complexity* in which systems are considered asinstrict, interactive and co-constitutive. For Cudworth and Hobden, differentiated complexity allows for analytical thinking on the social and the natural systems by featuring their distinctive characteristic while emphasizing their interaction. This does not mean privileging the social over the natural system, or the natural over the social. Rather, for them, there exit complexities in human and non-human systems, overlapping, interrelating and co-constituting each other. This is to say complexity perspective sees the human world as located within the natural world, while explaining the natural world as connected with human collectivity. Within that context, Kavalski states that “complexity thinking offers a good premise for comprehending the interrelatedness between diverse issues without diminishing their heterogeneity.”³⁵⁶ In this manner, complexity thinking helps the grasping of dynamic, multileveled patterning of social life embedded within the natural system.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁵ The concept of complexity or Complexity theory is not new concept to IR. There exit different approaches to complexity. James Rosenau is one of the early advocate of the complexity thinking within the light of the concept of “turbulence” to study global politics. James Rosenau, *Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1990.

³⁵⁶ Emilian Kavalski, “Timescapes of Security: Clocks, Clouds, and the Complexity of Security Governance”, *World Futures*, No.65, 2007, p. 529.

³⁵⁷ Erika Cudworth and Stephen Hobden, “The Foundations of Complexity, the Complexity of Foundations”, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, Vol.42, No.2, 2012, p. 6-7; Cudworth and Hobden, *Posthuman International Relations*, p. 25-51.

In doing so, posthumanist IR scholars criticize the discipline's present concepts, debates and methodologies from the perspective of complexity.³⁵⁸ Some scholars have called this contribution to the study of world affairs the "biological turn" in IR, while some others have been so bold to declare the emergence of "Complex International Relations Theory."³⁵⁹ Cudworth and Hobden says human beings have always defined the project of modern social sciences as the emancipation of humans (from exploitation or ignorance or insecurity, and so on), however, the achievement of this end requires a rethinking in social sciences within the context of this new scientific understanding.³⁶⁰ They emphasize the irreducibility of human and non-human systems to each other, employing a new ontology. In similar vein Hobden and Cudworth argue that IR is a deeply anthropocentric discipline that separates human acts within international politics from natural environment. According to Cudworth and Hobden, realism (geostrategic thinking in particular), liberal-institutionalism (specifically the understanding of global governance), and the critique of global capitalism are inadequate to understand such complexities. Whereas in realist IR theory, natural environment is seen as a component of conflict between states within the context of geography effecting state behaviour, institutionalist approach focuses on the condition of cooperation in the face of the rising environmental crises.³⁶¹ Kavalski for instance accepts that they are not "blind to the complexity of global life, but they *chose* to ignore it."³⁶²

For posthumanists, unpredicted causes may have a big impact in time. Change occurs in all individual interacting systems at different levels via interaction. This interaction assists the reproduction of each system. Therefore, for posthumanists change is temporal

³⁵⁸ Cudworth and Hobden, *Posthuman International Relations*, p. 1-4.

³⁵⁹ Kavalski, "Timescapes of Security", p. 531, Kavalski, "The fifth debate and the Emerge Complex International Relations Theory".

³⁶⁰ Cudworth and Hobden, *Posthuman International Relations*, p. 3.

³⁶¹ *Ibid*, p.5-6.

³⁶² Kavalski, "Timescapes of Security", p. 531.

and sequenced, and systemic change non-mechanical and unpredictable. For posthumanist thinkers, the predictability of outcomes as a part of Newtonian science is the key problem of problem-solving IR theorizing. In problem-solving theorizing, this leads to the dominant understanding of human control over nature through the humanization of nature. Contrary to this, for the posthumanist IR scholars, the international system is complex while it may be stable for a certain time period.³⁶³ In doing so, posthumanist IR studies that describe the pattern of international life as a *complex adaptive system* challenges Waltzian unchanging anarchical system understanding based upon predictability. Thus, this new materialist ontology, contrary to the conventional understanding of ‘interaction’ that takes place among externally related separate individual agents, proposes the notion of *intra-action*³⁶⁴ through which agents are formed within “*situated relations* rather than [through their] *intrinsic* capacity alone.”³⁶⁵

On the other hand, as described above, posthumanism’s neo-materialist ontology defines agency as “being distributed across a far greater range of entities and processes.”³⁶⁶ This is a rather novel perspective to agency in IR in which agency can be identified as emerging “to varying degrees and in diverse situations, in more or less ad hoc.” In IR as a social discipline, individuals, social groups, classes or states are defined as agency in accordance with their assumption upon entity. From a posthumanist perspective, agents have been seen as “humans who poses the cognitive abilities, intentionality, and freedom to make autonomous decision and the corollary presumption”.³⁶⁷ In other words,

³⁶³ Cudworth and Hobden, “The Foundations of Complexity, the Complexity of Foundations”, p.17-18. Kavalski, “The fifth Debate and Complex International Relations Theory”, p.444, Kavalski, “Timescapes of Security”, p. 535.

³⁶⁴ Karen Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning*, Durham and London, Duke University Press, 2007, p.33.

³⁶⁵ Cudworth and Hobden, “Liberation for Straw Dogs”, p. 140, emphasis original.

³⁶⁶ Coole, “Agentic Capacities and Capacious Historical Materialism”, p.457.

³⁶⁷ Dianna Coole and Samantha Frost, “Introducing the New Materialisms”, Dianna Coole and Samantha Frost (eds.) *New Materialisms: Ontology, Agency and Politics*, Duke University Press, Durham & London, 2010, p. 10.

posthumanist studies asserts that agency cannot only be described through people's perception or acts, but rather non-human world, the animals or organic realms' material forces should be included into the analysis ontologically and methodologically as agential capacities in the emerging international politics.³⁶⁸ Thus, the concept of the *complex adaptive system* provides, in this sense, an analysis across the organic and inorganic domains problematized within systemic developments as well as within the complex co-evolution of many systems.³⁶⁹

Within that context, Hobden asserts that it is important to question the issue of "actor" in international politics by rethinking it within the context of the non-human nature. According to Hobden, rethinking nature in international relations as an actor requires the rethinking of the discipline ontologically and politically. Nature is not only an entity in which human existence and human activity occur, but also it is an entity in which "human systems interact and depend on non-human systems such as geography, food systems, water systems and the atmosphere."³⁷⁰ In that way, Hobden offers "thinking about the place of humans as part of nature" and looking initially to the "subject of big history." Hobden, investigating the human in natural history, has proposed that "nature is absolutely fundamental in understanding the appearance and development of the human species. Nature has been *the central actor in terms of understanding our emergence as a species*, our capacity to survive in a wide range of habitats and the development of the capabilities of our brains."³⁷¹ Thus, for posthumanist thinkers, the understanding of system, which also shapes our security understanding within IR, should be re-thought within the context of the interaction between human and non-human system in which human certainly acts but together with the rest of the nature. At the

³⁶⁸ Stephen Hobden, "Nature as an Actor in International Politics", Coole, "Agentic Capacities and Capacious Historical Materialism", p. 459; Coole and Frost, "Introducing the New Materialisms", p. 10, 21.

³⁶⁹ Cudworth and Hobden, "Complexifying International Relations for a Posthumanist World", p.178.

³⁷⁰ Hobden, "Nature as an Actor", p. 169.

³⁷¹ *Ibid*, p. 172-176, emphasis added.

meta-theoretical level drawing on new materialism discussion, posthumanist studies thus argue that “non-human life and non-human animals are also social actors able to exercise agency.”³⁷²

3.3.3. Multiple Inequalities, Environmental Risks and Beyond Environmental/Ecological Security?

Posthumanism is used to describe the application of the green radical theory (particularly deep ecology’s principle of biocentric/ecocentric equality) to the subject of security regarding the health and well-being of the biosphere. Posthumanism as part of ecological security understanding, problematizes the impact of human beings on environment, defining its security perspective as the *security of the biosphere*. It can be put that posthumanist ecological security has some aspects in common with the environmental and human security. However, it has distinguishing features in terms of its central focus on the biosphere. The studies on the ecological security presume a connection between the security of the ecology and human well-being.

In this sense, Hobden and Cudworth’s studies emphasize that although environmental security analysis provides a welcomed relief from the state-centered character of security studies, there is still an important problem to be solved. By insisting on the thesis of environment for humans rather than the biosphere including both human and non-human species, the environmental security studies ignore the importance of the eco-systemic cycles. The environmental security literature reproduces a dualistic understanding of security located within the anthropocentric philosophy of life, where humans are either threatened by or themselves pose a threat to nature. In this sense, ecological change should reveal the connection between the security of the individuals and communities on the one hand, and the security and sustainability of the ecosystems and species,

³⁷² Erika Cudworth and Stephen Hobden, “Liberation for Straw Dogs? Old Materialism, New Materialism and the Challenge of an Emancipatory Posthumanism”, *Globalizations*, Vol. 12, No.1, 2015, p. 140.

including humanity, on the other hand. In line with this, the ecological security takes “human activity” into consideration as a source of insecurity with a focus on the negative impacts human behaviours have on environment. Therefore, the posthumanist security understanding can be seen as the natural successor of human security, since it sees human as part of biosphere; more importantly but it advocates that human security cannot be ensured without the inclusion of other species. Put differently, instead of the dominant understanding of science in which security is conceptualized as control with the implication that “human societies have increasingly sought to adapt their temporal and physical environments to themselves; rather than adapt to it”³⁷³, human beings should recognize their own relatedness to natural systems and complexity in order to overcome such insecurities. In sum, posthumanist (ecological) security constitutes a critical standpoint in comparison with the majority of the human security discourses.³⁷⁴

Within that context, posthumanist studies state that “the security of the whole, including that of its seemingly most protected components, paradoxically depends upon the system’s weakest links.”³⁷⁵ For posthumanists, human systems (such as state) operate in accordance with not only “political orders”, but also “ecohistorical regimes.”³⁷⁶ Since (in)security is thought as emergent as a result of complex systems identified by uncertainty, security governance cannot be thought as distinct from the relationship between human and non-human system. By doing so, posthumanist studies attempts to overcome the dualistic understandings of nature and human as well as nature and society. Against the nature-society dichotomy and non-relational ontologies,

³⁷³ Kavalski, “Timescapes of Security”, p. 536.

³⁷⁴ Cudworth and Hobden, “Beyond Environmental Security”, p.4, Cudworth and Hobden, *Posthuman International Relations*, p. 113, also see. Dennis C. Pirages, “Environmental Security: A Conceptual Framework”, Rita Floyd and Richard A. Matthew (eds.), *Environmental Security: Approaches and Issues*, New York, Routledge, 2013, p.139-153.

³⁷⁵ Jorge Nef and O.P. Dwivedi, “Institutional Constraints, Violence and Environmental Insecurity: Some Conceptual and Empirical Observations”, Matthew A. Schnarr and Larry A. Swatuk (eds), *Critical Environmental Security: Rethinking the Links Between Natural Resources and Political Violence*, Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, 2010, p.1.

³⁷⁶ Kavalski, “Timescapes of Security”, p.538.

posthumanism takes into consideration multiple and complex inequalities and the securitization of different populations where insecurity is related to the co-evolution of society with natural systems.

Thus for posthumanism, each event is a result of a complex mechanism emerging within multiple layers, within which none of the layers are irreducible to each other. “Emergence” as a key feature of complexity points to “uncertainty” within the complex system. Kavalski states that “the emergent properties of complex systems are often surprising because it is difficult to anticipate the full consequences of even simple forms of interaction.”³⁷⁷ In short, posthumanism offers a systemic explanation to the linkage between environment and security in which structures are not determinative while actors intervene in the systemic level.

Their common emphasis on the relational understanding of reality approximates critical realism to posthumanist IR studies. Posthumanism has the potential to advance a non-dualistic approach related to the conceptualization of green insecurity as for posthumanist studies, the natural environment seems to be relational and “co-constitutive” with human and non-human systems. The two approaches also agree on the assumption that nature is not yet another entity from the human beings.

It is important that the rejection of ontological dualism between nature and human in posthumanist studies encourages to think about (in)security relationally. Posthumanists argue that things are only definable in relations to other things. However, it has to be also recognized that the posthumanist systemic approach does not recognize the role of social structure and power relations as “social explanations should always be framed in terms of associations between individual actor...[and] we cannot give a full account of the workings of social structures unless and until we can explain how it is that these

³⁷⁷ Kavalski, “The fifth Debate and Complex International Relations Theory”, p.439.

structures are produced by associations between actors.”³⁷⁸ That is to say, for posthumanists, social structures do not have their own distinct properties.

This is contrary to the critical realist understanding, in which natural change emerges from social relations while it cannot be reduced to social relations. Moreover, as critical realists argue, natural problems emerge because of our social relations while social relations are also influenced by natural change. Within that processes, one should talk about the re-production of nature and society and their constructed relations. More specifically, different from posthumanists, critical realists believe that there are three elements of agency within the social world: *accountability*, *intentionality* and *subjectivity*.³⁷⁹ Accordingly, agency is distinct from the structures, but always depends upon and embedded within the structural context. Therefore, nature has causal powers, but seeing nature as agency is always contested. Posthumanist studies, by seeing nature with agential capabilities, reduce real mechanism of insecurity, which is always anterior, to empirical relations. This is to say posthumanism ignores underlying structures and mechanisms, which make the empirical and the actual possible. This means that even though it is one of the most original environmental security approaches in IR, posthumanism’s relational approach still fails to recognize the structural underpinnings of insecurity.

3.4. Concluding Remarks: The Linkage Environment and Insecurity after Post-Positivism

This chapter has tried to overview the environmental security conceptions of different post-positivist approaches to IR on a comparative basis. In this analysis, the emphasis has been made on not only their differences but also their similar ontological claims on

³⁷⁸ Dave Elder-Vass, “Searching for realism, structure and agency in Actor Network Theory”, *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.59, No.3, p.471.

³⁷⁹ Colin Wight, “Realism, Agency, and Politics of Nature”, Daniel Jacobi and Annette Freyberg-Inan (eds.), *Human Beings in International Relations*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015, p.195-211.

the linkage between environment and security. There have been lively debates on this topic within the post-positivist literature over the last forty years. The debates have been largely influenced by the broadening and deepening IR agenda. Although there is consensus in the post-positivist approach that human-made environmental degradation such as climate change poses a serious global problem for human well-being, there are still disagreements on how and to what extent this problem produces insecurities.

As demonstrated in this chapter, environmental/ecological security studies in IR are sceptical on the question of “what should be secured.” Post-positivist studies on environmental change have elaborated the issue further by problematizing “what security is for” and “for whom security is.” Accordingly, whereas the arguments on environmental scarcity and conflict represent the first generation of environment-security analysis in IR proposed by the positivists, the second wave is composed of post-positivists who problematize the environment by prioritizing the human being and biosphere. During the evolution of the studies problematizing environmental change and human security, the concept of security and insecurity have been applied to many different referent objects as well as to many kinds of risk. However, the vulnerability of the people to environmental change is related to what extent they depend on natural conditions for their immediate reproduction.

Within that context, the first section of this chapter has demonstrated the way in which a great deal of constructivist approaches is inclined to reproduce state-centrism. Constructivist studies refer to the broadening agenda of the security, which implies the securitization or desecuritization of various new threats included into the agenda of nation-states as non-traditional concerns. As explicitly argued by Stoett, “the nation-state itself cannot be the end of analytic or normative thinking”³⁸⁰ though the debate over rethinking security from the constructivist perspective refers only to the extending of the traditional debate based on military issues to the non-military sectors such as the

³⁸⁰ Peter Stoett, *Human and Global Security: An Exploration of Terms*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p.19.

economy, the political, the society and the environment.³⁸¹ Although numerous studies have contributed to the questioning of social, political, economic and environmental securities, a qualitative change did not take place in the problem-solving context of the IR security studies.

At this point, following the critical realist critique of Wendtian studies, it can be said that Wendt's approach features a state-centric (and also idealist) ontology in which the state agency is assumed to make a change in the issue of green insecurity through cooperation and norms. Therefore, Wendt's constructivism cannot be accepted as a starting-point for a qualitatively different critical approach to the study of environment in IR. For, the relationship between environmental change and insecurity are irreducible to people's ideas and knowledge or their (institutionalized) practices. In terms of the ecological thought, Wendtian environmental security studies repudiate the eco-Hobbesian (Malthusian) practices, and take eco-Kantians into consideration based on the idea that we can know nothing about the nature, if we accept its distinct existence. Such point implies that constructivist studies reduce the knowledge of the socio-natural interaction to the agential practices. However, the struggle for insecurity which results from the interactions of social structures and nature cannot be reduced to the practices of human-beings. There exists an ontological distinction between the results of the structures of interaction (emergence) and social structures which endure only through human practices. What is pointed out here is dissatisfaction with the hermeneutic –as well as constructivist- accounts of IR. In fact, the problem in such accounts is not on the question of *intersubjectivity* or *subjectivity*; rather the problem originates from the acknowledgement that *intersubjectivity* is based on the distribution of power among states, reproducing the state-centric focus of conventional IR studies.

The second section covering the poststructuralist and feminist approaches, influenced by the deep ecology, generally share a common story about the socio-natural relations in

³⁸¹ Columba Peoples and Nick Vaughan-Williams, *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*, New York, Routledge, 2010, p.5.

that the studies embracing such approaches can be best understood as attempts to feature the role of ‘discourse’ as well as the idea of socially constructed nature. The emphasis on discourse underscores that “nature is nothing if it is not social”³⁸² though this statement refers to different meanings for poststructuralism/feminism and historical materialism. The poststructuralist and feminist IR theories -with specific reference to the security conceptualization on environment- do not mostly repudiate the impact of the capitalist mode of production on the ecological crisis while, however, their analyses fail to reveal the difference between the capitalist state and ecological society. In fact, capitalist relations (particularly its neoliberal form) – as well as discourse – constitute the defining feature of security. In this respect, Redclift and Springett claim that the processes of discourse are inherently ideological processes in which ecological problems are located between controlling and creating sustainability.³⁸³

On the other hand, criticizing discourses-based environmental security analysis does not mean the role of discourse and agential practices are unimportant; but rather it draws attention to the assumption that nature is reproduced *both materially in terms of capital relations and idealistically in terms of social norms, knowledge and intersubjectivist practices*. As expressed by Braun and Wainwright, “to speak of ‘truth’ as a discursive effect is not to deny the materiality of the world, but to insist that the materiality of the world amount to the distribution of wealth and there is no way to talk about this reality before the entry of this ‘reality’ into discourse, i.e. without words and concepts.”³⁸⁴

The third section of the chapter has looked at the posthumanist IR studies. Posthumanism, different from other poststructuralist studies, problematizes the

³⁸² Neil Smith, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1990.

³⁸³ Delyse Springett and Michael Redclift, “Sustainable Development: History and Evolution of the Concept”, Michael Redclift and Delyse Springett (eds.), *Routledge International Handbook of Sustainable Development*, London, Routledge, 2015, p. 28.

³⁸⁴ Braun and Wainwright, “Nature, Poststructuralism and Politics”, p. 45.

relationship between human and non-human systems in the light of a new materialist ontology. Posthumanism emphasizes the issue of change and emergence while focusing on the general conditions and the situation of “uncertainty” in producing insecurity. As a result, although the posthumanist IR studies is essential to understand to insecurity in terms of socio-natural relations, posthumanism falls short of defining stratified and differentiated relational aspects of the socio-natural relations. Therefore, posthumanism’s new materialist ontology is close to poststructuralist subjectivist ontology rather than historical materialism or critical realism’s objectivist ontology.

Within that context, one important common point in post-positivist studies is to related to their agent-centric perspective. IR theory is based to a large extent on the Weberian tradition’s agent-orientalist standpoint; and reproduces a mechanistic relationship between the nature and the society. While constructivism reduces the linkage between environment and security to state-centrism; the others explain the dichotomy between nature and society through the deconstruction of different structures such as patriarchy or capitalism. Both poststructuralists (and also feminists) and posthumanists explain the dichotomy between nature and human through the role of language and discourse. Although they all can be deemed expedient traditions to understand the relationship between the natural environment and security in their own terms, they are insufficient in terms of coming to grips with the question of biological (natural/material) explanations of insecurity particularly ignoring nature as if it is *out there*.

No doubt, for understanding the linkage between environment and security, a more effective theorization of society-nature relation based upon socio-natural inequality and change is required. Global environmental politics and its consequences of socio-natural insecurity cannot be reduced to the question of international cooperation or the creation of international law that offers a limited understanding concerning the underlying causes of ecological change. In the words of Peter Newell, “despite the flurry of institutional

activity at the global level over the last forty year, environmental degradations continue and accelerate apace.”³⁸⁵

Such considerations can also be addressed through the post-positivist analysis of the PCCA. The primary questions to be asked by the post-positivist IR theories would be as follows: What is the role and place of environmental/ecological security discourse in the accomplishment of the agreement? Can the PCCA overcome environmental/ecological insecurities, or provide a non-state-centric security governance?

Constructivist analyses start from the assumption that the success of the environmental governance is the result of a social construct on how environmental (security) issues (emission reduction in particular) are defined by states. Constructivists state that different from the Kyoto Protocol, “rapid social learning” and “ideational change” through international organizations such as the UN Environment Programme have subsequently played a significant role for the PCCA.³⁸⁶ According to constructivists, the Kyoto Protocol was made within a different knowledge context than the PCCA. The EU, the U.S. and China took an essential role on strong leadership because of the mutually constructed learning progress. This learning progress and adaptation will not only influence the eco-system, but also the interstate system.

In a similar vein, the poststructuralists argue that due to the discourse, practices and knowledge produced by the scientists, global civil society institutions and climate-vulnerable states, concerns on indigenous/ marginalised people, food security/sovereignty, and gender inequality have influenced the behaviour of the Paris

³⁸⁵ Peter Newell, *Globalization and the Environment: Capitalism, Ecology and Power*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2012, p.157.

³⁸⁶Nick Chan, “A Constructivist Take on Ten Years of the Kyoto Protocol”, <https://nickdotchan.wordpress.com/2015/02/28/a-constructivist-take-on-ten-years-of-the-kyoto-protocol/>, (September 1, 2017)

Conference participants.³⁸⁷ According to poststructuralists, the discourses of climate governance, green governmentality, and ecological modernization articulated at the annual conferences of the parties with 17 participants in Durban, 19 in Warsaw (2013), 20 in Lima (2014) play important roles in the process towards Paris.³⁸⁸ Accordingly, the key issues addressed at the Paris Summit had been identified over the last six years, in which the UNFCCC (United Nations Climate Change Conference) was also held in Copenhagen in 2009.

For poststructuralists, even though the target 2°C is a great success, there does no exit any plan to achieve this target. The solutions proposed by the PCCA insist on the recognition of the socio-natural injustice which has been already affecting the marginalised/indigenous people(s) around the world. The agreement relies upon the “technological quick-fixes” and “financial markets”.³⁸⁹ Furthermore, Anthony Burke et. al., who focus on “planet politics” by claiming “the end of IR” in the face of the rising environmental crisis and insecurity, state that the 2015 PCCA gives “hope” even though it includes “no firm and enforceable plans” for the “safe space” and the target of 1, 1-5 degrees is incompatible with the planet reality and the principles of environmental institutions such as UNFCCC.³⁹⁰ According to them, whereas “diplomacy [made by the official representatives of states], as an institution, is failing;” the system is still based on delay and fails to integrate “environmental, security and economic governance.”³⁹¹

³⁸⁷ James Ford, et. al., “Adaptation Indigenous Peoples in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change”, *Climate Change*, Vol.139, No.3-4, 2016, p.429-443.

³⁸⁸ Karin Backstrand and Eva Lovbrand, “The Road to Paris: Contending Climate Governance Discourses in the Post-Copenhagen Era”, *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, 2016, DOI: 10.1080/1523908X.2016.1150777.

³⁸⁹ Jamie Gorman, “Stories of Resistance and Resilience: Developing a Community Work Approach to Climate Change AND Climate Justice”, *Journal of Radical Community Work*, Vol.2 No.1, 2016, <http://eprints.maynoothuniversity.ie/7220/1/JG-Stories-of-resistance.pdf>, (September 1, 2017)

³⁹⁰Anthony Burke, et.al., “Planet Politics: A Manifesto from the End of IR”, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol.44, No.3, 2016, p. 10.

³⁹¹ Ibid. p.9.

Posthumanists are right as they critically argue that Burke et. al.'s analysis is not so different from "liberal interventions on environmental issues;" they call for such reforms proposed by the existing institutions and international law on environment.³⁹² Indeed, the most skeptical approach to the PCCA and the nature of international relations have been conducted by the posthumanist authors in IR. Like Marxism, the posthumanists have questioned the effectiveness of the international environmental law which is dominated by (powerful) nation-states. Posthumanists like Chandler, Cudworth and Hobden state that even though the importance of these agreements cannot be ignored, "there is obvious danger that new cosmopolitan international law will further reinforce international equalities between the haves and have-nots."³⁹³ Accordingly, posthumanists have underlined that only a system of governance which gives voice to ecological system thinking -based upon equality of living being- can successfully transcend environmental problems. They argue that "instituting global governance in 'firm and enforceable' ways, as if there were universal solutions ..., is a recipe for authoritarianism and new hierarchies and exclusions."³⁹⁴ Consequently, the mentality dominating the PCCA is far from posthuman dialogues and pays little attention to new legal and political "global inequalities" and the gap between the North and South.³⁹⁵

Indeed, in a report of the International Labour Organization, "inequality is part of insecurity, particularly when that inequality is substantial... and the unequal distribution of insecurities is part of socio-economic inequality."³⁹⁶ Due to this reason, to understand

³⁹² David Chandler, Erika Cudworth and Stephen Hobden, "Anthropocene, Capitalocene, and Liberal Cosmopolitan IR: A Response to Burke's et.al.'s 'Planet Politics'", *Millennium Journal of International Studies*", August 22, 2017, DOI: [10.1177/0305829817715247](https://doi.org/10.1177/0305829817715247), p.1-19.

³⁹³ Ibid,p.7.

³⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 7-8.

³⁹⁵ Erika Cudworth, Stephen Hobden and Emilian Kavalski, "Introduction: Framing the Posthuman Dialogues in International Relations", Erika Cudworth, Stephen Hobden and Emilian Kavalski (eds.), *Posthuman Dialogues in International Relations*, New York and London, Routledge, 2017.

³⁹⁶ International Labor Organization, "Economic Insecurity is a Global Crisis: ILO Report Shows How and Where Economic Security Index Linked to Happiness",

the underlying structures of insecurity, one should also scrutinize several questions such as: Who has the responsibility for the ecological change and who is responsible for determining our future? The primary inequality rests on the fact that they are the South's poorest and least developed societies that are mostly vulnerable to the impact of anthropogenic environmental change due to their economic, political and social structures. That is to say, there exist both spatial and temporal differences between societies that should be taken into account in terms of vulnerability to environmental problems. Even though securing the environment is a global problem requiring collective action that addresses mutual problems such as global warming and climate change, it should be put that such specific regions are under the most direct threat of destruction due to their territorial conditions.

Last but not the least, one another common point of the post-positivist environmental research agenda is their assumptions that base upon deep ecological philosophy. Deep ecology (or radical eco-centrism) posits a foundational distinction between the social and the natural, where "natural entities are unalterably given."³⁹⁷ This is to say, from a deep ecologist perspective any approach to the relationship between the nature and environment is based on managing, controlling, or dominating. Deep ecology offers ideas such as "non-industrial production", but any post-industrial future cannot be based on a return to "nature in itself". Both nature and society are specifically modern constructs, and socially construct each other. Separating nature from society is to disclaim the social construction of nature.³⁹⁸ Benton states that "what is required is the recognition that each form of social/economic life has its own specific mode and dynamic of interrelation with its own specific contextual conditions."³⁹⁹ Therefore, the

<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/protection/ses/download/docs/happiness.pdf>, 2004, (December 10, 2016)

³⁹⁷ Noel Castree, "Socializing Nature: Theory, Practice, and Politics," Noel Castree and Bruce Braun (eds.), *Social Nature: Theory, Practice and Politics*, Malden, Blackwell Publishers, 2002.

³⁹⁸ Noel Castree, "Marxism and the Production of Nature", *Capital &Class*, Vol. 24, No.3, 2000, p. 6.

³⁹⁹ Benton, "Marxism and Natural Limits", p. 77.

thesis deals both with the social construction of nature and its natural limits. Here, what is meant with natural limit is different from the ahistorical, asocial and undifferentiated definition of Malthusian natural limits. Natural limits do matter, as nature is a distinct but socially constructed (both materially and ideally) reality. Inasmuch as nature is not only an ideational construction, but also, a material reality, post-positivists should reconsider both the natural limits and the social construction of nature, namely the material-ideal bases which produce insecurity. The idea employed in this thesis accepts that the nature is reproduced under catastrophic conditions such as the capitalist relations of production.

Within that context next chapter will deal with natural problems, connoting social and complex (open-system) phenomena; causally constructed by the relationship between the society and nature in which all species beings are subject to the natural limits of the biosphere. At this point, the assumption that gives primacy to *intersubjectivity* constitutes indeed a significant problem. Therefore, a non-reductionist *relational* perspective, relying on deep structures, mechanisms which would bring “*socio-natural relations back in*”, also reveals in what ways environmental questions and the linkage between environment and insecurities are embedded in the historical progress of states. As discussed in the next chapter, for the CR informed HM approach which has potential for such a non-reductionist approach, the key agents and the structure are not comprised of the nation states or non-state institutions in the anarchical international system; rather factors such as classes, environmental movements, ideas, market forces, identities (ideologies), norms, and their interaction with the natural world are deemed crucial. Therefore, any attempt, which problematizes the socio-natural relations, involves problematizing the relationship between the sovereign nation-states and global capitalism in order to understand global environmental problems.

CHAPTER 4

CRITICAL REALISM AND HISTORICAL MATERIALIST APPROACHES TO GREEN INSECURITY

The previous two chapters have overviewed the post-positivist approaches to environment and security, and argued that they have failed to transcend the agent-based instrumental comprehension of environment that problematizes the issue from an either state- or human-centric way. To overcome this problem, this chapter will instead propose a *critical realist and historical materialist relational* approach. It will illustrate that a wholistic understanding of the environment and security problematic can better be grasped in IR studies through the structured and differentiated conceptualization of socio-natural relations. To this end, it will utilize the concept of green (in)security as a synonym of the concept of socio-natural (in)security in order to distinguish its methodological connotations from those of the existing environmental/ecological studies. The concept of green insecurity will be problematized through the methodological premises of CR and HM so that the inadequacies of the positivist and post-positivist assumptions on environment and security in IR will be challenged.

The CR-informed HM methodology endorsed in this thesis has three important underlying premises: Firstly, the philosophical foundation of green security rests on nature, as a socially constructed phenomenon. Secondly, this relational comprehension of nature does not go so far as to reduce it to ideas, discourses or institutions. Thirdly, identifying nature as such -as distinct but also internally related to social relations- enables us to think about natural limits critically. As the chapter will argue, these structural, emergent and ontological meta theoretical premises of the CR-informed HM can help the construction of an alternative approach to rethink the concept of security in

IR in general, and the linkage between environment and insecurity in particular.

The questions problematized in this chapter are as follows: How do critical realist and historical materialist thinkers respond to the Anthropocene or changing socio-natural relations? How do they challenge other intellectual efforts? How is this challenge related to the definition of green insecurity? As answers of these questions cannot be achieved without an inter-disciplinary approach, this approach will refer to the debates in eco-Marxism, developed by radical sociologists and geographers.

4.1. A Theoretical History of Historical Materialist Studies on Environment and Security

Historical Materialism is a methodological and philosophical approach developed by Karl Marx that questions the mutually constitutive development and material reproduction of human societies and natural environment in history. HM also comprises the critique of classical political economy, as it considers the economic and political realms as internally related rather than separate. Thus, for historical materialists, it is not possible to analyze the economic phenomena separate from the political, cultural, and/or ideological ones.

Alexander Anievas identifies four central tenets of historical materialist approach to IR, which distinguishes HM from the conventional IR studies:⁴⁰⁰ Firstly, HM approach to IR seeks to reveal the “reification” of phenomena that seems to be the “natural” or “supra-historical structures” of world politics. For this purpose, historical materialists in IR focus on the sociological and historical aspects of world politics on the one hand, while they re-think mainstream IR concepts such as the international, anarchy, security

⁴⁰⁰ Alexander Anievas, “The Renaissance of Historical Materialism in International Relations Theory”, Alexander Anievas (ed.), *Marxism and World Politics: Contesting Global Capitalism*, London and New York, 2010, p.2-3; besides, to a challenge from a Marxian perspective to International Relations Theories, see. Faruk Yalvaç (ed), *Marksizm ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Kuramları (Marxism and Theories of International Relations)*, Ankara, Imge, 2016.

or the balance of power in the light of the slogan of “always historicize” on the other. In doing so, secondly, historical materialist IR scholars seek to develop a holistic methodology to explain and understand of world politics. The concept of *totality* is the heart of Marxian IR studies;⁴⁰¹ in this way historical materialist studies challenge both Waltzian neorealism and Wendtian constructivism, which re-produce such reified conceptions about world politics. As a result of this holistic understanding, thirdly, the key agents and structures are not defined as the “nation-states” and/or “anarchical international system” only; but also as “classes”, “social movements”, “economic market forces”, “ideas”, “identities/ideologies” and “norms” operating historically at the “international”, and connecting “transnational” and “global” levels. The Marxian concepts of “mode of production” and “class struggle” are at the heart of HM. The materialist emphasis on the production of the “social” prevents economic reductionism; as, for HM, the ideal and material elements are mutually constructed. Finally, for Marxists, there is no distinction between praxis and theory; while explaining the world politics, HM also aims at changing it with an emancipatory concern.⁴⁰² By problematizing the nature of knowledge production, it emphasizes the ideological nature of knowledge, for as defined by Robert Cox “theory is always for someone, and some purpose.”⁴⁰³

Accordingly, HM seeks to rethink environmental discourse by taking into consideration class relations, other ideological/political interests, and socio-natural relations within capitalism. The crucial point here is to consider how this environmental discourse is used *instrumentally* to *legitimize* capitalist social relations (domination of nature through hegemonic/ capitalist classes) within capitalism. Therefore, from an environmental historical materialist perspective, understanding of the relationship

⁴⁰¹ Yalvaç, “The Sociology of the State and the Sociology of International Relations”, p. 93-114; Yalvaç, “Critical Realism, “International Relations Theory and Marxism”, p. 167-185.

⁴⁰² Anievas, “The Renaissance OF Historical Materialism IN International Relations Theory”, p.3.

⁴⁰³ Robert Cox, “Social Forces, States, and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory”, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 10, No.2, 1981, p.126-155.

between the modern system of sovereign nation-states and (market) capitalism is crucial to make sense of inter-state cooperation and conflict. This focus on social relations to understand environmental change (the class-state nexus) should be seen as a shift from state-centrism to social relations.⁴⁰⁴ Therefore, it tends to re-theorize the relationship between state and environment within the context of the capitalist mode of production and class relations.

4.1.1. The “State”, The Interstate System and Environmental Change from a Historical Materialist Perspective

In the IR discipline, academics like Julian Saurin and Matthew Paterson have questioned the systemic reasons of environmental change within the context of interstate relations. Both scholars challenge the state-centric paradigm which is rooted in the field of environmental politics through a critical look at the power structure of interstate system. Julian Saurin is one of the leading scholars who has problematized the concept of environment in the axis of socio-economic processes (capital accumulation), systemic change and the capitalist mode of production by indicating the problems of knowledge production in social sciences and IR. He argues that “modernization and global environmental degradation have coincided historically.”⁴⁰⁵ Saurin uses the term “modernization” to demonstrate the rise of the modern political system parallel to the historical development of capitalism, defining the structural context shapes the “intended and unintended consequences” operative on nature. Then, *nature-phobism* results from the neglect of this relationship between the historical co-development of modernity and environmental degradation, while its recognition enables us to grasp the anthropogenic

⁴⁰⁴ see. Faruk Yalvaç (ed.), *Tarihsel Materyalizm ve Uluslararası İlişkiler (Historical Materialism and International Relations)*, Ankara, Imge, 2017 (November), forthcoming.

⁴⁰⁵ Julian Saurin, “Global Environmental Degradation, Modernity and Environmental Knowledge,” Caroline Thomas (ed.), *Rio: Unravelling the Consequences, Special Issue of the Journal Environmental Politics*, Vol. 2, No. 4, p.47.

character of environmental degradation.⁴⁰⁶ Saurin moves one step further and underlines how this neglect leads to a *specific mode of knowledge production* on nature in the social disciplines.

As he puts, the main problem in positivist IR studies to environmental change is that “an ignorance of the vast range of social, cultural and economic processes [is] at work into an essential methodological precondition.”⁴⁰⁷ Accordingly, Saurin indicates three related concerns to be prioritized in global environmental studies: the ‘greening’ of sovereignty, international agreements addressing ‘green issues’, and the ‘greening’ of international organisations.⁴⁰⁸ Saurin states that IR has so far grasped environmental crisis within its own conservative context where “the change is taken as given and relatively unproblematic” rather than having a green institutionalised perspective. For Saurin, environmental change is not a “consequence of accidents, errors or misunderstanding,” rather, it is the result of the “production of environmental degradation” where material production leads to the production of environmental change. Saurin suggests that “rather than accepting the science as ‘given’...the scientific assessment of environmental change needs to be critically understood as part of sociology of knowledge.”⁴⁰⁹ Therefore, scholars need to start their examination with a study of “how social, economic, cultural and political practices across the world generate environmental change through the transformation and disposal of matter and energy” instead of problematizing “how the states respond to environmental change.”⁴¹⁰ According to

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 47-48.

⁴⁰⁷ Saurin, “International Relations, Social Ecology and the Globalization of Environmental Change”, p.95.

⁴⁰⁸ Saurin, “Global Environmental Crisis as the Disaster Triumphant”, p. 65.

⁴⁰⁹ Saurin, “International Relations, Social Ecology and the Globalization of Environmental Change”, p.82-83.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid, p. 93.

Saurin, nature is socially constructed. This means that “nature in and of itself possesses no value or meaning” both are constituted materially through human interaction.⁴¹¹

In this way, Saurin problematizes “the causes and ...the diffused processes which engender environmental change.”⁴¹² Saurin states that one needs to think environmental degradation together with world order where neoliberal conception of state and market are internally related.⁴¹³ This is to say the current neoliberal capitalism is legitimized by states, and capitalist global institutions provides a framework which leads to environmental degradation.

Paterson makes similar arguments, and asks the question of “what affects the possibility of states to collaborate successfully to resolve particular transnational environmental problems.”⁴¹⁴ Paterson’s answer to this question is rather depressing: “states are themselves (or alternatively, the state system is itself, through generating certain practices on the part of the state) [are] prime environmental destroyers.”⁴¹⁵ Accordingly, Paterson problematizes the relationship between the processes of global capitalist development and environmental degradation by indicating the global character of the question. Paterson argues environmentalism should initiate the analysis with three questions: First of all, it should scrutinize why the production of environmental problems occurs. Secondly, it should ask what the different effects of environmental problems on different social categories such as class, nationality, race and gender are. And thirdly, it should focus on our ability to respond to these problems.⁴¹⁶ To answer

⁴¹¹ Saurin, “International Relations, Social Ecology and the Globalization of Environmental Change”, p.83.

⁴¹² Ibid., p.79.

⁴¹³ Julian Saurin, “Globalisation, Poverty and the Promises of Modernity”, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol.25, No.3, 1996, p. 665.

⁴¹⁴ Paterson, *Understanding of Global Environmental Politics*, p. 1.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid, p. 1-2.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid, p. 3.

these questions, Paterson problematizes the global politics of environment around four main power structures: the state system, capitalism, knowledge, and patriarchy. Besides being shaped by them, environmental problems also challenge these structures themselves, thus in order to understand anthropogenic environmental change, one should firstly deal with the broader dynamics of “domination”, “patriarchy”, “statism” or “scientism”, and understand limits to growth within the context of capital accumulation.⁴¹⁷

Furthermore, Paterson argues that as a proper state analysis problematizing the role of the state within capitalism is mostly neglected in academic debates on environment, there is little problematization on how the existing inter-state system serves primarily to secure capital accumulation even in the midst of an ecological crisis even though the neoliberal hegemonic project precipitates the destruction of the environment on behalf of capitalist accumulation.⁴¹⁸ Therefore, the historical co-evolution of the emerging capitalist system and global environmental crisis – particularly in terms of climate change and global warming – should be explicated.⁴¹⁹ Within this context, Paterson identifies three related historical transformations that has led to today’s environmental problems: the shift from Fordism to post-Fordism or flexible accumulation; the processes of globalization; and the emergence of neoliberalism as the hegemonic project of transnational capitalist classes. According to Paterson, as the underlying factors of ecological crisis, these three related transformations have not only led to the deterioration of environmental degradation such as global warming since the 1980s, but also induced restrictions on global environmental politics.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁷ Ibid, p. 40-41.

⁴¹⁸ Paterson, *Global Warming and Global Politics*, s.158-159; also see. Matthew Paterson and John Barry, ‘Modernizing the British State: Ecological Contradictions in New Labour’s Economic Strategy’, John Barry and Robyn Eckersley (eds.) *The State and the Global Ecological Crisis*, p. 53-74.

⁴¹⁹ Peter Newell and Matthew Paterson, *Climate Capitalism: Global Warming and the Transformation of the Global Economy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010.

⁴²⁰ Paterson, *Global Warming and Global Politics*, p 157-171.

Studies made by Paterson and Saurin are invaluable starting points for the development of a non-reductionist perspective to environment in IR. According to this line argument, the state and the capital need to be put on the agenda of IR to better grasp green insecurity. This is one of the most important features to explain the underlying structural reasons of green insecurities, and needs to be detailed further through some additional problematizations. For, the analyses of both Saurin and Paterson are unclear on the question of how nature as a distinct structure shape human life. In other words, even though Saurin and Paterson's seminal criticisms on dominant environmental thinking in IR through the capital-state nexus are very important, their arguments remain largely silent on the "materiality" of nature in the reproduction of human life and nature itself.

4.1.2. Historical Security Materialism: Bringing Nature Back into "Security"

The concept of security in IR has mostly been studied by the non-Marxist tradition due not only to IR's exclusionary stand towards Marxism, but also to the Marxist IR theorists' "exclusionary" attitude towards the concept of security.⁴²¹ Moreover, although green historical materialist studies constitute an important part of the environmental studies in general in other disciplines such as sociology, a historical materialist approach to the linkage between environment and security has not been central to security studies in IR. Daniel Deudney's works on environment and security can provide us with powerful analytical concepts to fill this gap.

In environmental security studies, Deudney is noted for his critical approach to the positivist understanding of the national environmental security discourse. To this end,

⁴²¹ Accordingly, the concept of security is seen as politically suspicious by historical materialists who have considered security as a bourgeoisie concept, equipped by state-centrism and nationalism Mark Neocleous, *Critique of Security*, Montreal, McGill-Quenn's University Press, 2008; Mark Neocleous and George S. Rigakos (eds.), *Anti-Security*, Ottawa, Red Quill Books, 2011; Eric Herring, "Historical Materialism", Alan Collins (eds.), *Contemporary Security Studies*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010, p.154.

Deudney formulates some ontologically grounded criticisms on the nature of the social, political and military implications of environmental security, and while doing this, his the main purpose is to reclaim the significance of geopolitics for defining security.⁴²² According to Deudney, most explanations on environment in social sciences have taken the form of “social-social”, meaning that only the “human outcomes as the result of human social causes” are problematized.⁴²³ These theories seek to explain the natural through the social, neglecting the causal effects of nature on human beings. One other common mistake, as Daniel Deudney emphasizes,⁴²⁴ is that environment is seen within the context of “specific physical constraints and opportunities given by nature.” These theories are based on the assumption that the environment has a vital role for the sake of material human goals. From this point of view, although it is not a ‘determiner’, in Deudney’s analysis *nature matters* owing to the fact that “people will make a particular response or adaptation to a particular material environment.”⁴²⁵ At this point, Deudney explicitly remarks that nature can shape in different ways political structures, whereas political institutions can either trigger or solve problems imposed by nature, and/or might take advantage of natural probabilities. Technology and specific political institutions can deal with some “naturally given constraints”, and/or they can employ some “naturally given asset.” Yet, Deudney argues that “whether by empowering or imbedding, natural context shapes social structures as human agents interact with them.”⁴²⁶

While investigating the relationship between material geography and security-related political arrangements through what he calls as the approach of *historical security*

⁴²² Daniel Deudney, “Environment and Security: Muddled Thinking”, *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, April 1991, p.23-29; Deudney, “The Case Against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security”, Deudney, “Bringing Nature Back In”, p. 25-57.

⁴²³ Deudney, “Bringing Nature Back In”, pp. 30-31.

⁴²⁴ Ibid, p.29.

⁴²⁵ Ibid, p. 32.

⁴²⁶ Ibid, p. 33.

materialism, Deudney proposes a naturalist approach to geopolitical studies by re-interpreting classic philosophical traditions.⁴²⁷ In this way, Deudney advocates that security should be understood by revisiting the naturalistic perspectives of geopolitics, where the socio-political order is inherently informed by natural constraints. Different from positivist causal analysis on natural environment and hermeneutic studies, in Deudney's analysis "material forces significantly define the consequences of the choices humans make, but do not indicate which choice they desire or purpose."⁴²⁸ Within that context, Deudney argues that nature is a powerful force shaping human political institutions, and there is a strong relationship between the emerging European civilization and the "historically accidental" natural factors. Obviously, environmental factors are not always direct causes of political order, be it cooperation or conflict.⁴²⁹ In this way, Deudney aims to demonstrate how geopolitics would shape civilization.

Deudney highlights three points to bring nature back in to social sciences and IR: First, "a return to functional-materialist theory" in which nature forms a structuring reality for human beings despite the focus of social sciences and IR on the "social causes of social outcomes". Thus, there is a need to turn to a "natural-social scientific" approach to develop critical geographical explanations. Second, scrutiny on environmental problems requires realization of natural factors. Third, the rise of hegemonic Western civilization demonstrates the influence of natural factor on politics. Thus, nature as a material entity is central in Deudney's works, in which he persistently investigates how societies (civilizations, states) are influenced by nature. However, in Deudney's analysis, the relationship between the capitalist mode of production (within the context of state-class nexus) and production of insecurity remains unclear, although he problematizes that the practices of security has changed in accordance with historical structures.

⁴²⁷ Daniel Deudney, "Geopolitics as Theory: Historical Security Materialism", *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol.6, No.1, 2000, p.77-107; Daniel Deudney, *Bounding Power: Republican Security Theory from the Polis to the Global Village*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2009.

⁴²⁸ Deudney, "Bringing Nature Back In", p. 32.

⁴²⁹ Deudney, *Bounding Power*, p.121-123, 136-160; Deudney, "Bringing Nature Back In", p. 25-27.

4.2. Marxism in the Anthropocene

Historical materialist approach to ecology has been on the rise in sociology and geography since the mid-1970s by the works of some Marxist thinkers such as David Harvey, Neil Smith, Noel Castree, John Bellamy Foster, Paul Burkett, James O'Connor, Daniel Tanuro, Jason W. Moore who have demonstrated the contemporary value of Marx's theory to develop a green thought. Among them, John Bellamy Foster states that Marxist ecological thought can be presented in two main categories: The first category can be defined as "first-stage eco-sociologist thought."⁴³⁰ This category can be divided into three groups according to their challenge to both each other and to other green perspectives.⁴³¹ The first contains those scholars, who already deem Marxism itself as an ecological project. The second refers to the scholars who interpret Marx's works in the light of changing global environmental problems. The third includes the ones who accept the main principles of Marxist philosophy, but claim that Marx's theory is ecologically unsustainable, therefore in need of greening.

On the other hand, the second influential tradition consists of Marxist geographers who improve the thesis of "the production of nature." The thesis of the production of nature is largely disassociated from Marx's own theory, but rather focuses on the nature-society dualism and its influence on capitalist societies. Even though there exists a bifurcation within the Marxian ecological thought on Marx's theory on ecology, eco-Marxists have one crucial thing in common: they define natural problems as socially and materially stratified and structured by uneven power relations. This is the reason why for many ecological Marxist thinkers, the social (the political and economic) and the natural are mutually constructed. These thinkers are indeed also known by their Marxist critique of social domination, social inequality, difference and control, problems comprehended as

⁴³⁰ John Bellamy Foster, "Marxism in the Anthropocene: Dialectical Rifts on Left", *International Critical Thought*, Vol.6, No.3, 2016, p.395.

⁴³¹ Rienner Grundmann, *Marxism and Ecology*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1991.

the outcomes of crisis-ridden capitalist accumulation.⁴³² Thus, their criticism of capitalism has been integral to their analyses on the exploitation of nature. Therefore, this chapter will claim that in disregard of whether Marx's own political economy is recognized as an "extraordinary ecological critic" or not, the Marxist dialectical relational approach to the nature and society has the capacity to explain the processes of anthropogenic ecological crisis.

4.2.1. The Debate on Marx and Ecology

Eco-Marxism is a theoretical and normative approach, which problematizes ecological concern with the Marxian concepts such as capital, the state and class. As Foster underlines, contrary to reductionist interpretations of Orthodox Marxism, eco-Marxist thinkers examine Marx's neglected writings on particularly the "capitalist agriculture and soil ecology, philosophical naturalism, and evolutionary theory."⁴³³ According to them, Marx's criticisms on the capitalist society denote also the critique of the human-beings' changing relationship to the nature. Within this context, Marx explains how and why capitalism is different from other social forms by arguing that the capitalist mode of exploitation has induced human's alienation from humanity as well as nature. What Marx implies here is that, human alienation from nature is imposed by the capitalist competition, leading to a chaotic world system increasingly polarized between the rich and the poor.⁴³⁴ The key point here is Marxism's emphasis on capitalist social relations, the comprehension of which requires a structural causal analysis and the recognition that ecological change is only one facet of capitalism's current crises.⁴³⁵

⁴³² Laferriere and Stoett, *International Theory and Ecological Thought*, p. 53.

⁴³³ Foster, *Marx's Ecology*, p. 87.

⁴³⁴ Kovel, *Enemy of Nature*, p.38.

⁴³⁵ Andre Gorz, *Ecology as Politics*, London, Pluto, 1980.

In this vein, eco-Marxist scholars claim that Marx's analyses on the history of humanity manifests concurrently the history of the nature throughout which everything has developed in a dialectical relations with nature. Thus, people should not be perceived in a subject position while nature is located in an object status within a hierarchical relation to each other. At this point, O'Connor reminds that "nature is an active partner in the material life of human species, hence in human history and the evolution of human consciousness."⁴³⁶ Accordingly, for O'Connor, nature is not a static or unchanging phenomenon, even in the absence of human influence. Rather "nature transforms itself in unpredictable ways at the same time it is being transformed by human material activity".⁴³⁷

Eco-Marxist thinkers largely refer to Marx's thesis of *inorganic body* to make sense of the relation between the human and the nature. As Marx puts, "man lives from nature, i.e. nature is his body, and he must maintain a continuing dialogue with it if he is not to die. To say that man's physical and mental life is linked to nature simply means that nature is linked to itself, for man is a part of nature."⁴³⁸ Drawing on Marx's this famous statement, many eco-Marxists resolutely consider that nature is part of the human, human-beings live within nature, and human life is directly connected to the nature rather than being independent from or superior to nature.

Nonetheless, many mainstream environmentalists, biocentric/ecocentric environmentalists, as well as other factions of the ecological spectrum suggest the reconsideration of Marx and his theory of the relationship between the humans and their environment by claiming that Marx and Engels hold an anthropocentric worldview

⁴³⁶ James O'Connor, *Natural Causes: Essays in Ecological Marxism*, New York, The Guilford Press, 1998, p.6.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 6.

⁴³⁸ Cited in, John Bellamy Foster, *Ecology Against Capitalism*, New York, Monthly Review Press, 2002, p. 112.

lacking an ethical position.⁴³⁹ Indeed, Marx is often criticised of being instrumentalist in his view of nature. For instance, social ecologist John Clark alleges that Marx's thesis of *inorganic body* implies the technological liberation of the humans at the expense of the mastery of nature, insisting considerably on the dualistic and instrumentalist view of nature.⁴⁴⁰ Moreover, for Grundmann, Marx and Engels are the philosophers of Enlightenment⁴⁴¹ with a resolute belief in technological progress. Marx's theory is arguably human-centered and has linear and theological understanding of history. In such criticisms, while it is claimed that Marxist theory neglects natural limits, society is located above the nature and the problem of emancipation being attributed to the human beings only.⁴⁴²

In response to such criticisms, Marxist thinkers refer to Marx's holistic, materialist and dialectical perspective. According Foster and Burkett, "all of reality consists of relations, and any given entity is therefore the product of complex, ever-changing relations of which it is part."⁴⁴³ In other words, Foster and Burkett argue that Marx's analysis includes the dialectical relationship of the "organic/inorganic", affected by "immanent dialectics of materialism".⁴⁴⁴ In Foster's own words, "Marx's own dialectical and materialist ontology was predicated on the ultimate unity between nature and society, constituting a single reality and requiring a single science."⁴⁴⁵ Foster argues that when

⁴³⁹ Robyn Eckersley, "Socialism and Ecocentrism: Toward a New Synthesis", Ted Benton (ed.), *The Greening of Marxism*, New York, The Guilford Press, 1996.

⁴⁴⁰ John P. Clark, "Marx's Inorganic Body", *Environmental Ethics*, Vol. 11 No. 3, 1989, p.243-258.

⁴⁴¹ Reinner Grundmann, "The Ecological Challenge to Marxism", *New Left Review*, No. 187, 1991, p. 103-120.

⁴⁴² Eckersley, "Socialism and Ecocentrism", footnote 13, p. 42.

⁴⁴³ John Bellamy Foster and Paul Burkett, "Marx and the Dialectic of Organic/Inorganic Relations:" *Organization & Environment*, Vol. 14 No. 4, 2001, p.451-462; Burkett, *Marx and Nature*, ch.2-4; Foster and Burkett, *Marx and the Earth*, p.70.

⁴⁴⁴ John Bellamy Foster and Paul Burkett, "The Dialectic of Organic/Inorganic Relations: Marx and Hegel Philosophy of Nature", *Organization & Environment*, Vol. 13, No. 4, 200, p.403-425.

⁴⁴⁵ John Bellamy Foster, "The Dialectics of Nature and Marxist Ecology", Bertell Olmann and Tony Smith (eds.), *Dialectics for the New Century*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, p. 50.

one understands the materialist dialectical method, one can also understand the inherent link between the ecological and the dialectical thought. Foster adds that, “Marx’s original method had pointed to the complex interconnections between society and nature, utilizing a dialectical frame in analyzing both — although the natural dialectic was much less explicitly developed within his thought than the social dialectic.”⁴⁴⁶ Therefore, such sharp divergences between eco-centrism and anthropocentrism fall short of analytical power owing to the dialectical relationship between things. For Foster and Burkett, then, inorganic body of man refers to the fact that “human beings and nature are connected *bodily*.”⁴⁴⁷ They add, according to Marx, human being’s alienation from nature has been generated by the capitalist mode of production while exchange value has led to disconnection between the nature and the people by alienating the labourer from his own labour power, which is nothing but the natural component of his/her body. Therefore, nature has become an exchangeable commodity in capitalism.⁴⁴⁸

Robyn Eckersley is another critic of Marx’s ecological thought. According to Eckersley, Marx has developed a one-sided conception of freedom, based on the modern Promethean mission of controlling nature, in which nature is only an instrument for the extension of the human body. In response to this criticism, Tanura states that since global ecological crisis has not existed in Marx’s own day, he has not anticipated a metabolic rift between capitalism and environmental issues. For eco-Marxist thinkers, such as Foster and Burkett, since ecological crises are *current* phenomena, describing Marx’s theory as anthropocentric fails to see the historical dimensions of the ecological problems. Indeed, for Marxist thinkers, anthropocentrism like other concepts is a historical and social concept such as emergence of modern science, the modern state,

⁴⁴⁶ Foster, “The Dialectics of Nature and Marxist Ecology”, p.50.

⁴⁴⁷ Foster and Burkett, *Marx and the Earth*, p.71, emphasis original.

⁴⁴⁸ Burkett, *Marx and Nature* p.273.

and specific form of patriarchy in capitalism. In this sense, the criticism of Marx's anthropocentrism arises from the *ahistorical* interpretations of ecological issues.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁹ Daniel Tanuro, "A Plea for the Ecological Reconstruction of Marxism" *International View-point*, 3 December 2012, retrieved from: <http://www.internationalviewpoint.org/spip.php?article2815>.

Table 3: The Comparison of Green Political Thought

	The Relationship Between Nature and Society	Causes of Environmental Degradations	Solutions to Environmental Degradations
Malthusianism	Both nature and society -blended State/power centric,	Population imbalance, Scarcity, Lack of resources	Utilitarianism, Authoritarianism via control by state or supra-state Atomistic, ahistoric, reductionist
Deep Ecology	Entwined, Complex, Bio-centric or eco-centric	Human Agency, culture (e.g. social values, such as consumerism), technology (e.g. cars) Anthropocentric world view	Change on Human Life, daily practices only via intersubjectivity,
(Relational) Eco-Marxism	Dialectical, entwined, complex, reciprocal relationship	Materialist Social Structures (e.g. class, gender, race) Idealist Social Structures Culture.	Change on the relation between Socio-Natural Structures

Eco-Marxist studies overviewed here provide useful insights for the development of a relational perspective to the socio-nature though they are open to criticism as well. For example, Noel Castree has criticized James O'Connor by arguing that O'Connor's thesis of the second contradiction of capitalism reproduces a dualistic perspective to socio-

natural relations, implying the orthodox model of (production-based) dialectic. In O'Connor's analysis, the first contradiction refers to periodic crisis of overproduction in terms of excess capital, labour and commodities. The second contradiction results from the "processes of underproduction." According to Castree, in O'Connor analysis of the second contradiction, "capitalism treats nature" as if nature a "free good" for more capitalist production without problematizing changing natural conditions and its limits.⁴⁵⁰

It is worth, at this point, to briefly look at O'Connor's problematization of the relationship between the notion of uneven and combined development and ecological crisis. Uneven development amounts to the exploitative relationship between the South and the North or between town and country based on the "reproduction of global capitalism", whereas combined development connotes the mutually constitutive relationship established between the developed regions (of the North) and the underdeveloped regions (of the South) in terms of capital accumulation and profit maximisation.⁴⁵¹ Regarding *uneven (capitalist) development*, O'Connor argues that there are three entwined effects of such development in terms of the destruction of nature. The first one is uncontrolled "expansion of monocultural production" through resource depletion as in the Sahel Region in Africa, where agriculture is ecologically fragile and people suffer from declining economy and poverty. The second effect is deforestation. The rapid destruction of tropical rain forests is a well-known example in the golden age of capitalism. Indeed, such developments destroy sustainable agriculture systems as well as the diversity and create potential damage. Last but not least, the third effect of uneven development is based upon the "rapid exploitation of fossil fuels." The depletion of materials such as uranium causes exhaustion of resources, leading to dangerous pollution on the part of the natural wealth of the world in line with the desire for profit and accumulation. On the other hand, *combined development* implies the export of

⁴⁵⁰ Noel Castree, "False Antitheses? Marxism, Nature and Actor-Networks", *Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography*, Vol. 34, No.1, p.111-146.

⁴⁵¹James O'Connor, "Uneven and Combined Development and Ecological crisis: A Theoretical Introduction," *Race & Class*, Vol. 30 No. 3, 1989, p.1-11.

pollution and dangerous products socially and ecologically to underdeveloped regions through technology. In this way, technology transforms underdeveloped regions at the cost of environmental and social damages. As regards the social costs, it should be noted that the living conditions of “unorganised, state controlled labour organisation in the Third World and weakened labour organisation in the First World” are more vulnerable to environmental destruction.⁴⁵² In sum, in O’Connor analysis while uneven development is the result of the destruction of natural resources, combined development adds pollution and new environmental costs to such a phenomenon.⁴⁵³ The problem in O’Connor’s analysis is that the causes of ecological crisis are only problematized within complex social relations. In O’Connor’s material understanding, social production of environmental inequality is identified, but the nature as a causal power is invisible. As Castree argues, O’Connor has “little time for ‘natural limits’ arguments.” In O’Connor analysis, environmental inequalities are socially produced; and there is nothing out of the social.⁴⁵⁴ This is to say, resolution of the environmental inequalities in Third World rest on the transformation of technology and economic development.

Ted Benton describes this Marxist position as the nature-blended approach in which *only the social* on nature creates its own truth;⁴⁵⁵ the dialectic only occurs between “the socials”. At this point, according to Benton “what is required is the recognition that each form of social/economic life has its own specific mode and dynamic of interrelation with its own specific contextual conditions, resource materials, energy sources and naturally mediated unintended consequences.”⁴⁵⁶ Marxist radical geographers and

⁴⁵² O’Connor, “Uneven and combined development and ecological crisis”, p.10.

⁴⁵³ Ibid, p.10.

⁴⁵⁴ Noel Castree, “Crisis, Continuity and Change; Neoliberalism, the Left and the Future of Capitalism”, *Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography*, Vol.41, No.1, 2009, p.193-194; also. Endnote.14.

⁴⁵⁵ Benton, “Marxism and Natural Limits”, p. 77-78.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 77.

critical realist sociologist challenge this reductionist materialist reading of nature through a relational perspective that aims to overcome this ontological problem.

4.2.2. Neoliberalism, Ecology and the Production of Nature

In terms of their emphasis upon the need for a relational approach, there is more common ground between critical realism and Marxist geographers, who advocate the thesis of production of nature that has a potential to advance a non-dualistic approach on nature-society relation. The production of nature means that “nature and society exist in dynamics, two ways relationship (or dialectic) in which *society remake nature but nature, in turn remakes society.*”⁴⁵⁷ Having inspired by Bertell Ollman’s dialectical reading of Marxism, in which dialectic means “a way of thinking a set of related categories that captures, neither misses nor distorts, *the real changes and interaction* that go on in the world or any part of it”⁴⁵⁸, Marxist geographers challenge the dualistic approaches to the society-nature nexus.

As such, Marxist geographers, David Harvey, Neil Smith and Noel Castree never call themselves “political ecologists”; but their focus based on the socio-natural relations constitutes a significant part of eco-Marxist studies. Indeed, Marxist geographer Neil Smith in his seminal book *Uneven Development* ([1984] 2008) states that “Marx nowhere talked explicitly about the production of nature. But in his work there is implied understanding of nature which leads firmly in this direction.”⁴⁵⁹ Smith states that the production of nature provides a philosophical base in order to discuss the uneven

⁴⁵⁷ Noel Castree and Tom Macmillan, “Dissolving Dualism: Actor-Networks and the Reimagination of Nature”, Noel Castree and Bruce Braun (eds), *Social Nature: Theory, Practice, and Politics*, Malden, Blackwell Publishers, 2001, p.210. emphasis added.

⁴⁵⁸ Bertell Ollman and Tony Smith, “Introduction”, Bertell Ollman and Tony Smith (eds), *Dialectics for the New Century*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, p.4. emphasis added.

⁴⁵⁹ Smith, *Uneven Development*, p. 50.

development capitalism and but “it is a very real result of the development of the [capitalist] mode of production.”⁴⁶⁰

One of the important themes in Smith’s books is the question of how nature is reproduced in capitalist societies; what differs capitalism from other production systems. According to Smith, “the development of material landscape presents itself as a process of the production of nature. The differentiated results of this production of nature are the material symptoms of uneven development.”⁴⁶¹ Accordingly, Smith states that “the commodification and finalization of nature [is] ‘all the way down.’”⁴⁶² Like other systems, the capitalist mode of production is also based on use-value. But, different from other system, in capitalism things are primarily produced to be exchanged for “money”. Capitalists aim to accumulate more profit to maintain future rounds of production. In this sense, nature is used as one of the source for production and consumption.

Similarly, according to David Harvey, the contemporary anthropogenic ecological crisis can be seen as a response to the capitalist crisis of *over-accumulation* emerging in the beginning of the 1970s when the term of “neoliberalism” has been fabricated. By the same token, anthropogenic climate change is triggered by the crisis of expansion and reproduction of capitalist class-interest and accumulation in neoliberal area. In this respect, Harvey refers to capitalism as “the factory of fragmentation,”⁴⁶³ one of the fragmentations of which being the ecological crisis, triggered by the capitalist mode of production. At this point, neoliberalism provides the ideological and structural framework for justifying the ecological injustice/insecurity by embodying the neoliberal state, which creates opportunities for “accumulation by disposition” as argued by

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid, p.7.

⁴⁶¹ Smith, *Uneven Development*, p.50.

⁴⁶² Smith, “Nature: As Accumulation Strategy”, p.26.

⁴⁶³ David Harvey, “Capitalism, the Factory of Fragmentation”, *New Perspective Quarterly*, 1992, p.42-45.

Harvey.⁴⁶⁴ Accordingly, if neoliberalization refers to the finalization of everything via state, *neoliberal state* plays a crucial role in producing structural insecurities. Therefore, it is crucial to understand how the state-capital relations take form in the neoliberal area, and how such form influences socio-natural security. At this point, Harvey also argues that the development of the neoliberal system has brought along much destruction, not only in terms of state sovereignty, division of labor and social relations, but also in terms of the destruction of nature. In other words, neoliberalization process, while succeeding in channeling wealth from subordinate classes to dominant ones and from poorer to richer countries concurrently, brings about also ecological exploitation to the detriment of subordinate classes and poorer Third World countries.⁴⁶⁵ It can be said that environmental inequalities, which are faced mostly by Third World societies, bear upon the Western neoliberal ideology and its hegemonic struggle.

To turn to the debate of structure and agency, from the perspective of the production of nature, first of all it should be recognized that “change is a characteristic of all systems and all aspect of system”⁴⁶⁶ in which causality and the role of agency are complex. Within a dialectical-relational context, human beings are capable of changing their world. The transformative agency of the human being cannot be ignored. For example, environmental movements are located within class struggles as agential capabilities operating in many (capitalist) countries to demand better care for nature or protest environmental degradation. These movements can provide a “social barrier” against capitalist interests within a state. Also, these movements (transnational movements in particular) can lead to rising cooperation among states as in the example of the Paris Agreement. Indeed, as a response to environmental degradation, in the 1970-1980s, several transnational civil society organizations such as Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth have played an important role in the struggle against environmental pollution, the

⁴⁶⁴ David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005.

⁴⁶⁵ Harvey, “Capitalism, the Factory of Fragmentation”, p.47.

⁴⁶⁶ David Harvey, “The Nature of Environment: The Dialectics of Social and Environmental Change”, *Sociologist Register*, Vol.29, 1993, p. 36.

depletion of fossil resources, or animal abuse. This is an answer to the question of how intersubjective social meanings (rules, norms) are produced, mediated, and reproduced, a question neither positivist nor post-positivist IR can make sense of. Thus, mutually constructed relations between conscious human agency and socio-structural conditions play constitutive roles in changing natural environment. Furthermore, one can say that conscious human agency can change our behaviours or lifestyle in the face of environmental change; but we should also accept that there exist structural constraints such as the capitalist state and the inter-state system that are hard to change. In the face of unevenly distributed environmental insecurities, the great majority of environmentally conscious individuals may arrange their daily life, -e.g. reducing using car- to protect environment. But to explain why this is not enough for an environmentally secure world, one needs to develop deeper analysis on the multifold structures of injustice/inequality. As discussed above, capitalism itself involves ‘structured green violence’ in that both environmental and human security are potentially harnessed by the capitalist classes to legitimize their purposes. Ecological crisis is historically embedded within class exploitation, capitalist crisis as well as uneven and combined capitalist development; however, struggle against ecological crisis is irreducible to the historically produced forms of nature as well as capitalist accumulation and development. Owing to the new dimensions of the capitalist production, nature is invisibly more embedded within the market: “the market has now re-taken and re-colonialized environmental practices.”⁴⁶⁷ In this sense, Neil Smith defines capitalist ecological modernization as “nothing less than a major strategy for ecological commoditization, marketization and financialization which radically *intensifies* and deepens the penetration of nature by capital...the process of marketization of labour produces scarcity where none existed before – restored wetlands.”⁴⁶⁸ However, if the daily consumption habits are radically changed, the transformation would be more meaningful. Therefore, unevenly distributed insecurity

⁴⁶⁷ Neil Smith, “Nature as Accumulation Strategy”, *Socialist Register*, No. 17, 2017, p.26.

⁴⁶⁸ Smith, “Nature as Accumulation Strategy,” p.20.

should be thought within *the structural context* without denying the role of environmental social movements, which affect public cultures.

In this sense, the production of nature should be understood as a very basic material relation that is embedded within social relations, in which these socio-natural relations have also had political character. This is to say environmental change, inequalities, injustice are intentionally and unintentionally produced by capitalism. However, both Harvey and Smith emphasize that nature, which has causal powers, may indeed be socially produced; but *it has a materiality that cannot be ignored*. At this point, Harvey underlines that “each internalizes the other without being reducible to them.”⁴⁶⁹ One should also address natural structures and their causal mechanisms, which surround, restrict and influence people as in the example of genetic factors and environmental inequality. Therefore, natural change is internal to capitalist relations; but these relations are also differentiated by time and space.⁴⁷⁰ Smith argues that “just as capitalists never entirely control the production process, its results, or the global capitalism it generates, so capitalist society does not entirely control nature.”⁴⁷¹ The key point here is that environmental change such as global warming is *socially produced* but it is in no way controlled by society as nature has its own causal properties. In sum, the main point of the argument of the production of nature is that “nature [is] neither separate from society nor from nature”.

4.2.3. Socio-Natural Relations and The Construction of Knowledge on Environment

Marx’s theory on nature has been problematized by critical realist thinkers in sociology, such as Ted Benton and Peter Dickens who focus on the “real” structures of socio-natural relations as well as knowledge production processes on these structures. Critical

⁴⁶⁹ David Harvey, *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference*, Cambridge, Blackwell Publisher, 1996.

⁴⁷⁰ Castree, “Marxism and the Production of Nature”, p. 28.

⁴⁷¹ Smith, “Nature as Accumulation Strategy”, p.24-25.

realist contribution -as defined by Bhaskar- to relational eco-Marxist studies is also a controversial issue. Bhaskar has asserted that social sciences are embedded within *open systems* so that they cannot be studied like the *natural sciences*, an argument that has launched a debate among critical realists. Bhaskar, in his *A Realist Theory of Science* (1975) and *The Possibility of Naturalism* (1979), has argued that there are three ontological limits to naturalism that underlie differences between social and natural structures: (1) social structures, rules, roles and relations are shaped and reproduced only by activities of agents as activity and concept-dependent phenomena, (2) the first is not true for natural structures, and (3) social structures are relatively enduring and time-space dependent contrary to natural structures.

Within that context, it is also argued that social structures are subject to change by natural structures, natural structures are also inherently and fundamentally influenced by human activities, therefore they are also subject to change.⁴⁷² One significant point that is asserted by Benton and Ian is that Bhaskar's contrast between natural and social ontology does not include natural sciences such as meteorology, evolutionary biology and developmental biology, which share many features with social sciences. In the same way, Bhaskarian critical naturalist social ontology includes relations between socio-economic processes and ecological change. That is to say, from the standpoint of Bhaskarian CR, although natural and social structures are different from each other, this difference does not mean that the change in natural conditions does not influence social relations and/or the change in social relations cannot influence natural conditions. In the course of his analysis, Bhaskar has provided the insight that like all other biological organisms, human-beings and societies depend upon their physical environment while both the human-beings and the society have the capacity to change their physical environment. Accordingly, CR identifies nature as "stratified" in accordance with

⁴⁷² Berth Danermark, et. al. *Explaining Society: Critical Realism in the Social Science*, New York, Routledge, 2002, p. 35.

various level of intersubjectivity and causality, in which environmental change is the result of underlying social structures.

Indeed, critical realist sociologist Ted Benton states that like social structures, natural structures are subject to historical change. Ted Benton argues that “natural mechanism, like social ones, [has] definite conditions of existence which may or may not be present at any point in space or time.”⁴⁷³ Such change, like the ecological one, might and might not depend on “the intentions of the actors.” Like all process of change, a change within the natural mechanism is also subject to dialectical processes even though they unintentionally emerge.⁴⁷⁴ Here, Benton’s approach does not propose a dualistic solution but rather distinguishes the natural and the social structures in a *relational* context. From a critical realist perspective, distinct structures mean that they are distinct in a relational way (to a certain extent, rather than absolutely), structures are distinct in relation to their intertwined properties.

Benton has attempted to improve the Red-Green dialogue by combining critical realist approach and historical materialism, and identified Marx’s theory as human/class/labour-oriented.⁴⁷⁵ Differently from many reading of Marx, in Benton’s view, Marx addresses people (or social structures) as the “determiner” of history and natural conditions. For Benton, people dominate nature to create their own history. This is central to the understanding of social life, according to Benton’s reading of Marx; although Marx also explains that social life depends on the material conditions provided by nature. Benton, emphasizing the relationship between the “natural limits” and the nature surrounding the human, claims that Marx has exaggerated the conscious transformative capacity of the humans over nature. Thus, Marx’s approach is said “to

⁴⁷³ Ted Benton, “Realism and Social Science: Some Comments on Roy Bhaskar’s ‘The Possibility of Naturalism’”, Margaret Archer, et.all (eds) *Critical realism: Essential Readings*, London and New York, Routledge, 1998, p.306; first published: in *Radical Philosophy* No 27, 1981, p.13-21.

⁴⁷⁴ Benton, “Realism and Social Science”, p. 306.

⁴⁷⁵ Dickens, *Society and Nature*: p. 60-88; Benton, “Marxism and Natural Limits”, p. 51-86.

exaggerate their potentially transformative character, whilst under-theorizing or occluding the various respects in which they are subject to naturally given and/or relatively non-manipulative conditions and limits.”⁴⁷⁶ As such, Benton’s critical realist criticisms to Marx should be seen as enhancing the Marxist concept of human ‘species being’ in the light of the understanding of natural limits. However, the term of natural limit should not be confused with an unrealistic and techno-centric position of Malthusian natural limits to growth. In Benton’s analysis, nature is seen as “an independent domain, which both enables and constrains human activities.” In that respect, Benton’s aim is to improve a non-reductionist approach in which the world is comprehended as an intrinsically interconnected web of relations.

He has argued that even though Marx’s approach is not free from tensions, his analysis of the “mode of production” enables us to consider the “historically specific forms of socio-economic interaction with natural forces and conditions.”⁴⁷⁷ Benton’s remark facilitates the discovery of three related and nested points: Firstly, contemporary ecological or anthropogenic crisis should be evaluated within its historical context; for, it is embedded in historical development. Secondly, the method of dialectical materialism enables the expounding of “how change occurs.” Indeed, according to both critical realist philosophy and historical materialism change occurs through the interplay of both structural and agential dynamics. This implies that without ignoring the restrictive effect of structural factors, the conditions of environmental degradation can be altered through the human agency. Moreover, structures themselves can also be changed, as history is the process in which social structures themselves are formed in a relatively enduring way. Understanding how environmental problems have historically emerged would also help one analyze as well as change them. Thirdly, nature as a structure exists independently of the human agency as Benton reminds us. Besides, natural structures

⁴⁷⁶ Benton, “Natural Limits”, p.74.

⁴⁷⁷ Ted Benton, “Greening the Left? From Marx to World-System Theory”, Jules Pretty, Andrew S. Ball, Ted Benton, Julia S. Guivant, David R. Lee, David Orr, Max J. Pfefer and Hugh Ward (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Environment and Society*, London, SAGE, 2007, p.96.

have also historical meaning that natural world can be temporarily specific, but also vulnerable to change, delimiting also human agency.⁴⁷⁸

On the other hand, like Benton, Peter Dickens also focuses on socio-natural ontology. But, different from Benton, who develops a socio-biological critical realist approach, Dickens draws attention to “class relations” and “social marginalization under capitalism” in his reading of Marxism and CR. Dickens argues that the significance of conceiving nature as a structure indicates that Marx’s dialectical thesis of *inorganic body* does not create a dualism between the human and the nature so that Marx’s framework can be enhanced in accordance with the contemporary ecological knowledge. Such a view on nature exists in both Marx’s own works and contemporary eco-Marxist studies. Marx’s “inorganic body” thesis helps us consider nature as a force within the social theory. Natural world has its own emergent characteristics and powers independent of human activity meaning that nature is in reciprocal relationship with the society while its distinctive character cannot be reduced to the powers of language and reflexivity.⁴⁷⁹

At this point, Dickens underlines four points in Marx’s works that might be inspiring for environmental studies. The first is about a *dimension of alienation of knowledge* in which modern knowledge is fragmented and organised in the face of environmental change. Secondly, Dickens says that *Marx’s ideas on modernity* are important to rethink *green Utopian thinking*. Thirdly, Marx was surely right while he said that when the *human beings change nature, they also change themselves*. This emphasizes the idea that *nature is internally related to human life* though this should not let us neglect *the distinct existence of nature as out there*. Here, according to Dickens one should talk about the “humanising of nature” in which “nature includes human nature, the capacities and potentials which constitute us human being.” Finally, Marx’s warning on technology as a dynamic that shapes both modern societies and nature is important.

⁴⁷⁸ Benton, “Realism and Social Science”, p.13-21.

⁴⁷⁹ Carter and Charles, “Society, Nature and Sociology”, p. 11; Dickens, *Reconstructing Nature*, p. 103; Benton, *Natural Relations*, p.66.

Dickens also draws attention to the way in which the mode of production is historically embedded within the mode of knowledge. For Dickens, in Marxist thought, ecological crisis is not only about environmental degradation, but also about human alienation. Even though Dickens is also critical about capitalism, he still claims that “the complex divisions of labour and the processes involved in working on nature in modern societies are not simply a product of capitalism. They are a product of modernity.”⁴⁸⁰ Dickens argues that the division of labour is a very complex modern production process, in which nature is also seen as part of control and coordination for human need. In other words, even though it is true that the cause of environmental crisis is based upon industrial production this is not sufficient for critical realists to explain the alienation of man from nature. At this point, Dickens argues that human being’s alienation from nature should be seen as a central, and possibly a permanent social process. Problematizing the implications of alienation for knowledge production, Dickens argues that “all this is largely because the types of knowledge which are available for such understanding remain fragmented.”⁴⁸¹ Indeed, the division of labour has led to division of sciences in the modernization progress such as the division sociology from biology. However, human being’s knowledge continues to distinguish the social and the natural, as a result of modernity. Dickens argues that this is the reason why the old communist regimes were unsuccessful on the protection of nature. In Dickens’ words, “a transition from capitalism to some other type modern society will by no means overcome the problems deriving from complex division of labour.”⁴⁸²

As such, socio-natural dualism and analytical reductionism appear under different descriptions or labels in various disciplines due to the embeddness of the mode of knowledge. Indeed, not only in political science, but also in other disciplines of social

⁴⁸⁰ Dickens, *Reconstructing Nature*, p.7.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid*, p.9.

⁴⁸² *Ibid*, p.51.

sciences such as sociology, psychology and economics that have emerged in the 18th century Europe, the environment/nature has been comprehended as “over there” that “surrounds us and sometimes intrudes on our plans, but always remains separate.”⁴⁸³

For Dickens, the significant point here is that the hermeneutic analysis of the knowledge production is extremely misleading. According to hermeneutic analysts, we can stop fragmentation and create an emancipated society by changing our thought. However, they miss the underlying structures “which cause the fragmentations with which they are concerned.”⁴⁸⁴ They cannot explain the failings of Cartesian thinking at the same time. As Dickens argues, “in separating mind from body (and thereby promoting one form of fragmentation) Descartes may have helped make an intellectual climate for the ways in which modern society was to fragment human beings and their relations to the environment.”⁴⁸⁵ There exist more things, which led to Cartesian worldview embedded within the material production of life.

Dickens argues that this is the one of reasons why we need to resist idealism once we think about such dualities. However, environmental problems such as climate change are not occurring because we have wrong ideas about them; but because human societies have materially worked and changed nature together with accompanying wrong ideas. Yet, the dualities such as mind and body, or intellectual and manual labour are main features of modernity, even though they have been dramatized by capitalism.⁴⁸⁶ Dickens’ explanation on the relationship between the mode of production and knowledge demonstrates that all our knowledge about nature is historical and subject to change. However, the emphasis on the criticism of modernism and capitalism does not

⁴⁸³ Clive Hamilton, “Climate Change Signals the End of the Social Sciences”, *The Conversation*, <https://theconversation.com/climate-change-signals-the-end-of-the-social-sciences-11722>, (September 21, 2016)

⁴⁸⁴ Dickens, *Reconstruction of Nature*, p. 107.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p. 107.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p.107.

mean that any post-capitalist future should base on a return to nature in itself for Marxist thinkers.⁴⁸⁷ Rather Dickens' analysis shows that even though the human being as an organism is part of both the social and the natural worlds in reality, in practice humans are less dependent upon the knowledge of this relational aspect.

This is a very important point which distinguishes historical materialism from constructivist and poststructuralist understanding of the capitalist system and its effect on environmental studies in general. In doing so, CR-informed HM underlines the role of hegemonic political factors and existing structures as leading to the evolution of environmental knowledge and social change. From this point of view, environmental change, occurring as a result of the existing socio-natural relations, are not only the result of capitalism, but the result of the 'division of labour' in the modernist area, which has also led to the capitalist of mode production. The implications of the proposed solutions and environmental social movements/political activism also describe how environmental knowledge as well as the hegemonic beliefs and discourses are produced.⁴⁸⁸ Therefore, a critical realist approach seeks to integrate the production of knowledge as political awareness of environmental problems into the analysis of environmental change.⁴⁸⁹

The crucial point here is that the distinction between materialism and idealism, which is embedded within post-positivist studies, is related to modernity. However, as already discussed before, reducing materialist realm to the idealist one does not mean that post-positivist/hermeneutic studies deny the *social construction of nature*. On the other hand, as Dickens has argued both historical materialist and critical realist approaches to the linkage between environment and security are social constructionist to some extent,

⁴⁸⁷ Noel Castree, "Marxism and The Production of Nature", *Capital &Class*, No. 72, p.6.

⁴⁸⁸ Tim Forsyth, *Critical Political Ecology: The Politics of Environmental Science*, London and New York, Routledge, 2003, p. 103-104.

⁴⁸⁹ Tim Forsyth, "Critical Realism and Political Ecology", Jos E Lopez, Garry Potter (eds.), *After Postmodernism: An Introduction to Critical Realism*, London, The Athlone Press, 2001, p. 147.

because according to them, all knowledge and concepts evolve from human societies, and the nature cannot produce its own knowledge. However, at this point, Philip W. Sutton reminds that such theories “tend to produce *one-sided accounts of social change*, and are therefore somewhat unrealistic and even unhelpful.”⁴⁹⁰ These approaches fail to understand how discourses and processes emerge and deny materiality of the development of discourse. From this point of view, social change on nature should also be understood as a crisis of the capitalist mode of production, the processes of colonialization, and gendered relations, located within class relations. As a result, the *Anthropocene*, which is the most illustrative concept in the post-positivist approach to environment and security, is adequately understood as a response to the problematic of discourse in which risk analysis, vulnerability and insecurity are *discursively* and/or *intersubjectively* constituted by ignoring the totality of the relations between changing nature and social facts.

Within that context, for critical realists, the nature and social structures are embedded within one another; in other words, all are entwined but irreducible to each other, even if one of them may play a more causal role in the emergence of the existing the socio-natural structures. While for the post-positivist scholars theory is solely *a product of language and discourse*, there is therefore no privileged knowledge and single reality, while critical realists differ from post-positivist hermeneutic thinkers by arguing that *there is a reality that is both overly restrictive and existing independent of human thought*. For critical realists, *out-there-ness may be constructed, but it is still out-there*. Thus, nature as an *external* reality is *independent* of our perception and of *social action*.⁴⁹¹ Nature as a biophysical entity is *a distinct reality*, despite the fact that (social) causal mechanism relationally produces nature in a complex and puzzling way. In this respect, the significant point to underline herein is that nature is neither separate from

⁴⁹⁰ Sutton, *Nature, Environment and Society*, p.131.emphasis added.

⁴⁹¹ Elder-Vass, “Searching for Realism”, p. 457.

society nor vice versa though the production of nature depends also upon nature's own properties.

This is to say, in relation to the nature-society question, the “natural” has its own mechanism and causal powers which shape human life; yet, since nature holds causal properties and powers, change in the nature does not depend on human agency, which has the capacity to “act”. The existence of nature as a material structure takes precedence of its interaction with the culture. Therefore, one should not solely problematize the socio-natural relations but also accept nature's distinguishing feature from the social realm.

4.3. Concluding Discussions: Recognizing Green (Socio-Natural) (In)security in IR Theory

Having acquired insights from the critical realist and historical materialist debate in sociology and geography together, the chapter has focused on the deeper critiques of IR studies on environment and security, and attempted to identify the main premises of green (socio-natural) insecurity. As discussed so far, theoretical and meta-theoretical assumptions and preconditions of scientific analysis are not neutral in terms of their consequences. Meta-theories either re-produce existing systems by focusing on the motivation of “control”, or transform the world by holding critical emancipatory potential.⁴⁹² CR can contribute to the discussion on environment and security by proposing a pluralistic non-positivist model of social scientific causal analysis and a non-reductionist explanation of socio-natural transformations.

Within that context, both the study of environment within social science and ecological degradation result from *the modernist and capitalist mode of production and/or knowledge*. Related to this, any debate over the relation between the security and

⁴⁹² Heikki Patomäki, “Concepts of ‘Action’, ‘Structure’ and ‘Power’ in Critical Realism: A Positive and Reconstructive Critique,” *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, Vol.21, No. 2, p. 222.

environment should be problematized from a socio-historical perspective by focusing on the structures of power relations rather than the interactions between sovereign states in an anarchic international system. In fact, such a remark constitutes the basic problem in the positivist IR theory in which the linkage between environment and security is abstracted from the interpenetrated relations of power. The positivist view, which takes environmental problems as given, has led to an understanding in which humans should restore their adaptation in accordance with physical change. This view, which takes into consideration the manipulation of nature, is also blind to the poor people's vulnerability to environmental change.

On the other hand, even though the last four decades witnessed the rise of a powerful post-positivist critique on environment and security in IR theory, the meta-theoretical discussion has explicitly demonstrated that it has remained at the level of discourse, neglecting the real underlying structures of insecurity. By de-ontologizing nature, post-positivist studies have focused only on the social 'side' of the social construction of nature. In poststructuralist approaches, discourses on natural insecurities deny the material linkages between environment and insecurity, and create an *external nature* by equalizing our knowledge of nature. This is, what Roy Bhaskar calls, the *epistemic fallacy*; that is "the reduction of being to knowledge of being."⁴⁹³ Accordingly, discourse- or intersubjectivity-based analysis, is indeed a return to the Malthusian thesis of population growth or techno-centric view of insecurity. In the framework of this analysis, change can emerge solely within the individual consumption patterns as deep ecologists suggest. Such point precisely connotes what is called in the literature as "green consumerism", "market capitalism", "ecological modernization", or new "ecological commodities."

The main point here is that although they seem to be the two opposite sides on the subject of causal analysis, both positivism and post-positivist hermeneutics share a

⁴⁹³ Cornell and Parker, "Critical Realist Interdisciplinarity", p.28.

common understanding of science in terms of the reproduction of the duality between the nature and the society. From a critical realist perspective, if one wants to understand the dynamic dimensions of green insecurity, structural analyses should be supplemented by causal analysis. There are different kinds of causes such as material, agential or structural ones, but the question that which factors are more influential than others is contested. In this context, the most significant aspect of CR bears upon its assumption about the *stratified layers of reality* in which critical realists would say we should talk about changing socio-natural relations rather than agent-oriented approaches in order to understand real insecurities.

Table 4: The Comparison of the Meta-Theoretical Approaches to the Insecurity

Philosophy of Science	The Level of the Linkage Environment and Security	The Reality of Science
Positivist	State-centric (agent-oriented)	Objective / human observation, fact-based
Post-positivist Hermeneutic	Human-centric, or Nature-centric (agent-oriented)	(inter)Subjective /personal opinion, human belief
Critical Realist	Socio-natural relations (relational)	Stratified and differentiated reality

In the light of these acknowledgements, it is clear that many critical/post-positivist scholars agree upon the criticism of state-centrism in positivist IR theorists, although they do not adequately problematize the way in which state-centrism has emerged (at the epistemological level) or how state-class relations (at the ontological level) are located

within environmental degradation. The main argument of historical materialist analysis is that the state is not an autonomous “neutral” authority; rather its roots cannot be separated from social relations such as the mode of production, social forces, and the world order.⁴⁹⁴ From a historical materialist perspective, the production and social construction of nature are *internally* related with political, economic and ideological relations. In this context, *the social construction of nature* cannot be fully understood without engaging in the driving factors as well as in the consequences of current economic/political/ideological rounds of restructuring such as neoliberalism, and the mode of production of knowledge and power (class) relations. At the theoretical and philosophical level, both reduce the relationship between environment and (in)security to the empirical level (such as state and human (in)security.) For this reason, even though the positivist IR studies are criticized by postpositivist studies in different ways, those who are in post- positivist or hermeneutic IR studies cannot explain the way in which nature socially constructed.

From the green (in)security perspective, the major problem with the hermeneutic turn is that it reduces socio-natural structures to an idealist interpretation of the social, as the distribution of knowledge. However, the production of knowledge also rests on historical and materialist conditions. By adopting a critical realist ontology, we can say that our knowledge about natural and social structures are at work in relation to green insecurity. There may exist different interpretations about these structures, explanations, and their relations, but we can only understand the relationship between environmental change and security through socio-natural structures. Therefore, both CR and HM offers that problematizing social-natural relations requires more than discourse analysis as environmental discourses are also shaped by underlying socio-natural mechanisms.

⁴⁹⁴ Pinar Bedirhanoğlu, “The State in Neoliberal Globalization: The Merits and Limits of Coxian Conceptions”, Alison J. Ayers (ed.), *Gramsci, Political Economy, and International Relations Theory: Modern Princes and Naked Emperors*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, p. 90.

To turn to Eckersley's constructivist account, rules (green constitution) can be changed and constraint by both human action and state. As previously stated, in the critical realist structure-agency debate, agency (state/class or human) is seen as constrained and enabled by social, material and ideal structures (capitalism, rules, ideology/ identity, institutions). But, the notion of structure in Eckersley's work only refers to idealist components, while agency is seen as the nation-state. It is also the case that Eckersley in her *Green State* still overlooks the relationship between the state and capital accumulation. Indeed, the problem in question herein is similar to the one found in neo-Malthusianism, in which ecological crisis is considered to be independent of the capitalist class relations and the formation of state. One of the main critical questions herein appears in the subject of whether states are capable of overcoming green insecurity, or trigger such insecurity. Eckersley's account clearly needs developing to include "generative mechanism" in which consumption cannot be assumed as given which is actually the result of capital accumulation.

Within this context, Eckersley's suggestion of the *Green State* does not appeal to many radical green theorists owing to its reproduction of state-centrism and desire to centralize power, while alienating the idea of localization in the spread of democracy. Contrary to Eckersley, particularly historical materialist green theorists persistently reject the state-oriented analysis in exploring the issues of environmental security. For example, Matthew Paterson has discussed the question of "how plausible it is to suggest that the functions of the state in pursuing territorial security through military power, or economic growth are consistent with sustainability."⁴⁹⁵ According to Paterson, Eckersley's response to this question is not sufficient from many respects. For, Eckersley defends in her book that "militarism is particularly in decline because of both economic interdependence and democratization, demonstrating the malleability of state imperatives over times."⁴⁹⁶ Paterson goes on to ask, "if the green state is dependent on

⁴⁹⁵ Paterson, "Political Economy of the Greening of the State", p.479.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid, ", p. 479.

capital for taxes” how then it would be possible for the state to limit overall accumulation. He then adds, “the pursuit of a green state entails the pursuit of an ‘ecological regime’ of accumulation.”⁴⁹⁷ Within such a context, the relationship between environment and security, for Eckersley, is what states make of it, a pure intersubjective assessment of the green insecurity in which the nature is dedicated to the human and the state agency neglecting the social and natural structures on behalf of the ecological capital accumulation and the legitimization of a green growth regime. In sum, socio-natural problems, for Eckersley, depend on “environmental norms all the way down.”

Following the critical realist and Marxist sociologist Dickens’ critics on the hermeneutic environmental studies, it can be put that the main difference of hermeneutic approaches from CR and HM is that “the distinction between the real causal powers of nature and the ways in which academics and other theoretically well-informed people understand or interpret nature.”⁴⁹⁸ This is to say, the hermeneutic environmental studies follow a weak social construction, relying upon ideas, namely “knowledge” of the powers and capacities of natural environment in which structures, powers and causal processes are dependent upon discourse. According to CR, nature exists independent of our ideas so that it cannot be reduced to human’s knowledge, dominated by modernization.

On the other hand, for posthumanist studies the natural environment seems to be relational and “co-constitutive” with human and non-human systems. Within that context, writing from a CR-informed HM perspective, there exists a material relationship between the lives of humans, other animals and inorganic nature beyond the knowledge of the human-being, and his/her acts. Within these two approaches, nature is not yet another entity for human-beings. Posthumanist IR scholars talk about the non-separability of the natural from the social, and criticize the historical materialist approach, which separates the natural and the social. However, for critical realists

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid, ”, p. 479-480.

⁴⁹⁸ Dickens, *Reconstructing Nature*, p.82-83.

natural and structural entities have distinct properties and cannot be reduced to one another. Attributing agential properties to natural entities prevents posthumanism from recognizing the role and the *powers of social material structures* whereas *critical realism indicates their importance in terms of the production/construction of nature*. Indeed, for both critical realist and historical materialist studies, the production/ social construction of nature do not mean reducing the natural to the social, but mean indicating the development of an absolute relationship between them. Reducing social powers to the understanding of the system, these studies reject the role of social structures in defining socio-natural change.

Table 5. Environment and Security from Different Perspectives⁴⁹⁹

(In)Security Approach	Referent Object (whose security)	Source of Insecurity	Source of Solution	IR Perspective	Ecological Perspective	Examples from IR Theorists
Environmental Conflict	State	Environmental Change or resource depletion	Survival Self-help	Realism	(neo) Malthusianism	Klare, Homer-Dixon
Environmental Security	Individual, State or sub-state community	Environmental Change and Resource Depletion	UN, Individual Solutions in the existing system	Neoliberal Institutionalism	Utilitarian Ecology (eco-liberalism)	Keohane, Levy, Haas
Ecological Security	Biosphere	Human Activity	Individual Change/ Transformation	Constructivism Posthumanism Poststructuralism Feminism	Deep-Ecology	Eckersley, Dalby, Hobden and Cudworth, Kavalski
Green (In)security	Human Biosphere as a whole Emphasis on totality	The Relationship between Society and Nature	Change on Society's Nature Relations	Relational Marxism	CR-informed eco-Marxism	Saurin (as the closest scholar)

⁴⁹⁹ This table has partially adapted from Cudworth and Hobden, "Beyond Environmental Security", p. 43.

Therefore, when explaining the issue of change and emergence, posthumanists focus on the general conditions and the situation of “uncertainty”. This means that posthumanist studies, similar to other post-positivist studies, reduce both environmental reality and the condition of (in)security to uncertainty, reducing change to human mind in which nature cannot create its own truth, even though the studies describe nature as an agency in shaping social. Put differently, it can be said that the main problem in constructivist and poststructuralist studies regarding the linkage between environment and nature is that there is no reference to real and material processes of *natural powers* as well as social material powers whereas posthumanism focuses only on natural powers. But both are agent-centric approaches, because both neglect the role of material social structures.

From a green (in)security perspective, the real causes of (in)security cannot adopt a purely biologically or entirely social (or what sociologists call ‘cultural’) approach. As Dickens puts, “relations between people and classes are at stake [at] the moment [that] one begins to talk about economic, structural and social change”⁵⁰⁰ whereas environment is not simply an infinite resource “out there”. Nature in the critical realist sense refers to one of the causal powers and structures in shaping social life. This is to say all processes related to the social reality are constrained by natural entities. Although agents, such as the human being, institutions and states play a role in shaping and changing nature, nature is shaped/changed but is not created by the agents. At the same time, due to its causal powers, nature constitutes both the conditions and constraints of agential practices. Therefore, *human insecurity is always subject to natural conditions*. However, the thesis does not intend to underline “the end of nature” in the Malthusian sense, rather it intends to underscore the absolute necessity of distinguishing between naturally pre-given powers/structures and processes.

All these statements about the social and the natural show that there is a dialectical interrelationship between them, acting at the level of *the real*. For both CR and Marxism, the world is complex and dialectical, where each consists of a totality of its

⁵⁰⁰ Dickens, *Society and Nature*, p.6.

relations. Indeed, the core elements of dialectical thinking are based upon the analysis of the concepts of change and totality.⁵⁰¹ Namely, from a dialectical point of view, reality cannot be examined by separating it into distinct parts. Each unit influences the others, thus all are mutually constructed. The capitalist system as a holistic system cannot be apprehended without the parts that constitute it. From this point of view, historical materialist approach is perfectly compatible with critical realist green (socio-natural) insecurity regarding dialectical materialist philosophy. Therefore, “dialectical” should be seen as the operative component of socio-natural relations as well as green insecurity.

Related to this CR-informed HM ontology, it can be said that Deudney’s emphasis on “naturalistic approach” can provide an insight in order to understand the “materiality” of natural reality as the *external*, material world itself; but his approach ignores how this relation is *internal* at the same time to social. Since Deudney ignores the dialectical aspect of socio-natural relations; he also cannot explain (internal) contradictions which arise from human consciousness and environmental degradation. Therefore, despite his historical security materialism perspective, he reproduces the nature-society dualism. Deudney, by his security materialism conceptualization, focuses on the processes of historical change to explain how geopolitical factors influence the condition of security. However, Deudney’s historical materialism has little to say about capitalist class relations, affecting insecurities originating from natural/environmental change. For Deudney, natural/environmental change can be overcome through “distinctive republican structural form” in which security cannot be achieved without new types of global unions.⁵⁰² Therefore, Deudney’s materialism cannot explain the production of socio-natural insecurities as well as agential practices, which are located within class struggle and capitalist mode of production. Indeed, it is crucial to understand agents’ practices concerning insecurity within the critical realist context, which is distinct from both rational calculations and cultural linguistics. These latter views rely upon a non-

⁵⁰¹ Yalvaç, “Critical Realism, International Relations Theory and Marxism”, p.171.

⁵⁰² Deudney, *Bounding Power*, p.48.

relational environmental security understanding. They do not dwell on both the underlying structures of insecurities, and on the dialectical relationship between the nature and society particularly in terms of state-capital relations.

Green insecurity perspective shares some similar arguments with post-positivists, as identified by their analysis on the PCCA. Both green (in)security perspective's and posthumanism/poststructuralism's ecological security conception define the PCCA as inadequate in terms of identifying and overcoming environmental insecurities. However, different from post-positivism, green (in)security's critical realist ontology problematizes the underlying structures, which has led to the failure of the PCCA. Put differently, while agent-centric approaches focus on the leader/state discourse/behaviour in the analysis of the PCCA, green insecurity perspective focuses -without ignoring the role of discursive/leadership practices- on a structural approach in which "deep structures of capitalist accumulation" are recognized as the roots of those processes.

According to green insecurity approach, the PCCA cannot be thought apart from the existing power structures and ideologies, and the hegemonic knowledge. The PCCA has no consideration of the relationship between the natural or social and economic reality. The quality of our relationship with nature has been dismissed and the agreement has no reference to systemic roots of the environmental crisis. Capitalism is based upon the accumulation of capital, and the interstate system within it prevents humanity from addressing the enormous challenge of environmental destruction properly. The interstate system has completely internalized capitalist ideology, and is thus completely inadequate to address the environmental crisis. Indeed, today's financial structure and institutions are tightly connected to the fossil fuel economy in which capitalist classes deny the need for basic change in economic relations to deal with environmental problems. As John Bellamy Foster and James Hansen have explicitly stated, the problem is not climate deniers such as the Trump administration, but "the court" that is

“capital”,⁵⁰³ or the capitalist interstate system itself which privileges capitalist classes’ interest.

Hansen has stated that:⁵⁰⁴

The captains of industry, CEOs in fossil fuel companies such as Exxon/Mobil, automobile manufactures, utilities, all of the leaders who have placed short-term profit above the fate of the planet and the planet and the well-being of our children. The court jesters are their jesters, occasionally paid for services and more substantively supported by the captains’ disinformation captains...The captains of industry are smarter than their jesters. They cannot pretend that they are unaware of climate change dangers and consequences for future generations.

Then, the underlying structure of the denial of Trump administration of the Paris Agreement is its correlation with fossil-fuel courtiers like Tillers. Due to these determinants, international environmental agreements cannot achieve their goals so that there exists structural limits to substantial change. This is to say that capitalist threats to planetary boundaries cannot be prevented within the existing economic and political system and thus, humanity needs a radical challenge. This is why despite the growing pressure (discourse) on the climate-change, the U.S. ruling class and the Trump administration have denied the Paris Agreement.

On the other hand, the unwillingness of the South to participate in the negotiations is related to the historical legacy of structured international inequality.⁵⁰⁵ Accordingly,

⁵⁰³ John Bellamy Foster, “Trump and Climate Catastrophe”, *Monthly Review*, Vol.68, No.9, February 2017, <https://monthlyreview.org/2017/02/01/trump-and-climate-catastrophe/>, (August 27, 2017); James Hansen, “The Real Deal: Usufruct & The Gorilla”, <https://www.desmogblog.com/sites/beta.desmogblog.com/files/hansen.nasatemprecord.Aug162007.pdf> (August 27, 2017)

⁵⁰⁴ Cited in Foster, “Trump and Climate Catastrophe”.

⁵⁰⁵ Ciple, “Rethinking Cooperation”, p. 253.

neoliberal capitalism, by its success in channeling wealth from subordinate classes to dominant ones and from poorer to richer countries, has led to ecological exploitation to the detriment of the latter at the same time. Even though the unequal distribution of wealth should be seen as one of the main problems, they have not been adequately addressed in the PCCA. The disequilibrium between the rich and the poor beclouds any cooperation strategy as an effective response to the environmental problems. The North's industrialised countries, continuing to have the privilege to identify the problem and the solutions, have realized their own industrialization while reproducing climate change. For example, while greening capitalism, many states start to bring up standard greener consumptions, yet this has aggravated the problem rather than easing it. The issue of consumption has not been discussed as much as the issue of production in the negotiations of the PCCA. Developed countries continue consumption practices in an increasing scale, even though the new emerging middle classes create awareness in these countries.

Further, from a green (in)security perspective, the PCCA -with its capitalist contraction- is the product of "modern" knowledge. The main motivation of the PCCA is to control climate change rather than tackling with it. The countries both in the South and North see nature as a question of (equal) sharing or control.

In sum, a green (in)security perspective shaped by CR-informed HM provides a deeper analysis of the structural constraints on the PCCA by problematizing the level of social reality operating through multiple causal constraints –which in fact effect in return global climate governance events and discourses. Unless this capitalist structure with its institutions and culture is abolished; human beings cannot make an overall change that the biosphere urgently needs.

Consequently, in order to understand insecurity, we should understand deep structural social inequalities without reducing the natural change to the social. One of the most

important features of both CR-informed HM is that both deal with society concomitantly with the nature, challenging the views that consider the society-nature as ontologically given categories, as if they are unchanging and independent variables. Inasmuch as socio-natural structures are subject to change, owing to the dialectical relation between the nature and the society, nature should also be viewed as dynamic not because it constrains human life, but because of its own intrinsic dynamics and changeable structure. Correspondingly, CR's materialist, non-reductionist ontology, which defines reality independent of our observation and experiences, is based on a relational aspect as the most promising approach to green insecurity.

A relational approach is an important attempt in that it facilitates the development of a theory of security that connects natural destruction to historical interaction between social developments and natural conditions. In contrast to the deterministic approaches, according CR- informed HM perspective social processes both materially and ideationally are constrained by natural limits. Various dualisms problematized above are the product of modernity at the same time, even though some forms of alienation have been bolstered by capitalism to a great extent.⁵⁰⁶ Green insecurity is embedded in such holistic processes while producing social inequality. Indeed, a dialectical theory of green insecurity is not only concerned with the historical causes of insecurities, and with the continual reproduction of these causes in a dialectical relationship between the society and nature. Thus, it also shows how change can be realized by agency. If the relationship between the human societies and nature is multidimensional, varied and interactive, thereby, the processes and phases of environmental degradations, ecological crisis or the Anthropocene cannot be linear; rather they are embedded in fully complex and dialectical processes.

⁵⁰⁶ Dickens, *Reconstructing Nature*, p. 107.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION: SECURING THE EARTH, SECURING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it.

Karl Marx⁵⁰⁷

The thesis has aimed to develop a critical realist and historical materialist framework of analysis on the linkage between environment and security from, what the thesis defines as, a green (socio-natural) (in)security perspective. Accordingly, the thesis has aimed at two ends. Firstly, it has attempted to demonstrate to why and how IR is a nature-phobic discipline; and secondly, it has aimed to show why IR, as a social discipline, does not have proper analytical tools to make sense of the aggravating environmental crisis with an *emancipatory* concern. The thesis has identified two main reasons to explain these deficiencies of IR. First of all, the problem of environmental insecurity is problematized in IR by agent-centric positivist and post-positivist/hermeneutic theories, which do not question the underlying structural reasons of such insecurities. The second deficiency of IR is that debates on environmental security have reproduced the established dualities in the discipline such as the structure-agency problem, the material-ideal dispute, or the social-natural dichotomy, which are all critically rethought in the thesis even though resolving them is beyond its aims.

⁵⁰⁷ Karl Marx, *Theses On Feuerbach*, 1924 (1845).

There are three intertwined related sub-problems in IR that have been drawn attention in the thesis. The first is about the social construction (production) of nature. Understanding the social construction of nature is significant; because it shows the dialectic aspect of socio-natural relations, which means that green insecurity is an outcome of material relations, including the ideational activities and physical conditions. This is also to say that natural environment is reproduced by human agency within material practices. Therefore, the most important implication of seeing nature as a social construct is that environment and environmental problems are social, historical and subject to change; rather than being given natural phenomena. In this regard, environmental change and insecurity are also socially produced, so that might be reversed through proper social interventions. Unfortunately, the positivist IR theories deal never with the socio-natural relations in this sense, whereas the post-positivist IR theories are interested in only the ideational production/construction of nature.

In overall, neorealism and neoliberalism, as *asocial* theories of IR, neglect the relational character of reality and share “a quite distinctive and recognizable flavour”⁵⁰⁸ based upon the same dominant ideology, rationality, the anarchical international system and state-centrism. The positivist approaches to environment and security have an atomistic, unchangeable and a non-realist worldview, meaning that the positivist IR theories have no analytical tools to deal with the ontological and socio-natural aspects of environmental problems. Both (neo)realism and neoliberalism *naturalize* insecurity and neglect the deeper structures of insecurity that (re)produce domination, exploitation and appropriation.

Whereas positivist studies think over nature within the context of an asocial category, and ignore the importance of nature in producing life -unless they are included in a state-centric security problematization leading to cooperation and conflict-, post-positivist

⁵⁰⁸ Donnelly, “Realism”, p. 30.

studies focus on an understanding based on either society without nature, or nature without society. Ultimately, both approaches reproduce such dualities concerning green insecurity. As such, both positivism and post-positivism support the disciplinary separations concerning the linkage between security and environment, and view environment as a tool for control over resources as a material realm.

The second sub-problem underlying IR's nature-phobia is that the ideational construction of nature in the post-positivist IR neglects the material character of social relations that reproduce environmental problems. The common characteristic of the constructivist approaches on nature is their perception of nature as socially constructed, where structures are defined as in terms of intersubjective meanings attributed to them, while material structures are seen as the distribution of material capabilities. This is to say, in constructivist studies, socio-natural relations are defined only in terms of ideas, texts or discourse. The problem in this approach is that it ignores how ideas and/or discourses are produced by social material relations. Contrary to this, for both CR and HM, natural change is not independent of our productive relations, defined by the capitalist mode of production, which cannot be reduced to ideological phenomena. Put differently, it is not possible to analyse environmental change and insecurity without referring to capitalist (interstate) structures as well as agencies, such as social classes as well as states, operating within these structures.

This is not to say that the state is not problematized in post-positivist studies; rather, as Eckersley's Green State and Liftin's problematization on sovereignty showed that the nation-state is one of the main concerns in the post-positivist turn in IR. Yet, since the state is seen not as a political institution operating within capitalist relations of production, but as a neutral authority, both of these important constructivist studies cannot escape from reproducing state-centrism of conventional IR perspectives. This fallacy leads constructivists to think that by creating an improved consciousness about environmental degradation, states can follow more environmental-friendly policies. This optimism, which becomes possible by the neglect of the structural capitalist limits as well as the role of class interests in the determination of state policies, is thus not

capable of providing a comprehensive analysis of the dynamics of environmental change we face. This criticism is also true for the post-modernist studies, which ignore the material aspects of the social production/construction of nature as well as the dialectical relationship between nature and society, so that they reduce reality to ideational agential activities and the reconstruction of subjectivities, discourses as such without problematizing the changes in real/material (physical and ideational) structures. In this respect, the constructivist and poststructuralist linkage to environment and security (in)visibly supports the reproduction of the capitalist state, and capitalist class security (status quo) in the face of rising environmental crisis, while justifying unequal distribution of income and wealth at the expense of the South and the poor.

Thirdly, IR perspectives on environment and security, even though they might recognize nature as socially produced, neglect still the material power of nature, having distinct capacity of its own. In the hitherto conceptualizations of nature, nature is defined as either external to human beings (technocratic-Malthusian approach), or as an ecosystem in which the human being has no distinct capacity (deep-ecology). The former view, which sees nature as external to human relations, has ignored the social-nature thesis, while the latter one has ignored both the externality (in the sense of “out-there-ness”) of nature and the specific transformative role of human agency in it. Posthumanist studies are good examples of the latter position as problematized in the thesis. For posthumanism defines the role of agency in terms of natural agential capabilities, and neglects the role of human agency’s relations with material structures and its effect on environmental change. In doing so, the posthumanist studies ignore the dialectical relationship between human societies and natural environment in producing green insecurity.

These problems are avoided in critical realist philosophy, which supports a structural, emergent, complex and ontological approach to green insecurities. CR offers a way of understanding nature with reference to relatively enduring generative/underlying structures and causal mechanisms that constitute the social and the natural world. Such a perspective enables us to understand complex determinations operative on and within

nature and society. To challenge the dualistic conceptualization of nature and society in other perspectives, critical realists advocate *transcendental realism*, which underlines the importance of contingency, thus the possibility of various paths in the constitution of reality through the non-deterministic interaction of different structures including the state system, capitalism, and nature. On the other hand, for critical realists, nature should be thought as a mechanism with causal powers, thus has effects on producing insecurity. As Neil Smith states “ecological treatments of human society situate the human species as one among many in the totality of nature.”⁵⁰⁹ Opposite to the positivist and post-positivist understanding, CR-informed HM hold a stratified ontology, which is embedded within the real and structured explanations of green insecurities, challenging the simplistic association of security and environment in the former.

On the other hand, global climate change governance and environmental knowledge generation can only be understood within their socio-historical context. Even though the concern to put an end to environmental/natural degradation has played role within the social and cultural processes of the PCCA, the idea that dominated the negotiations of Paris is obviously far away from the perspective of green (in)security. A CR- informed HM approach would imply a socio-natural ontology to understand environmental governance without reducing environmental governance to the actions of agents such as leaders and/ or states.

Within that context, IR might be invited to re-consider the social, economic and political causes of natural insecurities. This invitation is not about (environmental) politics or governance as usual; but it is about thinking nature as a socially produced phenomenon, independent from human beings. Therefore, the call here is not about inviting IR scholars to think/talk/report on the new emergency of environmental policies; rather it is about re-considering the social nature with new ontological claims.

⁵⁰⁹ Smith, *Uneven Development*, p.12.

In sum, this thesis has argued that we need to undertake another type of analysis on the linkage between environment and security both to understand and to change insecurity, inequality, injustice and vulnerability generated by the capitalist mode of production. To this end, the thesis has asserted that IR and other social sciences should open their borders to interdisciplinary perspective in order to overcome disciplinary dualities created by modernity. As Bhaskar and Parker state, transdisciplinary arguments are always welcomed by critical realist investigations⁵¹⁰ and by emphasising the necessity of a transdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary approach, CR calls for a non-reductionist causality which can understand human societies and their relationship with the biological natural world better. In the age of the Anthropocene, if IR cannot transform itself in a multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary way, it is doomed to be a weak discipline, which cannot explain/understand realities of inter-human societies relations, let alone changing it. Following Karl Marx's eleven theses on Feuerbach however, the point is not only to interpret the ecological crisis and its effects on green (in)security, but to change the conditions that give way to ecological crisis.

⁵¹⁰ Roy Bhaskar and Jenneth Parker, "Introduction", Roy Bhaskar, et al. (eds.), *Interdisciplinarity and Climate Change: Transforming Knowledge and Practice for Our Global Future*, London, Routledge, 2010, p. ix.

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APPENDICES

A: CURRICULUM VITAE

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B.TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKE ÖZET

ULUSLARARASI İLİŐKİLER KURAMINDA YEŐİL GÜVEN(SİZ)LİK: ELEŐTİREL GERÇEKÇİ BİR PERSPEKTİF

Bu tezin amacı Uluslararası İliŐkiler (Uİ) teorisindeki güvenlik ve çevre arasındaki iliŐkiyi eleŐtirel gerçeki bir yaklaŐımdan deęerlendirmektir. Bu tez yeŐil (sosyal doęa) güven(siz)lik olarak tanımladıęı bir yaklaŐımı geliŐtirmek amacıyla Uİ kuramındaki pozitivist ve post-pozitivist yaklaŐımları deęerlendirmekte ve eleŐtirel gerçekilikle (EG) geliŐtirilmiŐ tarihsel materyalist bir yaklaŐımın yeŐil güven(siz)lik tanımlamak için önemli ipuçları saęladığını savunmaktadır.

Bu kapsamda tezin geniŐ Türkçe özetinin sunulduęu bu alanda öncelikle Uİ disiplini ve disiplinin kuruluşunda önemli bir rol oynayan güvenlik kavramı ile çevre sorunları arasındaki iliŐki sorunsallaŐtırılacaktır. Buradan elde edilen temel bilgiler ışığında, bu çalışma kapsamında neden eleŐtirel gerçeki bir yaklaŐıma ihtiyaç duyulduęu açıklanacak ve eleŐtirel gerçekiğin disipline hali hazırdaki katkıları ile çevre ve güvenlik arasındaki iliŐkiye yönelik olası katkılarına bir giriş yapılacaktır. Daha sonraki iki kısımda öncelikle Uİ’de hali hazırda var olan pozitivist daha sonra postpozitivist çevre-güvenlik bağlantılarının genel görüntüsü resmedilecektir. Son olarak eleŐtirel gerçekilikle geliŐtirilmiŐ tarihsel materyalist bir yaklaŐımın nasıl bir çevre-güvenlik iliŐkisi kuracaęı tartışılacak ve bu yaklaŐım, çevresel ya da ekolojik güvenlikten ziyade yeŐil (sosyal doęa) güven(siz)lik olarak tanımlanacaktır.

GeniŐ özetin sunulduęu bu alanda tezin içerięi göz önünde bulundurularak Paris İklim DeęiŐiklięi AnlaŐması’nı (PİDA) farklı Uİ yaklaŐımlarının nasıl deęerlendirildięine de bakılacaktır. Burada PİDA incelemesi bir olay/olgu incelemesinden ziyade kuram-pratik iliŐkisini somutlaŐtıran bir analiz olarak deęerlendirilmelidir.

Uluslararası İlişkiler, Güvenlik ve Çevre Sorunları

12 Aralık 2015 tarihinde, 195 ülke Paris'te iklim değişikliğinin ortaya çıkardığı “güvensizliklerle” ile mücadele etmek ve sürdürülebilir bir gelecek için bir araya gelmişlerdir. 1997 Kyoto Protokolünün çökmesinden sonra Paris İklim Değişikliği Anlaşması (PİDA), Birleşmiş Milletler temelinde çevre sorunları konusunda küresel işbirliği yapılabileceği konusunda iyimser havayı beraberinde getirmesine rağmen; 2016 yılında Trump'ın ABD'de iktidara gelmesi ve ABD'nin PİDA'ya taraf olmayacağını belirtmesi çevre sorunlarına yönelik endişelerin tekrardan artmasına neden olmuştur. Küresel çevre siyasetindeki bu gelişmeler doğa ve toplum bilimlerini (yeniden) bir arada düşünmeyi gerektirmesine rağmen, Uİ disiplini –kavramsal ve kuramsal düzlemde- şimdiye kadar doğa-toplum ilişkisini önemseyen bir yaklaşım geliştirememiştir.

İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra ayrı bir disiplin ortaya çıkan Uİ, savaşların nedenleri ile barışın koşullarına odaklanmıştır. Büyük savaşların yarattığı dehşetten kaçınma ve buna yönelik “tahminler” ve “genellemeler” yapma isteği “uluslararası” dünya politikasının toplumsal ve tarihsel temellerinden ayırmasına neden olmuş, disiplinin gelişim sürecinde merkezi bir önem arz eden güvenlik kavramı da zaman ve mekana göre değişmeyen ve ulus-devlet egemenliğine dayanan bir paradigma içerisinde tanımlanmıştır. Soğuk Savaş'ın sona ermesi ve eş zamanlı olarak disiplinde “eleştirel dönüş” adı verilen gelişmelerin ortaya çıkması ile güvenlik kavramı da sorgulanmaya başlanmış ve çevre ile bağlantılı güvenlik konuları devlet-merkezli olmayan bir yaklaşımdan incelenmeye başlanmıştır.

Bu kapsamda disiplinin meşgul olduğu konulardan biri, devlet mi yoksa insan güvenliği için mi çevre önemlidir sorunsalı olmuştur. Dahası, geçtiğimiz son beş yıl posthümanist yaklaşımların ortaya çıkması ile insan güvenliği kavramından ziyade biyosfer güvenliğini sorunsallaştıran daha radikal çalışmalara sahne olmasına rağmen, çevre-güvenlik bağlantısı yalnızca fail-odaklı yaklaşımlarla ele alınmıştır. Oysa ki insanın doğa ile ilişkisinin sonucunda ortaya çıkan güven(siz)lik ancak “ilişkisel” bir

perspektiften anlaşılabilir. İlişkisel bir yaklaşım ise hem failerin hem de yapıların karşılıklı etkileşimde olduğu ve birbirini sürekli olarak değiştirdiği, şekillendirdiği bir analizi gerektirmektedir. Bu açıdan “kimin güvenliği” sorusundan ziyade “neden güvensiziz” sorusunun cevabı bizi nedensel bir analize yöneltir ve güvenlik kavramından ziyade güvensizliği araştırmamıza olanak sağlarken aynı zamanda yapısalcı bir analizi zorunlu kılar.

Tez boyunca yapısalcı analizden kastedilen ana akım Uİ çalışmalarında zannedildiğinin (anarşi varsayımı) tersine toplumsal ilişkiler ve o bu ilişkilere yön veren dinamiklerdir. Dahası, bu yapısalcı dinamikler içerisinde normlar, söylemler, özneler arası kurulumlar ve ideoloji gerçeğin düşünsel temelini oluşturur ki, bu yapısal dinamiklerin ayrıca maddi temelleri de bulunmaktadır ki doğanın yani doğal/çevresel güvensizliğin (yeniden) üretimini bu yapıların iç içe geçtiği ve birbirini dönüştürülmesi ile ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Çevre ile güvenlik bağlantıları sosyo-natürel bir perspektiften analiz geliştirmeyi gerektirmesi iklim değişikliği, küresel ısınma gibi doğal görünen güvensizliklerin aslında toplumsal olana yerleşik olduğu vurgusunu yapar. Bir başka ifade ile çevresel güvensizlik toplumsal olarak inşa edilmekte/ üretilmektedir. Aşağıda detaylandırılacağı üzere, bu sosyo-natürel döngüyü çevre ve güvenlik bağlantılarını ele alan pozitivist Uİ çalışmaları hiç sorunsallaştırmazken, post-positivist çalışmalar sadece düşünsel temelde sorunsallaştırır, maddi unsurlar göz ardı edilir. Oysa ki hem çevrenin tahribatı hem de bu tahribatın farklı toplumlar üzerinde yarattığı farklı etkiler üretim ilişkilerinden bağımsız düşünülemez. Her nasıl ki insanlık tarihi bu üretim ilişkilerinin evrilmesi ile oluşuyorsa, doğa da bu üretim ilişkileriyle şekillenmekte, norm, söylem ve özneler arası kurulumlar doğanın bu maddi alanla ilişkisi sonucunda ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Toplumun doğa ile girdiği ilişki, aynı zamanda, doğanın insandan ayrı bir varlık olduğunu ve doğanın varlığının değil ama ona bağlı yaşayan canlıların güvenliğini mümkün kılan koşulların toplumsala bağlı olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu şu demektir: Doğa, toplumsal ilişkilerden şekillenmektedir, ancak aynı zamanda doğa insandan

“bağımsız” kendi içinde dinamikleri ve dengeleri olan oluşum/yapıyı da ifade etmektedir. Doğanın kendi dinamikleri ve dengeleri mevcut haliyle canlı türlerinin devamlılığını sağlarken; doğa insanın yaşayamadığı koşullarda varlığını devam ettirecektir. Buradan açıkça söylenebilir ki; doğal şartlar da toplumsal ilişkileri şekillendirmektedir. Uİ literatürü içerisinde bu bakış açısı ya devletler sistemine etkisi ya da eleştirel dönüşüm ile birlikte birey güvenliği kapsamında dile getirmiş olsa da Uİ doğa-toplum ilişkisini içselleştiremeyen, dolayısıyla doğayı dışlayan bir disiplin olarak var olmuştur.

Neden Eleştirel Gerçekçilik ?

EG bir meta-kuramsal yaklaşım olarak Uİ kuramındaki realist yaklaşımla karıştırılmamalıdır. Bir felsefe ve meta-kuram olarak EG kuramların temel varsayımlarına yönelik iddia ve kavramlar geliştirirken, realizm gibi kuramsal yaklaşımlar mevcut siyasal aktivite ve dünya politikasının yapısına yönelik iddialarda bulunurlar. Dolayısıyla EG güncel olayların işleyişine ya da altında yatan nedenlere yönelik varsayımlarda bulunmaz, ancak tam da bu işlevi gören kuramların methodolojik, ontolojik ve epistemolojik ön kabullerine yönelik eleştirilerde bulunur ve onları geliştirir. Bu bakımdan kuramların belirli olaylar ya da olgulara yönelik analizlerini eleştirebilir, içsel çelişkilerini ortaya çıkartır. Örneğin, Uİ kuramlarının Paris Antlaşmasına ya da çevre ve güvenlik ilişkisine yönelik ön kabulleri ile kavramlarını eleştirebilir, daha “gerçekçi” ve aşağıda değinileceği üzere “özgürlükçü” bir yaklaşımın nasıl yapılabileceğine yönelik ontolojik, epistemolojik ve yöntemsel veriler sunar; ancak, doğrudan Paris Antlaşması ya da çevre- güvenlik bağlantıları hakkında bilgi üretmez.

Bu nedenle farklı kuramlar farklı düzeylerde eleştirel gerçekçi yaklaşımdan yaralanabilir. Uİ’de, özellikle Alexander Wendt’in inşacı yaklaşımını geliştirirken eleştirel gerçekçi yapı-yapan tartışmasından yararlandığı bilinmektedir. Ayrıca, Colin Wight ve Milja Kurki gibi kuramcılar hiçbir kuramsal yaklaşımla ilişkilendirmeden sadece kuramların mevcut varsayımlarını analiz etmek için eleştirel gerçekçi analiz

kullanılmışken, Faruk Yalvaç ve Jonathan Joseph Marksist yaklaşımlarını geliştirirken eleştirel gerçekçilikten faydalanmışlardır. Açıkça söylenmelidir ki bu tez çalışması farklı boyutlarda (hem disiplin içerisindeki hem de diğer disiplinlerdeki) eleştirel gerçekçi açıklamalardan yararlanmasına rağmen, Yalvaç'ın Uİ'ye yaptığı katkının devamı olarak görülmeli ve Yalvaç'ın toplumsal ilişkiler üzerine yaptığı vurgunun toplumsal ilişkiler-doğa ekseninde genişletmeye çalıştığı bilinmelidir. Ancak, eleştirel gerçekçiliğin tarihsel materyalizmle özellikle çevre-güvenlik ilişkileri bağlamında nasıl etki edebileceğine daha detaylı değinilmeden önce eleştirel gerçekçiliğin genel olarak toplum bilimlerinde ve Uİ'de nasıl bir etki yarattığına bakılmalıdır.

Eleştirel gerçekçilik kendi içerisinde farklı tartışmaları taşımasına rağmen; Uİ'ye daha çok eleştirel gerçekçi felsefenin kurucularından Roy Bhaskar'ın katkıları yansıtılmıştır. Bhaskarcı eleştirel gerçekçiliğin en önemli iki dinamiği “transandantal (aşkın) realizm” ve “eleştirel natürelizm”dir. Transandantal realizm, ontolojinin epistemolojiye indirgenemeyeceği anlamına gelmektedir. Bu kapsamda Bhaskar'a göre, batı felsefe geleneği “bir şeyi nasıl biliriz” sorusunu “o şeyin ne olduğu” sorusuna indirgemektedir. Uİ açısından bu daha çok anarşi, devlet, güvenlik gibi kavramların ne olduğu ve nasıl ortaya çıktığının anlaşılmadan; bu kavramları anlayabilmek için “nasıl” bir analiz yapılmalıdır sorusuna odaklanılması ile karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bhaskar bu durumu “epistemik hata” olarak adlandırmakta ve bilginin insan tarafından üretilmesine rağmen faillere indirgenemeyeceğini; gerçekliğin insanın bilgisinden bağımsız olarak bulunduğunu ve bilimin amacının bu gerçekliğe ulaşmak olduğunu belirtmektedir. Bu ontolojik pozisyon, eleştirel gerçekçiliği hem gerçekliği gözlem ve ampirik bilgilere dayandıran pozitivist hem de gerçekliği insan düşüncesine indirgeyen postpozitivist yaklaşımlardan ayırmaktadır. Bir başka ifade ile pozitivistler için dünya hakkındaki evrensel bilgi ancak gözlem ve deney yoluyla elde edilebilirken, postpozitivistler gerçekliğin yalnızca söylem ve dil temelinde bu nedenle birden fazla gerçeklikler olduğunu belirtmektedirler. Bu bakımdan eleştirel gerçekçiliğe göre, gerçekliğin bilgisini faile (bilgiyi üretene) indirgeyerek postpozitivist yaklaşımlar, pozitivist yaklaşımların düştüğü epistemik hatayı tekrarlamaktadırlar.

Bu nedenle, ne pozitivism ne de postpozitivism bilgiye ulaşmak için yalnızca birer yöntem değil aynı zamanda ontolojik ön kabülleri olan birer felsefedirler. Ontolojiyi epistemolojiye indirgemek gerçek toplumsal yapıların doğası hakkında bilgi üretmemeyi; ya da gözlemlenebildiği ya da ifade edilebildiği kadar sorunsallaştırmayı beraberinde getirir. Böylelikle deneyimlenen olay ve olguların altında yatan ve deneyimlenenin ortaya çıkmasını sağlayan yapı ve mekanizmalar göz ardı edilir. Bilgiyi üretene indirgeyen bir yaklaşım yerine eleştirel gerçekçilik, “failden bağımsız gerçeklik” vurgusu yapmaktadır.

İkinci olarak eleştirel natürelizm ile eleştirel gerçekçiliğin ön plana çıkardığı kavram nedenselliklerdir. Eleştirel gerçekçilik, nedensel analizi dünyayı nasıl anlamamız gerektiğine vurgu yapmaktadır. Sadece deney ve gözleme dayanan Humecu nedensellik ve yasa (pozitivist) anlayışını reddeder, ve bu bağlamda gerçekçi bir nedensel analizin gözlenemeyen içsel yapıları da içerebileceği vurgular. Eleştirel gerçekçi bir perspektif gerçekliği sadece görünen olaylara indirgemek yerine gerçekliğin katmanları arasında üçlü bir ayırım yapar: Gerçek, aktüel ve ampirik. Ampirik alan bizim gözlemlediğimiz, dünya siyaseti içerisinde deneyimlediğimiz olaylardır. Uluslararası anlaşmalar ya da devletler arası çatışmalar bu kategoride sayılabilmektedir. İkinci olarak aktüel alan güncel ya da mevcut durumlarla ilgilidir. Örneğin uluslararası göç dünya siyasetini günümüzde meşgul eden aktüel olgulardan biridir. Son olarak, eleştirel gerçekçiliğin ön plana çıkardığı gerçek alan ise hem ampirik hem de aktüel alanların nasıl ortaya çıktığı ile ilgilenmektedir. Bir başka ifade ile eleştirel gerçekçi bir analiz için esas olan göç ile ilgili yapılan bir uluslararası anlaşmanın altında yatan toplumsal ve coğrafik/ çevresel katmanlardır. Bu kapsamda esas itibariyle gerçek olarak adlandırılan alan ampirik ve aktüel alanların ortaya çıkmasına olanak sağlamakta, onları üreten altta yatan güç ve mekanizmaları açıklamaktadır. Gerçek alan, farklı nedenselliklerin varlığını tanımlayarak (düşünsel ve maddi/ failsel ve yapısal) kompleks nedensel faktörlerin nasıl bir araya geldiğini sorgulayarak ilişkisel bir ontolojiyi önplana çıkartır.

Eleştirel gerçekçi bir yaklaşımdan, eğer çevre ile güvenlik arasındaki dinamik ilişki anlaşılacak isteniyorsa öncelikli olarak nedensel analize başvurulmalıdır. Nedensel

analiz aynı zamanda bu tezde yeşil güven(siz)lik olarak adlandırılan yaklaşımın temel ipuçlarını da göstermektedir. Bu bakımdan eleştirel gerçekçiliğin yukarıda tanımlanan yapısalcı bir analizi mümkün kılan “katmanlı gerçeklik” anlayışı insan toplumlarının biyolojik doğa ile olan ilişkilerini anlamamıza yardımcı olur. Nitekim, devlet ya da insan güvenliğini sorunsallaştıran doğa çatışma, işbirliği ve risk kavramlarını ön plana çıkartan ampirik ya da çevresel krizleri sorunsallaştırmadan olduğu kabul eden, bu kabulün ardından insan-devlet-biyosfer güvenliği analizi yapan çalışmalar yerine eleştirel gerçekçiliğin “gerçek alan” vurgusu dikkate alındığında güven(siz)liğin ortaya çıkmasının temel nedeninin değişen sosyo-natürel ilişkiler olduğu söylenebilir. Toplumun doğa ile değişen ilişkisi ise insan güvenliği sorunsalının “ortaya çıkan” olarak ele alınmasını sağlamakta ve doğanın aslında insanın hem bilgisinden hem de varlığından bağımsız bir gerçeklik olduğunun altını çizer.

Kısacası, eleştirel gerçekçiliğin benimsediği bu katmanlı ilişkisel ontoloji, gerçekliğin aktüel ve ampirik alana indirgenemeyeceği vurgusu yaparken değişimin esas olarak bu alanda yaşandığını belirtir. Eleştirel gerçekçiliğin bu katmanlı ontolojisi ve değişimi/özgürleştirici bilim anlayışını vurgulaması onu en çok hem Karl Marx’ın tarihsel materyalist bilim anlayışına yakın kılmakta, hem de Marksist bilim anlayışını geliştirmektedir. Gerçekten de Marx’ın geliştirmiş olduğu maddeci ancak düşünsel olanı göz ardı etmeyen ilişkisel bilim felsefesi günümüzde hem farklı meydan okumalarla hem de aslında Marx’ın düşüncelerinin özüyle pek de uyuşmayan değerlendirmeler ile karşı karşıyadır. Eleştirel gerçekçi felsefi yaklaşım, Marx’ın çalışmalarında ön plana çıkardığı kapitalist üretim tarzının ve kapitalist ilişkilerin doğası ile ilişkili tanımlar geliştirilirken yapı ve failer arasındaki karşılıklı ve sürekli etkileşimi ön plana çıkartarak herhangi bir indirgemeci analizden kaçınır. Bu tarz bir yaklaşım üretimin kapitalist toplumsal ilişkilerini sosyo-tarihsel bir kategoriye yerleştirir ve bu ilişkilerin değişime tabi olduğunu vurgular.

Bu vurgu, çevre sorunları açısından da oldukça önemli bir noktaya götürür: Çevre sorunları diğer toplumsal sorunlar gibi tarihseldir. Belirli bir tarihsel süreç içerisinde ortaya çıkmıştır. Teknik, sosyal bilimlerin araştırma alanına girmeyen konular olmaktan

ziyade toplumsal ilişkilerle şekillenen dinamik bir yapıdır. Hem bu sorunların ortaya çıkmasında hem de üstesinden gelinmesinde maddi unsurlar (kapitalist üretim ilişkileri gibi) düşünsel unsurların ortaya çıkmasına neden olmaktadır. Bu nedenle, maddi unsur ile düşünsel unsur birbirine indirgenemeyeceği halde maddi unsurlar çevre-güvenlik analizinde düşünsel unsuru ortaya çıkaran ele alınmalıdır.

Dahası, eleştirel gerçekçiliğin yapmış olduğu maddilik yorumu burada tarihsel materyalizmin vurgusunu bir adım öteye taşımaktadır. Doğa insandan önce var olmuştur ve insan mevcut fiziki şartlarında var olabildiği bir doğa içerisinde, doğaya bağımlı bir şekilde varlığını devam ettirirken onu değiştirmiştir ve günümüzde insanın kendi yaşamını kolaylaştırmak için izlediği yöntem yine kendi ve diğer canlıların güvensizliğine neden olmuştur. O halde doğa biyolojik bir varlık olarak toplumsal ilişkilerle değiştirilmesine rağmen, bu varlık kendi dinamikleri olan bir gerçekliği ifade etmektedir. Çevresel sorunlar toplumsal ilişkiler tarafından oluşturulmuştur ancak toplumsal ilişkilere indirgenemez. Bu doğanın da toplumsal yaşamın dinamiklerinin oluşumunda nedensel güce sahip olduğu anlamına gelmektedir. Bu nedenle “beklenmeyen ve niyet edilmemiş” sonuçlar doğurmakta iken aynı zamanda toplumsal olarak üretilmiş “beklenilmeyen ve niyet edilmeyen” sonuçların ta kendisidir.

Çevre-Güvenlik Bağlantılarına Pozitivist Yaklaşım

Çalışmanın bu bölümünde realist, neorealist ve neoliberal kurumsalcı olarak sıralanabilecek pozitivist yaklaşımların çevre sorunları ile güvenlik arasındaki ilişkiyi nasıl sorunsallaştırdığı ele alınmıştır. Geleneksel tehditlerden biri olarak kabul edilmeyen çevre krizlerinin dünya siyasetini önemli ölçüde meşgul etmesi, geleneksel yaklaşımların gündemlerini genişletmesine neden olmuştur. Bu çalışmaların en temel özelliği çevre güvenlik arasındaki ilişkiyi devlet-merkezli, tarih-dışı bir mercekten ele almaları ve çevresel değişimi Uİ gibi sosyal bilimlerin alanına girmeyen teknik konular olarak tanımlamalarıdır. Bir başka ifade ile, pozitivist yaklaşımlar çevresel krizlerinin neden/ nasıl ve hangi tarihsel süreçler içerisinde ortaya çıktığını açıklamadan “tahmin” ve “yasa-benzeri düzenlilikler” çerçevesinde soruna yönelik çözüm bulma

arayışındadırlar. Bu bakımdan, pozitivist yaklaşımlar en baştan çevre sorunlarının toplumsal kökenlerini ve bu süreçleri göz ardı etmektedirler. Bunun sonucu olarak, (neo)realist ve neoliberal yaklaşımlar çevreyi “devletler arasında kaynakları yönetebilmek için mücadele” alanı olarak tanımlamakta ve bu yaklaşımlar arasındaki temel tartışma bu mücadelenin işbirliğine mi yoksa çatışmaya mı neden olacağı ile sınırlı kalmaktadır.

Öncelikli olarak, realist güvenlik çalışmalarında –neoliberal kurumsalcı çalışmalardan daha belirgin bir şekilde- güvenliğin öznesi ulus-devlet; güvenlik ise ulus-devletin toprak bütünlüğünü ön plana çıkararak bir kavramdır. Birçok realist çatışmalar (ulus-altı ya da uluslararası) ile kıtlık ve ekolojik değişim arasında doğrudan ilişki olduğuna inanılmaktadır. Öte yandan, çevre konusunda önemli bir literatürü tekelinde bulduran neoliberal kurumsalcılık, realist güvenlik anlayışına ekonomik güvenliği ve bazen insani güvenlik kavramını (özellikle su ve gıda güvenliğinin bir devletin bekasını nasıl etkilediği ile ilgili olarak) ekleme çabasıdır. Neoliberal kurumsalcılar çatışma ile ekolojik krizleri ilişkilendirmek yerine bu işbirliği süreçleri altında yatan toplumsal yapıları ve doğanın kendine özgü durumunu sorgulamadan hangi koşullar altında çevre konularında işbirliğinin sağlanabileceğini sorunsallaştırmaktadır.

Hem (neo)realizm hem de neoliberalizmin devlet-merkezli yaklaşımları ile ekofaydacılık (neo-Malthusculuk) ve eko-liberalizm gibi teknosentrik ekolojik düşünce arasında ontolojik benzerlikler bulunmaktadır. Bu nedenle çevre ve güvenlik konusunda bilgi üretiminin nasıl güç ilişkilerine ve ideolojik -siyasal amaçlara hizmet ettiğinin ortaya koyulması tezin bu bölümünün amaçlarından bir tanesini oluşturmaktadır

Her iki yaklaşım da genel olarak güvensizliğin altında yatan yapısal unsurları göz ardı etmekle beraber çevre ile ilgili yaklaşımlarını rasyonel aktör anlayışına dayandırmaktadır. Neorealist ve neoliberalin çevre analizleri pozitivist yerleşik olan ampirik felsefeden ayrı düşünülemez. Her iki yaklaşım da -Malthuscu bir anlayışa benzer bir şekilde- çevre ile güvenlik arasındaki ilişkiyi “gözlemlenebilir” olgulara dayandırmaktadırlar. Örneğin, özellikle neoliberaler için Ortadoğu’da yaşanan su

krizleri aynı zamanda işbirliğine olanak sağlamaktadır. Bir başka örnek, Darfur'da, iklim değişikliği neticesinde yaşanan çatışma realist argümanları doğrular niteliktedir. Ancak her iki yaklaşımda neden ve nasıl çevresel değişikliklerin bu bölgede ortaya çıktığı yani toplumsal ilişkilerin çevreye etkisinin ve bu ilişkilerin yarattığı güvensizlikleri tamamen göz ardı etmektedirler. Bu (neo)realist ve neoliberal analizlerin yanlış olduğu değil eksik ve sorunlu olduğu anlamına gelmektedir. Burada esas olarak kastedilen, çevresel krizler hem çatışma hem de işbirliği süreçlerini beraberinde getirmemesi değildir, ancak Darfur örneğinde olduğu gibi bölgede iklim değişikliğinin yaşanmasında bölgedeki kolonyal miras, emperyalist politikaların çevrenin tahribatında doğrudan etkili olduğudur. Bir başka ifade ile, bölgede iklim değişikliği kendiliğinden ortaya çıkmamış emperyalist güçlerin bölgeye müdahalesinin önemli etkisi olmuştur.

Aşağıda daha detaylı bir şekilde açıklanacağı üzere (neo)realist ve neoliberal analizler sosyal doğa (ya da doğanın toplumsal olarak inşa edildiği) tezini açıkça göz ardı etmesinin altında yatan asıl neden modernist doğayı kontrol etme arzusu ve bu yöndeki faaliyetlerin gerçek bilim sayılmasıdır. Pozitivist Uİ teorisi de bu bilgi üretim tarzının bir parçası olarak değişimi anlamak yerine onu devletler arası zeminde kontrol etme isteğine dayanmakta ve çevre sorunlarını normalleştirmektedir.

Örneğin PİDA'ya ilişkin (neo)realist ve neoliberal değerlendirmelere incelendiğinde benzer bir tablo ile karşılaşılmaktadır. Öncelikli olarak, birçok realist, yükselen çevresel krizler karşısında, devletlerin krizlerden etkilenme düzeylerini baz alarak, yani ulusal güvenliği tehdit eden bir unsur olarak tanımladıkları durumlarda işbirliği süreçlerini destekleyebileceğini belirtmektedirler. Benzer şekilde realistler, Trump iktidara gelmesi ile ABD'nin anlaşmadan geri çekileceğine yönelik söylemlerinin Amerikan güç politikası ve ekonomik güç çıkarlarının tanımlanması gerektiğini belirtmektedirler. Neoliberaler ise PİDA'yı bir yandan uluslararası diplomasinin zaferi olarak tanımlarken, öte yandan uluslararası örgütlerce izlenen adaptasyon politikalarının çevre konusundaki önemine işaret etmektedirler. Neoliberaler, adaptasyon ve öğrenme süreçleriyle ilgili olarak Kyoto Protokolünün neden başarısız olduğunu değerlendirerek, Kyoto yapılan fayda-maliyet dengesizliğinin, PİDA'da tekrarlanmadığını belirtirler.

Uluslararası alanda devletleri çevresel işbirliğine yöneltecek üstün bir mekanizma olmadığı için, realistler ulus-devlet çıkarlarınınca bu tarz geri çekilmelerin olabileceğini ifade ederken, neoliberaler için önemli olan kurumsal bir yapılanmanın oluşmuş olmasıdır.

Sonuç olarak, tezin bu bölümü işbirliği ve çatışma kavramları anlamaya çalışan pozitivist yaklaşım çevresel sorunlarının toplumsal yönünü dolayısıyla bu güvensizliklerin gerçek nedenlerini açıklamak konusunda yeterli argümanlar üretmemektedirler. Her iki yaklaşım da çevre ilgili konuları kontrol edilebilir uluslararası politikayı meşgul eden yeni sorun alanlarından biri olarak tanımlamaktadır. Birçok eleştirel yaklaşım modernite düşüncesine yerleşik olan bu kontrol isteği ile ulus-devlet güvenlik söyleminin güvensizliğin temel nedeni olduğu konusunda hem fikirdir. Bu kapsamda PİDA açısından pozitivist Uİ'nin sorunsallaştırmadığı asıl soru: Hangi sosyo-natürel koşullar altında çevresel yönetimin sınırlandığı ve mümkün olduğu ile hangi altta yatan faktörlerin devletler arasındaki görüşmeleri etkilediğidir.

Çevre-Güvenlik Bağlantılarına Post-Pozitivist Yaklaşım

Çalışmanın bu bölümü ise inşacı, postyapısalcı ve posthümanist olarak sıralanabilecek pozitivist yaklaşımların çevre sorunları ile güvenlik arasındaki ilişkiyi nasıl sorunsallaştırdığını ele alınmış olup; bu yaklaşımların ne ölçüde pozitivist indirgemeciliğe cevap oluşturabildiği sorgulanmıştır. Geçtiğimiz kırk yıl Uİ'de ana akım/ pozitivist çalışmalara ontolojik ve epistemolojik meydan okuyan eleştirel/ post-pozitivist çalışmalara sahne olmuştur. Bu atmosfer içerisinde Uİ'nin başat söylemi, ulusal güvenlik, çeşitli düzlemlerde eleştirilmiş, güvenlik kavramının toplumsal ve insani boyutunu ele alan çok sayıda çalışma ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu süreç içerisinde çevre-güvenlik bağlantıları da devlet-merkezli olmayan bir anlayıştan ele alan çalışmalar da literatürdeki yerini almıştır.

Post-positivist çalışmaları pozitivist olandan ayıran en önemli özellik çevre ile güvenlik arasında normatif, özneler aracılığına ve söyleme dayanan bir ilişki kurlmalarıdır. Ancak

bu normatif ilişki açıklanırken güvensizliği oluşturan maddi alan göz ardı edilmektedir. Bu kapsamda, bu bölümde iki iddia söz konusudur: Öncelikle, bu çalışmalar kendilerini devlet-merkezciliği reddettikleri için eleştirel olarak tanımlamalarlar ancak; ilişkisellik iddialarına rağmen, fail odaklılıkta (insan ya da biyosfer merkezilik) ısrar ederler ve aslında insan ya da biyosferin güvensizliğini ortaya çıkaran maddi yapıları yok sayarlar. İkinci olarak, bu fail odaklı yaklaşımın temel nedeni öznelerarası kurulan ilişkiler ve discourse dışında bir gerçeklik tanımlamamalarından kaynaklanmaktadır.

Post-pozitivist literatürde en geniş yeri kaplayan inşacı yaklaşımlar; aralarındaki küçük farklılıklara rağmen- genel olarak çevresel sorunların üstesinden gelinmesinde önemli bir fail olarak devletin nasıl rol oynayacağına odaklanırlar. Bu kapsamda, Wendtçi yaklaşımları ile dikkat çeken birçok inşacı çevre-güvenlik bağlantıları için çevresel güvenlik devletler ondan ne anlıyorsa odur. Bir başka ifade ile çevre ile güvenlik arasındaki ilişki toplumsal bir inşadır. Bu açıdan, inşacı çalışmalar, neoliberallere benzer şekilde normatif bir çevre ve güvenlik analizi devletler arasında “sıkı” işbirliği süreçlerine ve çevre ile ilgili norm ve kurallara dayandırmaktadır. İnşacı yaklaşımların neoliberallerden temel farkı bu sıkı işbirlikçi; ya da Eckersley’in çalışmalarında olduğu gibi yeşillenen demokrasiye dayanan süreçleri vurgularken yapı olarak özneler arası kurumlara dikkat çekmeleridir. Gerçekten de Wendtçi çalışmaların temel özelliklerinden bir tanesi yapıları ve toplum-çevre arasındaki ilişkiyi özneler arası anlamlar, bilginin üretimi ile sınırlı tutmalarıdır. Bu bilginin nereden ve nasıl üretildiğini, özneler arası toplumsal yapıların neden ve nasıl oluştuğunu sorgulamazlar. İnşacı çalışmalar için maddi alan, güç dağılımı, maddi kapasiteler ile kaynaklar ile sınırlandırılmakta; toplum ve doğa arasındaki “değişen” ilişki devletler arasındaki iyi oluşturulmamış kurumlara dayandırmaktadırlar. Bu nedenledir ki, açık şekilde inşacı yaklaşımlar, düşünsel (idealist) ontolojiyi ön plana çıkarırken, aslında çevrenin tahribatına neden olan maddi yapıları göz ardı ederek, pozitivist çevre- güvenlik bağlantılarına benzer bir duruş sergilemektedirler.

Öte yandan, postyapısalcılık (feminist çalışmalar da bu grupta görülmelidir) UI’de devlet merkezli güvenlik söylemini yapısöküme uğratmaları ve güvenliğin öznesi ile

düşünülmesi gerektiğine vurgu yapmaktadırlar. Bu bağlamda, postyapısalcı çalışmalar, en genel ifade ile çevresel krizlerin oluşumunun ve buna bağlı güvensizliklerin ortaya çıkışının farklı söylemler aracılığı ile nasıl inşa edildiğine odaklanmaktadırlar. Postyapısalcı çalışmalar, inşacılardan daha belirgin şekilde sık sık çevresel krizler ile modernite arasında bağlantı kurmasına ve postyapısalcı çalışmalarda kapitalist alışkanlıkların çevreyi yok ettiğine dair bir uzlaşma olmasına rağmen; kapitalizmin ortaya çıkışını inşacılara benzer şekilde özne ve özneler arası kurumlara dayandırırılar.

Son olarak, Uİ literatürü içerisinde post-hümanistler, sosyal doğa tezi kapsamında en tatmin edici yaklaşımı geliştirmişlerdir. Çevre- güvenlik bağlantılarını eko-sistem ve kompleksite düşüncesi ile geliştiren posthümanizm, yukarıda sıralan tüm yaklaşımları insan-merkezli tanımlamakta; toplumsal yaşamın doğal yaşamdan ayrılamayacağını ve birbirini sürekli olarak dönüştürdüğü düşüncesine dayanmaktadır. Bu kapsamda posthümanist yaklaşımların Uİ'ye yönelttiği eleştirinin odak noktasını özellikle pozitivist Uİ çalışmalarına yerleşik olan doğayı kontrol etme düşüncesinin eleştirisi oluşturmaktadır. Posthümanist yaklaşıma göre, insanlık doğayı kontrol etme yerine doğa ile uyum içerisinde yaşamayı öğrenmelidir. Bu şekilde doğa ile insan arasındaki ikilemli yapının üstesinden gelinebilir ve hem doğanın hem de doğanın bir parçası olarak insanın güvenliği sağlanabilir.

Diğer postpozitivist çevre-güvenlik bağlantılarından farklı olarak doğayı ontolojik bir meydan okuma dahilinde konu edindiği iddiasını taşıyan posthümanist çalışmaların postpozitivist çalışmalarla ortak noktası “doğanın toplumsallığı” anlayışındaki toplumsal ilişkiler maddi unsurlara değil özneler arası anlamlara dayanan bir yapı anlayışı vardır. Bir başka ifade ile, inşacı/ postyapısalcı ve posthümanist çalışmalarda kapitalizmin kendi başına sadece ekonomik değil aynı zamanda siyasi bir sistem olmasına karşın; inşacı/ postyapısalcı ve posthümanist çalışmalar kapitalist üretim tarzı ile sınıf ilişkilerinin yarattığı çevre ve çevresel adaletsizlikleri içermektedir. Posthümanist çalışmalar yeni-materyalist ontoloji anlayışları gereği kapitalist üretim ilişkileri ile çevresel yıkım arasında ilişki kurmaya eğilimli olsalar da, doğa- toplum ilişkilerinde sınıfsal ilişkilerin rolünü göz ardı ederler.

Postpozitivist çevre güvenlik bağlantılara PİDA kapsamında kısaca bakılacak olunursa, genel olarak inşacıların PİDA ve uluslararası çevresel rejimler kapsamında iyimser bir tutum içerisinde olduğu söylenebilecekken, post-structuralist ve posthumanistlerin anlaşmanın çevre sorunlarının üstesinden gelmesi kapsamında daha şüpheli bir yaklaşım içerisinde oldukları söylenebilir. Bu kapsamda inşacılar, neoliberallerden biraz daha belirgin bir biçimde inşa edilmiş öğrenme süreçlerinin anlaşmanın başarıya ulaşmasında oldukça önemli bir rolü olduğunu vurgulamaktayken; postyapısalcı çalışmalar, anlaşmaya giden yolda çevresel adeletsizlikle ilgili söylemlerin ve bilim adamlarının medyada yaptığı açıklamaların önemli bir rol oynadığını vurgularken, anlaşmanın yetersizliğine (herhangi bir plan ve programa dayanmadığını) işaret etmekte ve teknoloji ile pazara ilişkin sorunlar ele alınmadan başarı şansının düşük olduğunu vurgulamaktadırlar. Daha radikal bir değerlendirme posthümanistler tarafından dile getirilmiştir. Posthümanistler öncelikli olarak PİDA'nın toplumsal değişimi ön şart olarak kabul eden eko-sistem ve kompleksite düşüncesinden oldukça uzak olduğunu; bu nedenle, çevre sorunlarına “liberal bir müdalenin” ötesinde bir anlam ifade etmediği iddiasındadırlar.

Özetle, post-pozitivist çalışmaların temel özelliği analizlerini “yorumsamacı” bir analize indirgeyerek, söylemin altında yatan toplumsal ilişkiler sorunsallaştırılmaz. Yani, postyapısalcı ve posthümanist çalışmalarda olduğu gibi bazen doğayı insandan bağımsız bir yapı olarak görme eğilimde olsalar da, doğanın toplumsal olarak inşasında maddi unsurları görmezden gelirler. Aşağıda değinileceği üzere, sosyal doğanın anlaşılmasında en verimli verileri bize tarihsel materyalist yaklaşım vermektedir. Eleştirel gerçekçi meta teorik bir felsefe ile donatılmış tarihsel materyalist yaklaşım hem doğanın kendine özgü nasıl bir gerçeklik ifade ettiği hem de doğanın toplumsal olarak nasıl (yeniden) üretildiği/ inşa edildiği konusunda ipuçları sağlarken, çevre-güvenlik arasındaki yapısal ilişkinin analizine yönelik de veriler sağlamaktadır.

Çevre-Güvenlik Bağlantılarına Eleştirel Gerçekçi Yaklaşım

Pozitivist ve pozitivist Uİ teorileri çevre-güvenlik bağlantılarına fail-odaklı bir yaklaşım geliştirmişken, eleştirel gerçekçi yaklaşım faillerin değişim üzerindeki etkisini göz ardı etmeden yapısalcı bir analizin önemine işaret eder. EG'nin ilişkisel ontolojisi, güvenlik kavramını analiz ederken güvenliği yalnızca öznesi (devlet mi insan mı) ile düşünmez aynı zamanda güven(siz)liğin altında yatan katmanlı faktörlere odaklanır. Bu açıdan tarihsel materyalist yaklaşımla ontolojik olarak uyumluluk gösterir. Tezin bu bölümünde bir yandan EG ile geliştirilmiş bir tarihsel materyalist yaklaşımdan faydalanarak yeşil güven(siz)liğin temel varsayımlarına, öte yandan yeşil güven(siz)lik yaklaşımının pozitivist ve post-pozitivist eleştirisine odaklanılmaktadır.

Yukarıda da ifade edildiği üzere eleştirel gerçekçi yaklaşım analizine doğanın tek başına bir gerçeklik ifade etmesine ve kendi ayrı bağımsız dinamikleri olmasına rağmen toplumdan ayrı düşünülmemeyeceği (sosyal doğa tezi) ve güvenlik kavramının bu kapsamda düşünülmesi gerektiğini vurgulamaktadır. Uİ'de tarihsel materyalist çevre çalışmaları açıkça sosyal doğa tezini gündeme getirmemiş olsalar da ilgili literatür çevreyi topluma indirgemeyen olmayan bir yeşil güven(siz)lik yaklaşımı için iyi bir başlangıç oluşturduğu düşünülmektedir.

Bu kapsamda öncelikli olarak bu tez çalışması Julian Saurin, Matthew Paterson ve Daniel Deudney tarafından geliştirilen tarihsel materyalist çevre yaklaşımlarına bakıldığında bu çalışmaların ilişkisel yani maddi alanın söylem alanına ya da söylem alanının maddi alana indirgenmediği bir yaklaşım geliştirilmeye çalıştıkları görülmektedir. İlk bakışta her üç çalışmanın en belirgin ortak özelliğini çevre sorunlarının tarihsel ve toplumsal yönünü vurgulayarak devlet-merkezci çevre çalışmalarına yönettiği eleştiri oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışmalar, çevresel krizleri değişimi esas alan bir yaklaşımdan yorumlarken aynı zamanda Uİ disiplinde üretilen bilginin çevre tahribatının oluşumunda meşrulaştırıcı yönüne odaklanmışlardır.

Saurin ve Paterson çalışmalarında çevresel deęişimin güvenliğe etkisine değinmemişken, Deudney'nin, "tarihsel güvenlik materyalizmi" adını verdiği yaklaşımı doğrudan güvenlik kavramını eleştirel bir perspektiften gündeme getirmektedir. Deudney diğer iki çalışmadan farklı olarak Uİ'yi doğadan arındırılmış olarak tanımlamaktadır. Bu kapsamda Deudney iki anlamda eleştireldir: Öncelikli olarak mevcut çalışmalar çevresel sorunların toplumsal ve tarihsel yönünü inkar etmiş ve ekolojik krizleri toplum bilimlerinin ilgi alanına girmedięi konular olarak tanımlamışken, sorunun toplumsal yönünü ele alan birçok çalışma da doğanın kendine ait özel zorlayıcı/şekillendirici bir gücü ve kendi içinde dinamikleri olduğunu görmezden gelmiştir. Bu ilk bakışta Deudney'in çalışmasının eleştirel gerçekçi yaklaşıma uygun biçimde hem doğanın toplumsal inşasının hem de doğanın kendisinin yalnızca toplumsal olarak inşa edilmedięi yani kendi dinamikleri olduğu düşüncesini yansıttığı görünür.

Bu tez çalışması, Deudney'in çalışmasının ne denli toplumsalı içerdiğinin anlaşılması ve daha önemlisi yeşil güvensizliğin ana unsurlarını belirlemek için daha çok sosyologların ve coğrafyacıların katkıda bulunduğu Eko-Marksist literatürden faydalanmaktadır. Eko-Marksist literatür Marksist ve tarihsel materyalist literatüründeki tartışmalardan bağımsız değildir. Literatürde Marx'ın düşüncesinin ekolojik mahiyeti ve Marx'ın çalışmalarının ne denli indirgemeci olmayan ekolojik düşünce içerdiği konusunda farklı değerlendirmeler bulunmaktadır. Bu tartışmalar bir yana, bu tez çalışması doğa ile toplum arasında Marksist diyalektik vurgusunun çevresel sorunların ortaya çıkışında açıklamada oldukça önemli olduğunu düşünmektedir. Marx çalışmalarında günümüzdeki insan-kaynaklı ekolojik krizleri çözümlmek için doğrudan herhangi varsayım geliştirmemiş olsa da, Marksist bir kavramsallaştırma olan kapitalist üretim ilişkileri (maddi alan) ve onun ortaya çıkardığı düşünsel alan (norm, söylem, ideoloji) arasındaki sürekli olarak birbirini karşılıklı dönüştüren ilişki çevre krizlerinin anlaşılması açısından önemli yöntemsel veriler sunmaktadır. Marx için doğa, "insanın inorganik bedenidir." Dolayısıyla, insan yaşadığı doğadan bağımsız düşünülemez. Marx'ın mirasında kapitalizm, kapitalist sınıf ve sermaye ilişkilerinin doğası gereği, her şeyi "şeyleştirerek" farklı düzlemlerde güvensizliklerin ortaya çıkmasına neden

olmaktadır. Bu kapsamda, eko-Marksistlerin de belirttiği üzere, ekoloji/ doğa kapitalist sınıfların çıkarları için bir araç haline gelmektedir.

Kısaca ifade etmek gerekirse, Eko-Marksist literatürdeki (asıl) tartışma temel olarak iki düzlemde yaşanmaktadır: Öncelikli olarak, John Bellamy Foster, Paul Burkett ve Marksist coğrafyacılar David Harvey ve Neil Smith gibi bir takım eko-Marksistler, Marx'ın diyalektik anlayışının doğrudan ekolojik düşünce ile ilgili olduğunu ifade ederken, Ted Benton gibi düşürler Marx'ın katkısının ekolojik düşünce açısından çok önemli olduğunu, ancak Marx'ın görüşlerini "yeşillendirme" çabalarının kaçınılmaz olduğunu belirtirler. Eleştirel gerçekçi yaklaşımı benimseyen Ted Benton'a göre, Marx çalışmalarında yalnızca toplumsal yapılara ve toplumsal değişim/sorunlara işaret etmekte, ve bu toplumsal unsurları ve bireyleri doğa karşısında belirleyici olarak görmektedir. Dahası, Benton'a göre Marx doğa üzerinde insanın doğayı dönüştürebilme kapasitesini abartmıştır. Benton'a göre, Marx doğanın kendine özgü gerçekliğini/ yapısını ve belirgin bir tahribattan sonra doğanın eski haline geri dönülemeyeceğini analizine dahil etmemiş, dolayısıyla toplum merkezli bir analiz geliştirmiştir. Benton'ın doğayı insanın dönüştürebilme kapasitesi ile ilgili savunduğu bu düşünce, bu tezde iddia edilen doğanın ayrı bir unsur ve sınırları olması tezi ile birebir uyumludur. Ancak, bu tez Marx'ın düşüncesinin farklı değerlendirmelerine dayanan bu tartışmalara girmeyerek, eleştirel gerçekçilikle geliştirilmiş tarihsel materyalist/ Marxist perspektifle hali hazırda indirgemeci olmayan bir sosyal doğa anlayışı geliştirilebileceğini iddia ederek buradan elde ettiği bulguları mevcut literatür eleştirisi için kullanmakta ve yeşil güvensizlik yaklaşımının temel varsayımlarını belirlemeye çalışmaktadır.

Bir diğer eleştirel gerçekçi sosyolog Peter Dickens için, Benton'dan farklı olarak Marx'ın düşüncesinde yer alan kapitalist sınıf ve doğa ilişkileri çevresel yıkımı anlamak için oldukça verimli bulmakta ve bunu diğer Marksistlere benzer şekilde temelde diyalektik yöntem ve inorganik beden tezine dayandırmaktadır. Dickens'a göre Marx'ın çalışmaları hem çevresel değişimi düşünmek hem de sosyal bilimlerdeki toplumsal-biyolojik ayrımını aşmak için önemli ipuçları sağlamaktadır. Bu bağlamda, diğer eco-Marksistler konuyu meta-kuramsal çerçeveden yeterince ele almamışken, bu tarz bir

analiz Dickens tarafından geliştirilmiştir. Dickens'a göre modernitenin bir ürünü olan sosyal bilimlere yerleşik bilgi türü yani toplum ile doğa arasındaki ikilemler Marx'ın yöntem ve kuramından faydalanılarak aşılabilir. Moderniteyi ortaya çıkaran üretim ilişkileri aklı benden (Kartezyanizm) ayırdığı gibi toplumsal olanı biyolojik olandan ve insanı doğadan kopartarak bir ilişki geliştirmesine neden olmuştur. Bu kapsamda Dickens gibi tarihsel materyalist ve eleştirel gerçekçi sosyologlar, çevre tahribatını anlamak için çevre hakkındaki bilgimiz ve toplumsal değişimin hegemonik siyasal faktörlerle nasıl evrildiğini açıklama amacındadırlar. Bu nedenle eleştirel gerçekçilikle geliştirilmiş tarihsel materyalist perspektiften öncelikli olarak çevre sorunları siyasidir ve modernist/kapitalist bilginin üretimine yerleşiktir. Buraya kadar eleştirel gerçekçi bir yaklaşım, çevre sorunlarını donduran/ şeyleştirilen pozitivist Uİ'e zıt, post-pozitivist yaklaşımlarla ise kısmen uyuşan bir analiz geliştirmektedir. Tarihsel materyalist bir perspektiften, bilginin üretimi güç (sınıf) ilişkilerinden bağımsız düşünülemez. Tarihsel materyalistler için bilgi siyasal, ekonomik ideolojik çıkarla sürekli olarak karşılıklı olarak inşa edilmektedir. Ancak bu ilişkilerinin başlangıç noktasını sınıf çıkarları oluşturur. Bir başka ifade ile çevresel değişim kapitalist üretim ilişkilerinden bağımsız değildir ve ideolojik (ve kimlikli) tanımlamalara indirgenemez. Halbuki, post-pozitivistler, hem çevre hakkında bilginin oluşumunu hem de çevresel tahribatı düşünsel/söylemsel olana indirgerler. Bu söylemin gözardı edildiği anlamına değil gerçekliğin maddi toplumsal ilişkilerden ortaya çıktığı anlamına gelmektedir. Bu demektir ki, çevresel değişim ve güvensizlik kapitalist devletlerarası yapılara ve devletle birlikte toplumsal sınıflar gibi bu yapılar içerisinde faaliyet gösteren failere referans verilmeden anlaşılabilir.

Bu şu demektir Uİ'de çevre güvenlik bağlantıları devletin toplumsal/ kapitalist sınıflarla olan maddi sermaye birikimi ve baskı düzenine dayanan ilişkisi anlaşılmadan sadece söylemsel kurgularla çevresel/ekolojik güvensizliğin ortaya çıktığını iddia etmek sorunun gerçek çözümünün de yeterince açıklanamamasına ve sorunun maddi yeteneklere indirgenmesine neden olur. Bu açıkça çevre ve güvenlik bağlantılarına odaklanan inşacı ve post-yapısalcı çalışmaların mevcut toplumsal düzeni yeniden ürettiği ve üretim ilişkilerinde değişimi zorunlu görmediği gibi değişimi yeterince

açıklayamadığı anlamına gelmektedir. Örneğin, Afrika ve orta doğu gibi bölgelerde çevre sorunlarına dayalı güvenlik sorunlarının alta yatan toplumsal nedenler incelendiğinde doğrudan emperyalist, sömürü politikaları ile ilişkili olduğu görülür. O halde bu ilişkilerin değişimi için öncelikli olarak bu politikalara neden olan toplumsal yapılar değişmelidir. Toplumsal yapılarda değişim ise ancak insan failliğinin söylemleri yani toplumsal hareketler aracılığı ile bu yapıların sınırlandırmaları ölçüsünde gerçekleşebilir. Bu yeşil güven(siz)lik perspektifinin toplumsal yönünü oluşturmaktadır. Öte yandan, Uİ teorisi çevre ve güvenlik bağlantılarında bu doğanın toplumsal olarak inşa edildiğini kabul etmekle beraber aynı zaman bu sosyal doğanın sınırları olduğunun farkında olmalıdır. Bir başka ifade ile doğa insandan ve toplumdan ayrı ve bağımsız bir gerçeklik ifade etmektedir. Doğa topluma yalnızca yerleşik değil aynı zamanda dışsaldır da. İnsanın bilgisine, insanın düşüncesine ve insanın değişim kabiliyetine indirgenemez. Kendi iç dinamikleri sınırlılıkları bulunması, aslında, çevre sorunlarının düşünülenden daha aciliyet ve derin toplumsal dönüşüm gerektirdiğini göstermektedir. Doğanın toplumsalla şekillenen ancak iç dinamikleri ve kendi kapasitesini yenileyebilmesi açısından toplumdan belli ölçüde ayrı olması yeşil güven(siz)lik perspektifinin ikinci unsurunu oluşturmaktadır. Posthümanist çalışmalar bu ikinci unsura sık sık atıf yapmalarına rağmen, materyalist diyalektik döngüyü analizlerinden dışladıkları için aslında bu iki ayrı gerçekliği birbirine indirgerler. Bir başka ifade ile posthumanist çalışmalarda sınıf ve sermaye ilişkilerinin analize dahil edilmemesi üretim ve çevre tahribatı arasındaki ilişkinin açıklanamamasına ve aslında çevresel gerçekliğin insan failliğine indirgenmesine neden olmaktadır. Benzer bir durum tarihsel materyalist bir yöntem dahilinde güvenlik çalışmalarına doğayı dahil etme çabasında olan Deudney'in çalışmalarında da gözlemlenebilir. Deudney çalışmalarında kapitalist üretim ve sınıf ilişkilerini dışlayarak çevresel değişimin nasıl gerçekleşebileceği hakkında aslında post-pozitivistlere benzer açıklamalar geliştirmektedir. Sonuç olarak, bu çalışmalar Uİ teorisine yerleşik olan doğa- toplum arasındaki ikilemi yeniden üretirler ve akademik düzeyde yükselen çevresel (küresel ve yerel) krizler karşısında ortaya çıkan güvenlik tehditlerine karşı çözüm üretmezler. Bu nedenle eleştirel gerçekçiliğin kültürü doğaya ve doğayı kültüre, toplumsalı devlete indirgemeyen yaklaşımı kaçınılmazdır. Burada yansıtılan perspektif aynı şekilde PİDA'ya da uygulanabilir. Eleştirel gerçekçilikle

geliştirilmiş tarihsel materyalist bir anlayış PİDA'yı bir yandan kapitalist sistemin krizi olarak tanımlayacakken, öte yandan anlaşmanın kapasitesinin çevre sorunlarını yansıtamadığını ve toplumsal dönüşümü sağlayamayacağını altını çizecektir.

Sonuç: Yeşil Güven(siz)lik ve Uİ Disiplinini Yeniden Düşünmek

Bu bakımdan Uİ disiplinine yerleşik iki sorunun tespitinden söz edilebilir: Öncelikli olarak, son yıllarda çevre (özellikle çevresel ve ekolojik güvenlik kapsamında) çalışmalarının sayısında artış olmasına rağmen Uİ'nin hala doğa-fobik bir disiplindir; ikinci olarak ise disiplin özgürleştirici bir perspektiften çevre krizlerini anlayabilecek bir yaklaşıma yeterince sahip değildir. Doğa toplumsal olarak (yeniden) üretilmesine rağmen toplumsal ilişkilere indirgenemez.

İnsanın ve biyosferin güvensizlikte olmasının birçok nedeni olabilir; Uİ teorisi insanın nasıl/ ne ölçüde güvensiz olduğunun yanı sıra neden güvensiz olduğunun açıklanmasına yardımcı olacak oluşturu yapılar ile nedensel mekanizmaları göz ardı etmemelidir. Bu nedenle yeşil güven(siz)lik hem gözlemlenebilir olgular hem de gözlenemeyen yapılar ile bu yapıların katmanlılığını ve güvensizliği üreten ilişkileri ön plana çıkarmaktadır.

Bu tez açıkça göstermiştir ki her geçen gün daha da derinleşen çevresel krizleri ve onların ortaya çıkardığı yeni güvensizlikler ile hali hazırda var olan toplumsal güvensizlikleri anlamak için disiplinler arası bir yaklaşım geliştirmek kaçınılmazdır. Uİ disiplini kuruluşundan itibaren doğayı ve toplumsal ilişkilerin derinliğini dışlamış, sorunları görülebildiği kadarıyla sınırlandırmış bir disiplindir. Uİ, eğer bu tezde sosyoloji ve coğrafyadaki çevre çalışmalarından ödünç alınarak kısaca sosyal doğa olarak tanımlanan perspektifi Uİ'ye yansıtamadığı sürece gerçeği açıklayamayan bir disiplin olarak var olacaktır.

C: Tez Fotokopisi İzin Formu

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Critical Realist Perspective

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