

《論 說》

Globalization and the Agent-Structure Problem

Akiyoshi Hoshino

1. Introduction: Globalization and the Linkage
between the Domestic and the International

Today, our daily lives in every state and every society can by no means carry on without connecting with other states and societies all over the world. We seem to live in the global society rather than on a nation-state. This is to mean that we have simply not experienced international politics, namely, inter-state politics, but global politics with globalization.

"In its simplest sense globalization refers to the widening, deepening, and speeding up of global interconnectedness." Historical forms of globalization can be described and compared mainly in terms of the spatio-temporal dimensions: the extensity of global networks, the intensity of global interconnectedness, the velocity of global flows, and the impact propensity of global interconnectedness.¹⁾

Global politics is going forward a new dimension beyond the former dominant paradigm of international politics. It is extremely difficult for us to describe adequately, to explain appropriately, and to predict properly the reality of global politics by means of our prevalent framework of reference of international politics. So, International Relations have experienced a theoretical anarchic condition with a variety of multiple theories, perspectives, and models. We have been under a growing frustration not only with

an anarchic field but also with the lack of dialogue among subfields and specializations. "The need for such communication has been highlighted by the dramatic changes that are occurring in the world as the international system changes shape and problems become global in scope. Many important world issues fall at the boundaries between subfield and cut cross specialization; to understand them adequately will require multidisciplinary, historically grounded, comparative, and cross-cultural theory and research."²⁾ No more than that, what is important is to reconstruct a new theoretical framework ontologically as well as epistemologically to describe, explain, and predict the real social world.

We can easily discover not only a fundamental ontological confrontation over what the real world is but also a deep epistemological rift over the extent to and ways that we can know the reality of global politics. On the one hand, positivism argues that we can get closer to the truth about international politics through following the methods which have proven so successful in the natural sciences. On the other hand, post-positivism³⁾ insists on that we can never access to the truth about international politics by means of the methods of natural science. This epistemological problem is essentially crucial to our making sense of the real world. "Since we cannot avoid taking some position on it, and those positions affect the questions we ask, the methods we use to answer those questions, and ultimately the kinds of knowledge that we produce."⁴⁾

Of course, we must draw a great attention to ontological problem of the real world composed of diverse actors and relations among them. For example, take into consideration some international issues such as the proliferation of nuclear weapons, economic development, environmental degradation, ethno-nationalism, regional conflicts, poverty, starvation, the repression of human rights, regionalism, NGOs' activities, refugees, national conflicts, and so on. These realities can no more be recognized, understood,

and explained by dividing the domestic level and the international one. It follows that we must link the domestic areas with international ones or agents to the international system structure. We cannot describe adequately, explain appropriately, and predict properly the real world without extracting the linkage phenomena or the interrelations between the domestic and the international (the global), agents and system structure at the global level.

International Relations has up to this point been dominated in terms of 'a Great Divide', namely, dichotomy.⁵⁾ The notion of 'a Great Divide', in fact, implies "that the 'international' represents a field of political and economic forces distinct from the 'domestic' and hence needs to be studied within a separate framework and by no means of its own tools of analysis." These typical examples are anarchy, state-as-actors, balance of power, and the resort of war. Neorealism reasserts the autonomy of the international as a domain with its own political structure.⁶⁾ The formation of global politics leads more and more to linkage phenomena and interrelations between the domestic and the international or state-societies and the international system.

Accordingly, the development of global politics has increasingly promoted the necessity and importance of the debates over agent and structure. Needless to say, the agent-structure problem or the unit /part-society/whole problem have long been of great relevance to the social science as a whole, in particular to international (global) politics and relations. It is under a revolutionary change of world politics that debates of agent-structure should be investigated from a different perspective in order to illuminate the relationship of agent and structure as well as changing process of global politics brought about by the dynamic relationship between agent and structure. Like all social systems, a world political system are comprised of various agents and structures constructed by them. Agent and structure are

the defining components of the global society and the essential composer of social phenomena. In order to grasp the substance, structure, characteristic, and meaning of global politics as well as the changable pattern of world politics, we should pay attention to the following three questions: "What do the terms 'agency' and 'structure' mean? How are these concepts interrelated? How might these concepts or properties of these concepts be combined to acquire knowledge about various social phenomena? These questions comprise the core of the agent-structure problem."⁷⁾

There is no wonder that in the contemporary global politics, the eruption of new agents besides nation-state, the weaken position of sovereign state, the changing structure of the international system, and the changing relationships between agents and structure, all make new phenomena different from former ones, which seem to be global, complex, daily, transformative, and indeterminant. It is increasingly difficult to describe adequately, explain appropriately, and predict properly these phenomena without question. As noted previously, at least, we can say that the close relationships between agents and system structure have been constituted, resulting in forming linkage systems between both factors. In addition to it, we must insist that the global political system, to a great extent, changes with diverse faces. Consequently, the former traditional paradigm of international politics, namely, the state-centric paradigm, realism, neorealism, positivism cannot almost describe, explain, and predict complex and close connected political phenomena at the global scale.

It is the agent-structure problem that becomes one of the most essential problems required to illuminate the fundamental law of global social phenomena. "Suppositions concerning agency-structure, and their interrelationship bear directly upon the role of social structure in the understanding of social action, and conversely the role of social action in the construction, or reconstruction, of social structure. In addition, scholars

have argued that such suppositions have important implications for the logic underlying the discovery and validation of knowledge concerning social phenomena." Consequently, through answering to these three questions we may find out epistemological, methodological, theoretic, and substantive implications.⁸⁾ And it is not surprising that our answers to these questions over agent and structure may contribute to detecting not only patterns of actions' change and social change but also the dynamic transformative structure of relationships between both. In such a sense, the debates of agent-structure problem direct critical perspectives to positivist theory, dualism, levels of analysis or status quo-oriented theory.

May a certain behavior of a state be constrained either by the structure of domestic system or by one of international system? How may the relationship between agent (unit) and the international system composed of those units be understood? This is to imply that International Relations theories still seem to have been controlled by different bipolarities.⁹⁾ Dichotomy (dualism) of two levels, such as the objectivist-subjectivist polarity and the individualist-collectivist polarity, in other words, the domestic system and the international system or state / domestic society unit (part) and whole has so far held a dominant position on International Relations theories.¹⁰⁾ All levels such as center-periphery, continuity-change, power-morality besides agent-structure or state-the international system have constructed close linkage systems. Accordingly, post-positivist critique toward dichotomy has to an important degree been addressed.¹¹⁾

Traditional studies of international politics focused on war and peace, power and diplomacy, alliance and foreign policy, and intergovernmental relations. However, reflecting on the reality of global politics, global agenda have increasingly appeared at various aspects of world politics. We traditionally had a great powers-centric system, and great powers have mainly provided stability, order, and peace in terms of great military forces,

balance of power, alliance system, or strong leadership, and the like. But those means and institutions will not suffice. With globalization the former conditions or bases of stability and order are being challenged not only by deteriorating inequalities both within and among states but also by eroding the capacity of institutions as well as states to manage the new crises and conflicts. In particular, "emerging inequalities in world politics challenge the traditional conception that order is best maintained through hierarchy among states. Yet inequality has been about from the agenda of world politics for a long time."¹²⁾

There are a lot of opportunities able for what the international system should be to sway directly human needs and values. Various conditions which make nations, peoples, non-state actors, transnational actors, and human beings actor units rather than states extremely take place on the global society. Where the structures of international relations beyond national boundaries cannot satisfy human needs, there seems to make the international society uncertain, and to bring about diverse conflicts, resulting in losing states' legitimacy. The legitimacy of state sovereignty over its territorial domain was based on its claim capable of providing various collective goods such as security, internal law, order, economic welfare, and social justice. Today to realize these collective goods are open to question. The force of globalization has made wars for conquest pointless, made it difficult to deal with other types of threats to security, made it less easy to supply other kinds of public good, and made it more stimulating to enhance the power of various transnational entities.¹³⁾

It is impossible for dichotomy of domestic-international system to grasp sufficiently a contemporary reality of world politics. With globalization of international phenomena, even daily life of all peoples is under the great influence of the structure of global politics, and conversely, political and economic phenomena or public opinions, social movements within a state

may affect directly international relations. As long as such the structuralization of these phenomena is at present normalized, the dualistic approach cannot adequately correspond to understanding the substance of the real world.

What has to be noticed is that such the dualistic approach of international-domestic levels or whole-part is to mean that world politics may be approached either by social atomism (behaviourism) or by social wholism (structuralism). We can point to three key tones of modern social philosophy: social atomistic theory referring to making atomistic individual behaviors and their choices final describer of operation and meanings or values as well of historical formation, and reducing collective social relationships to individual behaviors; social wholistic philosophy reducing final understanding of actors constituted historically to concrete appearance of more profound structure, and recognizing analytic structure as essential presentation of historical object; structuration considering as a just matter two levels open to each other, establishment of reproductive structure and the continuity of structure.¹⁴⁾ It is structurationist approach that tries to bridge the former two approaches.

Unquestionably, this is not to mean that international factors and domestic ones can parallel constrain state's action, but that two factors may be overlapped or co-constructed, resulting in constraining simultaneously, directly state's action. In other words, the character of the international system structure is constructed by the character of state, and vice versa. The relationship between the former and the latter becomes co-constitution to endogenize, and at the same time the international system structure makes one of state endogenize (internalize).¹⁵⁾

For certain, we can discover some temptation to answer to the agent-structure problem. Toward this effort, we may consider the Sprouts as the first generation of agent-structure theorists. They have used the

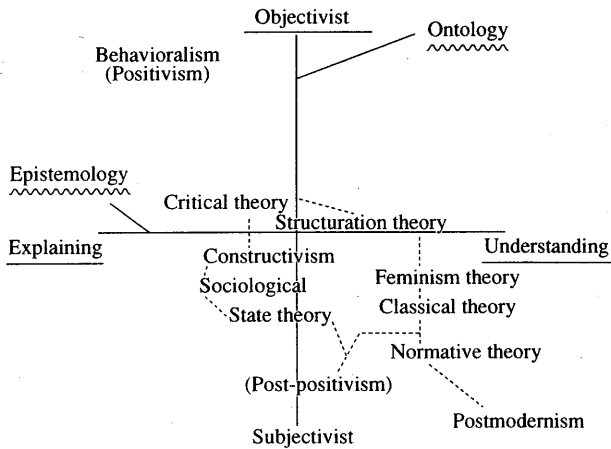
notion of the ecological triad—i.e. entity, its environment, and entity-environment relationships so as to make clear the relationship between agent-international structure.¹⁶⁾ And, A. Wolfers suggests some milieu interest as well as national interest for every state in international society.¹⁷⁾ Moreover, H. Starr provides the opportunity and willingness framework in order to reform the interrelationship between agent and structure. He, through the presumption that for every theory both levels of micro-macro are important, proclaims that the cause of war is the function between the international system structure (opportunity) as menu for decision-makers' choice and choice of decision (willingness).¹⁸⁾ However, while these temptations have important meanings for resolving the debate of agent-structure problem, they could not succeed in making clear some inner continuity of both levels. That is to say, they can by no means satisfy the condition for agent and structure to constitute each other.

This article aims to build a bridge over agent-structure or part-whole in global politics through discussing theoretically the agent-structure problem. Accordingly, secondly, in order to illuminate the essence and meanings, characteristics of the agent-structure problem, the linkage between the positivism—post-positivism problem and the agent-structure problem, the issue concerning the levels of analysis must be considered. Thirdly, we try to investigate structuralist approaches stressing on state action by structural forces argued by neorealism and the world system theory. Fourthly, structuration theory as theoretical attempt to resolve the agent-structure problem will be explained and evaluated. Fifthly, after groping for some conditions for a more productive theory of the agent-structure problems, we want to hold place on its relation to global politics.

2. Constructivist Theory and the Agent-Structure Problem

When we consider the agent-structure problem of how agent and structure are related, our focus is on constructivist theory insisting that agent and structure each constitute the other on the one hand, and on levels of analysis on the other hand. For the first set of issues, referred to as the ontological agent-structure problem, pay attention to the conceptualization and interrelationships of agent and structure. For example, A. Wendt, criticizing structural realism as non dynamic logic of the interrelationship between agency and structure, emphasizes that theories of international relations can and must endogenize both agency and structure. And the second set of important theses, termed the epistemological agent-structure problem, are epistemological. The primary thesis centers on that a subjectivist ontology is incompatible with a positivist epistemology and then requires an interpretivist epistemology.¹⁹⁾

Figure I The Methodological Debate



Can we make it possible to take a position any theory or perspective able to prove the relationship between agent and structure on the ontological, epistemological, and methodological framework? Figure 1 suggests the appropriate position of various main theories on two dimensions; ontology and epistemology. The former ontology refers to the objectivist-subjectivist axis. And the latter epistemology refers to the explaining-understanding or casual-interpretative axis.²⁰⁾

We must, first of all, discuss fundamental philosophical backgrounds to extract theoretical foundations capable of making clear the relationship between agent and structure. As A. Wendt puts it, "the objective of this kind of theorising is also to increase our understanding of world politics, but it does so indirectly by focusing on the ontological and epistemological issues of what constitutes important or legitimate questions and answers for IR scholarship, rather than on the structure and dynamics of the international system *per se*."²¹⁾ What is the most fundamental and characteristic is that international relations can and must endogenize but not exogenize in both agent and structure, namely, state agent and system structure construct each other. Consequently, the essential theme of constructivist approach to agent-structure problem is, in essence, based on the denial of ontological individualism as well as pure ontological structuralism. Put it another way, constructivism argues that agent and structure always constitute and change each other different from individualism as well as structuralism.

How can constructivism hold an ontologically, epistemologically, and methodologically theoretical framework capable of responding to the agent-structure problem? Generally speaking, constructivists including A. Wendt have an inclination to stress that there is no objective social reality. For them, no wonder that the social world including international relations is persistently a human construct. "The social world is not a given: it is not

something 'out there' whose laws can be discovered by scientific research and explained by scientific theory, as behavioralists and positivists argue. Rather, it is an intersubjective domain: it is meaningful to the people who made it and live in it, and who understand it. It has been made or constituted by people at a particular view time and place."²²⁾

There is no wonder that "social constitutionism rests on an irreducibly intersubjective dimension of human action." In the final analysis, constructivism attaches importance to human consciousness, desire, and its role in international life. In contrast to neo-utilitarianism, it underlines the interests and identities of actors socially constructed.²³⁾ In other words, "constructivism has a large place for the way in which norms and practices not only restrict what actors can do but also enable them to act and, indeed, shape their identities and constitute the fundamental nature of the prevailing international relations." In contrast to neorealism, constructivism sees, to a great extent, how the units and the international system mutually constitute each other.²⁴⁾

From the constructivist point of view, to stress objective reality 'out there' amounts to negating subjective creation of people. Rather, constructivism claims that the relationship between the objective factor and the subjective one is not necessarily incompatible one, but is relative one. To clarify its point, we must discuss the epistemological divide as well as positivism versus post-positivism problem. How can constructivism answer to the question of what may we can obtain knowledge about the social world? To put the matter crudely, can we scientifically explain the social world or must we interpretatively understand it? Constructivism, something like, approaches the relation of knowledge to the social world from the standpoint of explaining the reality of the world epistemologically. Most constructivists generally take a negative position toward the notion of understanding the social world or the concept of interpretative explanation.

Nevertheless, postmodernism, stressing ontologically the notion of the subjective creation of the social world of people on an one side, and epistemologically argues, in contrast to constructivism, the notion of pure and extreme interpretative explanation (understanding) of the world.

Meanwhile, from a different perspective, S. Smith suggests two kinds of theories: on the one hand theories seeking to offer explanatory accounts of international relations, and on the other hand theories seeing theory as constitutive of that reality. "At base this boils down to a difference over what is like; is it to be seen as scientists think of the 'natural' world, that is to say as something outside of our theories, or is the social world is what we make it? " The scientific realism of Braker and the structuration theory of Giddens are attempts to overcome the tension between two types of theories.²⁵⁾

A. Wendt as constructivist similarly seeks to overcome the dispute between explanatory and constitutive theory. He notices that "despite this important ontological difference between the objects of natural and social inquiry, there is no fundamenatal epistemological difference between the natural and social sciences. The intellectual activities associated with Explanation and Understanding *both*, are, and should be, practised in *both* domains. To the extent that 'Explanation and Understanding' is equated with 'science and non-science', therefore, it is misleading and encourages unnecessarily zero-sum arguments about epistemology."²⁶⁾ From such a sense, he criticizes that Martin Hollis and Steve Smith's *Explaining and Understanding International Relations* has privileged epistemological questions over ontological ones. At the same time, he comments that while Gary King, Robert Keohane, and Sidney Verba's *Designing social Inquiry* argues that only casual theories can provide explanations for how the social world works, they make light of the role that human agents can play in transforming social structures. It is not surprising that A. Wendt requires

both causal theory and constitutive theory. In the same way, there is no wonder that postmodernism as a post-positivism may have a different perspective from constructivism concerning an epistemological stance. In order to clarify much more the issue, the positivism—post-positivism debate and the relation of constructivism to the agent-structure problem.

Generally speaking, positivism in social sciences including International Relations is a methodology on empirical, positivist principles questing for (natural) scientific law of the social world. To put it differently, positivism refers to scientific methodology to construct empirical, objective, and natural knowledge of the social world. J.Vasquez points to the following criteria of a good empirical theory:

- (1) accurate;
- (2) falsifiable;
- (3) capable of evincing great explanatory power;
- (4) progressive as opposed to degenerating in terms of their reserch programme(s);
- (5) consistent with what is known in other areas;
- (6) appropriately parsimonious and elegant.²⁷⁾

The first two criteria among these criteria are essential. It is crucial for them to be capable of passing tests not only in principle but also in fact.

Positivism traditionally derived from Enlightenment. M. Hollis suggests the following Enlightenment doctrines.

- (1) Objectivism: objective knowledge of the world is possible, whether or not this knowledge is grounded in subjective experience.
- (2) Naturalism: human beings and societies belong to a single natural order, which yield its secrets to a single scientific method.
- (3) Empiricism: claims to knowledge of the world can be justified finally only by experience.
- (4) Behaviourism: 'life is but a motion of the limbs', at any rate for

purposes of social science.²⁸⁾

As it were, most post-positivists take different stances from four Enlightenment doctrines. Like constructivism, this stance is very short. In contrast, like postmodernism, it is very long. As a common denominator of post-positivism, it almost argues irrational, ideological, normative, subjective, or unempirical knowledge. In particular, constructivism commonly underlines the role of ideas as well as (inter) subjective knowledge of the social world. What is essential is that all knowledge, principle, and social phenomena are constituted each other among interacting actors. Such arguments is not equivalent to saying that we cannot gain valid knowledge about the social world. Constructivism admits partly the positivist standpoint about objective, rational, or empirical knowledge.

According to A.Wendt, pure positivist refuses to consider unobservable phenomena, such as magnetism, for granted. "Speaking very broadly, on one side stand what have become known as 'positivists' who think we can get closer to the truth about international politics, but only if we follow the methods which have proved so successful in the natural sciences. And on the other side stand 'post-positivists', who think we do not have privileged access to the truth about international politics, and least of all through the methods of natural science."²⁹⁾

Therefore, it follows that we must not necessarily recognize, with the expectation of postmodernism,³⁰⁾ fundamental gap between subjectivity and objectivity in ontology, and extreme confrontation between explaining (causal explanation) and understanding (constitutional or interpretative explanation), what is more, essential gulf between positivism and post-positivism. It is understandable that these gaps imply not the issue of different substance but of different degree. G. Sørensen argues that the dichotomy between positivism and post-positivism is almost meaningless.

Above all, International Relations must constitute a middle ground capable of recognizing the inter-subjective nature of knowledge as well as of holding a loosely scientific goal of theory making it possible to find the best explanation.³¹⁾ So as to construct some productive theory, we should hold a dialectic perspective of international relations theory.

How can and must constructivism with such ontological, epistemological, and methodological characteristics relate to the agent-structure? H. Gould makes the following claims.

- (1) The agent-structure problem raises issues of importance to IR's second debate, not (as most scholars seem to think) the third debate.
- (2) The issues central to the debate and primarily of method, and to an extent ontological; they are not epistemological.
- (3) Structuration theory cannot resolve the debate; it does not adequately delineate the means by which agents and structures constitute one another.
- (4) The scientific realist focus on efficacious unobservables does not add the needed corrective.
- (5) The constructivist focus on rules is what is needed.
- (6) Scientific realism is not necessary to explain the ontological status of rules.
- (7) Rules are necessary to agency. They make states into agents at the macro level in much the same fashion that they make individuals agents at the micro level.
- (8) Rules form institutions. They link agents and institutions, which must be accorded equal ontological status.
- (9) Structure is the mind's eye. Structures exist because agents see patterns to which they *impute* structure.
- (10) Once structures are "produced," knowledge about them takes on phenomenal properties. They become a property of institutions, any of

which may function as agents.³²⁾

While these claims, in general, seem to be adequate, we can illuminate afterward the evaluation of them. Here it is important to discuss the relation of agent-structure problem to the levels of analysis problem. The temptation to build a bridge across the relationship between agent and structure must necessarily criticize the levels of analysis problem. Put it another way, the latter essentially permit a manifest border line deviding agent and structure. The latter problem is fundamentally based on the premise that it is possible and important for us to describe, explain, and predict phenomena of international politics. According to B. Buzan, "[t] he 'level of analysis problem' is about how to identify and treat different types of location in which sources of identify and treat different types of location in which sources of explanation for observed phenomona can be found."³³⁾ In order to make such conditions possible to satisfy in full, the choice of levels of analysis of international relations was required in the end of 1950s. J.David Singer emphasized as two levels of analysis states and the international system. And he tried to give both agent and the system structure legitimacy.³⁴⁾ It seems likely that since that time two fundamental approaches in International Relations have almost been established: the one focuses on actors (agents) and interactions constructed among these actors, and on calculation and motivation deciding actors' actions and their outcomes; the other highlights a framework for actors' behaviors, put it another way, a structure constituting parameters and establishing characteristics of individual actor.³⁵⁾

To sum up, on analyzing the reseach scope of international relations, we have so far had two approaches: micro approach focusing on the behavior of political actor (individual, social group, nation, state) as well as organization constituting international politics; macro one stressing on analyzing total interactions constituted among actors. The former aims to

explain how for actor to recognize, comprehend own his objectives, powers, identities, and interests in international environment, and to quest for them. In contrast, the latter ends to illuminate what structure international politics has, how it changes, how the structure may transform state's action, and what may restrict state's behavior. After all, although we can clearly distinguish micro-based level from macro-based level, and recognize the relationship between the former and the latter, this means that it rests on the dualism dichotomizing actor and the international system (structure).

Even if we can make it, instead of levels of analysis between state and the international system, possible to distinguish at three levels of analysis, these still remain substance of dualism. Generally speaking, we can point to 'individual' level, 'state' level, and 'the international system' level, namely, 'decision-maker' level, 'national society' level, and 'the international system structure' level. For example, how can we analyze and indicate the collapse of the Cold War at each level of analysis? At the level of decision-maker, we can present characters, value-views, images, political experiences, political styles of President Bush and President Gorbachev. At the state level of analysis, one singles out the mechanism of political and legal institutions for decision-making surrounding both leaders, economic conditions, public opinions, cultural condition, and domestic issues of both states. At the international system level, we must point to the Russo-American relations, the political and military structure of Europe, the German problem, the democratic movements in East European states. It is true of the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 and the Persian War of 1991.

Given that we may easily understand some parts of one international phenomenon, one affair, and one event through focusing on one of various levels, and we can explain the superficial or outward relationship between macro approach and micro one without illuminating the inner relationship between both, it is almost meaningless for describing adequately, explaining

appropriately, and predicting properly international politics. Despite making much of levels of analysis, "explanations which proceed 'top-down' by explaining the behavior of the units in terms of the system need some kind of feed-back mechanism involving the units. It is no objection to system theory that the units contribute to the process, provided that they do so in ways shaped by the demands of the system."³⁶⁾ Unquestionably, while it is significant to suggest the objectives, powers, identities, and interests of agent, we can by no means illustrate the cause of formation of objectives, powers, identities, and interests by the international system, its process, and the outcoming pattern. What is more, the system structure in particular is crucial for them. "We can disagree about the agent-structure problem, in other words, while agreeing on the levels-of-analysis problem—which suggests that the two problems are, in fact, two problems. We can best avoid confusion about this if we reserve levels of analysis talk for questions about what drives the behaviour of exogenously given actors, and agent-structure talk for questions about what constitutes the properties of these actors in the first place."³⁷⁾ What matters is that the relationship between agent and structure is constituted each other.

It is necessary for us to notice considerably that while we can permit the existence of levels of analysis, the levels of analysis have not a clear distinguished line, but a rather gray line. Put it differently, the relationship is co-constitution not exogenously but endogenously. However, this is not equivalent to saying that all international phenomena are always simultaneously parts and wholes. What follows is that one of all realities of the social world simultaneously constitute part as well as whole. "Any given positivity, any thing, a whole, is composed of parts, each of which is farther composed of smaller parts. In this respect, we see that these (initial) parts are also wholes."³⁸⁾ Nevertheless, Its thinking itself cannot provide any significant solution to the agent-structure problem. For it is

impossible to extract the mechanism capable for part and whole of endogenizing each other. 'Double faces of part and whole' perspective refers to merely exogenous relationship between part and whole. What is important is the relationship between part and whole is not horizontal one, but vertical one. As long as there is defined border line between part and whole, it is difficult to resolve properly the agent-structure problem.

3. Structuralist Explanation of the Agent-Structure Problem

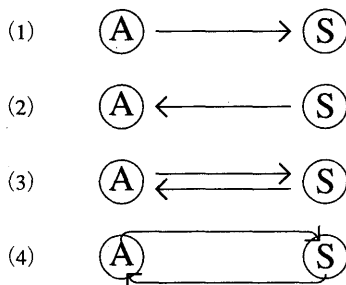
Although we can appreciate one phenomenon of international politics through approaching it from various levels of analysis or comprehensive levels, this is not to signify that we may grip the substance and transformation of international politics with adequacy. It seems to amount to saying that its substance is likely to be simply total parts described, explained, and predicted by individual perspective of levels of analysis. It is impossible to be approached not by multiple levels but by the mechanism of inner or endogenized relationship between agent and structure. What is matter makes it clear that one phenomenon may be constituted by integrating some factors together or by relations between agent and structure. Here it suffices to note that by considering foreign policy-making. We can easily recognize its point. "At the apex of foreign making in all governments or ruling parties there are actors with the ability to commit the resources of the government from reversing their position—the ultimate decision unit. Although this decision unit may change the nature of the foreign policy problem and with time, its structure will shape a government's foreign policy."³⁹⁾

There is no doubt that the most important point is to clarify inner relations between agent as a part and the international system structure as a whole. The problem of whether or not agent and structure constitute

each other is more necessary to be resolved under the establishment of the contemporary global system, namely, the constitution of principledly and practically as well an interdependent system of politics and economics, culture, technology, and the increasingly establishment of transnational relations.

We can single out four types the relationship between agent and structure. Type (1) and type (2) refer to exogenizing relationship between both, namely, the relationship to exogenize at least one set of attributes of agent or structure in causal explanation of social phenomena. Type (3) refers to the relationship to exogenize two sets of attributes of agent and structure in causal explanation of social world. In either case, these types form the nonrecursive relationship between agent and structure. In other words, agent and structure cannot be simultaneously treated as cause and effect of one another. This implies that "to explain agency behavior and structural change, it is necessary to begin the inquiry *at the same point* along the spiral." Agent and structure can and must be simultaneously treated as cause and effect of one another. Consider "the polarity (alliance structure, etc.) of the international system affects the probabilities of war among great powers, while such war alters the system, which then affects the probabilities of war among great powers, and so on."⁴⁰⁾

Figure 2



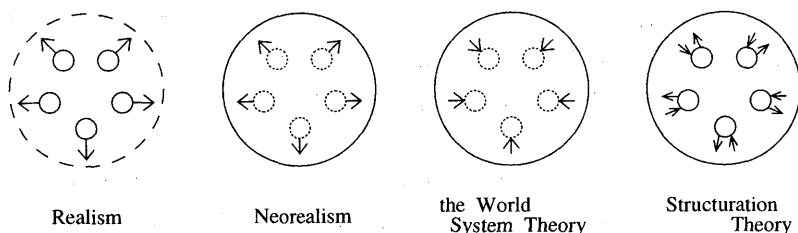
The agent-structure (the international system) problem is derived from two self-evident truisms: "1) human beings and their organizations are purposeful actors whose actions help reproduce or transform the society in which they live ; and 2) society is made up of social relationships, which structure the interactions between these purposeful actors. Taken together these truism suggest that human agents and social structures are, in one way or another, theoretically interdependent or mutually implicating entities."⁴¹⁾

The same can be said of international society. The important things to remember is that the behavior of state may rely on both the traits of state and of the international system structure. Nevertheless, even if we can suggest state's traits and structure's character as essential constraining factors on state's activity, we cannot resolve the problem of why a state has a certain pattern of foreign behavior. On the whole, we have so far found out the traditional view that state's behavior is, to a great degree, constrained either by state's traits themselves or system's ones themselves. Even if one emphasizes an anarchic international society as an influencing factor on state's action, its structure is no more than constituted by national objectives, powers, identities, and interests one-sidedly. That is to say, the structure of international society amounts to a complex of national traits. States essentially constitute the international system itself. Consequently, state's objectives, powers, identities, and interests may fundamentally reflect powers, identities, interests, and other traits of the international system. State's ones can also be constructed in terms of the international system's ones, resulting in being able for both levels to happen change.

Henceforth, we must duely address to system structure constituting state's objectives, powers, identities, and interests. The important thing to be recognized is the problem of why state's action cannot avoid the

influence of the international structure. Here we again re-emphasize that there are two approaches to this problem. One is likely to hold ontologically a dominant position over one of two levels of analysis or to give a basic status to one between both levels. Put it another way, one of two levels may have an ontologically reducible position. The other, in place of it, seems to give both levels an equal position without choosing only one of both. This is to signify that this approach can provide an irreducible status with both levels. In short, as Figure 3 suggests, two approaches can show us, as noted already, four types of the relationship between agent and structure: realism, individualism (neorealism), structuralism (the world system theory), and structuration theory. Realism typically explains agent's activity on the basis of dichotomy between agent and structure. Neorealism and the world system theory as well explain other unit of level in terms of one unit of level. While the former reduces the system structure to its components, in other words, state's traits such as objections, powers, identities and interests among states. The latter reduces class or dominant states to the outcome of productive needs of the capitalist world system. Structuration theory tries to avoid one-way outcome of individualism and structuralism through giving an equal ontological position to both agent and structure.⁴²⁾ Figure 3 shows these types of agent-structure relationship with more concrete content.

Figure 3



From the standpoint of conquering dualism between the domestic and the international, among these approaches trying to explain structurally state's behavior, individualistic neorealism has the least merit. Neorealism claims that the international system structure is characterized by irreducible quality, resulting for structure in restricting inherently patterns of interactions among states as well as state's behavior. It is right that we criticize a view that most international relations theories involving traditional realism, through reducing all international relations to state's behaviors, have so far neglected the constraining role of the system structure over state's behavior.

Unquestionably, Waltz's systematic theory permits the existence of the interacting units as well as a structure. And it criticizes the reductionist approach concentrating on the units alone. "The claim to be following a systems approach or to be concentrating a system theory requires one to show how system and unit levels can be distinctly defined. Failure to make and preserve the distinction between structure, on the one hand, and units and processes, on the other, makes it impossible to disentangle causes of different sorts and to distinguish between causes and effects."⁴³⁾ However, as long as his claim is based on a sharp dichotomy between units level and structure level, its claim itself cannot fully gain its large efficiency able to describe adequately, explain appropriately, and predict properly the mechanism and structure of international politics.

What is important to recognize is that both the international and the domestic influence and construct each other. "It goes further in insisting that the 'domestic' is what it is because it constitutes part of a distinctive international structure, and the international structure is what it is, at discrete historical moments, in consequence of the politics which are embedded within it: state and international structure are mutually constituting and there is a continuous two-way power play between

them."⁴⁴⁾ Accordingly, so as to resolve this problem, we must, in principle, comment on the core assumption that states exist in the anarchical system, and that these states are self-interested agents as constant and exogenous-ly given.⁴⁵⁾

Put another way, what is at stake is the crucial perspective that anarchy is a self-help system capable of constituting states to engage in power politics. As we will discuss later, it is wrong to understand that inherent, given properties of states are a key determinant of its anarchical system's causal powers.⁴⁶⁾ In the final analysis, K. Waltz, in constructing his system theory, has unsuccessfully underspecified the relevant actors in the system. "Designation of actors requires some specification of their attributes in a social context. Social contexts are not, however, static over time."⁴⁷⁾ He is designating a social actor as unitary and static units of the international system. This failure gives birth to dilemma that he, contrary to his willing, take ontologically individualistic position rather than a wholistic stance.

There is wonder that the way which behavior unit (state) constituting interrelations is constrained its pattern of behavior, is controlled, and is positioned in the international system, is not property of behavior unit, but property of the system.⁴⁸⁾ K. Waltz exclaims that, through describing the structure level able to combine as well as to distinguish, neorealism makes it possible to establish the autonomy of international politics and to theorize it. So, by means of developing the structure concept of system, we can clarify how for structure and its transformation to influence interacting units and outcome of interactions. The structure produced in terms of interactions among units is constituted in terms of no order or government of the system, namely, anarchy on the one hand, and by distribution of capability among state-units on the other hand.⁴⁹⁾

While neorealist theory, opposed to micro-reductionistic method aiming to distinguish international outcome from interactions among states, underlines

macro-irreducible method trying to comprehend the outcome through explaining mystic pattern itself. In spite of its inherent aim, neorealism falls into a confusion of reductionism. As a result, it seems to be based not on structuralism but on individualism. It is the so-called 'agent-oriented structuralism'.⁵⁰⁾ Strictly speaking, we should be able to illustrate how the characteristic of structure itself constrain and influence most objectives, powers, identities, and interests of agents. Neorealism seems to be characterized by ontological reduction of structure concept rather than by structuralism itself. This concept leads to appreciating structure as one constructed simply by a given state rather than as one capable of forming state's traits. As far as we are based on the premise of reductionism, we cannot specifically interpret how and why for the system structure to influence agent's activities as well as interactions among agents. There is evidence that while neorealism puts stress on systemic focus, the view of system structure is extremely state-centric one.⁵¹⁾ What is more, it cannot illuminate historically how for the system structure to be formed, and how for it to appear at present.⁵²⁾

More than anything else, the reductionist concept of system structure, in reality, appears in the concept of the structure of power (capability) distribution degrees. As K. Waltz puts it, in structuralist theory, states are afforded at varying degrees their own position which helps to comprehend both state's actions and their key to explanation. Capability distribution has a much more important position in the self-help system. For states as units of the international system, unlike states in a hierarchical order, are properly distinguished one state from other by means of specialized obvious functions.⁵³⁾ However, such a view makes light of the point that something constituting the structure of power distribution in the system is fundamentally power of property of state itself. It is power distribution among states that is considered as the most important factor by property of the system

structure.

Power formation defined as the distribution of structural power, in turn, may become to contribute to an independent variable of structural theory.⁵⁴⁾ The structure of power distribution is, in practice, defined in terms of treating capability as major state unit. The so-called 'great powers' are usually distinguished from other states by means of former possessing capabilities. Henceforth, the international structure is likely to change with members of great powers composing the center of the international structure. And then, such a structural change will happen the change of state actions and interactions among states. Neorealism cannot operate causality in level above states. For neorealism can by no means succeed in imagining structure as the force forming units and promoting them. Moreover, it insists that a cause at the unit level forms the interaction with a cause at the structure level. Consequently, the explanation in terms of only unit level is wrong. If one theory can operate both causes of structure level as well as unit level, it can in full dispose both change and continuity as well in the international system.⁵⁵⁾

Neorealism reduces structure to distribution of capability of individual unit dependent on the international structure, resulting in being successful in illuminating its dilemma. So far as the system structure is exclusively defined by states themselves, the former cannot bring about agents.⁵⁶⁾ While neorealism have an orientation to give a dominant position to structure level based on structuralism, it cannot appreciate causal continuity between agent and structure as long as it is, in fact, based on individualism. In order to explain how for the system structure to constrain agent's action, objectives, powers, identities, interests, and other characters, its structure should be one over a merely structure of power distribution. For certain, while the power distribution structure among agents permits us to comprehend partly the East-West relations and interactions among great

powers constituting the symmetrical relationship as well as their behaviors, it can by no means illustrate the North-South problem constituting the asymmetrical relationship, interactions among the Third World states, and the mode of small powers' behaviors.⁵⁷⁾ It is self-evident that the end of the Cold War structure, to a great extent, lies on agents able to calculate positively. To explain American foreign policy in case of the Persian Gulf War, it is possible to make the linkage between the calculation or choice of President Bush and the domestic environment of America at the one side, and the particular structure of the international system of those days.⁵⁸⁾ Of course, it is true of the linkage phenomena between President Hussein on the domestic environment and the international environment.

Even at the domestic level or at the international level, with a view of realizing objectives, powers, identities, and interests at their own levels, it is unavoidable to illuminate these relations between agents and the system structure. To put it differently, every agent must take into consideration international conditions to materialize agents' objectives, powers, identities, and interests, and vice versa.⁵⁹⁾ Accordingly, it is understandable that we embrace a two-stage conception of organization in many current international politics theories. "In the first stage, domestic political activities, including political socialization, participation, and discourse, create coherent state actors out of the conflicts and consistencies of multiple individuals and groups living within the boundaries of a single state. In the second stage, those coherent systems compete and cooperate, pursuing state interests in international spheres that recognize few elements of collective coherence beyond those that arise from the immediate self-interests of actors."⁶⁰⁾

Meanwhile, we must consider the world system theory from the perspective of the agent-structure problem. How can the world system theory explain the problem of whether the system structure may constrain

state behavior and interactions among states as well? The world system theory, in contrast to neorealist theory, tries to reduce agents such as class or state, privileged group to the outcome of structure on account of taking the standpoint of treating one object as the structure of the capitalist world system. Although neorealist theory is the practically individualist approach reducing structure's character of the international system to state agent's trait, the world system theory is the structuralist approach reducing state agent and class to the structure of the world system. Both approaches attempt to explain state's behavior from totally different standpoints.

The existence of the world system as one unit of analysis stressing on the totality of irreducible social unit to components such as state and class seems to be based on the theoretical framework of structuralist explanation or methodological collectivist explanation. That is to say, we can single out three principal explanations about the world system theory: (1) the world system and its characteristics are assumed to take ontologically a dominant position over state agent and class as subsystem agent; (2) the world system is defined by three structures (center, semi-periphery, periphery); (3) it is possible for the reproduction of center-periphery structure to be realized through the unequal economic exchange system in principle. Owing to reproductive structure of the world system, state's behavior incorporated into its system fundamentally refers to the mode of behavior restricted systematically by its system.⁶¹⁾

The world system theory, through giving a prevalent status to the whole, in other words, the dominant structure and controlled state, insists that, in contrast to neorealism, the former one-sidedly and always constitutes, restricts, and changes the latter. Because the capitalist world economy has a unipolar prevailing structure including all social agents (state, class, groups, etc.), it is difficult for its subsystems to influence and reform the structure. State's behaviors or key policy-makers cannot take objective-ori-

ented behaviors because of subsystems' subordinating one-sidedly to the system structure. What follows is that state agents may remain only as passive agents capable of pursuing limited objectives, powers, identities, and interests directed by system structure.

The largest fault of structural resolving towards the agent-structure problem depends on the fact that it cannot succeed in providing formation able to explain other adaptations besides behavioral adaptation to structural demand. It is difficult to interpret why for system to develop its own trait of structure, and to illuminate why for the system to hold a strong influence on agents. Henceforth, it is right to claim that the world system theory is inclined to charge into historical determinism.⁶²⁾ To emphasize the existence of the world system as well as its one-sided restricting force towards agents makes the struggle between state and class supporting the existence of the system structure at the one side and the relation between state and society constituting potential dilemma at the other side a historical abstract existence.⁶³⁾

In short, like neorealist theory, the system theory, in terms of contrasting reason, cannot give an adequate answer to the problem of how for system structure to restrain state's behavior, through treating the structure of the world and international system as a given unit of analysis.

4. Structurationist Approach to the Agent-Structure Problem

How can we quest for a framework of mutually proper endogenized interrelationships between agent and structure? It is necessary for some theory to be constructed in relation to structure constituted by agent's actions. How can we construct any theory able to treat equally both agent and structure? It is structuration theory that pursues its orientation. By means of structuration theory, A. Giddens, through negating the opposition

between subjectivist individualism and objectivist collectivism (wholism) having so far attempted to explain social behaviors, tries to build a bridge over the relationships between both theories. According to structuration theory, the main domain of research in the social sciences is not the experience of individual actor or the existence of any type of social totality, but social practice ordered over time and place. The social behavior of human beings makes reproduction similar to the condition of reproduction as facts. Put it another way, social behaviors are continually recreated by actors.⁶⁴⁾ From the standpoint of international relations, structuration theory argues that states as agents cannot exist independently on the international system structure constituted by objectives, powers, identities, and interests of states. At the same time, it persists that the international system structure itself can by no means exist independently on reproduction by state agents. The most substantial concern of structuration theory is with co-constitution of agents and structures.

This is to imply that structuration theory negates ontologically dualism distinguishing between agent or human behavior unit and society or structure, namely, part and whole, and exclaims equal relationship between the former and the latter. Human agents and society are constituted each other in the practical process repeated by both. In a sense, structuration theory suggests to challenge against a theoretical notion dominated by dualism (dichotomy) over international relation theories. This theoretical attempt is able to discover social relations included in all organized human practices. What matters is that we essentially understand that before state's behavior agents, they are the production of social relations.⁶⁵⁾

To overcome dichotomy and then to construct a bridge across both bipolarized units may imply that the relationship between subject and object simply constitutes the relationship influencing endogenizedly, but not exdogenizedly, each other vis. endogenized agent by structure and

endogenized structure by agent. A. Giddens calls it double quality of structure. This double qualified structure distinguishes structuration theory from other structuralism. So, it goes without saying that structuration theory is mainly defined as conditions dominating continuity and change of system, and then as reproduction of social system.

It is noticeable that system and structure must evidently be distinguished. Structure can be understood by change of relations, while system can be understood by reproductive relation. A. Wendt has more developed Giddens' structuration theory in field of International Relations, resulting in theorizing agent and structure as an entity constructing each other. First of all, he emphasizes the relationship of social structures to self-understandings of agents. "Social structures have an inherently discursive dimension in the sense that they are inseparable from the reasons and self-understandings that agents bring to their actions. . . . But it does mean that the existence and operation of social structures are dependent upon human self-understandings; it also means that social structures acquire their causal efficiency only through the medium of practical consciousness and action."⁶⁶⁾ And then, from a constructivist point of view, he considers constructivism as follows in the international context: "(1) states are the principal units of analysis for international political theory; (2) the key structures in the states system are intersubjective, rather than material; and (3) state identities and interests are in important part constructed by these social structures rather than given exogenously to the system by human nature or domestic politics."⁶⁷⁾

For certain, A. Wendt, so as to consider philosophical foundation of structuration, first of all, uses scientific realism. It not only provides a philosophical base of a productive approach to theorizing systematically social sciences, but also offers a foundation to take into consideration one implication of intuition with regard to life relating necessity to capability

and existence of human agents in context of social structure. Therefore, an attempt of structuration theory, on the one hand taking obvious methodological measures to avoid an analytistic separation of productive structure from self-understandings and practices of human agents, on the other hand maintains a productive capacity or relating aspect.⁶⁸⁾ Thinking about social ontology of structuration coincides with efforts of scientific realism inverting ontology's subordination to epistemology. This theory puts the essence of substance and causal character over the form of scientific explanation.

Like A. Wendt, W. Carlsnaes evenly treats system structure and agents. He underlines that state's policy is the outcome of dynamic process for agents and structure conditioning each other continuously.⁶⁹⁾ He exclaims that agents and structure constrict each other, and have relations constituting mutual causal condition. M. Hollis and S. Smith make clear that there is a hidden epistemology at the back of the assertion that ontology is prior to epistemology.⁷⁰⁾ They, at the same time, call a matter in question that structuration theory stands in a time ontologically system structure and agent. As noted above, they are opposed to the thinking of distinguishing the agent-structure relations from the levels of analysis problem.⁷¹⁾ If we take into consideration the levels of analysis problem as one involving the agent and structure problem, we may identify the common problem between both. However, as long as we illuminate the problem of how agent and structure practically inrelate, we must distinguish between both. We must avoid to reduce the levels of analysis to the problem of whether or not the international system treat foreign behavior by a given state as a condition.

After all, such an attempt of structuration theory aims to criticize ontologically individualist and structuralist approaches which neorealism as well as the world system theory fall into a trap structuralist explanation for state's behavior and to derive confusion's area constituted by both

individualism and structuralism. This is not to mean that neorealism and the world system theory as well are directly opposed to structuration theory. This indicates that they refer to alternatives instead of dualism distinguishing agent from structure or part from whole as fundamental premise of both theories, and that with a tendency to depend on an extreme polar, structuration theory is based on, through rejecting dichotomy between agent and structure, a perspective which recognizes the irreducible quality, to wit, co-constitution between agent and structure. What has to be noticed is that the international structure is constituted by objectives, powers, identities, and interests among states, and at the same time it is the construction of state's traits.⁷²⁾

Although structuration theory itself abounds in multiplicity, it holds the following four fundamental objectives of analysis seeming to constitute the core of its theory.

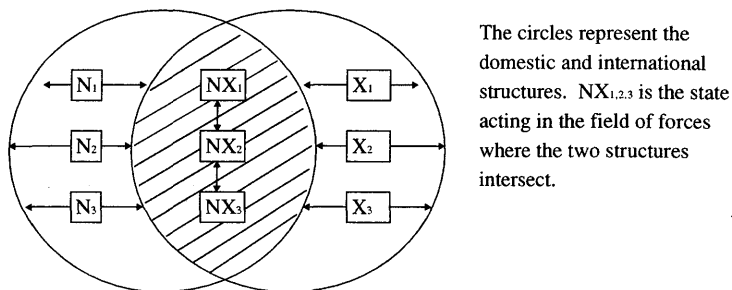
- (1) In opposition to individualists, they accept the reality and explanatory importance of irreducible and potentially unobservable social structures that generate agents.
- (2) In opposition to structuralists, they oppose functionalism and stress the need for a theory of practical reason and consciousness that can account for human intentionality and motivation.
- (3) These oppositions are reconciled by joining agents and structures in a dialectical synthesis that overcome the subordination of one to the other, which is characteristic of both individualism and structuralism.
- (4) Finally, they argue that social structures are inseparable from spatial and temporal structures, and that time and space must therefore be incorporated directly and explicitly into theoretical and concrete social research.⁷³⁾

In neorealism, the international structure is directly constructed by objectives, military capability in particular, identities, and interests of state

agents. The former is a complex of the latter, and it can always reduce to the latter. On the contrary, in the world system theory, the world system structure constructs state agent and class. And the latter can always reduce to the former. Structuration theory's explanation concerning state's behavior emphasizes the need to recognize irreducible quality co-constructing both units (state agent and social structure), that is to say, mutual endogenization of other unit. Since state agent are not independent on structural position, more than anything else, it is necessary to acknowledge that the structure is composed of state agents, at the same time that its same structure construct state agents. The point can easily be appreciated in terms of observing the difference between social structure and natural structure. In other words, since social structure, unlike the latter, cannot exist isolatedly from controlling behavior, the former is materialized only by means of practice of agent. Additionally, social structure cannot exist isolatedly from agent's idea. The interaction among agents is constituted by the existence of social structure. However, the former can certainly irreduce to structure.

Meanwhile, from a different perspective from structuration theory, I. Clark calls in question the pretense that there are two separate spheres of political arena, the domestic and the international. "The Waltzian image distorts because it assumes distinct field of forces, operating at different levels, which do not seem to intersect. In reality, they do so through the medium of state." The imagery of interaction tends to perpetuate at a deep-seated level the reification of the two distinct spheres. In order to overcome the Great Divide problem, "what is required is a radical reconceptualization in which the two are analytically subsumed. What we are then left with is a unified field of action within which a significant range of processes, if by no means all, is filtered through the political complexes of states: states are the modal points within this field."⁷⁴⁾ Figure 4 suggests the linkage between state and structure different from neorealist

Figure 4



Source: Ian Clark, "Beyond the Great Divide: Globalization and the Theory of International Relations," *Review of International Studies*, Vol.24 (1998), p.496.

Waltzism standpoint.

5. Globalization and the Agent-Structure

Today, one of major agenda in International Relations is to criticize and overcome dichotomy (dualism) distinguishing the domestic from the international (the global), state agents from system structure, and part from whole immanent in positivist theory in particular. The current radical transformation of international relations has more and more proved sterility of dualism. Structuration theory, through challenging a core of positivist theory, overthrows the framework of dualism, and suggests an alternative that agent and structure constitute each other without putting priority on either of both. Put it differently, the international (world) system structure is restrained by state's behavior and traits, and vice versa. However, we must still more make a great effort to answer to other problems such as the content and character of the system structure, position, function, and traits of changing state agents, concrete interrelationships between agent

and structure, and its transformative mechanism in global politics. How can we build a bridge across a separated gap between the system structure and agent?

Although there is no wonder that the former may constitute the objectives, powers, identities, interests, and other traits of state agents, may provide the foundation of possibility of behavior with agent, and as a result, may restrain state agent's behavior, we must answer to the question of, to begin with, what the system structure is. Of course, in spite of recognizing it, the structure may be constituted mainly by state agents. The structure is not to signify a simply complex of all state agents, but total fundamental relations constituted by all state agents. In consequence, we can and must accept that relations' structure is by no means equal to a total of units (all agents' complex).

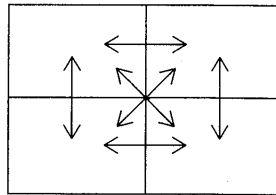
A. Wendt and D. Friedhein do not only stress the shared ideas and the common knowledge embodied in intersubjective phenomena like institutions and threat system (assuming that the basis of the international system is a shared knowledge structure), but also the properties of state agents. That is to say, as noted already, all such as the objectives, powers, identities, and interests are constructed by being endogenous to system structure rather than intrinsic to their nature. This indicates four kinds of international substructures. From the simple two questions: (1) are states constructed by a system?, and (2) is the system structure is social?, they derive dependency theory, neorealism, neoliberalism, and constitutionalism. Dependency theory presumes that the material structure of economic exchange dominates the international system of inherently asymmetrical relations. Neorealism emphasizes the distribution of capabilities (anarchic structure). Neoliberalism focuses on the structure of regimes (institutions) with an individualist, and rationalist view of agencies. Constitutionalism pays attention to intersubjective structure, in other words, a shared knowledge structure among state

agents. "They share two basic propositions: that the identities and interests of state actors are in important part constructed by structures in the international system, and that these structures are social rather than material. These two claims the core of a social constitution approach to international theory."⁷⁵⁾

Figure 5—1

material structure	intersubjective structure
capability (power) structure	institutional structure

Figure 5—2



How may globalization exert on system structure? As D. Held and A. McGrew *et al* put it, "[t]he spatial reach and density of global and transnational interconnectedness weave complex webs and networks of relations between communities, states, international institutions, non-governmental organizations and multinational corporations which make up the global order. These overlapping and interacting network define an evolving and social forces." The global spatial framework of relationship-structure and contents' density of structure can increasingly provide a more opportunity and constraint for agents. Few areas of social life escape strong restriction of system structure. Transformative structure more and more promotes the deterritorialization and reterritorialization of socio-economic and political space. No wonder that the structural change may make it possible to restructuralize power relations in the system as a whole. And close relationships among four subsystems may be enhanced, which may also increasingly strengthen its restriction to agents.⁷⁶⁾

Globalization, on the one hand, has been forming various global conflicts and problems unable to be resolved without transforming the system

structure itself. Take migrations for example. We live in a world where one fifth rich, in fact, controls four fifths poor. That is to say, the rich are segregated into the rich countries and the poor are segregated into poor countries. "Migration stands at the center of the phenomena of global apartheid."⁷⁷⁾ Global structuralization, in fact, destroys the fundamental framework of state agents, and furthers the appearance of transnational agents. Agents' political barriers can no more prevent massive population movements. The same observation applies to ecological environmental degradation problem. Ecological system cannot be tried up state-centric social systems. Hence, "state-centric thinking does not provide a satisfactory basis for addressing many of the insecurities associated with environmental change that individuals experience."⁷⁸⁾ The system structure more and more restricts state agent's activities and ties these agents' destiny together all over the world.

Meanwhile, what is the state (domestic) agents? Like the international system structure, every state agent has a certain domestic structure constituting and influencing the international system structure, and constituting the objectives, powers, identities, interests, and other characters able to restrict foreign behaviors of every state agent. The domestic system structure seems to be composed of four subsystems fundamentally similar to ones of the international system structure: domestic (agent) economic value allocation, political-military value allocation, socio-cultural value allocation, institutional value allocation.

In case of considering the international system structure as the structure of international value allocation or the structure as the relationships among agents over international value allocation, we can better describe Figure 6 and 7 instead of Figure 5. These structures can make it possible to link the system structure to the domestic (agent) structure. A complex of these four subsystems of the latter generally forms foreign objectives, policies,

Figure 6 The International
Structure

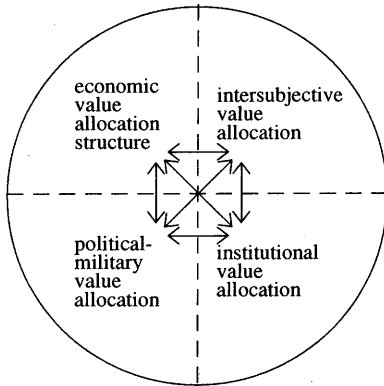
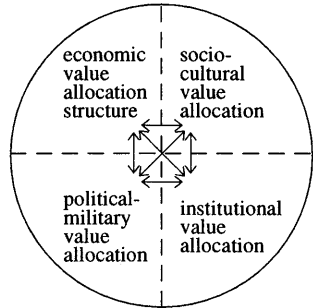


Figure 7 The Domestic
Structure



and behaviors through decision-makers of state agents, and constitutes as well as influences the international system structure, and vice versa.

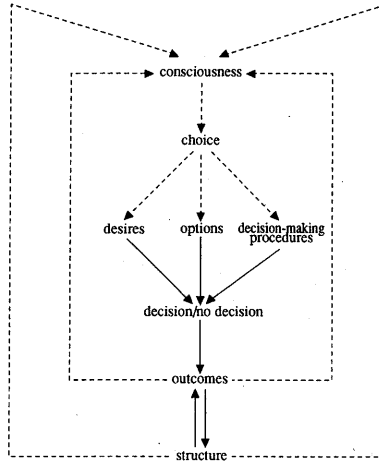
Needless to say, globalization can extremely have exerted a great influence on what state agents should be, resulting in weakening its function and position in the international system. The establishment of global politics, to a great degree, transforms a fundamental framework of value contents as well as means to realize these values. In particular, state agents have common experienced three kinds of changes: (1) there have been relatively rapid changes in national boundaries, constituting the basic units of the international order; (2) many contemporary states seem to be characterized by increasing fragmentation and disintegration; (3) substantial increases in international and cross-national connections and institutions are challenging an international order dominated by monocentric, hierarchical, and unitary states.⁷⁹⁾ It follows from what has been said that state agents have so far weaken or lost autonomy able for state agents to allocate fundamentally and domestically social values. Put it another way, this is to argue that state sovereignty has, in fact, deteriorated its essential function

and position in the domestic system as well as the international system. As said above, in consequence, economically, politically, and socio-culturally our daily lives can no more be satisfactorily carried on without the close connection with the international(the global). There is recently sufficient evidence to show that while state agents, namely, the domestic structures are constituted, influenced, maintained by the international system structure, the latter, is the other way, constituted, influenced, and supported by the former.

Henceforth, as Figure 7 shows, we can and must depict a model of the interrelationship between state agent and the international system structure. As H. Starr and G. Friedman put it, this framework suggests some crucial elements in the ontological agent-structure problem; (1)it illuminates the logic behind the ontological agent-structure problem itself. This framework indicates the co-constructing interrelationship between agents of social action and structures of social environment. "Simply, it demonstrates the notion that agents of social action are both conditioned by their environment and that structures are themselves constructed by agency social action. It demonstrates that agent cognition, choice, and behavior play a part in the generation of structure, which in turn acts to influence (through constraining and enabling effects) agency cognition, choice, and behavior. Accordingly, this model demonstrates how attributes of both agency and structure are necessary in a complete explanation of both social action and structural formation, and thus captures the necessity of incorporating both agency and structure into our explanations of social action."⁸⁰⁾

Figure 8 indicates that international political outcomes and the structure (all four substructures) are filtered through agent consciousness to formulate agent perception. This perception, in turn, influences the elements of agent choice capable of leading to agent action. "International political outcomes

Figure 8 The Interrelationship between Agency and Structure



Source: Gil Friedman and Harvey Starr, *Agency, Structure, and International Politics* (London: Routledge, 1997), p.39.

Figure 9

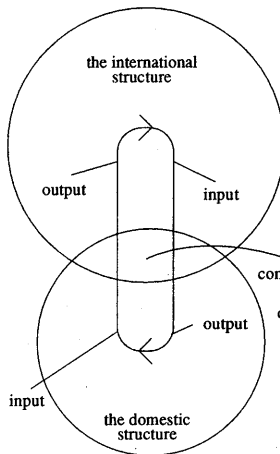
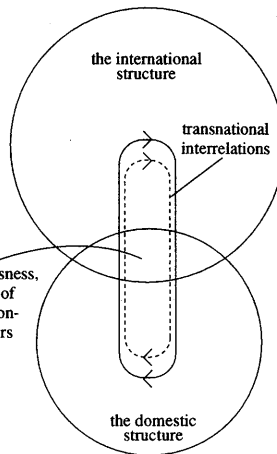


Figure 10



are a result of the cognition of material social structures, and the social actions of one or more other agents.”⁸¹⁾

The international system structure, namely, international political outcomes are, through the filter of agent consciousness, constituted by the domestic, to wit, domestic system structure already restricted by means of the international system. On the contrary, the domestic system structure, namely, domestic properties are, through the filter of agent consciousness, by the international structure almost formed by means of the domestic constituted structure or domestic properties. Agents take a choice, make a decision, and behave towards the international system and the domestic ones. The important point to note is that we must not grasp horizontally, namely, the exogenizedly interrelationship between the domestic structure and the international one, but vertically, namely, its endogenizedly interrelationship.

By the way, we should draw attention to transnational agents (actors) besides state agents. For transnational agents not only behave in the opposite or same direction with state agents but also take actions independently. Like state agent's case, the same can be said of the interrelationship between transnational agents and the international structure.

The structure provides the foundation of possibility of behavior with agents. Since interdependence among state agents has increasingly risen, the scope of these relations has globalized and complicated relations have been formed. The world system (including the international system) having such characteristics means not to enlarge the scope of possibility of free choice of state behavior, but to reduce it. The system structure extremely influences and restrains state's behavior. This means that state agents simply weaken a constituting capability of structure. Agent and structure have interrelationships constituting a complex interests of both units.

Consequently, the domestic political system cannot be distinguished from the international political system, and both systems always interact each other. Most decision-makers of states always have both domestic and international (foreign) objectives, namely, domestic policy and foreign policy. Since their objectives or policies constitute each other, it is difficult for government and decision-makers to distinguish one unit from another one. So, they are interested in means able to seek for domestic objectives in the international (world) system, and make much of means seeking for international objectives in domestic system.⁸²⁾

And then, what degree can the system structure influence the possibility of state's behavior? Although the restraint of state agents' behaviors by the system structure depends on their behaviors' quality, in other words, on the relation to the latter, the choice of state's behaviors themselves may be, to a great degree, by the trait of structure of decision-maker's consciousness. The scope of choice and behavior of an agent is narrowed by a restricting power of the structure. This is not to signify that the possibility of restricting capability increases in terms of the choice of state's behavior itself. But it suggests that structure itself internalizes choice's factor of state agents bringing about the enlargement of its possibility. Accordingly, the existence of influence of system structure on agents' behaviors by no means lose traits and influence of state agents. Put it differently, the relationship between agent and structure must not constitute asymmetrical one, namely, zero-sum one. Rather, we should understand symmetrical one or non-zero -sum one.

At the same time, such an explanation has an important significance in case of discussing the relationship between the international system's change and system agents. For the system structure to influence and restrain the behaviors and traits of the domestic system does not mean that the system structure itself undergoes a change or does not. And this is

also not to indicate that state agents or domestic traits can by no means transform the international structure. Rather, it seems to us that the behaviors, objectives, influences, and traits of state agents, the ideas and consciousness of decision-makers, or the transformation of domestic structure, all can introduce to the transformation of the international system. For, first and foremost, regardless of the existence of objective conditions of structure able to alter it, consciousness and idea of state agents can make it possible to transform the system structure. In particular, intersubjective subsystem of the international system may be affected by these consciousness and idea, resulting for the system structure in changing with influencing other subsystems of the system. Global problematiques, such as the North-South Conflict, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, poverty, environmental degradation, the repression of human rights, and so on require of state agents a new kind of global responsibility. "What is important about cosmopolitan responsibility is the recognition that since we live, in some sense, in one global community or society—whether or not most of us have much of a feeling for this—we do have duties to care in one way or another about what happen elsewhere in the world and to take action where appropriate."⁸³⁾ Common interests, ideas and behaviors can lead to the transformation of the international structure.

In that case, what does it mean by the framework of the interrelationship between agent and structure in the development of global politics? State agents generally and usually have swinged the total framework of global politics. We must recognize a policy and domestic domination of a world society is not just the productions among the constituent states, "perhaps even more important than international politics are domestic conditions."⁸⁴⁾ State agents, in confronting global conflicts, crises, and problems still continue to pursue their autonomy. However, recently, when net benefits warranted it, nations have been willing to sign treaties with others or join

in small collectives to solve common problems.⁸⁵⁾

Second, we must point to the structure by means of resisting, criticizing, demanding policies, behaviors, and movements of state agents. While status quo-oriented states generally want to preserve the status quo of the system structure, non-status quo-oriented state agents with counter power, in fact, desire to transform the system structure to a great extent. We can always discover such examples in world history, and in particular, the history of international relations.

What is more, then it suffices to note that so agent and structure constitute each other, as agent's change and structure's one construct each other. Such an explanation clarifies the interrelationship between system structure's change and state behavior's change. What is important is not which unit of two we can take precedence over but which unit we can make much of. In the contemporary world system, with the globalization of the world with a complicated and interdependent structure, state agents are more and more influenced by this structure. At the same time, State behaviors reflect a certain influence on the system structure through filter of state's traits and consciousness.

Agents of world system besides states are a lot of transnational actors, non-state actors, international governmental organizations, non-governmental organizations, multinational corporations, anti-war movements, international public opinions, and the like. We must comprehend the interrelationship between the world system structure and transnational actors in the one hand, and the relationship between the latter and state agents in the other hand. For example, international institutions are constituted by system's character as well as state's traits. All international institutions produce state agents' objectives, powers, identities, interests, and other characters in terms of clear method, and then, the latter has systemic dimension contributing to producing an international order.⁸⁶⁾

After all, the most essential point is that agent and structure constitute each other. And the transformation of the world system structure depends on the change of both units. American foreign activities are constrained not only by the system structure but also by domestic conditions. It is true of Japan's foreign policies. The transformation and the end of the Cold War are derived from the transformation of domestic factors as well as the international systemic factors. However, restricting force's degree and contents as to Japan and America are by no means the same one. The same can be said of the transformation and the end of the Cold War regarding America and the former Soviet Union. Unquestionably, every state agent almost takes a different response to a same structure. This shows that domestic conditions play significant functions, and that its restricting force is different from most state agents.

Structuration theory can contribute to describing and explaining the necessity and possibility to transform the world system structure facing with global crises and conflicts. These global crises and conflicts demand not only emancipation of the human beings but also to transform the global conflicting structure. It is possible for us to transform it by means of our subjective choice, idea, and practice. In such a sense, structuration theory is one of non-status quo-oriented theory in spite of having ambiguous theoretical problems.

Notes

- 1) See Held, David, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt and Jonathan Perraton, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), pp.14-21.
- 2) Hermann, Marcaret, "One Field, Many Perspectives: Building the Foundations for Dialogue," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 42(1998), p.606.
- 3) Post-positivism has various methodological outlooks: critical theory, constructivism, structuralism, feminism, sociological state theory, postmodernism,

and normative theory. While these approaches have different and fragmental bases, they fundamentally have a dominator referring to criticizing positivist theories.

- 4) Wendt, Alexander, "On Constitution and Causation in International Relations," *Review of International Studies*, Vol.24(1998), p.101.
- 5) Clark, Ian, "Beyond the Great Divide: Globalization and the Theory of International Relations," *Review of International Studies*, Vol.24(1998), p.479.
- 6) The concept of anarchy has been a core assumption in international relations theory. A new theoretical framework of global politics must escape a magic of anarchy.
- 7) Friedman, Gil and Harvey Starr, *Agency, Structure, and International Politics: From Ontology to Empirical Inquiry* (London: Routledge, 1997), p.3.
- 8) *Ibid.*, p.4.
- 9) Onuf, Nicholas G., *World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations* (South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1989) p.56.
- 10) Tehrania, Majid, *Global Communication and World Politics: Domination, Development, and Discourse* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999), pp.11-16.
- 11) See Hoshino, Akiyoshi, *Theory and Reality of International Relations* (Tokyo: Asia Shobo, 1995), pp.141-73.
- 12) Hurrell, Andrew and Nagaire Woods, *Inequality, Globalization, and World Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp.8-9.
- 13) Armstrong, David, "Globalization and the Social State," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 24 (1998), p.464.
- 14) Wendt, Alexander, "Levels of Analysis Vs. Agents and Structures: Part III," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 18 (1992), p.183.
- 15) *Ibid.*
- 16) Sprout, Harold and Margaret Sprout, *Man-Milieu Relationship Hypotheses in the Context of International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965)
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- 19) Friedman, Gil and Harvey Starr, *op.cit.*, pp.9-10.
- 20) N. Onuf, in case of constituting Figure of social theories: general possibilities,

uses individual—collective axis of ontology and subjectivist—objectivist axis of epistemology. But, in order to make clear the character of the methodological debate, we use objectivist—subjectivist axis of ontology and explaining—understanding axis of epistemology.

- 21) Wendt, Alexander, "Bridging the Theory/Meta-theory Gap in International Relations," *Review of International Studies*, Vol.17 (1991) p.385.
- 22) Jackson, Robert and Georg Sørensen, *Introduction to International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.238.
- 23) Ruggie, John Gerard, "Who Makes the World Hang Together? : Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constitutivist Challenge," *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No.4(1998),p. 856.
- 24) Jervis, Robert, "Realism in the Study of World Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No.4(1998), pp.977-78.
- 25) Smith, Steve, "The Self-Images of a Discipline: A Genealogy of International Relations Theory," in Booth, Ken and Steve Smith, eds., *International Relations Theory Today* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), pp.26-8.
- 26) Wendt, Alexander, "On Constitution and Causation in International Relations," p.102.
- 27) Vasquez, John A., "The Post-Positivist Debate," in Booth, Ken and Steve Smith, eds., *loc.cit.*, pp.230-31. According to J. Vasquez, good practical theory must have the following criteria: goodness, practicability, completeness, relevance, anticipated utility, success—failure, and scientifically soundness.
- 28) Hollis, Martin, "The Last Post?" in Smith, Steve, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski, eds, *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.304.
- 29) Wendt, Alexander, "On constitution and Causation in International Relations," p.101.
- 30) Although postmodernism is one of post-positivist methodological approaches, it is methodologically different form other approaches. Postmodernism extremely disputes the notion of reality, truth, and idea. It emphasizes the interrelationship between knowledge and power, and contains a nihilist tendency.
- 31) See Sørensen, George, "International Relations Theory After the Cold War," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 24, No.4(1998), pp.88-100.
- 32) Gould, Harry D., "What Is at Stake in the Agent—Structure Debate? ," in Kubálková, Vendulka, Nicholas Onuf, Paul Kowert, eds., *International Relations*

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- 33) Buzan, Barry, "The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations Reconsidered," in Booth, Ken and Steve Smith, eds., *loc.cit.*, p.199.
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- 36) Hollis, Martin and Steve Smith, "Structure and Action: Further Comment," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 18 (1992), p.187.
- 37) Wendt, Alexander, "Level of Analysis Vs. Agents and Structures: Part III," p.185.
- 38) Gould, Harry D., *op.cit.*, p.95.
- 39) Hermann, Margaret G. and Charles F. Hermann, "Who Makes Foreign Policy Decisions and How: An Empirical Inquiry," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No.4(1989), p.384.
- 40) See Friedman and Harvey Starr, *op. cit.*, pp.25-29.
- 41) Wendt, Alexander, "The Agent—Structure Problem in International Relations Theory," pp.337-38.
- 42) *Ibid.*, pp.338-39.
- 43) Waltz, Kenneth N., *Theory of International Politics* (MA: Addison—Wesley, 1979), p.78.
- 44) Clark, Ian, *op.cit.*, p.487.
- 45) Wendt, Alexander, "Collective Identity Formation and the International State," *American Political Science Review*, Vol.88(1994), p.384.
- 46) See Wendt, Alexander, "Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization*, Vol.46(1992), pp.391-426.
- 47) Hall, Rodney Bruce, *National Collective Identity: Social Constructs and International Systems* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p.14.
- 48) Waltz, Kenneth N., *op.cit.*, p.80.
- 49) Waltz, Kenneth N., "Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory," *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.44, No.1(1990), p.29.
- 50) Wendt, Alexander, "Levels of Analysis Vs. Agents and Structure: Part III,"

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- 51) Wendt, Alexander, "The Agent—Structure Problem in International Relations Theory, pp. 340-44.
- 52) See Ruggie, John G., "Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity: Towards a Neorealist Synthesis," *World Politics*, Vol. 35, No.2(1983), pp.261-85.
- 53) Waltz, Kenneth N., "Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory, " p.31.
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- 62) Wendt, Alexander, "The Agent—Structure Problem in International Relations Theory," pp.347-48.
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- 66) Wendt, Alexander, "The Agent—Structure Problem in International Relations Theory," p.359.
- 67) Wendt, Alexander, "Collective Identity Formation and the International State," p. 385.
- 68) Wendt, Alexander, "The Agent—Structure Problem in International Relations Theory," p.355.
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- 72) Wendt, Alexander and Raymond Duvall, *op.cit.*, p.59.
- 73) Wendt, Alexander, "The Agent—Structure Problem in International Relations Theory," p.356.
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