

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-46972-2 - Contexts of International Politics

Gary Goertz

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

In this book Gary Goertz analyzes different ways states interact with their environments; he also examines some specific environments that influence state behavior. Three substantive contexts especially important in affecting decision-making are history, system structure, and international norms, and Goertz discusses the theoretical, methodological, and empirical dimensions crucial to understanding them. The ways these contexts matter are explored by viewing context in turn as cause, as changing meaning, and as barrier. Goertz engages the literature on structuralism and international regimes, and uses rational actor and diffusion models as theoretical references. To show how different contexts influence behavior in different fashions, several empirical studies are provided, including oil nationalization, USSR–East European relations, enduring military rivalries, and decolonization.

---

CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: 36

**CONTEXTS OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS**

*Editorial Board*

STEVE SMITH (*Managing editor*)

KEN BOOTH   CHRISTOPHER BROWN   IAN CLARK

ROBERT COX   ANNE DEIGHTON   JEAN ELSHTAIN

FRED HALLIDAY   CHRISTOPHER HILL   RICHARD LITTLE

R. B. J. WALKER

*International Political Economy*

ROGER TOOZE   CRAIG N. MURPHY

*Cambridge Studies in International Relations* is a joint initiative of Cambridge University Press and the British International Studies Association (BISA). The series will include a wide range of material, from undergraduate textbooks and surveys to research-based monographs and collaborative volumes. The aim of the series is to publish the best new scholarship in International Studies from Europe, North America and the rest of the world.

---

CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- 36 GARY GOERTZ  
Contexts of international politics
- 35 JAMES L. RICHARDSON  
Crisis diplomacy  
*The Great Powers since the mid-nineteenth century*
- 34 BRADLEY S. KLEIN  
Strategic studies and world order  
*The global politics of deterrence*
- 33 T. V. PAUL  
Asymmetric conflicts: war initiation by weaker powers
- 32 CHRISTINE SYLVESTER  
Feminist theory and international relations in a postmodern era
- 31 PETER J. SCHRAEDER  
United States foreign policy toward Africa  
*Incrementalism, crisis and change*
- 30 GRAHAM SPINARDI  
From Polaris to Trident: The development of US Fleet Ballistic Missile technology
- 29 DAVID A. WELCH  
Justice and the genesis of war
- 28 RUSSEL J. LENG  
Interstate crisis behavior, 1816–1980: realism versus reciprocity
- 27 JOHN A. VASQUEZ  
The war puzzle
- 26 STEPHEN GILL (ed.)  
Gramsci, historical materialism and international relations
- 25 MIKE BOWKER and ROBIN BROWN (eds.)  
From Cold War to collapse: theory and world politics in the 1980s
- 24 R. B. J. WALKER  
Inside/outside: international relations as political theory
- 23 EDWARD REISS  
The Strategic Defense Initiative

*Series list continues after index*

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-46972-2 - Contexts of International Politics  
Gary Goertz  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

# CONTEXTS OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

---

**GARY GOERTZ**  
*University of Toronto*



Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-46972-2 - Contexts of International Politics  
Gary Goertz  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge  
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, CB2 1RP  
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA  
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Cambridge University Press 1994

First published 1994

Printed in Great Britain at the University Press, Cambridge

*A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data available.*

ISBN 0 521 44070 X hardback

ISBN 0 521 46972 4 paperback

TAG

---

CONTENTS

---

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>page</i> x
<i>List of tables</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xii
1 Introduction	1
2 Modes of context	14
3 Context as changing meaning	34
4 Contextual indicators	52
5 Rational actor and diffusion models	74
6 Barrier models of context	90
7 Oil nationalization, 1918–1980 (with Nathan Adams)	114
8 Eastern Europe, 1945–1989 (with Jon Solem)	137
9 Historical contexts	171
10 Enduring rivalries, or plus ça change ...	196
11 The context of international norms	223
12 The norm of decolonization	250
13 Postface: interacting contexts and explaining contexts	268
<i>References</i>	272
<i>Index</i>	289

---

# LIST OF FIGURES

---

2.1	Context as cause	<i>page</i> 17
2.2	Context as barrier	21
2.3	Context as changing meaning	27
2.4	The changing impact of context	28
3.1	Contextual definition of war	36
3.2	Non-contextual definition of war	37
4.1	Measurement models of military allocation ratios	64
6.1	Barrier model	93
6.2	The barrier: Its evolution and tests upon it	100
7.1	Pressure for nationalization: growth of nationalist regimes	123
7.2	Changing barriers to nationalization	127
7.3	Predicted versus actual nationalizations	135
9.1	Historicity and decision theory	175
9.2	Path dependence and transitivity	176
9.3	Continuity of behavior	186
10.1	Hypothetical evolution of an enduring rivalry	199
10.2	Non-war disputes within enduring rivalries	209
10.3	Wars within enduring rivalries	210
10.4	Likelihood of war in an enduring rivalry	211
10.5	Non-war territorial changes within enduring rivalries	212
10.6	War territorial changes within enduring rivalries	213
11.1	Norms as effects: cooperative norms	236
11.2	Norms as intervening variables: hegemonic norms	237
11.3	Norms versus self-interest	243
12.1	Evolution of the international norm	256
12.2	The decolonization norm measurement model	258
12.3	The impact of the decolonization norm on military conflict over independence	262

---

LIST OF TABLES

---

4.1	Context and indicator construction	<i>page</i> 53
4.2	Allocation indicators and their attributes	63
4.3	Correlations between the indicators	65
4.4	Correlations between indicators by epochs	66
4.5	Changes in non-contextual indicators over time	67
4.6	Classification agreement among the indicators	68
4.7	Indicator performance in predicting escalation to war	70
5.1	Comparing diffusion and rational actor approaches to war expansion	77
7.1	Successful nationalizations, pre-1965	121
7.2	Changing barriers: international oil marketing	125
7.3	Changing barriers: excess capacity	126
7.4	Oil nationalization: crude oil ownership	129
7.5	Changing national goals	131
7.6	Empirical estimation of a barrier model of oil nationalization	134
10.1	A comparison of enduring rivalry definitions	201
10.2	Changing thresholds and enduring rivalries	204
11.1	A typology of international norms	234



---

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

---

I would first like to thank Paul Diehl, friend and colleague, with whom much of the empirical research presented in this volume was conducted. In addition, Paul has read the whole manuscript; his comments and suggestions have been invaluable. Others have read or heard, and criticized parts of this book: my thanks go to Lars-Erik Cederman, Douglas Dion, Scott Gates, Harvey Starr, Ray Taras, John Vasquez, Keith Webb, and Dina Zinnes and the folks at the Merriam Lab. Jon Solem and Nathan Adams were intimately involved in the researching of chapters 7 and 8. Their contributions made the section on barrier models much clearer and theoretically coherent. Thanks go to John Bailey who constructed the index. I would also like to mention Caryl Flinn whose remarks about social science style incited me to make the book more readable than it was originally.

Various portions of the book appeared in earlier versions in various journals. I would like to thank *International Studies Quarterly*, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *International Interactions* and *Paradigms* for permission to use this material.

I would like also to thank Steve Smith, John Haslam, and the people at Cambridge University Press for making the production of this book a pleasant process.