Security Studies

State Socialization and Structural Realism

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One of the common criticisms of Kenneth Waltz's Theory of International Politics *is that its structural model is rather spare. This paper enriches neorealism by specifying the conditioning effects of competition and socialization operating on behalf of the international structure. Despite its neglected status in neorealist theory, I argue that socialization produces important effects on interstate interaction. I develop a model of the socialization process that uses role theory to demonstrate how interstate interaction is structured at the micro-level. Consistent with neorealism, the model assumes that socialization is heavily conditioned by material capabilities, and operates mainly on the adjustment of state behavior. I analyze several episodes of U.S. history to demonstrate that neorealism can explain how unit-level behavior is structured through socialization. The resulting elaboration of neorealism offers a more fully specified structural theory of international politics.*

INTRODUCTION

This paper reintroduces the structural principle of socialization into neorealism's theoretical framework. While most neorealists have preferred to ignore Waltz's discussion of socialization on the grounds that it was either a result of poor word choice or redundant to competition, I suggest that incorporating this mechanism into the theory allows neorealism to strengthen its

explanatory power relative to its theoretical competitors. In so doing, neorealism meets the challenge posed by constructivism to explain the interplay of ideas and material factors, which constructivists resolve in favor of the constitutive and causal power of ideas. On a theoretical level, I argue that socialization transmits material constraints imposed by anarchy and the distribution of capabilities to the level of unit interaction through a focus on the roles adopted by states. Material factors constrain ideational factors as the types of roles selected by states are conditioned by their capabilities. I use role theory to accomplish this task as its articulated views on the socialization process are more thoroughly developed than those prevalent in the current literature on state socialization. The empirical analysis demonstrates that the choice of roles and socialization activity regarding roles is heavily conditioned by material capabilities.

The paper begins with a brief reexamination of the conventional wisdom about how Waltz's theory suggests that structure conditions agent behavior by delineating the roles played by competition and socialization. It then situates a neorealist approach to socialization within the larger literature on state socialization. It continues by drawing upon roles as the ideational content, and the associated body of role theory as the model, for a neorealist exploration of socialization. The paper concludes with an illustration of the operation of socialization from a neorealist perspective in several brief case studies of early U.S. history. The result is a theoretically informed, and empirically illustrated, neorealist approach to state socialization.

NEOREALISM AND THE CONCEPT OF STATE SOCIALIZATION

Neorealist scholars, much like their counterparts working within other theories of international politics, must sort out the relationship between material and ideational factors in their explanations of international events. Neorealists, and others working within the realist tradition, have tended to favor explanations based on material capabilities over those based on the power of ideas. Recent amendments to the realist paradigm that move in the direction of incorporating ideas in one form or another have come under considerable scrutiny.[1] In an unusual, but understandable alliance, critics who suggest that neorealism should not incorporate ideas in any form have been supported

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[1] Jeffrey W. Legro and Andrew Moravcsik, "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" *International Security* 24, no. 2 (Fall 1999): 5–55; and John A. Vasquez, "The Realist Paradigm and Degenerative versus Progressive Research Programs: An Appraisal of Neotraditional Research on Waltz's Balancing Proposition," *American Political Science Review* 91, no. 4 (December 1997): 899–912.

by constructivists who argue that it cannot logically incorporate ideas as a purely materialist theory of international politics.[2]

Of these, Alexander Wendt's elaboration of a structural idealist theory of international politics poses the most significant challenge for Waltzian neorealism.[3] Wendt's structural idealism, or what he terms "a constructivist approach to the international system," attempts to turn neorealism on its head by incorporating the structural features of anarchy and systemic distributions of unit-level characteristics, while rendering the causal power that neorealists ascribe to materialism subservient to the constitutive power of ideas.[4] The challenge posed by this form of constructivism is to produce a fully specified structural theory of international politics capable of demonstrating that material factors are the primary determinants of interstate relations that severely limit or constrain any independent causal or constitutive effect of ideas.

The main obstacle preventing neorealism from achieving this goal, as John Ruggie and Barry Buzan et al. have explained, is that Waltz's structuralism is rather thin.[5] Waltz views structure as a set of constraining conditions imposed upon the units of the system.[6] The structure acts as a selector by rewarding some behaviors and punishing others. In this manner structure limits the kind and quality of outcomes produced by agents in the system despite the varying goals and efforts of those agents; however, structure does not directly produce effects in the system. Rather, structure affects behavior indirectly through two means: competition and socialization. Both competition and socialization are thought to produce "like units," and the "sameness

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[2] Timothy Dunne, "The Social Construction of International Society," *European Journal of International Relations* 1, no. 3 (September 1995): 367–89; Ronald L. Jepperson, Alexander Wendt, and Peter J. Katzenstein, "Norms, Identity, and Culture in National Security," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Alexander Wendt, "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory," *International Organization* 41, no. 3 (Summer 1987): 335–70; and Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[3] Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*. Wendt's own work is highly indebted to work within the English School tradition, including most directly Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977). Barry Buzan's body of work also continues the development of an approach to understanding international society while maintaining an appreciation for the role of power and interest that is rooted in the realist tradition. Buzan offers an approach that integrates neorealism and the English School that is compatible with many of the arguments in this paper. Barry Buzan, "From International System to International Society: Structural Realism and Regime Theory Meet the English School," *International Organization* 47, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 327–52.

[4] Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, 33.

[5] John G. Ruggie, "Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity: Toward a Neorealist Synthesis," in *Neorealism and Its Critics*, ed. R. O. Keohane (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 131–57. Barry Buzan, Charles Jones, and Richard Little, *The Logic of Anarchy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993). See Buzan et al. for an attempt to expand neorealism to include process through the incorporation of an interaction level of analysis and process formations located in the unit-level of analysis. The interaction level of analysis describes the capacity of the system for interaction based on technological and societal capabilities, while actual interstate interaction occurs within the unit level of analysis under the rubric of process-formations.

[6] Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Boston: Addison-Wesley, 1979), 73–74.

effect," in which the internal organization and external behavior of states are molded and shaped into an acceptable range of activities. Waltz gives anecdotal evidence for the competition and socialization propositions, yet few have attempted to examine or test hypotheses surrounding the concepts.[7] This lack of attention may be the result of a rather vague discussion of these concepts in Waltz's writing.[8]

Unfortunately, previous discussions of socialization provide little guidance for incorporating this concept into neorealism either. Most accounts rely on some form of hierarchy to establish the environment and principle agents of socialization. For example, G. John Ikenberry and Charles Kupchan, Qingxin Ken Wang, and Carol Atkinson discuss socialization within the confines of a hegemonic system.[9] Other studies focus on highly institutionalized environments, such as the EU or membership in international organizations like NATO.[10] Such environments provide a thicker milieu of rules and norms into which newcomers must be socialized than the normal world of international relations characterized by anarchy and self-help. These environments also often provide an easily identifiable socializer, such as a hegemon or international institution. Yet, even in such a highly institutionalized environment as the EU, the evidence in favor of state socialization is mixed.[11]

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[7] Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, 127–28.

[8] Timothy McKeown, "The Limits of 'Structural' Theories of Commercial Policy," *International Organization* 40 (Winter 1986): 43–64; Helen Milner, "The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique," *Review of International Studies* 17 (January 1991): 67–85; Cameron G. Thies, "A Social Psychological Approach to Enduring Rivalries," *Political Psychology* 22, no. 4 (December 2001): 693–725; and Tanisha M. Fazal, *State Death: The Politics and Geography of Conquest, Occupation, and Annexation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

[9] G. John Ikenberry and Charles A. Kupchan, "Socialization and Hegemonic Power," *International Organization* 44, no. 3 (Summer 1990): 283–315; Qingxin Ken Wang, "Hegemony and Socialisation of the Mass Public: The Case of Postwar Japan's Cooperation with the United States on China Policy," *Review of International Studies* 29, no. 1 (January 2003): 99–119; and Carol Atkinson, "Constructivist Implications of Material Power: Military Engagement and the Socialization of States, 1972–2000," *International Studies Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (September 2006): 509–37.

[10] Frank Schimmelfennig, "International Socialization in the New Europe: Rational Action in an Institutional Environment," *European Journal of International Relations* 6, no. 1 (March 2000): 109–39; Frank Schimmelfennig, "Strategic Calculation and International Socialization: Membership Incentives, Party Constellations, and Sustained Compliance in Central and Eastern Europe," *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (Fall 2005): 827–60; Trine Flockhart, "'Masters and Novices': Socialization and Social Learning through the NATO Parliamentary Assembly," *International Relations* 18, no. 3 (September 2004): 361–80; Alexandra Gheciu, "Security Institutions as Agents of Socialization? NATO and the 'New Europe,'" *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (Fall 2005): 973–1,012; Jeffrey T. Checkel, "International Institutions and Socialization in Europe: Introduction and Framework," *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (Fall 2005): 801–26; Judith Kelley, "International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership and Socialization by International Institutions," *International Organization* 58 (2004): 425–57; and David H. Bearce and Stacy Bondanella, "Intergovernmental Organizations, Socialization, and Member-State Interest Convergence," *International Organization* 61, no. 4 (Fall 2007): 703–33.

[11] Alastair Iain Johnston, "Conclusions and Extensions: Toward Mid-Range Theorizing and Beyond Europe," *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (Fall 2005): 1,013–44; and Michael Zurn and Jeffrey T. Checkel, "Getting Socialized to Build Bridges: Constructivism and Rationalism, Europe and the Nation-State," *International Organization* 59, no. 4 (Fall 2005): 1,045–79.

Therefore, the analytical choices made by these scholars are not particularly helpful to incorporating socialization into neorealism's anarchic view of the international system.

Joao Resende-Santos' previous attempt to incorporate socialization into a neorealist explanation of the emulation of military systems obscures the concept of socialization even further.[12] Resende-Santos argues that "emulation is more directly a product of socialization" than it is of competition, even though he discusses both emulation and innovation as features of competition.[13] For example, he suggests that "the pressures of competition force states to gravitate toward those institutions or technologies that proved most effective," which posits a clear link between competition and emulation.[14] As with most neorealist accounts, the impact of socialization and competition are conflated by Resende-Santos. I suggest that the emulation of military systems would more properly be conditioned by competition, which Resende-Santos' later work on the subject seems to acknowledge.[15] This also fits with Waltz's primary example of the conditioning effects of competition in *Theory of International Politics*.[16] On the other hand, Waltz's example of socialization refers to the Bolsheviks conforming to common international practices and behavior despite a revolutionary ideology that suggested flouting the conventions of diplomacy.[17] Waltz's sociological use of socialization clearly troubles Resende-Santos, but I demonstrate how we can draw on sociological concepts associated with role theory to demonstrate how socialization can be more fully incorporated into neorealism without undermining its theoretical core.[18]

A Role Theoretic Approach to State Socialization

David Dessler reminds us of Waltz's example of socialization when he asks the question "what are the units socialized *to*, if not (at a minimum)

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[12] Joao Resende-Santos, "Anarchy and the Emulation of Military Systems: Military Organization and Technology in South America, 1870–1930," *Security Studies* 5, no. 3 (Spring 1996): 193–260.

[13] Resende-Santos, "Anarchy and the Emulation of Military Systems," 208.

[14] Ibid., 209.

[15] Joao Resende-Santos, *Neorealism, States, and the Modern Mass Army* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Rather than attempt to grapple with the challenges or opportunities posed by the incorporation of socialization into neorealism, Resende-Santos relegates Waltz's extensive discussion of the concept to "poor word choice" and "confusing language." See Resende-Santos, *Neorealism, States, and the Modern Mass Army*, 83–85. Curiously, the same evidence that supported socialization as the process that was responsible for military emulation in South America in his 1996 article is found to support emulation as a result of competition in his 2007 book.

[16] Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, 127.

[17] Ibid., 127–28.

[18] Resende-Santos, "Anarchy and the Emulation of Military Systems," 208; and Resende-Santos, *Neorealism, States, and the Modern Mass Army*, 83–85.

understandings of conventions?"[19] Dessler further argues that "if Waltz's theory did not presume the existence of a set of rules constitutive of 'the system' to which nations are socialized, it could not explain how state behavior is constrained by structure."[20] While rules figure prominently in Dessler's approach, they are not the only conceivable contents of socialization activities. Norms, principles, and beliefs are also good candidates for the contents of socialization, though this paper focuses on roles and an associated body of role theory developed in sociology and social psychology.[21] Socialization should be viewed most clearly in the context of role relationships between states in the system. Within these role relationships socialization is defined as "the activity that confronts and lends structure to the entry of nonmembers into an already existing world or a sector of that world."[22] Roles and the associated body of role theory are quite compatible with neorealism for several reasons.

Previous work on roles and role theory in foreign policy and international relations has always been attuned to the realist tradition.[23] While K. J. Holsti's seminal study criticized traditional international relations theorists for assuming that states perform only a single role in the international system, he also identified national role conceptions such as "aggressor," "defender," and "balancer" that have been used by realists in balance of power theory.[24] Stephen Walker explicitly uses Waltz's *Theory of International Politics*

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[19] David Dessler, "What's At Stake in the Agent-Structure Debate?" *International Organization* 43, no. 3 (Summer 1989): 460 (emphasis in original).

[20] Dessler, "What's At Stake in the Agent-Structure Debate?" 460.

[21] Role theory refers to a wide array of concepts and propositions (rather than a single theory) developed in the interdisciplinary field of social psychology around the central notion that individuals occupy roles in a larger social structure.

[22] W. M. Wentworth, *Context and Understanding: An Inquiry Into Socialization Theory* (New York: Elsevier, 1980), 5. Sheldon Stryker and Anne Statham similarly define socialization as "the process by which the newcomer—the infant, rookie, or trainee, for example—becomes incorporated into organized patterns of interaction." Sheldon Stryker and Anne Statham, "Symbolic Interaction and Role Theory," in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, 3rd ed., eds., Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson (New York: Random House, 1985), 325. Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann define the concept as "the comprehensive and consistent induction of an individual into the objective world of a society or sector of it." Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: Anchor Books, 1966), 130. David Armstrong defines it as the process "whereby an increasing entanglement within an existing structure of relationships brings about an increasing degree of adaptation to the normal behaviour patterns of that structure." David Armstrong, *Revolution and World Order: The Revolutionary State in International Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 7–8.

[23] Cameron G. Thies, "Sense and Sensibility in the Study of State Socialization: A Reply to Kai Alderson," *Review of International Studies* 29, no. 4 (October 2003): 543–50; and Cameron G. Thies, "Role Theory and Foreign Policy," in *The International Studies Encyclopedia*, vol. 10, ed. Robert A. Denemark (West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 6,335–56.

[24] K. J. Holsti's own list of roles observed between 1965 and 1967 includes: bastion of revolution-liberator, regional leader, regional protector, active independent, liberation supporter, anti-imperialist agent, defender of the faith, mediator-integrator, regional-subsystem collaborator, developer, bridge, faithful ally, independent, example, internal development, isolate, and protectee. K. J. Holsti, "National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy," *International Studies Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (September 1970): 260–70.

to produce an exchange theory of politics that spans both domestic and international politics.[25] Walker even refers to work by scholars in the Comparative Research on the Events of Nations (CREON) tradition as "realist role theory."[26] Further, the recent revisions of realism and neorealism, known as "neoclassical" or "postclassical" realism have also made use of roles in much the same way as their classical predecessors (for example, Morgenthau).[27] These include roles such as "rogue" states, "revisionist" or "status quo" states, or even "wolves, foxes, ostriches, and jackals."[28] The neoclassical realist use of roles is actually quite similar to Wendt's constructivist use of the roles of "enemies," "rivals," and "friends."[29] Even Waltz has used the language of roles to suggest that in the post-Cold War era "the old and the new great powers will have to learn new roles and figure out how to enact them on a shifting stage. New roles are hard to learn, and actors easily trip when playing on unfamiliar sets."[30] This language at least implies that roles are consistent with Waltz's general outlook on international politics.

[25] Stephen G. Walker, ed. *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 66–79; Charles F. Hermann, "Superpower Involvement with Others: Alternative Role Relationships," in *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*, ed. Stephen G. Walker (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987), 219–40; and Charles F. Hermann, Maurice East, Margaret Hermann, Barbara Salmore, and Stephen Salmore, *CREON: A Foreign Events Data Set* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1973).

[26] Walker, *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*, 256–59.

[27] Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," *World Politics* 51, no. 1 (October 1998): 144–72; and Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948).

[28] Randall L. Schweller, *Deadly Imbalances: Tripolarity and Hitler's Strategy of World Conquest* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

[29] Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*. Much of the work in foreign policy analysis that uses role theory does not adopt a particular paradigmatic approach, such as Breuning, Chafetz et al., and LePrestre. Marijke Breuning, "Words and Deeds: Foreign Assistance Rhetoric and Policy Behavior in the Netherlands, Belgium, and the United Kingdom," *International Studies Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (1995): 235–54; Glenn Chafetz, Hillel Abramson, and Suzette Grillot, "Role Theory and Foreign Policy: Belarussian and Ukrainian Compliance with the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime," *Political Psychology* 17, no. 4 (1996): 727–57; and Philippe G. Le Prestre, ed. *Role Quests in the Post-Cold War Era: Foreign Policies in Transition* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997). Juliet Kaarbo has noted that it has become increasingly common for constructivists to use the language of roles to describe identities without acknowledging their debt to foreign policy role theory, including Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, 227, who only briefly acknowledges Holsti's work. Juliet, "Foreign Policy Analysis in the Twenty-First Century: Back to Comparison, Forward to Identity and Ideas," *International Studies Review* 5, no. 2 (June 2003): 156–63. Checkel's discussion of role-playing as a mechanism of socialization similarly ignores previous foreign policy role theory contributions. Checkel, "International Institutions and Socialization in Europe," 810–12. Yet, a number of constructivists have begun to use foreign policy role theory in a more self-conscious manner. See the following: Ben Tonra and Thomas Christiansen, eds, *Rethinking European Union Foreign Policy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004); Ole Elgstrom and Michael Smith, ed., *The European Union's Roles in International Politics: Concepts and Analysis* (London: Routledge, 2006); and Amy L. Catalinac, "Identity Theory and Foreign Policy: Explaining Japan's Responses to the 1991 Gulf War and the 2003 U.S. War in Iraq," *Politics & Policy* 35, no. 1 (March 2007): 58–100.

[30] Kenneth Waltz, "The Emerging Structure of International Politics," in *Relations in a Multipolar World*, U.S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, 101st Cong., 2nd sess., 1990, 222.

The theatrical metaphor that guides role theory is illustrated quite nicely by the aforementioned quotation from Waltz. This metaphor has been applied in different ways to create different theoretical traditions within role theory.[31] For the purposes of the study of the international system, this paper defines roles both as positions within a group and as any socially recognized category of actors.[32] This definition blends structural and interactional versions of roles, and seems appropriate given that roles enacted within the context of role relationships also blend structure and agent interaction. The range of potential roles adopted by states, as indicated above, is quite large as implied by another popular definition of roles as "repertoires of behavior, inferred from others' expectations and one's own conceptions, selected at least partly in response to cues and demands."[33] Theatrically, we might think of actors interpreting their words and deeds from a script that defines their roles in relation to the roles played by other actors on the stage. Roles might be self-selected, or actors might be cast into roles, but either way actors must figure out the best way to enact their roles given others' expectations. These expectations, as we would expect in a neorealist account, are highly contingent upon the material capabilities of the actors. States can largely select and enact any role that they have the material capabilities to back up—when they do not have commensurate capabilities, they will be subject to socialization efforts to remove them from a role. As we would also expect, great powers are the dominant socializers in the international system, though regional powers will intervene in their subsystems, and relevant peer states will also engage in socialization efforts to maintain order and security in their environment.

Role theory, like neorealism, presents a highly structured view of reality.[34] Role theory posits that established roles and the role location process reduce the variety of possible behaviors and outcomes in society in a manner compatible with Waltz's socialization proposition.[35] Role theory's articulated views on the socialization process stand in stark contrast to the underdeveloped models of socialization associated with norms.[36]

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[31] B. J. Biddle, "Recent Developments in Role Theory," *American Review of Sociology* 12 (1986): 68–76.

[32] Biddle, "Recent Developments in Role Theory"; Stryker and Statham, "Symbolic Interaction and Role Theory"; and Peter L. Callero, "Toward a Meadian Conceptualization of Role," *The Sociological Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (1986): 343–58.

[33] Walker, *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*, 23.

[34] Stryker and Statham, "Symbolic Interaction and Role Theory," 311.

[35] Theodore R. Sarbin and Vernon L. Allen, "Role Theory," in *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, 2nd ed., eds., Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson (Reading, MA: Addison Wesley, 1968), 501–3.

[36] For examples, see Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (October 1998): 887–917; and Thomas Risse-Kappen, Steve C. Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink, *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). In *Social Theory of International Politics*, Wendt's use of roles in his discussion of socialization is not particularly helpful either. Wendt

In particular, socialization can be conceived of as a role location process occurring between actors in a role relationship.[37] Any role that an actor attempts to adopt automatically implies a counter-role to form a relationship. For example, the role of regional protector is meaningless without another actor in the role of regional protectee. Both parties must determine the appropriateness of the selection and enactment of a role/counterrole during role bargaining. If the role selection is determined to be inappropriate, then we should expect socialization activities to prevent the state from enacting the role. If the role is enacted inappropriately, then we should see socialization activities to bring behavior in line with expectations. Socialization activities could include the full spectrum of behavior from diplomacy to war; yet in a neorealist world coercion is expected to underpin all socialization efforts. Deviance from expectations is permissible in the short run as actors engage in "aligning actions" to bring their behavior in line with standards, but over the long run such behavior would be punished in accordance with neorealism's logic of selection.[38] The only exception to this rule is that social deviance could persist in a situation of structural failure.[39] In the case of the state system, structural failure would characterize certain regions where interaction capacity is low, such that it is difficult to even think of a system whose members could constrain agent behavior, or when, for whatever reason, the great powers fail to perform their socializing role.[40]

Role theory is sometimes mistakenly viewed as solely appropriate for the study of individuals, such as the leaders of states.[41] However, role theory developed in the interdisciplinary field of social psychology and can

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examines three hypothetical roles: enemy, rival, and friend. Socialization occurs when State A meets State B and attempts to enact one of these roles. If State A treats State B as an enemy, and State B responds by treating State A as an enemy, then an enemy role relationship is formed. If a tipping point is reached, whereby all states treat each other as enemies, then a Hobbesian culture of anarchy is formed. The Lockean culture based on the rival role and the Kantian culture based on the friend role are both formed in the same way. This is a highly stylized account of the socialization process that involves symmetrical role relationships that serve the purpose of illustrating the theory, rather than replicating the types of roles and role relationships formed in the real world.

[37] Sarbin and Allen, "Role Theory," 506–10; and Stryker and Statham, "Symbolic Interaction and Role Theory," 351–52. According to Thies, role location refers to "the interactional process whereby an individual locates himself within the social structure." Thies, "Role Theory and Foreign Policy," 6,339.

[38] Randall Stokes and John P. Hewitt, "Aligning Actions," *American Sociological Review* 41 (1976): 838–49. As suggested by McKeown, both the behavior and the actor are subject to selection in neorealism. See McKeown, "The Limits of 'Structural' Theories of Commercial Policy," 53. In the state system, we would expect action to alter or eliminate a state's behavior through coercive diplomacy prior to attempts to eliminate the state itself. As the U.S. case will show, Britain and France attempted to socialize the United States out of the neutral role and its related behaviors prior to Britain's attempt to eliminate the United States as an actor in the War of 1812.

[39] Stryker and Statham, "Symbolic Interaction and Role Theory," 365.

[40] Buzan, Jones, and Little, *The Logic of Anarchy*.

[41] Paul Kowert and Jeffrey Legro, "Norms, Identity, and their Limits," in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 477.

be appropriately applied to both individuals and corporate entities.[42] Wendt concurs that the absence of roles from structural theorizing is the result of confusion about the appropriate level of analysis, with structural realist accounts of international politics assigning roles to unit-level theorizing, when theoretically roles are attributes of structures, not agents.[43]

For the purposes of this paper, we may think of roles as a kind of structural modifier originally introduced by Glenn Snyder into neorealist theory.[44] Structural modifiers are "system-wide influences that are structural in their inherent nature but not potent enough internationally to warrant that designation. They modify the effects of the more basic structural elements on the interaction process, but they are not interaction itself."[45] Examples of structural modifiers given by Snyder include norms, institutions, and military technology. Structural modifiers are clearly systemic variables, and not unit attributes. The concept of structural modifiers helps to rescue many aspects of the international system that have been relegated to the unit-level by Waltz and even Buzan et al. in their attempt to build a more structural version of realism.[46]

Snyder also distinguishes between relationships and interaction, which are often conflated as process.[47] Interaction is behavior that is comprised of communication between states or some physical action like war. Relationships, on the other hand, "are not behavior itself, but the situational context of the behavior."[48] Relationships act as a conduit through which structure affects behavior during episodes of interaction. Relationships also channel the effects of internal attributes of states to interaction episodes. Further, in addition to providing a conduit for both structural and unit-level effects, relationships are posited to exert independent effects on behavior. Relationships provide more specific constraints on behavior within the already broad constraints posed by anarchy and the distribution of capabilities. The principle components of relationships are alignments and alliances, common and conflicting interests, capabilities, and interdependence.[49] Relationships thus

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[42] Stephen G. Walker, "National Role Conceptions and Systemic Outcomes," in *Psychological Models in International Politics*, ed. L. Falkowski (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979), 173. Stryker and Statham, "Symbolic Interaction and Role Theory," 330; and Michael Barnett, "Institutions, Roles, and Disorder: The Case of the Arab States System," *International Studies Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (September 1993): 274.

[43] Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, 251–57. Wendt's primary example is Buzan, Jones, and Little, *The Logic of Anarchy*, 46.

[44] Glenn H. Snyder, "Process Variables in Neorealist Theory," *Security Studies* 5, no. 3 (Spring 1996): 167–92.

[45] Snyder, "Process Variables in Neorealist Theory," 169.

[46] Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*; and Buzan, Little, and Jones, *The Logic of Anarchy*.

[47] Snyder, "Process Variables in Neorealist Theory," 171.

[48] Ibid., 172.

[49] Snyder prefers to use the term capability to refer to "what a state can accomplish with its military forces against particular other states," or the "potential outcome of a military action." Snyder believes it is better to label Waltz's use of capabilities as "power resources," denoting an inventory of forces and resources. Snyder, "Process Variables in Neorealist Theory," 180.

provide the context for interaction between states and are more structural than procedural in their orientation.[50] These concepts allow the researcher to examine more fully the effects of structure, as channeled through structural modifiers and relationships, upon the units and their interactions. Only by incorporating these micro-level aspects of structure can we begin to predict or explain the foreign policy behavior of particular states.[51]

Through the use of Snyder's structural modifiers and relationships, neorealism can begin to fully incorporate socialization into its explanations of structurally-constrained state behavior. Socialization allows neorealism to incorporate ideational factors into its model of the international system without compromising its materialist foundations. Figure 1 illustrates the causal effects of the various components of the more fully specified structural version of neorealism that this paper advocates. Anarchy and the distribution of capabilities work through competition to maintain similarity in form and function of the units in the system, consequently reinforcing anarchy and maintaining relative stability in the distribution of capabilities. Anarchy and the distribution of capabilities also work through socialization, as various structural modifiers (roles in this case) condition the kinds of relationships (role relationships in this case) within which states find themselves.[52] Those relationships are affected by alignments and alliances, common and conflicting interests, capabilities, and interdependence. Relationships thus constrain the interaction between the units. The end result is that units and their behaviors are constrained by anarchy and the distribution of capabilities through the effects of both competition and socialization. The conformity of unit attributes and behavior produced by competition and socialization results in a feedback loop to maintain the continuity of the structure of the system.

Stryker and Statham list several activities found to be responsible for socialization in the literature: direct instruction, imitation or modeling, and

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[50] Wendt's notion of micro-structure is quite similar to Snyder's use of relationships. Wendt divides structure into macro and micro levels based on their vantage point in the system. The macro-structures of the system are anarchy and the distribution of capabilities, because they depict the world from the standpoint of the system. Micro-structures refer to the "relationships between a system's parts," and depict the world from the viewpoint of the agent. Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, 148. Micro-structures, like relationships, do not refer to the internal characteristics of units. Rather, they structure the interaction between units based on the configuration of desires, beliefs, strategies, and capabilities across the actors in a relationship.

[51] See Elman and Waltz's reply for an evaluation of neorealism's potential to produce theories of foreign policy. Waltz continues to argue that international politics and foreign policy are separate domains of inquiry. Colin Elman, "Horses for Courses: Why Not Neorealist Theories of Foreign Policy?" *Security Studies* 6, no. 1 (Autumn 1996): 7–53. Fearon reviews this claim and concurs with Elman that there is no logical barrier to the use of theories of international politics to inform foreign policy analysis. James D. Fearon, "Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and Theories of International Relations," *Annual Review of Political Science* 1 (June 1998): 289–313.

[52] Structural modifiers and relationships thus form the distribution of knowledge or ideas that Wendt makes central to his version of constructivism. However, in this formulation the distribution of ideas is conditioned by the distribution of material capabilities. See Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*.
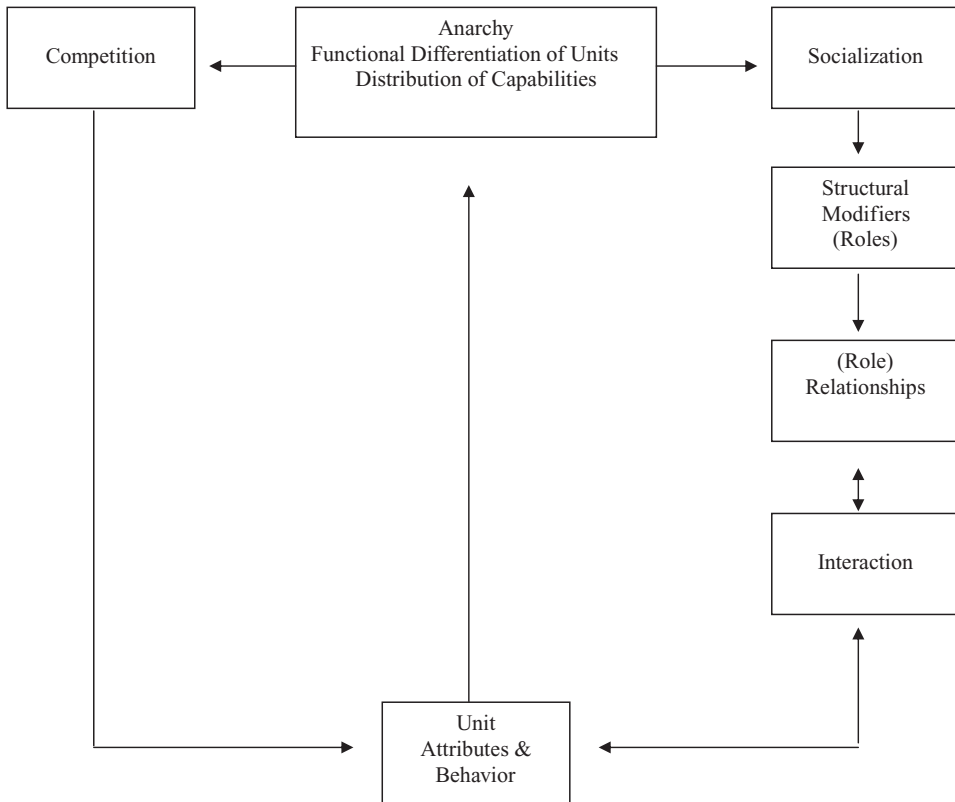
FIGURE 1 A Fully Specified Structural Version of Neorealism.

altercasting.[53] In most sociological accounts these activities would normally be described in terms of the internalization of normative expectations on the part of the individual actor being socialized with a consequent change in preferences.[54] However, for the purposes of incorporating socialization

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[53] Stryker and Statham, "Symbolic Interaction and Role Theory," 334.

[54] Wendt suggests three different degrees to which states may internalize norms as a result of socialization: coercion, self-interest, and legitimacy. See Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, 250. Wendt's degrees of internalization do not quite match Finnemore and Sikkink's expectations for socialization outcomes based on conformity, legitimation, and self-esteem, but they are roughly similar. See Finnemore and Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." A neorealist model would expect that attempts to induce conformity based on coercion and self-interest are the key to state socialization. This would qualify as Checkel's Type I socialization, in which the actor's behavior may change while the underlying interests remain the same (also described as strategic calculation or role playing), as opposed to Type II, in which the actor's interests and even identity change. See Checkel, "International Institutions and Socialization in Europe," 804. This type of outcome is likely a product of what Johnston calls the micro-process of social influence, which describes how socialization works through rewards and punishments. Alastair Iain Johnston, "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments," *International Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (December 2001): 487–515. As opposed to the micro-process of persuasion, social influence simply results in behavioral change and does not effect

into neorealism with states serving as the key actors these activities will be described in terms of the adjustment of behavior rather than preferences,[55] or what Jack Levy labels structural adjustment, and Philip Tetlock calls adaptation.[56] Socialization should thus occur indirectly through the imitation or modeling of behavior associated with roles and directly through instruction and altercasting of expected behavior.[57]

Although socialization is argued by Waltz to be one of the two ways that structure affects unit behavior in the system, we know that competition is usually the most prominent explanation given by subsequent neorealists for the outcomes that are observed in the system. Perhaps this is good enough. Why should we bother to develop socialization within neorealist theory if competition seems to do the job on its own? The paper suggests four reasons why socialization should be articulated as its own structural principle within neorealist theory. First, by incorporating socialization neorealism can begin to think about process. According to Jennifer Sterling-Folker, "process is actually central to realist theory since it is process that determines how actors react to external events and pressures in the realist argument."[58] Socialization is such a process according to all sociological and psychological accounts, and previous usage in international relations. It is a process that works on behalf of structure to bring agent behavior into conformity. As such, socialization bridges the gap between agents and structure in the study of international relations and moves neorealism back in the direction of structural or holist theorizing as opposed to individualism.[59]

Second, following Sterling-Folker's line of reasoning, the socialization process allows neorealism an avenue to incorporate domestic factors in the

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a deeper change in preferences. Although Johnston calls social influence a "secondary socialization process," it is still socialization nonetheless. Therefore, a neorealist model adopts a social influence approach to socialization that focuses mainly on changes in state behavior in reaction to material sanctions, as opposed to a constructivist approach focused on persuasion leading to the internalization of norms. See Johnston, "Treating International Institutions as Social Enviroments," 502.

[55] James D. Morrow, "Social Choice and System Structure in World Politics," *World Politics* 41, no. 1 (October 1988): 75–97.

[56] Jack S. Levy, "Learning and Foreign Policy: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield," *International Organization* 48, no. 2 (Spring 1994): 279–312; Philip Tetlock, "Learning in U.S. and Soviet Foreign Policy: In Search of an Elusive Concept," in *Learning in U.S. and Soviet Foreign Policy*, eds., George Breslauer and Philip Tetlock (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991). Schimmelfennig describes socialization as rational action in the context of an institutionalized environment. It is not clear whether states are rational actors in a neorealist system, or whether they are adapting according to an evolutionary mechanism. The concept of socialization is compatible with either. See Schimmelfennig, "International Socialization in the New Europe."

[57] Altercasting involves the selection of a role by ego for alter followed by attempts to elicit enactment of the role through cues and demands. Essentially, a state is cast in a role by the other state in a role relationship, or by the audience of states, and then expected to enact it properly.

[58] Jennifer Sterling-Folker, "Realist Environment, Liberal Process, and Domestic-Level Variables," *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (March 1997): 16.

[59] Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, 29–33.

analysis of foreign policy choices. In her analysis, "the systemic and the domestic can act as simultaneous independent variables in the realist argument. The anarchic environment remains primarily but indirectly causal, while process remains secondarily but directly causal."[60] Foreign policy choices are the result of state actors following their own domestic policy processes to respond to external events and pressures, as would be expected in an analysis incorporating socialization. Thus, neorealism as a theory of international politics also provides the theoretical tools to analyze foreign policy choices due to its ability to link agents and structures through socialization. Without this connection to domestic politics and foreign policy choices, neorealism remains a highly abstract theory with little connection to the real world of events. This is clearly unsatisfying even to Waltz and other neorealists as evidenced by the fact that they often make foreign policy predictions even while decrying neorealism's use as a theory of foreign policy.[61]

Third, neorealism can begin to explore change by incorporating socialization. Socialization activities that occur in interstate relationships may not always perfectly constrain behavior according to structural dictates. In some situations, the emulation that is key to reproducing structure may give way to innovation in behavior.[62] Consistent with a materialist conception of international politics, this paper will argue that innovation in behavior is possible due to the greater capabilities of one of the parties to a relationship, in the case of structural failure where interaction capacity is low, or in instances when the great powers fail to perform their socializing duties.

Fourth, socialization also offers a way for neorealism to subsume ideational factors within a materialist framework in a manner similar to Wendt's constructivist incorporation of material factors into an idealist framework. Socialization is at heart an ideational concept. Individuals or corporate actors are socialized to certain norms, roles, rules, or beliefs that dominate their respective systems. However, these ideational factors have behavioral manifestations, and neorealism is clearly interested in state behavior. The focus on *behavior* clearly separates neorealism from a constructivist interest in the *constitutive* impact of norms, roles, and other ideational factors on state identity.[63] However, there is no theoretical reason that prevents neorealism from acknowledging the way that the international system constitutes state identity, as well as its subsequent effects on state behavior. Neorealism, as a materialist theory of international politics, should not eschew ideational factors. Instead, neorealism should show how the constitutive and causal effects of ideas are tightly constrained by, or even a product of, material factors. This paper suggests—in contradiction to John Vasquez, and Jeffrey Legro and

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[60] Sterling-Folker, "Realist Environment, Liberal Process, and Domestic-Level Variables," 22.
[61] Elman, "Horses for Courses," 10.
[62] Resende-Santos, "Anarchy and the Emulation of Military Systems," 203–4.
[63] Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, 101.

Andrew Moravcsik–that the incorporation of ideas into neorealism need not be degenerating, nor is it contradictory to its theoretical core.[64] Neorealism is already prepared to deal with ideational factors through Waltz's inclusion of socialization as one of the two methods by which structure shapes and constrains the units of the system, yet as the paper demonstrates, they are incorporated in a manner that retains the overall emphasis on material factors through the use of role theory.

SOCIALIZING THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1783–1814

The following brief case studies are drawn from several episodes of socialization in early U.S. history. These cases were chosen for a number of analytical reasons. First, neorealism is often used as a foil for institutionalist (for example, Elman), liberal (for example, Owen), and other approaches emphasizing domestic-level determinants of U.S. foreign policy during this time period (for example, Silverstone).[65] By incorporating the socialization mechanism, this paper suggests that the central insights of these approaches can often be subsumed within a neorealist framework. As Sterling-Folker has argued, domestic-level approaches like these are often compatible with neorealism.[66] Second, Mlada Bukovansky has analyzed early U.S. history from a constructivist standpoint employing roles to demonstrate the importance of identity formation on state behavior.[67] The analysis in this paper will demonstrate that the choice of roles and socialization activity regarding roles is heavily conditioned by material capabilities. Any identity conferred on a state through its adoption of a role is thus constrained and shaped by material forces. By incorporating ideational factors through the socialization mechanism, this analysis explains many of Bukovansky's constructivist interpretations of U.S. behavior. Thus, a more fully specified neorealism is able to account for the impact of both material and ideational factors on state behavior.

Third, according to most neorealists, structure should most constrain the behavior of small states like the United States during this time period.[68] Foreign policy in small states should reflect an overriding concern with the

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[64] Legro and Moravcsik, "Is Anybody Still a Realist?"; and Vasquez, "The Realist Paradigm."

[65] Miriam F. Elman, "The Foreign Policies of Small States: Challenging Neorealism in Its Own Backyard," *British Journal of Political Science* 25, no. 2 (April 1995): 171–217; John M. Owen, *Liberal Peace, Liberal War: American Politics and International Security* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997); and Scott A. Silverstone, *Divided Union: The Politics of War in the Early American Republic* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004).

[66] Sterling-Folker, "Realist Environment, Liberal Process, and Domestic-Level Variables."

[67] Mlada Bukovansky, "American Identity and Neutral Rights from Independence to the War of 1812," *International Organization* 51, no. 2 (March 1997): 209–43.

[68] Elman, "The Foreign Policies of Small States," 175–79.

external environment and potential threats to its survival. Thus, if socialization is operating on behalf of structure, we should see its constraining effects most clearly in small states. The United States might be seen as an easy case for an explanation based on socialization in this regard. Fourth, despite the fact that it was a small state during this time period, the United States could also be a hard case through which to demonstrate socialization. The United States emerges as a sovereign state on the fringes of the European-centered international system, and prior to the formation of its own regional state subsystem. Thus, interaction capacity is fairly low because of its geographical separation from Europe by the Atlantic Ocean, and the lack of other sovereign states in its immediate vicinity. Finally, these cases illustrate the pervasive nature of the operation of socialization in the international system. The history of these cases will be familiar to most, yet the analysis demonstrates that it is often socialization rather than competition that plays a determining role in state behavior. However, it is important to recall that both competition and socialization are crucial to neorealist analysis. Therefore, the two mechanisms should not be considered theoretical "competitors" despite the fact that for illustrative purposes the analysis will often highlight the effects of socialization.

This approach does not predict which roles a state will choose, because that kind of explanation is primarily the domain of foreign policy analysis. The domestic political process and the international environment act as simultaneous independent variables to determine the choice of a role.[69] States, and their leaders, can choose from a variety of roles available in the system. As Waltz notes,

> chiliastic rulers occasionally come to power. In power, most of them quickly change their ways. They can refuse to do so, and yet hope to survive, only if they rule countries little affected by the competition of states. The socialization of nonconformist states proceeds at a pace that is set by the extent of their involvement in the system.[70]

However, this approach does suggest which roles will be accepted and which will be rejected through the socialization process working on behalf of structure. States that adopt roles inappropriate to their material capabilities should expect socialization efforts to remove them from such roles unless they exist in areas where interaction capacity is very low, or where the great powers are not fulfilling their socializing duties. This is consistent with Sterling-Folker's argument that "the anarchic environment sets a particular context or 'a set of constraining conditions' for process."[71] As Sterling-Folker

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[69] Sterling-Folker, "Realist Environment, Liberal Process, and Domestic-Level Variables," 22.
[70] Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, 128.
[71] Sterling-Folker, "Realist Environment, Liberal Process, and Domestic-Level Variables," 18.

emphasizes from Waltz, no state acts with "perfect knowledge or wisdom" in their foreign policy choices, and may blunder or succeed, despite or as the result of skill or dumb luck.[72]

Seeking the Neutral Role—Act I

The first brief case study analyzes the socialization activities surrounding the adoption of the neutral role by the United States during the period 1783 to 1803. The United States had just recently adopted the role of the sovereign state through its war of independence.[73] The United States accomplished the role of the sovereign state by forming an allied role relationship with France in 1778 to counter the overwhelming military capabilities of Britain. The resulting War of the American Revolution in Europe (1778-83) between France and Britain had a side effect of allowing the neutral role to gain a foothold in the weakly developed international normative order as a potential structural modifier. Russia took the lead in organizing the Baltic countries into the Armed Neutrality of 1780 as a way of asserting its great power status and balancing against Britain.[74] The Armed Neutrality also included Denmark-Norway, Sweden, the Holy Roman Empire (1781), Prussia (1782), Portugal (1782), and the Two Sicilies (1783). These small, neutral trading states took advantage of Britain's weakened position to advance certain principles of interstate behavior. They argued against "paper blockades"—meaning that for a blockade to be binding it must be enforced. They also argued for less confiscation of neutral goods regarded as war materials by belligerents. Finally, they proclaimed the principle of "free ships, free goods,"—the immunity of non-contraband enemy goods carried on neutral vessels. Many of these principles were also contained in the Franco-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce that forged the original alliance between France and the United States in 1778. The action of these states reconfirmed the neutral role as a socially recognized category of actor in the international system. In addition to establishing expectations for neutral states, they also established behavioral expectations for belligerents in neutral-belligerent role relationships. It is important to remember that the content and behavioral expectations of the neutral role emerged while Britain, the most powerful state in the system, was preoccupied fighting a war with France and the American colonists. It thus had diminished capacity to enact its role as the chief socializer of the

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[72] Ibid., 19; and Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, 92.

[73] See Barnett for a constructivist account of the role of the sovereign state. Barnett, "Institutions, Roles, and Disorder." Goddard and Nexon point out that many theorists have noted the importance of the sovereign state role in Waltz's neorealism. Stacie E. Goddard and Daniel H. Nexon, "Paradigm Lost: Reassessing Theory of International Politics," *European Journal of International Relations* 11, no. 1 (2005): 40.

[74] For an extensive discussion of the armed neutrality, see Samuel F. Bemis, *American Foreign Policy and the Blessings of Liberty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), chap. 6.

international system to prevent the neutral role from gaining currency. Russia used the neutral role as a tool to advance its own interests against Britain, thus the neutral role itself was a product of material interests and balancing behavior during this time.

Once the United States had emerged as a sovereign state, it began to seek a role for itself as a novice in relation to other established members of the international system. This process is at the heart of foreign policy making, and is not generally the subject of neorealist inquiry. However, in defining the relationship that sets the context for socialization during inter-state interaction we must account for unit-level attributes that give rise to the creation of a role for the state. A number of recent accounts of this time period by international relations scholars tend to emphasize these unit-level attributes.[75] Domestic politics in the post-independence United States began to revolve around those that favored closer relations with Britain and those that favored closer relations with France.[76] Thus, the United States as a novice state sought to imitate one of the two most powerful established members of the system, as we might expect of a novice in any type of system. Even the political party system evolved out of this bifurcation of elite opinion during President George Washington's first administration.[77] Alexander Hamilton formed the Federalist Party, which favored closer cultural and political ties to Britain. Thomas Jefferson formed the Democratic-Republicans, which favored closer relations with France. After the execution of Louis XVI in 1793, France declared war on Britain, and the rancor between the Federalists and Democratic-Republicans grew so strong that business, religious, and social life was divided along party lines. The Federalists began to call for intervention in the war on the side of Britain, while the Democratic-Republicans called for intervention on the side of France.[78] President Washington, intent

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[75] Elman, "The Foreign Policies of Small States"; Owen, *Liberal Peace, Liberal War*; and Silverstone, *Divided Union*.

[76] General historical material for the time period 1783–1815 is found in the following sources: Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980); Ruhl Bartlett, *Policy and Power: Two Centuries of American Foreign Relations* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1963); Alexander DeConde, *A History of American Foreign Policy* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978); Robert H. Ferrell, *American Diplomacy: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975); and Julius W. Pratt, Vincent P. De Santos, and Joseph M. Siracusa, *A History of United States Foreign Policy*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980).

[77] See Bradford Perkins, *The Creation of a Republican Empire, 1776–1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), chaps. 4 and 5); Alexander DeConde, *Entangling Alliance: Politics and Diplomacy Under George Washington* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1956), 31–65; and Paul A. Varg, *Foreign Policies of the Founding Fathers* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1963), 73–80.

[78] Bukovansky and James Sofka argue that both Hamilton and Jefferson supported a neutral role, though their reasons and strategies aligned with their different preferences for war. Bukovansky, "American Identity and Neutral Rights," 225. James Sofka, "American Neutral Rights Reappraised: Identity or Interest in the Foreign Policy of the Early Republic?" *Review of International Studies* 26, no. 4 (2000): 607–8.

on maintaining the integrity of the newly formed state, instead sought a neutral role for the United States with his Proclamation of Neutrality on April 22, 1793.[79] This was the first stage in a role location process whereby the United States sought to occupy the recently reinvigorated neutral role.

Britain responded to the neutral-belligerent role relationship that the United States was attempting to form by directly challenging the U.S. neutral role with two decrees.[80] The Order in Council of June 8, 1793 authorized the seizure of all neutral (American) cargoes of food bound for France, or ports under French control. The Order in Council of November 6, 1793, provided for the detention of ships carrying the produce of a French colony or supplies for a French colony. These orders directly contradicted the principle of "free ships, free goods" that the United States had set out in the Franco-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce, and that had been declared by members of the Armed Neutrality a decade before as part of the behavioral expectations of a neutral-belligerent role relationship. It marks the beginning of the British attempt to socialize the United States out of the neutral role.

The British immediately began seizing American vessels in the West Indies and jailing or impressing their crews into the British navy. The U.S. Congress responded with a thirty-day embargo on all shipping in U.S. harbors bound for foreign ports on March 26, 1794. This was an enormous financial drain on the United States, as much of its trade was with Britain. A permanent halt to U.S.-British trade would bankrupt the United States as it was heavily dependent on customs duties for revenue. The role relationship between the United States and Britain was thus very significant for the United States, indicating vulnerability in its interdependence. British capabilities were certainly greater than those of the fledgling United States, despite its attempt to augment its meager military capabilities with its economic capabilities. Both countries interests were in direct conflict at this point, and the United States had no allied role relationships to draw upon as it had adopted a neutral role. All of the factors present in this role relationship suggested that the United States should adjust its behavior to abandon the role of a neutral.

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[79] The neutral role is similar to Holsti's "active independent" role. This role conception is a statement of an independent foreign policy that is free of military commitments to any of the great powers. This role generally eschews permanent military or ideological commitments and emphasizes activity to extend diplomatic and commercial relations to many states. Holsti, "National Role Conceptions," 262–63. Bukovansky treats this role largely in terms of its commercial implications, but it clearly has a strong security dimension as well. Bukovansky, "American Identity and Neutral Rights." For an extensive discussion of the independent foreign policy enunciated in Washington's Farewell Address, see Samuel F. Bemis, *American Foreign Policy and the Blessings of Liberty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), chap. 10.

[80] For an overview of neutrality during this time period, in addition to the source material previously cited, see L. Ethan Ellis, *A Short History of American Diplomacy* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), chap. 6.

The United States and Britain were on the verge of war at this point. The United States sent John Jay to Britain in April of 1794 to negotiate a variety of factors in dispute between the two countries. Ultimately Jay's Treaty yielded greatly on the principle of "free ships, free goods." Jay agreed that in some circumstances French property and food bound for French ports could be seized if paid for by the British. Jay's Treaty was ratified by the U.S. Senate in secret because the outcry was enormous once the terms were made public. Bukovansky stresses this outcry in her account, since it is suggestive of the importance of the neutral identity for Americans.[81] President Washington could have killed the treaty, but the choice seemed to be between the treaty and war. Washington's choice in pushing for ratification was wise in the judgment of many historians because it postponed war with Britain for another eighteen years, while allowing the United States to increase its material capabilities and establish its footing in world affairs.[82] Thus material capabilities trumped identity, or perhaps stated more charitably, the United States significantly altered its behavioral expectations of the neutral role in order to conform to the British expectations of this evolving role relationship.[83]

It is important to note that France also rejected the neutral-belligerent role relationship that Washington sought for the United States in its relationship with that state. France retaliated against the British Orders in Council by seizing U.S. ships bound for Britain. In fact, there was not much difference in the numbers of American vessels seized by the French and British. In May and July of 1798 Congress authorized the capture of French armed ships, and in June of 1798 it suspended trade with France. On July 7, 1798, Congress declared the two treaties of 1778 with France void. The undeclared Quasi-War with France lasted approximately two and a half years and was largely confined to the sea.[84] This marked the tacit adoption of a belligerent

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[81] Bukovansky, "American Identity and Neutral Rights," 229.

[82] Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*; Bemis, *American Foreign Policy and the Blessings of Liberty*; Bemis, *Jay's Treaty: A Study in Commerce and Diplomacy*; Varg, *Foreign Policies of the Founding Fathers*; and J. Combs, *The Jay Treaty: Political Battleground of the Founding Fathers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).

[83] Owen suggests that despite disagreement between the Federalists who saw Britain as a fellow liberal state and Republicans who saw Britain as a despot, President Washington ultimately, though slowly, accepted Jay's Treaty. This suggests that an alternative form of identity—liberal democracy—might have trumped both material capabilities and Bukovansky's neutral role identity in determining U. S. foreign policy. However, Owen's own analysis suggests that Britain was at best semi-liberal during this time frame, and that the British government did not even view the United States through the prism of liberal democracy. Britain instead viewed the U.S. as a tool to be used. Mutual perception of liberal democracy cannot credibly be viewed as a constraint on war during this period. Owen, *Liberal Peace, Liberal War*, 81.

[84] See DeConde and William Stinchcombe for more information on the Quasi-War. Alexander De-Conde, *The Quasi-War: The Politics and Diplomacy of the Undeclared War with France, 1979–1801* (New York: Scribner's, 1966); and William Stinchcombe, *The XYZ Affair* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980).

role for the United States vis-à-vis France.[85] The fact that this situation did not escalate into a full-scale war is often attributed to British naval power, which significantly reduced the activities of French privateers.[86] A cessation of hostilities was finally secured by the Convention of 1800, which voided the treaties of 1778 and gave the responsibility of compensating its own citizens for losses due to French seizures on the high seas to the United States. Thus, France also engaged in socializing activity to move the United States out of the neutral role that it had attempted to achieve.

Altogether, this episode in U.S. history is suggestive of two things. First, roles that are relatively new, or recently reinvigorated features of the international system may garner little respect from states with the material capabilities to ignore them unless the roles serve their interests. Second, relatively new states will often have a difficult time trying to achieve roles as they enter the international system. In the case of the United States, it was faced with both of these situations. As a result, neither Britain nor France accepted the U.S. conception of the neutral role. This role was the second role the United States attempted to enact (in addition to the sovereign state role), and its performance was unconvincing to the audience of states.

A neorealist interpretation of this episode of U.S. history that solely focused on the supposed effects of competition would have a hard time explaining U.S. behavior. The United States did not engage in balancing against power or threat, nor did it bandwagon in order to preserve its security and survival.[87] In fact, it is somewhat of a stretch of the imagination to argue that the United States was a competitor with either Britain or France because of the enormous capability imbalance. Instead, through its domestic policy process the United States chose to focus on the neutral role.[88] This choice

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[85] Owen acknowledges that there were no liberals in power in France during this time period. While the U.S. Republicans were sympathetic to France, the Federalists were quite suspicious. Owen argued that Republican opposition prevented a full-scale war with France, though liberal perceptions actually appear to play no role at all. Owen, *Liberal Peace, Liberal War*, 88.

[86] Reynolds goes so far to say that the United States and Britain fought a mutual war with France between 1798 and 1800, despite their own conflict-ridden relationship. Clark G. Reynolds, *History and the Sea* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989) 113.

[87] Elman, "The Foreign Policies of Small States."

[88] See Elman for an institutionalist account that emphasizes the domestic sources of U.S. foreign policy during the Quasi-War with France. In particular, Elman emphasizes the powers contained in the relatively new U.S. Constitution that allowed the federal government to enter into treaties that bound its individual states, allowed it to raise tax revenue, and maintain an army and a navy. The focus of her account is not specifically the adoption or enactment of a neutral role, but the domestic political processes she emphasizes are compatible with the more top-down neorealist approach that incorporates socialization. Elman, "The Foreign Policies of Small States," 199–202. Much of Elman's article is dedicated to demonstrating how external threats shaped the transition from the Articles of Confederation to the Constitution. This is quite consistent with a neorealist emphasis on competition producing adaptation and adjustment of the internal features of states. Daniel Deudney's work on the compound republic formed by the United States during the establishment of the union (1781–89) and the subsequent Philadelphian System also acknowledges the role of external threats in expanding Federal government power while continuing to maintain the internal checks and balances that would prevent the central government from threatening the individual

certainly lacked the appearance of "knowledge or wisdom," and the behaviors associated with the role were "selected out" through the socialization process with Britain and France. However, the United States did not abandon the role altogether, instead choosing to modify its interpretation of the role in the face of overwhelming capabilities.

Seeking the Neutral Role—Act II

Despite these setbacks, the United States became the most important carrier from 1803 (when Napoleon reopened hostilities with Britain) to 1812 (with the outbreak of its own war with Britain). Regardless of the earlier rejection of the neutral role by France and Britain, neither state interfered with renewed United States enactment of this role for the first two years of renewed hostilities. American shippers began to reap abnormally high returns and venture into markets previously closed to them. France and Spain were forced to open their normally restricted West Indian ports to U.S. traders during the war because of the dominance of the British navy. British shippers were enraged by the growing wealth of the American merchant marine. Succumbing to domestic pressure, Britain soon invoked the Rule of 1756—that trade not open in time of peace could not be open in time of war. The British again began seizing cargo and sailors. The British navy also took up positions off U.S. ports to establish a virtual blockade and exercise their right as a belligerent to search neutral ships. The British also continued their practice of impressing sailors. Approximately eight thousand to ten thousand U.S. citizens were impressed during this time.[89] Once again, Britain began to socialize the United States out of the neutral role.

President Jefferson sent envoys to Britain in 1806 in an attempt to negotiate an end to impressment and seek remuneration for seized cargo. This attempt failed to secure these concessions. Meanwhile, Britain and France had begun to declare a series of paper and actual naval blockades. By the middle of 1806, American ships were once again at risk of being seized by

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states and the sovereign people. Deudney argues that the Philadelphian System was able to peacefully accommodate westward expansion through the incorporation of independent states (Vermont, Utah, California, and Texas) while preventing the emergence of a balance of power system on the continent. From this perspective, this system certainly assisted the United States with maintaining a neutral role in European affairs by neutralizing European influence in North America, while simultaneously augmenting U.S. material capabilities. Daniel H. Deudney, "The Philadelphian System: Sovereignty, Arms Control, and Balance of Power in the American States-Union, Circa 1787–1861," *International Organization* 49, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 191–228; and Daniel H. Deudney, *Bounding Power: Republic Security Theory from the Polis to the Global Village* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007). See John Mearsheimer on the growth of U.S. power and a different interpretation of balance of power politics. Mearsheimer argues that balance of power politics were firmly entrenched in the Western Hemisphere by the founding of the republic as a result of Britain and France's conflicts with each other in North America. John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), 238–52.

[89] Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, 116–20.

both the British and French if they attempted to carry trade to either belligerent or their colonies. Public outrage in the United States over impressment and seizure of cargoes was at an all-time high. After the attack upon the U.S. frigate *Chesapeake* by a British frigate looking for escaped impressed sailors, public opinion was strongly in favor of war with Britain. President Jefferson chose instead to impose an embargo on all trade with Europe in another attempt to augment U.S. limited military capabilities with economic capabilities.[90] The Embargo Act was passed by Congress in December of 1807. Jefferson expected that both France and Britain would be forced to reconsider their heavy-handed practices with American vessels and allow enactment of the U.S. neutral role.[91]

The embargo did cause distress to the parts of the British Empire dependent upon imports of American foodstuffs and cotton for textile manufacturing, though the impact on France was not nearly as troubling. The state that actually suffered the most from the U.S. embargo was the United States itself as its economy went into a tailspin. Ironically, unemployed sailors were even forced to join the British navy. The embargo grew increasingly unpopular at home and even President Jefferson declared that it was three times more costly than a war. Congress repealed the Embargo Act on March 1, 1809 and substituted the Nonintercourse Act, which legalized U.S. trade with all ports, except those under British and French control until the neutral role was respected. Napoleon's response was to issue the Rambouillet Decree of March 23, 1810, which confiscated all U.S. ships in French ports. With the Nonintercourse Act set to expire, Congress replaced it with Macon's Bill on May 1, 1810.

Macon's Bill permitted commerce with both England and France. However, it provided that if France repealed her offensive measures, the United States would renew nonimportation against Britain. If Britain repealed the Orders in Council, the United States would renew nonimportation against France. In both cases, the United States could export to, but not import from the non-repealing state. The United States was thus seeking to establish a role relationship with at least one of these states in which the neutral role would be respected, and perhaps engage in economic balancing. Napoleon sent communication to President James Madison announcing the repeal of the offending decrees, but with enough added conditions to make implementation nearly impossible. Nonetheless, Madison informed the British,

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[90] Silverstone argues that the constraints on the use of military force imposed by Federal Union through the Constitution explains why the United States did not go to war with Britain in 1807 or 1809 and why it did in 1812. See, Silverstone, *Divided Union*, 77–84. This argument is quite similar in many respects to Elman's institutionalist account. See Elman, "The Foreign Policies of Small States."

[91] R. W. Tucker and D. C. Hendrickson, *Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990) 204–9.

and Congress passed legislation implementing nonimportation only against Britain on March 2, 1811.[92]

U.S. public opinion continued to fester in anger over the treatment of the United States by Britain. On June 1, 1812, President Madison sent a war message to Congress, again adopting a belligerent role relationship with Britain.[93] Madison cited the impressment of sailors, British naval ventures into U.S. waters to conduct seizures, the notorious Orders in Council that injured U.S. exports, and the encouragement of the renewal of Indian warfare by the British as reasons for war with Britain. However, the United States was completely unprepared for war with Britain. The army and navy were inadequate, and there was not widespread support for the war. Federalist, pro-British, New England, whose members in Congress had voted against the war, withheld militia from service, and sold provisions to the British invaders. The Canadians, many of whom were descendents of the Loyalists expelled from the United States, threw back U.S. invasion forces in 1812 and 1813. By 1814, the United States was desperately trying to defend its own territory. At the close of fighting, the British held a large portion of U.S. territory in the Great Lakes area and along the northern frontier. Battles at sea had reduced the U.S. navy from sixteen men-of-war to three, while the British still had over eight hundred ships.[94]

Negotiations to end the war started one week after the declaration of war on June 26, 1812. The issue of impressment was the main obstacle in the negotiations, as the British had already suspended the Orders in Council on June 16, 1812. Czar Alexander I of Russia offered to mediate, which was quickly accepted by Madison, but rejected by the British. Yet, in order to mollify its ally Russia, the British agreed to enter into direct negotiations for peace in November of 1813. Negotiations did not actually commence until August 8, 1814 in Ghent. The U.S. State Department had instructed its envoys to insist on the abandonment of impressment, the cessation of illegal blockades, and satisfaction of other expectations of the neutral-belligerent role relationship in dispute. British demands included a forfeiture of U.S. rights to fortifications or ships on the Great Lakes by transfers of land in and around the Great Lakes to Canada, and the creation of an enormous Indian buffer state south of the Great Lakes. This last condition was an indispensable condition of peace for the British.

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[92] For additional information on the embargo and nonimportation, see Perkins and Stagg. B. Perkins, *Prologue to War: England and the United States, 1805–1812* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 239–53; J. C. A. Stagg, *Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy, and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783–1830* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 54–57.

[93] Owen suggests that U.S. Federalists and Republican still held largely the same perceptions of Britain as they had in the 1790s, though the Federalists were not able to constrain Madison from declaring war. He finds some evidence of increased British liberal perception of the United States, though it was also unable to prevent war. Owen, *Liberal Peace, Liberal War*, 97.

[94] Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, 146–47.

These British demands were met with indignation in the United States and by the envoys who rejected them outright. Considerable changes occurred in the demands of both sides as the war progressed and one side appeared to gain the upper hand, only to be replaced by the other. In the end, both sides relinquished their indispensable conditions for peace. The United States gave up on impressment, and the British gave up on their territorial demands. The final treaty said absolutely nothing about neutral rights, which is why the United States originally went to war. Both sides just agreed to stop fighting and return to the status quo.

What does this episode tell us about the second act of the U.S. neutral role location process? Britain and France were again disposed against the U.S. neutral role. The United States attempted to enact the neutral role by continuing trade with Britain and France. The neutral role was rejected by both France and Britain as they resumed seizing cargoes and sailors. The United States attempted to enact the neutral role anyway by declaring an embargo on trade with Europe. The attempt at using trade to augment its capabilities in forcing the neutral role on its role relationship partners failed miserably, even to the extent of reducing U.S. economic capabilities. Successive iterations of the embargo led to war with Britain in the attempt to force acceptance of the role. The war ends with a resumption of the status quo. Finally, the neutral role is not acknowledged in the Treaty of Ghent, reflecting the United States' inability to enact the role.

Bukovansky argues that during the years prior to the War of 1812 the neutral role became a central feature of U.S. identity that caused it to act in ways inconsistent with neorealism (based strictly on material competition).[95] However, it should be clear from the analysis that the neutral role was never accepted by any U.S. role relationship partners. Both France and Britain treated the United States as an undeclared belligerent for most of its early history, rather than a neutral, and attempted to socialize it out of that role. The fact that the United States failed to completely relinquish the neutral role was due to the fact that it was a novice state attempting to adjust its behavior to the dictates of the system. It was obviously a slow learner. To the extent that the neutral role became part of the U.S. identity, it did act as an "opaque filter through which assessments, choices, and judgments" were made regarding the international environment.[96] As Sterling-Folker argues, apparently "inefficient" choices made by states are often the result of domestic actors operating under the dual pressure of the anarchic environment and their own domestic political system.[97] The neutral role probably seemed like a good solution to domestic turmoil that threatened to tear apart the newly formed state, and to the problem of knowing how to interact with other

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[95] Bukovansky, "American Identity and Neutral Rights."
[96] Sterling-Folker, "Realist Environment, Liberal Process, and Domestic-Level Variables," 19.
[97] Ibid., 20.

states when it was uncertain of its own capabilities and status in the system. The neutral role might mistakenly be seen as an attempt to hide, rather than balance or bandwagon in its relationships with Britain and France.[98] According to Robert Rothstein, small states that attempt to hide "rely on the hope that they can be protected by their own insignificance.[99] If they can appear detached enough, and disinterested enough, and if they can convincingly indicate that they are too powerless to affect the issue, they hope the storm will pass them by." Unfortunately for the United States, if this was the strategy then it failed, and after engaging in aligning actions to bring its behavior in line with others' expectations during the first few decades of its existence, it abandoned the neutral role altogether. The United States simply became too involved in the international system through the carrier trade to hope to go unnoticed and avoid entanglements in Europe.

A neorealist explanation of this period of U.S. history relying exclusively on material competition would expect to see the survival of the United States at stake. The United States had clearly not adjusted to abandon the behaviors associated with the neutral role after its first round of interaction with Britain and France. The United States also appeared to engage in economic balancing against Britain, but in a rather naïve fashion which ended up exposing itself to British hostility without French support. The slow adaptation of behavior on the part of the United States nearly cost the survival of the state, but as "dumb luck" would have it, only the behaviors associated with the neutral role were finally "selected out" at the close of the War of 1812, and not the state itself.[100]

THE FUTURE OF STATE SOCIALIZATION IN NEOREALISM

This paper has provided one way to flesh out Waltz's rather spare structural model of international politics. By clarifying the roles of competition

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[98] According to Schweller, hiding is one example of a broader phenomenon of underbalancing behavior that includes buckpassing, distancing, waiting, appeasement, and bandwagoning. See Randall L. Schweller, "Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing," *International Security* 29, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 166. It seems unlikely that the United States was engaged in a conscious strategy of hiding, especially given claims like Mearsheimer's that the United States was enmeshed in balance of power politics from the founding of the republic. See Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*.

[99] Robert L. Rothstein, *Alliances and Small Powers* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 26.

[100] As Elman explains, "From a balance of military forces, the U.S. decision to wage war against Britain cannot be considered a rational response to external exigencies." Yet, she suggests that war might be considered a rational decision from a balance of threat perspective, since the economic circumstances of the status quo could be considered worse than war. Regardless, she suggests that a focus on domestic institutions better explains the decision to go to war for a variety of reasons, including the potential conquest of Canada, sectional bargaining between the American West and South, but most importantly the effect of the Constitution in shaping policy over these issues. Elman, "The Foreign Policies of Small States," 203.

and socialization in translating structural imperatives onto state behavior we now have a more fully specified structural model. The analysis suggests that socialization actually has just as direct an effect on interstate interaction as competition. Socialization, operating through structural modifiers like role relationships, determines the context of state interaction. Socialization thus offers a way to extend the effects of structure from a macro to a micro-level. Neorealism can therefore examine how the process of interstate interaction is structured by socialization operating on behalf of anarchy and the distribution of capabilities. The result is a more fully specified structural theory of international politics.

Despite the fact that socialization is normally considered a sociological concept consisting of the internalization of ideational factors such as values and norms, I offer a way to think about socialization from a neorealist perspective. The most important impact of socialization for neorealists is on the adjustment of state behavior, or what Alistair Johnston calls the exercise of social influence, rather than persuasion that leads to changes in state preferences or identity.[101] State behavior is really the only concern of neorealism, even though adjustments in preferences and identity may also be occurring as neoliberals and constructivists have argued. And, consistent with neorealism's materialist core, socialization is heavily conditioned by material capabilities. The episodes of socialization taken from U.S. history clearly demonstrate the impact of material forces. The U.S. attempt to adopt a neutral role in the international system failed as it became heavily involved in the carrying trade to Europe. Both Britain and France acted to socialize the United States out of the neutral role. The United States was slow to adjust its behavior, but that may be expected given its initial position on the fringe of the international system in an area of low interstate interaction capacity and the newness of its domestic political process. As it became more involved in the system, and the capabilities of other states were brought to bear to socialize it out of the role, it abandoned its self-conceived behavioral expectations of the neutral-belligerent role relationship. Arguments such as Bukovansky's that these roles might constitute identities that would cause the United States to act in ways inconsistent with neorealism are true only if the focus is maintained on competition to the exclusion of socialization, yet both factors are essential to understanding how structure constrains and shapes the behavior of states.

This paper also emphasizes the utility of roles to realist and neorealist analyses. It is not surprising that neoclassical realists have turned implicitly to the concept of roles in their work. Roles allow the analyst to consider the motivation and varying interests of states in addition to their basic interest in survival. Roles also allow an examination of the linkage between agents and

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[101] Johnston, "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments."

structure in the international system. This connection is made clear through the use of Snyder's structural modifiers and relationships, which can both be understood in terms of roles. As such, roles offer an innovative way to think about the conditioning effects of structure on unit behavior in neorealism. Roles thus provide a bridge between foreign policy formation and international politics. Finally, despite the fact that roles are clearly ideational factors, this paper demonstrates how they might be incorporated into neorealism. The cases show that roles enacted within the context of role relationships are clearly conditioned by material capabilities. The result of this effort is a more fully specified, structural theory of international politics that incorporates both material capabilities and ideas, albeit in a subsidiary fashion, to improve its explanatory capacity.

This paper should not be read as an attempt to save neorealism from theoretical irrelevancy, since despite its many detractors, it remains as vibrant in the aftermath of the Cold War as ever.[102] It is an attempt to revitalize a part of the theory that has generally been neglected in order to achieve even greater explanatory capacity. The argument and evidence presented here does not prove that socialization is a necessary feature of neorealism, since applications of the theory have done quite well without the concept thus far. However, it does demonstrate one way in which the concept might fit within neorealist theory, and how it might be employed in the study of interstate politics. Thus, by exploring the concept of state socialization we open up the possibility that it may become a more central feature in explaining interstate politics from a neorealist perspective. As Kai Alderson has argued, "exploring the process of state socialization opens up a promising avenue for development within the realist tradition."[103]

Neorealists may eventually employ socialization to offer convincing explanations for phenomena such as European integration, the democratic peace thesis, the continued relevance and expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Hanns Maull's conception of the civilian power role for Germany, as well as Henning Tewes' analysis of role conflict between Germany as a driver of deeper integration within existing EU membership versus widening to include Eastern and Central European members, are places for realists to begin to understand the shifting nature of power and the use of institutional structures for the purpose of constraining and shaping the behavior of states in the immediate security environment.[104] Atkinson's analysis of the role of U.S. military engagement through educational exchanges,

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[102] Kenneth Waltz, "Structural Realism after the Cold War," *International Security* 25, no. 1 (Summer 2000): 5–41.

[103] Kai Alderson, "Making Sense of State Socialization," *Review of International Studies* 27, no. 3 (July 2001): 415–33.

[104] Hanns W. Maull, "Germany and Japan: The New Civilian Powers," *Foreign Affairs* 69, no. 5 (Winter 1990–91): 91–106; and Henning Tewes, "Between Deepening and Widening: Role Conflict in Germany's Enlargement Policy," *West European Politics* 21, no. 2 (1998): 117–33.

allied role relationships, troop presence, military assistance, and weaponry sales, finds that U.S. military contact has a pro-democracy and pro-liberalizing effect on countries.[105] Alexandra Gheciu finds similar support for NATO's role in Eastern and Central European countries.[106] Material capabilities and ideas work hand-in-hand in these approaches to socialization, which with additional work could allow seeming anomalies to be brought back under neorealist explanation.

The phenomenon of "rogue" states would also benefit from careful consideration of socialization. Rogues, such as the early Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China, or more contemporary examples like North Korea and Iran, must be analyzed through the lens of socialization. The rogue role requires that a state refuse to conform to the normative conventions of the international system, and that a counterrole is formed with a great power that wishes to bring the rogue into conformity. The fact that rogues do not automatically succumb to pressure from states with greater material capabilities is an interesting puzzle. Including socialization in a neorealist framework could offer one way to think about the persistence of rogues in certain time periods, as well as those cases where states are successfully socialized into roles considered more appropriate by great powers. As these brief examples demonstrate, reincorporating socialization as one of the two main mechanisms that transmit structural constraints to units offers many promising avenues in the expansion of neorealism's explanatory domain.

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[105] Atkinson, "Constructivist Implications of Material Power."
[106] Gheciu, "Security Institutions as Agents of Socialization?"