

https://dspace.org/

"The disappearance of the human subject in international relations"

Murray, Keitumetse-Kabelo Joseph

2019

https://hdl.handle.net/10539/28623

Murray, Keitumetse-kabelo Joseph (2019) The disappearance of the human subject in international relations, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, <http://hdl.handle.net/10539/28623>

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/



"THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE HUMAN SUBJECT IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS"

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS MASTERS
KEITUMETSE-KABELO MURRAY
720368
SUPERVISOR: DR. AMY NIANG

Abstract

This paper analyzes the question of the human subject within the field of International Relations and the impact of its 'disappearance' from recent literature. This paper hosts discussions around the shift in IR research towards a more popular methodology orientated on quantitated/statistical and impassive presentation of information. This shift is critiqued as being a negative change to the field and this paper explores the implications that this shift has and will continue to have on both International Relations as a school of thought and practice broadly in global politics. In utilizing the two theoretical frameworks of **Statistical Numbness** and **Butler's Comprehension of Life Model** this paper presents a detailed analysis of how this disappearance has taken place and how the identified negative events/outcomes are in fact directly related. This paper draws on works and discourse from thinkers within IR and the broader Social Sciences to present an argument that motivates for the anthropomorphizing of future work within the field.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

COVER PAGE AND ABSTRACT: 1

TABLE OF CONTENTS: 2 - 3

1: CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION, RATIONALE AND RESEARCH QUESTION/METHODOLOGY: 4 – 9

1.1 Title: 4

1.2 Research Question(s): 4

1.3 Importance to the school of International Relations: 4 - 8

1.4 Knowledge Gain: 8

1.5 Methodology: 8 - 9

1.6 Case and Text Selection: 9

1.7 Theoretical Frameworks: 9

2: CHAPTER TWO - LITERATURE REVIEW: 10 – 27

2.1 Introduction: 10

2.2 The origin of International Relations and the Human Subject: 10 – 12

2.3 The Protection of the Human Subject Within the 'International': 12 – 14

2.4 International Human Rights: 15 – 18

2.5 International Relations as a Social Science and the Human Subject: 18 – 23

2.6 The Movement Towards Scientific Approaches: 23 – 24

2.7 Language, Numbers and International Relations Research: 24 – 26

2.8 Conclusion: 26 – 27

3: CHAPTER THREE – APPLICATION OF FRAMEWORKS TO SELECTED EXAMPLES: 28 – 49

3.1 Introduction: 28 – 29

3.2 Statistical Numbness: 29 - 31

3.3 Butler's Comprehension of Life Model: 31 – 33

3.4 Dual Application of Theoretical Frameworks: 34 – 43

3.4.1 Level 1 Analysis: 34 - 36

3.4.1.1 Reinforcing Stereotypes Using Numbers: 34 – 35

3.4.1.2 Blurred Judgement Due to Incomprehensible Numbers: 35 – 36

3.4.2 Level 2 Analysis: 36 - 43

3.4.2.1 Dehumanization and Practical Impacts: 36 – 39

3.4.2.2 Examples of Misleading Statistics and Representations: 39 - 43

3.5 Applying the Theoretical Frameworks: 44 – 45

3.6 The Reintroduction of the Human Subject into International Relations in Conclusion: 45 – 47

4: CHAPTER FOUR – CONCLUSION: 48 – 56

4.1 Introduction: 48

4.2 Reintroducing Human Identity: 48 – 51

4.3 Applying Theory to Potential Way Forward: 51 – 53

4.4 Why Reintroduce the Human Subject: 53 – 54

4.5 Conclusion: 54 – 56

REFERENCE LIST: 57 - 66

CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION, RATIONALE AND RESEARCH QUESTION/METHODOLOGY:

1.1 Title

The disappearance of the human subject in International Relations.

1.2 Research Question(s)

This essay aims to address the increasing disappearance of a human component within International Relations scholarship. This phenomenon can be seen ranging from the increasing quantitative nature of academic research within IR to the formation of policies and state decisions that fail to take the individual human into account. In order to analyse and respond to this phenomenon, the main aim of this paper is to answer the question: Has the preference towards increasingly quantitative research in International Relations begun to neglect, or omit, the human subject?

Guiding this research are the following sub-headings and core objectives:

- What is the 'disappearance' of the human subject?
- Why has research shifted towards a greater quantitative focus?
    - How has this shift affected the nature of information/knowledge produced?
- How can the human subject be reintroduced effectively in the practice of International Relations?

The presence of the human within research and theory is necessary to truly translate research in a relatable manner. This paper finds the disappearance of this human subject ultimately removing research within International Relations from its subject matter – humans. In response to this phenomenon, this paper seeks to explore if the presence of the human subject within International Relations is vital to the entire school of thought – i.e. if without the human subject, International Relations falls short as a Social Science then the human subject is proved to be vital.

1.3 Importance to the school of International Relations

The importance of the human subject within International Relations can be seen throughout the formalization of IR. International Relations is a school of thought that focuses on exploring and understanding the international system in conjunction with all of its contributing dynamics

– the ‘international’. IR seeks to explore the ever-changing nature of the ‘international’ (Wilkinson 2007). Within this exploration, IR provides understanding and analyses into how the ‘international’ functions, fails and persists (Wilkinson 2007). Throughout the formation of International Relations concept of the human subject has been central. To track IR back to a discernable origin point this paper looks to the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 (Ashworth 2017). The Treaty of Westphalia formalized the concept of state sovereignty – effectively this agreement created the state as it is in modern contexts (Ashworth 2017). The introduction of the Westphalian State or modern state can arguably be noted as the relative start of a formal version of the ‘international’. This is an important juncture to highlight as at this point, although not overtly, the human subject became intrinsic in the field of IR. This claim, that the human subject is central to International Relations, is elaborated on further in the subsequent chapter (literature review).

Although focusing on different aspects, the humanities and the Social Sciences in general find common ground in the focal point of the human subject. Ranging from understanding the individual’s identity to analyzing what the individual needs to succeed, the core aim of the social sciences is to understand the human (Sen 1993, 30). However, over the last 2 decades, International Relations begun to veer away from this focus (Aalto 2011). International Relations is the study of the ‘international’ (Aalto 2011, 178). The ‘international’ encompasses all factors, actors and subjects that may have a role within the international stage (as well as the stage itself). Although the focus of International Relations is the study of the ‘international’ it does not divorce itself from the human subject. To reiterate - the most important subject of any school of thought within the field of Humanities and Social Sciences is that of the human. International Relations is no different in that at its core, IR focuses on the human subject (Aalto 2011). International Relations is a school of thought centered on understanding and analyzing ‘the international’ from the context of its apprehender – the human (Aalto 2011).

The construction of information or knowledge within International Relations relies on the presence of the human subject. When the human identifier is removed from the production of knowledge the result (as explored in this paper) is the disconnect of that information from its subject matter – the human subject. This paper argues that the recent preference towards quantitative research in International Relations begins to neglect the human subject. This subsequently results in the disappearance of the human subject from IR which results in the disconnection of IR knowledge from its core focus – the human (Freyberg-Inan & Jacobi 2015).

However, there is a presented efficiency in the formation and presentation of quantitative research. The Social Sciences exist due to the complexities in understanding the human subject – by reducing a study to its numerical characteristics, ultimately removing the human subject, studies become simpler to analyze and understand. This efficiency or convenience in 'numbers over identity' has resulted in the gradual removal of the human subject from International Relations. Although, if the human subject is not present in these studies, then what exactly is being analysed?

This preference can be observed in the penetration of quantitative research databases within the field. Barometers such as the *Afrobarometer* and the *Pew Springs Global Attitudes Project (GAP)* present findings on a purely numerical basis. This is not unique to the above sources but can be seen across many others – The *Ibrahim Index of African Governance* and the *Worldwide Governance Indicator*. Information from these databases ranges from statistics on poverty to individual perceptions of government and their social circumstances. This presents the direct translation of personal experience into quantitated data. This paper argues that this translation hosts a negative impact on the greater field of study. This phenomenon is as present in publications and research conducted within the field (Freyberg-Inan & Jacobi 2015). The appeal of numerical representation has resulted in the misrepresentation and distortion of researched information within International Relations (Freyberg-Inan & Jacobi 2015). By its nature quantitative work requires greater levels of understanding in order to comprehend (Fetherstonhaugh, Friedrich, Johnson & Slovic 1997). The increased quantitative nature of International Relations severely limits the accessibility of its research as it limits those who can understand and engage with it. This is not to say that the introduction of the human subject creates immediate universal understanding but rather expresses the increased relatability and comprehension of research that has the human factor (Fetherstonhaugh, Friedrich, Johnson & Slovic 1997).

It is difficult to equate a statistical analysis to a physical life. This separation of the human subject from International Relations not only weakens the field but reduces the potential impact the research could have. This is not to say that all scientific approaches are detrimental to International Relations but it is to say that these methods hinder the role of the human subject within IR as a whole. This is an important distinction to make because the purpose of this paper is to speak to the role the human subject has had in IR and the role it currently occupies and what the impact that change has on IR as a school of thought. This paper argues that the role of the human subject has diminished in IR and that this could prove to be detrimental to the objective purpose that IR served to perform.

International Relations scholar Pami Alto presents the argument that International Relations does not simply study the 'international' but in fact studies it from the perspective of the human subject (Aalto 2011, 178). The human subject can be seen as the fundamental concept used to understand the human being in relation to the international sphere (Aalto 2011, 178). International Relations cannot exist without this perspective – without the human subject the field of IR fails to find relevance as the human subject cannot be divorced from its core. However, the disappearance of this subject has begun to take place.

Daniel Jacobi and Annette Freyberg-Inan share a similar sentiment in their work, *Human Being in International Relations* (Freyberg-Inan & Jacobi 2015). This book looks at the role of the human subject at a foundation level within International Relations. This work looks at International Relations in an anthropological perspective. Jacobi and Freyberg-Inan use this approach to contextualize the human subject as a core focus of IR. They argue that International Relations is a school of thought that seeks to analyse the human subject in the 'international' (Freyberg-Inan & Jacobi 2015). This reiterates the debate in Aalto's work – the idea that regardless of the level of analysis, the human subject is the most central component of IR research.

Pami Aalto, Freyberg-Inan and Jacob, place the human subject at the very center of International Relations knowledge (Aalto 2011, 178). Aalto justifies this focus by arguing that the 'international' could not exist without the human subject – the 'international' and all the actors within International Relations are human made and cannot be analyzed from a different perspective. In International Relations the concepts of war, poverty, migration, development, etc. are all viewed from the perspective of the human (Aalto 2011, 178). Therefore the place of the human subject should be at the center of International Relations. However, the increased movement towards quantitative research has begun to omit or dissolve the human subject from International Relations research. This movement removes a fundamental pillar of International Relations as a school of thought. This paper aims to analyze the implications that the disappearance of the human subject has had on International Relations research. This will be done in looking at the highlighted levels of analyses all from the perspective of the human subject.

This essay aims to highlight the impacts of the disappearance of the human subject within International Relations. By analyzing this phenomenon in current academia this paper will present why it is necessary to place humans at the center of academic research. In exploring various arguments around the danger of this phenomenon this paper will ultimately prove the disappearance and the value of the human subject in International Relations.

1.4 Knowledge Gain

This paper aims to re-orientate current perceptions of research and academic writing within International Relations. By providing proofs to the disappearance of the human subject this paper will express its detrimental value to the greater field of study. Additionally, this paper will provide a theoretical understanding as to the true importance of the human subject.

1.5 Methodology

This theoretical paper seeks to contribute to the general field of International Relations through theoretical analysis - as opposed to a specific set of cases or events. Through engaging in an extensive review and analysis of existing literature, this paper will provide a brief genealogy of International Relations and its relationship with the human subject. In addition to this genealogy, the surrounding literature review will provide a coherent foundation for the argument that this paper presents. This literature review will present the various aspects and dynamics of the argument will be established and contextualized. Once this is completed a response to the identified issue may be presented. The above will allow for comparative levels of analysis to build from the established foundation. In utilizing a dual level analysis, an argument will be substantiated to support the presented hypothesis.

In selecting the literature to be analysed in the review, this paper looked at both similar and opposing perspectives while analyzing existing examples of where the omission of the human factor has resulted in a fault. This aided in the selection of theories and works that are to be analysed. In specifically looking at policy papers this essay analyses what data influenced the formation of these policies and to what extent the human subject was present. Additionally, cases where the reduced numerical translation of information resulted in its misrepresentation or distortion were looked at. Finally, current theoretical works (**Statistical Numbness** and **Butler's Comprehension of Life Model**) that look into the realities and dangers of the disappearance of the human subject were used to substantiate the main arguments in this paper.

The data collection for this paper involved the collating reports and policies from NGO's who pivoted their recommendations on statistics. Furthermore, the use of statistics in major news media outlets such as in broadcasted, physical and electronic publications. Finally, the use of literature within the greater discourse was used both in the literature review and also in the empirical argument in analyzing how this phenomenon is represented within International Relations academia.

This data was then analyzed majorly through qualitative methods. Discourse analysis and literature and policy review are the major analytical methodologies used throughout this paper. Quantitative methods are referred to but only in comparison to qualitative alternatives.

1.6 Case and Text Selection

The examples and cases that have been used in this paper are be centered on two main levels: the domestic individual (as seen in the EDL example) and the domestic policy (as seen in the U.S.) and the behaviours of the 'international' and its actors (through policies, interventions, responses, etc.). These three 'criteria' will guide case or example selection to establish a sense of coherency throughout this paper. These cases will need to be contextually relevant to the discussion – ie. In situations where the human subject is the pivot of a policy or decision and the lack of the human subject in presented research or information swayed the outcome.

Furthermore, the analyzed texts have been selected by seeking literature that represents all aspects of the above debate. Ranging from debates on the strengths of quantitative research to the nature of International Relations in relation to the human to theories supporting the hypothesis. This paper has selected cases based on their variations on the factors of this debate.

1.7 Theoretical Frameworks

This paper has utilized two main theoretical frameworks in response to the research questions. The theory of **Statistical Numbing**, as explored in Scott and Paul Slovic's work: *Numbers and Nerves* (Slovic & Slovic 2015), is used to understand the dangers in the increased quantitative nature of research within International Relations. Statistical Numbing is a psychological theory that this paper has applied to International Relations as it finds relevance in a common subject – the human. This theory explores how numerical representations may distort the understanding a reader has of information, this applies to International Relations. Secondly, an informal theoretical framework provided by Judith Butler in her work: *Frames of War* (Butler 2009) has been used. This is not necessarily a formally established framework as Butler's work aims to shift away from conventional norms of academic construction. However, this essay extracted a framework from Butler's work in order to apply it to this research. For the sake of this paper this framework will be addressed as **Butler's Comprehension of Life Mode**l. This model focuses on the apprehension of the human subject in Social Sciences – this paper has also applied it specifically to International Relations.

CHAPTER TWO - LITERATURE REVIEW:

2.1 Introduction

To contextualize the relevance of this paper, this literature review serves to introduce the core debates and discussions surrounding the topic of the disappearance of the human subject from International Relations. Initially, a brief genealogy of the formation of International Relations and the role the human subject has had is presented. This introduction establishes the relevance of the human subject within International Relations and provides a starting point to reflect the relative disappearance in recent work. Following the above, this review then explores the current debates around the true focus of International Relations – i.e. is the human subject the true core of this school of thought or not. Secondly, this chapter presents an investigation into how the human subject has been treated within International Relations. Thirdly, this chapter explores the discussions involving whether International Relations has in fact become more quantitated.

Following the above discussions, this literature review will then present various levels analysis into the identified phenomenon. This will entail exploring the literature within each highlighted section or context. This essay follows a 2-level analysis to explain the phenomenon and its impacts on International Relations research. The first level looks at the individual response to numerical representations of the human subject. This first level is used as a tool to orientate the reader by representing this problem from an individual perspective. This paper sees this as necessary due to the relatability of an individual in this level of analyses as opposed to the later stages. To exclude the individual experience would result in this paper falling into the problem it seeks to resolve. Furthermore, this level addresses the influence statistics and quantitative research has on domestic **state policy** and **state violence**. These areas are selected due to impact these factors have on a states foreign policy (next level) both in the potential reflection the domestic policies may have on the formation and focus of foreign policies. The second level looks into the impact of statistics and the disappearance of the human subject in research will be analyzed in the context of international Foreign Policy formation. Using the above structure, this literature review will contextualize the phenomenon that this research addresses.

2.2 The origin of International Relations and the Human Subject

The Treaty of Westphalia established the formal sovereign state. It allowed for the legal ownership of territory and sovereignty population. With a formalized legislature on

international law and state sovereignty, the Westphalian states began to explore and expand (Teschke 2002). Along with this expansion came the introduction of foreign peoples – i.e. Indian peoples to the East and African peoples to the South. It was at this introduction that the role of the human subject became vitally important to IR. The Westphalian states sought to expand and conquer by force over diplomacy and this was achieved in the classification of the 'others'. During colonization the Western states engaged with foreign peoples (Said 2014). The interactions with these populations catalyzed a debate within the West – whether to classify the foreign peoples as humans (in equality to themselves) or as something else (a lesser form of life) (Said 2014). The *Las Casas* debate sought to define the people of the 'New World' (Said 2014). The value of the human subject to International Relations was concreted when populations were categorized as inhuman by the 'civilized' states. This categorization allowed for the justification and motivation of the violent expansion into Latin America and Africa (and furthermore with the slave trade) (Westermann 2010). To the Westphalian states the new world was occupied by the 'other'. The newly discovered populations were seen as a lesser form of life and thus the treatment of them was allowed (Westermann 2010).

The colonizers expanded through the world classifying populations as human or not and those that were seen as not were legally allowed to be owned and exploited (Anstey 2004). The international law established by the Westphalia system justified the conquest and appropriation of the globe. The inability to speak the common languages, the lack of Christianity in the newly found regions and the 'uncivilized' nature of the communities allowed the West to define the new world as primitive (Fede 2017). The primitive and uncivilized were classified as 'beasts' before being seen as fellow humans and as a result centuries of oppressive and violent exploitation were legalized under the premise that those on the receiving end of this oppression were not quite human and thus was permitted (Fede 2017).

It may be contested that the Treaty of Westphalia was or was not a discernable starting point of International Relations. However, the formalization of 'international' is the chosen beginning of IR for this paper. From the moment the sovereign state was defined and legislated the formation of the 'other' was formalized too. The human subject had to be defined in order to classify one population from the other and this classification was used to manipulate millions of humans over hundreds of years (Anstey 2004). From the very beginning it can be seen that the role of the human subject has been vital in not only the formation of the 'international' as it is currently but is also vital in the core of International Relations as a field. At the center of all interactions formed around the 'international' were the discussions around what is and what is not a human and what the treatment of the later would be. This paper uses the above context

to establish the human subject as a pivotal feature within International Relations – both in practical and theoretical development. The notion of humanity (what is and what isn't) has always been present in what has now become International Relations. The debates around humanity have been central in the progression of International Relations. The development of the 'international' and the state system meant that events of war had formal implications on established and recognized bodies. The result of this was the need to change how war was conducted between these established states. The process of establishing 'acceptable' means of war was for the purpose of protecting the human life within these states. This was not only the case with war. From the creation of the nation state and the international, rules and regulations began to form to protect the lives of humanity when these bodies clashed within the international. This paper looks to the examples of the UN Charter, the 14 points of Woodrow Wilson, the impact of the Crimean War and the existence of bodies such as the International Criminal Court as further justification that the human subject has always been central to International Relations.

2.3 The Protection of the Human Subject Within the 'International'

The Charter of the United Nations opens with the statement: "We the peoples of the United Nations determined…" (United Nations 2018). This begins by placing the onus of responsibility or the right of action in the hands of people, of humans, not the states or nations themselves. The United Nations, arguably a body who represents International Relations in the real world, is founded on this Charter, a charter that is from its beginning orientated on the human subject. This charter and the body itself were the product of an international war that was so devastating that this attempt to prevent an event like it from ever happening again. It was not aimed at protecting the nations themselves but aimed at protecting the lives that form those nations – the peoples of those states. The UN aimed to protect international human rights and was founded in the absence of a coherent body that could provide that protection. Even at a level as macro as the UN, the value of the human subject and its rights were a central pillar to it formation and functions. However, the value of human rights and the protection of the human subject within the international do not start with the UN Charter. Atrocities of war had been responded to with attempts at human rights decades before the charter as signed. An example of this attempt can be seen in the 1856 Treaty of Paris that ultimately ended the Crimean War (Brian 2008).

The Crimean War was a conflict that spurred in a disagreement between religious ideals and territorial positions (Brian 2008). The Russian Empire fought against the Roman Catholic

Church in favour of the Eastern Orthodox Church, which was the prevalent church in Russia (Troubetzkoy 2006). The clash of ideologies resulted in the Ottoman Empire (allied mainly with France, Britain and Sardinia) going to war with the Russian Empire that lasted from 1853 to 1856. Although the war is now understood as being motivated by the Russian Empire seeking to gain territory at the expense of the Ottoman Empire whilst spreading the values and ideologies of the Easter Orthodox Church it is often referred to as a war of "notoriously incompetent butchery" (Troubetzkoy 2006). The war itself lasted 3 years at the expense of mass human life on both sides for a cause that was not truly completely understood. The war was formally ended with the Treaty of Paris that effectively 'rebooted' the political control of the region by returning the territories to its original owners and then set boundaries or methods of conduct that would be adhered to in the event of future wars (Brian 2008). The war was seen as being "messy" and that the mass loss of life could have been prevented if coherent regulations and understandings were put in place (Troubetzkoy 2006). The Treaty of Paris served to formalize those understandings with the aim of implementing an early expression of international human rights.

The events of the Crimean War were responded to by the involved states by formulating a Treaty that would go on to protect the lives and wellbeing of their respective peoples (Brian 2008). The Crimean War, as well as its closure through the Treaty of Paris, was a pillar in the formation of classical International Relations (Brian 2008). This historical event provides an iteration of international relations that was used to create the school of thought that is now IR and at its foundation, the Crimean War ended in the aim of preserving human rights going forward. This act of an early iteration of international relations was focused on the protection of the human subject. When analyzing or reviewing other instances of state relations predating the formalization of IR as a field of study, this focus on the protection of the human or of human rights is consistent.

The First World War is retrospectively understood as being the result of accumulative tensions across Europe that was triggered by the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand (Taylor 1998). Even though the allies were considered the victors, "The War to end all Wars" resulted in over 17 million deaths (Taylor 1998). The allied states sought to end the war as well as prevent a loss of life that substantial again. The agreement that was formed to concrete these goals going forward was "The 14 Points of Woodrow Wilson" (Hannigan 2016). The 14 Points provided the principles identified by the United States of America and the allies that would be used to create and maintain peace across the world (Hannigan 2016). These principles encompassed the protection of freedom of open seas, the removal of economic barriers, they

rectified many territorial issues that either formed during the war or contributed to the tensions that resulted in the War and lastly, legislated the association of free nations that was known as the League of Nations (Hannigan 2016). Although, many of the declarations of the 14 Points were orientated at the protection of territory or trade/economic relations the protection of human life is central (Ferguson 2006).

The 14 Points sought to establish rules of conduct or international regulations that perpetuated peace across the world because the alternative to that peace was the loss of human life. The Wilsonian nature of these points have since been criticized for their heavy favour towards U.S. ideals of Western democracy, capitalism and self- determination but can still be seen as an attempt at the preservation of human life (Manela 2007). The formation of the League of Nations aimed at maintaining peace and protecting the human population. The 14 Points looked to establish rules that prevented war and protected human life. It is because of this that the 14 Points are another example of how the human had been a central focus within international relations. The central role of human rights in the ending (and future prevention) of international conflicts such as the Crimean War or the First World War are evidence of the importance and role the human subject has played in international relations. This consistent focus on human rights is important to understand as it places the human subject at the centre of international relations and provides a foundation to argue for its disappearance.

2.4 International Human Rights

The construction of uniform international human rights is a massive component of International Relations – both in foundation and progression of the field of study (Vincent 1986). The previous discussion looked into the role human rights played during the formation of basic International Relations. Sovereign states were formalized and various peoples were categorized into human and non-human. Those who were seen as a not being complete humans were given far fewer rights than those classified as humans. However, post the Second World War a unanimous set off of International Human rights was established in order to protect the life of every human on the planet (Vincent 1986). This paper seeks to explore the role of human rights within the field of International Relations in order to further emphasize the importance of the human subject within the school of thought.

The introduction of human rights to the ‘international’ was the first time a system of unbiased protection was formed in the global context (Vincent 1986). Raymond Vincent

analyzed the relationships between human rights, International Relations and Foreign Policy creation. He states that the impact human rights had onto International Relations resulted in a completely new approach to IR research and Foreign Policy creation (Vincent 1986). Preceding the Declaration of Human Rights there were little to no standards that governed the treatment and interactions between peoples across the globe. International Human Rights effectively presented and answered the questions 'what is a human?'; 'what are a human's rights?'; and 'are all humans subject and privileged to human rights?' (Vincent 1986). Up until this point, the ambiguity of the human subject enabled the violent and oppressive treatment of many peoples across the globe – as discussed in the previous section. Vincent discusses the role human rights played in changing ideas around contemporary international politics (Vincent 1986). There were no longer qualifications of humans but rather a single all-encompassing standard that had a vital effect on global dynamics. The interstate relations between states had a set of values and legislation that, for the first time, governed how they were allowed to interact in the context the human subject.

Where previously the human subject was central but abstract to IR research, Vincent states that this event formalized the vital place of the human subject in IR as a very literal concept (Vincent 1986). Valuing and treating human rights with correct respect meant that states heralded more successful engagements and interactions with each other (Vincent 1986). The human subject was once again a determining factor of how states were perceived and related to in the international space (Vincent 1986).

However, the introduction of human rights not only had an impact on the 'international' as a whole but also influenced how Foreign Policy was formulated. The response of sovereign states to the introduction of human rights was a change in Foreign Policy – both in direction and construction (Vincent 1986:2). Foreign Policies had to be completely reformed regarding states that were previously exploited or seen as lesser bodies (Vincent 1986:2). Africa as a continent had previously been subordinated by Western powers under the justification of being a lesser or non-human (Westermann 2010). The Declaration of Human Rights meant that the Foreign Policies of Western powers (specifically colonizers) now had to be reformulated to acknowledge the lives and autonomy of African peoples (Vincent 1986:2). Vincent explains how the protection of the human subject by formalizing its existence and protection placed the human subject at the center of all IR interactions. This paper acknowledges that the Declaration of Human Rights is not legally binding as subsequently has not been adhered to as such. Rather

than speaking to the implementation of the Declaration of Human Rights this paper speaks to highlight the role it played in further establishing the human subject as a core concept in IR.

Overall, Vincent presents the practical change the introduction of human rights had on IR and the construction of Foreign Policy (Vincent 1986:2). Vincent's works argue for the value of the human subject within IR. Without the formulized acknowledgement of the universal human subject and he introduction of the Declaration of Human Rights Vincent suggests that Foreign Policies could have continued to be overtly oppressive and subordinating (Vincent 1986:2). The human subject 'moralized' and valued human life in International Relations thus allowing the field to advance and the globe to progress forward. Vincent provides a collection of case examples and identified situations in which his arguments are substantiated. To establish the same narrative in a more recent period the work of David Forsythe published in 2017 will be reviewed.

David Forsythe considers the role of human rights within International Relations in a more recent context. In his work: *Human Rights in International Relations*. Forsythe provides an in-depth analysis into the role and place of human rights in the current context of IR research and real-life interactions. At the formation of the United Nations and the elaboration of the Declaration of Human Rights the international community committed to the protection of HR (Forsythe 2017). These systems were introduced to prevent the atrocities committed throughout human history (i.e. slavery and colonisation). The Declaration of Human Rights aimed to legitimize all human life across the global stage whilst setting standards that ensured equal and fair treatment of all. At this juncture in human history the human life (regardless of origin) became universally central across all fields of study and practices (Forsythe 2017). The nature of the Declaration of Human Rights further placed the human subject in the center of International Relations by providing global standards aimed at protecting the human subject (Forsythe 2017). Forsythe discusses the intricacies of international human rights and stresses the pivotal role they have had across the globe and specifically within the field of IR.

Bearing the above discussions in mind, the reality of the Declaration of Human Rights is that it is not legally binding. No International actor has a legislated obligation to abide by the declaration (Forsythe 2017). Forsythe notes this in the current prevalence of human rights violations across the globe with few repercussions for 'breaking' the declaration (Forsythe 2017). He looks into examples of the Syrian War, the refugee crisis and worldwide resurgences of fascism as proofs that the declaration is not currently being adhered too. Additionally, the continuation of these events alludes to the complacency of the greater global community to allow for crimes against humanity to occur (Neumayer 2005). This work argues that even

though the declaration is not binding, many states still subscribe to its 'laws'. Without repercussions or punishment human rights are still widely respected (Neumayer 2005). Forsythe credits this to human agency within the international space. What he means by this is that the human subject is still of vital importance to IR literature and the 'international' (Forsythe 2017). That even without drawbacks states choose to respect human rights due to the value of human life or the human subject (Forsythe 2017). This supports the argument that this paper presents – the argument that the human subject is vital to International Relations and the increased impassive nature of theory development over the last few decades has been detrimental to IR and the 'international'.

Authors such as Forsythe and Vincent speak to the importance of the human subject within International Relations in the form of human rights. They emphasize the need for the human subject to be present in order for human life to be respected and maintained. To reflect upon the previous section up until this discussion the human subject has clearly been central to International Relations in various forms. From the definition of a human to the protection of human rights, the human subject is vital to International Relations as a school of thought.

The above section of this literature review served to establish the existence of the human subject throughout the formation and growth of International Relations. Following the above discussion this review considered the shift in approaches to IR research. It was established that throughout the 1950s and 1960s International Relations underwent a change in theoretical development. Classical approaches to IR were replaced by Scientific approaches. The works of Kaplan and others were highlighted as being integral influences to this shift. The result of this movement was the increasingly impassive and scientific/mathematic approaches to IR research. Over the subsequent decades, the Scientific approach has become the predominant methodology when conducting research within IR.

This paper now seeks to analyse the resulting disappearance of the human subject from International Relations - due to the shift to scientific approaches - in two aspects. Firstly, in the use of impassive language and jargon that disassociates the human subject or identity from subject matter and experience. Secondly, in the increased scientific and mathematic nature that International Relations has developed into over the last few decades.

2.5 International Relations as a Social Science and the Human Subject

At its core, International Relations is a school of thought situated within the greater academic field of Social Sciences (Neumann 2013). The Social Sciences are the scientific investigation into the nature of social relationships and human society (Rosenburg 2015). The 'international'

is, by its construction and fundamental characteristics, a human society orientated around the social relations and developments of the human subject – as discussed in the previous section. In fact, IR can be seen as the study of human activity within the international space (Alger 1965). These interactions can be seen at the level of nations and international groups but are always focused on the human and the ultimate outcome of the human subject (Alger 1965). Prof. Iven Neumann reinforces this idea in saying: "The study of top-level decision making cannot neglect the everyday, and vice versa. This is why we should be meticulous in insisting on IR being first and foremost a Social Science" (Neumann 2013). Neumann presents the argument that this paper seeks to sample from in order to prove the disappearance of the human subject within IR research and liteature and the necessity to address this phenomenon. Neumann's argument is that regardless of the magnitude or gravity of a decision or study, one cannot ignore or neglect the very basic and foundational aspect of society – the human (or the everyday) (Neumann 2013). The concept that Neumann speaks to is the relationship between International Relations research and the human subject – two entities that have become separated or emancipated from each other. However, Neumann expresses that this relationship is vital to both IR as a school of thought and to everyday society and the individual (Neumann 2013).

Neumann speaks to the idea that every decision, theory or development made within International Relations is centered on the human. Society, states, governments, NGOs, every international body or actor that contributes to the 'international' is comprised of individual humans. Cultural and societal dynamics need to be taken into account when analyzing any situation within the 'international'. International Relations finds differentiation from the natural sciences to the social sciences in its reliance or focus on the varying dynamics of the human subject – in singular or plural (Messner & Weinlich 2015). In fact, a state cannot be analyzed without comprehending its leadership – a set of humans. War or development cannot be explored without understanding the human dynamic. International constructions would cease to exist without the human (Freire & Koivisto 2012).

In their book, *International Relations as a Social Science,* Freire and Koivisto engage with the argument that International Relations is a Social Science. They introduce the discussion that IR differs from the natural sciences due to its focus on the human subject (as opposed to natural occurring events) (Freire & Koivisto 2012). This work discusses the various 'philosophies' of IR and their ultimate source or focal point. The book covers a length of historical background that looks into the recent (past ~50 years) development of IR scholarship and the various paradigm shifts that have taken place. Although not overtly explored, this work

shares a similar sentiment to Neumann and this overall paper. The idea that the human subject is vital to the production of IR knowledge and research over the last few decades has begun to disappear (Freire & Koivisto 2012). The authors share this sentiment in providing a genealogy of IR theory/research. This displays the gradual shift in IR that began to move away from the human subject as a center point.

However, as established above, IR is by its nature focused on the human – how does this field of study then begin to omit this vital aspect whilst remaining a consistent field of study? Freire and Koivisto introduce an interesting phenomenon – the change in myth within the foundation of IR as a school of thought (Freire & Koivisto 2012). What this means is that Freire and Koivisto speak to the movement with IR academia that mutated the foundational myths that created IR as a field of study. These foundational myths can be seen as initially seeing the human subject as the main focus to more recently drifting further away from the subject (Freire & Koivisto 2012). This change in mythos results in the innate change in the development of IR research and academia. This paper concedes that Freire and Koivisto's work does not directly speak to the disappearance of the human subject - but it does show the progression of the human subject away from IR over time. Although it can be argued that this argument speaks to the shift but does not identify the shit itself and therefore only provides a half argument. However, this paper looks at this overall discourse as a whole and finds the other 'half' in the following reviews.

It is important to note that the distinction between the Natural Sciences and the Social Sciences is vital. Scientist Charles Snow expressed the sentiment that the enforced differentiation between the Natural and Social Sciences is beginning to become more of a hindrance to overall academic progress than not (Freire & Kovisto 2012). This sentiment implies that the classification of IR as either is unimportant in the grander scheme of academic progression. However, this paper argues that the key difference as well as the value of this argument is that the ambiguity of International Relations belonging in either field has allowed for the disassociation of the human subject from IR research and literature.

Rosie Walters attempts to understand the role of the human within IR by tracing the perspective of Classical Realism. She notes that classical realists were highly focused on understanding the nature of humans and how this interplayed with decision making and interactions (Walters 2013). She argues that at its nature, IR is centred on and driven by humans and human nature and uses realism to justify this. Walters argues that realism "believes that politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature" (Morgenthau 1993). She uses this idea to substantiate the argument that human nature

is the core driver of international relations and that the preservation of human life (be it on an individual or mass level) is the ultimate motivation of human nature (Walters 2013). What this means to say is that, Walters views international relations as being subject to human nature and at all points that human nature is governed by the desire to preserve human life even if that life is that of the individual making a decision or the lives of many that an individual looks to help (Walters 2013). She presents an analysis of international relations through a classical realism lens that places further emphasis of the human subject. She goes on to note the "three images of realism" as established by Kenneth Waltz and how these images are used by realism to explain the main causes of war and conflict (Walters 2013). These sources are: "within man, within the structure of the separate states, within the state system" (Waltz 2001). Walters focusses on the first image, "within man". She notes how realistic thinkers consistently place the onus of responsibility on the human.

It must be noted that Walters argument goes on to criticize the sexist nature of realism and IR and looks at how the use of "man" instead of "human" is literal in placing the power of control in men as opposed to humanity as a whole (Walters 2013). Her argument deals with how classical realists attribute human behaviour and the cause of war as being inherent in the nature of humans and the desire of humans to protect themselves or their own interests (Walters 2013). The realistic emphasis of the human subject and its ability to make decisions is a core argument in understanding the role the human subject has in international relations as a school of thought. Realism is seen as one of the grand theories of international relations and is a foundational pillar in the school of thought (Snyder 2004). The central place of the human subject in Realism provides further evidence to the initial role of the human in IR. However, this paper argues that the role of the human subject has since diminished and this can be seen in the development of IR.

Scholars, Klaus Knorr and James Rosenau introduced an interesting element into the field of IR. The introduced the debate around the role and presence of Behaviourism within International Relations (Knorr & Rosenau 1969). Their work sought to analyze the increasing presence of Behaviourism as a theoretical perspective when understanding International Relations and International Politics. Behaviourism began to emerge into the field of IR during the post-World War II period in which a deeper analysis into human behaviour and interactions needed to take place (Knorr & Rosenau 1969). The relations between states and their activities needed to be understood at a greater depth and Knorr and Rosenau looked to understand the role Behaviourism played. The space of global politics and International Relations was becoming increasingly more "scientific" and "mathematical" – Knorr and Rosenau aimed to

use the 'natural' emergence of Behaviourism within IR as justification to move away from this paradigm shift (Knorr & Rosenau 1969). They argue that various postmodern and critical perspectives predating and following the introduction of Behaviourism could have been beneficial to the way IR viewed the human subject during this 'transitional' period. During this same period, Hedley Bull argued that the increasing "mathematical" nature of IR was the incorrect path to follow (Bull 1966).

Bull presented the argument that humanities, human rights, international law, history and the human subject played foundational roles within International Relations and could not be separated from them (Bull 1966). He argued that the movements towards "scientific" approaches to IR would hinder its progress instead of advancing it. In his work: *International Theory: The Case for a Classical Approach*, Bull states that formal modeling or the increased mathematical focus could not provide the necessary insight and understanding into a fundamental concept of International Relations - the human subject (Bull 1966). The debate surrounding the increasingly quantitative and mathematical nature of International Relations began to gain substance during this period. The shift away from Social Science based approaches meant that the frameworks being developed by scholars lacked assumptions and insights that allowed for 'classical approaches' to understand the true nature of the 'international' (Bull 1966). Bull refers back to Classical thinkers within International Relations and the Social Sciences – thinkers such as Hobbes, Groitus and Kant (Bull 1966). He uses these thinkers to justify the need to maintain a human based approach to theory development (Bull 1966). Bull argues for the "Classical Approach" when developing IR knowledge. He argues that the systemizations of IR research and increased scientific nature removed the human subject from IR and hindered its development (Bull 1966).

Authors such as Bull, Knorr and Rosenau believed that the increased scientific nature to theory development resulted in the separation of morals, ethics and 'humanity' from IR (Freire & Kovisto 2012). This introduces the argument that facts and values (which both have their respective spaces within IR research) are fundamentally separate (Freire & Kovisto 2012). Scientific and positivist approaches are "world-guided" by nature whereas normative approaches are "world-guiding" (Freire & Kovisto 2012). Arguing that IR serves to guide future global developments by providing understandings into the 'international' as a human creation these academics expressed that the "world-guided" approaches served completely separate purposes to that of Classical International Relations Theory (Freire & Kovisto 2012).

However, the shift away from the human life was happening within the development of other theoretical perspectives. The emergence of Postmodernism within IR further instigated

the movement away from the role of the human subject within IR. James Heartfield writes on how the nature of postmodernism began to invalidate the human subject within IR (Heartfield 2002). He argues that the postmodern perspective presented a distrust of human autonomy or decision making and the individual human's ability to discover the 'truth' (Heartfield 2002). Thus, postmodernism looks to the role of more abstract concepts such as the role of societies and non-state actors in shaping policies and making decisions. This perspective argued that the human identity is subject to the influences and stimuli that the surrounding world provides and that the human subject is simply the construct of surrounding environmental influences and events (Noonan 1996). The emergence of postmodernism did not necessarily remove the human subject from IR but did diminish its role or legitimacy as an actor in IR (Heartfield 2002). This invalidation of the human's ability to act and exist as an independent entity in conjunction with the movement towards scientific methods meant that the human subject began to lose a foothold in IR as a central concept.

It is clear from the above discussions, that this debate is long standing and seemingly on-going that has many perspective and although the above work speaks to motivate for the subject of this paper, it is important to understand the opposing narratives within this debate (Kurtis & Wright 2010). Many academics argue that this separation is not happening as the human subject has no place within IR research. Both from the perspective that the human subject never had a stake in IR and that newer theoretical approaches (scientific and positivist) are a greater tools of analysis than classical methods (Freire & Kovisto 2012). These arguments encourage the increased scientific nature that IR research and knowledge production has rapidly developed into.

2.6 The Movement Towards Scientific Approaches

The theory of International Systems – developed by Morton Kaplan (in conjunction with other academics) – can be seen as one of the first (if not the first) formalized scientific approach in International Relations research (Bull 1966). The increased scientific nature of the development of IR research can be seen in Kaplan's International Systems theory, along with various other theories such as Thomas Schelling's theory of bargaining, Oskar Morgenstern's theory of games, and George Modelski's models of foreign policy development and Lewis Richardson's introduction of mathematical studies into studies of arms races and international conflict (Bull 1966). These academics can be seen as the 'front runners' for the shift from Classical Approaches to Scientific Approaches (Freire & Kovisto 2012). Their works look into

positivist aspects of the 'international' and seek to 'simplify' or modernize them by making them more scientific by nature.

Kaplan's theory analyzed the 'international' as an entity or concept of its own (Kaplan 2005). In studying International Relations as system rather than as human activities this method enabled IR theories to expand and reflect across much larger studies (Kaplan 2005). The theory of International Systems introduced the idea of 'generalizability' of IR theories. This was achieved by removing dominators that could not be quantified or empirically established (i.e. human morals, values, ethics, etc.) (Bull 1966). The removal of these characteristics allowed for the development of broad and highly generalizable theories. The increased Scientific Approaches meant that theories were longer standing, less contextual to a temporal space and allowed for the analysis of the 'international' autonomously from the individuals that inhabited the space (Kaplan 2005). This theme was common across the theories developed in the Scientific Approaches. Schelling's bargaining theory, Morgenstern's theory of games and many of the others shared common traits in shifting away from the Classical Methods developed by Machiavelli and Burke amongst others in drastically shifting the focus of these theories from human occupied society as groups and individuals to understanding the 'international' as a series of systems, quantified information and impassive 'academic' language (Bull 1966). This shift is the key discussions that the paper explores below.

Following the period between the 1950s and 1960s the Scientific Approaches gained masses of support from International Relations scholars (Bull 1966) – overtaking Classical Approaches. Milja Kirki and Colin Wight provide insight into this shift and overall debate in their work: *International Relations and Social Science.* This book discusses the increased tension between the 'two-camps' (the Classical and the Scientific) and notes the impacts the shift has had on the field of IR. Although a somewhat greater level of efficiency has been reached (regarding the development of IR research) the increased scientific nature of IR has hindered the progress of the field in relation to its true purpose – the study of the 'international' with the human subject as a fundamental concept at its core.

Furthermore, Kirki and Wight speak to the convolution of ideals and '-isms' that have erupted throughout this debate (Kirki & Wight 2010). They express a sentiment similar to Siba Grovogui in his work: *Sovereigns, Quasi Sovereigns and African.* The sentiment that the introduction of increasing '-isms' further dilutes and distracts IR research and academic from its core (Grovogui 1996). Kirki and Wight state that although the shift from Classical to Scientific (as coined by Bull) has indeed happened – they argue that IR has veered from its original focus of the human subject (Kirki & Wight 2010).

This shift was predicted and analyzed as it was happening by scholars such as Hedley Bull. The above review provides a brief representation of the debates and discussions hosted around the topic of International Relations and its relation to the Social Sciences and the human subject. These discussions proved the pivotal role of the human subject within IR as well as the shift in styles of theory development. Patrick Jackson notes that the current styles of theory development are (broadly) 'true' to the Scientific Approach that Bull writes on in his work (Jackson 2011). Current IR research followed the trend of scientific development as it gained popularity during the mid-1900s (Jackson 2011). It is because of this identified shift in theory construction that this paper finds its subject matter – the disappearance of the human subject from International Relations research and thinking. This paper seeks to feed off of the debates presented by Bull and the Classical Scholars to motivate for the necessity of the human subject within IR. To elaborate on the above debates while proving the necessity of presence of the human subject within the development of IR this paper will further explore this topic in the context of International Human Rights.

2.7 Language, Numbers and International Relations Research

The movement from Classical to Scientific approaches had an interesting impact on IR research. Scientific approaches had the appeal of empirical precision whilst presenting conscience and definitive findings (Bull 1966). The statistics or numbers of a theory are an efficient means to communicate information from a study to those engaging with it (Bull 1966). In fact, the ability to quantitate measurable factors allowed for IR to 'advance' itself as field of academic study. Notions of values, ethics, morals and emotions are subjective and temperamental and thus cannot be quantified or scientifically theorized (Freire & Kovisto 2012). Following the release of Kaplan's work, scientific approaches to IR gained popularity due to being able to develop theories and analyze events from a scientific and empirical way (Bull 1966). However, the result of this shift was the increased reliance of statistics and mathematical explanations whilst using impassive language. The increased scientific nature of IR resulted in the abstraction of complex realities (Petermann 2011). Analyses performed into real-life events such as war, international politics and relations are abstracted into theory and quantitated material (Petermann 2011). This allows for these events to be represented 'efficiently' in the form of statistics and are theoretically analyzed in an impersonal, detached and dense language. The interactions and factors of human societies are manipulated into scientific and mathematical explanations that remove the human aspect of the reality.

Freyberg-Inan and Jacobi contend that research pivots on the ability to quantitate data (Freyberg-Inan & Jacobi 2015). Databases such as *Afrobarometer*, the *Pew Springs Global Attitudes Project* and many others present global findings in numerical representation (Freyberg-Inan & Jacobi 2015). Academic works have developed the tendency to overly theorize and thus abstract real situations (Walt 1998). This shift does allow for exact information to be communicated, but this comes with a cost. The removal of human factors for the sake of empirical representation removes an important element to global events – the human subject. Realities of war, poverty and famine become abstract concepts hidden behind sequences of numbers. The increased scientific nature of research has made the research subsequently non-relatable and abstract to those outside of the field of study. Judith Butler speaks to the apprehension of human life within her work: *Frames of War*. She notes the phenomenon that occurs when real-life events are abstracted out of context due to incorrect representation (Butler 2010). Concepts of race, religion, gender and many other human determinants are quantified and thus lose their emotional value (Slovic & Slovic 2015). The impact of this abstraction is the removal or disappearance of the human aspect from a human event (Butler 2010). A subject cannot comprehend the truth of a theory and event that has lost its emotional context that makes it relatable to another human (Butler 2010).

Butler further emphasizes the use of language in the dehumanizing of information by looking at how the loss of human life is responded to during war. Human life lost during war is represented as "collateral damage" (Butler 2010). This has a significant impact on how this reality is being portrayed. Collateral damage is a term used to denote those killed during military conflict. The response to this term is that of impassiveness due to the emotional distance that a comprehendible human life has to the concept of collateral damage (Butler 2010). Butler speaks to the impact the use of impassive language, popular in current IR research, has on the ability of that research to represent a situation truthfully (Butler 2010). Effectively, the result of over theorizing, quantitating and removing of human characteristics is that of incorrect representation and the communication of information from reality to research/theory. International Relations academia has become so numerically focused that the once central aspect of IR, the human subject, has disappeared. One cannot perceive the human subject in the research layered in field specific jargon, incompressible statistics and abstract representation (Petermann 2011).

It has been established that the human subject is central to the foundation and progression of International Relations research. From the definition of what a human is to the global protection of human safety, the human subject is at the core of International Relations

as a field of study. This paper notes that over the recent decades the change in nature of IR has resulted in the disappearance of the human subject from IR research. Highlighting this event, this paper argues for the reintroduction of the human subject to allow for the further advancement of IR as a field of study.

2.8 Conclusion

The above literature review serves two main purposes. Firstly, it establishes a coherent timeline of the development of International Relations and secondly it explores the gradual disappearance of the human subject. This is done by chronologically tracing early iterations of IR and its formation into a formal discipline whilst identifying the central role that the human subject held through to more modern day IR and the lack of focus on the human subject. By tracking the shift in focus of IR across its development, this review presents the disappearance of the human subject through engagement with the literature. This was done through the accumulative of various literature and historical events that would paint the image necessary to view the identified problem. However, this argument is being viewed holistically because of the structure of this review. This literature review presents a compressed anthology of IR work that hosts the common thread of the human subject. This accumulation of literature and the highlighting of the identified issue that provoked this paper (the disappearance of the human subject) focuses this study. The discussion of the human subject has been held across IR in varying manners but this paper serves to provide a coherent and uniform argument that presents the disappearance in a clear way. By bringing these works and discussions together, this paper identifies the lack of coherent study into the disappearance of the human subject from IR and looks to fill that gap by presenting that analysis. This paper's contribution to the field of IR is in the tracing of the human subject across the formation of IR and presenting a formal argument for its disappearance and the potential impacts that this may have.

The above review engaged with various debates and discussions regarding the role the human subject has played throughout the history of IR. Explorations into the foundational periods of IR research yielded evidence of a central function that the human subject had in the early stages of IR. This was seen in the defining of what is and what isn't a human during the age of conquest and expansion post the Treaty of Westphalia. This review argued that the defining of a human being was vital aspect of IR development and the human subject subsequently remained central throughout the following centuries.

This section highlighted the 'turning-point' of IR research from a traditional Classical Approach to the current Scientific Approach. This allowed for a coherent point in the timeline

of IR research methods where the shift away from the human subject was not only confirmed but could be observed. This discovery lead to a study into the observed movement towards Scientific Approaches as preferred methods of theoretical development. Following the above review, the paper then moved to seeing resulting oxymoron in current IR where the approaches are increasingly scientific whilst the subject matter of IR is still that of the human. This was explored in the examples of International Human Rights and its role in IR and Foreign Policy development. The final discussion centered on the overall impact of the increasingly scientific approaches to IR research – namely the increasingly impassive and 'academic' nature of language as well as the heavy reliance and preference on numbers. All the above provided a foundation to introduce the theoretical frameworks that will be used in the following chapters to provide the substantive section of this paper.

CHAPTER 3 - THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS AND APPLICATION:

> "Every episode of mass murder is unique and raises unique obstacles to intervention. But the repetitiveness of such atrocities, ignored by powerful people and nations, and by the general public, calls for explanations that may reflect some fundamental deficiency in our humanity – a deficiency that, once identified, might possibly be overcome" (Slovic 2007).

3.1 Introduction

The above extract is taken from the paper: *Psychic Numbing and Genocide* (Slovic 2007) and looks into the impacts the phenomenon this paper identifies. Slovic addresses this phenomenon as a "deficiency in our humanity" (Slovic 2007). This "deficiency" is the impact of events on

the observers. A fundamental mechanism present in almost all instances of mass-murder/genocide/war neglect is the inability of observers or external bodies to the event to experience "affect" (Slovic 2007). This "affect" refers to the emotional responses observers have (both negative and positive) to an event that, in conjunction with subsequent analyses of the event, govern the decisions, judgments and actions of those observers (Slovic 2007). Slovic's idea finds context in this paper in presenting the very real impact of the disappearance of the human subject. The increasingly quantitated nature of the production of knowledge within International Relations results in the "deficiency" Slovic refers too. Whereas the preceding chapter established the phenomenon that this paper wishes to address – the disappearance of the human subject in International Relations – this chapter looks to better understand how this disappearance results in the "deficiency" highlighted above.

Through engaging with various debates and discussions revolving around the role of the human subject in IR this paper identified a dynamic change within IR that has resulted in this phenomenon. This change is that of the increased popularity of Scientific Approaches within IR over the last few decades. This problem was further broken down into two main impacting characteristics: firstly the increased numerical and quantitative focus that IR has taken and secondly, the preference to use impassive and desensitized language for the sake of academic decisiveness. By applying the chosen theoretical frameworks, this chapter will provide an understanding into what that "deficiency" is in the context of International Relations. The two selected theoretical frameworks are that of **Statistical Numbness** and **Butler's Comprehension of Life Model**.

3.2 Statistical Numbness

Numbers and Nerves is a series of essays and interviews compiled together by Scott and Paul Slovic. These works center on the desensitizing impact that quantitated information has had on the human mind (Slovic & Slovic 2015). The authors use the gathered research to discuss a range of psychological phenomena that they use to explain the disassociation and insensitivity towards the human subject that is present in many current day academia. The theoretical framework discussed in this work is broadly applied to the increased presence of quantitative information in the global environment. This paper will apply and focus this framework into the specific discipline of International Relations.

In their third chapter, *The Prominence Effect,* the Slovics address the issues around the omission of the human subject in Foreign Policy formation. The authors reference the work of Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky where the presence of large numbers resulted in a psychological phenomenon called "psychophysical numbing" or statistical numbness (Slovic

& Slovic 2015). This theory addresses the observed insensitivity experienced by the human mind when large numbers of lives are involved (Slovic & Slovic 2015). The Slovics reflect this phenomenon on the presence of atrocities or genocides that have been committed in full knowledge of the international community. Their work draws on the cases of the Rwandan genocide and the large scale atrocities that had been committed in Sudan many years before (Slovic & Slovic 2015). The book reflects on the statement "never again" which was conceptualized in response to the atrocities committed during the Holocaust. However, that has hardly been the case and mass exterminations of human life have rather taken place "again and again" (Reynolds 2005:1). Examples are drawn from tragedies the Killing Fields in Cambodia, genocides in China, Kosovo, Nigeria and many others to reiterate the argument that even with the awareness of hindsight these atrocities still occur with little to no intervention from the external or observing world (Slovic 2007). Their work does not aim to point out the unfortunate reoccurrence of the mass loss of human life, but rather sees this repetition as a result of Statistical Numbness – the "deficiency" in humanity referred to above (Slovic 2007).

The Slovics use this theoretical model to understand how both the distance of an event as well as the representation of it (ie a quantitated representation) result in the increased insensitivity towards it. This effectively means that the removal of the human subject from these events causes a disassociation with the true impact of an event. However, the inability to rely on "moral" responses to motivate correct and hasty responses should not result in no action at all. Agreements such as the 1948 Genocide Convention were set in place to provide an objective system within international law that should prevent inaction (Behrens, Chalfont & Henham 2007). Although, the Convention proved to be ineffective and action still failed to take place (Behrens, Chalfont & Henham 2007). The concept of Statistical Numbness explores how even with the compensation of institutional mechanisms such as the Genocide Convention, the inability of a human to comprehend and value another human life in those circumstances results in the lack of intervention and the potential perpetuation of a tragedy (Slovic 2007). The shift of International Relations in favour of quantitated methods and approaches results in the disassociation of human life to presented information. The Slovics go on to explore how this disassociation then has a detrimental impact on the formation and implementation of Foreign Policies. They argue that even the introduction of these mechanisms still fail to counter the impacts of Statistical Numbness (as seen with the Genocide Convention) (Slovic & Slovic 2015).

However, this framework is not only centered in the increasingly quantitated representation of information, but also in the physical and emotional distance from an event.

The Slovics see this distance as being amplified by Statistical Numbness (Slovic & Slovic 2015). The authors reference another work by Peter Singer, where Singer discusses the idea that humans innately only help those who are "close" to them (Singer 1972, 232). The Slovics utilize this concept to aid in their interpretation of "close". The idea of proximity can be understood in the physical distance between two subjects or the emotional distance between them. The Slovics argue that the danger in quantitative research is that it immediately distances the reader from the subject on an emotional level (Slovic & Slovic 2015). This limits the ability of a human to emphasize with or comprehend the life of another.

> "… considerable research suggests that we are more likely to help someone in need if we 'feel for' that person…" (Batson 1990: 339).

The Slovics highlight examples of where states and governmental officials find themselves at a distant from an event and are then psychologically desensitized to the atrocities, Foreign Policies fail to respond in a sufficient or beneficial way (Slovic & Slovic 2015). This results in the neglect of or lack of response to a matter of global importance (such as a genocide). The framework of Statistical Numbness presents an understanding of how the quantification of information impedes the ability to 'feel' for that information. More comprehensibly, it creates a distance from the information and the observer and this distance results in a disconnection between a human life and a statistic (Slovic & Slovic 2015). This model provides a lens to analyze how the disappearance of the human subject can have (and has had) a negative impact on International Relations as a whole.

This framework was chosen as it responds to the main problem this paper seeks to address – the impact of the disappearance of the human subject. Slovic and Slovic present an argument against the increasingly quantitative nature of information due to the dehumanizing effect that it has. Statistical Numbness is explored in an article titled: *Statistical Numbing: Why Millions Can Die and We Don't Care* (Ropeik 2011). In this article, David Ropeik presents a similar argument. Ropeik presents psychological tests performed on the comprehension of subject to large statistics. He quotes Mother Theresa: "If I look at the mass I will never act. If I look at the one, I will" (Ropeik 2011). In his work he also addresses the impacts Statistical Numbness can and has had on the formation of Foreign Policies.

This sentiment phenomenon is not uniquely analyzed by the Slovic brothers and their model but is further elaborated on by Judith Butler (from a different perspective) in her work: *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable* (Butler 2009).

3.3 Butler's Comprehension of Life Model

Butler's work, *Frames of War,* looks into the value of a human life as currently portrayed in the international space. This model allows this paper to explore the disappearance of the human subject from International Relations not only from the movement towards quantitated information but also from the shift in focus towards deliberately impassive and "distant" work. This varies from media representation to the basic apprehension of a human life (Butler 2009). This essay looks to Butler's work to extract an understanding as to how other aspects, besides the increasingly quantitative nature of research, within International Relations has removed the human subject and what the impact of this is. Butler explores this idea by looking at the emotional value of a human life in relation to life lost or life impeded on through pain (Butler 2009). This introduces the idea of the inability of the human mind to comprehend a subject as living when it was never established as a human in itself. What this means is that from media representation to the numerical presentation of human lives, Butler states that from the onset the human mind does not recognize another human life as an equal due to this distortion (Butler 2009). This speaks directly to issues highlighted in the previous chapter.

The literature and academic space of International Relations has developed into an inaccessible field of thought. The nature of the writing itself is so specific to scholars within the discipline that the subjects of this discipline (the human subject) are unidentifiable as humans at all. Butler's model speaks to the use of jargon, terminology and impassive language that ultimately distorts or removes any representation of a human subject (Butler 2009). Butler argues that the way in which life is portrayed and represented is pivotal to acknowledging or apprehending that life at all (Butler 2009). Butler's work does not formally present a theoretical framework and as such this essay extracts a framework from her writing and her research to apply the lens she develops to the problem that this essay seeks to address. Butler's Comprehension of Life Model is the framework adapted from the literature to be used as a tool of analysis of the selected problem.

This model places importance in the initial "framing" of human life when presenting information. She references the response of the public of the United States of America to the war in Iraq as well as the intervention in Afghanistan (Butler 2009). She argues that the complacency or passive acceptance of these atrocities by the American public was seen in the representation of the lives harmed in Iraq and Afghanistan (Butler 2009). The invasions were framed in the ideas of national interest, security, necessity and responsibility of the USA (McGarth 2009). The concept of a human life was made as distant as possible by separating

the human subject from what was happening. It was not framed as the killing of civilians but was seen as an act of national interest (McGarth 2009). Individual human beings were not represented as being killed but rather the event of "casualties of war" was communicated. These are examples Butler uses to explain how pivotal the framing of a life can be to its apprehension and understanding (Butler 2009). Without initially framing the lives of those in Iraq and Afghanistan as human, the loss of those lives was not grievable. The way these lives were framed resulted in a "precariousness" that distanced "their" lives from "ours" (Butler 2009). Butler emphasizes the need to accurately represent and establish a human life in order to value that life correctly. By not framing the lives of those in the Middle East, the US population as unable to comprehend the true cost of war – legitimate human life (Butler 2009). The Comprehension of Life Model seeks to emphasize the need to recognize human life in order to warrant their existence and their value as equal at any given point.

Butler attempts to counter the lack of recognition of life by reintroducing a human dynamic into the representation of events. She uses eyewitness accounts, photography, and individual testimonies to reintegrate human life into information being presented (McGarth 2009). She responds to the disappearance of a sense of humanity by directly injecting undeniable human characteristics into a representation (McGarth 2009). A further example of Butler's argument is seen in the concept of a "Just War" is an immediate example as to how the manipulation of information can be used to misrepresent life and perpetuate violent actions. The Just War theory speaks to the idea of intention and that the intention of an action can justify the action itself, regardless of what that action is (Baer & Capizzi 2006). This theory argues that the intention of "justice" or moral superiority condones the act of war if that war is seen to perpetuate "justice" (Baer & Capizzi 2006).

The idea of an action being "just" was used as justification for the second war in Iraq as it was portrayed as being in response to September 11, 2001 (Baer & Capizzi 2006). The lives and wellbeing of those in Iraq whose lives were impacted on by the U.S. invasion were not recognized by the U.S. or its population, instead the action of war was portrayed as a righteous and necessary act of good. This meant that the Iraqi population was either innately villainized or was not recognized as being greivable and as a result the invasion of Iraq (Baer & Capizzi 2006). Butler's model sees the justification of the 2003 Iraq war and the atrocities committed during it as being subject to the lack of recognition of human life (Butler 2009). It sees the example of a "just war" as proof of the danger of dehumanizing or the non-recognition of human life.

The previous chapter established the disappearance of the human subject from International Relations and explored the ways in which this event has taken place. Both the increasing reliance on quantitated research and the heavy focus on making academic literature more impassive and "academic" have resulted in the removal of the human subject from IR. The above frameworks serve to address and analyze these two major factors to aid in understanding how this has happened and the dangerous implications if it is not corrected. The Statistical Numbness Model allows for an analysis into the psychological impacts the use of numbers and statistics can have on an observer of that information. Butler's Comprehension of Life Model provides the tools necessary to see how the impassive nature and deliberate move away from including the individual experience of the human can negatively impact the responses of that information. This paper utilizes both of these models to present the negative result that the removal of the human subject from IR research has not only on the academic field as a whole but also the real life damage this has on the formation and implementations on Foreign Policies and other international events. To understand how these frameworks, explain events provoked by the disappearance of the human subject from IR, this paper seeks to apply them to real life examples where this phenomenon can be observed and analyzed.

3.4 Dual Application of Theoretical Frameworks

This paper argues that the impacts of the identified problem can be seen in two major levels. The first level being the impacts that this phenomenon has on the individual and their capacity in the international stage as well as the influences these have on domestic policies and governmental decisions internally. The second level is that of the impacts this problem has on the relations and interactions of states in the global context. The purpose of this dual-analysis is to show the influences the and research within International Relations can have on both the observer and the subject of the information. The first level of analysis will look into how numbers and incorrect representation of life results in oppressive and stereotypical behaviour of the individual and a government domestically. The second level of analysis will explore examples of global events where the lack of attachment of human dimension to a crisis had resulted in lack of action or the allowance of that crisis to continue.

3.4.1 Level 1 Analysis:

3.4.1.1 Reinforcing Stereotypes Using Numbers

In his work, *Enemy of the State,* former English Defense League leader Tommy Robinson presents a perfect example of how statistics are used to justify stereotypes and racial

antagonism. Robinson uses numerical representations to manipulate his narrative to justify is perspective. Robinson, during his leadership of the EDL, cited that 87% of sexual grooming cases within the United Kingdom are by the Muslim demographic (Robinson 2015). He goes on to cite that only 4% of the British population is Muslim (Robinson 2015). These are interesting statistics. Robinson states that less than 5% of the entire British population is responsible for over 80% of sexual grooming cases. He uses these extreme statistics to justify Islamophobia. He presents the narrative that these are not racist but are facts (Robinson 2015) and therefore justify the ostracizing of the Muslim community. This narrative is sustained by the dehumanizing of the Muslim community within the United Kingdom.

Initially, these statistics represent the "Muslim community", which Robinson then uses to categorize an entire population. The statistics fail to acknowledge the differences within the Muslim community – ie someone who is Muslim by religion or who is Muslim by culture. Additionally, the visual stereotype of a member of the Muslim community is then attached to these statistics. Ideas of racial variation within this community are obscured and the racial discrimination to people of colour is magnified. Additionally, these statistics completely remove the human subject from this research. 87% would direct one's attention to almost 9 out of 10 'Muslim' people within the U.K. This boxes an entire population into a very small margin that allows for groups such as the EDL to justify their Islamophobia narrative and racial biases.

Robinson's work and his political perspectives are examples of how statistics allow for incorrect manipulation or the generalization of information. The fault is placed onto both Robinson and the data set where these statistics were retrieved from. 87% of a community is not a comprehensible concept. It sets up rigid psychological frameworks that simply reinforce stereotypes and stigmas. By not correctly representing a population and by reducing them to a numerical value, the human subject is lost. This is one of many examples that will be reviewed in exploring the impacts of the disappearance of the human subject. This was a very specific example, however throughout this literature review different levels of society will be analyzed – ranging from domestic politics such as the above example, to region and global statistics that ultimately impact on policy formation and public perception. Whereas the case of Robinson can be specifically highlighted in the U.K. a far broader example can be seen in the domestic governance of the United States of America.

3.4.1.2 Blurred Judgement Due to Incomprehensible Numbers

The global attention placed on the recent increased in racial based state violence within the United States needs little context. In 2015, 1134 Black American Men were killed by law

enforcers (Lartley, Laughland, McCarthy & Swaine 2015). African American males only make up approximately 2% of the entire United States population (Lartley, et al. 2015). However, in 2015, this 2% accounted for over 15% of police related deaths (Lartley, et a. 2015). Brittany Packet, a White House member on the taskforce combatting this phenomenon stated that it was clear that this was a crisis that impacts the black community at a disproportionate level (Lartley, et al. 2015). But how does this disproportionate violence occur? In 2009, Mac Donald wrote in *The Wall Street Journal* that African Americans were charged with approximately 57% of murders, 62% of robberies and 45% of assaults (Bandler 2016). To reiterate the sentiment established in the previous section – the representation of a population in numerical value completely removes the human identity/aspect. This removal of the human component has a detrimental impact on society.

Donald went on to state that: "a concentration of criminal violence in minority communities means that officers will disproportionately confront armed and often resisting suspects in those communities" (Bandler 2016). This is a clear acknowledgement of the potential bias that police officers could hold when encountering a person of colour. However, Donald uses these statistics to justify the police violence in saying that: "The black violent crime rate would actually predict that more than 26% of police victims would be black" (Bandler 2016). This presents an example where despite circumstance or context, more than a quarter of police violence cases would be directed at the African American community – a minority in the U.S. More terrifyingly, more than 25% of African American victims were unarmed and were concentrated in the age region of 15 and 34 (Lartley, et al. 2015). Similarly, to the Muslim community in the previous example, the minority African American community is visualized by their statistics and not as individual humans. The removal of the human subject due to the focus placed on quantitative presentation results in the state violence currently seen in the U.S.

However, the above analysis is performed across the space of an individual and a government in a domestic context. The above analysis was provided due to the value of understanding this problem on an individual and identifiable level. Following that this paper aims to reflect that identification or relatability to the greater context and in doing this attach the value of an individual, relatable, human experience into the global space. With the above foundation in mind, this essay seeks to explore the impacts of this problem in the second level of analysis – within the international.

3.4.2 Level 2 Analysis:

3.4.2.1 Dehumanization and Practical Impacts

> "If only one man dies of hunger, that is a tragedy. If millions die, that's only a statistic." (Lyons 1947)

In 2007 over 200,000 civilians were killed in Darfur, Sudan. An additional ~2.5million were forced from their homes and left stateless. However, similarly to the previous genocides in Rwanda, Bosnia and many others, very little action came from the rest of the world. This presents the question: how many lives need to be lost before international intervention is made? Paul Slovic analysed that when being presented with mass atrocities or genocides, the greater the statistics the more difficult it is to comprehend the event (Slovic 2007). Effectively, the larger the numbers the more difficult it is to grasp the magnitude of an event. This phenomenon has very real implications in situations of genocide or war.

When hundreds of thousands were being massacred in Sudan or Rwanda, the world looked on with unsympathetic eyes (Dubinsky 2005). These genocides, and many similar to them, are retrospectively considered to be incomprehensible atrocities – although at the time there was little to no action from the international community. In his paper *Numbed by Numbers,* Slovic addresses the ability to comprehend a genocide due to this magnitude. He contends that states fail to form successful response policies due to the inability to understand the mass violence (Slovic 2007). Slovic explores the idea that as a situation becomes more quantitatively represented, the human identity disappears and states find it difficult to empathize with the loss of life. This has major implications on the foreign policies of states. Where the policy makers become increasingly insensitive to the human subject the policies being formed lose their legitimacy and effectiveness. This was seen in Sudan, Rwanda and Bosnia. Hundreds of thousands of lives were lost but the response from the world was insufficient. Slovic argues that this was a result to the insensitivity to this violence due to the incomprehensibility of the statistics of a genocide or war.

This distortion of reality is not unique to war or genocide. Uri Dadash addresses the impact statistics have on the trade policies states formulate with each other. In his paper *Lies, Damned Lies, and Statistics,* Dadash looks in to the influence percentages and statistics have on policies regarding trade between states (Dadash 2013). He focuses on concept of statistics are often used to mislead or misrepresent reality to manipulate trade agreements. He refers to the work of Laurence Kotlikoff and his analyses of a concept called *Deficit Delusion.* Dadash uses this concept to explore the idea that a state's GDP is not measured on current, real money

but rather on the overall balance sheet (Dadash 2013). This means that polices are made on the false representation of a state's economic strength. The resulting outcome is a gross underestimate of true monetary strength of a state. When states enter into trade deals or look into their domestic fiscal policies they work off of misrepresented numbers (Dadash 2013). Dadash explains how this can impact a state's exchange rate, trade costs and international taxes due to the initial misrepresentation of monetary strength.

> "Despite its morally unambiguous heinousness, despite overwhelming evidence of its occurrence, and despite the relative ease with which it could have been abated – despite all of this, the world ignored genocide" (Dubinsky 2005: 113)

Samantha Power looks into the occurrence of genocides and the responses and reactions of the global community. In *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide,* Power provides and anthology of genocides that have occurred over the last century. Beginning with the genocidal killing of Armenians by the Turks up until the Rwandan Genocide, she argues that the global responses to these crises was far below what was needed and makes particular notice of the reactions of both the U.S. President and the U.S. public (Power 2003). Power notes that genocide prevention had not been a priority of any U.S. President that was in office during a genocide (Power 2003). Furthermore, the political standings of these Presidents had never been impeded on due to their indifference and lack of action towards the genocides (Power 2003). In the example of a political figure as prominent as the U.S. President is not held accountable for their ambivalence and neglect towards a genocide, Power states that it is not surprising that global "ignorance" towards genocide remains such a consistent feature (Power 2003). Power goes on to explore the reasons as to why states such as the U.S. turn a blind eye towards genocides and why the abuse of mass amounts of human life is so often overlooked. She contends that when masses of humans are killed their identity is lost to the sheer magnitude of the event (Power 2003).

The individual life is not given value as it is not possible to comprehend hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of lives as individual human beings who are suffering (Power 2003). Power notes that the representation of the lives of those lost to or impacted by genocides or war are not true portrayals of human life. She uses examples of 10 genocides committed over the last 100 years and argues that the perceptions of the human lives in these crises is deliberately manipulated and this is the direct reason for the lack of global response (Power 2003). She highlights the impacts the incomprehension of the volume of these lives and the

manner in which they are represented can be seen in the responses, or lack thereof, from states such at the U.S. – whose foreign policies failed to place any focus on genocide prevention up until (and following) the Darfur crisis in the early 2000s. This work shows that the removal of human identity from information can drastically impact the reception and responses of that information. These tragedies were portrayed and communicated in ways that dehumanized the lives lost to the extent that the lives lost were barely understood or comprehended as human beings to begin with.

Ranging from over 10 million people in need of food assistance in Ethiopia to approximately one third of the Angolan population forcibly fleeing their homes in the last 2 decades – the international responses to these incidents has been borderline none existent (Slovic 2007). The policies formed in response to these tragedies are often superficial at best and this paper argues that the reason behind this is that even those creating the policies are unable to grasp the significance of these human lives. The impacts of statistical numbness and the inability to comprehend a life are seen in the reception of these human crises on a global level. It is not unique to genocides or war but can be seen in the mass loss of life due to events of natural disaster too. In fact – Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have responded to the phenomenon this paper addresses in a relatively effective manner. The NGO, Save the Children use the technique of using a single, identifiable child to motivate for support of their cause (Loewnstein, Small & Slovic 2007). This approach was used due to the ineffectiveness of the presentation of numbers and full reports of the lives lost or harmed. Bodies such as Save the Children noted that the international stage did not respond to mass loss of life if they could not identify with the experience (Loewnstein & Small 2003).

The policies and decisions made by global actors are still formed and implemented by individual humans. Whether it is the President of the United States or someone reading a news paper, the impacts of statistical numbness and the incomprehensibleness of human life are detrimental to both. This second level of analysis seeks to connect the clear influences this phenomenon has on an individual to the macro level of interstate interactions because the individual is still the core actor. This phenomenon directly impedes the ability of states to affect action or change in situations of crisis. The field of International Relations portrays these interactions in a manner that perpetuates the problem and ultimately hinders the ability of a reader or observer to truly understand the value and importance of the human life. The analyses of the above two levels shows the very real impacts of the disappearance of the human subject and how these impacts are detrimental to both domestic societies and the global stage. The researched theoretical frameworks assist in understanding this phenomenon.

3.4.2.2 Examples of Misleading Statistics and Representations

This paper highlighted data sets such as the *Afrobarometer* and the *Pew Springs Global Attitudes Project (GAP)* as examples of quantitative oriented databases within International Relations. These databases, and many other, present quantitated information and statistics on a wide range of variables, ranging from information on poverty or education through to opinions on governments, policies or personal ideals. This paper argues that the numerical representation of information can lead to the misrepresentation of reality and the reliance on this information has disconnected IR from the human subject. This misrepresentation of reality can be seen in various examples.

The Gini Index is an is a ratio or coefficient used to represent the levels and distribution of equality (or inequality) within a state (Hillebrand 2009). A gini coefficient of 0 would mean that a country's wealth is completely equally distributed and a gini coefficient of 1 would mean that (effectively) all the wealth in a state is owned by one person (Hillebrand 2009). Bodies such as the World Bank use the gini coefficient to rank and analyze the development and levels of inequality within a state (Bongiovanni & Sadras 2004). The idea behind the gini coefficient is that one could look at a single number and be able to assess the economic status of a country and the nature of its wealth distribution. The gini coefficient of one state can be directly compared to another state's and be used to deduce levels of development across them (Bongiovanni & Sadras 2004). However, the reduction of a state's relative wealth to a single number is a perfect example of the misrepresentation of reality that statistics and numbers can present. The gini coefficient is an extremely simple measurement and works in relative wealth, not absolute. This means that the gini coefficient can rise (implying a growth in disparity) whilst the population living in absolute poverty could be decreasing (Hillebrand 2009). This leaves the index to be vulnerable to various changes in population growth, structural changes in government, levels of immigration and etc.

The simplicity and vulnerability of this index means that many variables are overlooked or misrepresented and thus the representations of populations may be drastically skewed or simply incorrect (Fernando 2007). The nature of this index means that two states of the same total income that have differing income distribution may have the same gini coefficient and would thus be perceived as the same level of economic disparity (Bellu & Liberati 2006). The limitations of this index mean that representation of a state may be incorrect regardless of the gini coefficient that a state may have. This metric is still used by the World Bank even considering these limitations and is still used by many non-government companies that look to

invest or trade with developing states. The incorrect image presented by a gini coefficient could have real impacts on a state even though the value attached to the index is incorrect. This is an example of how the numerical representation of the reality (the standard of living, levels of disparity, wealth distribution – all inferred from the gini coefficient) is misleading to the truth. Instances of this can be seen in many barometers and datasets that quantitate all of their research.

Barometers such as the *Afrobarometer* and the *Ibrahim Index of African Governance* both offer data on the state and condition of African countries. These data sets look to provide quantitated information on variables ranging from levels of education through to perceptions of governments and levels of democracy (Mo Ibrahim Foundation 2018). Regardless of the information being researched, these indexes present a numerical value for the outcome and scale it across Africa to present comparable representations of each state. However, when perceptions into topics such as corruption or democracy are being measured this paper questions how applicable numerical values are.

> "In your opinion how much of a democracy is [insert African state here] today?"
> (Afrobarometer 2018)

This question is one of the many surveyed questions put out by the *Afrobarometer* where an opinion is represented in a quantitated format (Afrobarometer 2018). The dataset provides a set of drop down questions that contain the options of: "I don't know", "completely", "not at all" etc. (Afrobarometer 2018). However, this does not change the fact that an individual's opinion is being translated into categorical variables that are ultimately represented as a percentage. 28.3% of Kenyans felt that freedom of speech was "somewhat" allowed (Afrobarometer 2018). This statistics does not present the reality of what Kenyans may feel about freedom of speech in their country. The expression of the right of freedom of speech is scripted into statistics and "expressed" in a manner that completely removes the human from their answer. This data is not a representation of an opinion but an inaccurate statistic about which presented option was best fit. This example is not unique to the above questions but is seen across any form of opinion, perception or understanding that the *Afrobarometer* seeks to research. This paper challenges the legitimacy that those statistics have to represent human life and human ideas or identities. The *Ibrahim Index of African Governance* hosts similar examples where arbitrary numerical values are given to variables for the sake of comparison.

Ibrahim Index of African Governance gives South Africa the "Overall Governance Score" of 70.1 out of 100 (Mo Ibrahim Foundation 2018). This index gives South Africa the "Safety & Rule of Law" score of 67.1, the "Participation & Human Rights" score of 74.7 and the "Human Development" score of 70.7 (Mo Ibrahim Foundation 2018). These numbers are used to rank South Africa as 6th in Africa in "Overall Governance Rankings" (Mo Ibrahim Foundation 2018). This paper looks at this information and argues that the substantive value of these measurements is lost in these numbers. The index does not define these categories or the concepts of "governance" and "development" as anything but the number associated with them. This does not give a representation of any of these variables other than the statistic itself. This is not a true representation of what the individual's experience of these variables is within South Africa, it simple gives a number of what the score is. What does a 74.7 out of 100 score in "Participation & Human Rights" mean for the individual? How does this number represent the human live that is being addressed in terms of their rights or their participation? This index is another example of how reality is reduced to statistics and then compared to other statistics in order to give an assumed image of reality. However, this paper argues that this is not accurate and is more testimony to the danger of the disappearance of the human subject from IR.

A final example of the misrepresentation of reality by the use of statistics is seen in the *Pew Springs Global Attitudes Project (GAP).* The GAP serves a similar function to the *Afrobarometer* and the *Ibrahim Index of African Governance* however it covers the globe as opposed to only Africa (Wuthnow 2015). This data set provides the results of polls conducted across the world and presents those results in a quantitated form (Wuthnow 2015). In the work *Inventing American Religion: Polls, Surveys and the Tenuous Quest for A Nations Faith*, Wuthnow critiques the GAP in the use of polls and the impact it has on the understanding of what is being polled. He uses the specific examples of religion and the use of a poll cannot provide an accurate representation of what religion means to people and how it exists within a society (Wuthnow 2015). He argues that those opinions and understandings cannot be quantitated and that the nature of the poll produces bias. He notes that the response rate of these polls are more than likely to be biased due to the nature of the questions (Wuthnow 2015). This bias was confirmed by the Pew Research Center who stated that those responding to the polls were those more likely to go to church which may likely skew the data in favour of religion (Cooperman & Smith 2015).

This limitation of the GAP dataset is applicable to other investigations into other opinion based variables such as "perceptions on the USSR not existing" or other potentially controversial political opinions. As Wuthnow argued and as stated above, these opinions

cannot be expressed in a numerical manner. These are the opinions and understandings human beings and by quantitating the data they disconnect from the subject of the research - the human.

The above three examples are all widely used databases for research with International Relations. The *Ibrahim Index of African Governance* is one of the fastest growing and most cited sources for African data and is a key resource for IR research (Mo Ibrahim Foundation 2018). The use of datasets such as the above is becoming more popular across IR research (Freire & Kovisto 2012). These examples show how the use of statistics to represent reality can not only be misleading but potentially completely misrepresentative. The abstraction of reality by the use of statistics means that the human subject is made invisible in the research. The ability to understand an opinion on a subjective matter in terms of a percentage results in a disconnect between a human factor and the outcome. The human subject was, at the foundation, central to international relations and its research and even though the research itself is still very orientated around the human subject the methods of research and the knowledge being produced is very separated from the human itself. The above examples provide proof to the disappearance of the human subject from IR however, the next discussion will apply the theoretical frameworks to explain why this happens and its potential implications.

3.5 Applying the Theoretical Frameworks

The above section highlighted the two identified levels and examples where the disappearance of the human subject is both present. From the individual and their capacity to act and influence others to the global stage and its international actors this problem is shown to impact them all. However, to understand how the above levels are impacted by the disappearance of the human subject the selected frameworks need to be applied. This will allow for a coherent understanding as to how the increase in quantitated information and the preference to impassive research results in the disappearance of the human subject in International Relations. Using the above levels of analysis this paper will justify the use of these frameworks in understanding the problem in the context of IR research.

The two levels of analysis find common ground in the feature of increased prevalence of quantitated data both in the form of numerical representation and the statistical presentation of information. Furthermore, deliberate shift towards impassive research (as identified in the literature review) in IR results in the loss of identifiability (or comprehension) of a human life in examples as highlighted above. It is because of these recurring features that the two analytical models of **Statistical Numbness** and **Butler's Comprehension of Life Model** find

relevance in this paper. These models allow for an understanding as to how the identified trend of quantitated and impassive research that has resulted in the disappearance of the human subject from IR research can and has had a negative impact on the spectrum analyzed in the above two levels – the domestic environment of a state and the global stage. The application of these models seeks to explain how these two variables have a strong causal relationship – i.e. the disappearance of the human subject results in the negative events observed in the dual level analysis and therefore this issue needs to be corrected with International Relations research.

In the mid-1800s, author Ernst Weber observed a social phenomenon that somewhat describes what is being analyzed in this paper. Weber found that the human ability to comprehend changes to an environment or a situations is drastically reduced when the magnitude of the stimuluses present in that environment or situation increases (Weber 1834). Effectively, what Weber discovered was the decreasing ability of a human to comprehend something in relation to the increasing magnitude of it (Weber 1834). This lead to the **Statistical Numbness** model finding its relevance in this paper. This model addresses the inability of humans to associate the magnitude of numbers to the very real human life connected to them (Slovic 2007). By presenting genocides, famines, natural disasters, etc. in a numerical format (as is the preference) the human mind is incapable of comprehending those numbers as human lives (Slovic 2007). Statistical numbness speaks to the resulting lack of sensitivity towards mass amounts of life lost because of the inability to acknowledge those lives as human in the first place (Slovic & Slovic 2015). This insensitivity results in the lack of comprehension of those lives that **Butler's Model** explains leads to the inability to grieve or acknowledge the loss of human life (Butler 2009).

The numbness caused by the dehumanized representation of information means the very real human lives impacted or lost are not observed or perceived as "legitimate" and thus the international stage does not act or respond in an effective manner. The previous sections highlighted the global complacency or denial of genocides and these frameworks explain that this occurred not due to malice but rather because by presenting these lives as statistics and unidentifiable 'beings' the humanity (or human subject) is removed from the event and thus the world does not respond as if human life was lost. In 1999, writer Annie Dillard wrote:

> "There are 1,198,500,500 people alive now in China. To get a feel for what this means simple take yourself – in all your singularity, importance, complexity, and love – and multiply it by 1,198,500,500" (Dillard 1999: 47)

These frameworks explain how it is impossible for an individual to grasp the reality of another human life that is presented in the format that International Relations research has begun to favour. Statistical Numbness shows that by focusing on statistics and quantitated data the subjects of that information lose their humanity (Slovic & Slovic 2015). In losing their humanity Butler's Model shows that these lives are not comprehended as legitimate human life to the recipient of this information (Butler 2009). The result of this is the complete removal of the human subject from IR. The above levels of analysis presented examples of how dangerous this removal truly is to both potential responses or intervention to a situation and the understanding of the situation from the global stage. These frameworks explain how the highlighted change in nature of research within IR can and has resulted in the disappearance of the human subject and the above analyses/examples have showed the potential danger of this phenomenon.

In the work *Numbers and Nerves* a case study of donations (in dollars) to a cause in relation to how the human life is represented.

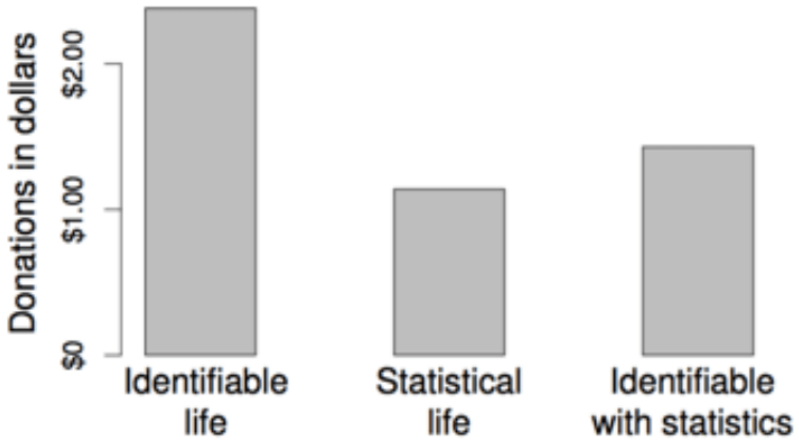

Figure 1 (Slovic & Slovic 2015).

This graph shows an over 100% increase in donation where the life is identifiable versus when it is statistically represented. The **Statistical Numbness** and the **Comprehension of Life** models explain this increase by arguing that a life needs to be identifiable in order to be understood as another human life and therefore treated or responded to in the correct manner. These models prove that the statistical representation of human life creates a disconnect the inhibits the recipient of information to being able to relate to another acknowledging them as

a fellow human. However, how can these models be used to respond to this event and potentially reintroduce the human subject back into IR?

3.6 The Reintroduction of the Human Subject into International Relations in Conclusion

Both of the selected theoretical models speak to the need to understand, acknowledge or apprehend a human life as the same as another in order to adequately view another as human. The above discussions have explored how the human subject has been removed from international relations and can be used to explain how it can be reintroduced. The above models speak to comprehension and understanding of human life, where the Slovics' model looks at the ability to identify a human life by it being adequately represented by the information given (Slovic & Slovic 2015). They argue that this is done by portraying human identity in the information itself. This can be done by the use of ethnographies in research or the inclusion of descriptions and stories of the lives being represented (Slovic & Slovic 2015). Their work speaks to the use of the story of a single child whose life was impacted by natural disaster as the initial introduction to the information being presented.

They studied the international donations towards a cause where the number of lives lost was presented versus when the child's story was used to identify the child's life as human (as seen in figure 1) (Slovic & Slovic 2015). Their model argues that this overcame the statistical numbness because these lives were no longer perceived as statistics but were viewed in relation to the very real story being told about a single child impacted by the same disaster. This story 'rehumanized' the data and allowed for the lives represented to be identifiable again. Similarly, Butler's model speaks to the need to comprehend or apprehend a life as similar to one's own in order to grieve or lament that life (Butler 2009).

Butler's model suggests the need to reintroduce the human life into academic work by attaching sentiment to it (in a similar way to the Slovics) (Butler 2009). By introducing a subject as an independent life and not as being purely subject to their circumstances, that subject becomes identifiable as a life before a statistic of the context. This means that acknowledging the life of a human as a teach (for example) before presenting them as a life lost due to war would allow for that human connection to be made (Butler 2009). This connection would then be carried through to the presented information in a similar way to Slovics' suggestion of an introductory story or brief. Butler's model finds the lack of comprehension of human life due to seeing the statistic as a factor of context and not as individual lives that existed before the context. An example of this is viewing the total casualties of a war and understanding the lives lost only in the context of the war itself. But by

viewing those lives as being students, children, cab drivers and other relatable and identities that existed before the war then the recipient of that information gains a better grasp as to the lives that were lost (Butler 2009). This model suggests introducing an identifying characteristic of a subject that helps connect the subject to a life before the study in order to understand the impact the context of the study had on a human life.

This paper suggests both of these models and means to reintroduce the human subject into IR. By reconnecting human life with the research being made IR will be able to reintroduce and refocus the human subject back into the field. This will still utilize the current methods of scientific approaches but in a way that will still humanize the subjects of those studies and allow for the recipients of the research to view those subjects as humans too.

This chapter introduced and applied the theoretical frameworks that this paper used to both understand the impacts of the trend IR has taken over the last few decades as well as to prove the relationship between that trend that the disappearance of the human subject from IR. This served to argue that the disappearance of the human subject from IR is the outcome of the change in the nature of IR as well as to argue that this disappearance is detrimental to IR and the subjects of the academic research. This paper presented and engaged with the theoretical frameworks in order to understand their relevance and how they may be used as tools of analysis. The context in which these analyses would take place was set up by grouping two main levels of analysis. These were explored to serve as presenting real life examples of this phenomenon as well as giving the medium in which the frameworks would be applied. In applying the frameworks to the examples and levels of analysis, this chapter was able to both understand the nature of the phenomenon and establish a coherent relationship between the shift to quantitated methods, the resulting inability to comprehend the subjects of those studies as legitimate humans, the subsequent disappearance of the human subject from that information/research/theory and the ultimate detriment that this sequence of variables has on IR research and those who feature in it. This chapter allowed for the practical application of the frameworks to real life examples within International Relations to allow for a holistic understanding of this phenomenon.

CHAPTER FOUR – RESPONSE, RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION:

4.1 Introduction

The current nature of International Relations has resulted in the disappearance of the human subject. The preceding chapters established this phenomenon and explored it from its roots to its presence and impacts in the current context. This paper has explored the relationships between this phenomenon and the very real impacts it can and has had on individual persons, domestic governments, global actors and the formation and implementation of foreign policies. The disappearance has been shown to negatively influence the responses, interventions and actions of the 'international' and its actors over the last few decades. The previous chapters sought to identify and understand this problem and this chapter serves to explore potential responses that could counteract or respond to this issue. This chapter aims to present recommendations into what could be plausible ways to begin to adapt the future construction of International Relations research and theory in a way that would be less detrimental to the human subject within the 'international'.

The previous chapters served to prove and contextualize this event within the field of International Relations. This chapter aims to host a discussion that will ultimately, respond to this established problem and explore potential ways forward. Firstly, this chapter will respond to the identified issue by initially addressing the methods international actors, such as NGOs, have used to reintroduce the human identification into their policies and projects. Secondly, the theoretical frameworks utilized in this paper will be used to explain why the above methods may be an effective response to the identified issue. In conjunction with the above discussion, this chapter will present how these methods could be included into the future production of International Relations research to help reintroduce the human subject back into research. Finally, this chapter will address a potential critique to this paper by asking if the reintroduction of the human subject into International Relations research is necessary. In using the above structure, this section will present a response to the problem this paper has addressed and discuss potential ways forward. However, the problem and its impacts have been identified in both theory and practice. To understand how it may be resolved this paper leans towards ways in which international actors have successfully countered it themselves.

4.2 Reintroducing Human Identity

In a study investigating the widespread famine within North East Africa, David Ropeik noted the lack of action from the international community but mainly from the United Nations (Ropeik 2011). His study shifted in attempting to understand why such an observed crisis had been responded to with such apathy from the global community. He begun to analyse the ways in which the reality of this tragedy had been represented in the international space. Ropeik presented two methods of appealing to the globe to provoke action. Firstly, he presented a message that was then being used by the U.N. and is the common style of writing within the field. His message read:

> "The famine in the Horn of Africa has left more than 12 million people malnourished, including half of Somalia's population. The U.N. says 640,000 Somali children are starving and more than 29,000 children in Southern Somalia have starved to death in the last 90 days" (Ropeik 2011).

Ropeik notes that this representation of the crisis was extremely accurate and clearly communicated the need to intervene. However, the crisis continued with the above message received and the resulting response was from adequate. He then compared the above message with a different manner of representing this tragedy.

> "Four year-old Khafra was near death three days ago when he was brought to the refugee camp hospital. He was emaciated, his ribs showing through his taut dry skin. He panted for breath. His desperate eyes bulged. His mother, Alyan, could only sit at his side and watch, helpless, sad beyond comprehension, but herself too malnourished to cry. Doctors are still not sure Khafran can be saved" (Ropeik 2011).

This comparison presents two pieces of information from the same situation. One presents the lives of 12 million humans who are in dire need of assistance and the other presents the life of a single individual. Ropeik argues that the message with the greater representation of the true magnitude of this crisis should provoke the needed intervention but it does not – the later message was far more successful. The use of *Khafra,* a constructed person from studied statistics, triggered a greater response from the international community (Ropeik 2011). This

is because the statistics and highly impassive representation of this event without a coherent link to human life resulted in the "numbness" towards those lives and lack of "comprehension" of the lives as being human (Loewnstein, Small & Slovic 2007). The second paragraph did not present a fiction, it was not a false expression but was a personified representation of the statistics of the crisis. The anthropomorphizing of the research data resulted in that data being far more comprehensible to those who engage with it as well as triggering an understanding of the true tragedy of this famine (Ropeik 2011). The introduction of *Khafra* presented an identifiable life that could be comprehended as equal to the life of an observer. The comparative reception of the statistical lives portrayed in the first message is representative of the impact the disappearance of the human subject with International Relations research has had on the impact and accessibility said research has to the greater global space. Ropeik shows that the identifiable life resulted in more immediate action from the international community as well as provoking urgency in policy formation to prevent this tragedy from continuing and reoccurring (Ropeik 2011).

The anthropomorphizing of information has been seen to be successful in motivating policy formation that is more effective in other cases too. In the work *Sympathy and Callousness,* the authors discuss the lack of action taken to victims of natural disasters (Loewnstein, Small & Slovic 2007). They explore the substandard levels of humanitarian aid granted to the states and populations in need (Loewnstein, Small & Slovic 2007). The work highlights the relationships between the use of statistical and quantitated representation and the inability to identify with the victims and those in need (Aggarwal, Ahn & Kim 2013). The considerable lack of humanitarian aid given to unidentified and statistical victims severely hindered the recovery of those in need (Kogut & Ritov 2005). However, following the 2004 tsunami in South Asia, the NGO *Save the Children* raised over $1 billion in humanitarian aid – over double their previous campaigns (Loewnstein, Small & Slovic 2007). This organization used the method of personifying the information by identifying a single human as opposed to representing the situation in a traditional quantified manner (Loewnstein, Small & Slovic 2007). The portrayal of human subjects in the form of an identifiable life over that of a statistical life resulted in a massive increase in humanitarian aid and assistance given to the region (Loewnstein, Small & Slovic 2007). This paper argues that the observed difference in responses to a crisis based off of how it is represented is testimony to the need to reintroduce a human dynamic back into research and theory. The ability to identify and relate to information massively effects the accessibility and impact of information – as seen above (Aggarwal, Ahn & Kim 2013).

In reflecting on the methods utilized to provoke a greater response from the international community, this paper sees the anthropomorphizing of information and research with International Relations as a potential move forward (Aggarwal, Ahn & Kim 2013). The anthropomorphizing of IR research would allow for the reintroduction of the human subject into future IR research. This paper argues that this correction would allow for IR to understand the human condition at a deeper and more identifiable level. The subsequent policies, frameworks and understandings of the 'international' with the deliberate inclusion of the human factor will respond to the various issues within current IR and practice expressed in the previous chapters. This paper offers the recommendation of anthropomorphizing IR research in order to present the human subject as an identifiable life (Cotte, Coulter & Moore 2005). Current IR research fails to create a comprehensible representation of human life and as such falls short in serving the human subject as is the intention of the Social Sciences as well as International Relations. However, to aid in motivating for the anthropomorphizing of IR, this chapter will refer back to the chosen theoretical frameworks to explain how this would counter the over arching problem.

4.3 Applying Theory to Potential Way Forward

The dual application of **Statistical Numbness** and **Butler's Comprehension of Life Model** equipped this paper to analyze and understand the nature and repercussions of the disappearance of the human subject from the International Relations discipline. These models showed the impacts that the increasingly quantitated and impassive nature of International Relations research can have in a practical sense and to those observing or engaging with the literature. The disappearance of the human subject was proven to disassociate IR research from actual human life. The chosen models allowed for a coherent understanding as to why this happens and ultimately led to the recommendation of anthropomorphizing future research in the field to correct the problem. But why would anthropomorphizing future IR research be effective in countering the issue this paper seeks to address? The discussions and earlier applications of the theoretical frameworks highlighted the coherent faults present in the current methods in IR. The reliance on statistics, quantitated data and deliberately impassive representation of information are all prominent factors in current IR. The frameworks examined the drawbacks and dangers of this approach and this paper argued that these shortcomings were too important to let continue.

The presentation of an identifiable life within IR research would mitigate statistical blindness as well as allow for the adequate comprehension of human life within a study (Gray,

Gray & Wegner 2007). The **Statistical Numbness** model argued that the representation of human life in a numerical or quantitated manner completely distances that life from that information (Slovic & Slovic 2007). By attaching or integrating a human identity to research that distance would be vastly reduced by allowing a reader or observer to coherently associate the presented information with a **real** life instead of a number (Aggarwal, Ahn & Kim 2013). The recognition of that human life results in a far greater identification to the information being presented (Aggarwal, Ahn & Kim 2013). This identification has been shown to provoke action and responses at a significantly higher rate than statistical representations (Loewnstein, Small & Slovic 2007). Additionally, the identification allows for a reader to engage and relate with the theory or research at a deeper level which in turn may result in a better understanding of the human subject as well as its role in the 'international'. In removing the distance between the reader and the information, the above model argues that the research will be more accessible and comprehensible to those engaging with it (Slovic & Slovic 2007). Furthermore, in personifying future research and literature, those engaging with the information will have a better emotional understanding and grasp on those human lives involved (Kogut & Ritov 2005). **Butler's Comprehension of Life Model** provides a better analysis as to why this happens.

Butler's model explained the concept of only being able to grieve a human life if that life is first acknowledge and recognized as human in the first place (Butler 2009). This model was applied to the essay problem and showed that the disappearance of the human subject resulted in the disconnection to and inability to recognize human life within IR research (Butler 2009). By attaching a 'personality' or 'identity' to the information Butler's model argues that this information becomes significantly more accessible and impactful to a reader (Butler 2009). The comprehension of a human life results in a greater emotional response that triggers the needed action and intervention necessary to resolve or respond to an event (Ropeik 2011). This model explores the importance of the initial acknowledgement of a human life and by anthropomorphizing IR research the human subject will regain central importance (Breugelmans & Zeelenberg 2008). In analysing this recommendation through Butler's model, this paper shows the direct response to the issues highlighted in previous discussions. Butler's model emphasizes the need and importance of providing identity and comprehension of human life and the anthropomorphizing of future research will enable this to happen.

The inclusion of an identifiable human life creates the space for an emotional reflection between a reader and the information provided (Aggarwal, Ahn & Kim 2013). In the same manner that the message of *Khafra* hosted greater relatability than the presentation of statistics,

by anthropomorphizing future research in the field of International Relations will be able to produce work that is more relatable, comprehensible and accessible to those observing the work and those who are the subjects of it (Gray, Gray & Wegner 2007). This paper argues that this shift in knowledge production will motivate for more efficient policy formation and a more successful rate of necessary intervention to those in need.

4.4 Why Reintroduce the Human Subject?

> "The human subject is taken as the most fundamental concept for referring to ourselves and our fellow human beings in the international sphere" (Aalto 2011).

International Relations serves to study and understand the concept of the 'international' (Vincent 1986). However, as broken down in the literature review of this paper, this understanding of the 'international' is from the perspective and understanding of the human being (Aalto 2011). The complete understanding and exploration of the 'international' and all of its systems and dynamics is pivoted on how it relates, interacts, influences and is influenced by the human individual (Aalto 2011). Furthermore, the main actor in the global stage at any given point (at a foundational level) is a human being (Kaplan 2005). Human beings create, shape and control all decisions made within the 'international' (Kaplan 2005). Whether it is a policy decision or the choice to intervene or provide aid – regardless of the complexities of the 'international' the human actor is the central mechanism and driver (Aalto 2011). Coupled with that understanding is acknowledging who is subject to the state of the 'international' – also the human being. What this breaks down to is that International Relations is the study of the 'international' and that the 'international' is both controlled by humans as well as being responsible for humans. It is because of this intricate relationship that this paper found substance in arguing for the dire need to reintroduce the human subject back into International Relations (Aalto 2011).

This paper argues that the fundamental value of the human subject and its subsequent disappearance from IR is important to address. Furthermore, the dangers and repercussions of this disappearance have been analysed and through that analysis this paper argues that it is completely necessary to reintegrate the human subject back into IR research. The preceding discussions explored the various levels of society that the dehumanizing of information has resulted in extremely negative outcomes. The lack of identification of human life hidden behind

impassive research and statistical representations has proven to be detrimental to the effectiveness of IR research both in understanding the 'international' and in producing relevant polices. Without identifying the human being as a central point of importance within this field, IR falls short in achieving its purpose. This paper presents the 'international' and the human being as being co-dependent and unable to exist independently of one another. The gradual removal of the human subject results in IR research addressing half of the necessary aspects needed to truly understand the 'international' (Aalto 2011).

In understanding the practical examples of the negative impacts the removal of human identity has had on human life, this chapter has expressed the danger. Additionally, this chapter presented situations where the reintroduction or the anthropomorphizing of information has resulted in considerably more positive outcomes (Ropeik 2011). Following the investigation into that adaptation this chapter applied the theoretical frameworks utilized by this paper in order to understand why the adaptation of personifying information has the impact that it does (Ropeik 2011). The arguments and discussions hosted in this chapter, as well as those presented in the previous ones, motivates for the necessity to reintroduce the human subject into International Relations. As expressed, the human subject is a fundamental factor of the 'international' and International Relations serves to understand this. The disappearance of the human subject has been expressed as having had unfavourable outcomes on the functioning of the 'international' and it is because of this that the anthropomorphizing of future IR research is of vital importance to the future of the field.

4.5 Conclusion

This paper set out to analyze the disappearance of the human subject from International Relations. However, the simple inspection of the 'disappearance' was not all that was needed to understand the problem this paper sought to address. By providing a genealogy into the development of International Relations, this paper presented an understanding into the original foundations of and purposes of IR as a school of thought. This required a deep inspection into literature surrounding the formation and evolution of IR since its relative beginning until modern times. The literature review served to establish the central role of the human subject within IR and set up the foundational structures of the arguments this paper went on to make. The review drew arguments and discussions from various circles within IR in order to understand if the shift towards quantitated and impassive research was really happening. Once this had been established an understanding of how this shift had resulted in the disappearance of the human subject became more clear. This literature review enabled this paper to identify

the previous existence of the human subject within IR and the subsequent disappearance in recent years. This led directly to the following chapter which sought to apply the chosen theoretical frameworks to understand the relationship between increasingly quantitated and impassive research and the dehumanization of that work. Furthermore, the applications of the frameworks enabled the analysis as to the danger of this phenomenon.

Comparisons and analyses into existing responses to the dehumanizing of information were explored to dissect a possible recommendation in combating the essay problem. The engagement with these potential solutions provide further testimony to the dangers present in the dehumanizing of information. The anthropomorphizing of future IR research and theories was ultimately identified as a potential solution to the present issues. The analysis of currently used practical examples allowed for both a better understanding into the nature of this problem as well as helping this paper in framing how a potential solution could take shape. Throughout the above discussion the theoretical frameworks were consistently applied in order to understand the mechanisms that would allow for these solutions to respond to the problem. The reintroduction of the human subject was not only seen as a plausible solution but, in a brief discussions of reflection, was also seen as needed. Effectively, by engaging with various discourse within IR, this paper responded to the essay question of: "Has the preference towards increasingly quantitative research in International Relations begun to neglect, or omit, the human subject?" The answer being yes. Yes, the movement towards increasingly quantitative research has begun to neglect and omit the human subject from International Relations – it has resulted in its disappearance.

This paper traced the formation and development of IR as a school of thought and presented this disappearance in recent years. This process explained what the 'disappearance' is and how it came about in relation to the movement towards greater quantitative research. This paper went onto to explore what the impacts of this disappearance were and, finally, how they can be reintroduced for the benefit of IR research. By responding to the main and sub research questions, this paper provided a coherent and substantive argument as how and why the human subject has disappeared from International Relations and how it can be reintroduced.

Current IR research host a heavy bias towards the quantitated and impassive production of information. This paper explored and presented the very real negative impacts that this has on the 'international' as a whole. The inability to identify with the human life within research, events or theory drastically removes the value of that life to an observer. This paper proved that this was the response present in the context of current methodologies used in the production of IR theory and research. This paper presented a series of discussions and arguments that not

only identified this problem within the field of International Relations but also provided a potential way forward. By understanding that International Relations (as with many other Social Sciences) is at its core centered on the human subject, this paper developed a series of arguments that ultimately proved the disappearance of the human subject, the negative outcomes of the disappearance and the necessity to reintroduce the human subject back into IR research.

In conclusion, this paper reflects back on the earlier quote by Mother Theresa:

"If I look at the mass I will never act. If I look at the one, I will" (Ropeik 2011).

The value in identifying a human life as equal to ones own is a vital component of human compassion and understanding. The removal of this identification resulted in the distance and disassociation of a studied human life to that of an observer. The anthropomorphizing of future research and theories within International Relations will allow for the lives and future potential suffering of humans within the 'international' to be vastly more comprehendible. Ultimately, will equip future research with the ability to provoke the necessary action from the global community to truly care for and positively impact humankind.

REFERENCE LIST:

Aalto, P. 2011. *The Human Subject in International Studies: An Outline for Interdisciplinary Research Programmes.* Springer: International Studies. Pp. 178 – 185.

Aggarwal, P., Ahn, H. & Kim, H. 2013. *Helping Fellow Beings: Anthropomorphized Social Causes and the Role of Anticipatory Guilt.* Sage Publications. Psychological Science.

Alger, C. 1965. *Personal Contact in Inter-governmental Organizations.* New York: Holt. Pp. 521 – 547.

Anstey, P. 2004. *The Philosophy of John Locke: New Perspectives.* Routledge.

Arneil, B. 1996. *John Locke and America: The Defense of English Colonialism.* Claredon Press.

Ascher, W. 1983. "New Development Approaches and the Adaptability of International Agencies: The Case of the World Bank." International Organization 37: 415 – 439.

Ashworth, L. 2017. *The Origins of International Relations.* British International Studies Association. Retrieved from: https://www.bisa.ac.uk/index.php/research-articles/539-the-origins-of-international-relations on August 23rd 2017.

Baer, H. & Capizzi, J. 2005. *Just War Theories Reconsidered: Problems with Prima Facie Duties and the Need for a Political Ethic.* Wiley Online: Journal of Religious Rights.

Bandura, A. 1989. *Human Agency in Social Cognitive Theory.* American Psychologist, Vol 44(9). Pp. 1177.

Bandler, A. 2016. *5 Statistics You Need to Know About Cops Killing Blacks.* The Daily Wire. Retrieved from: http://www.dailywire.com/news/7264/5-statistics-you-need-know-about-cops-killing-aaron-bandler on 5th May 2017.

Behrens, P., Chalfont, P. & Henham, R. 2007. *The Criminal Law of Genocide: International, Comparative and Contextual Aspects*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Bellu, L. & Paolo, L. 2006. *Inequality Analysis ; The Gini Index.* Food and Agriculture Orgnization. United Nations.

Bialik, C. 2016. *Why Are So Many Black Americans Killed By Police?* Law Enforcement: FiveThirtyEight. Retrieved from: https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/why-are-so-many-black-americans-killed-by-police/ on 5th Mary 2017.

Bongiovanni, R. & Sadras, V. 2004. *Use of Lorenz Curves and Gini Coefficients to Assess Yield Inequality Within Paddocks.* Field Crops Research. Vol 90. (2).

Breugelmans, S. & Zeelenberg, M. 2008. *The Role of Interpersonal Harm in Regret and Guilt.* Emotion. Vol. 8:5. Pp. 589 – 596.

Brian, J. 2008. *Allies in Disarray: The Messy End of the Crimean War.* History Today. Vol. 58 (3). Pp. 24 – 31.

Broome, A. & Seabrooke, L. 2012. *Seeing Like an International Organization.* New Political Economy, Vol. 17(1). Pp. 1 – 16.

Broome, A. & Quirk, J. 2015. *The Politics of Numbers: The Normative Agendas of Global Benchmarking.* Cambridge University Press. Volume 41(5). Pp. 813 – 818.

Bull, Hedley. 1966. *International Theory: The Case for a Classical Approach.* World Politics. Vol. 18. No.3 Pp. 361 – 377.

Butler, J. 2009. *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?* Verso.

Cooperman, A. & Smith, G. 2015. *Response From Pew Research Center To 'In Polls We Trust".* First Things.

Cotte, J, Coutler, R. & Moore, M. 2005. *Enhancing or Disrupting Guilt: The Role of Ad Credibility and Perceived Manipulative Intent.* Journal of Business Research. Vol. 58. Pp. 361 – 368.

Craven, J. 2016. *More Than 250 Black People Were Killed By Police 2016.* Huffington Post. Retrieved from: http://www.huffingtonpost.co.za/entry/black-people-killed-by-police-america_us_577da633e4b0c590f7e7fb17 on 5th May 2017.

Cresswell, J., W. 2013. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches.* SAGE Publications. Pp. 183 – 185, 215 – 216.

Curtis, S. & Koivisto, M. 2010. *Towards a Second 'Second Debate'? Rethinking the Relationship between Science and History in International Theory.* International Relations. Vol. 4. No. 24. Pp. 433 – 455.

Dadash, U. 2013. *Lies, Damned Lies, and Statistics.* Foreign Policy. Retrieved from: http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/02/05/lies-damned-lies-and-statistics/ on 9th May 2017.

Dallaire, R. 2005. *Shake Hands With the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*. New York: Carrol & Graf trade paperback edition.

De Maio, F. 2007. *Income Inequality Measures.* Journal of Epidemology and Community Health. Vol. 61 (10). Pp. 849 – 852.

Diallo, A., Thuillier, D., & Lavagon, A., I. 2012. "Critical success factors for World Bank projects: An empirical investigation." International Journal of Project Management Vol. 30, 1. Pp. 105 – 116.

Dillard, A. 1999. *For the Time Being*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Dubinsky, Z. 2005. *The Lessons of Genocide* In: "Review of The Book Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwandan Genocide". Essex Human Rights Review. Vol. 2:1. Pp. 112-117.

Fede, A. 2017. *Homicide Justified: The Legality of Killing Slaves In the United States and the Atlantic World.* University of Georgia Press. Law.

Ferguson, N. 2006. *The War of the World: Twentieth Century Conflict and the Decline of the West.* New York: Penguin Press.

Fetherstonhaugh, D., Friedrich, J., Johnson, S. & Slovic, P. 1997. *Insensitivity to the Value of Human Life: A Study of Psychophysical Numbing.* Journal of Risk and Uncertainty, Vol 10.

Few, S. 2012. *Data Visualization for Human Perception.* The Data Design Foundation. Retrieved from: https://www.interaction-design.org/literature/book/the-encyclopedia-of-human-computer-interaction-2nd-ed/data-visualization-for-human-perception on 3rd May 2017.

Frederick, S. & Kahneman, D. 2002. "Representativeness revisited: Attribute substitution in intuitive judgment." In T. Gilovich, D. Griffin & D. Kahneman (Eds.), *Heuristics and Biases*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 49-81.

Freire, L. & Koivisto, M. 2012. *International Relations as a Social Science.* Oxford University Press.

Freyberg-Inan, A. & Jacobi, D. 2015. *Human Beings in International Relations.* Cambridge University Press. Pp. 1 – 26.

Forsythe, D. 2017. *Human Rights in International Relations.* Cambridge University Press. Political Science.

Fukuda-Parr, S. 2006. *Millennium Development Goal 8: Indicators for International Human Rights Obligations?* Human Rights Quarterly Vol. 28(4). Pp. 966 – 967.

Hannigan, R. 2016. *The Great War and American Foreign Policy.* University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp. 125 – 129.

Heartfield, J. 2002. *Postmodernism and the 'Death of the Subject'.* Sheffield Hallam UP.

Hillebrand, E. 2009. *Poverty, Growth, and Inequality Over the Next 50 Years.* FAO. United Nations. Economic and Social Development Department.

Gale, T. 2008. *International Relations.* International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.

Gerson, M. J. 2007. *Ghosts of Rwanda*. Washington Post. Retrieved from: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2007/11/27/AR2007112702030.html?utm_term=.8e2469246c65 on November 11th 2017.

Gray, H., Gray, K. & Wegner, D. 2007. *Dimensions of Mind Perception.* Science. Vol. 315:5812. Pp. 315; 619.

Grovogui, S., N. 1996. *Sovereigns, Quasi Sovereigns and Africans: Race and Self-Determination in International Law.* University of Minnesota Press.

Hill, C. 1994. *Two Worlds of International Relations: Academics, Practioners and the Trade in Ideas.* Psychology Press: Political Science.

Hopkins, S. 2016. *Tommy Robinson Shouts at BBC's Nihal Arthanayake After Presenter Ridicules His Criminal Past.* Huffington Post. Retrived from: http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/tommy-robinson-in-two-day-twitter-fight-with-bbc-presenter_uk_579769a8e4b02508de4750a9 on 30th April 2017.

Jackson, T., P. 2010. *The Conduct of Inquiry in International Relations: Philosophy of science and its implications for the study of world politics.* Routledge. Pp. 24 – 41.

Kahnemahn, D. & Tversky, A. 1979. *Prospect Theory: An Analysis of Decision under Risk.* Econometrica, Vol 47(2). Pp. 263 – 292.

Kaplan, M. 2005. *System and Process in International Politics.* Political Science. ECPR Press.

Knorr, M. & Rosenau, J. 1969. *Contending Approaches to International Politics (eds.).* Princeton University Press.

Kogut, T. & Ritov, I. 2005. *The "Identified Victim" Effect: An Identified Group, or Just a Single Individual?* Journal of Behavioral Decision Making. Vol. 18. Pp. 157-167.

Kurki, M. & Wight, C. 2010. "*International Relations and Social Science."* In *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity.* Oxford University Press. Pp. 14 – 40.

Lacey, M. 2005. *The Mournful Math of Darfur: The Dead Don't Add up.* The New York Times. Pp. 4.

Lartey, J., Laughland, O., McCarthy, C. & Swaine, J. 2015. *Young Black Men Killed By US Police At Highest Rate In Year of 1,134 Deaths.* The Guardian. Retrieved from: https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/dec/31/the-counted-police-killings-2015-young-black-men on 6th May 2017.

Lee, R, Sandage, S. & Williamson, I. 2007. *How Social Connectedness Affects Guilt and Shame: Mediation by Hope and Differentiation of Self.* Personality and Individual Differences. Vol. 43. Pp. 2159 – 2170.

Lyons, L. 1947. *Washington Post.* Washington, D.C. Pp. 9.

Manela, E. 2007. *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism.* Oxford University Press. Pp. 41 – 42.

McGrath, L. 2009. *Review of Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?* Project MUSE. New York: Verso.

Messner, D. & Weinlich. S. 2015. *Global Cooperation and the Human Factor in International Relations.* Routledge. Business & Economics.

Neumann, I. 2013. *International Relations as a Social Science.* Public Lecture at London School of Economics. Retrieved from: http://www.lse.ac.uk/website-archive/newsAndMedia/videoAndAudio/channels/publicLecturesAndEvents/player.aspx?id=1747 on August 6th 2017.

Neumayer, E. 2005. *Do International Human Rights Treaties Improve Respect for Human Rights?* SAGE Journals. Vol. 49. No. 6.

Neville, P. 2004. *Statistics Disguise a Human Face.* The Register-Guard.

Njongonkulu, N. 2011. *Development with a Human Face.* Development Outreach: The World Bank. Retrieved from: https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/6109 on 28th April 2017.

Noonan, J. 1996. *Postmodernism and the Human Subject: The Return of the Repressed.* Philosophy.

Pai, H. 2016. *Angry White People: Coming Face-to-Face with the British Far Right.* Zed Books.

Patton, M., Q. 2005. *Qualitative Research.* Encyclopedia of Statistics in Behavioral Science. John Wiley & Sons.

Petermann, J. 2011. *Scientific Approaches to the Study of International Relations.* GRIN Verlag.

Power, S. 2003. *A Problem from Hell: America and The Age of Genocide.* New York: Harper Perennial.

Robinson, T. 2015. *Tommy Robinson Enemy of the State.* The Press News Ltd.

Ropeik, D. 2010. *How Risky Is It, Really?: Why Our Fears Don't Always Match the Facts.* McGraw-Hill Education.

Ropeik, D. 2011. *Statistical Numbing: Why Millions Can Die and We Don't Care.* Psychology Today. Retrieved from: https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/how-risky-is-it-really/201108/statistical-numbing-why-millions-can-die-and-we-don-t-care on 7th May 2017.

Rosenburg, A. 2015. *Philosophy of Social Science.* Hachette UK.

Rottenburg, R. 2009. *Far-Fetched Facts.* The MIT Press.

Said, E. 2014. *Orientalism*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group. Social Science.

Sen, A. 1993. *Capability and Well-Being* in Nussbaum, M. & Sen, A. "The Quality of Life". Oxford University Press. Pp. 30 – 34.

Shermer, M. 2008. *Why Our Brains Do Not Intuitively Grasp Probabilities. Scientific* American. Retrieved from: https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/why-our-brains-do-not-intuitively-grasp-probabilities/ on 3rd May 2017.

Singer, P. 1972. *Famine, Affluence, and Morality.* Philosophy and Public Affairs. Pp. 232.

Small, D. A. & Loewenstein, G. 2003. *Helping a Victim or Helping the Victim: Altruism and Identifiability*. Journal of Risk and Uncertainty. Vol: *26*. Pp. 5-16.

Small, D. A., Loewenstein, G., & Slovic, P. 2007. *Sympathy and Callousness: The Impact of Deliberative Thought on Donations to Identifiable and Statistical Victims.* Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes. Vol: 102. Pp. 143-153.

Snyder, J. 2004. *One World, Rival Theories.* Foreign Policy. Vol. 145. Pp. 52 – 54.

Slovic, P. 2007. *Psychic Numbing and Genocide.* Scientific Briefs: American Psychology Association. Retrieved from: http://www.apa.org/science/about/psa/2007/11/slovic.aspx on 3rd May 2017.

Slovic, P. 2010. *If I Look at the Mass I Will Never Act: Psychic Numbing and Genocide.* In "Emotions and Risky Technologies". Springer Netherlands, Vol. 5. Pp. 37 – 59.

Slovic, P. & Slovic, S. 2015. *Numbers and Nerves: Information, Emotion and Meaning in a World of Data.* Oregon State University Press.

Taylor, A. 1998. *The First World War and Its Aftermath: 1914 – 1919.* Century of Conflict. London: Folio Society.

Teschke, B. 2002. *Theorizing the Westphalian System, of States: International Relations from Absolutism to Capitalism.* SAGE Journals. European Journal of International Relations.

Troubetzkov, A. 2006. *A Brief History of the Crimean War*. London: Constable & Robinson.

Vincent, R. 1986. *Foreign Policy and Human Rights: Issues and Responses.* Cambridge University Press. Political Science.

Vincent, R. 1986. *Human Rights and International Relations.* Cambridge University Press. Political Science.

Walt, S. 1998. *International Relations: One World, Many Theories.* Foreign Policy: Washington Spring.

Weber, E. 1834. *De Pulsu, Resorptione, Auditu et Tactu*. Leipzig: Koehler.

Westermann, I. 2010. *Justification of Black Slavery: How was a system justified that caused and accepted the exploitation and deaths of millions of black Africans in the Americans for the maximization of British profits?* Foreign Language Study: GRIN Verlag.

Wilkinson, P. 2007. *International Relations: A Very Short Introduction.* Oxford University Press. Political Science.

Wuthnow, R. 2015. *In Polls We Trust: First Things.* First Things.