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Shannon L. Blanton Charles W. Kegley

# World Politics

## Trend and Transformation

18th Edition

Eighteenth Edition

# World Politics

## Trend and Transformation

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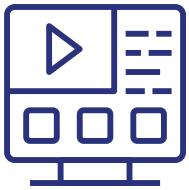

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# Letter to Instructors

Dear International Relations Instructor:

Understanding world politics requires up-to-date information and analysis. In a constantly changing world, it is imperative for our students to develop the intellectual skills to be better global citizens and to effectively analyze key events and issues in international affairs. By presenting the leading ideas and the latest information available, *World Politics: Trend and Transformation* provides the tools necessary for understanding world affairs, for anticipating probable developments, and for thinking critically about the potential long-term impact of those developments on institutions, countries, and individuals across the globe.

*World Politics* aims to put both change and continuity into perspective. **It provides a picture of the evolving relations among all transnational actors, the historical developments that affect those actors' relationships, and the salient contemporary global trends that those interactions produce**. The key theories for understanding international relations—realism, liberalism, constructivism, as well as feminist and Marxist interpretations—frame the investigation. At the same time, this book presents all the complexities of world politics, as well as the necessary analytic tools to make sense of a wide range of substantive issues, from war to global finance to human rights. To foster critical thinking skills, the text provides evidence-based assessments and intentionally presents contending views—throughout the chapters, but especially in our **A Closer Look** and **Controversy** features—so that students have a chance to critically evaluate opposed positions and construct their own judgments about key issues. Moreover, our **enhanced video resource program**, provided in partnership with the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs (CCEIA), further highlights current international trends and transformations by applying *World Politics'* **key terms** and concepts in real-world applications.

## New to this Edition

To keep you abreast of the latest developments, *World Politics: Trend and Transformation* continues to change in response to unfolding events around our world. Since publication of the prior edition, numerous changes have taken place in international relations. To provide students with the most current information, we have revised the entire text of this eighteenth edition to incorporate the latest global events and scholarly research. Major features include:

- Each chapter highlights Learning Objectives that serve as a guide to key concepts—at the start of the chapter, at the beginning of each corresponding section, and at the end of the chapter.
- A Summary tied to the learning objectives is included at the end of each chapter to help students collect their thoughts about key concepts and issues, trend and transformation.



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- Vibrant and engaging illustrations—sixty new and updated maps, sixty-one new and updated figures, and a host of photos of real-world events—to provoke student interest and enable them to visualize central global developments through the most recently available data. Critical thinking questions following each map throughout the text.
- New and revised **A Closer Look** and **Controversy** features highlight real-world events and feature essential debates.
- New key terms—such as **currency crisis, frontier technologies, nonstate armed groups,** and **state terrorism**, with definitions that appear in the text and the glossary—help students understand key concepts in the study of world politics.
- Expanded discussions of theories for understanding world politics, including enhanced discussions of a constructivist emphasis on affective sources of behavior, feminist perspectives of international relations and foreign policy making, and cognitive heuristics and analogical reasoning in decision making.
- Updated discussions of conflict and cooperation around the world, including Russia's invasion of Ukraine, an increasingly powerful China, terrorist groups such as the Islamic State, and international bodies such as the United Nations, the International Criminal Court, and the World Bank.
- Discussion of global trends, such as the challenge of fragile states, the consequences of demographic transitions, international crime and human trafficking, increased migration and the quest for human security, genocide and human rights abuse, advances in global communications, technological innovation, and food and water security.
- Discussion of the latest advances in military technology, including developments in artificial intelligence and autonomous weapons systems, as well as a look at the changing nuclear environment in North Korea, the diffusion of civil war and conflict involving nonstate armed groups, the status of arms control agreements, private military groups, and the role of peacekeeping in containing conflict.
- Updated discussions of the global political economy, including new coverage of financial and currency crises, implications of the globalization of labor and increase in protectionist tendencies, the Global South's calls for reform of the international system, and illicit financial flows.
- Enhanced discussion of the global spread of communicable diseases such as COVID-19, the challenge of protecting human rights, the prospect of democratic backsliding, implications of the global trend toward urbanization and megacities, the threat of identity politics and disinformation campaigns, and climate change and environmental degradation.
- New suggested resources for further investigation of world politics at the close of each chapter.

We thank you for using this book to help introduce your students to world politics. Our hope is that it helps students to critically analyze and understand global affairs—and to better assess the possibilities for the global future and its potential impact on their own lives.

Sincerely,
Shannon L. Blanton & Charles W. Kegley

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# Letter to Students

Dear Student:

In a constantly changing world, it is important to be able to analyze effectively key events and issues in international affairs and to critically assess different viewpoints concerning these issues. By providing you with the leading ideas and the latest information available, *World Politics: Trend and Transformation* offers the tools necessary for understanding world affairs, for anticipating probable developments, and for thinking critically about the potential long-term impact of those developments on institutions, countries, and individuals across the globe. In essence, *World Politics* strives to help you become an informed global citizen and establish a foundation for life-long learning about international affairs.

*World Politics* aims to put both change and continuity into perspective. It provides a picture of the evolving relations among all transnational actors, the historical developments that affect those actors' relationships, and the salient contemporary global trends that those interactions produce. You will learn about key theories and worldviews for understanding international relations, and examine some of the most prominent issues in global politics, including war, terrorism, world trade, global finance, demographic trends, environmental degradation, and human rights. To facilitate your understanding, *World Politics* incorporates features to clarify complex ideas and arguments:

- An **Atlas** with detailed political maps of each continent opens the book.
- **Learning Objectives** open each chapter, serving as a road map to the book's key concepts and helping you assess your understanding.
- **Controversy** features examine rival viewpoints on major international relations issues and encourage you to think critically and develop your own opinions.
- **A Closer Look** features address contemporary issues and pose critical thinking questions.
- Each chapter includes **key terms**, their definitions, and pertinent videos through the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs (CCEIA).
- Each chapter ends with a **Summary** of the learning objectives and a list of **Suggested Readings and Resources** to help you prepare for your papers and essays.

We trust that you will find *World Politics: Trend and Transformation* to be an invaluable resource as you seek to learn more about global affairs. Whether the study of world politics is one among many interests that you are exploring as you earn your degree or a keen passion that may lead you to play an active role in shaping our world, this book is designed to provide you a comprehensive coverage of the trends and transformations that characterize



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international relations. It is our hope that as you conclude reading *World Politics,* you will be as fascinated as we are with the complex dynamics of global interactions and feel compelled to continue to observe, critically analyze, and address the challenges and opportunities that we share as members of a global community.

Sincerely,
Shannon L. Blanton & Charles W. Kegley

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**Charles William Kegley** is a past president of the International Studies Association. He served on the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs for two decades, which in 2023 founded the annual Kegley Lectureship. He holds the title of Pearce Distinguished Professor of International Relations Emeritus at the University of South Carolina. A graduate of American University (BA) and Syracuse University (PhD)



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and a Pew Faculty Fellow at Harvard University, Kegley previously served on the faculty at Georgetown University and has held visiting professorships at the University of Texas, Rutgers University, the People's University of China, and the Institute Universitaire de Hautes Études Internationales Et du Développement in Geneva, Switzerland. He is also a recipient of the Distinguished Scholar Award of the Foreign Policy Analysis Section of the International Studies Association. A founding partner of Kegley International, Inc. (a publishing, research, and consulting foundation), Dr. Kegley has authored more than fifty scholarly books and more than one hundred journal articles.

Professors Blanton and Kegley have individually published extensively in leading scholarly journals, including *Alternatives, American Journal of Political Science, Armed Forces and Society, Asian Forum, The Brown Journal of International Affairs, Business and Society, Comparative Political Studies, Conflict Management and Peace Science, Conflict Quarterly, Cooperation and Conflict, Ethics and International Affairs, Feminist Economics, Politics and Gender, The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, Foreign Policy Analysis, Futures Research Quarterly, Harvard International Review, International Interactions, International Organization, International Politics, International Studies Quarterly, Jerusalem Journal of International Relations, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of Peace Research, The Journal of Politics, Journal of Political and Military Sociology, Journal of Third World Studies, Korean Journal of International Studies, Leadership, Orbis, Political Research Quarterly, Politics & Gender, Social Science Journal, Sociological Forum*, *World Development*, and *Western Political Quarterly*.

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# Dedication

To my husband Rob and our sons Austin and Cullen, in deep appreciation of their love and support
—Shannon Lindsey Blanton

To my loving wife Debbie
And to the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, in appreciation for its invaluable contribution to building through education a more just and secure world
—Charles William Kegley

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# North America

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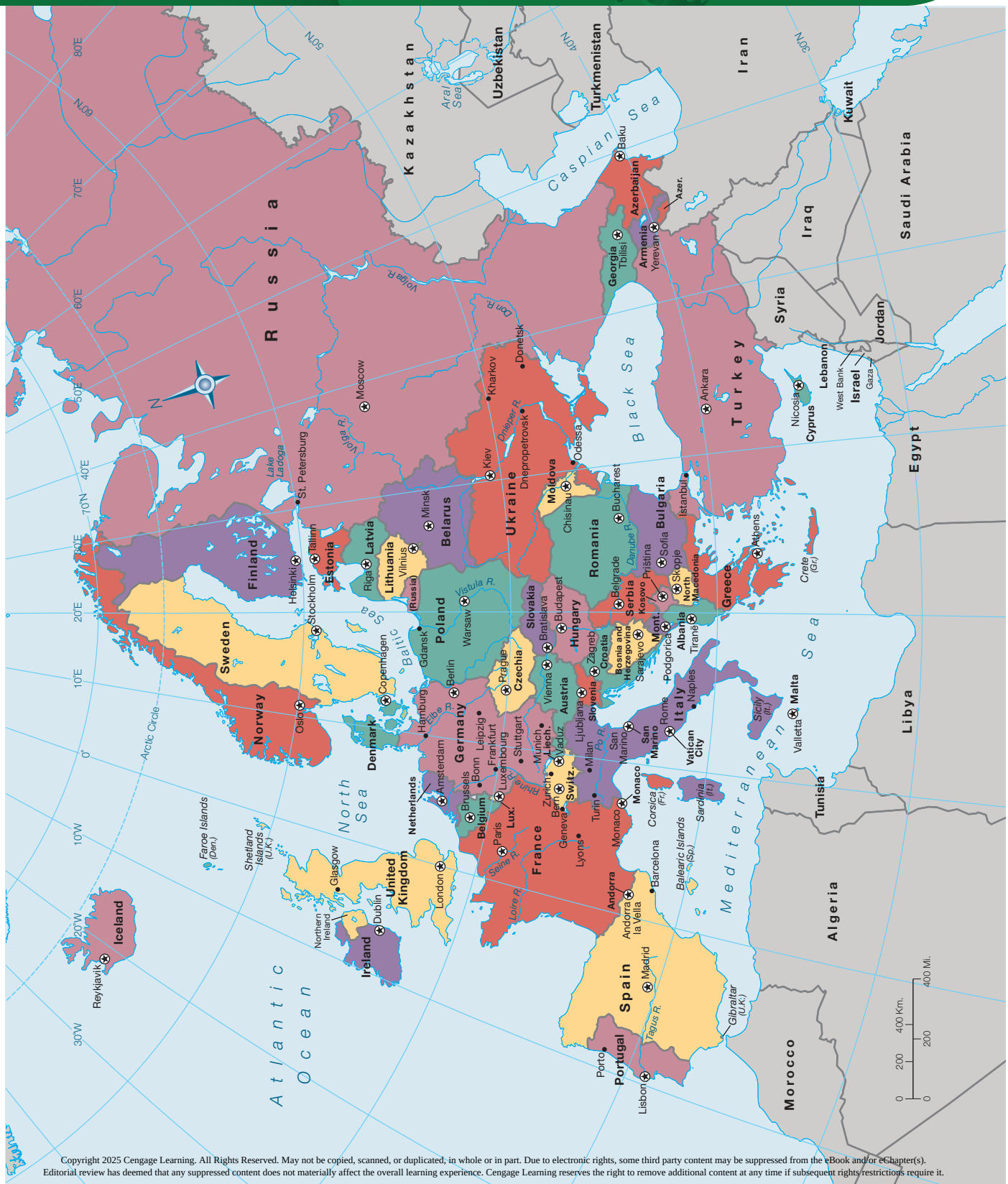


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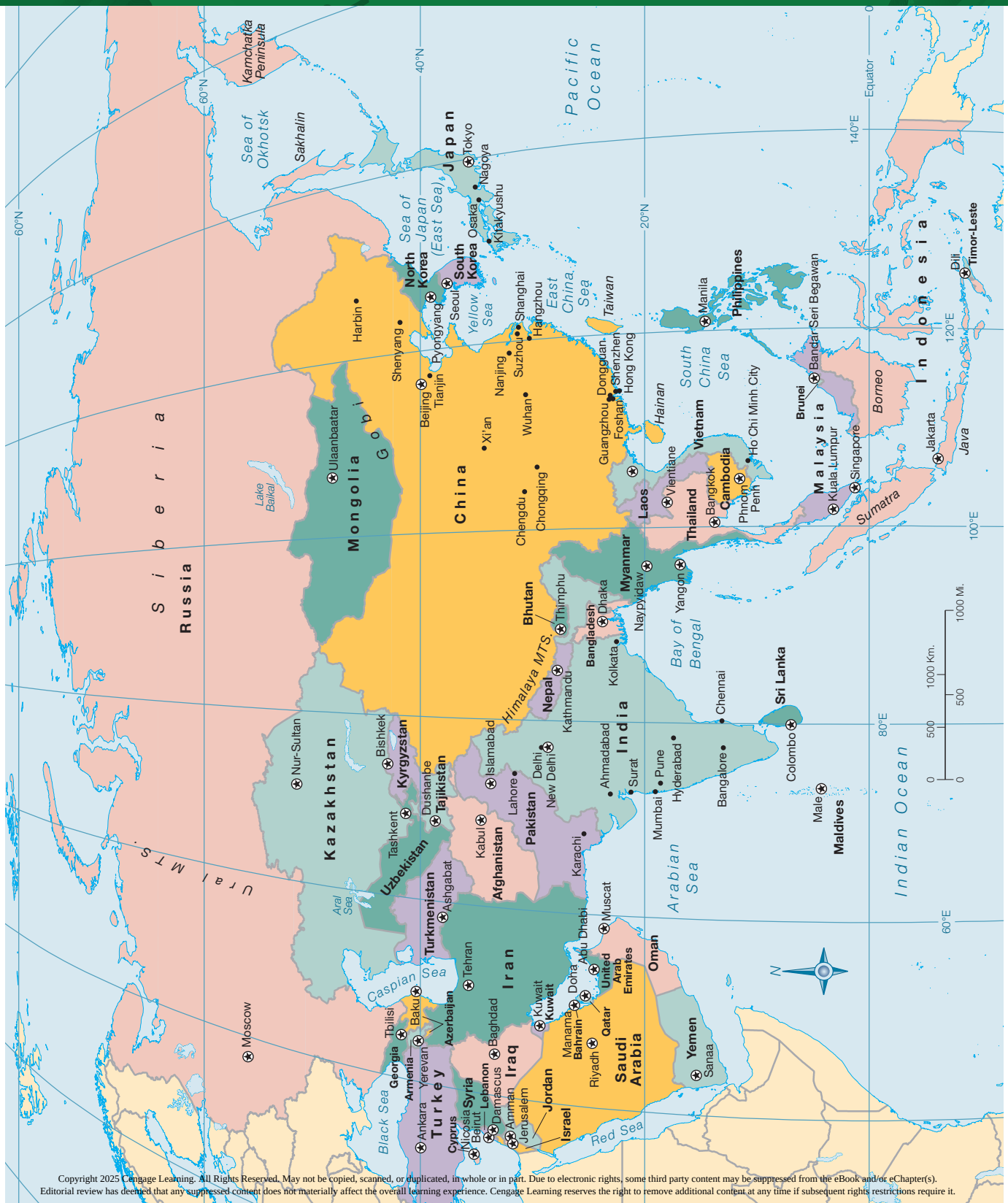


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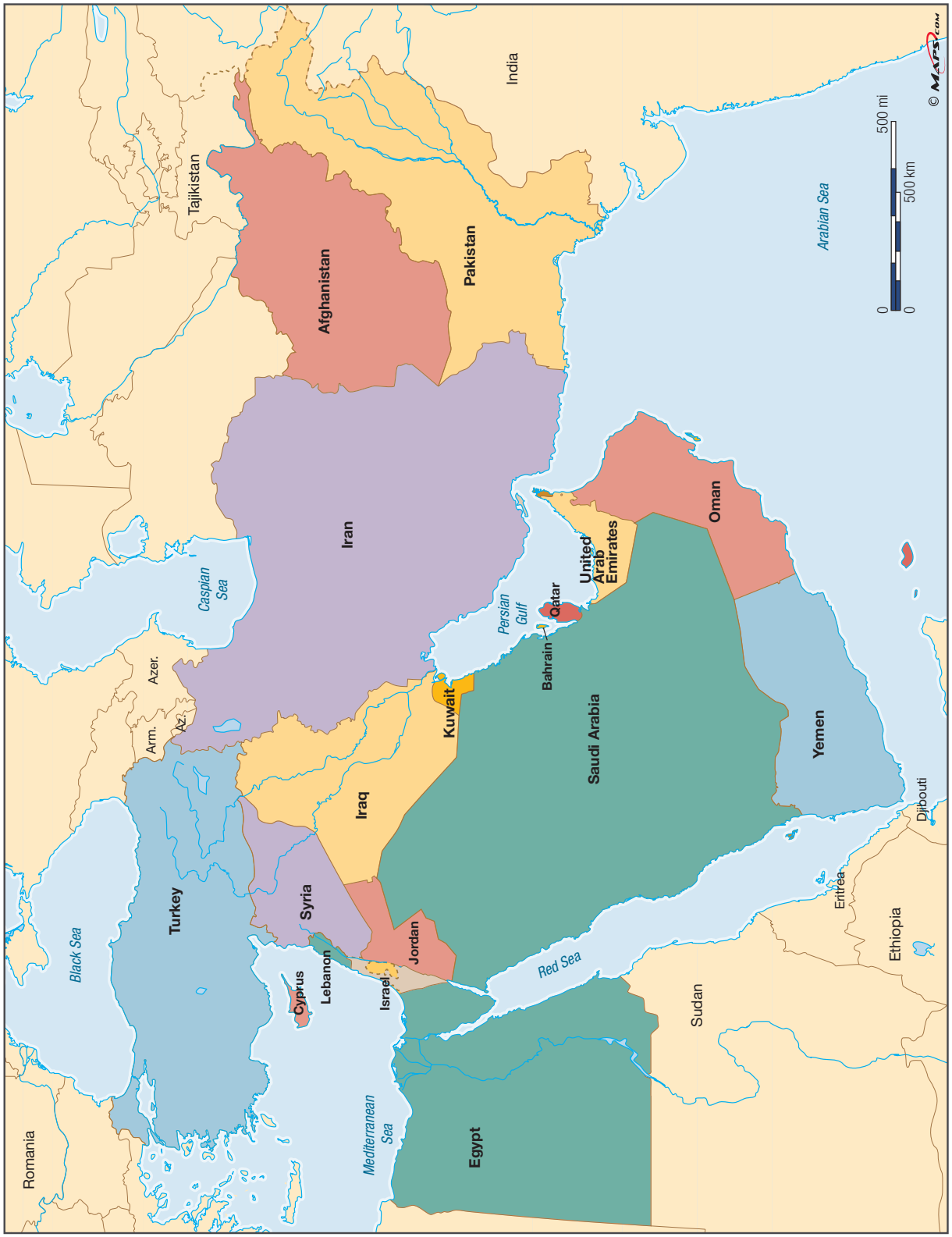




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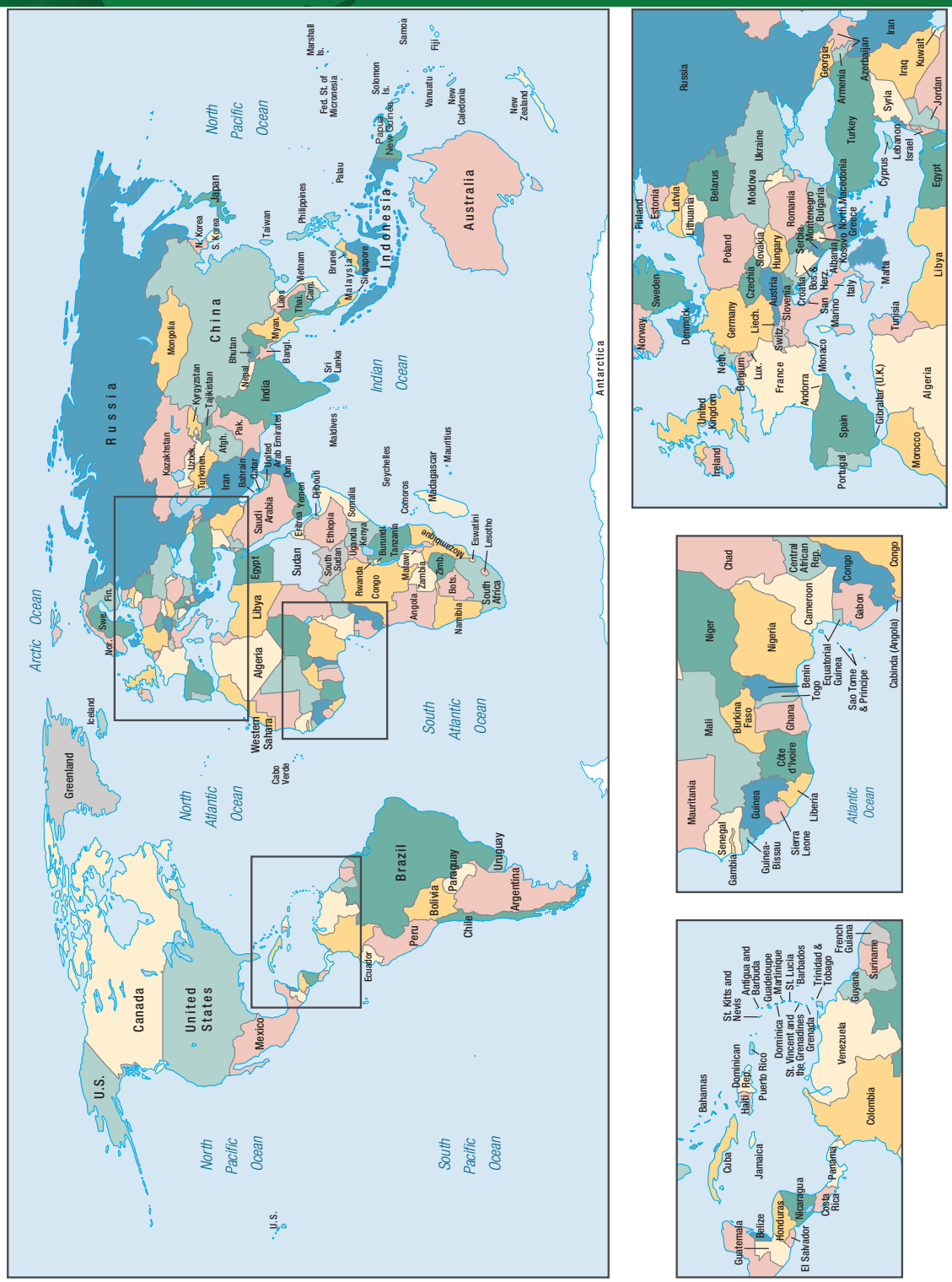




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# Part 1

# Trend and Transformation in World Politics

NASA Images

### A World Without Borders

Reflecting on his space shuttle experience, astronaut Sultan bin Salman Al-Saud remarked that "the first day or so we all pointed to our countries. The third or fourth day we were pointing to our continents. By the fifth day, we were aware of only one Earth." As viewed from outer space, planet Earth looks as if it has continents without borders. As viewed from newspaper headlines, however, world politics looks much different.

These are turbulent times, inspiring both anxiety and hope. What lies ahead for the world? What are we to think about the global future? Part 1 of this book introduces you to the study of world politics in a period of rapid change. It opens a window on the many unfolding trends, some of them moving in contrary directions. Chapter 1, Discovering World Politics looks at our perceptions of global events and realities, explains how they can lead to distorted understandings, and suggests ways to move beyond the limited scope of those views. Chapter 2, Interpreting World Politics Through the Lens of Theory continues with an overview of the realist, liberal, and constructivist theoretical traditions that scholars and policy makers use most often to interpret world politics. It also considers the feminist and Marxist critiques of these mainstream traditions. Chapter 3, Theories of International Decision Making further strengthens your understanding of world politics by introducing ways of looking at international decision-making processes: at the individual, internal, and global levels of analysis.



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# Chapter 1

## Discovering World Politics

Guy Bell/Shutterstock.com

**Image 1.1 What Future for Humankind?** Many global trends are sweeping across a transforming planet. Environmental issues often transcend state boundaries and call for a global response. Shown here, thousands of youth demonstrate in Parliament Square in central London to object to the government's lack of action regarding climate change. Inspired by activist Greta Thunberg, who as a 15-year-old started a school strike in Sweden to bring awareness to the climate crisis, thousands of young people have joined the movement to demand urgent action. How might you influence the future of world politics?

## Learning Objectives

**LO 1-1** Describe the core difficulty of investigating human phenomena such as international relations.
**LO 1-2** Explain how different ways in which we perceive reality can influence international politics.
**LO 1-3** Identify foundational concepts and units of analysis used to assess world politics.



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"If we are to prosper together in our increasingly small world, we must listen to—and learn from each other's stories."

**—Queen Noor of Jordan, Philanthropist**

Imagine yourself returning home from a two-week vacation on a tropical island where you were completely "off the grid," with no access to the news. The trip gave you a well-deserved break before starting a new school term, but now you are curious about what has happened while you were away. Checking your newsfeed, the headlines catch your eye. The war in Ukraine continues, with the United Nations reporting high rates of torture and ill-treatment of detainees in areas of the country occupied by Russia. Ukraine has received military support from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), as well as support for joining the alliance in the future when security conditions have stabilized. In Russia, President Vladimir Putin met with members of the Wagner Group, a powerful mercenary organization, following their failed insurrection against him a week earlier. You wonder what this means for the Russian regime and its invasion of Ukraine. With heightened fears of the spread of instability in Eastern Europe, you wonder if it will affect your plans to study abroad there next year. You also read that fierce fighting in Sudan has erupted yet again, with more than a half-million Sudanese people having fled the country in the first three months of fighting. You speculate that we may be witnessing the deterioration of the country's government.

Listening to reports on the radio on your drive home, you hear coverage of dramatic and punishing weather events, from unusually heavy rainfall causing flooding and landslides in Japan and India to the first snowfall in a decade in Johannesburg, South Africa to extreme heatwaves across the United States. You wonder if these are anomalies, or whether they are part of an alarming trend of global climate change. You are encouraged to hear that European lawmakers approved a bill that would require European Union countries to restore 20 percent of degraded nature areas.

Shortly after arriving home, you get a news alert that inflation in the United States has dropped to the lowest level in more than two years. You are excited about the improving economic prospects and hope that conditions continue to improve before you graduate and enter the job market. You observe, however, that despite a constructive meeting between representatives from the United States and China, tensions remain over their trade relationship, with China indicating that it will reduce its dependence on U.S. manufacturing and the United States pursuing restrictions on the trade of sensitive technologies.

You decide to seek out some positive news and find a couple of interesting podcasts to listen to while you unpack. You learn that the United States has destroyed the last declared chemical weapon—a rocket filled with sarin nerve agent—in its possession. In doing so, the country met the deadline established in the Chemical Weapons Convention of 1997 for elimination of these weapons of mass destruction. You also hear that the Five Guys hamburger restaurant has opened its first location in South Korea and served more than 2,000 enthusiastic customers the first day. You begin to think that a hamburger sounds pretty good for your dinner.

The scenario just described is not hypothetical. The events identified record what actually occurred during the month of July 2023. Undoubtedly, many individuals experienced

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fear and confusion during this period. However, it is, uncomfortably, not so different from other eras. Putting this information about unfolding events together, you cannot help but be reminded that international affairs matter and events around the world powerfully affect your circumstances and future. The "news" you received is not truly new, because it echoes many old stories from the past about the growing turmoil sweeping the contemporary world. Nevertheless, the temptation to wish that this depressing, chaotic world would just go away is overwhelming. If only the unstable world would be still long enough for a sense of predictability and order to prevail. . . . Alas, that does not appear likely. You cannot escape the world or control its turbulence, and you cannot single-handedly alter its character.

We are all a part of this world. Because world events increasingly influence every person, we must embrace the challenge of discovering the dynamic properties of **world politics**. That is, by carefully observing and better understanding how the decisions and behavior of individuals, states, and transnational actors influence the global condition, how developments around the world are remaking our political and economic lives, and how the global system works, we can more effectively adapt to life amid the prevailing winds of global change. Only by doing so can we address what former U.S. President Bill Clinton identified in his first inaugural address as "the question of our time—whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy."

**world politics**
The study of how global actors' activities entail the exercise of influence to achieve and defend their goals and ideals, and how it affects the world at large.

"Knowledge is power. Information is liberating. Education is the premise of progress, in every society, in every family."

**—Kofi Annan, Former UN Secretary General**

## The Challenge of Investigating International Relations

**LO 1-1** Describe the core difficulty of investigating human phenomena such as international relations.

To understand the political convulsions that confront the world's more than 8 billion people, it is critical that we perceive our times accurately. Yet interpreting the world in which we now live and anticipating what lies ahead for the globe's future—and yours—presents formidable challenges. Indeed, it could be the most difficult task you will ever face. Why? In part, it is because the study of international relations requires considering every factor that influences human behavior. This is a task that seminal scientist Albert Einstein believed is extremely challenging. He once hinted at how big the challenge of explaining world politics was when he was asked, "Why is it that when the mind of man has stretched so far as to discover the structure of the atom we have been unable to devise the political means to keep the atom from destroying us?" He replied, "This is simple, my friend; it is because politics is more difficult than physics."

Another part of the challenge stems from our constant bombardment with a bewildering amount of new information and new developments, and the tendency of people to resist new

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information and ideas that undermine their habitual ways of thinking about world affairs. We know from repeated studies that people do not want to accept ideas that do not conform to their prior beliefs. A purpose of this book is to help you question your preexisting beliefs about world politics and the many actors on the world's stage. To that end, we ask you to evaluate rival perspectives on global issues, even if they differ from your current images. Indeed, we expose you to prevailing schools of thought that you may find unconvincing, and possibly offensive.

Why are they included? Many other people make these views the bedrock of their interpretations of the world around them, and these viewpoints accordingly enjoy a popular following. For this reason, the text describes some visions of world politics with which even your authors may not agree so that you may weigh the wisdom or foolishness of contending perspectives. The interpretive challenge is to observe unfolding global realities objectively in order to describe and explain them accurately.

To appreciate how our images of reality shape our expectations, we begin with a brief introduction to the role that subjective images play in understanding world politics. We then present a set of analytic tools that this book uses to help you overcome perceptual obstacles to understanding world politics and to empower you to more capably interpret the forces of change and continuity that affect our world.

# How Do Perceptions Influence Images of Global Reality?

**LO 1-2** Explain how different ways in which we perceive reality can influence international politics.

Although you may not have attempted to explicitly define your perceptions about the world in your subconscious, we all hold mental images of world politics. Whatever our level of self-awareness, these images perform the same function: They simplify "reality" by exaggerating some features of the real world while ignoring others. Thus, we live in a world defined by our images.

Many of our images of the world's political realities are shaped by illusions and misconceptions. Our images cannot fully capture the complexity and configurations of even physical objects, such as the globe itself (refer to "Controversy: Should We Believe What We See?"). Even images that are currently accurate can easily become outdated if we fail to recognize changes in the world. Indeed, the world's future will be determined not only by changes in the "objective" facts of world politics but also by the meaning that people ascribe to those facts, the assumptions on which they base their interpretations, and the actions that flow from these assumptions and interpretations—however accurate or inaccurate they might be.

## The Nature and Sources of Images

The effort to simplify one's view of the world is inevitable and even necessary. Just as cartographers' projections simplify complex geophysical space so that we can better understand

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# Controversy

## Should We Believe What We See?

Without questioning whether the ways they have organized their perceptions are accurate, many people simply assume seeing is believing. But is there more to seeing than meets the eye? Students of perceptual psychology think so. They maintain that seeing is not a strictly passive act: What we observe is influenced by our preexisting values and expectations (and by the visual habits reinforced by the constructions society has inculcated in us about how to view objects). Students of perception argue that what you see is what you get, and that two observers looking at the same object might easily see different realities.

This principle has great importance for the investigation of international relations, where, depending on one's perspective, people can vary greatly on how they view international events, actors, and issues. Intense disagreements often arise from competing images.

To appreciate the controversies that can result when different people (with different perspectives) see different realities, even though they are looking at the same thing, consider something as basic as objectively viewing the location and size of the world's continents. All maps of the globe are distorted because it is impossible to perfectly represent the three-dimensional globe on a two-dimensional piece of paper. The difficulty cartographers face can be appreciated by trying to flatten an orange peel. You can only flatten it by separating pieces of the peel that were joined when it was spherical.

Cartographers who try to flatten the globe on paper without ripping it into separate pieces face the same problem. Although there are a variety of ways to represent three-dimensional objects on paper, all of them involve some kind of distortion. Thus, cartographers must choose among the imperfect ways of representing the globe by selecting those aspects of the world's geography they consider most important to describe accurately, while adjusting other parts.

There exists a long-standing controversy among cartographers about the "right" way to map the globe; that is, how to make an accurate projection. Consider these four maps (Maps 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4). Cartographers' ideas of what is most important in world geography have varied according to their own global perspectives. Each depicts the distribution of the Earth's land surfaces and territory but portrays a different image. In turn, the accuracy of their rival maps matters politically because they shape how people view what is important.

### What Do You Think?

1. What are some of the policy implications associated with the image of the world as depicted in each of the respective projections?
2. Why are some features of the map distorted? Consider the role that politics, history, culture, and racism, among others, might play. Can you think of any ways modern cartographers might modify any of these world projections?
3. In thinking about images and the important role they play in foreign policy, should a consensus be reached as to the map that is distorted the least? Would it be better for everyone to use one map or to use many different types of projections? Why?

(*Continued*)

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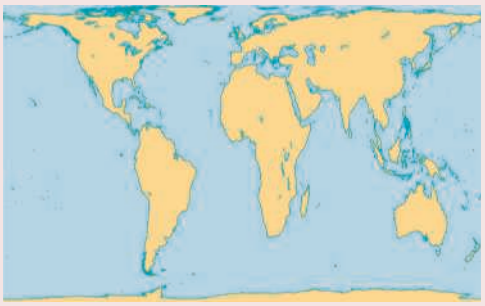
**Map 1.1 Mercator Projection** Named for the Flemish cartographer Gerard Mercator, this Mercator projection was popular in sixteenth-century Europe and presents a classic Eurocentric view of the world. It mapped the Earth without distorting direction, making it useful for navigators. However, distances were deceptive, placing Europe at the center of the world and exaggerating the continent's importance relative to other landmasses.



**Map 1.2 Peter's Projection** In the Peter's projection, each landmass appears in correct proportion in relation to all others, but it distorts the shape and position of the Earth's landmasses. In contrast to most geographic representations, it draws attention to the less developed countries of the Global South, where more than three-quarters of the world's population lives today.

**Map 1.3 Orthographic Projection** The orthographic projection, centering on the mid-Atlantic, conveys some sense of the curvature of the Earth by using rounded edges. The sizes and shapes of continents toward the outer edges of the circle are distorted to give a sense of spherical perspective.

**Map 1.4 "Upside-Down" Projection** This projection gives a different perspective on the world by depicting it upside down, with the Global South positioned above the Global North. The map challenges the modern Eurocentric conceptualization of the positions of the globe's countries and peoples by putting the Global South "on top."

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the world, each of us inevitably creates a "mental map"—a habitual way of organizing information—to make sense of a confusing abundance of information. These mental maps are neither right nor wrong, and they are important because we tend to react according to the way the world appears to us rather than to the way it is.

How we perceive the world (not what it is really like) determines our attitudes, our beliefs, and our behavior. Most of us—political leaders included—look for information that reinforces our preexisting beliefs about the world, assimilate new data into familiar images, mistakenly equate what we believe with what we know, and ignore information that contradicts our expectations. We also rely on our intuition without thinking and emotionally make snap judgments (Walker et al., 2011).

In addition, we rely on learned habits for viewing new information and making judgments, because these "schemas" guide our perceptions and help us organize information. Research in cognitive psychology shows that human beings are "categorizers" who match what they see with images in their memories of prototypical events. People attempting to understand the world use **schematic reasoning** to interpret new information in terms of these existing memory structures. The absentminded professor, the shady lawyer, and the kindly grandmother are examples of "stock" images that many of us have created about certain types of people. Although the professors, lawyers, and grandmothers that we meet may bear only a superficial resemblance to these stereotypical images, when we know little about someone, we shape our expectations in terms of presumed similarities to these characters.

**schematic reasoning**
The process of reasoning by which new information is interpreted according to a memory structure, called a schema, which contains a network of generic scripts, metaphors, and simplified characterizations of observed objects and phenomena.

Many factors shape our images, including how we were socialized as children, traumatic events we experience that shape our personality and psychological needs, exposure to the ideas of people whose expertise we respect, and the opinions about world affairs expressed by our frequent associates such as close friends and coworkers. Once we have acquired an image, it seems self-evident. Accordingly, we try to keep that image consistent with other beliefs, and through a psychological process known as **cognitive dissonance** we reject information that contradicts that image of the world. In short, our minds select, screen, and filter information; consequently, our perceptions depend not only on what happens in daily life but also on how we interpret and internalize those events.

**cognitive dissonance**
The general psychological tendency to deny discrepancies between one's preexisting beliefs (cognitions) and new information.

## The Impact of Perceptions on World Politics

We must be careful not to assume automatically that what applies to individuals applies to entire countries, and we should not equate the beliefs of leaders, such as heads of state, with the beliefs of the people under their authority. Still, leaders have extraordinary influence, and their images of historical circumstances often predispose them to behave in particular ways toward others, regardless of "objective" facts. For instance, the loss of 26 million Soviet lives in the "Great Patriotic War" (as the Russians refer to World War II) reinforced a longstanding fear of foreign invasion, which caused a generation of Soviet policy makers to perceive U.S. defensive moves with suspicion and often alarm.

Similarly, the founders of the United States viewed eighteenth-century European power politics and its repetitive wars as corrupt, contributing to two seemingly contradictory tendencies later evident in U.S. foreign policy. The first is America's impulse to isolate itself

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(its disposition to withdraw from world affairs), and the other is its determination to reform the world in its own image whenever global circumstances become highly threatening. The former led the country to reject membership in the League of Nations after World War I; the latter gave rise to the U.S. globalist foreign policy following World War II, which committed the country to active involvement nearly everywhere on nearly every issue. Many Americans, thinking of their country as virtuous, have difficulty understanding why others sometimes regard such far-reaching international activism as arrogant or threatening; instead, they see only good intentions in active U.S. interventionism.

Because leaders and citizens are prone to ignore or reinterpret information that runs counter to their beliefs and values, mutual misperceptions often fuel discord in world politics, especially when relations between countries are hostile and "the understandable desire to rally popular support encourages governments to describe their own cause as wholly just and to portray their opponents as the embodiment of evil" (Walt, 2022b, p. 5). Distrust and suspicion arise as conflicting parties view each other in the same negative light—that is, as **mirror images** develop. This occurred in Moscow and Washington during the Cold War. Each side saw its own actions as constructive but its adversary's responses as hostile, and both sides erroneously assumed that their counterpart would clearly interpret the intentions of their own policy initiatives. When psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner (1961) traveled to Moscow, for example, he was amazed to hear Russians describing the United States in terms that were strikingly like the way Americans described the Soviet Union: Each side saw itself as virtuous and peace-loving, whereas the other was seen as untrustworthy, aggressive, and ruled by a corrupt government.

**mirror images**
The tendency of states and people in competitive interaction to perceive each other similarly—to see others the same hostile way others see them.

Mirror-imaging is a property of nearly all **enduring rivalries**—long-lasting contests between opposing groups. For example, in rivalries such as that of Christianity with Islam during the Crusades in the Middle Ages, Israel and Palestine since the birth of the sovereign state of Israel in 1948, and India and Pakistan since decolonization in 1947, both sides demonize the image of their adversary while perceiving themselves as virtuous. Self-righteousness often leads one party to view its own actions as constructive but its adversary's responses as negative and hostile.

**enduring rivalries**
Prolonged competition fueled by deep-seated mutual hatred that leads opposed actors to feud and fight over a long period of time without resolution of their conflict.

When this occurs, conflict resolution is extraordinarily difficult. Not only do the opposing sides have different preferences for certain outcomes over others, but they do not see the underlying issues in the same light. Further complicating matters, the mirror images held by rivals tend to be self-confirming. When one side expects the other to be hostile, it may treat its opponent in a manner that leads the opponent to take counteractions that confirm the original expectation, therein creating a vicious circle of deepening hostilities that reduce the prospects for peace (Mauslein and Pickering, 2021). Clearing up mutual misperceptions can facilitate negotiations between the parties, but fostering peace is not simply a matter of expanding trade and other forms of transnational contact, or even of bringing political leaders together in international summits. Rather, it is a matter of changing deeply entrenched beliefs.

Although our constructed images of world politics are resistant to change, change is possible. Overcoming old thinking habits sometimes occurs when we experience punishment or discomfort as a result of clinging to false assumptions. As Benjamin Franklin once observed, "The things that hurt, instruct." Dramatic events in particular can alter international images,

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