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From Cultural Relations to Cultural Theory of International Relations: A Review of the Role of Culture in International Relations

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Abstract

After several decades of neglect of the role of culture in international relations, this factor has once again received attention in recent years. However, when discussing the role and place of culture in this field, different and sometimes incomplete interpretations of this relationship are put forward. The aim of this paper is to explore possible links between culture and the field of international relations. To this end, we have examined various texts that deal with the two topics of culture and international relations.

This study shows that although this area of cultural policy priorities in foreign policy of countries and, as a result, cultural relations of nations also include, when talking about the role of culture in international relations and, in particular, the influence of culture on foreign policy, this influence goes beyond cultural relations and issues. Foreign policy spans a wide range of domains, and every decision in this area, like other areas of decision-making, can be influenced by culture. But the role of culture in international relations does not end there.

The role of cultural differences in the view of the international system and the emergence of misunderstandings, disagreements and conflicts are also other dimensions of this influence. This achievement is finally completed by examining the theory of Ned Libo under the title of the cultural theory of international relations.

Keywords

Culture, International Relations, Cultural Relations, Diplomacy, Foreign Policy, Cultural Theory Of International Relations, Organization.

Introduction

Culture and international relations may at first glance seem to be two different categories, belonging to two different levels. However, with a closer look, deep connections can be identified between these two categories.

When discussing the role and place of culture in the arena of politics and international relations, different and sometimes incomplete interpretations of this relationship are put forward. Does the role of culture in international relations mean solely cultural relations that are the responsibility of the foreign policy apparatus of countries? Can we conclude that paying attention to the cultural factor only involves cooperation with countries with a similar cultural background? Can we not further view culture and cultural power as a source of soft power that plays a role in international relations? In addition, in the field of foreign

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policy of countries, as an important subset of the field of international relations, can culture be effective in choosing foreign policy goals and instruments? The way countries view the international system, the identity that each political entity defines for itself and uses to play a role in international relations, and the way they deal with conflicts can all be influenced by culture.

Regarding how cultural approaches contribute to a deeper understanding of international relations, Dominique Jacque-Berdal and his colleagues point to various implications. According to them, cultural approaches go beyond analyses that focus solely on the impact of the interests and power resources of human groups on the international system and, in addition to paying attention to the role of groups in terms of interests and power, also address the areas of individuals' sense of belonging and how shared perceptions of interests and power are formed.

“Cultural approaches aim to show that concepts such as the interests, power, and collective identities of international actors are intertwined with the way they prefer to organize social relations, their perceptions of time and space, their systems of distributing honor and blame, and their preferred ways of dealing with conflict” (Jacquin-Berdal et al. 1998:6-7).

But the connection between culture and the field of international relations does not end there. Bardal and his colleagues write: Cultures play a role in shaping the international system through their own contribution and through the creation of ethnic, national and political identities. Furthermore, different cultures hold different views on the validity of the international system.

Within the international system, the goals of actors and the means of achieving these goals are determined by the cultures to which these actors belong (Jacquin-Berdal et al., 1998: 7).

Overall, it seems that a deep understanding of the state of world politics and international affairs will not be possible unless, in addition to paying attention to the effects of institutional structures and power formations, cultural issues are also taken into account. This is at a time when the field of international relations has largely ignored the role of culture since the end of World War II.

But why has the role of cultural factors in this field not been given sufficient attention until now? The dominance of realist assumptions and the neglect of actors in international relations other than states have been effective in downplaying the role of culture. The reduction of actors in international relations to states and the monolithic treatment of states, which leads to the neglect of the role of culture and identities, have been criticized by many theorists.

According to Mark Ross, even if the field of international relations were concerned solely with relations between states, it would still be problematic to ignore cultural considerations. As more actors, from international organizations to non-governmental organizations and multinational corporations, interest groups and ethnic communities and their cultural diversity, take into account the needs of the international community, the need to understand the role of cultural forces in the international arena will become clearer (Ross, 1998: 181). An example in this regard is the Kurds. According to approaches that focus on the state as the most important actor in international relations, Kurdish identity would not be an issue. In practice, however, this national identity is influential in the field of international relations (Ferguson, 1998: 27). Joseph Lepid, and Frederick Kratochwil also emphasizes the need to culturalize international relations theory in his book *The Return of Culture and Identity in International Relations Theory*, while criticizing the neglect of the role of culture and identity in realism. (Lapid & Kratochwil, 1996)



If we look at it from an institutionalist perspective, regardless of the role of culture in the modern understanding of rationalism and Material security has cultural-historical reasons. (Williams, 2007: 39). Williams explains in a chapter of his book that this notion that culture is separate from security and that there is a material domain for strategic relations (separable from cultural domain) is a historical construct rooted in Western political thought and culture (Williams, 2007: 8-22). Finally, Paul Sharpe explains why culture has In recent years, there have been three groups in the field of international relations. One group distinguishes between relations within and outside political societies and believes that most of the political, social, and cultural life takes place within societies, and that only simple, superficial relations, devoid of cultural elements, flow between societies.

Group The second is fundamentally pessimistic about culture and believes that culturally based explanations are fundamentally flawed because they lack power, logic, and justice. The third group assumes that beliefs can simply be tested by reason and evidence. The reality is that none of these three groups have succeeded, and by definition Sharp, "culture seems to be at the center of contemporary debates in international relations" (Sharp, 2004: 361-363).

In seeking the roots of renewed attention to the role of culture in politics and international relations, one might point to developments such as the emergence of terrorism and the fear of what is called religious fundamentalism. Samuel Huntington, in his famous article "The Clash of Civilizations," drew attention to the return of religions to the political arena and, as George Wiggins² ▶ The effort to "remove secularism from the world" is cited as one of the characteristics of the present age (Huntington, 1993: 26). Also in the book "Religion, Globalization, and Political Culture in the Third World," he discusses the international and transnational movements of religious activists and, in particular, the so-called global return of religions. (Haines, 1990) As Jungsuk Chay has argued, this renewal of religious life, with its emphasis on the Islamic revival, has played an important role in re-emphasizing the role of religion and cultural factors in international relations. (Chay, 1990)

Overall, what emerges from these developments is the focus on the role of culture in the field of international relations. Despite this, a comprehensive understanding of the possible links between culture and the field of international relations has not been provided. This has forced us to clearly draw the connection between the two categories of culture and international relations by making these connections. To this end, before any action, it is necessary to provide a definition of the concept of culture.

Definition of the concept of culture

According to Marcus Fischer, there are three main understandings of the meaning of culture today. One is culture in the sense of intellectual, moral, and aesthetic movement toward perfection; Others refer to products of movement (such as literature, painting, sculpture, and film), and the third refers to the specific meaning that a group of people give to their collective lives (Fischer, 2006: 28). Julie Reeves, in the introduction to her book *Culture and International Relations*, also distinguishes between two conceptions of the concept of culture: one The concept that has dominated culture for a long time and is used to refer to art, music, literature, and, in Matthew Arnold's words, "the pursuit of perfection." The second concept takes an anthropological view of culture and says, "We are co-cultural." (Reeves, 2004) Also in an article entitled "The Concept of Culture in International relations theory distinguishes two ideas of culture by presenting a similar division, one with a "claim" to be universal and the other to be particularistic (Walker, 1990: 5). In the following, under the headings of cultural relations, culture and foreign policy, and finally the cultural



theory of international relations, we will see how different interpretations of culture. Different regions are concerned with the issue of finding culture in international relations.

1 Cultural Relations

Cultural relations are discussed in connection with the two concepts of cultural diplomacy and soft power. According to the accepted definition of cultural diplomacy, “the exchange of ideas, information, art, lifestyles, value systems, traditions, beliefs, and other aspects of culture between nations with the aim of strengthening mutual understanding” (Cummings, 2003). Until recently, the role of culture in the field of foreign policy and international relations was discussed. It would seem that the purpose of cultural diplomacy was to necessarily include such things as strengthening a country's cultural influence by supporting the travel of artists or the teaching of a country's language and culture in foreign universities. (Belanger, 1999: 677) Cultural diplomacy as a practice has continued for centuries.

Jahangirdan, Travelers and artists were examples of unofficial ambassadors or cultural diplomats who engaged in cultural exchanges in various fields such as art, sports, literature, music, and science (ICD, 2010). Later, offices in the foreign policy departments of countries became responsible for organizing cultural exchanges between countries, and thus Bilateral cultural relations between different countries were formed with the aim of achieving long-term goals in the form of promoting national interests, creating relations, or strengthening mutual socio-cultural understanding.

However, cultural relations do not only include bilateral relations between countries. Countries also engage in establishing multifaceted cultural relations through various institutions. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), as the most important institution in this relationship, which was formed with the aim of providing opportunities for multilateral cultural relations, has made this opportunity available to various countries, each of which can participate in promoting its own share of the cultural heritage of humanity (Belanger, 1999: 677).

Still, when discussing the role of culture in international relations, minds tend to turn to the long-standing category of cultural relations, and on this basis, it is assumed that the most important cultural ties between different societies are those that share the most cultural similarities. In other words, attention to the cultural factor is considered especially in the case of cooperation between countries with similar cultural backgrounds. Based on this perception, some have argued that culture plays a marginal role in international relations, citing cases where the level of cooperation between countries is not based on cultural commonalities but on political, security, or economic factors. We will see later that this perception, which arises from the first definition of the concept of culture in the proposed division, is not the only possible perception of the concept of culture and, consequently, of its place in international relations.

But what place does cultural relations have in the field of international relations in the specific sense of the word? In this regard, a distinction can be made between the two approaches of “hard power” and “soft power”, and the latter approach is emphasized in guiding relations between nation-states.

Joseph Nye has proposed the concept of soft power as “the ability to persuade through culture, values, and ideas” in contrast to hard power, represented as military power. In other words, soft power is a means of attraction and persuasion. Although in the history of politics, a “hard power” perspective has been the focus of states in guiding regional and international relations, today, in the era of globalization, the need to pay attention to other dimensions of power is more evident than ever before.



Cultural diplomacy as a form of soft power can be considered in this regard. Cultural diplomacy provides a platform for cultural exchanges, which in turn serve to strengthen commonalities and, where differences exist, provide a platform for understanding motivations.

From this perspective, cultural diplomacy, as an initiator or facilitator of cultural exchanges, is not only considered secondary to political diplomacy, but is considered an essential aspect of it (ICD, 2010). Based on what has been discussed in this section, two points are worth mentioning. The first is that, contrary to the traditional view, Regarding cultural relations, the role of these relations is not only in the case of cooperation between countries with a common cultural background.

On the contrary, today cultural relations can be considered from a different perspective and in connection with the concept of soft power. As a result, under the title of cultural power (arising from claims related to the enjoyment of expertise and Knowledge (and symbolic power (superior position and authority) are remembered (Williams, 2007:40) can play a role as soft power in state relations. Edward Said's discussion of the relationship between culture and imperialism also falls within the same framework (Said, 2003).

But does the relationship between culture and international relations end there? Continuing the link between the concept of culture and one of the subsets of We will examine the field of international relations, that is, foreign policy.

2 Culture and Foreign Policy

After the period mentioned in the previous section under the title of the traditional view of cultural relations, attention has been paid to other dimensions of the influence of culture on politics at the national level. As mentioned in the introduction, this attention has been attributed by some analysts to a religious revival.

Fischer (2006: 27) associates the increased importance of culture in foreign policy with the emergence of military Islamism after the Cold War. According to Abd al-Ali Qavam, the study of the relationship between culture and foreign policy during the 1960s and as a subsequent stage of studies was called political culture (Qavam, 2005:292) Political culture is the set of assumptions, beliefs, and values that shape the functioning of a particular political system. (McLean & McMillan, 2003: 409).

This term, originally coined by Gabriel Almondo Sidney Verba, “contains awareness of the functioning of the political system, positive and negative feelings toward it, and Value judgment is relative to the system. (Almond & Verba, 1965) But what is the relationship between culture and foreign policy? In one division of the ways in which culture influences foreign policy, it has been called three ways: The link between cultural variables and foreign policy can be studied by emphasizing the three cultural dimensions under study: First, It includes beliefs and myths that are related to the historical experiences of a nation and its leaders, as well as the views they have regarding their country's current role and position on the world stage.

The second is related to the images and perceptions that political elites and the general public have in their minds regarding other nations, regions of the world, and other foreign policy actors such as international institutions. Finally, the third is the cultural habits and attitudes towards solving problems in general and dealing with international differences and conflicts in particular. (Qavam, 2005:292)

According to Qavam, in many cases, the behavioral patterns of states that are manifested through foreign policy and ways of expressing national interests in international politics, with regard to normative and cultural specificities and characteristics, and taking into account the level of enjoyment of the necessary



capabilities and abilities, take complex forms. Diversity takes the form of domination, relaxation, cooperation, self-sufficiency, reconciliation, non-reconciliation, and so on (Qavam, 2005).

In his article entitled "Culture and Foreign Policy," Fischer also considered the ways in which culture influences foreign policy. According to him, cultural motivations can be directly or indirectly act as an instrument of foreign policy. In addition, culture can also shape foreign policy objectives (Fischer, 2006: 55).

However, it should be noted that culture is only one of the components influencing foreign policy. Fischer points to three factors influencing foreign policy, namely culture, ideology, and material interests, and writes that, with regard to the pyramid of human needs, in the event of a conflict between these three components, it is material interests that are generally given priority over culture and ideology (Fischer, 2006: 52). Between culture and foreign policy, there has been a shift in different countries, which has mainly attributed a secondary role to culture in this field. However, it seems that in the field of strategic decisions, due to the importance of the issue, mainstream approaches also acknowledge that they cannot ignore this role (even if it is considered a marginal one). (Let's close our eyes.)

In the continuation of this section, we will consider the role of strategic culture on the one hand and the relationship between culture and international conflicts on the other as two other areas of the objectification of culture in the field of international relations.

Strategic Culture

Strategic culture is defined as "the area that guides strategic behavior in (Gray, 1999: 51) The discussion of strategic culture was put forward in contrast to the view that decision-makers in all countries think and behave in a uniform manner, and thus the differences between different military organizations and national styles became the subject of discussion (Ryuz, 2008: 234). With the end of the Cold War We witnessed an increase in the effects of strategic culture.

One of the published works on this subject is the book *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History*, which also points out the same approach. It introduces three generations of studies on strategic culture and places the peak of intellectual activity in each generation roughly in the late 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, respectively. (Gray, 1999: 49, Johnston, 1998) Jeannie, and colleagues in their book *Strategic Culture and Weapons of Mass Destruction* also address the role of culture in states' decisions regarding weapons of mass destruction. In this book, they examine strategic culture in various countries, including the United States, Russia, Israel, India, Iran, Syria, China, and North Korea.) They have made comparisons and have finally focused on the existence or absence of a strategic culture in al-Qaeda (Johnson et al. 2009). They argue that the inadequacy of traditional analytical approaches and the shock caused by 9/11 have contributed to a renewed focus on strategic culture (Johnson et al., 2009:5).

Culture and International Conflict

Studies Various studies have been conducted on the role of culture in the emergence and resolution of conflicts. Bordal and his colleagues have expressed cultural approaches to conflicts, emphasizing the different ways of thinking and perceiving among different people in the cultural contexts of conflicts, and the problems of communication and understanding between different people with different cultural backgrounds. Different cultural perceptions and the analysis of behavioral patterns based primarily on



internal norms cause us to evaluate unfamiliar behavioral patterns based on what we already know, and as a result, we see the unfamiliar world within the world we know. (Jacquin-Berdal et al. 1998) Let's see. In such a situation, one should expect a series of misunderstandings, prejudices, and also specific assessments of the behavior of others, which can lead to conflicts at the international level (Qavam, 2005). However, it should be noted that the importance of acknowledging cultural differences does not mean that conflicts between groups are about differences themselves.

Cultural differences are not usually what groups fight about, but rather these threats, fears, differences in legitimacy, or different levels of access to resources that are presented in the form of cultural differences. (Ross, 1998: 180) Before entering the next section And examining the cultural theory of international relations is not a bad thing. Let's review the different theories of international relations on culture, and in the meantime, let's also have a look at the place of culture in the international community and what international culture is called.

Culture in International Relations Theories

In examining the view of the major paradigms of international relations on culture, Fisher writes that liberalism, a child of the Enlightenment, rejects cultural motivations because they hinder the global dominance of rationality, a rationality that, from this perspective, can lead to cooperation. Traditional realism views culture as a factor of cohesion and, as such, as a source of state power. This paradigm also pays attention to the role of culture in the foreign policy approaches of countries.

Despite this, it is ultimately believed that states always prioritize state interests over cultural considerations in the face of conflict. This is while neorealists largely ignore culture by reducing it to a single level. From a Marxist perspective, the role of culture and ideology is to legitimize structure. In other words, culture is a tool for maintaining the hegemony of the ruling class, and in this respect Marxism also falls within the realm of rationalism (Fischer, 2006: 41-48). From the perspective of international society theory or the English school, international politics is more than relations between states. States shape society with specific laws and norms. What gives and strengthens this society is culture (Rives, 2008:184). In this regard, it can be referred to as international culture or culture in the international community.

International culture refers to the general values and norms that have been accepted by the international community over time and it has a specific function. The manifestation of this culture can be observed within the framework of the functioning of international systems and in the form of norms, regulations, laws and international conventions (Qavam, 2005: 296). Despite this, Fisher believes that the only paradigm that considers culture as a guiding factor in understanding international relations is organizational design.

Structuralism pays special attention to culture and identity as a builder of international politics and argues that all foreign policies should be understood in terms of culture (Fischer, 2006: 48-51). One of the most prominent structuralist theorists can be cited as Alexander Wennett.

In the social theory of international politics, he addresses the different approaches of states towards other states under the heading of three anarchist "cultures" (Hobbesian, Lockean and Kantian). These cultures are shared ideas that help shape the interests and capabilities of the state and shape the processes of the international system. (Wendt, 1999)

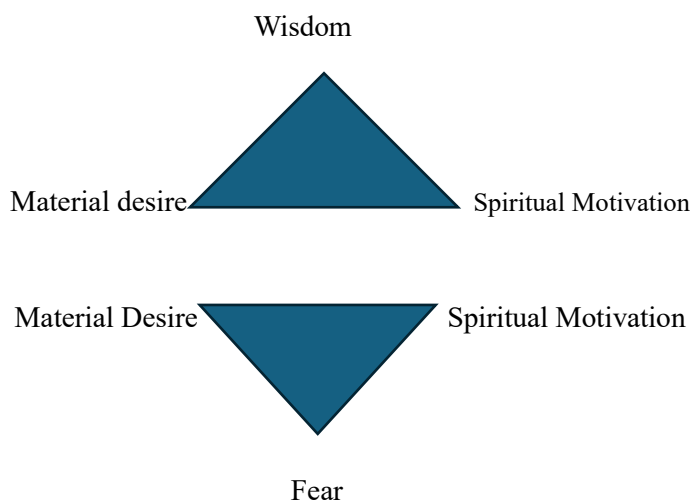


Although the role of culture and semantic ideologies has been given special attention in the development of theory, from Venti's version to radical approaches, to date only one major theory of international relations based on a cultural approach has been proposed, which is still under investigation.

3-Cultural Theory of International Relations

The cultural theory of international relations was proposed by Richard Ned Libo. It provides a framework for the study of politics and a theory of international relations. His structuralist theory of international relations is based on the motivation and identity theories of ancient Greece. This theory emphasizes the human need for self-esteem and shows how this factor influences political behavior at all stages of social development. Libo presents (exact) examples of different worlds influenced by the four motives and shows how each of these models has a specific logic for cooperation, conflict, and risk-taking. He draws on several historical events, from ancient Greece to the Iraq War of 2003, to provide a creative explanation of the emergence of the state and The Reasons for War (Lebow, 2008). Lebow considers three basic motives that reflect human needs: material desires, spiritual motives, and reason.

He adds a fourth motive, fear, to this threefold division of Plato and Aristotle. Behind each of these motives lies a logic that leads to cooperation, conflict, or It leads to danger. Material desire, spiritual motivation, and intelligence each have the potential to create order. A hierarchical order, an order based on justice, or an order based on a combination of principles. Fear can also lead to the creation of order, albeit short-lived. (Lebow, 2008: 505) In his interpretation, it should be noted that spiritual motivation is only one of the three. The main motive is human. The other two motives are material desire and intelligence. Material desire is familiar to everyone, given that it has dominated contemporary thinking about the world and has also shaped the main vision of international relations. Liebaugh argues that liberalism, Marxism, and the Venturi version of structuralism are rooted in materialism, and each, without acknowledging it, envisions a superior model of a world in which material possessions are considered a dominant value. They view material desires positively and see a peaceful and productive world as one in which material possessions are a dominant value, although they differ on how to achieve such a world and how to distribute wealth (Lebow, 2008: 509). In his words, realism and liberalism are both motivated by them ignore the spiritual, and those realists and liberals who speak of international relations do not see it as an end in itself, but as a means to maximize power.



These paradigms also consider the identity of the actors to be unimportant and irrelevant (Lebow, 2008: 558). Based on this model, Human motivations and their behavioral consequences are depicted by two triangles (Lebow, 2008:509).

In the first, reason is at the apex of the triangle and dominates material desire and spiritual motivation. The closer a society is to the apex of reason, the more orderly it will be. If the basis of the system is based on accepted principles of justice, it will also be more stable. When the mind loses control over material desires and spiritual motivation, the likelihood of rapid change towards a world based on fear increases; an inverted triangle that represents movement towards order and justice as an upward movement and the opposite point as a fall towards disorder and injustice.

In the real world, most societies lie somewhere between the two extremes. Reason cannot always completely dominate material desire and spiritual motivation, and fear has always been present in the arena of international relations. By identifying the approximate location of societies in these diagrams, important points about their policies become clear, including the level of cooperation, their views on the nature of conflicts, the possibility of war, and ultimately the degree of dangerousness of its activists. (Lebow 2008:510-512). emphasizes that intelligence has different levels, of which instrumental intelligence is only one. In his view, instrumental intelligence is a double-edged sword, allowing individuals to use it for materialistic or spiritual purposes.

Instrumental intelligence is the foundation of order because it makes human actions regular and controllable. It foresees. Instrumental intelligence enables individuals to make connections between goals and tools, thereby increasing their own happiness in achieving what they want. The second level of intelligence helps actors redefine and change their behaviors in response to feedback from the environment. This is the factor which influences a person's understanding of the functioning of the environment in which he or she is located. However, it should be noted that people are also influenced by their feelings and emotions, and reason always operates in such a space. (Lebow, 2008: 513-514). Different types of societies are formed according to the dominance of each of the aforementioned motivations.

In a world based on reason Cooperation is the norm because activists know that cooperation is one of the prerequisites for human happiness and success. But it also exposes a degree of vulnerability to the nature of society. In a world based on moral motivation and material desire, cooperation is also normal. (In a world based on material desire, the norm is based on common interests.)

But the main feature of fear-based societies is conflict. In these societies, neither the goals nor the tools of conflict are limited by norms. Activists consider security to be their primary concern and strive to increase their power. (Lebow, 2008: 515-518) continuing to use contingency theory to explain risk-taking in each of these societies. According to contingency theory, individuals take more risks to cope with the loss of what they have than gaining something new. He points to the high risk-taking of individuals in the case of moral motivations (with attention to Since the acquisition of pride often requires risk-taking, it follows that societies that are primarily shaped by moral motives are more risk-taking. Regarding fear and societies that are shaped by it, it is also pointed out that security is a fundamental issue (Lebow, 2008: 537-8). Based on each of the motivations in the table below.



	<i>In the case of losing</i>	<i>In the case of gaining</i>
Dangerous	Risk-averse	Materialistic
Fear	Risk-averse	Less and riskier
Spiritual motivation	Dangerous	Spiritual motivation

This varying level of risk in different societies can directly affect their foreign policy. This is also the case with the tendency of various activists towards nuclear enrichment and the use of nuclear weapons (Lebow, 2008: 564). The cultural theory of international relations can also be considered as an example of anthropological approach to culture, which of course contrasts with approaches such as Huntington's clash of civilizations. There is no materialist or materialist approach to culture. Liebov argues that different societies at different times are at different points in terms of the dominance of each of the motives for human action.

These points are by no means fixed or stable. They merely represent approximate limits. This relativistic anthropological approach is the opposite of the cultural relations approach, in which the concept of culture is more closely related to art, literature, music, and the "pursuit of perfection."

Conclusion

In this article, we have tried to bring together the possible links between culture and the field of international relations into a single whole. We have shown that not so long ago, when discussing the role of culture in international relations, minds turned to cultural relations, and it was believed that the most important cultural relations between different societies were between those societies that had the most cultural similarities. Following such a perception, some have argued that culture plays a marginal role in international relations, citing cases where the level of cooperation between countries is not based on cultural commonalities or a common cultural background, but rather on political-economic factors.

But we see that there are deeper connections between the two categories of culture and international relations. Even regarding the concept of cultural relations, looking at culture as soft power has challenged the traditional view and created broader dimensions for it. It is this latter concept that has gained importance in the age of cultural globalization and has attracted much intellectual effort. Among other things, it has led some to speak of cultural imperialism and has led some to take a stand against the fear of globalization.

Continuing with the role of culture in foreign policy as one of the most significant areas of decision-making in the field of international relations, we observed that the relationship between culture and international relations goes beyond relations and "cultural issues" and has a scope that is as broad as all foreign policy decisions, so that each Decision-making in this area, like other areas of decision-making, is influenced by culture.

The role of culture in strategic decisions and what is called strategic culture was another topic we discussed. We see that, unlike approaches that assume a single way of thinking and behaving for decision-makers in all countries, the strategic culture approach takes into account the differences between different military organizations and national styles.



The reference to the role of cultural perceptions in the emergence and resolution of conflicts includes another dimension of the relationship between the two categories of culture and international relations. The role of cultural differences in the emergence of misunderstandings, disagreements and conflicts on the one hand and the need to pay attention to cultural factors in conflict resolution processes on the other were issues raised in this case.

Thus, after mentioning the different ways of conceptualizing culture in the field of international relations, we reviewed the views of different theories of international relations on the role and position of culture, and finally examined the structural theory of Ned Libo, entitled the cultural theory of international relations.

Based on this theory, which is based on the three motivations proposed by Plato and Aristotle and using the predictive theory of Kahneman and Tversky, the characteristics of different societies, and in particular their decision-making and risk-taking, are influenced by their cultural assumptions.

Despite this, as Liebaugh himself has emphasized, the cultural theory of international relations does not intend to ignore other motivations for action and decision-making. Spiritual motivations are only one of the factors influencing the human decision-making process. After being ignored in previous studies of international relations, the changes in the international arena have made it more costly to ignore it than ever before.

In summary, it can be said that achieving a correct understanding of international trends requires special attention to the role of culture, especially in its anthropological sense (including semantic-identity concepts), which has of course been ignored for decades due to the dominance of materialist approaches in the field of international relations. Attention to culture allows for explanation and prediction. It provides policies that would otherwise be considered illogical if they relied solely on mainstream rationalism and focused on materialistic motives.

Today, the changes in the theorizing of international relations, which are more than anything a response to changes in the external world, have led to an increasing focus on the role of semantic assumptions. In this regard, it is appropriate for Iranian researchers to also pay more attention to the role of culture and semantic factors in explaining behaviors and phenomena in the field of international relations.

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