School of Oriental and African Studies Department of Politics and International Studies

Identity in International Relations

(Course Code: 153400073)

Fall 2012

Lectures: Tuesday, 12:00-13:00, KLT

Lecturer: Dr Felix Berenskoetter Room: 222 / ph: 0207 898 4682 / email: fb12@soas.ac.uk Office Hours: Tuesday, 15:00-17:00

Tutorials: Tuesday, 14:00-15:00 (B101), 15:00-16:00 (B401)

Tutor: Dr Nicholas Michelsen Room: 221 / email: nm64@soas.ac.uk Office Hours: Tuesday, 16:00-17:00

DESCRIPTION AND AIMS

This option course for advanced BA Politics students explores how an identity perspective can be useful for understanding international politics. It unpacks the concept of identity and its sources – parameters forming conceptions of Self and Other – and discusses how they affect our ontology of various actors, their behaviour and how they relate. Building on the tradition of constructivist scholarship in International Relations (IR), this course has two main aims: First, to conceptually explore the different ways identities form and how this process affects social life, drawing on insights from philosophy, social theory and psychology. This will introduce students to various parameters and processes of identity politics like bordering, bonding, discrimination and socialization. Second, the course will discuss how these play out in phenomena of conflict/violence and cooperation/integration in various sites of international relations, foreign policy and nationalism. Throughout, students will be asked to also consider the ethical dimension of identity politics.

By the end of a course, students will be able to demonstrate an understanding of the academic and policy debates on the role of identity in international politics. They will be familiar with various aspects of the identity formation process and its political nature. Students also will be introduced to methodologies suitable for undertaking research in this area and learn how to integrate an identity perspective in an analytical framework for exploring a specific empirical case.

FORMAT AND ASSESSMENT

The course will proceed in form of a one-hour lecture followed by a one-hour tutorial where students will discuss ideas and arguments drawn from the required readings. Students are expected to actively participate in discussions. You must know that you can only meaningfully contribute to the discussion if you have attended the lecture <u>and</u> done the readings. This course covers some difficult conceptual material, which students should not expect to grasp immediately. All the more so, it is very important you take advantage of the tutorials to engage the readings and explore the core arguments authors put forward.

Each student will be **designated discussant** once. The task of the discussant is to start-off debate in tutorials by posing and addressing two to three sharp questions arising out of the required readings and against the backdrop of the lecture. These questions can be critical (expressing disagreement with the argument), or supplementary (adding an aspect you think is missing). Discussants may also ask for clarification on a key aspect of the assigned text (there is always something). The discussant should *not* be tempted to give a presentation.

Student work will be assessed as follows:

- Essay (3,000 words): 40%
- Exam (two questions): 60%

Students must write one **3,000 word paper** on a topic exploring a phenomenon in international politics from an identity perspective. Topics must be selected from the syllabus and students must formulate a particular question which the essay engages. **Students must submit their chosen topic to the course convener by 4 December 2012 for approval**.

The paper must be submitted online and is **due on 15 January 2013**. This deadline will only be extended under exceptional circumstances and applications will need to be made in writing with supporting material through the Faculty Office. Late essays for which no extension has been given will be penalised at two percentage points per day as required by SOAS regulations. Students are also reminded that plagiarism, the unacknowledged and non-attributed copying of the work and/or ideas of another author, is an examination offence and suspected cases will be submitted to the Registry.

READINGS

All 'Required Readings' listed below are available electronically through the SOAS library or the course's Moodle site. The 'Further Readings' lists allows you to broaden your reading into areas which you find particularly interesting. To access some of those texts you may need to consult other University of London libraries, such as those affiliated with the LSE, King's College, or Senate House.

The following texts are background reading, to be consulted any time during the course:

- Berenskoetter, F. 'Identity in International Relations', in R. Denemark (ed.), *The International Studies Encyclopedia* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010): 3594-3611, available on BLE
- Entry on 'Identity Politics' in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, available online at http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/identity-politics/
- Younge, G. Who Are We and should it matter in the 21st century? (Penguin, 2010).

The following books contain useful theoretical and empirical material and students may want to take a closer look at them:

- Weldes, J. et al. (eds.) *Cultures of Insecurity. States, Communities, and the Production of Danger* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996)
- Albert, M., D. Jacobson and Y. Lapid (eds.) *Identities, Borders, Orders: Rethinking International Relations Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001)
- Hansen, L. Security as Practice. Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War (London: Routledge, 2006)
- Sen, A., *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny* (Penguin, 2006)

This is *not* a course on nationalism, but we will inevitably touch on this phenomenon on various occasions. Students with a particular interest in nationalism may want to have a look at these useful readers: G. Delanty and K. Kumar (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Nations and Nationalism* (London: Sage, 2006); J. Hutchinson and A.D. Smith (eds.) *Nationalism* (Oxford

University Press, 1994). G. Eley and R. G. Suny (eds.), *Becoming National*, (Oxford University Press, 1996). Among single authored books I recommend B. Anderson *Imagined Communities* (revised edition, London: Verso, 2006) and R. Brubaker *Nationalism Reframed* (Cambridge University Press, 1996).

COURSE SCHEDULE

1. Introduction: Constructivism, Identity and International Relations

PART I: PARAMETERS AND PROCESSES OF IDENTITY FORMATION

- 2. Identity, Motivation and Action
- 3. Temporal Dimension: Narrating the Self from Past to Future
- 4. Social Identity I: Recognition and Socialization
- 5. Social Identity II: Drawing Boundaries

*Reading Week *

PART II: IDENTITY DYNAMICS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

- 6. Foreign Policy as a Site of Identity Politics
- 7. Negative Identification: Danger, Violence and Politics of Exclusion
- 8. Positive Identification: Transnational Ties and the Politics of Amity
- 9. Crises, Change and Multiple Identities
- 10. Studying Identity: Methodological Approaches

READING LIST

1. Constructivism, Identity and International Relations – 02 Oct.

There are no required readings for this session. However, the lecture refers to the following:

Wendt, A. 'Anarchy is what states make of it: the social construction of power politics' *International Organization*, 46 (1992): 391-425.

Mercer, J. 'Anarchy and Identity', International Organization, 49/2 (1995): 229-252.

Huntington, S. 'The Clash of Civilizations?' Foreign Affairs 72/3 (1993): 22-49.

- George W. Bush: *West Point Graduation Speech*, United States Military Academy, New York, 1 June 2002 (http://www.nytimes.com/2002/06/01/international/02PTEX-WEB.html)
- Barack Obama: *Cairo Speech ('A New Beginning')*, Cairo University, 4 June 2009 (http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/jun/04/barack-obama-keynote-speech-egypt)

Background Readings

Agnew, J. 'Mapping Political Power Beyond State Boundaries: Territory, Identity, and Movement in World Politics', *Millennium* 28/3 (1999): 499-522.

Berger, P. L. and T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (Doubleday, 1966) Brubaker, R. and Cooper, F. 'Beyond 'Identity'', *Theory and Society*, 29 (2000): 1-47. Cederman, L.-E. and C. Daase, 'Endogenezing Corporate Identities: The Next Step in

Constructivist IR Theory, European Journal of International Relations, 9/1 (2003): 5-35.

Fearon, J. *What is Identity (as We Now Use the Word)?,* unpublished manuscript (Stanford University, 1999) http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon/papers/iden1v2.pdf

Ferguson, Y. H. and R. W. Mansbach, *Authority, Identities and Change* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996)

Guzzini, S. 'A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations' *European Journal* of International Relations, 6/ 2 (2000): 147-182

Hall, R. B. (1999) *National Collective Identity. Social Constructs and International Systems*, New York: Columbia University Press.

- Hopf, T. 'The Promise of Constructivism in IR Theory', *International Security*, 23/1 (1998): 171-200
- Jackson, P. T. J. and D. H. Nexon 'Relations Before States: Substance, Process, and the Study of World Politics', *European Journal of International Relations* 5/3 (1999): 291-332
- Jepperson, R. L., A. Wendt and P. J. Katzenstein, 'Norms, Identity and Culture in National Security', in Katzenstein, P. J. (ed): *The Culture of National Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996): 33-78.
- Kowert, P. 'National Identity: Inside and Out', Security Studies 8/2 (1998/99): 1-34

Lapid, Y. and F. Kratochwil (eds.) *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory* (Boulder/London: Lynne Rienner, 1996)

- Neumann, I. B. 'Self and Other in International Relations', *European Journal of International Relations* 2/2 (1996): 139-174
- Owen Vandersluis, S. (ed.) The State and Identity Construction in International Relations (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996)
- Rousseau, D. L. Identifying Threats and Threatening Identities. The Social Construction of Realism and Liberalism (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006)
- Ruggie, J. G. 'Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations' International Organization, 47 (1993): 139-174
- Tickner, J. A. 'Identity in International Relations Theory: A Feminist Perspective', in Y. Lapid and F. Kratochwil (eds.) *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory* (Boulder/London: Lynne Rienner, 1996): 147-162.
- Weller, C. 'Collective Identities in World Society', in M. Albert et al. (eds.) *Civilizing World Politics* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000): 45-68.
- Wendt, A. 'The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory', *International Organization* 41 (1987): 335-370

Wendt, A. Social Theory of International Politics (Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Zehfuss, M. 'Constructivism and identity: A dangerous liaison', *European Journal of International Relations* 7/3 (2000): 315-348

PART I: PARAMETERS AND PROCESSES OF IDENTITY FORMATION

2. Identity, Motivation and Action – 09 Oct.

Required Readings

Ringmar, E. *Identity, Interest and Action* (Cambridge University Press, 1996): Chs. 2 and 3
Hopf, T. *Social Construction of International Politics* (Cornell University Press, 2002): 1-19
Ross, A. G. 'Coming in from the Cold: Constructivism and Emotions', *European Journal of International Relations*, 12/2 (2006): 197-222.

Further Readings

Bloom, W. (1990), *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), Ch.1-2

Brubaker, R. and Cooper, F. 'Beyond 'Identity'', Theory and Society, 29 (2000): 1-47.

Calhoun, C. 'The Problem of Identity in Collective Action' in J. Huber (ed) *Macro-Micro Linkages in Sociology*, Newbury Park/London: Sage 1991): 51-75

Giddens, A. Modernity and Self-Identity (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), Ch. 2

Laffey, M. 'Locating Identity: performativity, foreign policy and state action', *Review of International Studies*, 26 (2000): 429-444

Lebow, R. N. 'Fear, Interests and honour: outlines of a theory of international relations', International Affairs 82/3 (2006): 431-448

Lebow, R. N. *A Cultural Theory of International Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 2008) Renwick Monroe, K., Hankin, J. and R. Bukovchik van Vechten 'The psychological

foundations of identity politics' Annual Review of Political Science, 3 (2000): 419-447 Sasley, B. 'Theorizing States' Emotions' International Studies Review 13/3 (2011): 452-476.

Taylor, C. Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity (Cambridge, MA: Harvard

University Press, 1989), Chapters 1 and 2

McSweeney, B. Security, Identity and Interests: A Sociology of International Relations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

3. Temporal Dimension: Narrating the Self from Past to Future – 16 Oct.

Required Readings

Giddens, A. *Modernity and Self-Identity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991): 52-80 Berenskoetter, F. 'Parameters of a 'National Biography'', *European Journal of International Relations*, online first (2012)

[Younge Who Are We, chapter 1]

Further Readings

Self as Individual

Baumeister, R. F. 'The Self', in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, 4th Edition (Random House, 1998): 680-740

- Gergen, K. J. and M. Gergen, "Narratives of the Self," in L. Hinchman and S. Hinchman (eds.), *Memory, Identity, Community* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1997): 161-80
- Perry, J. (ed.) *Personal Identity*, 2nd edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008). Straub, J. 'Personal and Collective Identity: a conceptual analysis', in H. Friese (ed) *Identities*:
- Time, Difference and Boundaries (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002): 56-76.

Somers, M. R. 'The Narrative Constitution of Identity: A Relational and Network Approach', *Theory and Society*, 23/5 (1994): 605-649.

Taylor, C. Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), Chapters 1 and 2

Wagner, P. 'Identity and Selfhood as a Problematique', in H. Friese (ed) *Identities: Time, Difference and Boundaries* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002): 32-55.

Weir, A. Sacrificial Logics: Feminist Theory and the Critique of Identity (Routledge, 1996) Whitebrook, M. Identity, Narrative and Politics (London: Routledge, 2001).

Self as Nation/State

Anderson, B. Imagined Communities, revised edition (London: Verso, 2006)

Babha, H. Nation and Narration (Routledge, 1990)

Berenskoetter, F. 'Reclaiming the Vision Thing: Constructivists as Students of the Future', *International Studies Quarterly*, 55/3 (2011): 647-668.

Bell, D. 'Mythscapes: Memory, Mythology and National Identity', *British Journal of Sociology*, 54/1 (2003): 63-81.

Bell, D. (Ed.) (2006) Memory, Trauma and World Politics, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bloom, W. (1990), *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), Ch.1-2

Ching, L. Becoming 'Japanese': Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001)

Cruz, C. 'Identity and Persuasion: How Nations Remember their Pasts and Make Their Futures', *World Politics*, 52/3 (2000): 275-312

Davis, E. Memories of the State: Politics, History, and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005)

Edkins, J. Trauma and the Memory of Politics (Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Gillis, J. (ed.) Commemorations. The Politics of National Identity (Princeton University Press, 1994)

Khalili, L. Heroes and Martyrs of Palestine: The Politics of National Commemoration (Cambridge University Press, 2007)

Kinvall, C. *Globalization and religious nationalism in India: the search for ontological security* (London: Routledge, 2006).

Lebow, R. N., Kansteiner, W. And C. Fogu (Eds.) *The Politics of Memory in Postwar Europe* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006)

Litvak, M. Palestinian Collective Memory and National Identity (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)

Mansbach, R. and E. Rhodes 'The National State and Identity Politics: State Institutionalisation and "Markers" of National Identity', *Geopolitics* 12/3 (2007): 426-458

Prozorov, S. 'The other as past and present: beyond the logic of 'temporal othering' in IR theory', *Review of International Studies* 37/3 (2011): 1273-1294.

Ringmar, E. 'On the Ontological Status of the State' *European Journal of International Relations* 2/4 (1996): 439-466.

Zertal, I. Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood (Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Zerubavel, E. *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (University of Chicago Press, 2003).

4. Social Identity I: Recognition and Socialization – 23 Oct.

Required Readings

Taylor, C. 'The Politics of Recognition', in A. Gutman (ed) *Multiculturalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), I and II

Alderson, K. 'Making sense of state socialization', *Review of International Studies*, **27** (2001): 415-433, reply by Thies in *Review of International Studies*, **29** (2003): 543-550

Suggested:

Ellemers, N., Spears, R. and B. Doosje 'Self and Social Identity', *Annual Review of Psychology*, 53 (2002): 161-186

[Younge Who Are We, chapters 2 and 3]

Further Readings

Recognition:

Bially-Mattern, J. 'The Power Politics of Identity', *European Journal of International Relations*, 7/3 (2001): 349-397

Ringmar, E. 'The relevance of international law: A Hegelian interpretation of a peculiar

seventeenth-century preoccupation', *Review of International Studies* 21/1 (1995): 87-103. Ringmar, E. 'The Recognition Game: Soviet Russia against the West', *Cooperation and Conflict* 37/2 (2002): 115-136.

Finnemore, M and Sikkink, K. 'International norm dynamics and political change', *International Organization* 52 (1998): 887-917

Gheciu, A. I. NATO in the 'New Europe': The Politics of International Socialization After the Cold War (Stanford University Press, 2005)

Greenhill, B. 'Recognition and Collective Identity Formation in International Politics', *European Journal of International Relations*, 14/2 (2008): 343-368.

Haacke, J. 'The Frankfurt School and International Relations: on the centrality of recognition', *Review of international studies* 31/1 (2005): 181-194.

Honneth, A. *The Struggle for Recognition* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996)

Lindemann, T. and E. Ringmar (eds) *The International Politics of Recognition* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2011)

Strömbom, L. 'Thick Recognition. Advancing Theory on Identity Change in Intractable Conflicts' *European Journal of International Relations* (2012, online first)

Wendt, A. 'Why a World State is Inevitable', *European Journal of International Relations* 9/4 (2003): 491-542.

Socialization:

Acharya, A. 'Asian Regional Institutions and the Possibilities for Socializing the Behavior of States', *Working Paper*, No. 82 (June 2011), Asian Development Bank

Bloom, W. *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

Butler, J. The Psychic Life of Power (New York: Routledge, 1997)

Camilleri, C. and H. Malewska-Peyre 'Socialisation and Identity Strategies' in Berry/Dasen/Saraswathi (eds.) *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Volume 2* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1997): 41-68

Checkel, J. C. 'International Institutions and Socialization in Europe: Introduction and Framework', *International Organization*, 59/4 (Fall 2005)

Flockhart "Complex Socialization": A Framework for the Study of State Socialization", European Journal of International Relations, 12/1 (2006): 89-118

Foucault, M. The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences (New York: Vintage 1994 [1970])

Foucault, M. Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (New York: Vintage 1995 [1975])

Foucault, M. Power/Knowledge (New York: Pantheon, 1980)

Harnisch. S. 'Conceptualizing in the Minefield: Role Theory and Foreign Policy Learning', *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8/1 (2012): 47-70.

Ikenberry, J. and C. Kupchan 'Socialization and Hegemonic Power', *International Organization* 44/3 (1990): 283-315

Jessop, B 'From micro-powers to governmentality: Foucault's work on statehood, state formation, statecraft and state power', *Political Geography* 26/1 (2007): 34-40

Johnston, A. I. 'Treating International Institutions as Social Environments', *International Studies Quarterly*, 45 (2001): 487-515.

Johnston, A. I. Social States: China in International Institutions, 1980–2000, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), esp. Ch. 1

Mead, G. H. Mind, Self and Society, part 3

Merlingen, M. 'Governmentality: Towards a Foucauldian Framework for the Study of IGOs', *Cooperation and Conflict*, 38/4 (2003): 361-384

- Risse, T. 'Neofunctionalism, European identity, and the puzzles of European integration', Journal of European Public Policy, 12/2 (2005): 291-309
- Schimmelfennig, F. 'International Socialization in the New Europe: Rational Action in an Institutional Environment' *European Journal of International Relations* 6/1 (2000): 109-39.
- Strozier, R. Foucault, Subjectivity, and Identity: Historical Constructions of Subject and Self (Wayne State University Press, 2002)

Subotic, J. 'Europe is a State of Mind: Identity and Europeanization in the Balkans', *International Studies Quarterly* 55/2 (2011): 309-330.

Suzuki, S. 'Japan's Socialisation into Janus-Faced European International Society', *European Journal of International Relations*, 11/1 (2005): 137-164

Thies, C. 'International Socialization Process vs. Israeli National Role Conceptions' *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8/1 (2012): 25-46.

Todd, J. 'Social transformation, collective categories, and identity change', *Theory and Society*, 34 (2005): 429-463

Varadarajan, L. 'Constructivism, identity and neoliberal (in)security', *Review of International Studies*, 30/3 (2004):319–341

Wiener, A. 'Contested Compliance. Interventions on Normative Structure of World Politics', *European Journal of International Relations*, 10/2 (2004): 189-234.

5. Social Identity II: Drawing Boundaries and Differentiating Others – 30 Oct.

Required Readings

Connolly, W. E. *Identity\Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), Introduction

Cederman, L.-E. 'Political Boundaries and Identity-Trade-Offs', in Ibid. *Constructing Europe's Identity* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner): 4-20

Suggested:

Monroe, K. R., Hankin, J. and R. Bukovchik Van Vechten, 'The Psychological Foundations of Identity Politics', *Annual Review of Political Science*, 3 (2000): 419-47

[Younge Who Are We, chapter 4]

Further Readings

Albert, M., D. Jacobson and Y. Lapid (eds.) *Identities, Borders, Orders: Rethinking International Relations Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001)

Aronoff, M. J. 'The Politics of Collective Identity', *Reviews in Anthropology* 27 (1998): 71-85 Brandt, L. A. (2010) 'National Narratives and Migration: Discursive Strategies of Inclusion and

Exclusion in Jordan and Lebanon', International Migration Review, 44(1): 78-110.

Brewer, M. 'The Social Self: On Being the Same and Different at the Same Time', *Personality* and Social Psychology Bulletin 17/5 (1991): 475-82

Cederman, L.-E. and C. Daase, 'Endogenezing Corporate Identities: The Next Step in Constructivist IR Theory', *European Journal of International Relations*, 9/1 (2003): 5-35.

Chowdhry, G. and S. Nair (eds) *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading Race, Gender and Class* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

Doty, R. L. Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996)

Ellemers, N., Spears, R. and B. Doosje, 'Self and Social Identity', *Annual Review of Psychology*, 53 (2002): 161-186

Foucault, M. *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (New York: Vintage 1988 [1964])

Hansen, L. Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War (London: Routledge, 2006), Ch. 2 and 3

Inayatullah, N. and Blaney, D. L. International Relations and the Problem of Difference (London: Routledge, 2004)

Kratochwil, F. 'Citizenship: on the Border of Order', *Alternatives* 19/4 (1994): 485-506, reprinted in Y. Lapid, and F. Kratochwil (eds.) *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory*, Boulder/London: Lynne Rienner 1996): 181-197

McAllister, P. *The Politics of Difference. Ethnic Premises in the World of Power* (University of Chicago Press, 1996)

Mercer, J. 'Anarchy and Identity', International Organization, 49/2 (1995): 229-252.

Neumann, I. B. 'Self and Other in International Relations', *European Journal of International Relations* 2/2 (1996): 139-174

Newman, D. 'Boundaries, Borders, and Barriers: Changing Geographic Perspectives on Territorial Lines', in Albert, M., D. Jacobson and Y. Lapid (eds.) *Identities, Borders, Orders* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001): 137-151

Paipais, V. 'Self and other in critical international theory: assimilation, incommensurability and the paradox of critique', *Review of International Studies* 37(1): 121-140.

Prozorov, S. 'Liberal Emnity: The Figure of the Foe in the Political Ontology of Liberalism', *Millennium* 35/2 (2006): 75-99.

Prozorov, S. 'The other as past and present: beyond the logic of 'temporal othering' in IR theory', *Review of International Studies* 37/3 (2011): 1273-1294.

Sasley, B. 'Theorizing States' Emotions' International Studies Review 13/3 (2011): 452-476.

Said, E. Orientalism (New York: Vintage, 1979)

Todorov, T. *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1999)

Schmitt, C. The Concept of the Political (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996 [1932])

- Theiler, T. 'Societal security and social psychology', *Review of International Studies* 29/2 (2003): 249-268
- Walker, R. B. J. *Inside/Outside. International Relations as Political Theory*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

Walker, R. B. J. After the Globe, Before the World (Routledge, 2009)

 \rightarrow See also Walker's syllabus on 'Boundaries, Borders, Limits'

*Reading Week *

PART II: IDENTITY DYNAMICS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

6. Foreign Policy as a Site of Identity Politics – 13 Nov.

Required Readings

Cantir, C. and Karbo, J. 'Contested Roles and Domestic Politics: Reflections on Role Theory in Foreign Policy Analysis and IR Theory, *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8/1 (2012): 5-24

Salter, M. B. 'The global visa regime and the political technologies of the international self: borders, bodies, biopolitics', *Alternatives* 31/2 (2006)

Further Readings

Berger, T. U. 'Norms, Identity and National Security in Germany and Japan', in Katzenstein (ed.) *The Culture of National Security* (Columbia University Press, 1996): 317-356.

Bozdaglioglu, Y. *Turkish Foreign Policy and Turkish Identity*.(London: Routledge, 2003). Bukh, A. *Japan's national identity and foreign policy: Russia as Japan's 'other'* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

Campbell, D. Writing Security. United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity, revised edition (Manchester University Press, 1998)

Diez, T. 'Constructing the Self and Changing Others: Reconsidering `Normative Power Europe" *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 33/3 (2005): 613-636 Doty, R. L. Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996)

Epstein, C. 'Guilty Bodies, Productive Bodies, Destructive Bodies: Crossing Biometric Borders', *International Political Sociology* 1 (2007): 149-164

- Guillaume, X. 'Foreign Policy and the Politics of Alterity: A Dialogical Understanding of International Relations', *Millennium*, 31/1 (2002): 1-26.
- Hansen, L. Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War (London: Routledge, 2006)
- Hopf, T. Social Construction of International Politics. Identities and Foreign Policies, Moscow, 1955 & 1999 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002)
- Hopf T. 'Identity, legitimacy, and the use of military force: Russia's great power identities and military intervention in Abkhazia', *Review of International Studies* 31 (2005): 225–43.
- Holsti, K. J. 'National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy', *International Studies Quarterly*, 14/3 (1970): 233-309
- Katzenstein, P. J. (ed.) *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).
- Larson, D. W., and Shevchenko, A. 'Shortcut to Greatness: The new thinking and the revolution in Soviet foreign policy', *International Organization*, 57/1 (2003): 77-109
- Laffey, M. 'Locating Identity: performativity, foreign policy and state action', *Review of International Studies*, 26 (2000): 429-444
- Nau, H. *At home abroad: identity and power in American foreign policy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

Prizel, I. National identity and foreign policy: Nationalism and Leadership in Poland, Russia and Ukraine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

Shih, C. 'Assigning Role Characteristics to China: The Role State versus the Ego State', *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8/1 (2012): 71-92

Steele, B. J. 'Ontological Security and the power of self-identity: British neutrality and the American Civil War', *Review of International Studies*, 31 (2005): 519-540

- Tamaki, T. Deconstructing Japan's image of South Korea: identity in foreign policy (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
- Telhami, S. and M. Barnett (eds.) *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East* (Cornell University Press, 2002).

Walker, S. (ed.) Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis (Duke University Press, 1987)

- Weldes, J. Constructing National Interests: The United States and the Cuban Missiles Crisis (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999)
- Zehfuss, M. 'Constructivism and identity: A dangerous liaison', *European Journal of International Relations* 7/3 (2000): 315-348

See also collection of articles on role theory in *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8/1 (2012)

7. Negative Identification: Danger, Violence and Exclusion – 22 Nov.

Required Readings

- Pan, C. 'The 'China Threat' in American Self-Imagination: The Discursive Construction of Other as Power Politics' *Alternatives* 29 (2004): 305-331.
- Fearon, J. D. and D. D. Laitin 'Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity', International Organization 54 (2000): 845-877

[Younge *Who Are We*, chapter 7]

Further Readings

Agathangelou, A. M. and L.H.M. Ling 'Power and Play through poisies: reconstructing Self and Other in the 9/11 Commission Report', *Millennium* 33/3 (2005): 827-853

- Campbell, D. *Writing Security. United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*, revised edition (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).
- Campbell, D. National Deconstruction: Violence, Identity and Justice in Bosnia. (University of Minnesota Press, 1998)
- Cuhadar, E. and B. Dayton 'The Social Psychology of Identity and Inter-group Conflict: from Theory to Practice, *International Studies Perspectives*, 12/3 (2011): 273-292
- Diez, T. 'Europe's Others and the Return of Geopolitics', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 17/4 (2004): 319-335

Doty, R. L. 'Immigration and national identity', *Review of International Studies*, 22 (1993): 235-255.

Dunn, K. C. *Imagining the Congo. The International Relations of Identity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003)

Gartzke, E. and K. S. Gleditsch 'Identity and Conflict: Ties that Bind and Differences that Divide', *European Journal of International Relations*, 12/1 (2006): 53-87

Hays Gries, P. 'Social Psychology and the Identity-Conflict Debate: Is a 'China Threat' Inevitable?', *European Journal of International Relations* 11/2 (2005): 235-265

Huntington, S. 'The Clash of Civilizations?' Foreign Affairs 72/3 (1993): 22-49.

Huysmans, J. *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, migration and asylum in the EU* (London: Routledge, 2006)

Jackson, R. 'Constructing Enemies: "Islamic Terrorism" in Political and Academic Discourse', *Government & Opposition* 42/3 (2007): 394-426.

Mitzen, J. 'Ontological Security in World Politics. State Identity and the Security Dilemma', *European Journal of International Relations* 12/3 (2006): 341-370.

Mobed, N. J. 'Culturalising Security: Narratives of Identity and the Politics of Exclusion in the Arabian Gulf', in Owen Vandersluis, S. (ed.) *The State and Identity Construction in International Relations* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 155-186.

Neumann, I. B. Uses of the Other: 'The East' in European Identity Formation (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999)

Rousseau, D. L. Identifying Threats and Threatening Identities. The Social Construction of Realism and Liberalism (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006)

Rumelili, B. 'Constructing Identity and Relating to Difference: Understanding the EU's mode of differentiation', *Review of International Studies*, **30** (2004): 27-47.

Said, E. Orientalism (New York: Vintage, 1979)

Savage, T. 'Europe and Islam: Crescent Waxing, Cultures Clashing', *The Washington Quarterly*, 27/3 (2004): 25-50

Suzuki, S. 'The importance of 'Othering' in China's national identity: Sino-Japanese relations as a stage of identity conflicts', *The Pacific Review*, 20/1 (2007): 23-47.

Todorov, T. *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1999)

Vaughan-Williams, N. *Border Politics: The Limits of Sovereign Power* (University of Edinburgh Press, 2009).

Waever, O. et al. *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe* (London: Pinter, 1993)

Weldes, J. et al. (eds.) *Cultures of Insecurity. States, Communities, and the Production of Danger* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996)

Williams, M. C. 'Identity and the Politics of Security' *European Journal of International Relations* 4/2 (1998): 204-225

→ See also literature on 'Securitization' (posted on Moodle)

8. Positive Identification: Transnational Ties and the Politics of Amity – 29 Nov.

Required Readings

Brysk, A., Parsons, C. and W. Sandholtz 'After Empire: National Identity and Post-Colonial Families of Nations', *European Journal of International Relations* 8/2 (2002): 267-305.

Berenskoetter, F. 'Friends, There are no Friends? An Intimate Reframing of the International', *Millennium* 33/3 (2007): 647-676

Further Readings

Adamson, F. B. and Demetriou, M. 'Remapping the Boundaries of 'State' and 'National Identity': Incorporating Diasporas into IR Theorizing', *European Journal of International Relations* 13/4 (2007): 489-526.

Adler, E. 'Imagined (Security) Communities: Cognitive Regions in International Relations', *Millennium*, 26/2 (1997): 249-77.

Adler, E. and M. Barnett (eds.) *Security Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Acharya, A. *The Quest for Identity: International Relations of Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 2000)

- Berenskoetter, F. and B. Giegerich 'From NATO to ESDP: A Social Constructivist Analysis of German Strategic Adjustment After the End of the Cold War', *Security Studies*, 19/3 (2010): 407-452
- Bially Mattern, J. Ordering International Politics. Identity, Crisis, and Representational Force (London: Routledge, 2005)
- Checkel, J. T. 'Norms, Institutions, and National Identity in Contemporary Europe', *International Studies Quarterly*, 43 (1999): 83-114.
- Cronin, B. (1999) Community Under Anarchy: Transnational Identity and the Evolution of Cooperation, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Dunne, T. 'The Social Construction of International Society', *European Journal of International Relations*, 1/3 (1995): 367-389.
- Dumbrell, J. A special relationship: Anglo-American relations from the Cold War to Iraq (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)
- Hall, R. B. National Collective Identity. Social Constructs and International Systems (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), Ch. 2
- Hall, M. and Jackson, P. T. (eds.) *Civilizational identity: the production and reproduction of 'civilizations' in international relations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
- Kupchan, C. *How* Enemies *Become* Friends: *The Sources of Stable Peace* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010)
- Kratochwil, F. 'Rethinking the 'inter' in International Politics', Millennium, 35/3 (2008): 495-511
- Kuus, M 'Toward Cooperative Security? International Integration and the Construction of Security in Estonia', *Millennium* 31 (2001): 297-317
- Little, D. 'The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and Israel, 1957-68', International Journal of Middle East Studies 25 (1993): 563-585
- Marcussen, M., et al. 'Constructing Europe? The evolution of French, British and German nation state identities', *Journal of European Public Policy* 6/4 (1999): 614-633.
- Mitzen, J. 'Anchoring Europe's Civilizing Identity: Habits, Capabilities, and Ontological Security', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13/2 (2006): 270-285
- Oelsner, A. and A. Vion (Eds) (2011) 'Friendship in international relations', *International Politics* 48/1 Special Issue (2011)
- Roshchin, E. 'The Concept of Friendship: From Princes to States', *European Journal of International Relations* 12/4 (2006): 599-624.
- Singh, H. 'Hegemons and the Construction of Regions', in S. Owen Vandersluis (ed.) *The State and Identity Construction in International Relations* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 129-153.
- Wendt, A. 'Collective identity formation and the international state', *American Political Science Review*, 88/2 (1994):484-396.
- Wendt, A. Social Theory of International Politics (Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- Wendt, A. 'Why a World State is Inevitable', *European Journal of International Relations* 9/4 (2003): 491-542.

9. Crisis, Change and Multiple Identities – 6 Dec.

Required Readings:

Huntington, S. P. 'The Hispanic Challenge', *Foreign Policy* (March/April 2004)
 Citrin, J. et al. 'Testing Huntington: Is Hispanic Immigration a Threat to American Identity?', *Perspectives on Politics*, 5/1 (2007): 31-48

Suggested:

Arfi, B. 'Euro-Islam': Going Beyond the Aporiatic Politics of Othering' *International Political Sociology* 4/3 (2010): 236-252

[Younge, Ch. 6 and Conclusion]

Further Readings:

Crisis and Change:

Bially Mattern, J. Ordering International Politics. Identity, Crisis, and Representational Force (London: Routledge, 2005)

Berenskoetter, F. and B. Giegerich 'From NATO to EDSP: A Social Constructivist Analysis of German Strategic Adjustment after the end of the Cold War' *Security Studies* 19/3 (2010): 407-452.

Burke, P. J. 'Identity Change', Social Psychology Quarterly, 69/1 (2006): 81-96

Checkel, J. C. 'Why Comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change', *International Organization*, 55/3 (Summer 2001): 553–588

Erikson, E. H. *Identity: Youth and crisis* (New York: Norton, 1968)

Huntington, S. 'The West: Unique, Not Universal', Foreign Affairs 75/6 (1996): 28-46.

Huntington, S. *Who Are We: The Challenges to America's National Identity* (Simon & Schuster, 2004)

Huysmans, J. *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, migration and asylum in the EU* (London: Routledge, 2006)

- Kelman, H. C. 'Reconciliation as Identity Change: A Social- Psychological Perspective', in Y. Bar-Siman-Tov (ed.) *From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation* (Oxford University Press, 2004), Ch. 5
- Palmer, T. G., 'Globalization, Cosmopolitanism and Personal Identity', *Ethics & Politics*, 2 (2003)

Strömbom, L. 'Thick Recognition. Advancing Theory on Identity Change in Intractable Conflicts' *European Journal of International Relations* (2012, online first)

Todd, J. 'Social Transformation, Collective Categories, and Identity Change', *Theory and Society*, 34 (2005): 429-463

Pluralist Perspectives:

- Ahmad, L. A Quiet Revolution: the Veil's Resurgence from the Middle East to America. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011)
- Agathangelou, A. M. and L.H.M. Ling *Transforming World Politics: From Empire to Multiple Worlds* (London: Routledge, 2009)
- Andrade Fernandes, J. L. Challenging Euro-America's Politics of Identity: The Return of the Native (Routledge, 2008)
- Appiah, K. A. *The Ethics of Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005)

Bhaba, H. The Location of Culture (London: Routledge 1994)

Butler, J. Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity (London: Routledge 1990)

- Campbell, D. and Schoolman, M. *The New Pluralism: William Connolly and the Contemporary Global Condition* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008).
- Connolly, W. E. *Identity/Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 1991)
- Elloitt, A. and P. du Gay (eds) Identity in Question (Sage, 2009)

Ferguson, Y. H. and R. W. Mansbach, *Authority, Identities and Change* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996)

Ferguson, Y. H. and R. W. Mansbach, *Remapping Global Politics: History's Revenge and Future Shock* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Herzfeld, M. 'The European Self: Rethinking an Attitude', in Anthony Pagden (ed.) *The Idea of Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2002): 139-70

Inayatullah, N. and Blaney, D. L. *International Relations and the Problem of Difference* (London: Routledge, 2004)

Laden, A. and D. Owen (eds.) *Multiculturalism and Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

Lebow, R. N. 'Identity and International Relations', *International Relations* 22/4 (2008): 473-492

Lebow, R. N. *The Politics and Ethics of Identity* (Cambridge University Press, 2012)

Norton, A. Reflections on Political Identity, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988)

Odysseos, L. *The Subject of Coexistence: Otherness in International Relations*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007)

Odysseos, L. 'On the Way to Global Ethics? Cosmopolitanism, 'Ethical' Selfhood and Otherness', *European Journal of Political Theory*, 2/2 183-207

Paolini, A. J. *Navigating Modernity: Postcolonialism, Identity and International Relations* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999), Introduction

- Parekh, B. *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory* (Harvard University Press, 2002)
- Sen, A., Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny (Penguin, 2006)

- Smith, A. D. 'National Identity and the Idea of European Unity', *International Affairs* 68/1 (1992): 55-76.
- Tobar, H. Translation Nation. Defining a new American Identity in the Spanish-Speaking United States (New York: Riverhead Books, 2005)

10. How to Study Identity? - 13 Dec.

Required Readings

Abdelal, R. et al. 'Identity as a Variable', *Perspectives on Politics*, 4/4 (2004): 695-711. Brubaker, R. and Cooper, F. 'Beyond 'Identity'', *Theory and Society*, 29 (2000): 1-47.

Further Readings

- Abdelal, R., et al. (eds.) *Measuring Identity: A guide for social scientists* (Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Forsberg, T. 'The Ground without Foundation: Territory as a Social Construct', *Geopolitics*, 8/2 (2003): 7-23
- Gadamer, H.-G. *Truth and Method*, 2nd edition, transl. by J. Weinsheimer and D. G. Marshall (London: Continuum, 2004 [1989])
- Hansen, L. Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War (London: Routledge), Part 1
- Hopf, T. Social Construction of International Politics (Cornell University Press, 2002): 23-38
- Kansteiner, W. 'Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies' *History and Theory*, 41/2 (May, 2002): 179-197
- Kratochwil, F. 'History, Action and Identity: Revisiting the 'Second' Great Debate and Assessing its Importance for Social Theory', *European Journal of International Relations*, 12/1 (2006): 5-29.
- Klotz, A. and C. Lynch, *Strategies for Research in Constructivist International Relations* (M.E. Sharpe, 2007)
- Neufeld, M. 'Interpretation and the 'science' of international relations' *Review of International Studies*, 19 (1993): 39-61
- Newman, D. 'Borders and Bordering. Towards an Interdisciplinary Dialogue' *European* Journal of Social Theory, 9/2 (2006): 171-186
- Pouliot, V. "Sobjectivism': Toward a Constructivist Methodology', International Studies Quarterly 51/2 (2007): 359-384
- Wendt, A. 'On Constitution and Causation in International Relations', *Review of International Studies* (1998): 101-117.
- Wodak R. and M. Meyer Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (London: Sage, 2009).
- Wodak, R. et al. *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*, 2nd edition (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009)
- Yanow. D. and P. Schwartz-Shea Interpretation And Method: Empirical Research Methods And the Interpretive Turn (M.E. Sharpe, 2006)