

Norms, Ideas, and Identity in International Politics

PLSC 27002

Spring 2021

Time: Tuesdays, 2:40 pm – 5:40 pm

Class Zoom Link:

<https://uchicago.zoom.us/j/93901602267?pwd=UnVJcWRGb3V0OFZnRFBCRXgzQUxzZz09>

Password: 496751

Professor: Rochelle Terman, Assistant Professor of Political Science, rterman@uchicago.edu

Office hours: Fridays 10am-12pm. [Sign up here](#). All office hours are held on Zoom:

<https://uchicago.zoom.us/my/rterman?pwd=N1kvLzZ0eTJscUEzL0diOHl0NStEQT09>

Course Description

This advanced seminar examines the role of norms, ideas, and identities in world politics. The main goal is to help students understand academic and policy debates over the role of non-material factors in theories of international politics. Our emphasis will be on the tradition of constructivist scholarship in International Relations, its trajectory, and its critics.

Prerequisites

This course is intended for advanced undergraduates (political science majors and non-majors welcome) with prior coursework in International Relations.

Readings

We will read heavily from the following books. I suggest you buy them:

1. Katzenstein, Peter, ed. *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. Columbia University Press, 1996.
2. Searle, John R. *The Construction of Social Reality*. Simon and Schuster, 1995. **[also on canvas]**

All other readings are available through Canvas, unless otherwise noted.

Requirements and Evaluation

Students will be evaluated across four areas. Unless otherwise noted, written assignments should be submitted through Canvas by 11:59pm on the assigned due date. Please format your assignments using double-spaced, Times New Roman 12 point font, 1-inch margins. All grades are final.

1. **Seminar participation (35%).** Students are expected to attend every session, having completed a careful reading of the assigned texts.
2. **Canvas tasks (15%).** To facilitate discussion, students will also be given small tasks to complete on Canvas, announced on an ad hoc basis.
3. **Paper proposal (10%):** A 3-page proposal for your final paper. You may write on any topic you wish that is in any way related to this course. This proposal should include a

title, a summary of the puzzle you intend to address, your evaluation of the literature on your topic, a suggestion as to how you intend to address the puzzle, and a paragraph offering a rough outline of the paper's potential design. Proposals due **April 27**.

4. **Paper (40%)**: A completely finished paper, approximately 10-15 pages. Due **June 2**.

Discussion

Class discussion will be conducted as an open forum, not a lecture, with students providing the majority of the input. For each reading, we will summarize the argument, discuss its contribution to IR, and probe the argument and evidence for strengths and weaknesses. The following questions can be used to guide your reading of each piece and will shape our discussion:

- What is the question or puzzle?
- What is the argument?
- What are the explicit or implicit assumptions?
- Who are the relevant actors?
- What are their preferences and interests and where do they come from?
- At what level of analysis is the argument (individual, state, system)?
- Where does the argument fit into the theoretical landscape of IR and who would disagree?
- What evidence is provided in support of the argument and is it convincing?

Policies

This class is committed to creating an inclusive environment in which everyone can participate regardless of background. Everyone is expected to follow basic norms of professional intellectual exchange. Please be respectful in all your communications, including class discussions. Misconduct based on race, gender, religion or sexual orientation are not acceptable.

In class as in life, deadlines are important. Late assignments will be penalized one third letter grade (that is, for example, from A to A-) for each day late. If you require an extension, please consult your Commons Dean; in the absence of a letter from your Dean, an extension will not be granted.

My office hours are listed above. If you cannot come to my office during these hours, please e-mail to schedule an appointment.

I check e-mail regularly during work hours. But if you have a question that will require more than one minute to answer, I would much rather answer that question in person, so please come to my office hours rather than sending an e-mail. Also be advised that I do not check my e-mail on the weekends.

Students who have Letters of Accommodation in this class are encouraged to contact me as early in the semester as possible to ensure that such accommodations are implemented in a timely fashion. For those without Letters of Accommodation, assistance is available to eligible students through Student Disability Services. Please contact Student Disability Services at 773-702-6000 or disabilities@uchicago.edu for more information. All discussions will remain confidential.

All work in this course is governed by the University of Chicago's standards for academic integrity.

SCHEDULE

Part 1: Foundations

1. March 30: Introduction and Overview

Required

Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. "Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 4, no. 1 (2001): 391–416.

Hurd, Ian. "Constructivism." *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, August 14, 2008.

Recommended

Hopf, Ted. "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory." *International Security* 23, no. 1 (1998): 171–200.

Ruggie, John Gerard. "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge." *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 855–885.

2. April 6: Theoretical Foundations: Social Constructivism, Structuration, and Sociological Institutionalism

Required

Searle, John R. *The Construction of Social Reality*. Simon and Schuster, 1995. [ch 1, 2, 4.]

Meyer, John W., John Boli, George M. Thomas, and Francisco O. Ramirez. "World Society and the Nation-State." *American Journal of Sociology* 103, no. 1 (1997): 144–181.

Recommended

Sewell Jr, W.H. "A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation." *American Journal of Sociology*, 1992, 1–29.

3. April 13: Wendt

Required

Wendt, Alexander. "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory." *International Organization* 41, no. 3 (1987): 335–370.

Wendt, Alexander. "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46, no. 02 (1992): 391–425.

Wendt, Alexander. "Collective Identity Formation and the International State." *American Political Science Review* 88, no. 02 (1994): 384–396.

Recommended

Wendt, Alexander. *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 1999.
[Not on Canvas – buy your own copy.]

Part 2: The Golden Age

4. April 20: Norms, Ideas, Identities, Part 1 (How and Why They 'Matter')

Required

Katzenstein, Peter, ed. *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. Columbia University Press, 1996. [ch. 1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12]
[Not on Canvas – buy your own copy.]

Recommended

Legro, Jeffrey W. "Which Norms Matter? Revisiting the Failure of Internationalism." *International Organization* 51, no. 01 (1997): 31–63.

5. April 27: Norms, Ideas, Identities, Part 2 (How They Change) [Proposals Due]

Checkel, Jeffrey. "Why Comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change." *International Organization* 55, no. 3 (2001): 553–588.

Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 887–917.

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 1998. [ch. 1]

Legro, Jeffrey W. "Whence American Internationalism." *International Organization* 54, no. 2 (2000): 253–289.

Recommended

Johnston, Alastair Iain. "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments." *International Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (December 1, 2001): 487–515.

6. May 4 Boundaries, Comparisons, and Critics

Required

Desch, Michael C. "Culture Clash: Assessing the Importance of Ideas in Security Studies." *International Security* 23, no. 1 (1998): 141–170.

Fearon, James D., and Alexander Wendt. "Rationalism v. Constructivism: A Skeptical View." *Handbook of International Relations*, 2002, 52–72.

Recommended

Barkin, J. Samuel. "Realist Constructivism." *International Studies Review* 5, no. 3 (2003): 325–342.

Price, Richard, and Christian Reus-Smit. "Dangerous Liaisons? Critical International Theory and Constructivism." *European Journal of International Relations* 4, no. 3 (1998): 259–294.

Part 3: Current Topics

7. May 11: Narrative, Communication, Legitimation

Required

Hurd, Ian. "The Strategic Use of Liberal Internationalism: Libya and the UN Sanctions, 1992–2003." *International Organization* 59, no. 03 (2005): 495–526.

Krebs, Ronald R. *Narrative and the Making of US National Security*. Cambridge University Press, 2015. [ch. 1, 2]

Risse, Thomas. "Let's Argue!: Communicative Action in World Politics." *International Organization* 54, no. 01 (2000): 1–39.

Schimmelfennig, Frank. "The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union." *International Organization* 55, no. 01 (2001): 47–80.

Recommended

Hurd, Ian. "Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics." *International Organization* 53, no. 02 (1999): 379–408.

8. May 18: Resistance to Norms

Required

Shannon, Vaughn P. "Norms Are What States Make of Them: The Political Psychology of Norm Violation." *International Studies Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (2000): 293–316.

Epstein, Charlotte. "Stop Telling Us How to Behave: Socialization or Infantilization?" *International Studies Perspectives* 13, no. 2 (May 1, 2012): 135–45.

Adler-Nissen, Rebecca. "Stigma Management in International Relations: Transgressive Identities, Norms, and Order in International Society." *International Organization* 68, no. 1 (2014): 143–176.

Bob, Clifford. *The Global Right Wing and the Clash of World Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2012. [ch 2]

Recommended

Acharya, Amitav. "How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism." *International Organization* 58, no. 02 (2004): 239–275.

9. May 25: Status and Hierarchy

Required

Musgrave, Paul, and Daniel H. Nexon. "Defending Hierarchy from the Moon to the Indian Ocean: Symbolic Capital and Political Dominance in Early Modern China and the Cold War." *International Organization* 72, no. 3 (ed 2018): 591–626.

Dafoe, Allan, Jonathan Renshon, and Paul Huth. "Reputation and Status as Motives for War." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17, no. 1 (May 11, 2014): 371–93.

Towns, Ann E. "Norms and Social Hierarchies: Understanding International Policy Diffusion 'From Below.'" *International Organization* 66, no. 02 (2012): 179–209.

Recommended

Duque, Marina G. "Recognizing International Status: A Relational Approach." *International Studies Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (September 1, 2018): 577–92.

Pouliot, Vincent. "Against authority: The heavy weight of international hierarchy." In Zarakol, Ayşe, ed. *Hierarchies in World Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2017.

10. Other topics

Relationalism and the Practice Turn

Adler, Emanuel, and Vincent Pouliot. "International Practices." *International Theory* 3, no. 1 (February 2011): 1–36.

Bigo, Didier. "Pierre Bourdieu and International Relations: Power of Practices, Practices of Power." *International Political Sociology* 5, no. 3 (September 1, 2011): 225–58.

Bueger Christian, and Gadinger Frank. "The Play of International Practice." *International Studies Quarterly* 59, no. 3 (May 22, 2015): 449–60.

Jackson, Patrick Thaddeus, and Daniel H. Nexon. "Relations Before States: Substance, Process and the Study of World Politics." *European Journal of International Relations* 5, no. 3 (September 1, 1999): 291–332.

McCourt, David M. "Practice Theory and Relationalism as the New Constructivism." *International Studies Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (September 1, 2016): 475–85.

Pratt, Simon Frankel. "A Relational View of Ontological Security in International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly*. Accessed February 28, 2017.

Hopf, Ted. "The Logic of Habit in International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations* 16, no. 4 (2010): 539–561.

Pouliot, Vincent. "Hierarchy in Practice: Multilateral Diplomacy and the Governance of International Security." *European Journal of International Security* 1, no. 1 (2016): 5–26.

Pouliot, Vincent. *International Pecking Orders: The Politics and Practice of Multilateral Diplomacy*. Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Sending, Ole Jacob, Vincent Pouliot, and Iver B. Neumann. *Diplomacy and the Making of World Politics*. Vol. 136. Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Social Identity [a very limited taster menu]

Abdelal, R., Y.M. Herrera, A.I. Johnston, and R. McDermott. "Identity as a Variable." *Perspectives on Politics* 4, no. 4 (2006): 695.

Adler-Nissen, Rebecca. "The Social Self in International Relations: Identity, Power and the Symbolic Interactionist Roots of Constructivism." *European Review of International Security*, 2016.

Brubaker, Rogers, and Frederick Cooper. "Beyond 'Identity.'" *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (2000): 1–47.

- Callahan, William A. "War, Shame, and Time: Pastoral Governance and National Identity in England and America." *International Studies Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (2006): 395–419.
- Epstein, Charlotte. "Who Speaks? Discourse, the Subject and the Study of Identity in International Politics." *European Journal of International Relations* 17, no. 2 (2011): 327–50.
- Flockhart, Trine. "'Complex Socialization': A Framework for the Study of State Socialization." *European Journal of International Relations* 12, no. 1 (March 1, 2006): 89–118.
- Gartzke, Erik, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. "Identity and Conflict: Ties That Bind and Differences That Divide." *European Journal of International Relations* 12, no. 1 (March 1, 2006): 53–87.
- Greenhill, Brian. "Recognition and Collective Identity Formation in International Politics." *European Journal of International Relations* 14, no. 2 (2008): 343–68.
- Hopf, Ted, and Bentley B. Allan. *Making Identity Count: Building a National Identity Database*. Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Huddy, Leonie. "From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory." *Political Psychology* 22, no. 1 (March 1, 2001): 127–56.
- Kinnvall, Catarina. "Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self, Identity, and the Search for Ontological Security." *Political Psychology* 25, no. 5 (2004): 741–67.
- Lebow, R. N. "Identity and International Relations." *International Relations* 22, no. 4 (2008): 473–92.
- Mattern, Janice Bially. "The Power Politics of Identity." *European Journal of International Relations* 7, no. 3 (September 1, 2001): 349–97.
- Mercer, Jonathan. "Anarchy and Identity." *International Organization* 49, no. 02 (1995): 229–252.
- Subotic, Jelena, and Ayşe Zarakol. "Cultural Intimacy in International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations* 19, no. 4 (December 1, 2013): 915–38.
- Tetlock, Philip E. "Social Psychology and World Politics." *Handbook of Social Psychology* 4 (1998): 868–914.
- Vucetic, Srdjan, and Ted Hopf. "The Distribution of Identity and the Future of International Order: China's Hegemonic Prospects." *International Organization*, July 2018, 1–31.
- Ward, Steven Michael. "Lost in Translation: Social Identity Theory and the Study of Status in World Politics." *International Studies Quarterly* 61, no. 4 (December 1, 2017): 821–34.
- Wendt, Alexander. "Collective Identity Formation and the International State." *American Political Science Review* 88, no. 02 (1994): 384–396.

Ontological Security

Herrington, Luke. "Review - Ontological Security in International Relations." *E-International Relations* (blog). Accessed February 7, 2015.

Kinnvall, Catarina. "Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self, Identity, and the Search for Ontological Security." *Political Psychology* 25, no. 5 (2004): 741–67.

Mitzen, Jennifer. "Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma." *European Journal of International Relations* 12, no. 3 (September 1, 2006): 341–70.

Pratt, Simon Frankel. "A Relational View of Ontological Security in International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly*. Accessed February 28, 2017.

Steele, Brent J. "Ontological Security and the Power of Self-Identity: British Neutrality and the American Civil War." *Review of International Studies* 31, no. 03 (July 2005): 519–540.

Steele, Brent J. *Ontological Security in International Relations: Self-Identity and the IR State*. Routledge, 2008.

Zarakol, Ayşe. "Ontological (In)Security and State Denial of Historical Crimes: Turkey and Japan." *International Relations* 24, no. 1 (March 1, 2010): 3–23.

Securitization / Copenhagen School

Buzan, Barry, Ole Wæver, and Jaap De Wilde. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998.

Hayes, Jarrod. "Securitization, Social Identity, and Democratic Security: Nixon, India, and the Ties That Bind." *International Organization* 66, no. 01 (2012): 63–93.

Huysmans, Jef. "Security! What Do You Mean? From Concept to Thick Signifier." *European Journal of International Relations* 4, no. 2 (1998): 226–255.

Mcsweeney, Bill. "Identity and Security: Buzan and the Copenhagen School." *Review of International Studies* 22, no. 01 (January 1996): 81.

Williams, Michael C. "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics." *International Studies Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (2003): 511–31.

Emotions and Affect

Bleiker, Roland, and Emma Hutchison. "Fear No More: Emotions and World Politics." *Review of International Studies* 34, no. S1 (2008): 115–135.

- Crawford, Neta C. "The Passion of World Politics: Propositions on Emotion and Emotional Relationships." *International Security* 24, no. 4 (2000): 116–156.
- Fattah, Khaled, and K. M. Fierke. "A Clash of Emotions: The Politics of Humiliation and Political Violence in the Middle East." *European Journal of International Relations* 15, no. 1 (March 1, 2009): 67–93.
- Hall, Todd H. *Emotional Diplomacy: Official Emotion on the International Stage*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015.
- Harkavy, Robert E. "Defeat, National Humiliation, and the Revenge Motif in International Politics." *International Politics* 37, no. 3 (2000): 345–368.
- Holmes, Marcus. "Believing This and Alieving That: Theorizing Affect and Intuitions in International Politics." *International Studies Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (December 1, 2015): 706–20.
- Kertzer, Joshua D., Kathleen Powers, Brian Rathbun,. "Moral Support: How Moral Values Shape Foreign Policy Attitudes." *The Journal of Politics* 76, no. 3 (2014): 825–840.
- Lebow, Richard Ned. *A Cultural Theory of International Relations*. Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Marcus, George E. "Emotions in Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3, no. 1 (2000): 221–250.
- Mercer, Jonathan.. "Emotional Beliefs." *International Organization* 64, no. 1 (2010): 1–31.
- Mercer, Jonathan.. "Rationality and Psychology in International Politics." *International Organization* 59, no. 01 (2005): 77–106.
- Petersen, Roger D. *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Petersen, Roger D. *Western Intervention in the Balkans: The Strategic Use of Emotion in Conflict*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Ross, Andrew A. G. "Coming in from the Cold: Constructivism and Emotions." *European Journal of International Relations* 12, no. 2 (June 1, 2006): 197–222
- Scheff, Thomas J. *Bloody Revenge: Emotions, Nationalism, and War*. Westview Press, 1994.
- Scheff, Thomas J., and Suzanne M. Retzinger. *Emotions and Violence: Shame and Rage in Destructive Conflicts*. Lexington Books/DC Heath and Com, 1991.
- Subotic, Jelena, and Ayşe Zarakol. "Cultural Intimacy in International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations* 19, no. 4 (December 1, 2013): 915–38.

Zarakol, Ayşe. "Ontological (In)Security and State Denial of Historical Crimes: Turkey and Japan." *International Relations* 24, no. 1 (March 1, 2010): 3–23.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117809359040>.

Constructivist Methods and Methodological Debates

Abel, T. "The Operation Called Verstehen." *American Journal of Sociology*, 1948, 211–218.
Chernoff, Fred. "Scientific Realism as a Meta-Theory of International Politics." *International Studies Quarterly* 46, no. 2 (2002): 189–207.

Friedrichs, Jörg, and Friedrich Kratochwil. "On Acting and Knowing: How Pragmatism Can Advance International Relations Research and Methodology." *International Organization* 63, no. 4 (2009): 701–731.

Geertz, C. "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture." *Culture: Critical Concepts in Sociology*, 1973, 173–196.

Jahn, Beate. "Liberal Internationalism: From Ideology to Empirical Theory—and Back Again." *International Theory* 1, no. 3 (2009): 409–438.

Kratochwil, Friedrich. "History, Action and Identity: Revisiting the 'Second' Great Debate and Assessing Its Importance for Social Theory." *European Journal of International Relations* 12, no. 1 (2006): 5–29.

Kurki, Milja. *Causation in International Relations: Reclaiming Causal Analysis*. Vol. 108. Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Lapid, Yosef. "The Third Debate: On the Prospects of International Theory in a Post-Positivist Era." *International Studies Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1989): 235–254.

Locher, Birgit, and Elisabeth Prügl. "Feminism and Constructivism: Worlds Apart or Sharing the Middle Ground?" *International Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (2001): 111–129.

Milliken, Jennifer. "The Study of Discourse in International Relations: A Critique of Research and Methods." *European Journal of International Relations* 5, no. 2 (1999): 225–254.

Monteiro, Nuno P., and Keven G. Ruby. "IR and the False Promise of Philosophical Foundations." *International Theory* 1, no. 1 (March 2009): 15–48.

Neufeld, Mark. "Interpretation and the 'Science' of International Relations." *Review of International Studies* 19, no. 1 (1993): 39–61.

Patomäki, Heikki, and Colin Wight. "After Postpositivism? The Promises of Critical Realism." *International Studies Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (2000): 213–237.

Pouliot, Vincent. "'Subjectivism': Toward a Constructivist Methodology." *International Studies Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (2007): 359–384.

- Price, Richard. "Moral Limit and Possibility in World Politics." *International Organization* 62, no. 2 (2008): 191–220.
- Sil, Rudra, and Peter J. Katzenstein. "Analytic Eclecticism in the Study of World Politics: Reconfiguring Problems and Mechanisms across Research Traditions." *Perspectives on Politics* 8, no. 2 (2010): 411–431.
- Sil, Rudra, and Peter J. Katzenstein.. *Beyond Paradigms: Analytic Eclecticism in the Study of World Politics*. Macmillan International Higher Education, 2010.
- Suganami, Hidemi. "Narrative Explanation and International Relations: Back to Basics." *Millennium* 37, no. 2 (2008): 327–356.
- Tickner, J. Ann. "What Is Your Research Program? Some Feminist Answers to International Relations Methodological Questions." *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (2005): 1–21.
- Wedeen, Lisa. "Conceptualizing Culture: Possibilities for Political Science." *American Political Science Review* 96, no. 4 (2002): 713–728.