

Constructivism
PLSC 43701
Spring 2022

Time: Wednesdays, 1:30 pm – 4:20 pm

Zoom (for Weeks 1 and 2):

<https://uchicago.zoom.us/j/99728998940?pwd=TmJURC8vSUhIckhkMFJlZnVmL25HUT09>

Location (for Weeks 2-9): Pick Hall 407

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

Office hours: Mondays 3:30-5:00pm. [Sign up here](#). All office hours are held on Zoom: <https://uchicago.zoom.us/my/rterman?pwd=N1kvLzZ0eTJscUEzL0diOHl0NSStEQT09>

Course Description

This seminar explores the constructivist research program in International Relations. The main goal is to better understand constructivism's elements, assumptions, and methods, and apply those to current issues. We start by tracing the development of constructivist IR, from its philosophical foundations to canonical work. In the second part of the course, we examine current research in international relations that draws on constructivist approaches, including work on identity, emotions, race and gender, rhetoric, legitimation, resistance to norms, status hierarchies, etc.

Prerequisites

This class is intended for Ph.D. and Masters students. Prior exposure to graduate-level IR courses is strongly recommended.

Communications

We will be using Canvas to make announcements, distribute readings, and collect assignments.

Feel free to email me with questions or concerns that are not answered in this syllabus. You may refer to me as "Rochelle" (or "Professor Terman" if you prefer) – but please avoid "Ms./Mrs./Miss Terman." Note that I avoid email on the evening and weekends.

If you have a preferred name or pronoun you think I should know about, please let me know.

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. Wendt, Alexander. *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 1999.

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%).** Class discussion will be conducted as an open forum, not a lecture, with students providing the majority of the input. Students are expected to attend every session, having completed a careful reading of the assigned texts. Each class will begin with a “round robin,” wherein each student offers a question on the week’s readings that they’d like to discuss. To facilitate discussion, students will also be given small tasks to complete on Canvas, announced on an ad hoc basis.
2. **Book review (15%).** Each student will write a book review of a recent volume (last 10 years) employing constructivist methods in IR. We’ll crowd-source a list of appropriate books [here](#). The review should summarize the volume and offer a critique of its contribution. Examples of book reviews can be found Perspectives on Politics and students are encouraged to follow PoP’s [guidelines on book reviews](#). Reviews should be 4-5 pages, due **February 16**.
3. **Paper (50%).** Pick one of the following two options by **February 2**. Both papers should be 15-20 pages (no more, no less) and are due **March 15**.

OPTION 1 -- Critical literature review. Students write a critical literature review on a research area in constructivist IR. Critical literature reviews go beyond summarizing existing work and involve an analytic contribution. They typically organize the literature into thematic groups or “buckets” that share a common approach, assumption, or analytic lens. They often identify shortcomings or gaps in the literature, and then advance an argument for where the literature should go that would push the research program forward. Students are encouraged to read review essays [in Annual Review of Political Science](#) and International Organization.

You have two options for a critical literature review: 1) Analyze the literature on one of the topics covered on the syllabus. These papers should go beyond class discussion and cover both assigned and suggested readings, as well as additional readings not on the syllabus. 2) Analyze the literature on your own topic of interest, which should somehow relate to constructivist IR. Students should first get my approval with a coherent topic along with a preliminary bibliography.

OPTION 2 -- Research prospectus. Students write a prospectus for an original research project on any topic related to this course. The prospectus should include: 1) A clear discussion of the core research question or puzzle; 2) your evaluation of the existing literature on the topic; 3) a well-developed argument or set of hypotheses; 4) a detailed research design explaining how you will test your argument.

Late Policy and Incompletes

All deadlines are strict. Late assignments will be penalized one third letter grade (that is, for example, from A to A-) for each 24 hours past the deadline. Exceptions will be made for students with an emergency or illness. I will only consider granting incompletes to students under extreme personal/family duress.

Professionalism

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.

Accessibility

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. If you have a particular concern surrounding inclusiveness or accessibility, please see me as soon as possible so that we can make proper arrangements.

Academic Integrity

All work in this course is governed by the University of Chicago's standards for academic integrity. Students are responsible for familiarizing themselves with, and following, university policies regarding proper student conduct. Being found guilty of academic dishonesty is a serious offense and may result in a failing grade for the assignment in question, and possibly for the entire course.

Schedule at a Glance

| | |
|--|----|
| January 12: Introduction and Theoretical Foundations | 6 |
| January 19: Wendt | 8 |
| January 26: Norms, Ideas, Identities, Part 1 (How and Why They 'Matter') | 9 |
| February 2: Norms, Ideas, Identities, Part 2 (How They Change) | 11 |
| February 9: Identity and Emotions | 12 |
| February 16: Status and Hierarchy | 14 |
| February 23: Race and Gender | 15 |
| March 2: Narrative, Communication, Legitimation | 18 |
| March 9: Resistance to Norms | 19 |
| Other topics | 21 |

SCHEDULE

Part 1: Foundations

0. Background and Big Picture

This is not a real week! Nothing here is required, but is merely suggested as a background to constructivism.

** See also Carson's IR Theory syllabus.

English School

Bull, Hedley. *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. Columbia University Press, 2002. [ch. 2]

Buzan, Barry. "From International System to International Society: Structural Realism and Regime Theory Meet the English School." *International Organization* 47, no. 03 (1993): 327–352.

Buzan, Barry. *From International to World Society?: English School Theory and the Social Structure of Globalisation*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Little, Richard. "The English School's Contribution to the Study of International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations* 6, no. 3 (2000): 395–422.

Reus-Smit, Christian. "Imagining Society: Constructivism and the English School." *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 4, no. 3 (2002): 487–509.

International Regimes and Institutions

Goldstein, Judith, and Robert O Keohane. *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change*. Cornell University Press, 1993.

Haas, Ernst B. "Words Can Hurt You; or, Who Said What to Whom about Regimes." *International Organization* 36, no. 2 (1982): 207–243.

Keohane, Robert O. and Joseph S. Nye. *Power and Interdependence*. Little, Brown, 1977.

Keohane, Robert O. "International Institutions: Two Approaches." *International Studies Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (1988): 379–396.

Krasner, Stephen D. "Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables." *International Organization* 36, no. 02 (1982): 185–205.

Kratochwil, Friedrich, and John Gerard Ruggie. "International Organization: A State of the Art on an Art of the State." *International Organization* 40, no. 04 (1986): 753–775.

1. January 12: Introduction and Theoretical Foundations

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.

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

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

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

More Review Articles

Adler, Emanuel. "Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics." *European Journal of International Relations* 3, no. 3 (1997): 319–363.

Checkel, Jeffrey. "The Constructive Turn in International Relations Theory." *World Politics* 50, no. 02 (1998): 324–348.

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.

Social Constructivism

Berger, Peter L., and Thomas Luckmann. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Penguin UK, 1991.

Hacking, Ian. *The Social Construction of What?* Harvard University Press, 1999.

Structuration

Dessler, D. "What's at Stake in the Agent-Structure Debate?" *International Organization* 43, no. 03 (1989): 441–473.

Giddens, Anthony. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. University of California Press, 1984.

Sociological Institutionalism

DiMaggio, Paul J., and Walter W. Powell. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." *American Sociological Review* 48, no. 2 (1983): 147–60.

Finnemore, Martha. "Norms, Culture, and World Politics: Insights from Sociology's Institutionalism." *International Organization* 50, no. 2 (1996): 325–347.

Meyer, John W., and B. Rowan. "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony." *American Journal of Sociology*, 83, no. 2 (Sep., 1977), 340–363.

2. January 19: Wendt

Required

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

Recommended

Chernoff, Fred. "Scientific Realism as a Meta-Theory of International Politics." *International Studies Quarterly* 46, no. 2 (2002): 189–207.

Kratochwil, Friedrich. "Constructing a New Orthodoxy? Wendt's Social Theory of International Politics' and the Constructivist Challenge." *Millennium* 29, no. 1 (2000): 73–101.

Leander, Anna, and Stefano Guzzini. *Constructivism and International Relations: Alexander Wendt and His Critics*. Routledge, 2005.

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

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.

Wendt, Alexander. "Constructing International Politics." *International Security* 20, no. 1 (1995): 71–81.

Wendt, Alexander. "On Constitution and Causation in International Relations." *Review of International Studies* 24, no. 5 (1998): 101–118.

Wendt, Alexander. "The State as Person in International Theory." *Review of International Studies* 30, no. 02 (2004): 289–316.

3. January 26: 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, 9, 10,12]
[Not on Canvas – buy your own copy.]

Recommended

Checkel, Jeffrey. "International Norms and Domestic Politics: Bridging the Rationalist—Constructivist Divide." *European Journal of International Relations* 3, no. 4 (1997): 473.

Duffield, J.S. "Political Culture and State Behavior: Why Germany Confounds Neorealism." *International Organization* 53, no. 4 (1999): 765–803.

Florini, Ann. "The Evolution of International Norms." *International Studies Quarterly* 40, no. 3 (September 1, 1996): 363–89.

Goertz, Gary, and Paul F. Diehl. "Toward a Theory of International Norms." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36, no. 4 (1992): 634.

Klotz, Audie. "Norms Reconstituting Interests: Global Racial Equality and US Sanctions against South Africa." *International Organization* 49, no. 3 (1995): 451–478.

Kratochwil, Friedrich. *Rules, Norms and Decisions: On the Conditions of Practical and Legal Reasoning in International Relations and Domestic Affairs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Katzenstein, Peter J. *Cultural Norms and National Security: Police and Military in Postwar Japan*. Cornell University Press, 1998.

Legro, Jeffrey W. "Military Culture and Inadvertent Escalation in World War II." *International Security* 18, no. 4 (1994): 108–142.

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

Nadelmann, E.A. "Global Prohibition Regimes: The Evolution of Norms in International Society." *International Organization*, 1990, 479–526.

Onuf, Nicholas Greenwood. *World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations*. Routledge, 2012.

Price, Richard MacKay. *The Chemical Weapons Taboo*. Cornell University Press, 1997.

Tannenwald, Nina. *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons since 1945*. Vol. 87. Cambridge University Press, 2007.

4. February 2: Norms, Ideas, Identities, Part 2 (How They Change)

Deadline for final paper selection.

Required

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.

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

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

Axelrod, R. "An Evolutionary Approach to Norms." *The American Political Science Review* 80, no. 4 (1986): 1095–1111.

Finnemore, Martha. "International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and Science Policy." *International Organization* 47, no. 4 (1993): 565–597.

Finnemore, Martha. *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force*. Cornell University Press, 2004.

Haas, Peter M. "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination." *International Organization* 46, no. 1 (1992): 1–35.

Lebow, Richard Ned. *A Cultural Theory of International Relations*. Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Risse, Thomas. "Ideas Do Not Float Freely: Transnational Coalitions, Domestic Structures, and the End of the Cold War." *International Organization* 48, no. 02 (1994): 185–214.

Ropp, Stephen C., Kathryn Sikkink, and Thomas Risse, eds. *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*. Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Sikkink, Kathryn. "Human Rights, Principled Issue-Networks, and Sovereignty in Latin America." *International Organization*, 1993, 411–441.

Part 2: Current Topics

5. February 9: Identity and Emotions

Required

Mitzen, Jennifer. "Ontological security in world politics: State identity and the security dilemma." *European Journal of International Relations* 12, no. 3 (2006): 341-370.

Allan, Bentley B., Srdjan Vucetic, and Ted Hopf. "The Distribution of Identity and the Future of International Order: China's Hegemonic Prospects." *International Organization* 72, no. 4 (2018): 839-69.

Hutchison, Emma, and Roland Bleiker. "Theorizing Emotions in World Politics." *International Theory* 6, no. 3 (2014): 491-514.

Herrmann, Richard K. "How Attachments to the Nation Shape Beliefs About the World: A Theory of Motivated Reasoning." *International Organization* 71, no. S1 (2017): S61-S84.

Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity." *International Organization* 54, no. 4 (2000): 845-77.

Recommended

Identity and Ontological Security

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

Hopf, Ted. *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities & Foreign Policies, Moscow, 1955 and 1999*. Cornell University Press, 2002.

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

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.

Emotions

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.
- 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.
- Holmes, Marcus. "The Force of Face-to-Face Diplomacy: Mirror Neurons and the Problem of Intentions." *International Organization* 67, no. 4 (2013): 829–61.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- Stein, Rachel M. "War and Revenge: Explaining Conflict Initiation by Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 109, no. 03 (August 2015): 556–73.
- Subotic, Jelena, and Ayşe Zarakol. "Cultural Intimacy in International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations* 19, no. 4 (December 1, 2013): 915–38.

6. February 16: Status and Hierarchy

Book reviews due.

Required

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

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.

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

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

Hobson, John M., and Jason C. Sharman. "The Enduring Place of Hierarchy in World Politics: Tracing the Social Logics of Hierarchy and Political Change." *European Journal of International Relations* 11, no. 1 (2005): 63–98.

Lake, D. *Hierarchy in International Relations*. Cornell University Press, 2009.

Paul, Thaza Varkey, Deborah Welch Larson, and William C. Wohlforth. *Status in World Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.

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

Renshon, Jonathan. *Fighting for Status: Hierarchy and Conflict in World Politics*. Princeton University Press, 2017.

Towns, Ann E. *Women and States: Norms and Hierarchies in International Society*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Towns, Ann E., and Bahar Rumelili. "Taking the Pressure: Unpacking the Relation between Norms, Social Hierarchies, and Social Pressures on States." *European Journal of International Relations*, January 12, 2017, 1354066116682070.

Ward, Steven. *Status and the Challenge of Rising Powers*. Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Wolf, Reinhard. "Respect and Disrespect in International Politics: The Significance of Status Recognition." *International Theory* 3, no. 01 (2011): 105–42.

7. February 23: Race and Gender

Required

Thompson, Debra. "Through, against, and beyond the Racial State: The Transnational Stratum of Race." In *Race and Racism in International Relations*, edited by Alexander Anievas, Nivi Manchanda, and Robbie Shilliam, 56–73. Routledge, 2014.

Vitalis, Robert. "The Graceful and Generous Liberal Gesture: Making Racism Invisible in American International Relations." *Millennium* 29, no. 2 (June 1, 2000): 331–56.

Búzás, Zoltán I. "Racism and Antiracism in the Liberal International Order." *International Organization* 75, no. 2 (2021): 440-463.

Tickner, J. Ann. "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists." *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (1997): 611-32.

Reiter, Dan. "The Positivist Study Of Gender And International Relations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59, no. 7 (2015): 1301-1326.

Recommended

Race

*See also: books and syllabi from our own Adom Getachew and Jennifer Pitts on empire, law, and race.

Special issue, "Confronting the Global Colour Line: Space, Race and Imperial Hierarchy in World Politics," in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26 (2013).

Anievas, Alexander, Nivi Manchanda, and Robbie Shilliam. *Race and Racism in International Relations: Confronting the Global Colour Line*. Routledge, 2014.

Barkawi, Tarak. "Decolonising War." *European Journal of International Security* 1, no. 2 (2016): 199–214.

Bell, Duncan. "Race and International Relations: Introduction." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26, no. 1 (2013): 1-4.

Bell, Duncan. "Before the Democratic Peace: Racial Utopianism, Empire and the Abolition of War." *European Journal of International Relations* 20, no. 3 (2014): 647-670.

Búzás, Zoltán I. "The Color of Threat: Race, Threat Perception, and the Demise of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902–1923)." *Security Studies* 22, no. 4 (October 1, 2013): 573–606.

DuBois, W.E.B. "Worlds of color." *Foreign Affairs* 3, no. 3 (1925): 423-444.

- Grovogui, Siba N'Zatioula. *Sovereigns, Quasi Sovereigns, and Africans: Race and Self-Determination in International Law*. U of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Henderson, Errol A. "Hidden in Plain Sight: Racism in International Relations Theory." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26, no. 1 (March 1, 2013): 71–92.
- Henderson, Errol A. "The Revolution Will Not Be Theorised: Du Bois, Locke, and the Howard School's Challenge to White Supremacist IR Theory." *Millennium* 45, no. 3 (2017): 492–510.
- Jones, Branwen Gruffydd. *Decolonizing International Relations*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2006.
- Jones, Branwen Gruffydd. "Race in the Ontology of International Order." *Political Studies* 56, no. 4 (2008): 907–927.
- Kaufmann, Chaim D., and Robert A. Pape. "Explaining Costly International Moral Action: Britain's Sixty-Year Campaign against the Atlantic Slave Trade." *International Organization* 53, no. 4 (1999): 631–68.
- Krishna, Sankaran. "Race, Amnesia, and the Education of International Relations." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 26, no. 4 (2001): 401–24.
- Lake, David A. "White Man's IR: An Intellectual Confession." *Perspectives on Politics* 14, no. 4 (December 2016): 1112–22.
- Lake, Marilyn, and Henry Reynolds. *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Vitalis, Robert. *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations*. Cornell University Press, 2015.
- Vucetic, Srdjan. *The Anglosphere: A Genealogy of a Racialized Identity in International Relations*. Stanford University Press, 2011.

Gender

- Eichenberg, Richard C. *Gender, War, and World Order: A Study of Public Opinion*. Cornell University Press, 2019.
- Locher, Birgit, and Elisabeth Prügl. "Feminism and Constructivism: Worlds Apart or Sharing the Middle Ground?" *International Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (2001): 111–129.
- Peterson, V. Spike. *Revisiting Gendered States: Feminist Imaginings of the State in International Relations*. Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Sjoberg, Laura. "Toward Trans-gendering International Relations?" *International Political Sociology* 6, no. 4 (2012): 337–354.

Sjoberg, Laura. "Gender, Structure, and War: What Waltz Couldn't See." *International Theory* 4, no. 1 (March 2012): 1-38.

Sjoberg, Laura. "Gender, the State, and War Redux: Feminist International Relations across the 'Levels of Analysis'." *International Relations* 25, no. 1 (2011): 108-134.

Sjoberg, Laura. "Centering Security Studies around Felt, Gendered Insecurities." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 1, no. 1 (2016): 51-63.

Sjoberg, Laura, Kelly Kadera, and Cameron G. Thies. "Reevaluating gender and IR scholarship: Moving beyond Reiter's Dichotomies toward Effective Synergies." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62, no. 4 (2018): 848-870.

Tickner, J. Ann. "Hans Morgenthau's Principles of Political Realism: A Feminist Reformulation." *Millennium* 17, no. 3 (1988): 429-440.

8. March 2: Narrative, Communication, Legitimation

Required

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

Krebs, Ronald R., and Patrick Thaddeus Jackson. "Twisting Tongues and Twisting Arms: The Power of Political Rhetoric." *European Journal of International Relations* 13, no. 1 (2007): 35–66.

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

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

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

Allan, Bentley B. *Scientific Cosmology and International Orders*. Cambridge University Press, 2018.

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

Jackson, Patrick. *Civilizing the Enemy: German Reconstruction and the Invention of the West*. University of Michigan Press, 2006. [ch. 2]

Müller, Harald. "Arguing, Bargaining and All That: Communicative Action, Rationalist Theory and the Logic of Appropriateness in International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations* 10, no. 3 (2004): 395–435.

Payne, Rodger A. "Persuasion, Frames and Norm Construction." *European Journal of International Relations* 7, no. 1 (2001): 37–61.

Seymour, Lee J. M. "Let's Bullshit! Arguing, Bargaining and Dissembling over Darfur." *European Journal of International Relations*, 2013, 1354066113476118.

Subotić, Jelena. 2016. "Narrative, Ontological Security, and Foreign Policy Change." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 12 (4): 610–27.

9. March 9: 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.

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