

**PSCI 6601W**  
**Theory and Research in International Politics II**

Wednesday 11:35 – 14:25

Please confirm location on Carleton Central.

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**Course Description**

This class is the second half of the Ph.D. core course in International Relations (IR). Together, PSCI 6600 and 6601 provide a survey of IR theory and research to prepare students for the Ph.D. comprehensive examination in the field. In this half of the course, we will initially consider questions of metatheoretical foundations in IR theory and then examine postpositivist and critical scholarship beyond the realist and liberal traditions of IR, which has become established in the discipline since the 1980s. This scholarship includes international political theory and ethics, variants of constructivism, Marxism and historical sociology, Critical Theory, feminism, poststructuralism, international political sociology, and postcolonial and decolonial approaches. Our objective in this course is to analyze and critically examine the epistemological orientations, ontological assumptions, and methodological and ethico-political implications of the different IR theories and approaches we will study, and to assess their contributions to the field.

**Course Format**

In-person seminar; no hybrid option.

## Learning Outcomes

Coupled with the first part of this course, students should be able to

- describe the evolution and key contributions of major approaches in the IR discipline
- differentiate the epistemological, ontological, methodological, and ethico-political orientations of these approaches
- identify authors, and in certain cases, major works associated with particular approaches
- analytically and critically assess the intellectual merits (strengths and weaknesses) of different theories and approaches
- outline a research design for a substantive issue in IR based on one (or a combination of) theoretical approach(es)
- trace the politics of the discipline
- begin to place themselves within the ongoing conversation in the discipline

## Readings

In case you do not have a basic familiarity with the current spectrum of IR theory, or you need to refresh your knowledge, a good resource is

Dunne, Tim, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds.) (2021) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, fifth edition [or earlier]. Oxford: Oxford University Press (\$74).

You may consider buying the following books from which substantial required portions have been assigned:

Wendt, Alexander (1999) *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (\$57).

Hansen, Lene (2006) *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*. New York: Routledge (\$81).

These books have been ordered at the CU Bookstore.

Depending on your own interests (and to build your personal IR library), you could also consider buying one or several of the following books (from which we are only reading excerpts or article versions) to get a fuller sense of the arguments:

Walker, R.B.J. (1993) *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (\$48).

Buzan, Barry, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde (1998) *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner (\$32).

Buzan, Barry and George Lawson (2015) *The Global Transformation: History, Modernity and the Making of International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (\$40).

Basaran, Tugba et al. (eds.) (2017) *International Political Sociology: Transversal Lines*. London: Routledge (\$73).

Seth, Sanjay (ed.) (2013) *Postcolonial Theory and International Relations: A Critical Introduction*. London: Routledge (\$91).

Mignolo, Walter (2011) *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*. Durham: Duke University Press (\$42).

Acharya, Amitav and Barry Buzan (2019) *The Making of Global International Relations: Origins and Evolution of IR at Its Centenary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (\$47).

Prozorov, Sergei (2014) *Ontology and World Politics: Void Universalism I*. London: Routledge (\$77).

Along with all the assigned articles, all of these books will also be available through ARES on Brightspace and the CU Library website.

### **Requirements and Evaluation**

<u>Requirement</u>	<u>Percentage of final grade</u>	<u>Due date</u>
Class participation	20%	weekly
Class presentation	10%	(You will be asked to sign up for one date from Week 2 to 11 in our first class on January 8.)
Two review essays	40% (20% each)	the day the approach under review is discussed (on Brightspace before class)
Research outline presentation	5%	Week 12 or 13 (TBD)
Research outline	25%	April 4, 11:59 p.m. (on Brightspace)

**Class participation:** Students are expected to attend all classes, read the assigned *Required* texts prior to class meetings, and participate actively and regularly in class discussions. Class participation will be evaluated based on the quality and quantity of contributions to class discussions with greater weight given to quality. Quality contributions to class discussions include questions and comments which demonstrate that you can analytically, interpretatively, and critically reflect on and engage with the central ideas of the readings under discussion, and that you can make connections between these ideas and other themes or readings in the course.

**Class presentation:** Each student will give a class presentation of about 15-20 minutes introducing and responding to the required readings for a particular class between Week 2 and 11. You will be asked to sign up for the date of your presentation in the first class on January 8. The class presentation should

- (a) briefly outline the central ideas (overall argument and main points) of the readings;
- (b) discuss how the readings relate to each other (and/or to other approaches and themes discussed in the course) by identifying points of agreement and divergence;
- (c) assess the merits (strengths and weaknesses) and the overall contribution of the approach and individual readings through analytical and critical reflections;
- (d) raise 3-4 questions about the readings and the approach for class discussion.

It is essential that your presentation not be a mere summary of the readings. The summary outline of central ideas of the readings should take up no more than half of your presentation (preferably less). The class presentation should be supported by a Powerpoint presentation or class handout highlighting the main points under discussion.

**Two review essays:** Each student will write two review essays (2000-2400 words plus bibliography, 12-point font, double-spaced). The review essay must provide a ***critical analysis and assessment*** of a particular approach to IR theory, focusing on the assigned *Required* readings for a given week (as well as others you may choose to draw on). It is essential that your review essay develop a ***clear argument*** about the IR approach under discussion. To develop your argument, you should analytically and critically discuss the readings (focusing on central ideas), show how they relate to each other (points of agreement and divergence), and evaluate their contribution to the IR discipline. The weeks chosen for your review essays must be different from the one of your class presentation. The review essays must be submitted on Brightspace on (or before) the days the chosen approaches will be discussed *before the beginning of class*. Late submissions will not be accepted.

**Research outline presentation:** In Week 12 or 13, each student will give a short (5 minute) presentation of their research outline.

**Research outline:** Each student will write a short research outline (2500-3000 words plus bibliography, 12-point font, double-spaced) based on one (or a combination of) theoretical approach(es) discussed in the course. The research outline should consider the theoretical approach (or the combination of approaches) with respect to a substantive problem, issue, or context of the student's choice (ideally related to the topic of their planned doctoral research). The research outline can be exploratory in nature, but it should be ***driven by a research question and develop an argument*** (in the usual format of a term paper, i.e. with an introduction, main part, and conclusion). The research outline must use at least three (3) (*Required* or *Further*) readings from the course and at least three (3) additional theoretically oriented readings (from *Further Readings* and/or independent research, along with any selected substantive/empirical material that may be relevant).

Please ask the instructor for permission should you be using any work that you previously submitted for credit in another course for one of the assignments.

### **Overview of the Course**

Week 1	Introduction
Week 2	IR Theory: (Do We Need) Metatheoretical Foundations (?)
Week 3	International Political Theory/Ethics: Critical Theory in Crisis?
Week 4	Constructivism I: Social Ontology and the Study of Norms
Week 5	Constructivism II: Communication, Practices, and the Quantum Turn
Week 6	Historical International Relations: Marxism and Historical Sociology
Week 7	Winter Break
Week 8	Critical Theory: Neo-Gramscianism and the Frankfurt School
Week 9	Feminism, Gender, and Queer IR Theory
Week 10	Poststructuralism
Week 11	International Political Sociology
Week 12	Eurocentrism, Postcolonialism, and Race
Week 13	Global IR, Decoloniality/Pluriversality, and Postfoundationalism

### **Ph.D. core course stipulations**

All Graduate Students registered in a core course should be aware of the following guidelines.

- (i) A student must complete both halves of the core course, with a B+ standing or higher, to be eligible to write the scheduled August comprehensive examination.
- (ii) Eligibility to write the comp will be determined by the Graduate Administrator and Graduate Supervisor by the end of May.
- (iii) Students must complete the Winter core course and submit all outstanding work by the end of the Winter term. In the case of extenuating circumstances an extension may be granted by the course instructor, but all outstanding work must be completed by May 10. In these instances, a student will be awarded an "F" until a change of grade is submitted. Students may be deregistered from the core course examination if this condition is not met.
- (iv) Students seeking accommodations for the final comprehensive exam in August must inform the Graduate Administrator and seek formal accommodation for the exam through the Paul Menton Centre by end of May.

## Class Schedule and Readings

**Jan. 8**            **Introduction**

**Jan. 15**           **IR Theory: (Do We Need) Metatheoretical Foundations (?)**

### *Required*

Monteiro, Nuno P. and Kevin G. Ruby (2009) "IR and the False Promise of Philosophical Foundations," *International Theory* 1(1): 15-48.

Symposium: "Who Needs Philosophy of Science, anyway?" (2009) *International Theory* 1(3): 439-512. Read the contributions by Kurki, Jackson, Chernoff, Mercado, and Bohman.

Doucet, Marc G. (1999) "Standing Nowhere (?): Navigating the Third Route on the Question of Foundation in International Theory," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 28(2): 289-310.

### *Optional*

Rosenberg, Justin and Benjamin Tallis (2022) "Introduction: The International of Everything," *Cooperation and Conflict* 57(3): 250-267.

### *Further Reading*

Lapid, Yosef (1989) "The Third Debate: On the Prospects of International Theory in a Post-Positivist Era," *International Studies Quarterly* 33(3): 235-254.

Jackson, Patrick Thaddeus (2010) *The Conduct of Inquiry in International Relations: Philosophy of Science and Its Implications for the Study of World Politics*. New York: Routledge.

Wæver, Ole (1996) "The Rise and Fall of the Inter-paradigm Debate," in Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (eds.) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ch. 7. (See also other contributions to this volume.)

Wendt, Alexander (1998) "On Constitution and Causation in International Relations," *Review of International Studies* 24(5): 101-117.

Peterson, V. Spike (1992) "Transgressing Boundaries: Theories of Knowledge, Gender and International Relations," *Millennium* 21(2): 183-206.

Shaw, Karen (2004) "Knowledge, Foundations, Politics," *International Studies Review* 6(4): 7-20.

Agathangelou, Anna M. and L.H.M. Ling (2004) "The House of IR: From Family Power Politics to the Poisies of Worldism," *International Studies Review* 6(4): 21-49.

Friedrichs, Jörg and Friedrich Kratochwil (2009) "On Acting and Knowing: How Pragmatism Can Advance International Relations Research and Methodology," *International Organization* 63(4): 701-731.

## Jan. 22      International Political Theory/Ethics: Critical Theory in Crisis?

### *Required*

Snidal, Duncan and Alexander Wendt (2009) "Why There Is *International Theory* Now," *International Theory* 1(1): 1-14.

Walker, R.B.J. (1993) *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ch. 1.

Drolet, Jean-François and Michael C. Williams (2022) "From Critique to Reaction: The New Right, Critical Theory, and International Relations," *Journal of International Political Theory* 18(1): 23-45.

Michelsen, Nicholas (2021) "What Is a Minor International Theory? On the Limits of 'Critical International Relations'," *Journal of International Political Theory* 17(3): 488-511.

Jahn, Beate (2021) "Critical Theory in Crisis? A Reconsideration," *European Journal of International Relations* 27(4): 1274-1299.

### *Further Reading*

Wight, Martin (1960) "Why Is There No International Theory?" *International Relations* 2(1): 35-48, 62.

Abrahamsen et al. (2020) "Confronting the International Political Sociology of the New Right," *International Political Sociology* 14(1): 94-107.

Brown, Chris, Terry Nardin and Nick Rengger (eds.) (2002) *International Relations in Political Thought: Texts from the Ancient Greeks to the First World War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boucher, David (1998) *Political Theories of International Relations: From Thucydides to the Present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bell, Duncan (ed.) (2010) *Ethics and World Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mervyn Frost (1998) "A Turn not Taken: Ethics in IR at the Millennium," *Review of International Studies* 24(5): 119-132.

Hutchings, Kimberly (1999) *International Political Theory: Rethinking Ethics in a Global Era*. London: Sage.

Hutchings, Kimberly (2018) *Global Ethics: An Introduction*, second edition. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Walzer, Michael (1977) *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*. New York: Basic Books.

Brown, Chris (1992) *International Relations Theory: New Normative Approaches*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Beitz, Charles (1999) *Political Theory and International Relations*, second revised edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Cochran, Molly (1999) *Normative Theory in International Relations: A Pragmatic Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## **Jan. 29            Constructivism I: Social Ontology and the Study of Norms**

### *Required*

Wendt, Alexander (1999) *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chs. 1, 3-6. (Read as much as you can; skim passages as you see fit.)

Finnemore, Martha and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52(4): 887-917.

### *Further Reading*

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

Onuf, Nicholas Greenwood (1989) *World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

Wendt, Alexander (1987) "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory," *International Organization* 41(3): 335-370.

Wendt, Alexander (1992) "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization* 46(2): 391-425.

"Forum: *Social Theory of International Politics*" (2000) *Review of International Studies* 26(1): 123-180.

Zehfuss, Maja (2002) *Constructivism in International Relations: The Politics of Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Guzzini, Stefano and Anna Leander (eds.) (2006) *Constructivism and International Relations: Alexander Wendt and his Critics*. New York: Routledge.

Adler, Emanuel (1997) "Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics," *European Journal of International Relations* 3(3): 319-363.

Checkel, Jeffrey T. (1998) "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory," *World Politics* 50(2): 324-348.



- Hopf, Ted (1998) "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory," *International Security* 23(1): 171-200.
- Ruggie, John Gerard (1998) "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge," *International Organization* 52(4): 855-885.
- Price, Richard and Christian Reus-Smit (1998) "Dangerous Liaisons? Critical International Theory and Constructivism," *European Journal of International Relations* 4(3): 259-294.
- Finnemore, Martha and Kathryn Sikkink (2001) "Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science* 4(1): 391-416.
- Finnemore, Martha (1996) *National Interests in International Society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Acharya, Amitav (2004) "How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism," *International Organization* 58(2): 239-275.
- Krook, Mona Lena and Jacqui True (2012) "Rethinking the Life Cycles of International Norms: The United Nations and the Global Promotion of Gender Equality," *European Journal of International Relations* 18(1): 103-127.
- Katzenstein, Peter (ed.) (1996) *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Reus-Smit, Christian (1999) *The Moral Purpose of the State: Culture, Social Identity, and Institutional Rationality in International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bukovansky, Mlada (2002) *Legitimacy and Power Politics: The American and French Revolutions in International Political Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Barnett, Michael and Martha Finnemore (2004) *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

## **Feb. 5            Constructivism II: Communication, Practices, and the Quantum Turn**

### *Required*

- Risse, Thomas (2000) "'Let's Argue!': Communicative Action in World Politics," *International Organization* 54(1): 1-39.
- Buzan, Barry, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde (1998) *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, ch. 2.

Pouliot, Vincent (2008) "The Logic of Practicality: A Theory of Practice of Security Communities," *International Organization* 62(2): 257-288.

Wendt, Alexander (2010) "Flatland: Quantum Mind and the International Hologram," in Mathias Albert, Lars-Erik Cederman and Wendt (eds.) *New Systems Theories of World Politics*. New York: Palgrave, pp. 279-310.

Der Derian, James and Alexander Wendt (2020) "Quantizing International Relations: The Case for Quantum Approaches to International Theory and Security Practice," *Security Dialogue* 51(5): 399-413. [See also other articles to this Special Issue "Quantizing International Relations."]

### *Further Reading*

Jackson, Patrick Thaddeus and Daniel H. Nexon (1999) "Relations Before States: Substance, Process, and the Study of World Politics," *European Journal of International Relations* 5(3): 291-332.

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

McCourt, David (2016) "Practice Theory and Relationalism as the New Constructivism," *International Studies Quarterly* 60(3): 475-485.

Risse, Thomas (1999) "International Norms and Domestic Change: Arguing and Communicative Behavior in the Human Rights Area," *Politics and Society* 27(4): 529-559.

Mitzen, Jennifer (2005) "Reading Habermas in Anarchy: Multilateral Diplomacy and Global Public Spheres," *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 401-417.

Wæver, Ole (1995) "Securitization and Desecuritization," in Ronnie D. Lipschutz (ed.) *On Security*, New York: Columbia University Press, ch. 3.

Williams, Michael C. (2003) "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics," *International Studies Quarterly* 47(4): 511- 531.

Balzacq, Thierry (2005) "The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context," *European Journal of International Relations* 11(2): 171-201.

Stritzel, Holger (2007) "Towards a Theory of Securitization: Copenhagen and Beyond," *European Journal of International Relations* 13(3): 357-383.

Hansen, Lene (2000) "The Little Mermaid's Silent Security Dilemma and the Absence of Gender in the Copenhagen School," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 29(2): 285-306.

Wilkinson, Claire (2007) "The Copenhagen School on Tour in Kyrgyzstan: Is Securitization Theory Useable Outside Europe?" *Security Dialogue* 38(1): 5-25.

McDonald, Matt (2008) "Securitization and the Construction of Security," *European Journal of International Relations* 14(4): 563-587.

- C.A.S.E. Collective (2006) "Critical Approaches to Security in Europe: A Networked Manifesto," *Security Dialogue* 37(4): 443-487.
- Van Rythoven, Eric (2015) "Learning to Feel, Learning to Fear? Emotions, Imaginaries, and Limits in the Politics of Securitization," *Security Dialogue* 46(5): 458-475.
- Balzacq, Thierry, Sarah Léonard and Jan Ruzicka (2016) "'Securitization' Revisited: Theory and Cases," *International Relations* 30(4): 494-531. [Also see the other contributions to the Forum on securitization theory in this issue.]
- Howell, Alison and Melanie Richter-Monpetit (2020) "Is Securitization Theory Racist? Civilizationism, Methodological Whiteness and Antiblack Thought in the Copenhagen School," *Security Dialogue* 51(1): 3-22. [See also the Rejoinders (2020) by Lene Hansen, and Ole Waever and Barry Buzan in *Security Dialogue* 51(4): 378-394.]
- Adler, Emanuel and Vincent Pouliot (2011) "International Practices," *International Theory* 3(1): 1-36.
- Adler, Emanuel and Vincent Pouliot (eds.) (2011) *International Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Adler-Nissen, Rebecca and Vincent Pouliot (2014) "Power in Practice: Negotiating the International Intervention in Libya," *European Journal of International Relations* 20(4): 889-911.
- Ringmar, Erik (2014) "The Search for Dialogue as a Hindrance to Understanding: Practices as Interparadigmatic Research Program," *International Theory* 6(1): 1-27.
- Bueger, Christian and Frank Gadinger (2015) "The Play of International Practice," *International Studies Quarterly* 59(3): 449-460.
- Bueger, Christian and Frank Gadinger (2018) *International Practice Theory*, second edition. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bourbeau, Philippe (2017) "The Practice Approach in Global Politics," *Journal of Global Security Studies* 2(2): 170-182.
- Drieschova, Alena et al. (2022) *Conceptualizing International Practices: Directions for the Practice Turn in International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McMillan, Kevin (2018) *The Constitution of Social Practices*. New York: Routledge.
- Wendt, Alexander (2006) "Social Theory as Cartesian Science: An Auto-Critique from a Quantum Perspective," in Stefano Guzzini and Anna Leander (eds.) *Constructivism and International Relations: Alexander Wendt and his Critics*. New York: Routledge, pp. 181-219.
- Wendt, Alexander (2015) *Quantum Mind and Social Science: Unifying Physical and Social Ontology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wendt, Alexander (2016) "Why Should IR Scholars Care about Quantum Theory?" Blog commentary for Forum on *Quantum Mind and Social Science* in *Zeitschrift für Internationale*

*Beziehungen* 23(2), available at <https://zib-online.org/2016/11/24/die-neue-zib-why-should-ir-scholars-care-about-quantum-theory/>.

Forum “Social Theory Going Quantum-Theoretic? Questions, Alternatives and Challenges” (2018) *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 47(1): 67-141.

Book Symposium “Alexander Wendt, *Quantum Mind and Social Science: Unifying Physical and Social Ontology*,” *International Theory* 14(1): 117-209.

Zanotti, Laura (2019) *Ontological Entanglements, Agency and Ethics in International Relations: Exploring the Crossroads*. London: Routledge.

Pan, Chengxin (2020) “Enfolding Wholes in Parts: Quantum Holography and International Relations,” *European Journal of International Relations* 26(1\_suppl): 14-38.

Murphy, Michael P.A. (2021) *Quantum Social Theory for Critical International Relations Theorists: Quantizing Critique*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Der Derian, James and Alexander Wendt (eds.) (2022) *Quantum International Relations: A Human Science for World Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## **Feb. 12            Historical International Relations: Marxism and Historical Sociology**

### *Required*

Hobson, John M., George Lawson and Justin Rosenberg (2010) “Historical Sociology,” in Robert E. Denemark (ed.) *The International Studies Encyclopedia*. New York: Wiley Blackwell. Available at <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/28016/> (or through Google Scholar).

Wallerstein, Immanuel (1974) “The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 16(4): 387-415.

Rosenberg, Justin (2010) “Basic Problems in the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development. Part II: Unevenness and Political Multiplicity,” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 23(1): 165-189.

Buzan, Barry and George Lawson (2013) “The Global Transformation: The Nineteenth Century and the Making of Modern International Relations,” *International Studies Quarterly* 57(3): 620-634. (Also skim the responses to Buzan and Lawson by Chase-Dunn, Musgrave and Nexon, and Phillips in the same issue of *ISQ*: 635-642.)

Bhambra, Gurminder K. (2011) “Talking Among Themselves: Weberian and Marxist Historical Sociologies as Dialogues Without ‘Others’,” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 39(3): 667-681.

### *Further Reading*

- Anievas, Alexander (ed.) (2018) *Marxism and World Politics: Contesting Global Capitalism*. London: Routledge.
- Rupert, Mark and Hazel Smith (eds.) (2002) *Historical Materialism and Globalization*. New York: Routledge.
- Frank, Andre Gunder (1972) "The Development of Underdevelopment," in James D. Cockcroft, Andre Gunder Frank, and Dale Johnson (eds.) *Dependence and Underdevelopment*. Garden City: Anchor Books.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel (2004) *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Brenner, Robert (1977) "The Origins of Capitalist Development: A Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism," *New Left Review* 104: 25-92.
- Skocpol, Theda (1977) "Wallerstein's World Capitalist System: A Theoretical and Historical Critique," *American Journal of Sociology* 82(5): 1075-1090.
- Rosenberg, Justin (2006) "Why is There No International Historical Sociology?" *European Journal of International Relations* 12(3): 307-340.
- Forum "Uneven and Combined Development" (2009) *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 22(1): 7-110.
- Rosenberg, Justin (2013) "The 'Philosophical Premises' of Uneven and Combined Development," *Review of International Studies* 39(3): 569-597.
- Rosenberg, Justin and Chris Boyle (2019) "Understanding 2016: China, Brexit and Trump in the History of Uneven and Combined Development," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 32(1): 32-58.
- Rosenberg, Justin (2016) "International Relations in the Prison of Political Science," *International Relations* 30(2): 127-153.
- Blaney, David L. and Arlene B. Tickner (2017) "International Relations in the Prison of Colonial Modernity," *International Relations* 31(1): 71-75. (Also see the other contributions to this Forum on Rosenberg (2016).)
- Anievas, Alexander and Kamran Matin (eds.) (2016) *Historical Sociology and World History: Uneven and Combined Development over the Longue Durée*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Bieler, Andreas and Adam David Morton (2018) *Global Capitalism, Global War, Global Crisis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Teschke, Benno (2003) *The Myth of 1648: Class, Geopolitics and the Making of Modern International Relations*. London: Verso.
- Teschke, Benno (2014) "IR Theory, Historical Materialism, and the False Promise of International Historical Sociology," *Spectrum: Journal of Global Studies* 6(1): 1-66.

- Hobson, John M. (1998) "The Historical Sociology of the State and the State of Historical Sociology in International Relations," *Review of International Political Economy* 5(2): 284-320.
- Hobden, Stephen and John M. Hobson (eds.) (2002) *Historical Sociology of International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Buzan, Barry and Richard Little (2001) "Why International Relations Has Failed as an Intellectual Project and What to do About it," *Millennium* 30(1): 19-39.
- Lawson, George (2006) "The Promise of Historical Sociology in International Relations," *International Studies Review* 8(3): 397-423.
- Buzan, Barry and George Lawson (2014) "Rethinking Benchmark Dates in International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations* 20(2): 437-462.
- Buzan, Barry and George Lawson (2015) *The Global Transformation: History, Modernity and the Making of International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- "Symposium: Theory, History and the Global Transformation" (2016) *International Theory* 8(3): 422-522..
- Polanyi, Karl (1944) *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Tilly, Charles (1990) *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.
- Giddens, Anthony (1987) *The Nation-State and Violence: Volume Two of A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Mann, Michael (1986-2013) *The Sources of Social Power, Volumes I-IV*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Spruyt, Hendrik (1994) *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bhambra, Gurinder K. (2010) "Historical Sociology, International Relations and Connected Histories," *Cambridge Journal of International Affairs* 23(1): 127-143.
- Bhambra, Gurinder K. (2014) *Connected Sociologies*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Hammer, Ricarda and José Itzigsohn (2024) "Rethinking Historical Sociology: Learning from W.E.B. DuBois and the Black Radical Tradition," *DuBois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, First View, pp. 1-19, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X24000110>.

**Feb. 19**      Winter Break (no class)

## Feb. 26      Critical Theory: Neo-Gramscianism and the Frankfurt School

### *Required*

Cox, Robert W. (1981) "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 10(2): 126-155 [republished with a Postscript in Robert O. Keohane (ed.) (1986) *Neorealism and Its Critics*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 204-254].

Cox, Robert (1983) "Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 12(2): 162-175.

Germain, Randall and Michael Kenny (1998) "Engaging Gramsci: International Relations Theory and the New Gramscians," *Review of International Studies* 24(1): 3-21.

Devetak, Richard (2005) "Critical Theory," in Scott Burchill et al. (eds.) *Theories of International Relations*, third edition [or later]. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, ch. 7.

Linklater, Andrew (1996) "Citizenship and Sovereignty in the Post-Westphalian State," *European Journal of International Relations* 2(1): 77-103.

Anievas, Andreas (2005) "Critical Dialogues: Habermasian Social Theory and International Relations," *Politics* 25(3): 135-143.

### *Further Reading*

Bieler, Andreas and Adam David Morton (2004) "A Critical Theory Route to Hegemony, World Order and Historical Change: Neo-Gramscian Perspectives in International Relations," *Capital and Class* 28(1): 85-113.

Cox, Robert (1999) "Civil Society at the Turn of the Millennium: Prospects for an Alternative World Order," *Review of International Studies* 25(1): 3-28.

Murphy, Craig N. (1994) *International Organization and Industrial Change*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Stephen, Matthew D. (2014) "Rising Powers, Global Capitalism and Liberal Global Governance: A Historical-materialist Account of the BRICs Challenge," *European Journal of International Relations* 20(4): 912-938.

Lacher, Hannes and Julian Germann (2012) "Before Hegemony: Britain, Free Trade, and Nineteenth-Century World Order Revisited," *International Studies Review* 14(1): 99-124.

Green, Jeremy (2014) "Beyond Coxian Historicism: 19<sup>th</sup> Century World Order and the Promise of Uneven and Combined Development," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 42(2): 286-308.

Gill, Stephen (ed.) (1993) *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Gill, Stephen (1995) "The Global Panopticon? The Neoliberal State, Economic Life, and Democratic Surveillance," *Alternatives* 20(1): 1-49.
- Gill, Stephen and A. Claire Cutler (eds.) (2014) *New Constitutionalism and World Order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Special Issue "Gramsci and International Relations Theory" (2005) *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 8(4): 383-574.
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- Rupert, Mark (1998) "(Re-)Engaging Gramsci: A Response to Germain and Kenny," *Review of International Studies* 24(3): 427-434.
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- Worth, Owen (2008) "The Poverty and Potential of Gramscian Thought in International Relations," *International Politics* 45(6): 633-649.
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- Hoffmann, Mark (1987) "Critical Theory and the Inter-paradigm Debate," *Millennium* 16(2): 231-249.
- Ashley, Richard (1987) "The Geopolitics of Geopolitical Space: Toward a Critical Social Theory of International Politics," *Alternatives* 12(4): 403-434.
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- Linklater, Andrew (1996) "The Achievements of Critical Theory," in Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (eds.) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ch. 13.
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- Krause, Keith (1998) "Critical Theory and Security Studies: The Research Programme of 'Critical Security Studies'," *Cooperation and Conflict* 33(3): 298-333.
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- Special Issue "Critical International Relations Theory after 25 Years" (2007) *Review of International Studies* 33(S1).
- Weber, Martin (2005) "The Critical Social Theory of the Frankfurt School, and the 'Social Turn' in IR," *Review of International Studies* 31(1): 195-209. (See also the other contributions to a special section on the dialogue between Habermas and IR in the same issue.)
- Robinson, Fiona (2011) "Stop Talking and Listen: Discourse Ethics and Feminist Care Ethics in International Political Theory," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 39(3): 845-860.
- Levine, Daniel J. (2012) *Recovering International Relations: The Promise of Sustainable Critique*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brincat, Shannon (2012) "On the Methods of Critical Theory: Advancing the Project of Emancipation Beyond the Early Frankfurt School," *International Relations* 26(2): 218-245.
- Fluck, Matthew (2014) "The Best There Is? Communication, Objectivity and the Future of Critical International Relations Theory," *European Journal of International Relations* 20(1): 56-79.
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- Allen, Amy (2017) *The End of Progress: Decolonizing the Normative Foundations of Critical Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press.

## **Mar. 5            Feminism, Gender, and Queer IR Theory**

### *Required*

- Peterson, V. Spike (2004) "Feminist Theories Within, Invisible To, and Beyond IR," *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 10(2): 35-46.

- Sjoberg, Laura (2015) "Seeing Sex, Gender, and Sexuality in International Security," *International Journal* 70(3): 434-453.
- Griffin, Penny (2007) "Refashioning IPE: What and How Gender Analysis Teaches International (Global) Political Economy," *Review of International Political Economy* 14(4): 719-736.
- Patil, Vrushali (2013) "From Patriarchy to Intersectionality: A Transnational Feminist Assessment of How Far We've Really Come," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 38(4): 847-867.
- Robinson, Fiona (2013) "Global Care Ethics: Beyond Distribution, Beyond Justice," *Journal of Global Ethics* 9(2): 131-143.
- Richter-Montpetit, Melanie (2018) "Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Sex (in IR) But Were Afraid to Ask: The 'Queer Turn' in International Relations," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 46(2): 220-240.
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- Tickner, J. Ann (1988) "Hans Morgenthau's Principles of Political Realism: A Feminist Reformulation," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 12(3): 429-440.
- Tickner, J. Ann (1997) "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists," *International Studies Quarterly* 41(4): 611-632.
- Keohane, Robert O. (1998) "Beyond Dichotomy: Conversations between International Relations and Feminist Theory," *International Studies Quarterly* 42(1): 193-197.
- Keohane, Robert O. (1989) "International Relations Theory: Contributions of a Feminist Standpoint," *Millennium* 18(2): 245-253.
- Weber, Cynthia (1994) "Good Girls, Little Girls, and Bad Girls: Male Paranoia in Robert Keohane's Critique of Feminist International Relations," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 23(2): 337-349.
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke (2009) "Woman, the State, and War," *International Relations* 23(2): 289-303.
- Sjoberg, Laura (2012) "Gender, Structure, and War: What Waltz Couldn't See," *International Theory* 4(1): 1-38.
- Sjoberg, Laura (2013) *Gendering Global Conflict: Toward a Feminist Theory of War*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Blanchard, Eric M. (2003) "Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28(4): 1289-1312.
- Bedford, Kate and Shirin M. Rai (2010) "Feminists Theorize International Political Economy," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 36(1): 1-18.

- Rai, Shirin and Georgina Waylen (2013) *New Frontiers in Feminist Political Economy*. London: Routledge.
- Hutchings, Kimberley (2008) "1988 and 1998: Contrast and Continuity in Feminist International Relations," *Millennium* 37(1): 97-105.
- Enloe, Cynthia (1990) *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Enloe, Cynthia (2004) *The Curious Feminist: Searching for Women in a New Age of Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press (see esp. ch. 2 on the underestimation of power in IR).
- Tickner, J. Ann (1992) *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Sylvester, Christine (1994) *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
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- Locher, Birgit and Elisabeth Prügl (2001) "Feminism and Constructivism: World Apart or Sharing the Middle Ground?" *International Studies Quarterly* 45(1): 111-129.
- Carpenter, R. Charli (2002) "Gender Theory in World Politics: Contributions of a Nonfeminist Standpoint?" *International Studies Review* 4(3): 153-165.
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- Sjoberg, Laura (2006) "Gendered Realities and the Immunity Principle: Why Gender Analysis Needs Feminism," *International Studies Quarterly* 50(4): 889-910.
- Ackerly, Brooke and Jacqui True (2008) "Reflexivity in Practice: Power and Ethics in Feminist Research on International Relations," *International Studies Review* 10(4): 693-707.
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade (1988 [1986]) "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses," *Feminist Review* 30: 61-88.
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade (2003) "'Under Western Eyes' Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggles," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28(2): 499-535.
- Tickner, J. Ann and Jacqui True (2018) "A Century of International Relations Feminism: From World War I Women's Peace Pragmatism to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda," *International Studies Quarterly* 62(2): 221-233.
- Owens, Patricia and Katharina Rietzler (eds.) (2021) *Women's International Thought: A New History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Owens, Patricia et al. (2022) *Women's International Thought: Towards a New Canon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
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- Sjoberg, Laura (2012) "Toward Trans-gendering International Relations?" *International Political Sociology* 6(4): 337-354.
- Richter-Montpetit, Melanie (2007) "Empire, Desire and Violence: A Queer Transnational Feminist Reading of the Prisoner 'Abuse' in Abu Ghraib and the Question of 'Gender Equality'," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 9(1): 38-59.
- Forum "Queer International Relations" (2014) *International Studies Review* 16(4): 596-622.
- Weber, Cynthia (2015) "Why is there no Queer International Theory?" *European Journal of International Relations* 21(1): 27-51.
- Weber, Cynthia (2016) *Queer International Relations: Sovereignty, Sexuality and the Will to Knowledge*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Weber, Cynthia (2016) "Queer Intellectual Curiosity as International Relations Method: Developing Queer International Relations Theoretical and Methodological Frameworks," *International Studies Quarterly* 60(1): 11-23.

## **Mar. 12      Poststructuralism**

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- Hansen, Lene (2006) *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*. New York: Routledge, chs. 1-4 (and skim one of the chapters in part II).
- Cohn, Carol (1987) "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 12(4): 687-718.
- Bleiker, Roland and Amy Kay (2007) "Representing HIV/AIDS in Africa: Pluralist Photography and Local Empowerment," *International Studies Quarterly* 51(1): 139-163.

### *Further Reading*

- Ashley, Richard K. (1986 [1984]) "The Poverty of Neorealism," in Robert O. Keohane (ed.) *Neorealism and Its Critics*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 255-300 [originally published in *International Organization* 38(2): 225-261].
- Ashley, Richard (1988) "Untying the Sovereign State: A Double Reading of the Anarchy Problematique," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 17(2): 227-262.

- Der Derian, James and Michael J. Shapiro (eds.) (1989) *International/Intertextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Special Issue “Speaking the Language of Exile: Dissident Thought in International Studies” (1990) *International Studies Quarterly* 34(3):
- Milliken, Jennifer (1999) “The Study of Discourse in International Relations: A Critique of Research and Methods,” *European Journal of International Relations* 5(2): 225-254.
- Campbell, David (1998 [1992]) *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*, revised edition. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Walker, R.B.J. (1993) *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
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- Doty, Roxanne Lynn (1996) *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Bartelson, Jens (1995) *A Genealogy of Sovereignty*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weber, Cynthia (1995) *Simulating Sovereignty: Intervention, the State and Symbolic Exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Neumann, Iver B. (1996) “Self and Other in International Relations,” *European Journal of International Relations* 2(2): 139-174.
- Hansen, Lene (1997) “A Case for Seduction? Evaluating the Poststructuralist Conception of Security,” *Cooperation and Conflict* 32(4): 369-397.
- De Goede, Marieke (2003) “Beyond Economism in International Political Economy,” *Review of International Studies* 29(1): 79-97.
- Laffey, Mark (2004) “The Red Herring of Economism: A Reply to Marieke de Goede,” *Review of International Studies* 30(3): 459-468.
- De Goede, Marieke (2003) “Hawala Discourses and the War on Terrorist Finance,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 21(5): 513-532.
- De Goede, Marieke (ed.) (2006) *International Political Economy and Poststructural Politics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lundborg, Tom (2023) “The Anthropocene Rupture in International Relations: Future Politics and International Life,” *Review of International Studies* 49(4): 597-614.

**Mar. 19      International Political Sociology**

*Required*

Bigo, Didier (2017) "International Political Sociology: Rethinking the International Through Dynamics of Power," in Tugba Basaran et al. (eds.) *International Political Sociology: Transversal Lines*. London: Routledge, ch. 2. (Also see the other contributions to this volume.)

Buzan, Barry and Mathias Albert (2010) "Differentiation: A Sociological Approach to International Relations Theory," *European Journal of International Relations* 16(3): 315-337.

Walters, William and Jens Henrik Haahr (2005) "Governmentality and Political Studies," *European Political Science* 4(3): 288-300.

Barry, Andrew (2013) "The Translation Zone: Between Actor-Network Theory and International Relations," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 41(3): 413-429.

Owens, Patricia (2015) "Introduction: Historicizing the Social in International Thought" and "Method or Madness? Sociolatriy in International Thought," *Review of International Studies* 41(4): 651-674.

*Further Reading*

Lawson, George and Robbie Shilliam (2010) "Sociology and International Relations: Legacies and Prospects," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 23(1): 69-86.

Bigo, Didier and R.B.J. Walker (2007) "Political Sociology and the Problem of the International," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 35(3): 725-739.

Bigo, Didier and R.B.J. Walker (2007) "International, Political, Sociology," *International Political Sociology* 1(1): 1-5.

Owens, Patricia (2015) *Economy of Force: Counterinsurgency and the Historical Rise of the Social*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bigo, Didier (2011) "Pierre Bourdieu and International Relations: Power of Practices, Practices of Power," *International Political Sociology* 5(3): 225-258.

Walters, William (2002) "The Power of Inscription: Beyond Social Construction and Deconstruction in European Integration Studies," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 31(1): 83-108.

Connolly, William E. (2013) "The 'New Materialism' and the Fragility of Things," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 41(3): 399-412. (Also see other articles in this special issue.)

Mitchell, Timothy (2011) *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil*. London: Verso.

Selby, Jan (2022) "International/Inter-carbonic Relations," *International Relations* 36(3): 329-357.

- Best, Jacqueline and William Walters (eds.) (2013): "IPS Forum: 'Actor-Network Theory' and International Relationality: Lost (and Found) in Translation," *International Political Sociology* 7(3): 332-349.
- Acuto, Michele and Simon Curtis (eds.) (2014) *Reassembling International Theory: Assemblage Thinking and International Relations*. New York: Palgrave.
- Lippert, Randy (1999) "Governing Refugees: The Relevance of Governmentality to Understanding the International Refugee Regime," *Alternatives* 24(3): 295-328.
- Dillon, Michael and Julian Reid (2001) "Global Liberal Governance: Biopolitics, Security and War," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 30(1): 41-65.
- Larner, Wendy and William Walters (eds.) (2004) *Global Governmentality: Governing International Spaces*. New York: Routledge.
- Walters, William and Jens Henrik Haahr (2005) *Governing Europe: Discourse, Governmentality and European Integration*. London: Routledge.
- Walters, William (2012) *Governmentality: Critical Encounters*. New York: Routledge.
- Merlingen, Michael (2006) "Foucault and World Politics: Promises and Challenges of Extending Governmentality Theory to the European and Beyond," *Millennium* 35(1): 181-196.
- Jaeger, Hans-Martin (2007) "'Global Civil Society' and the Political Depoliticization of Global Governance," *International Political Sociology* 1(3): 257-277.
- Jaeger, Hans-Martin (2010) "UN Reform, Biopolitics, and Global Governmentality," *International Theory* 2(1): 50-86.
- Jaeger, Hans-Martin (2023) "Governmentality and International Relations: Critiques, Challenges, Genealogies," in William Walters and Martina Tazzioli (eds.) (2023) *Handbook on Governmentality*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 72-93.
- Neumann, Iver B. and Ole Jacob Sending (2010) *Governing the Global Polity: Practice, Mentality, Rationality*. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press.
- Selby, Jan (2007) "Engaging Foucault: Liberal Governance and the Limits of Foucauldian IR," *International Relations* 21(3): 324-345.
- Chandler, David (2009) "Critiquing Liberal Cosmopolitanism? The Limits of the Biopolitical Approach," *International Political Sociology* 3(1): 53-70.
- Joseph, Jonathan (2010) "The Limits of Governmentality: Social Theory and the International," *European Journal of International Relations* 16(2): 223-246.
- Rosenow, Doerthe (2009) "Decentering Global Power: The Merits of a Foucauldian Approach to International Relations," *Global Society* 23(4): 497-517. (See also the other contributions to this special issue on Foucault and IR.)

- Death, Carl (2013) "Governmentality at the Limits of the International: African Politics and Foucauldian Theory," *Review of International Studies* 39(3): 763-787.
- Forum: "Assessing the Impact of Foucault on International Relations" (2010) *International Political Sociology* 4(2): 196-215.
- Aradau, Claudia and Rens van Munster (2007) "Governing Terrorism Through Risk: Taking Precautions, (un)Knowing the Future," *European Journal of International Relations* 13(1): 89-115.
- De Larrinaga, Miguel and Marc G. Doucet (2008) Sovereign Power and the Biopolitics of Human Security," *Security Dialogue* 39(5): 517-537.
- Meyer, John et al. (1997) "World Society and the Nation-State," *American Journal of Sociology* 103(1): 144-181.
- Boli, John and George M. Thomas (eds.) (1999) *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Albert, Mathias (1999) "Observing World Politics: Luhmann's Systems Theory of Society and International Relations," *Millennium* 28(2): 239-265.
- Forum on Global Society (2009) *International Political Sociology* 3(1): 109-136.
- Albert, Matthias, Barry Buzan and Michael Zürn (eds.) (2013) *Bringing Sociology to International Relations: World Politics as Differentiation Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Albert, Mathias and Barry Buzan (2013) "International Relations Theory and the 'Social Whole': Encounters and Gaps Between IR and Sociology," *International Political Sociology* 7(2): 117-135.
- Albert, Mathias (2016) *A Theory of World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beck, Ulrich (2008) *World at Risk*. London: Polity.
- Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri (2000) *Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri (2004) *Multitude: War and Diplomacy in the Age of Empire*. New York: The Penguin Press.
- Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri (2009) *Commonwealth*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Barkawi, Tarak and Mark Laffey (2002) "Retrieving the Imperial: *Empire* and International Relations," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 31 (1): 109-127.
- Reid, Julian (2005) "The Biopolitics of the War on Terror: A Critique of the 'Return to Imperialism' Thesis in International Relations," *Third World Quarterly* 26(2): 237-252.



**Mar. 26 Eurocentrism, Postcolonialism, and Race**

*\*Research outline presentations at the beginning of class\**

*Required*

Seth, Sanjay (2013) "Introduction" (pp. 1-3 only) and "Postcolonial Theory and the Critique of International Relations," in Seth (ed.) *Postcolonial Theory and International Relations: A Critical Introduction*. London: Routledge, ch. 1. (See also the other contributions to this volume.)

Barkawi, Tarak and Mark Laffey (2006) "The Postcolonial Moment in Security Studies," *Review of International Studies* 32(2): 329-352.

Bhabra, Gurinder K. (2021) "Colonial Global Economy: Towards a Theoretical Reorientation of Political Economy," *Review of International Political Economy* 28(2): 307-322.

Sabaratnam, Meera (2020) "Is IR Theory White? Racialised Subject-Positioning in Three Canonical Texts," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 49(1): 3-31.

Brown, Owen R. (2024) "The Underside of Order: Race in the Constitution of International Order," *International Organization* 78(1): 38-66.

*Further Reading*

Krishna, Sankaran (1993) "The Importance of Being Ironic: A Postcolonial View on Critical International Relations Theory," *Alternatives* 18(3): 385-417.

Darby, Phillip and A.J. Paolini (1994) "Bridging International Relations and Postcolonialism," *Alternatives* 19(3): 371-397.

Seth, Sanjay (2011) "Postcolonial Theory and the Critique of International Relations," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 40(1): 167-183.

Sabaratnam, Meera (2011) "IR in Dialogue ... but Can We Change the Subjects? A Typology of Decolonising Strategies for World Politics," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 39(3): 781-803.

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

Inayatullah, Naeem and David L. Blaney (2004) *International Relations and the Problem of Difference*. New York: Routledge.

Epstein, Charlotte et al. (2014) "Forum: Interrogating the Use of Norms in International Relations: Postcolonial Perspectives," *International Theory* 6(2): 293-390.

Barkawi, Tarak and Mark Laffey (1999) "The Imperial Peace: Democracy, Force and Globalization," *European Journal of International Relations* 5(4): 403-434.

Grovogui, Siba N. (2002) "Regimes of Sovereignty: International Morality and the African Condition," *European Journal of International Relations* 8(3): 315-338.

- Kapoor, Ilan (2002) "Capitalism, Culture, Agency: Dependency versus Postcolonial Theory," *Third World Quarterly* 23 (4): 647-664.
- Anghie, Antony (2006) "The Evolution of International Law: Colonial and Postcolonial Realities," *Third World Quarterly* 27(5): 739-753.
- Shani, Giorgio (2008) "Toward a Post-Western IR: The *Umma*, *Khalsa Panth*, and Critical International Relations Theory," *International Studies Review* 10(4): 722-734.
- Laffey, Mark and Jutta Weldes (2008) "Decolonizing the Cuban Missile Crisis," *International Studies Quarterly* 52(3): 555-577.
- Forum: "Edward Said and International Relations" (2007) *Millennium* 36(1): 77-145.
- Hobson, John M. (2007) "Is Critical Theory Always for the White West and for Western Imperialism? Beyond Westphalian Towards a Post-Racist Critical IR," *Review of International Studies* 33(1): 91-116.
- Hobson, John M. (2012) *The Eurocentric Conception of World Politics: Western International Theory 1760-2010*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Forum "Hobson's *The Eurocentric Conception of World Politics*" (2014) *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 42(2): 448-514.
- Critical Dialogues "Race and International Relations – What's in a Word? A Debate Around John Hobson's *The Eurocentric Conception of World Politics*" (2016) *Postcolonial Studies* 19(2): 168-226.
- Kayaoglu, Turan (2010) "Westphalian Eurocentrism in International Relations Theory," *International Studies Review* 12(2): 193-217.
- Hall, Martin and John M. Hobson (2010) "Liberal International Theory: Eurocentric but not always Imperialist?" *International Theory* 2(2): 210-245.
- Forum on Race and International Relations (2009), *International Studies Perspectives* 10(1): 77-107.
- Special Section "Confronting the Global Colour Line: Space, Race and Imperial Hierarchy in World Politics" (2013) *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26(1): 1-158.
- Henderson, Errol (2013) "Hidden in Plain Sight: Racism in International Relations Theory," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26(1): 71-92.
- Lynch, Cecelia (2019) "Race and the Moral Aporia of International Relations," *International Relations* 33(2): 267-285.
- Anievas, Andreas, Nivi Manchanda and Robbie Shilliam (eds.) (2014) *Race and Racism in International Relations: Confronting the Global Colour Line*. London: Routledge.
- Vitalis, Robert (2015) *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Maass, Richard W. (2023) "Racialization and International Security," *International Security* 48(2): 91-126.

Presidential Special Issue: Real Struggles, High Stakes: Cooperation, Contention, and Creativity (2024) "Forum: Real Struggles, High Stakes of Race, Racism, and International Studies," *International Studies Review* 26(3).

Getachew, Adom (2019) *Worldmaking After Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Teo, Terri-Anne and Elisa Wynne-Hughes (eds.) (2020) *Postcolonial Governmentalities: Rationalities, Violences and Contestations*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.

Special Section: "The Imperial Voice in Western Political Thought" (2003) *Political Theory* 31(2): 171-264.

Jahn, Beate (2005) "Kant, Mill, and Illiberal Legacies in International Affairs," *International Organization* 59(1): 177-207.

Moloney, Pat (2011) "Hobbes, Savagery, and International Anarchy," *American Political Science Review* 105(1): 189-204.

DuBois, W.E.B. (1920) "The Souls of White Folk," in *Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil*. Mineola, NY: Dover, pp. 17-29.

Fanon, Frantz (1963) *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.

Said, Edward W. (1994 [1978]) *Orientalism*, second edition (with new preface). New York: Vintage Books.

## **Apr. 2            Global IR, Decoloniality/Pluriversality, and Postfoundationalism**

*\*Research outline presentations at the beginning of class\**

### *Required*

Acharya, Amitav (2014) "Global International Relations (IR) and Regional Worlds: A New Agenda for International Studies," *International Studies Quarterly* 58(4): 647-659.

Mignolo, Walter (2011) *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*. Durham: Duke University Press, Preface and Introduction.

Rojas, Cristina (2016) "Contesting the Colonial Logics of the International: Toward a Relational Politics for the Pluriverse," *International Political Sociology* 10(4): 369-382.

Querejazu, Amaya (2016) "Encountering the Pluriverse: Looking for Alternatives in Other Worlds," *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* 59(2): 1-16.

Prozorov, Sergei (2013) "What is the 'World' in World Politics: Heidegger, Badiou and Void Universalism," *Contemporary Political Theory* 12(2): 102-122.

### *Further Reading*

Acharya, Amitav (2011) "Dialogue and Discovery: In Search of International Relations Theories Beyond the West," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 39(3): 619-637.

Acharya, Amitav and Barry Buzan (2019) *The Making of Global International Relations: Origins and Evolution of IR at Its Centenary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barnett, Michael and Ayşe Zarakol (2023) "Global International Relations and the Essentialism Trap," *International Theory* 15(3): 428-444. (Also see the other contributions to the Symposium on Global IR in this issue.)

Bhambra, Gurinder (2014) "Postcolonial and Decolonial Dialogues," *Postcolonial Studies* 17(2): 15-21.

Shaw, Karena (2002) "Indigeneity and the International," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 31(1): 55-81.

Shilliam, Robbie (ed.) (2010) *International Relations and Non-Western Thought: Imperialism, Colonialism and Investigations of Global Modernity*. London: Routledge.

Shilliam, Robbie (2015) *The Black Pacific: Anti-colonial Struggles and Oceanic Connections*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Special Issue "Globalization and the De-colonial Option" (2007) *Cultural Studies* 21(2-3): 155-514. [Also available as Mignolo, Walter D. and Arturo Escobar (eds.) (2013) *Globalization and the Decolonial Option*. New York: Routledge.]

Conway, Janet and Jakeet Singh (2011) "Radical Democracy in Global Perspective: Notes from the Pluriverse," *Third World Quarterly* 32(4): 689-706.

Blaney, David L. and Arlene B. Tickner (2017) "Worlding, Ontological Politics and the Possibility of a Decolonial IR," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 45(3): 293-311.

Escobar, Arturo (2018) *Designs for the Pluriverse: Radical Interdependence, Autonomy, and the Making of Worlds*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Escobar, Arturo (2020) *Pluriversal Politics: The Real and the Possible*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Tucker, Karen (2018) "Unraveling Coloniality in International Relations: Knowledge, Relationality, and Strategies for Engagement," *International Political Sociology* 12(3): 215-232.

Mignolo, Walter D. and Catherine E. Walsh (2018) *Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Temin, David Meyer (2024) "A Decolonial Wrong Turn: Walter Mignolo's Epistemic Politics," *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical and Democratic Theory*, Early View, pp. 1-15, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8675.12744>.

- Reiter, Bernd (ed.) (2018) *Constructing the Pluriverse: The Geopolitics of Knowledge*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Hutchings, Kimberly (2019) "Decolonizing Global Ethics: Thinking with the Pluriverse," *Ethics & International Affairs* 33(2): 115-125.
- Kurki, Milja (2022) "Relational Revolution and Relationality in IR: New Conversations," *Review of International Studies* 48(5): 821-836. (Also see other contributions to this special issue.)
- Parasram, Ajay (2023) "Pluriversal Sovereignty and the State of IR," *Review of International Studies* 49(3): 356-367.
- Edkins, Jenny (1999) *Poststructuralism and International Relations: Bringing the Political Back In*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, ch. 1.
- Mouffe, Chantal (2005) *On the Political*. New York: Routledge.
- Mouffe, Chantal (2013) *Agonistics: Thinking the World Politically*. London: Verso.
- Jaeger, Hans-Martin (2014) "Neither Cosmopolitanism nor Multipolarity: The Political Beyond Global Governmentality," in Japhy Wilson and Erik Swyngedouw (eds.) *The Post-Political and its Discontents: Spaces of Depoliticisation, Spectres of Radical Politics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 208-228.
- Prozorov, Sergei (2014) *Ontology and World Politics: Void Universalism I*. London: Routledge.
- Prozorov, Sergei (2014) *Theory of the Political Subject: Void Universalism II*. London: Routledge.
- Nabers, Dirk (2015) *A Poststructuralist Discourse Theory of Global Politics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Paipais, Vassilios (2017) *Political Ontology and International Political Thought: Voiding a Pluralist World*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Caraus, Tamara (ed.) (2016) *Re-grounding Cosmopolitanism: Towards a Post-foundational Cosmopolitanism*. London: Routledge.
- FitzGerald, Maggie (2023) "Rethinking the Political in the Pluriverse: The Ethico-political Significance of Care," *Journal of International Political Theory* 19(3): 252-268.

## Political Science Course Outline Appendix

### REQUESTS FOR ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATION

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request the processes are as follows:

#### **Student Mental Health**

As a university student, you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

#### **Emergency Resources (on and off campus):**

<https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

#### **Carleton Resources:**

Mental Health and Wellbeing:

<https://carleton.ca/wellness/>

Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>

Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>

Academic Advising Centre (AAC):

<https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>

Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS):

<https://carleton.ca/csas/>

Equity & Inclusivity Communities:

<https://carleton.ca/equity/>

#### **Off Campus Resources:**

Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>

Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>

Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389,

<https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>

ood2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>

The Walk-In Counselling Clinic:

<https://walkincounselling.com>

#### **Academic consideration for medical or other extenuating circumstances:**

Students must contact the instructor(s) of their absence or inability to complete the academic deliverable within the predetermined timeframe due to medical or other extenuating circumstances. For a range of medical or other extenuating circumstances, students may use the online self-declaration form and

where appropriate, the use of medical documentation. This policy regards the accommodation of extenuating circumstances for both short-term and long-term periods and extends to all students enrolled at Carleton University. Students should also consult the [Course Outline Information on Academic Accommodations](#) for more information. Detailed information about the procedure for requesting academic consideration can be found [here](#).

**Pregnancy:** Contact your Instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, please contact Equity and Inclusive Communities (EIC) at [equity@carleton.ca](mailto:equity@carleton.ca) or by calling (613) 520-5622 to speak to an Equity Advisor.

**Religious obligation:** Contact your Instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details [click here](#).

#### **Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities:**

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, please request your accommodations for this course through the [Ventus Student Portal](#) at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). Requests made within two weeks will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. For final exams, the deadlines to request accommodations are published in the [University Academic Calendars](#). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally scheduled exam (if applicable).

**Survivors of Sexual Violence:** As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working, and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and its survivors are supported through

academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: <https://carleton.ca/equity/sexual-assault-support-services>.

**Accommodation for Student Activities:** Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation will be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist.

#### PETITIONS TO DEFER

Students unable to write a final examination because of illness or other circumstances beyond their control may apply within **three working days** to the Registrar's Office for permission to write a deferred examination. The request must be fully supported by the appropriate documentation. Only deferral petitions submitted to the Registrar's Office will be considered. [See Undergraduate Calendar, Article 4.3](#)

#### INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s). Permissibility of submitting substantially the same piece of work more than once for academic credit. If group or collaborative work is expected or allowed, provide a clear and specific description of how and to what extent you consider collaboration to be acceptable or appropriate, especially in the completion of written assignments.

#### WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT ACADEMIC PENALTY

The last day to withdraw from full fall term and fall/winter courses with a full fee adjustment is **September 30<sup>th</sup>, 2024**. The last day for a fee adjustment when withdrawing from winter term courses or the winter portion of two-term courses is **January 31, 2025**. The last day for academic withdrawal from full fall and late fall courses is **November 15, 2024**. The last day for academic withdrawal from full

winter, late winter, and fall/winter courses is **March 15, 2025**.

**WDN:** For students who withdraw after the full fee adjustment date in each term the term WDN will be a permanent notation that appears on their official transcript.

#### OFFICIAL FINAL EXAMINATION PERIOD

Fall courses: **December 9-21, 2024**. Winter and Fall/Winter courses: **April 11-26, 2025** (may include evenings & Saturdays or Sundays)

**For more information on the important dates and deadlines of the academic year, consult the [Carleton 2024-2025 Calendar](#).**

#### GRADING SYSTEM

The grading system is described in the Undergraduate Calendar section [5.4](#).

#### ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Academic integrity is an essential element of a productive and successful career as a student. Students are required to familiarize themselves with the university's [Academic Integrity Policy](#).

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#### PLAGIARISM

The University Senate defines plagiarism as "*presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own.*" This can include:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else, including the unauthorized use of generative AI tools (e.g., ChatGPT);
- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, and presenting these as one's own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's works and/or failing to use quotation marks;

- handing in "*substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.*"

Plagiarism is a serious offence that cannot be resolved directly by the course's instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They can include a final grade of "F" for the course.

**RESOURCES (613-520-2600, phone ext.)**

Department of Political Science (2777)	B640
Loeb	
Registrar's Office (3500)	300 Tory
Centre for Student Academic Success (3822)	4 <sup>th</sup> floor
Library	
Academic Advising Centre (7850)	302 Tory
Paul Menton Centre (6608)	501
Nideyinàn	
Career Services (6611)	401 Tory