Identity and Foreign Policy: Around the World in Around Eighty Readings

Prepared by Srdjan Vucetic (uOttawa) for Oxford Bibliographies in International Relations

17-Dec-2017 Draft, 7300 words

Introduction

One way of looking at the essence of society and politics is through efforts to claim and disclaim, and otherwise make and unmake, who we are, who they and others are, were, or aspire to be, in a given time and space. The simplest label for this approach is 'identity'—a convenient shorthand for a large but often sparsely connected scholarship. In Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA or FP), a subfield of International Relations (IR), this scholarship emerged in the 1990s under the rubric of constructivism. "Conventional constructivists" developed frameworks for understanding how identities guide thought and action, particularly focusing on how state identities inform foreign policy processes and how international structures shape the formation of state identity. In doing so, conventional constructivists engaged, and were engaged by, FPA researchers working in more established traditions. Signaling fidelity to the relational, multitudinous, never-settled ontology of identity formation, "critical constructivists" instead opted for the concept of "identification" to analyze the co-constitution of foreign policy practices and political subjectivities. Vigorous debates between and within the proponents of these approaches, on top of many critiques of constructivism, have greatly increased and refined the theoretical and empirical contributions on identity and foreign policy. Latest research on how political constructions of us, them, and others shape, and are shaped by, foreign policy practices routinely mobilizes ever-newer concepts, theories and methodological packages.

Part I, "Shortcuts," brings together key textbook chapters and literature reviews. Part II, "Fundamentals," annotates sources that have proven to be exceptionally influential in setting this research agenda. Loosely structured by IR's idea of regions, Part III is a world tour of sorts, covering "Africa and the Middle East," "Asia," "The Americas," "Europe," "The Post-Soviet Space," and "Comparative" and with reference to both acclaimed and more overlooked contributions to scholarship. Part IV is small selection of works representing "New Directions."

Part I Shortcuts--General Overview (10 sources)

Consisting only of articles and chapters, this section is meant for a busy student. Williams 1998 is a classic take on the liberal underpinnings of much identity theorizing in IR. Zehufss 2001 takes issue with Alexander Wendt's influential conceptualization of identity. Wæver 2002 is an agenda-setting piece on discourse-theoretic and discourse-analytic approaches to identity in IR, Berekenskoetter 2010 offers a critical review of the literature, arguing that identity does not have a "core" meaning and that the uses and abuses of the concept are embedded in different and often incommensurate theoretical and normative positions, rendering it quintessentially contested. Kowert 2010 offers a discussion on state identity and foreign policy from a perspective of constructivist IR, covering its radical, critical, rule-oriented, conventional and other hues. Epstein 2011 pokes holes in conventional constructivism while introducing a Lacanian perspective. Schemenauer 2012 considers the problems with the modern idea of pre-constituted, sovereign subject while laying out an alternative approach. Drawing on his two book-length critiques of the use and abuse of the concept of identity in IR and beyond, Lebow 2016 does something similar. Vucetic 2017 takes another long look at the literature on the identity-foreign policy nexus, including its origins, evolution, and main debates. Rumelili and Todd 2017 is a helpful discussion of how to study the processes of identity change.

Williams, Michael C. 1998. "Identity and the Politics of Security." *European Journal of International Relations* 4, no. 2: 204-25.

William argues that we cannot understand contemporary debates over the nature of security without due attention to identity and, in turn, to what the author calls the "liberal sensibility."

Further contends that a conception of identity has been constitutive of all major IR theories, partly because of their proponents' desire to remove their conceptualization of politics and security.

Zehfuss, Maja. 2001. "Constructivism and Identity: A Dangerous Liaison." *European Journal of International Relations*, 7, no. 3: 315-48.

An instructive foray into the debate between critical and conventional constructivism mentioned in the introduction, focusing especially on Alexander Wendt's conceptualization of identity. Zehfuss develops an alternative framework for constructivist theorizing of the identity-foreign policy nexus, which she then illustrates it with reference to Germany's 'Never again war' discourse and the German military deployments in the Balkans in the 1990s.

Wæver, Ole. 2002. "Identity, Communities and Foreign Policy: Discourse Analysis as a Foreign Policy Theory," in Hansen, Lene and Ole Wæver, eds., *European Integration and National Identity: The Challenge of the Nordic States* pp. 20– 49.

The founder of securitization theory in IR and his influential discourse-analytic framework for investigating the relationship between identities and foreign policy. Discourse, argues Wæver, can explain broad policy patterns but not details. (The volume remains a very useful text for understanding the foreign policy of Denmark, Finland, Sweden and Norway.)

Berenskoetter, Felix. 2010. *The International Studies Encyclopedia*, volume 6, "Identity in International Relations." Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Building on years of experience of teaching the subject at SOAS—his long syllabi from the 2010s are all available online—, Berenskoetter provides a lucid account of identity-based research in IR, suggesting in the end that an identity "perspective" or "lens" allows scholars to see heretofore overlooked and hidden of aspects international politics. Another call for focusing on identification over identity.

Kowert, Paul A. 2010. *The International Studies Encyclopedia*, "Foreign Policy and the Social Construction of State Identity." volume 6, "Identity in International Relations." Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Rather than promoting naïve state centrism, Kowert argues that identity-based research enables researchers to study both concrete policies and the constitution of inside/outside dynamics. The author discusses key elements and frustrations in defining state identity and offers a helpful two-by-two categorization of constructivist research on the subject.

Schemenauer, Ellie C. 2012. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*, "Gender, Identity, and the Security Stat." DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.19

An overview of feminist insights about the co-constitution of gender identities and the security state covering a number of literatures from the early 1980s-vintage work of Judith Hicks Stiehm, Jean Bethke Elshtain, Cynthia Enloe, and Carol Cohn onwards. Argues the subject should be viewed as that which is produced through practices of corporeality/embodiment, social processes, discourse, institutions and other power relations, including knowledges applied to it.

Epstein, Charlotte. 2011. "Who Speaks? Discourse, the Subject and the Study of Identity in International Politics." *European Journal of International Relations* 17, no. 2: 327-350.

Like Wæver, Epstein makes a convincing case for the discursive approach to the study of identity, arguing that state identities can be studied so long as we do not presume the state has a unitary self. Rather than borrowing psychological insights for theorizing the Self, Epstein urges fellow IR-ists to read Jacques Lacan more closely, particularly his distinction between subject-positions and subjectivities.

Lebow, R.N. 2016. "Identity." In *Concepts in World Politics*, edited by Felix Berenskoetter, 73-87. Los Angeles: Sage.

Tracing origins of identity from early modern Europe to the modern-era tension between our reflexive and social selves, the author reviews several inherent and perhaps fatal limitations in the more recent thinking about identity at the collective level, such as, research on nationalism, or, in constructivist IR, on ontological security. Rather than attributing ontological standing or causal powers to identity, Lebow advises students to theorize affiliations, roles, bodies and other processes of identification.

Vucetic, Srdjan. 2017. "Identity and Foreign Policy," Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.435

Looking at "trading zone" between different forms of constructivism on the one hand and various FPA traditions on the other, the author considers the differences in the assumptions and arguments associated with different approaches, while also addressing select methodological issues. Concludes with a discussion of what he thinks are good future research avenues: practices of identification, non-European and non-Western conceptual and empirical approaches, and greater reflexivity and pluralism over causation.

Rumelili, Bahar, and Jennifer Todd. 2017. "Paradoxes of Identity Change: Integrating Macro, Meso, and Micro Research on Identity in Conflict Processes." *Politics* 38, no. 1: 3-17.

A discussion of what the authors call three paradoxes: identity/difference, continuity/change, and consensus/contestation. Articles in the special issue showcase ways of analyzing identity change, or the continual challenges of constituting unity and identity, of securitizing difference, of adaptation to changes in the Other, and of continuity out of multiplicity and hybridity.

Part II Fundamentals – General Overview (10 sources)

Shocked by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, mainstream IR and FPA turned to ideas offered by “dissidents.” One of those ideas was that that foreign policy is fundamentally about Self/Other relations. The ontological, epistemological and normative status of this claim continues to be debated, as though the corollary binaries: domestic/foreign, inside/outside, linear/cyclical, fiction/nonfiction, and change/continuity. The following ten books and edited volumes cover the fundamentals of this debate. An interpretation of American political development that covers everything from the demonization of the “Indians,” women, working classes, blacks and Hispanics and communists, to the Cold War with the Soviets, Campbell 1992 has had a lasting influence on the field. The same goes for Walker 1993, which is a profound critique of the theretofore dominant ‘states under anarchy’ model. Ringmar 1996 and the volumes edited by Katzenstein 1996 and by Lapid and Kratochwil 1996 were all agenda-setting for the first generation of researchers working on identity and foreign policy, as was, to a lesser extent, the Kubalkova 2001 volume. Though centered on culture rather than identity, Hudson 1997 is a useful collection of chapters for researchers working with either concept. Methodological fundamentals are addressed in Hansen 2006, Klotz and Lynch 2007, and Abdelal et al 2009.

Campbell, David. 1992. *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Exploring the role of Otherness in nation-building processes and in foreign policy practices, Campbell argues that discourses of danger are essential to both securing state identity and legitimizing state power. (The second edition, published in 1998, includes a still relevant epilogue discussing the disciplinary politics of theorizing identity.)

Walker, R. B. J. 1993. *Inside/outside: International Relations as Political Theory*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

This classic penned by one of the aforementioned dissidents argues that the building blocs of IR theory, such as state sovereignty and national security, function to limit political possibility. Rather than reflecting the world, these conceptual visions help constitute a world of separation, exclusion, oppression and violence—that is, a world of states under anarchy in which one strives for peace, order and good governance only on the inside.

Ringmar, Erik. 1996. *Identity, Interest and Action: A Cultural Explanation of Sweden's Intervention in the Thirty Years' War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Demonstrates that identity is ontologically and logically prior to interest by explaining the Swedish intervention in the Thirty Years War in 1630. A powerful critique of rational choice theories of action in IR, Ringmar's book also jump-started a constructivist research program on recognition.

Katzenstein, Peter J. 1996. *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

A seminal collection that combines an influential theoretical chapter by Ronald L. Jepperson, Alexander Wendt and Katzenstein and studies of state identity covering the late Soviet Union, interwar France, all "civilized" states, all "modern" states, postwar Germany and Japan, Maoist China, NATO member states, and Middle East states.

Lapid, Yosef., and Kratochwil, Friedrich V. 1996. *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory*. Critical Perspectives on World Politics. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Another seminal collection of chapters by IR scholars on identity and nearby concepts. Claiming a tradition of thought that goes back to Thucydides, the editors set the stage for insightful reflections on realist, pragmatist, postcolonial, poststructuralist, feminist and other insights on identity.

Hudson, Valerie. 1997. *Culture and Foreign Policy*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Edited by one of the leading FPA scholars, the volume looks at the twentieth century research program on culture and foreign policy. While most chapters focus on national role conceptions, strategic culture, and operational code analysis, the concept of identity receives some treatment as well, especially in Sanjoy Banerjee's chapter on how Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohammed Ali Jinnah constructed late colonial India.

Kubalkova, Vendulka. 2001. *Foreign Policy in a Constructed World*. International Relations in a Constructed World. Armonk: Taylor and Francis.

Yet another agenda-setting edited volume. After introducing the reader to key concepts and theoretical insights in constructivist FPA, the book presents five empirical primers—the Cold War, Francoism, the two Chinas, inter-American relations, and Islam in U.S. foreign policy.

Hansen, Lene. 2006. *Security as Practice Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*. New International Relations. New York: Routledge, 2006.

A two-for-one: a novel poststructuralist framework for understanding the relationship between identity and foreign policy and a discourse analytic how-to. Hansen offers a convincing investigation of the Western debate on the Bosnian war covering everything from Rebecca West's travelogues to UK House of Commons and US Senate debates. Views identity and foreign policy as mutually constitutive rather than causal.

Klotz, Audie, and Lynch, Cecelia. 2007. *Strategies for Research in Constructivist International Relations*. International Relations in a Constructed World. New York: M.E. Sharpe.

An excellent introduction of constructivist method/ologies in IR. The authors lay out key concepts and tools through chapters on, respectively, philosophy, structure, and agency, and identity. The book also provides a good critical overview of the first generation of scholarship on identity and foreign policy.

Abdelal, Rawi, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston, and Rose McDermott. 2009. *Measuring Identity: A Guide for Social Scientists*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

A highly influential volume in which leading scholars from a variety of disciplines discuss the conceptual and methodological challenges associated with approaching identity as a variable. Best read in conjunction with the previous two books.

Part III Regions—General Overview

This tour of the world begins with a selection of studies located in "Africa and the Middle East," which for this purpose serves as a single region. The American and Asian regions come next, followed by "The Europes," another IR moniker. The next stop is "the post-Soviet space," which is classified as a separate region because foreign policy specialists writing on the countries of, and relations in, the former Soviet Union have developed a special theoretical relationship with identity (two studies in this section also cover Poland). The last category, called "Comparative," assembles examples of this literature that do not fit under any of the above categories.

Africa and the Middle East (6 sources)

Telhami, Shibley and Michael N. Barnett. 2002. *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East*. New York: Cornell University Press, 2002.

A path-breaking collection that brings together experts on Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, and Syria who investigate how state and national identities are formed, contested, and manifested and with what impact for concrete foreign policy behaviour.

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

Spanning the period from the early colonial era to the last war, Dunn examines how the outsiders' racist discourses constructed Congo's state identity to the detriment of the Congolese. (A discussion of how the concept of identity has developed and become important in IR inspired Dunn to later co-edit an important volume with Patricia Geoff on the subject that brought together poststructuralist, postcolonial, pragmatist, and feminist scholars).

Mustapha, Abdul Raufu. 2008. "The Three Faces of Nigeria's Foreign Policy: Nationhood, Identity and External Relations" In *Gulliver's Troubles: Nigeria's Foreign Policy after the Cold War*, edited by Adekeye Adebajo and Raufu Mustapha. University of KwaZulu: Natal Press.

Taking into consideration the conceptual and theoretical relationship between national and other identities on the one and foreign policy on the other, Mustapha shows how British colonialism, the end of the Cold War and elite manipulation of religion and ethnicity for political ends conditions contemporary Nigerian foreign policy-making. Mustapha contributes the concluding chapter to the volume as well.

Holliday, Shabnam J. 2011. *Defining Iran: Politics of Resistance*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing.

An investigation of the content and contestation of the diverse discourses on Iranian national identity that covers everything from the master concepts of as *Īrānīyat* and *Islāmīyat* to contemporary civic identifications. Looking at the texts left behind key figures in Iranian history, Holliday shows how the contingencies of history and accompanying constructions of internal (Musaddeqists) and external (Zionists) others impacted Iran's identity-formation processes. The book helpfully draws attention the confluence of international and interlingual relations and the

need to understand the variation in the meanings of the state, nation, culture, civilization and other key concepts.

Akbarzadeh, Shahram, and James Barry. 2016. "State Identity in Iranian Foreign Policy." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 43, no. 4: 613-29.

Drawing on the concept of corporate identity, the authors consider cases where elements of Iranian nationalism collide with each other and their implications for Iranian foreign policy. The article also demonstrates how to profitably deploy elite interviews in this type of analysis.

David R Black and David J Hornsby. 2017. *South African foreign policy: Identities, intentions, and directions*, edited by London and New York, Routledge.

Composed of six case-study chapters, the volume situates post-apartheid South Africa's "foreign policy identity" in the context of the concept and theories of middlepowerhood. The main argument is that South African national and foreign policy identities shape, and are simultaneously shaped by, regional considerations, multilateralist impulses, the demand for global governance reform and the idea and practice of "moral leadership."

The Americas—General Overview (8 sources)

Cochrane, James D., Raymond Taras, and Roland H. Ebel. 1991. *Political Culture and Foreign Policy in Latin America: Case Studies from the Circum-Caribbean*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Designed and executed before the advent of the concept of identity, the research presented in this book centers on an "analytical model" for analyzing the impact of political culture on international politics. Case studies assess the degree of consistency between what the authors call Iberian or Hispanic political culture in the domestic and international realms, with an eye on the role of the United States in the constitution of both. A useful reference point for those interested in the (im)possibility of bridges between traditional FPA and more contemporary constructivist approaches.

Bukovansky, M. 1997. "American Identity and Neutral Rights from Independence to the War of 1812." *International Organization*, 51, no. 2: 209–43.

Another early constructivist take on the genesis of state interest. Considering the early development of neutral rights policy in the United States, Bukovansky brings together the concepts of roles and legitimacy to provide a compelling identity-based explanation of a theretofore puzzling case of foreign policy continuity.

Weldes, Jutta. 1999. *Constructing National Interests: The United States and the Cuban Missiles Crisis*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Considers how foreign policy crises are made and unmade, and with what effects for "the national interest." Drawing on social theory and on concepts from cultural studies, Weldes shows how the discursive construction of the threat of Soviet missiles in Cuba and the Cold War in general enabled a particular and precarious U.S. state identity. A classic of critical constructivist IR.

Agathangelou, Anna M., and L. H. M. Ling. 2004. "Power, Borders, Security, Wealth: Lessons of Violence and Desire from September 11." *International Studies Quarterly* 48, no. 3: 517-38

According to the authors, both America's "war on terror" and Al Qaeda's "jihad" are led by hypermasculine leaders who militarize daily life and transnationalize violence and insecurity in the name of national or communal security. The analysis shows how colonial, national, class and gender identities are implicated in this struggle (and how an alternative world politics is possible).

Santa Cruz, Arturo. 2012. *Mexico-United States Relations : The Semantics of Sovereignty*. New York: Routledge.

The book's main argument is that sovereignty is negotiable and in fact constantly negotiated across issue areas. In addition to foregrounding the "everyday" perspective, the author's offers new insights about the role of "defining moments" on the evolution of sovereignty and identity discourses in the Mexico-United States relationship since 1920.

Lima, Laura. 2014. *Worlding Brazil: Intellectuals, Identity and Security*. London: Routledge.

Drawing on Gramsci and Jessé Souza, Lima and considers the role of intellectuals in the development of knowledge on security in Brazil from 1930 to 2010 and the implications of this process for national identity formation. The book offers key insight into both peaceful and revisionist elements of Brazilian foreign policy.

Cha, Taesuh. 2015. "The Formation of American Exceptional Identities: A Three-tier Model of the "standard of Civilization" in US Foreign Policy." *European Journal of International Relations* 21, no. 4: 743-67.

Another interpretation of the early period of American political development from the perspective of identity and foreign policy. Revisiting the colonial-era concept of the standard of civilization, Cha considers the role of the USA's two significant others — the European empires and the Native Americans — in the genesis of American liberal internationalism and popular imperialism.

Krebs, Ronald R. 2015. *Narrative and the Making of US National Security*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

National security narratives are often said to rest on national identity narratives. Looking at US debates over national security from the 1930s to the 2000s primarily from a causal perspective, Krebs explains how national security narratives rise and fall and with what effects for foreign policies. An instant classic.

The Asias—General Overview (10 sources)

Ollapally, Deepa. 2005. "Foreign Policy and Identity Politics." In *International Relations in India: Theorizing the Region and Nation*, edited by Kanti P. Bajpai, Siddharth Mallavarapu, Kanti P. Bajpai, and Siddharth Mallavarapu, 117-141. New Delhi: Orient Longman.

Originally published in 1998, Ollapally's chapter looks at the inconsistencies of realist explanations of the Iran-Iraq War and proposes an alternative explanation based on the concept of politicised identity or, in this case, Iran's Islamic worldview. Given the proliferation of research on "the influence of state identity on foreign policy," this plausibility probe has proven to be plausible.

Amitav Acharya. 2000. *The Quest for Identity: International Relations of Southeast Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Combining theories of integration, socialization and of regionalization, Acharya argues that collective identities form through interaction, with or without institutions, and that this interaction is not conditioned by negative Others as a constitutive force.

Guillaume, Xavier. 2002. "Foreign Policy and the Politics of Alterity: A Dialogical Understanding of International Relations." *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 31, no. 1: 1-26.

Drawing on Bakhtin the author considers the politics of alterity from the perspective of dialogism—a view of the social world as being constructed through a configuration of mutually-responsive discourses between agents—and its constitutive notion of transgression. Explains the relationship between of the national and the international in the processes of collective identity formation in the context of Japanese domestic and foreign policy in the pre-World War II period.

Suzuki, Shogo. 2007. "The Importance of 'Othering' in China's National Identity: Sino-Japanese Relations as a Stage of Identity Conflicts." *The Pacific Review* 20, no. 1: 23-47.

States are moral, historically situated agents, argues the author. Not only is the Chinese Self characterized by an acute sense of 'victimhood' vis-à-vis the Japanese Other and the rest of "International Society," but this identity relationship is a by-product of rising China's attempts to regain its legitimacy and status.

Kuniko, Ashizawa. 2008. "When Identity Matters: State Identity, Regional Institution-Building, and Japanese Foreign Policy." *International Studies Review* 10, no. 3: 571-98. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2486.2008.00805.x>

A brief but effective analysis of post-Cold War Japanese foreign policy vis-à-vis regional institutions. Evaluating the notion that the identity-foreign policy nexus operates through causal mechanisms, Ashizawa finds value and utility of identity as an analytical concept but expresses skepticism about general theories of "identity effects." (A book-length version of her argument appeared in 2013.)

Lee, Yong Wook. 2008. *Japanese Challenge to the American Neo-liberal World Order: Identity, Meaning, and Foreign Policy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press

Starting in the 1870s, Lee considers Japan's key foreign policy choices to investigate the relationship between Japan's economic identity and ideas about normalcy on the one hand and Japan's challenge to the U.S.-centered international order on the other, especially its contemporary neoliberal component.

Gries, Peter Hays, Qingmin Zhang, H. Michael Crowson, and Huajian Cai. 2011. "Patriotism, Nationalism and China's US Policy: Structures and Consequences of Chinese National Identity." *The China Quarterly* 205, no. 205: 1-17.

A survey-based investigation of the structure and consequences of Chinese national identity. The study finds an empirical difference between patriotism and nationalism, with patriotism aligning with a benign internationalism and nationalism with a more malign blind patriotism. The authors connect these findings on the perceptions of US threats, US policy preferences and the US military

Chacko, Priya. 2012. *Indian Foreign Policy : The Politics of Postcolonial Identity from 1947 to 2004*. Interventions. New York: Routledge.

Focusing on a set of crises in Indian foreign policy, Chacko argues that New Delhi's international behaviour is based on India's postcolonial identity, including the notion of "civilizational exceptionalism." The book shows a shift from a Nehruvian tradition of morality and ethical conduct to a reinterpretation of Indian foreign policy under the Bharatiya Janata Party towards a combination of militarized masculinity and pragmatism.

Zhang, Feng. 2013. "The Rise of Chinese Exceptionalism in International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations* 19, no. 2: 305-28.

An historical investigation of Chinese exceptionalism and its role in China's foreign policy. Zhang argues that exceptionalist identities are produced through the interaction of international structure and domestic process and suggests that the claims of great power reformism, benevolent pacifism, and harmonious inclusions define contemporary China's exceptionalism. The authors also offers a useful juxtaposition with American exceptionalism.

Chung, Eun Bin. 2015. "Can Affirming National Identity Increase International Trust? Experimental Evidence from South Korean, Chinese, and Japanese Nationals." *International Studies Review* 16(1): 75-97.

Drawing on group-affirmation theory and integrating experimental methods from behavioral economics, the study finds that affirming national identities can and does increase trust of another country. Rather than promoting a common "Asian-ness," there could thus be another way to promote trust in South Korea-Japan and China- Japan relations and in international relations more generally.

The Europes (10 sources)

Marcussen, Martin, Thomas Risse, Daniela Engelmann-Martin, Hans Joachim Knopf, and Klaus Roscher. 1999. "Constructing Europe? The Evolution of French, British and German Nation State Identities." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no. 4: 614-33.

To what extent have the identities of "the big three" become Europeanized in the postwar period? In answering this question, the authors make three theoretical claims: one, new ideas about political order must "resonate" with core elements of older visions of the same; two, 'critical junctures' help promote new visions about political order; and three, once nation state identities are embedded in political institutions and political culture, the degree to which political elites are able to manipulate identity constructions becomes exceedingly narrow.

Grove, Andrea K., and Neal A. Carter. 1999. "Not All Blarney Is Cast in Stone: International Cultural Conflict in Northern Ireland." *Political Psychology* 20, no. 4: 725-65.

The authors argue that a cultural explanation of conflict should focus on three dimensions: the leader's framing of the group's identity, the leader's framing of the problem or situation, and in terms of the resonance of said messages with third parties. A primer on the use of content analytic techniques for analyzing framing and its resonance with mass publics.

Subotic, Jelena 2011. "Europe is a State of Mind: Identity and Europeanization in the Balkans," *International Studies Quarterly* 55, no. 2: 309-30.

Comparing Croatia and Serbia as two European Union candidate states, the author develops and evaluates a theoretical framework for understanding the influence of identity on foreign policy. An excellent introduction to the voluminous literature on Europeanization.

Rumelili, Bahar. 2004. "Constructing Identity and Relating to Difference Understanding the EUs Mode of Differentiation." *Review of International Studies* 30, no. 1: 27-47.

The article proposes a new framework for understanding three dimensions along which Otherness might constitute itself: nature of difference, social distance, and response of other. Analyzing EU interaction with Morocco, Turkey, and Central and Eastern European states, Rumelili complicates existing constructivist approaches to identity formation in IR.

Gheciu, Alexandra. 2005. *NATO in the New Europe : The Politics of International Socialization after the Cold War*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

A combination of role theory and Bourdieusian approaches to the dynamics and implications of socialization practices in international politics, Gheciu's book examines NATO's role in the post-Cold War process of building liberal democracy in the Czech Republic and Romania.

Yilmaz, Eylem, and Pinar Bilgin. 2005. "Constructing Turkey's "Western" Identity during the Cold War: Discourses of the Intellectuals of Statecraft." *International Journal* 61, no. 1: 39-59.

This article examines the efforts of Turkish elites to depict Turkey's geographical and historical characteristics as a meeting place of different continents, cultures, and civilizations. While this "exceptionalist" identity enables Turkish leaders to claim leadership role as the mediator/peacemaker, it also clashes with the desiderata of Kemalist nation-building. Tensions between these two explain the rise to power of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the polarization of Turkish society under his rule.

Hadfield-Amkhan, Amelia. 2010. *National Identity and Foreign Policy: A Study in Britishness and Englishness*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Bringing national identity into neoclassical realist theory, the author looks at a selection of British foreign policy crises from the past two centuries crisis and argues that they at once influenced, and were influenced by, the nation's collective understandings of sovereignty, status, and trade.

Agius, Christine. 2013. "Performing Identity: The Danish Cartoon Crisis and Discourses of Identity and Security." *Security Dialogue* 44, no. 3: 241-58.

The article considers the performance of Danish identity associated with the *Jyllands-Posten* Muhammad cartoon crisis of 2005-2006. Examines the "internal" and "external" dimensions of performing identity—that is, the relationship between a clash between progressive Danishness and its "unmodern others" on the one hand and Denmark's participation in various liberal global governance projects.

Guzzini, Stefano. 2012. *The Return of Geopolitics in Europe?: Social Mechanisms and Foreign Policy Identity Crises*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Why did German and Czech foreign policies fail to experience the revival of neo-classical geopolitical discourse, in contrast to the foreign policies of Estonia, Russia, Italy and Turkey? To answer this question, the contributors develop and evaluate a constructivist methodology for studying specific concatenations of social mechanisms involving leadership choices, collectively (and sometimes unselfconsciously) shared ideas, institutional features and their path dependencies, and various feedback dynamics.

Bucher, Bernd, and Ursula Jasper. 2017. "Revisiting 'identity' in International Relations: From Identity as Substance to Identifications in Action." *European Journal of International Relations* 23, no. 2: 391-415.

Another strong argument in favour of approaching identity as a set of temporary arrestations that neither precede nor inform foreign policy decision-making but rather make it possible within specific contexts or, as the authors put it, "complex networks of social interdependencies." The empirical application of the model looks at Swiss foreign policy.

The post-Soviet space (10 sources)

Neumann, Iver B. 1996. *Russia and the Idea of Europe: A Study in Identity and International Relations*. London: Routledge.

Drawing on a dizzying range of sources, this classic study by a leading constructivist IR theorist considers the centuries-old debate about Russia's relationship with Europe and the West from the perspective of identity relations. The new edition published in 2017 looks at "Putin's Russia," including its post-2014 foreign policy turn to confrontation.

Prizel, Ilya. 1998. *National Identity and Foreign Policy: Nationalism and Leadership in Poland, Russia, and Ukraine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

An argument that national identity is in flux, constantly influenced by internal and external events, and by elite manipulations of collective memory. Part *longue durée* history, part FPA, Prizel's book shows that Polish, Russian and Ukrainian foreign policies are inextricably tied to nation-building projects.

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

An argument that foreign policy elites are inextricably bound to their own societies based on a discourse analysis of how Russians made sense of themselves in the post-Stalinist and late Yeltsin periods. Emphasizing practical habits, Hopf endogenizes the formation of interests by connecting them theoretically and empirically to identity and its associative discursive practices at the domestic level. He makes a strong claim that all international politics is indeed local.

Fawn, Rick. 2003. "Ideology and National Identity in Post-Communist Foreign Policies." *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 19, no. 3: 1-41. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523270300660016>

A major edited volume that examines the identity-foreign policy links in the post-Soviet space. The introductory chapter by Rick Fawn sets out some ways of theorizing the reassertion of national identity and the ideological void left by the collapse of Marxism-Leninism, while the individual chapters cover everything from Estonian relations with the European Union (David Smith) to Kazakhstan's with Russia (Sally Cummings).

Clunan, Anne. L. 2009. *The Social Construction of Russia's Resurgence: Aspirations, Identity, and Security Interests*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Drawing on the social psychology literature on status and identity management, Clunan analyzes how Russian elites in the post-Cold War period pursued the strategies of mobility, competition and creativity in order to create and maintain certain national self-images, thus influencing foreign policy orientations.

Mälksoo, Maria. 2010. *The Politics of Becoming European: A Study of Polish and Baltic Post-Cold War Security Imaginaries*. London: Routledge,

Drawing on Bakhtin, Said and other theorists, the author explores what she calls the existential condition of 'liminal Europeaness' among foreign and security policy-making elites in Poland and the Baltic States. In addition to recasting conventional IR understandings of the self-other relationship, Mälksoo also situates this region in wider international politics involving the European Union, Russia and the United States.

Tsygankov, Andrei P. 2014. "Contested Identity and Foreign Policy: Interpreting Russia's International Choices." *International Studies Perspectives* 15, no. 1: 19-35. <https://doi.org/10.1111/insp.12000>

Another convincing framework for interpreting the relationship between national identity contestation and foreign policy. Distinguishing between state-based, society-based, and international scales of identity-formation, the author analyzes the success and failures of Russia's European diplomacy as a function of shared ontology and different meaning-making processes.

White, Stephen, and Feklyunina, Valentina. 2014. *Identities and Foreign Policies in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. the other Europes*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

This book compares Russian, Belarusian, and Ukrainian constructions of Europe and their own European identity, and their impact on these nations' foreign policy discourses and policies, especially those towards the European Union. A methodological innovation is group interviews with ordinary citizens, or rather, the effective way the authors use it in conjunction with public opinion survey data and discourse analysis of both official and popular texts.

Morozov, Viatcheslav. 2015. *Russia's Postcolonial Identity: A Subaltern Empire in a Eurocentric World*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

A study of Russian-European relations that borrows from postcolonial studies and constructivist IR. Morozov's provocative argument is that modern Russia emerges from the dialectic of the subaltern and the imperial, hence its tendency to produce and reproduce ideas, policies, institutions and practices that are at once essentially European and radically anti-Western.

Gaufman, Elizaveta. 2017. *Security Threats and Public Perception: Digital Russia and the Ukraine Crisis*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Why are some security threat narratives more successful than others? Criticizing securitization theory, the author develop a collective memory-based framework for understanding narrative resonance among the mass publics.

Comparative (10 sources)

Doty, Roxanne Lynn. 1996. *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Employing a poststructuralist perspective, Doty traces the evolution of two colonial relationships: the United States' with the Philippines and Britain's with Kenya to show how the North constructs

the reality and knowledge that benefits itself, while hobbling the South. An excellent study of how binaries such as "developed/underdeveloped," "first world/third world," "modern/traditional" are gendered and racialized, how they become attached and detached to national identities, and with what consequences.

Femenia, Nora. 1996. *National Identity in Times of Crises: The Scripts of the Falklands-Malvinas War*. Nova Science Publishers.

The book analyzes how normative/affective factors—embodied in national self-images— influenced both the Argentine decision to invade/recover the Falkland/Malvinas and the British response. An early example of identity and foreign policy research that focuses on both domestic processes and the impact of interstate interaction.

Braveboy-Wagner, Jacqueline Anne (ed.). 2003. *The Foreign Policies of the Global South: Rethinking Conceptual Frameworks*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

An argument that the "global South" is crucial to world politics and global governance. Drawing on examples from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Arab, the contributors discuss both mainstream and non-mainstream concepts and issues in FPA, including postcoloniality (Siba N. Grovogui), the Bandung Spirit (Randolph Persaud) and the role of local business elites and policy makers in the spread of neoliberalism (Rita Giacalone).

Adamson, Fiona B, and Madeleine Demetriou. 2007. "Remapping the Boundaries of 'State' and 'National Identity': Incorporating Diasporas into IR Theorizing." *European Journal of International Relations* 13, no. 4: 489-526.

Another useful reminder that the boundaries of a state and its national identity are not coterminous. The author offers a framework for understanding diaspora mobilization and deterritorialized practices of collective identity formation, which is of relevance for the study of foreign policy.

Qing, Simei. 2007. *From Allies to Enemies : Visions of Modernity, Identity, and U.S.-China Diplomacy, 1945-1960*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

A diplomatic history that shares no shortage of ground with IR theories of identity and foreign policy, this book uncovers the meaning of background assumptions that influenced Chinese—

American relations in the 1940s and 1950s. Qing suggests that differential moral values and cultural visions of modernity are likely to continue to impact the relationship between the world's two most powerful nations.

Herrmann, Richard K., Pierangelo Isernia, and Paolo Segatti. 2009. "Attachment to the Nation and International Relations: Dimensions of Identity and Their Relationship to War and Peace." *Political Psychology* 30, no. 5 (): 721-54.

Using data drawn from new national surveys in Italy and the United States, the author advances a three-dimensional conception of national identity, theoretically connecting the dimensions to conflictive and cooperative dispositions as well as to decisions to cooperate with the United Nations in containing Iran's nuclear proliferation and Sudan's humanitarian crisis in Darfur.

Vucetic, Srdjan. 2011. *The Anglosphere : A Genealogy of a Racialized Identity in International Relations*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Drawing on theories of collective identity-formation, events, and framing, the author analyzes a set of foreign policy episodes that produced a community that in the wake of the 2013 Edward Snowden became known as the Five Eyes: Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States. The argument is that the origins of the Anglosphere are racial, and history casts long shadows on the shape of the modern world.

Nau, Henry R., and Ollapally Deepa Mary. 2012. *Worldviews of Aspiring Powers Domestic Foreign Policy Debates in China, India, Iran, Japan and Russia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

A major study on the relationship between domestic worldviews and foreign policy. The introductory chapter sets the general framework for analysis: three general aspects of policy (the scope, means, and goals) across three ideal worldview types (national, regional, and global) yields twenty-seven possible combinations, which then guides the co-authored analyses of the five country chapters (one author is United States-based, one country under study-based). Some chapters are more explicit about linking the content and contestation of national identity to worldviews, which, all analyses suggest, are (increasingly) dominated by realist thinking.

Adler-Nissen, Rebecca. 2014. "Stigma Management in International Relations: Transgressive Identities, Norms, and Order in International Society." *International Organisation* 68, no. 1: 143-76.

Drawing on the work of Erving Goffman, this article looks at stigmatized states and the ways in which they cope strategically with their stigma. Adler-Nissen offers a typology of such strategies: stigma recognition, as in postwar Germany; stigma rejection, as in postwar Austria; and counter-stigmatization, as illustrated by contemporary Cuba. Relevant for understanding identity and foreign policy as well as the constitution of international society.

Amir Lupovici, A. 2016. *The Power of Deterrence: Emotions, Identity and American and Israeli Wars of Resolve*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Drawing on the concept of ontological security, Lupovici examines why states stick with ineffective strategies and policies. Using the cases of US and Israeli deterrence, Lupovici shows how ideas and practices become so internalized, they become a constitutive element of state identity. Rather than attempts to advance 'physical' security, US and Israeli invasions of Iraq and Lebanon should thus be seen as attempts to repair each country's sense of self.

Part IV New Frontiers—General Overview (5 sources).

An introduction to the introductions to the growing literatures on narratives, culture and civilizations, emotions, and ontological security, all of which are directly relevant for understanding identity and foreign policy research today. Respectively: Bar-Tal et al 2014, Bettiza 2014, Bleiker and Hutchison 2014, Allan and Hopf 2016 and Kinvall and Mitzen 2017.

Bar-Tal, Daniel, Neta Oren and Rafi Nets-Zehngut. 2014. "Socio-psychological Analysis of Conflict-supporting Narratives: A General Framework." *Journal of Peace Research* 51: 662–75.

In addition to describing the sociopsychological functions of conflict-supporting narratives at the individual and collective levels, the article addresses the main methods used in the narratives' construction and maintenance as well as the conditions under which it is possible to shift to new peace-supporting narratives. This is relevant for IR research based on identity process theories and for understanding international conflict.

Bettiza, Gregorio. 2014. "Civilizational Analysis in International Relations: Mapping the Field and Advancing a "Civilizational Politics" Line of Research." *International Studies Review* 16, no. 1: 1-28.

A good introduction to a research program on civilizations and civilizational identities in IR that emerged in the 2000s as a response to assorted Huntingtonian perspectives. After proposing a definition of civilizations as imagined communities that clash or dialogue/engage with each other, Bettiza outlines causal pathways for studying their impact on social action, recognition struggles, as well as on institutions and practices.

Bleiker, Roland and Emma Hutchison, eds. 2014. "Forum on Emotions and World Politics." *International Theory* 3, no. 6: 490-594. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752971914000220>

IR scholars have traditionally and erroneously viewed emotions either as noise in rational decision-making or as too complex for rigorous theorization, say Bleiker and Hutchison. Contra the majority view that only biological bodies have emotional states, Jonathan Mercer contends that group-level emotion can be stronger than, and different from, emotion experienced as an individual, that group members share, validate, and police each others' feelings, and that these feelings structure relations within and between states and other groups in world politics. Neta C. Crawford outlines how emotions, specifically fear and empathy, are institutionalized in the same context. Short responses by Rose McDermott, K.M. Fierke, Christian Reus-Smit, Andrew Linklater, L.H.M. Ling, Renée Jeffery, Janice Bially Mattern, plus the conclusion by the editors.

Hopf, Ted, and Allan, Bentley. 2016. *Making Identity Count: Towards a National Identity Database*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Puts forward a new method for the recovery of national identity in an interpretivist fashion. Applying this to China, the US, UK, Germany, France, Brazil, Japan, and India, the study critically addresses several IR theories and research programs. The editors pledge to construct "an intersubjective national identity data base of great powers from 1810-2010." (Disclosure: the author of the present bibliography two chapters in the book, one empirical, one theoretical).

Kinnvall, Catarina, and Jennifer Mitzen. 2017. "An Introduction to the Special Issue: Ontological Securities in World Politics." *Cooperation and Conflict* 52, no. 1: 3-11.

Ontological security relates to a consistent sense of Self, which is achieved, or securitized, by routinizing relationships with Other. Edited by two trailblazers of ontological security studies in IR, this collection of seven articles is an excellent introduction to a major research program within the identity and foreign policy nexus. Kinnvall and Mitzen suggest that ontological security has been

successfully deployed to explain and understand the constitution of different referent objects (individuals, states, religious groups) and different political outcomes (cooperation/conflict, stability/change).