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Arbeitsstelle Transnationale Beziehungen, Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik

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Winter 2021/22

## Sem/ K-HS 15 372: Theories of International Cooperation

Monday 2 – 4 PM, the seminar will be held in presence & online (hybrid mode)

*Below you will find the syllabus for this seminar with all details regarding contents, structure, procedure, and basic readings. However, I start with some general hints of how we will proceed in the seminar, held in presence & online that is in 'hybrid mode'!*

### **Preparations before the seminar starts – managing the general access:**

This seminar is offered in class, Monday 14-16h in room 21-F for everybody able and willing to comply with the „3-G-Regeln“. Those who cannot or do not want to comply with these rules may participate via the online option based on Webex. For a start, those students registered directly via the CMS are first to take part in presence, while those who have been admitted outside the 35 participation limit by the lecturer are asked to start via the online option. We will then learn who will prefer to come to class or who will opt for online during the first & second session, allowing others to join the class in presence once we know who will be staying online. However, in any case, the previous experience shows that everybody coming to class should also bring her/ his notebook

Rules for participating in presence:

- All in-class participants have to do justice to the 3-G rules!
- All in-class participants are required to register via the QR-Code available in class!
- All in-class participants ought to – and this is a legal obligation in the state of Berlin (whether we like it or not!) – wear a FFP-2 mask if we cannot guarantee a minimum distance of 1,5 m. IF this distance can be kept, medical masks suffice ☺!  
>>This is also valid for the lecturer despite all inconvenience this may cause; we will handle this with humor and pragmatism!

**Here comes the detailed information on entering the seminar via Webex:**

**Use the following link to join** or copy this into your web browser (and enter)

<https://fu-berlin.webex.com/fu-berlin/j.php?MTID=mce3138b14222b5cdfedfe0aeddd5939e>

In case this should not work try this way:

1. Use this URL for access to Webex: <https://fu-berlin.webex.com>
2. For joining our seminar use „Meeting beitreten“ and insert the following **‘Kennnummer’**:  
**2732 410 0087**
3. In case you are requested to provide a **password**, use this one: **DmSRgnev332** & enter!

You can only enter the virtual classroom once the lecturer will have started the session which will happen every session at 14.00h thus allowing time for the necessary adjustments.



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## Seminarplan/ Syllabus

Winter 2021/22

### Sem/ K-HS 15 372: Theories of International Cooperation

Monday 2 – 4 PM, the seminar will be held in presence & online (hybrid mode)

#### Overview

International cooperation is problematic. Some IR theories claim that the problems of international cooperation are due to the characteristics of the international system and thus cannot be cured without a change of that system. Other IR theories – institutional theories – assume that cooperation is feasible, especially with the help of different sorts of international institutions. Rationalist, Neo-Liberal, Actor-Centred, Historical, Sociological, and Constructivist Institutionalism: There are by now so many ‘institutionalisms’ in political science in general and in International Relations in particular that it is hard to keep up with the theoretical developments. This seminar tries to introduce some order in the debate on and among the various variants of institutionalism in international relations. It covers both the history of institutionalist reasoning and the most recent developments in theory-building. Particular emphasis will be given to the controversy between rationalist (or neo-liberal) institutionalism, on the one hand, and constructivist or sociological institutionalism, on the other. But, of course, critical theory-based approaches, as well as post-colonial and non-western theories, will also be addressed.

The **overall research questions** guiding this seminar concern the characteristics of the various theories addressed: What are the various theories/ theoretical approaches distinct features, what do they have in common and how do they differ? What is the respective concept of ‘cooperation’? What are the premises concerning epistemology or ontology? What are the implications for the prospects for international cooperation? What are the implications for empirical research, say in a case-study design?

**NOTE:** This is a seminar on comparative IR theory, and hence the assignment for students aiming at a graded seminar certificate is to write an analytical paper on a theoretical issue relating to one or more theories. It is **not** in line with this seminar’s purpose to assign and write theory-guided empirical studies!

#### **Seminar procedures:**

- The whole seminar is based on an analysis of classic, authoritative IR texts on international relations and cooperation. The required readings are listed below for each seminar session. We will start with a discussion of the usual practice to conceive of the evolution of IR theories in terms of debates. The basic text on this issue will provide for a better understanding of what drives the discourse of the discipline. Moreover, the first session will establish some common ground for what will come up in future sessions and provide a general overview of the subject.
- The required readings can all be found on **Blackboard** and will be introduced by students who will do a concise 15-minute presentation based on a **‘summary chart’** (“Steckbrief”; where applicable) which summarizes the characteristics of the respective text/theory/approach. This summary chart will be applied by everybody doing a presentation to allow for a comparison of texts and theories along the lines of some defined categories. The questions guiding these systematic excerpts will be generated as part of the discussion during the opening sessions.

**NOTE:** Comparison and the application of the summary chart applies only to texts representing “theories”; overview or meta-theoretical texts will be covered by standard excerpts!

- Students doing a presentation will circulate their excerpts at least three days in advance. For connecting the whole seminar, we will make use of a **mailing list** rendering it easy for every member of this seminar to provide her/his papers to the fellow students also well in advance. On how to obtain an **FU-Blackboard account** consult <http://www.cms.fu-berlin.de/lms/studierende/selbstregistrierung/index.html>. On how to subscribe to the FU-blackboard mailing list for this seminar consult <http://lms.fu-berlin.de/infos/studierende-faq.html>. There will be the possibility of self-enrollment on Blackboard subject to the submission of a **password**. This password will be announced in the first seminar session.

#### Student assignments:

##### a) for **everybody** attending this seminar:

- Continuous attendance and active participation in discussions.
- Readiness to **chair one of the sessions** – i. e. introducing the required readings and guiding the discussion – and to prepare a respective **excerpt** (in most cases in form of a ‘summary chart’, see above).

##### b) for those who are going to do a **seminar paper** for a graded certificate:

- Students going for a seminar paper should rather sooner than later identify an area in which they are going to specialize. They will indicate this area in **week six (at the latest)** by submitting a **one-page outline** of the area and some possible aspects, which could be elaborated in a final paper, i.e. define and elaborate briefly on some aspects which could serve as a guiding *problematique*.
- An **elaborated research concept/design** of two pages and a preliminary structure of the expected seminar paper will be submitted by the end of **week ten (at the latest)**.
- **Seminar papers** will be between 15 and 20 pages long (i.e. 6.000 words), with a problem-focused question in the preface, the main part in which the necessary information for answering the question is presented – for example, several pro and con arguments concerning any hypothesis in question, and a final part, which consists of a qualified answer to the question posed in the introduction of the paper. [See note above!]
- Additionally, a list of literature used is a standard requirement for any decent research paper. Type-size is 12. The line size is 1½. **Papers not meeting these standards will not be accepted.**
- **Seminar papers – and all other written assignments prepared for this seminar** – have to be submitted **as pdf** by the end of the semester, i. e. until March 31.2022.

##### c) for those aiming at an **attendance certificate** (“Teilnahmeschein”)

- In addition to what is stated in item a), these students prepare another 3-5-page **review paper** on one of the following options:
  - A)** Write a review on one of the numerous introductory volumes to IR theory along the lines of the criteria established in *Bartsch, Sebastian. 1995. Darf es auch "auf deutsch" sein? Neue Einführungen in die internationale Politik. Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen 2: 1, 185-211.*
  - B)** Choose a theory and search for studies in which the respective theory is applied to empirical research. Present your findings in form of an annotated bibliography based on available review articles or your evaluation.
- These **review papers are due** for option A in week 10, for option B for the session when the theory in question is presented in class.

#### Services of the professor:

- I will structure and conduct the seminar in the sense of constructive "supervision" in terms of content and procedure by keeping an eye on the central theme, i.e. the seminar's research interest.
- I will prepare myself profoundly for every session.
- I will be available for students (or small groups of students) after consultation during my office hours for preparation of the paper presentation or the paper, as well as for any other questions.
- I will read and comment on seminar papers thoroughly, and grading will be done in a differentiating manner. Students will receive their ‘Schein’ as a rule only after the lecturer's feedback on the seminar paper during office hours.

**Contact and appointments:** via the list at my office door at **lhnestr. 22, room 102**

For **ALL** emails concerning this seminar: Include the seminar number **Sem/K-HS 15 370** in the subject line!

All submissions for the sessions should be sent via blackboard to all seminar members, including the professor.

### Overview of Seminar Sessions

Session	Topic	Noes
1. Session – 18.10.2021	<b>Introduction and Overview</b>	
2. Session – 25.10.2021	<b>The evolution of IR theories: Debates as driving forces?</b>	
3. Session – 01.11.2021	<b>Historical Approaches to International Cooperation: Idealism, Functionalism</b>	
4. Session – 08.11.2021	<b>Structural Realism and Hegemonic Stability Theory</b>	
5. Session – 15.11.2022	<b>Neoliberal Institutionalism and Regime Analysis</b>	
6. Session – 22.11.2021	<b>Domestic Politics and International Cooperation: Liberalism &amp; The Logic of Two-Level Games</b>	<i>One-page sketch of a possible topic for seminar paper per email!</i>
7. Session – 29.11.2021	<b>Rational Choice v. Constructivism</b>	
8. Session – 06.12.2021	<b>Neighbours of Constructivism: The English School</b>	
9. Session – 13.12.2021	<b>International Norms and Sociological Institutionalism</b>	
	<a href="#">AKADEMIC HOLIDAYS AT FU BERLIN: 20.12.2021 – 01.01.2022!</a>	
10. Session – 03.01.2022	<b>Actor-centered Constructivism: Epistemic Communities and Advocacy Networks</b>	
11. Session – 10.01.2022	<b>Constructivists Go Micro: Arguing and Social Learning</b>	
12. Session – 17.01.2022	<b>Constructivism and Critical Theory: Feminist IR Theory</b>	<i>Two-page exposé for seminar paper per email!</i>
13. Session – 24.01.2022	<b>'Non-Western IR-Theory' &amp; Postcolonialism</b>	
14. Session – 31.01.2022	<b>A difficult choice: Three Non-Western theories and more...</b>	
15. Session – 07.02.2022	<b>One choice of two options:</b> a) <i>Analytical Eclecticism in the Study of World Politics</i> b) <i>Is IR a Global Discipline? Hegemony, Insularity, and Diversity in the Field (The TRIP project &amp; its results)</i>	
16. Session – 14.02.2022	<b>FINAL SESSION: "The End of IR Theory?" (2013)</b>	

## Schedule and Required Readings

### 1) Oct. 18, 2021 – Introduction and Overview

- Purpose and scope of this seminar
- Procedures and students' input
- Student assignments for various certificates
- aob?

Frieden, Jeffrey A, David A Lake, and Kenneth A Schultz. 2010. *World Politics: Interests, interactions, institutions*: WW Norton New York.

Sil, Rudra, and Peter J. Katzenstein. 2010. *Beyond Paradigms. Analytical Eclecticism in the Study of World Politics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

### 2) Oct. 25, 2021 – The evolution of IR theories: Debates as driving forces?

#### Required readings

- Jackson, Robert/Sørensen, Georg. 1999. *Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 2: IR as an Academic Subject, 33-66.
- Waever, Ole. 1996. The rise and fall of the inter-paradigm debate. In *International theory: positivism & beyond* edited by Smith, Steve/Booth, Ken/Zalewski, Marysia, 149-185. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Waever, O. (1998). The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations. *International Organization*, 52(4), 687-727.
- Schmidt, Brian C. 2002. On the History and Historiography of International Relations. In *Handbook of International Relations* edited by Risse, Thomas/Carlsnaes, Walter/Simmons, Beth, 3-22. London: Sage.
- Lake, David A. 2011. Why "isms" Are Evil: Theory, Epistemology, and Academic Sects as Impediments to Understanding and Progress. *International Studies Quarterly* 55: 465-80.

**NOTE again please:** Comparison and the application of the summary chart, of course, applies only to texts representing "theories"; overview texts will be covered by excerpts guided by our focal research interest!

### 3) Nov. 1, 2021 – Historical Approaches to International Cooperation: Idealism, Functionalism

#### Required Readings

- Angell, Norman, *The Foundations of International Peace*, London 1914, ch. 1.
- Mitrany, David, *A Working Peace System*, Chicago 1966 (1944), ch. 1.

#### Overviews, background, critique:

Osiander, Andreas. 1998. Rereading Early Twentieth-Century IR Theory: Idealism Revisited. *International Studies Quarterly* 42: 3, 409-432.

Diez, Thomas/Wiener, Antje, ed. 2003. *Theories of European Integration. Past, Present and Future*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press. 1-21.

## ***Rationalist Approaches to International Cooperation***

### 4) Nov. 8, 2021 – Structural Realism and Hegemonic Stability Theory

#### Required Readings

- Mearsheimer, John J., *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, New York 2001, ch. 2.
- Gilpin, Robert G. 1988. The Theory of Hegemonic War. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18(4): 591-613.

Overviews, background, critique:

- Legro, Jeffrey W./Moravcsik, Andrew. 1999. Is Anybody Still a Realist? *International Security* 24: 2, 5-55.
- Grunberg, Isabelle. 1990. Exploring the "Myth" of Hegemonic Stability. *International Organization* 44: 4, 431-477.
- Snidal, Duncan, "The Limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory," in *International Organization*, Vol. 39, 1985, S. 579-614.
- Callahan, William A. 2008. "Chinese Visions of World Order: Post-hegemonic or a New Hegemony?" *International Studies Review* 10 (4):749-61.
- Cox, Robert W. 1992. "Toward a Post-Hegemonic Conceptualization of World Order: Reflections on the Relevancy of Ibn Khaldun'." In *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*, edited by James N. Rosenau and Ernst-O. Czempiel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**5) Nov. 15, 2021 – Neoliberal Institutionalism and Regime Analysis**

Required Readings

- Keohane, Robert O., „The Demand for International Regimes,“ in Keohane, *International Institutions and State Power (1982)*, Boulder CO 1989, pp. 101-131.
- Krasner, Stephen D., „Structural causes and regime consequences: regimes as intervening variables,“ in Krasner (ed.), *International Regimes*, Ithaca 1983, S. 1-21.

Overviews, background, critique:

- Keck, Otto. 1993. The New Institutionalism in the Theory of International Politics. *Law and State* 47, 28-50.
- Hall, Peter A., and Rosemary C.R. Taylor. 1996. Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms. *Political Studies* 44(5): 936-57.
- Katzenstein, Peter J., Robert O. Keohane, and Stephen D. Krasner. 1998. International Organization and the Study of World Politics. *International Organization* 52(4): 645-86.
- Martin, Lisa L./Simmons, Beth. 1998. Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions. *International Organization* 52: 4, 729-758.
- Grieco, Joseph, „Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism,“ (1988), in Baldwin (ed.), *Neorealism and Neoliberalism. The Contemporary Debate*, New York 1993, pp. 116-140.
- Keohane, Robert O. 1993. Institutional Theory and the Realist Challenge After the Cold War. In *Neorealism and Neoliberalism. The Contemporary Debate*, edited by David A. Baldwin, 269-300. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Martin, Lisa. 1993. The Rational State Choice of Multilateralism. In *Multilateralism Matters. The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form* edited by Ruggie, John Gerard, 91-121. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Koremenos, Barbara/Lipson, Charles/Snidal, Duncan. 2001. The Rational Design of International Institutions. *International Organization* 55: 4, 761-801.
- Ruggie, John G., ed. 1993. *Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Snidal, Duncan, "The Game Theory of International Politics," in Oye (ed.), *Cooperation Under Anarchy*, Princeton NJ 1986, pp. 25-57.
- Zürn, Michael. 1992. *Interessen und Institutionen in der internationalen Politik. Grundlegung und Anwendung des situationsstrukturellen Ansatzes*. Opladen: Leske+Budrich.

Zürn, Michael. 1993. Problematic Social Situations and International Institutions -- On the Use of Game Theory in International Politics. In *Inaugural Pan-European Conference: International Relations and Pan-Europe* edited by Pfetsch, Frank R., 63-84. Münster und Hamburg: Lit-Verlag.

Zürn, Michael 2017. *A Theory of Global Governance. Authority, Legitimacy, & Contestation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## 6) Nov. 22, 2021 – Domestic Politics and International Cooperation: Liberalism & The Logic of Two-Level Games

### Required Readings

- Putnam, Robert, „Diplomacy and Domestic Politics. The Logic of Two-Level Games,“ *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 3, 1988.
- Moravcsik, Andrew, “Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics,“ *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 4, 1999.

### Overviews, background, critique:

- Milner, Helen V. 1997. *Interests, Institutions, and Information. Domestic Politics and International Relations*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1993. Preferences and Power in the European Community: a Liberal Intergovernmental Approach. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31: 4, 473-524.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1998. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Deutsch, Klaus Günter. The Politics of Freer Trade in Europe. Three-level games in the Common Commercial Policy of the EU, 1985-1997. Lit-Verlag/ St. Martin's Press: New York 1995.
- Patterson, Lee Ann. 1997. Agricultural policy reform in the European Community: a three-level game analysis. *International Organization* 51: 1, 135-165.
- Putnam, Robert D. 1993. "Two-Level Games: The Impact of Domestic Politics on Transatlantic Bargaining." In *America and Europe in an Era of Change*, edited by Helga Haftendorn and Christian Tuschhoff, 69-83. Boulder/ San Francisco/ Oxford: Westview Press.
- Risse-Kappen, Thomas. 1991. Public Opinion, Domestic Structure, and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies. *World Politics* 43: 4, 479-512.
- Risse-Kappen, Thomas. 1994. Ideas do not float freely: transnational coalitions, domestic structures, and the end of the cold war. *International Organization* 48: 2, 185-214.
- Zangl, Bernhard. 1995. "Der Ansatz der Zwei-Ebenen-Spiele. Eine Brücke zwischen dem Neoinstitutionalismus und seinen KritikerInnen?" *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* 2 (2):393-416.

## **Constructivism and Beyond**

## 7) Nov. 29, 2021 – Rational Choice vs. Constructivism

### Required Readings

- Wendt, Alexander, „Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics,“ *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 1992, pp. 391-425.
- Adler, Emanuel, “Constructivism and International Relations,“ in Carlsnaes, Risse, Simmons (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations*, London 2002, pp. 95-118.

### Overviews, background, critique:

Keohane, Robert, “International Institutions: Two Approaches,“ in Keohane, *International Institutions and State Power*, Boulder CO 1989, pp. 158-179.



- Fearon, John/Wendt, Alexander, "Rationalism v. Constructivism: A Sceptical View," in Carlsnaes, Risse, Simmons (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations*, pp. 52-72.
- Ulbert, Cornelia. 2005. Konstruktivistische Analysen der internationalen Politik. Theoretische Ansätze und methodische Herangehensweisen. In *Konstruktivistische Analysen der internationalen Politik* edited by Ulbert, Cornelia/Weller, Christoph, 9-34. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Hopf, Ted. 1998. The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory. *International Security* 23(1): 171-200.
- . 2000. Review Essay: Constructivism All the Way Down. *International Politics* 37(3): 369-78.

## 8) Dec. 6, 2021 – Neighbours of Constructivism: The English School

### Required Readings

- Bull, Hedley, *The Anarchical Society* (1977), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., New York 1995, ch. 1, 2.
- Dunne, Timothy, "The Social Construction of International Society," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1995, pp. 367-389.

### Overviews, background, critique:

Daase, Christopher. 2006. Die Englische Schule. In *Theorien der Internationalen Beziehungen* edited by Schieder, Siegfried/Spindler, Manuela, 243-268. Opladen: Verlag Barbara Budrich.

## 9) Dec. 13, 2021 – International Norms and Sociological Institutionalism

### Required Readings

- Finnemore, Martha/Sikkink, Kathryn, „International Norm Dynamics and Political Change,“ *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4, 1998, pp. 247-277.
- Acharya, Amitav. 2004. "How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism." *International Organization* 58 (1):239–75.

### Overviews, background, critique:

Abbott, Kenneth W./Snidal, Duncan. 2000. Hard and Soft Law in International Governance. *International Organization* 54: 3, 421-56.

Abbott, Kenneth W./Keohane, Robert O./Moravcsik, Andrew/Slaughter, Anne-Marie/Snidal, Duncan. 2000. The Concept of Legalization. *International Organization* 54: 3, 385-99.

Checkel, Jeffrey T. 1999. Norms, Institutions, and National Identity in Contemporary Europe. *International Studies Quarterly* 43: 1, 83-114.

Hall, Peter A., and Rosemary C.R. Taylor. 1996. Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms. *Political Studies* 44(5): 936-57.

March, James/Olsen, Johan, „The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders,“ *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4, 1998, pp. 303-329.

## 10) Jan. 3, 2022 – Actor-Centered Constructivism: Epistemic Communities and Advocacy Networks

### Required Readings

- Haas, Peter M., Introduction: epistemic communities and international policy coordination, *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 1, 1992, pp. 1-35.
- Keck, Margret/Sikkink, Kathryn, *Activists Beyond Borders. Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, Ithaca NY 1998, ch. 1.

Overviews, background, critique:

- Prakash, Aseem, and Mary Kay Gugerty. 2010. Conclusions and Future research: rethinking advocacy organizations. In *Advocacy Organizations and Collective Action*, edited by Aseem Prakash and Mary Kay Gugerty, 295-307. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Risse, Thomas. 2010. Rethinking advocacy organizations? A critical comment In *Advocacy Organizations and Collective Action*, edited by Aseem Prakash and Mary Kay Gugerty, 283-94. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schäferhoff, Marco/Campe, Sabine/Kaan, Christopher. 2009. Transnational Public-Private Partnerships in International Relations: Making Sense of Concepts, Research Frameworks, and Results. *International Studies Review* 11: 3, 451-74.

**11) Jan. 10, 2022 – Constructivists Go Micro: Arguing and Social Learning**

Required Readings

- Risse, Thomas, „Let’s Argue! Communicative Action in World Politics,“ *International Organization*, Vol. 54, No. 1, 2000, pp. 1-39.
- Checkel, Jeffrey T., „Why Comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change,“ *International Organization*, Vol. 55, No. 3, 2001, pp. 553-588.

Overviews, background, critique:

- Levy, Jack S. 1994. Learning and foreign policy: sweeping a conceptual minefield. *International Organization* 48: 2, 279-312.
- Pouliot, Vincent. 2008. The Logic of Practicality: A Theory of Practice of Security Communities. *International Organization* 62: 2, 257-288.

**12) Jan. 17, 2022 – Constructivism and Critical Theory: Feminist IR Theory**

Required Readings

- Sylvester, Christine. 1994. Empathetic cooperation: a feminist method for IR. *Millennium-Journal of International Studies* 23(2): 315-34.
- Tickner, J. Ann, and Laura Sjoberg. 2007. Feminism. Case study: UN sanctions on Iraq. In *International Relations Theories. Discipline and Diversity*, edited by Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith, 195-99. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2011. Gender, the State, and War Redux Feminist International Relations across the ‘Levels of Analysis’. *International Relations* 25(1): 108-34.

Overviews, background, critique:

- Cox, Robert W., “Social Forces, States, and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory,” in Keohane (ed.), *Neorealism and its Critics*, New York 1986, pp. 204-254.
- Hoffman, Mark. 1987. Critical Theory and the Inter-Paradigm Debate. *Millennium* 16(2): 231-49.
- Laffey, Mark/Weldes, Jutta, “Beyond Belief. Ideas and Symbolic Technologies in the Study of International Relations,“ *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1997, pp. 193-237.
- Linklater, Andrew. 1996. The Achievements of Critical Theory. In *International theory: positivism & beyond*, edited by Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski, 279-98. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jahn, Beate. 1998. One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: Critical Theory as the Latest Edition of Liberal Idealism. *Millennium* 27(3): 613-41.
- Tickner, J. Ann. 1997. You Just Don’t Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists. *International Studies Quarterly* 41(4): 611-32.

- Tickner, J Ann. 2002. Feminist perspectives on international relations. *Handbook of International Relations*: 275.
- Sjöberg, Laura. 2005. Gendering a discipline: Some feminist methodological contributions to international relations. *Signs* 30(4): 2173-88.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2009. *Gender and international security: feminist perspectives*. London: Routledge.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2013. *Gendering Global Conflict: Toward a Feminist Theory of War* New York: Columbia University Press.
- True, Jacqui. 2005 (1995). Feminism. In *Theories of International Relations*, edited by Scott Burchill, Andrew Linklater, Richard Devetak, Jack Donnelly, Matthew Paterson, Christian Reus-Smit and Jacqui True, 213-34. Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

### 13) Jan. 24, 2022 – Non-Western IR-Theory & Postcolonialism

#### Required Readings

- Wiebke Wemheuer-Vogelaar and Ingo Peters (2016). Introduction: Globali(zing) International Relations: Studying Geo-epistemological divides and diversity, in Ingo Peters and Wiebke Wemheuer-Vogelaar (2016). *Globalizing International Relations: Scholarship Amidst Divides and Diversity*, Chapter 1. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Acharya, A., & Buzan, B. (2007). Why is there No Non-Western International Relations Theory? An Introduction. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 7(3), 287-312.
- Grovogui, S. N. (2007). Postcolonialism. In T. Dunne, M. Kurki & S. Smith (Eds.), *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (pp. 229-246). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

#### Overviews, background, critique:

- Waeber, O., & Tickner, A. B. (2009). Introduction: geoculture and epistemologies. In A. B. Tickner & O. Waeber (Eds.), *International Relations Scholarship Around the World*. New York: Routledge.
- Bilgin, P. (2008). Thinking Past 'Western IR'? . *Third World Quarterly*, 29(1), 5-23.
- Campbell, D. (2007). Post-structuralism. In T. Dunne, M. Kurki & S. Smith (Eds.), *International Relations Theory. Discipline and Diversity* (pp. 203-228). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tickner, A. B. (2003). Seeing IR Differently: Notes from the Third World. *Millennium-Journal for International Studies*, 32(2), 295-324.
- Ling, L. H. M. (2002). Postcolonial IR. In L. H. M. Ling (Ed.), *Postcolonial International Relations: Conquest and Desire Between Asia and the West* (pp. 61-78). Houndsmill: Palgrave.
- Mgonja, B. E., & Makombe, I. A. M. (2009). Debating International Relations and its Relevance for the Third World. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 3(1), 27-37.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Dirlik, A. (1999). How the Grinch hijacked radicalism: Further thoughts on the postcolonial. *Postcolonial Studies*, 2(2), 149-163.
- Draude, A., & Neuweiler, S. (2010) Governance in der postkolonialen Kritik: Die Herausforderungen lokaler Vielfalt jenseits der westlichen Welt. *SFB-Governance Working Paper Series No. 24*. Berlin: DFG Research Center (SFB) 700 Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood.
- Said, E. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.

### 14) Jan. 31, 2022 – A difficult choice: Three Non-Western theories and more...

#### Required Readings – in bold-print

>>Africa in general

- Mazrui, Ali. 1967. *Towards a Pax Africana*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 195-216 (chapter 12).

- Cornelissen, S. (2009). Awkward Embraces: Emerging and Established Powers and the Shifting Fortunes of Africa's International Relations in the Twenty-First Century. *Politikon*, 36 (1), 5–26.
- Juma, Laurence. 2006. Mazrui's Perspectives on conflict and violence. *African Journal* 46(3): 22-33.
- Bischoff, P.-H. (2008). Pan-African Multilateralism: Transformative or Disconnected? *Politikon*, 35 (2), 177-195.
- Fredua-Mensah, Keshia. 2016. Intellectual Gatekeeping -- The Meta-theoretical Challenges of Incorporating Africa into International Relations. In *Globalizing International Relations: Scholarship Amidst Divides and Diversity*, edited by Ingo Peters and Wiebke Wemheuer-Vogelaar, 81-106. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Appeltshauser, Laura. 2016. African In/Security and Colonial Rule: Security Studies' Neglect of Complexity. In *Globalizing International Relations: Scholarship Amidst Divides and Diversity*, edited by Ingo Peters and Wiebke Wemheuer-Vogelaar, 239-64. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

>>Africa: human rights & Ubuntu

- **Murithi, Tim. 2007. A local response to the global human rights standard: the ubuntu perspective on human dignity. In *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 277-86.**
- Oyowe, Anthony O. 2013. Strange bedfellows: Rethinking ubuntu and human rights in South Africa. *African Human Rights Law Journal* 13(1): 01-22.
- Eliastam, John LB. 2015. Exploring ubuntu discourse in South Africa: Loss, liminality and hope. *VERBUM et Ecclesia* 36(2): 1-8.
- Metz, Thaddeus. 2007. Ubuntu as a moral theory: Reply to four critics. *South African Journal of Philosophy* 26(4): 369-87.

>> China

- **Zhao, Tingyang. 2009. A Political World Philosophy in Terms of All-Under-Heaven: (Tian-xia). *Diogenes* 56(1): 5-19.**
- Zhao, T. (2006). Rethinking Empire from a Chinese Concept 'All-under-Heaven' (Tian-xia). *Social Identities*, 12 (1), 29-41.
- Bell, Daniel. 2009. War, Peace, and China's Soft Power: A Confucian Approach. *Diogenes* 221(26-40).
- Kristensen, Peter Marcus, and Ras T. Nielsen. 2013. Constructing a Chinese International Relations Theory: A Sociological Approach to Intellectual Innovation. *International Political Sociology* 7(1): 19–40.
- Noesselt, Nele. 2012. Is There a "Chinese School" of IR? *GIGA Working Papers*(188).
- Mokry, Sabine. 2016. Chinese International Relations (IR) Scholars' Publishing Practices and Language: The 'peaceful Rise'-Debate. In *Globalizing International Relations: Scholarship Amidst Divides and Diversity*, edited by Ingo Peters and Wiebke Wemheuer-Vogelaar, 135-64. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Rüländ, Anchalee. 2016. Constraining Structures: Why Local International Relations Theory in Southeast Asia Is Having a Hard Time. In *Globalizing International Relations: Scholarship Amidst Divides and Diversity*, edited by Ingo Peters and Wiebke Wemheuer-Vogelaar, 107-29. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

15) Febr. 7, 2022 – One of two choices

**Option 1: Analytical Eclecticism in the Study of World Politics**

Basic readings

- Sil, Rudra, and Peter J. Katzenstein. 2010. Chapter 1: Analytical eclecticism. In *Beyond Paradigms. Analytical Eclecticism in the Study of World Politics*, 1-23. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- ———. 2010. Chapter 2: Eclecticism, pragmatism, and paradigms in international relations. In *Beyond Paradigms. Analytical Eclecticism in the Study of World Politics*, 24-48. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- ———. 2010. Chapter 6: Conclusions. In *Beyond Paradigms. Analytical Eclecticism in the Study of World Politics*, 204-24. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

**Plus 1-3 examples from the book – chosen by presenting students!**

## **Option 2: Is IR a Global Discipline? Hegemony, Insularity, and Diversity in the Field**

**(The TRIP project & its results)**

**Basic readings:**

- Wemheuer-Vogelaar, Wiebke, Nicholas J Bell, Mariana Navarrete Morales, and Michael J Tierney. 2016. "The IR of the beholder: Examining global IR using the 2014 TRIP survey." *International Studies Review* 18 (1):16-32.
- Wemheuer-Vogelaar, Wiebke, and Thomas Risse. 2018. "International relations scholars in Germany: Young, internationalized, and non-paradigmatic." *German Politics* 27 (1):89-112.
- Maliniak, Daniel, Susan Peterson, Ryan Powers, and Michael J Tierney. 2018. "Is international relations a global discipline? Hegemony, insularity, and diversity in the field." *Security Studies* 27 (3):448-84.

## **16) Febr. 14, 2022 – FINAL SESSION: The End of IR Theory?**

Required Readings

- **Special Issue: The end of IR theory? European Journal of International Relations – Sept. 2013 Vol. 19 (3): >>selection to be suggested towards the end of the seminar!**
- Again: the basic texts for session 1, especially: Lake, David A. 2011. Why "isms" Are Evil: Theory, Epistemology, and Academic Sects as Impediments to Understanding and Progress. *International Studies Quarterly* 55: 465-80.  
>>Distribution of all text across seminar participants!  
>>Three texts of the special issues (2013) as focal texts!

**Concluding Discussion & Seminar Critique**