

School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
Department of Politics and International Studies

Power in World Politics

(Course Code: 15PPOH017)

Spring 2012

Seminars: Thursdays, 15:00-17:00, Room V329 (Vernon Square)

Seminar Leader: Dr Felix Berenskoetter

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Office Hours: Wednesdays, 11:00-13:00

AIMS

This half-unit course explores different understandings of 'power' in the study of international politics to unravel the notion, still predominant in the International Relations (IR) literature, that power is a straightforward concept. It draws on Stephen Lukes' typology of the *three faces* of power to introduce readings of power understood as winning conflicts, setting agendas and shaping normality and traces their presence in different theories of international politics. The course discusses forms of material ('hard') and ideational ('soft') power, as well as the distinction between 'power over' and 'power to'. It also looks at the evolution of the conceptualization of power in IR scholarship. While much of the discussions will take place on the theoretical level, students are asked to apply the insights to issues such as American hegemony, globalisation, war, North-South relations, or revolutions.

At the end of the course, students will be able to demonstrate familiarity with the academic literature and debates on 'power' in international politics. They will understand different kinds of power relations discussed in Social Theory and IR theories such as Realism, International Political Economy, Institutionalism, and Constructivism. Students will be able to present and critically engage this literature and apply insights empirically in an independent research project focusing on one or multiple facets of power. Students will also be aware of the ethical questions surrounding the analysis and exercise of power in international politics.

FORMAT AND ASSESSMENT

The course will proceed in form of two hour seminars on Thursday afternoon where we will discuss ideas and arguments drawn from assigned literature. We will begin each class with a presentation by one student on the topic at hand, followed by questions from a designated discussant, leading over to class discussions. Student work will be assessed as follows:

- Participation 10%
- Presentation 20%
- Research paper 70%

Participation: Students are expected to actively participate in discussions. We will work closely with the assigned texts and therefore you must know that you can only meaningfully contribute to the discussion if you have done the readings.

Presentation: Each student will present once and will also be designated discussant once. The presentation should be no longer than **15 minutes** and should *summarise and evaluate the main points made in the required readings*. For this it may be useful (but not necessary) to also consult some of further readings listed in the syllabus. Presenters must provide all class members with a hardcopy of a **one page outline** containing (i) your name, date, and the presentation topic, (ii) bullet points conveying the structure of your talk and the key points you want to get across, and (iii) a listing of the literature consulted. The information on this handout should be limited and only provide the skeleton of your presentation, that is, it should be easy to follow and not distract your audience. Presenters should also use this as an opportunity to develop their ability to speak freely from notes and, hence, should not read word-by-word from a prepared text.

The task of the **discussant** is to start-off the class discussion by posing **three questions** arising from the core readings and the presentation. These questions can be critical (expressing disagreement with the presenter), supplementary (adding an aspect you think should be highlighted more), or simply ask for clarification of an aspect in the readings/presentation you did not understand (there is always something). The discussant must justify these questions, that is, say where they come from and why they matter, but (s)he should *not* be tempted to give another presentation.

If you know in advance that unavoidable circumstances prevent you from giving a presentation or being discussant on the assigned day, please try and switch with a class-member and let me know.

Research Paper: Students are expected to write one **6,000 word assessed paper** on a topic exploring a phenomenon of power in international politics. Students may choose a topic from within the themes covered by the course and must formulate and engage a particular question subject to approval by the seminar leader. In preparation, a **one page-proposal** must be submitted by **Thursday, 15 March 2012**. The proposal should state the question you intend to answer, a basic structure and at least four pieces of relevant literature, and we will discuss the proposal during office hours.

The paper is due on Friday, 30 March 2012. This deadline will only be extended under exceptional circumstances and applications will need to be made in writing with supporting material through the Faculty Office. Late essays for which no extension has been given will be penalised at two percentage points per day as required by SOAS regulations. Students will receive written feedback on their paper and may receive additional oral feedback if they wish during office hours. The paper should be carefully researched and follow academic standard in terms of structure, citation and references. Students are reminded that plagiarism, the unacknowledged and non-attributed copying of the work and/or ideas of another author, is an examination offence.

COURSE OUTLINE

1. Measuring Power as a Problem
2. Three Faces of Power
3. Power in Classical Realism
4. Military Capabilities and Winning Wars
5. Interdependence and Agenda Setting
Reading Week
6. Hegemony and Structural Power
7. Authority and Legitimacy
8. Knowledge/Power and Governmentality
9. Persuasion and its Limits
10. Resistance, Empowerment and Change

READINGS

All 'Required Readings' are available electronically through the course's BLE or the SOAS library. The 'Further Readings' lists allows you to broaden your reading into areas which you find particularly interesting. To access those supplementary readings you may also need to consult other University of London libraries, such as those affiliated with the LSE, King's College, or Senate House. The following books are recommended for purchase:

Felix Berenskoetter and M. J. Williams (Eds.) *Power in World Politics* (London: Routledge, 2007)

Steven Lukes *Power: A Radical View*, second edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005)

Useful readers summarising different conceptual angles or providing excerpts from key sociological texts are John C. Scott *Power: Key Concepts* (Polity Press, 2001) and Mark Haugaard (ed) *Power. A Reader* (Manchester University Press, 2002). See also Brian Barry (ed) *Power and Political Theory* (London: John Wiley, 1976). A sophisticated recent treatment is Peter Morriss *Power: A Philosophical Analysis*, second edition (Manchester University Press, 2002), and there is also a major new reference book by Keith Dowding (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Power* (London: Sage Publications, 2011). Students may also want to browse through the *Journal of Political Power* (Taylor & Francis).

CLASS SCHEDULE

1. Measuring Power as a Problem – 12 Jan

Required Readings

Ferguson, N. 'The End of Power: Without American hegemony the world would likely return to the dark ages', *The Wall Street Journal*, 21 June 2004.

Guzzini, S. 'On the Measure of Power and the Power of Measure in International Relations', *DIIS Working Paper 29* (2009)

Further Readings

Baldwin, D. 'Power and International Relations', in W. Carlsnaes, T. Risse, and B. Simmons (eds.) *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2002): 177-191

- Barnett, M. and Duvall, R. 'Power in International Politics', *International Organization* (59/1, 2005): 39-75, reprinted in Barnett and Duvall (eds), *Power in Global Governance* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), Ch. 1.
- Bull, H. *The Anarchical Society* (New York: Palgrave), Ch. 5
- Enloe, C. , 'Margins, Silences, and Bottom Rungs: How to overcome the underestimation of power in the study of International Relations' in Smith et al. (eds.) *International Theory* (Cambridge University Press, 1996): 186-203
- Foucault, M. 'The Subject and Power', in J. D. Faubion (ed) *Michel Foucault: Power, Essential Works of Foucault, Volume 3* (New York: New Press, 2000): 326-348.
- Guzzini, S. 'The use and misuse of power analysis in international theory', in R. Palan (Ed.) *Global Political Economy* (London: Routledge, 2000): 53-66.
- Guzzini, S. 'The Concept of Power. A Constructivist Analysis', *Millennium* 33/3 (2005): 495-522 [reprinted in Berenskoetter and Williams, *Power in World Politics*, pp. 23-42]
- Hay, C. 'Divided by a Common Language: Political Theory and the Concept of Power', *Politics* 17/1 (1997): 45-52.
- Hirst, P. 'The Eighty Years' Crisis, 1919-1999: Power', *Review of International Studies* 24, Special Issue (1998): 133-148.
- Little, R. 'Deconstructing the balance of power: two traditions of thought', *Review of International Studies*, 15/3 (1988): 87-100
- Nye, J. S. *Soft Power: The Means to Succeed in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs) Ch. 1
- Sterling-Folker, J. and R. E. Shinko, 'Discourses of Power: Traversing the Realist-Postmodern Divide', *Millennium* 33/3 (2005): 637-664 [reprinted in Berenskoetter and Williams, *Power in World Politics*, pp. 244-264]

2. Three Faces of Power – 19 Jan

Required Readings

- Lukes, S. *Power: A Radical View*, pp. 1-59
- Berenskoetter, F. 'Thinking about Power', in Berenskoetter and Williams *Power in World Politics*, pp. 1-12

Further Readings

- Bachrach, P. and M. S. Baratz *Power and Poverty: Theory and Practice* (Oxford University Press, 1970)
- Barry, B. 'The Uses of Power', in his *Democracy, Power and Justice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988 [1987]): 307-321; see also other essays on power in the same book).
- Bradshaw, A. 'A Critique of Steven Lukes *Power: A Radical View*', *Sociology*, 10 (1976): 121-7 and reply by Lukes, pp. 129-32.
- Dahl, R. 'A critique of the ruling elite model', *American Political Science Review*, 52 (1958): 463-469
- Dahl, R. *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961)
- Dahl, R. 'Power', in D. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 12 (New York: Free Press, 1968): 405-415.
- Gaventa, J., *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980)
- Hay, C. 'Divided by a Common Language: Political Theory and the Concept of Power', *Politics* 17/1 (1997): 45-52.
- Mills, C. W. *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956)
- Oppenheim, F. "'Power' revisited", *Journal of Politics*, 40 (1978): 589-608.
- Political Studies Review (2006) *Symposium on Steven Lukes' Power: A Radical View*, 4(2): 115-173.
- Polsby, N. *Community Power and Political Theory*, second edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).
- Riker, W. 'Some ambiguities in the notion of power', *American Political Science Review*, 58 (1964): 341-349.
- Wrong, D. H. *Power: its forms, bases and uses*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988).

3. Power in Classical Realism – 26 Jan

Required Readings

- Aron, R. *Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations* (New York: Transaction Publ, 2003 [1962]), chapters two and three (pp. 47-93)
- Carr, E. H. *The Twenty Years' Crisis* (Basingstoke: Palgrave 2001 [1945]), chapter eight (pp. 97-130)

Further Readings

- Anderson, B. C. *Raymond Aron: The Recovery of the Political* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1998)
- Claude, I. *Power and International Relations* (New York: Random House)
- Griffiths, M. *Realism, Idealism & International Politics: a reinterpretation* (London: Routledge, 1992), chapters 1-4
- Guzzini, S. *Realism in International Relations and International Political Economy: the continuing story of a death foretold* (London: Routledge, 1998); chs. 2 and 3
- Haas, E. B. 'The Balance of Power: Prescription, Concept or Propaganda?', *World Politics*, 5/3 (1953): 442-77.
- Holsti, K. J. 'The Concept of Power in the Study of International Relations', *Background*, 7/4 (1964): 179-194
- Hoffmann, S. 'Theory and International Relations', in S. Hoffmann (ed.) *The State of War* (New York: Praeger, 1965): 3-21.
- Little, R. 'Deconstructing the balance of power: two traditions of thought', *Review of International Studies*, 15/3 (1988): 87-100
- Little, R. *The Balance of Power in International Relations: Metaphors, Myths and Models* (Cambridge University Press, 2007)
- Mann, M. *The Sources of Social Power: Volume I and II* (Cambridge University Press)
- Morgenthau, H. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: McGraw Hill 2007 [1948]): Table of Contents, chs. 3 and 10
- Schmidt, B. 'Competing Realist Conceptions of Power', *Millennium* 33/3 (2005): 523-550 [reprinted in Berenskoetter and Williams, *Power in World Politics*, pp. 43-63]
- Smith, M. J. *Realist Thought from Weber to Kissinger* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986): chapters 1, 2, and 6

4. Military Capabilities and Winning Wars – 2 Feb

Required Readings

- Posen, B. R., 'Command of the Commons: the Military Foundation of US Hegemony,' *International Security* 28/1 (2003): 5-46 (skim this article)
- Baldwin, D. 'Power Analysis and World Politics: New Trends versus Old Tendencies', *World Politics* 31/2 (1979), pp. 161-175.
- Joffe, J. 'Power Failure: Why Force Doesn't Buy Order', *The American Interest* (July/August 2007): 48-54

Further Readings

- Consider the development of headlines:
- 'Bush declares victory in Iraq', BBC News, 2 May, 2003
 - 'Who Lost Iraq?' *New York Times*, 29 June, 2004
 - 'Bush: victory still important in Iraq', *The Guardian*, 7 December, 2006
 - 'U.S. Not Winning War in Iraq, Bush Says for 1st Time', *The Washington Post*, 20 Dec, 2006
 - 'Reid: Iraq War lost, U.S. can't win', *Associated Press / msnbc*, 20 April, 2007
 - 'Who Lost Iraq?' *Foreign Affairs*, Sept./Oct. 2007
 - 'Iraq: Who won the War?' *The Independent*, 16 March 2008
 - 'Can the Right War be Won?' *Foreign Affairs* (July/Aug 2009): 120-127
- Arendt, H. *On Violence* (London: Penguin, 1970)
- Allawi, A. A. *The Occupation of Iraq: Winning the War, Losing the Peace* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007)
- Art, R. J. 'The Fungibility of Force', in R.J. Art and K. Waltz (eds.) *The Use of Force: military power and international politics, sixth edition* (Roman and Littlefield, 2004): 3-21

- Baldwin, D. *Paradoxes of Power* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989)
- Deutsch, K. (1967) 'On the Concepts of Politics and Power', *Journal of International Affairs*, 21/2 (1967): 232-241
- Gallarotti, G. M. *The Power Curse: Influence and Illusion in World Politics* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2010)
- Hart, J. 'Three Approaches to the Measurement of Power in International Relations', *International Organization*, 30/2 (1976): 289-305
- Johnson, C. *Blowback: the Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (Time Warner, 2002)
- Johnson, C. *Nemesis: The Last Days of the American Republic* (Henry Holt & Co, 2007)
- Lebow, R. N. and J. G. Stein *We All Lost the Cold War* (Princeton University Press, 1994)
- Mearsheimer, J. J. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001), Chapters 3 and 4
- Mann, M., 'The First Failed Empire of the 21st Century', *Review of International Studies* 30/4 (2004): 631-653
- Nye, J. S. *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone* (Oxford University Press, 2002)
- Reus-Smit, C., *American Power and World Order* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004)
- Wallerstein, I. 'The Eagle has crash landed', *Foreign Policy* (July/August, 2002): 60-68.

5. Economic Interdependence and Agenda Setting – 9 Feb

Required Readings

- Keohane, R. and J. Nye, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* (New York: Longman, 2001 [1977]): chapters 1-2
- Baldwin, D. 'Power Analysis and World Politics: New Trends versus Old Tendencies', *World Politics* 31/2 (1979): 175-194

Further Readings

- Baldwin, D. *Economic Statecraft* (Princeton University Press, 1985): chapter 2
- Baldwin, D. 'Interdependence and power: a conceptual analysis', *International Organization*, 34/4 (1980): 471-506.
- Hagstroem, L. 'Relational Power for Foreign Policy Analysis: Issues in Japan's China Policy', *European Journal of International Relations* 11/3 (2005): 395-430.
- Hirschman, A. O. *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1945).
- Keohane, R. O. and J. S. Nye, Jr. 'Power and Interdependence Revisited', *International Organization*, 41/4 (1987): 725-53.
- Knorr, K. *Power and Wealth: The Political Economy of International Power* (London: Macmillan, 1973).
- Krasner, S. *Structural Conflict: The Third World against Global Liberalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).
- Mauil, H. 'Germany and Japan: the new Civilian Powers', *Foreign Affairs*, 69/5 (1990): 91-106
- Nye, J. S. 'Neorealism and Neoliberalism', *World Politics*, 40/2 (1988): 235-51.

On Agenda-Setting:

- Gruber, L. 'Power Politics and the institutionalization of international relations', in Barnett and Duvall, *Power in Global Governance* (Cambridge University Press, 2005): 102-129
- Joachim, J. M. *Agenda setting, the UN, and NGOs: gender violence and reproductive rights* (Georgetown University Press, 2007)
- Livingston, S. G. 'The Politics of International Agenda-Setting: Reagan and North-South Relations', *International Studies Quarterly* 36 (1992): 313-330.
- Mattli, W. and Büthe, T. 'Setting International Standards: Technological Rationality or Primacy of Power?', *World Politics*, 53 (2003): 1-42
- Pollack, M. A. 'Delegation, agency, and agenda setting in the European Community', *International Organization* 51 (1997): 99-134
- Princen, S. 'Agenda-setting in the European Union: a theoretical exploration and agenda for research' *Journal of European Public Policy*, 14/1 (2007): 21-38

Tsebelis, G. and G. Garrett 'Agenda setting power, power indices, and decision making in the European Union' *International Review of Law and Economics*, 16/3 (1996): 345-361

On Economic Sanctions:

Cortright, D. and G.A. Lopez *Smart Sanctions: Targeting Economic Statecraft* (Roman & Littlefield, 2002)

Drezner, D. *The Sanctions Paradox: Economic Statecraft and International Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Elliott, K. A. 'The Sanctions Glass: Half Full or Completely Empty' *International Security* (Summer 1998): 50-65

Gottemoeller, R. 'The Evolution of Sanctions in Practice and Theory' *Survival* (Winter 2007-08): 99-110.

Hufbauer, G. C., Schott, J.J. and K.A. Elliott *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered: History and Current Policy* (Institute for International Economics, various editions)

Pape, R. A. 'Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work', *International Security* (Fall 1997): 90-136

*** Reading Week – 16 Feb ***

6. Hegemony and Structural Power – 23 Feb

Required Readings

Strange, S. 'The Persistent Myth of Lost Hegemony', *International Organization* 41/4 (1987): 551-574

Nexon, D. B. and T. Wright 'What's at Stake in the American Empire Debate', *American Political Science Review* 101/2 (2007): 253-271

Mann, M. 'The first failed empire of the 21st century', *Review of International Studies* 30/4 (2004): 631-653

Further Readings

Beck, U. *Power in the Global Age* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005).

Caporaso, J. A. 'Dependence, dependency and power in the global system: a structural and behavioural Analysis', *International Organization* 32/1 (1978): 13-43.

Cark, I. 'China and the US: a succession of hegemonies?', *International Affairs* 87/1 (2011): 13-28.

Cox, R. 'Social Forces, States and World Order: Beyond International Relations Theory', *Millennium* 10/2 (1981): 126-55.

Cox, R. 'Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method', *Millennium* 12/2 (1983): 162-175

Cox, R. *Production, Power and World Order* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987)

Deyermond, R. 'Matrioska hegemony' *Review of International Studies* 35/1 (2009): 151-173

Galtung, J. 'A Structural Theory of Imperialism', *Journal of Peace Research*, 8/2 (1971): 81-117.

Gill, S. and D. Law 'Global Hegemony and the Structural Power of Capital', *International Studies Quarterly* 33/4 (1989): 475-99.

Gilpin, R. *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1981)

Guzzini, S. 'Structural power: the limits of neorealist power analysis', *International Organization*, 47/3 (1993): 443-78.

Hardt, M. and Negri, A. *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000)

Ikenberry, G. J., Mastanduno, and W. C. Wohlforth 'Unipolarity, State Behavior, and Systemic Consequences', *World Politics* 61/1 (2009): 1-27

Joseph, J. 'Hegemony and the structure-agency problem in International Relations: a scientific realist contribution', *Review of International Studies* (2008), 34:109-128

Konigs, M. 'The Construction of US financial power', *Review of International Studies* 35/1 (2009): 69-94

Krause, K. 'Military Statecraft: Power and Influence in Soviet and American Arms Transfer Relationships', *International Studies Quarterly*, 35/3 (1991): 313-336.

- Mann, M. 'Has globalization ended the rise and rise of the nation-state?', *Review of International Political Economy* 4/3 (1997): 472-96.
- Mead, W. R. 'America's Sticky Power', *Foreign Policy*, No. 141 (March-April 2004)
- Rupert, M. *Producing Hegemony: The Politics of Mass Production and American Global Power* (Cambridge University Press, 1995)
- Strange, S. *States and Markets* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1988), prologue and chapter two
- Strange, S. 'Finance, Information, and Power', *Review of International Studies*, 16/3 (1990): 259-74
- Strange, S. 'The retreat of the state: the diffusion of power in the world economy' (Cambridge University Press, 1996)
- Weiss, L. 'Michael Mann, state power, and the two logics of globalization', *Millennium*, 34/2 (2005): 529-541.
- Worth, O. 'Recasting Gramsci in international politics', *Review of International Studies* 37/1 (2010): 373-392.

See also literature on the 'American empire' debate posted on BLE.

7. Authority and Legitimacy – 1 March

Required Readings

- Hurd, I. 'Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics', *International Organization* 53/3 (1999): 379-408
- Barnett, M. and Finnemore, M. 'The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations', *International Organization* 53/4 (1999): 699-732
- Matthews, J. T. 'Power Shift', *Foreign Affairs* 76/1 (1997): 50-66

Further Readings

- Adler, E. and S. Bernstein 'Knowledge in power: the epistemic construction of global governance', in M. Barnett and R Duvall *Power in Global Governance* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 294-318
- Beyers, M. *Custom, Power, and the Power of Rules* (Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- Bukovansky, M. *Legitimacy and Power Politics* (Princeton University Press, 2002)
- Caron D. 'The Legitimacy of the Collective Authority of the Security Council', *American Journal of International Law* 87 (1993): 552-588
- Clark, I. 'Legitimacy in a global order', *Review of International Studies* 29 (2003): 75-95
- Clark, I. *Legitimacy in International Society* (Oxford University Press, 2005)
- Claude, I. 'Collective Legitimation as a Political Function of the United Nations', *International Organization* 20/3 (1996): 367-379
- Cronin, B. 'The Paradox of Hegemony: America's Ambiguous Relationship with the United Nations', *European Journal of International Relations* 7/1 (2001): 103-130.
- Cronin, B. and I. Hurd (Eds.) *The UN Security Council and the Politics of International Authority: Law, Politics and Power* (New York: Routledge, 2008).
- Finnemore, M. 'Legitimacy, Hypocrisy, and the Social Structure of Unipolarity: Why being a Unipole Isn't All It's Cracked Up to Be' *World Politics* 61/1 (2009): 58-87
- Fuchs, D. 'Commanding Heights? The Strength and Fragility of Business Power in Global Politics', *Millennium* 33/3 (2005): 771-802.
- Hasssdorf, W. 'Contested Credibility: the use of symbolic power in British exchange-rate politics' in Berenskoetter and Williams, *Power in World Politics*, pp. 141-161
- Nye, J. S. *Soft Power: The Means to Succeed in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs) Ch. 1
- Orford, A. 'Positivism and the Power of International Law', *Melbourne University Law Review* 24 (2000): 502-529.
- Rapkin, D. P. and D. Braaten 'Conceptualizing hegemonic legitimacy' *Review of International Studies* 35/1 (2009): 113-150
- Spencer, M. 'Weber on Legitimate Norms and Authority', *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 21 (1970): 123-134.
- Van Ham, P. *Social Power in International Politics* (London/New York: Routledge, 2010)

8. Knowledge/Power and Governmentality – 8 March

Required Readings

- Merlingen, M. 'Governmentality: Towards a Foucauldian Framework for the Study of IGOs', *Cooperation and Conflict* 38/4 (2003): 361-384.
- Leander, A. 'The Power to Construct International Security: On the Significance of Private Military Companies', *Millennium* 33/3 (2005): 803-826.

Further Readings

- Ashley, R. K. 'The Geopolitics of Geopolitical Space: Toward a Critical Social Theory of International Politics', *Alternatives* 12/4 (1987): 403-434.
- Bigo, D. 'Pierre Bourdieu and International Relations: Power of Practices, Practices of Power', *International Political Sociology* 5/3 (2011): 225-258
- Bourdieu, P. *Language and Symbolic Power* (Harvard University Press, 1993)
- Butler, J. *The Psychic Life of Power* (New York: Routledge, 1997)
- Dean, M. *Governmentality – Power and Rule in Modern Society* (London: Sage, 1999)
- Edkins, J. *Poststructuralism and International Relations: Bringing the Political Back in* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999)
- Foucault, M. *Power/Knowledge*, trans. C. Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980)
- Foucault, M. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage 1995 [1975]); Part 1, chapter 1; Part 3, chapter 3
- Foucault, M. *Power*, Volume 3 of J. D. Faubion (ed.) *Essential Works of Foucault* (New York: New Press, 2000); in particular, 'Truth and Power', 'Governmentality' and "'Omnes et Singulatiim'": towards a critique of political reason'.
- Fraser, N. 'From Discipline to Flexibilization? Rereading Foucault in the Shadow of Globalization', *Constellations* 10/2 (2003): 160-171.
- Burchell, G., Gordon, C. and P. Miller (eds), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991)
- Haas, E. *When Knowledge Is Power* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990)
- Hardt, M. and Negri, A. *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000)
- Holzschleiter, A. 'Discourse as Capability', *Millennium* 33/3 (2005): 723-46.
- Huysmans, J. 'A Foucaultian view on spill-over: freedom and security in the EU', *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 7/3 (2004): 294-318.
- Jessop, B. 'From micro-powers to governmentality: Foucault's work on statehood, state formation, statecraft and state power', *Political Geography* 26/1 (2007): 34-40
- Joseph, J. 'The Limits of governmentality: social theory and the international', *European Journal of International Relations*, 16/2 (2010): 223-246.
- Keeley, J. F. 'Toward a Foucauldian Analysis of International Regimes', *International Organization*, 44/1 (1990), pp. 83-105.
- La Branche, S. 'Abuse and westernization: reflections on strategies of power', *Journal of Peace Research* 42/2 (2005): 219-235.
- Lemke, T. 'Comment on Nancy Fraser: Rereading Foucault in the Shadow of Globalization', *Constellations* 10/2 (2003) 172-79.
- Lipschutz, R. 'Power, Politics and Global Civil Society', *Millennium* 33/3 (2005): 747-770, reprinted in Berenskoetter and Williams, *Power in World Politics*, pp. 225-243
- Muppidi, H. 'Colonial and postcolonial global governance' in Barnett and Duvall (Eds.) *Power in Global Governance* (Cambridge University Press, 2005): 272-293
- Naylor, T. 'Deconstructing Development: The use of power and pity in the international development discourse', *International Studies Quarterly*, 55/1 (2011): 177-198
- Salter, M. 'Critical Demographies and International Relations', *International Politics* 38/3 (2001): 335-356.
- Sending, O. J. and I. B. Neumann 'Governance to Governmentality: Analyzing NGOs, States, and Power', *International Studies Quarterly* 50/3 (2006): 651-672.
- See also the Forum on 'Assessing the Impact of Foucault on International Relations' in *International Political Sociology* 4/2 (2010): 196-215

9. Persuasion (and its Limits) – 15 March

Required Readings

- Risse, T. 'Let's Argue!: Communicative Action in World Politics', *International Organization* 54/1 (2000): 1-39
- Bially-Mattern, J. 'Why "soft power" isn't so soft: representational force and the socio-linguistic construction of attraction in world politics', in Berenskoetter and Williams, *Power in World Politics*, pp. 98-119
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10. Resistance, Empowerment and Change – 22 March

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