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, “General Overviews,” is a collection of “shortcuts”—that is, journal articles and chapters in handbooks that delineate the basic parameters of this literature. 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,” “The Asias,” “The Americas,” “The Europes,” “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."

**General Overviews**

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. Zehfuss 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.

**References**


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.


An instructive foray into the debate between critical and conventional constructivism mentioned in the introduction, focusing especially on Wendt’s conceptualization of identity (see below). 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.

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.)


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.


Rather than promoting naive 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.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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 coherence out of multiplicity and hybridity.

Fundamentals

Frazzled by the rapid 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 do the corollary binaries: domestic/foreign, inside/outside, linear/cyclical, fiction/nonfiction, and change/continuity. The books and edited volumes listed below 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 heretofore dominant ’states under anarchy’ model. Ringmar 1996 and the volumes edited by Katzensten 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


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.)


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.

The most widely debated book of constructivist IR, famous for its *via media* positions on a number of philosophical and theoretical disputations. Proposes the existence of four “kinds” of identities: corporate identity, collective, role, and type.

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.

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.

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.

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.


The first book-length how-to guide for applying different discourse analytic approaches and methodologies to foreign policy. Brings together poststructuralist (chapters by Thomas Diez, Henrik Larsen and Beste Isleyen), constructivist (Knud Erik Jørgensen, Jan Orbie, Ferdi de Ville, Esther Barbé, Anna Herranz-Surrallés and Michal Natorski); Critical Discourse Analytical (Senem Aydin-Düzgit, Amelie Kutter, Ruth Wodak, Salomi Boukala and Caterina Carta); and discursive institutionalist (Ben Rosamond, Antoine Rayroux and Vivien A. Schmidt) frameworks.

**Regions**

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**

An intricate theoretical probing of identity and foreign policy, Telhami and Barnett 2002 has influenced both Middle Eastern Studies and IR. Dunn 2003 is a powerful poststructuralist account of the Congo and/in the world. Mustapha 2008 is a re-reading of Nigerian foreign policy in the context of both identity and the post-colonial condition, as is Black and Hornsby 2017, albeit in the context of post-apartheid South Africa. Two readings focus on Iran: Holliday 2011 is more general interpretation of national identity, while Akbarzadeh and Barry are more focused on foreign policy.


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.

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).


Taking into consideration the conceptual and theoretical relationship between national and other identities on the one hand 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.


An investigation of the content and contestation of the diverse discourses on Iranian national identity that covers everything from the master concepts of asr and Islam 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 shaped Iran’s identity-formation processes.


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.


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
Cochrane, Taras, and Ebel 1991 look at one of identity’s conceptual predecessors, political culture, in the context of Latin American foreign policy. Bukovansky 1997 and Weldes 1999 are both classics of constructivist IR. The first looks at America’s Wars of Independence, the second at the 1962 nuclear war-scare over Cuba. Three more readings deal with the US at different points in history: Agathangelou and Ling 2004 is a feminist-postcolonial take on “9/11,” Krebs 2015 considers twentieth century security narratives and Cha 2015 goes back to the republic’s origins using the concept of the standard of civilization. Santa Cruz 2012 is a constructivist account of Mexico-US relations, focusing on the concept of sovereignty. Lima 2014 is a Gramscian study of Brazil’s foreign policy.


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 role political culture plays in 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.


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.


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.

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).


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.


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.


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.


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**

post-Cold War Japan, and Lee 2008 on Japan’s relationship with the US. Two readings are on China: Gries, Zhang, Crowson and Cai 2011 is an in-depth examination of Chinese national identity, while Zhang 2013 is a demystification of Chinese exceptionalism. Chung 2015 is a novel experimental study of trust in the Northeast Asian context, and Chacko 2012 is a convincing postcolonial take on Indian foreign policy.


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.


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.


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 transgredience. 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.


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.

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 express skepticism about general theories of “identity effects.” (A book-length version of her argument appeared in 2013.)


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, with special reference to its contemporary neoliberal component.


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.


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.


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.

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**

Wæver 1998 and Rumelili 2004 both reflect on the process of European integration from the perspective of both temporal and spatial Othering—that is, vis-à-vis Europe’s warring past and also its Eastern and African neighbours. Marcussen et al 1999 and Subotic 2005 represent different forays into the voluminous literature on European identity conceived as a psycho-sociological-political process of attaching oneself to the European integration project. Hadfield-Amkhan 2010 shows that identity can be productively deployed to advance realist IR claims. Grove and Carter 1999 is a discussion of framing, Gheciu 2015 of socialization, Yilmaz and Bilgin 2015 of elite constructions, Guzzini 2014 of mechanisms, Bucher and Jasper 2017 of identification, and Kinnvall, Manners, and Mitzen of ontological security—all indispensable conceptual building blocks in the study of identity and foreign policy.


An influential argument that the Self need not emerge from the construction of threatening Others but can also be stabilized in attempts to transcend prior manifestations of the Self. For Wæver, European integration is a case in point: rather than, for example, Russia or the Balkans, Europe’s radicalized Other is its own bloody history. The chapter also contends that the best way to build security communities is to focus on projects other than security.


To what extent have the identities of “the big three” become “Europeanized”? 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.

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.


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 interactions with Morocco, Turkey, and Central and Eastern European states, Rumelili finds that prevailing self-other relations allow the EU to make a double claim to moral superiority: temporally over Europe's past, and spatially over its "backward" neighbours.


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.


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 help explain the rise to power of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the polarization of Turkish society under his rule.


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.

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.


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.


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.


Ontological security relates to a consistent sense of Self, which is achieved, or securitized, by routinizing relationships with Other. Edited by three trailblazers of ontological security studies in IR, this collection of eight articles is an excellent introduction to what is arguably the most rapidly growing research program within the identity and foreign policy nexus. The main message of the special issue is that identity formation is a function of national, international, global and planatary issues at once.

**The post-Soviet Space**

The readings in this section begin with Neumann’s first identity book (1996), then move on the influential contributions by Prizel 1998 and Hopf 2002. Clunan 2009 focuses on status-seeking, while Mälksoo 2010 and Morozov 2015 deal with, respectively, liminality and subalterity. Tsygankov 2014 is a novel theorization of identity by one of the leading students of Russian foreign policy. Gaufman 2017 represents the new
generation, with her important critique of securitization theory. The volumes edited by Fawn 2003 and White and Feklyunina 2014 bookend a very productive decade in the study of identity and foreign policy in the post-Soviet space.


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


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.


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.


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).

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.


Drawing on Bakhtin and Said, 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, Mäkisoo also situates this region in wider international politics involving the European Union, Russia and the United States.


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.


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.

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

**Comparative**

A selection of comparative studies: Doty 1996 and Braveboy-Wagner 2003 each think of foreign policy as being fundamentally about empire. Their theoretical and methodological differences notwithstanding, Femenia 1996, Qing 2007, Herrmann, Isernia, and Segatti 2009 Vucetic 2011, Nau and Ollapally 2014 and Lupovici 2016 all share an interest in examining foreign policy as a function of various identity-formation processes “at home”. Adamson and Demetriou 2007 make a convincing appeal for giving greater analytical attention to diasporas, and Adler-Nissen 2014 does the same with regards to the concept of stigma. Agius and Keep 2018 is an interdisciplinary reflection on the constitution, reconstitution and political implications of identities, with five chapters on foreign policy.


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.


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 interstate interaction.


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).

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.


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. Extrapolating from her findings, Qing suggests that differential moral values and cultural visions of modernity are likely to continue to shape the relationship between the world’s two most powerful nations.


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.


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.


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.


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 as a whole.


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.

**New Frontiers**

The literatures on narratives, culture and civilizations, emotions, assemblages and national identity discourses are all increasing in range, volume and sophistication. Respectively: Bar-Tal et al 2014, Bettiza 2014, Bleiker and Hutchison 2014, Salter 2015–2016, and Allan and Hopf 2016. These are established concepts, but attempts to bring them together into coherent frameworks are not. Indeed, identity researchers in IR are now increasingly arguing that we cannot begin to understand the constitution of different referent objects (individuals, states, religious groups) and different outcomes (cooperation/conflict, stability/change) without first gaining insights into the ways in which narratives and/or discourses become emotional, embodied, habitualized and/or material expressions of selfhood. As each literature’s strengths can be used to remedy the weaknesses of the other such cross-fertilizations are likely to have a significant bearing on conceptual, theoretical and methodological developments in future studies of the identity-foreign policy nexus.

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.


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.


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. An excellent form consisting of the articles by Jonathan Mercer and Neta C. Crawford and short responses by Rose McDermott, K.M. Fierke, Christian Reus-Smit, Andrew Linklater, L.H.M. Ling, Renée Jeffery, and Janice Bially Mattern.


A two-volume series of essays that explore “new materialist” perspectives in international relations. Recasting the notion of agency to include “things” themselves, the authors examine how mundane, everyday objects constitute war, diplomacy, trade and other aspects of foreign policy. Objects examined include blood, garbage, traffic lights, memes, smartphones, HTTP cookies, “North Korea,” the orange prison jumpsuit, and container shipping. (Disclosure: the author of the present bibliography has a chapter on fighter jets in the second volume).


This research project assembles a constructivist, intersubjective database of national identities that will become a key source for IR scholars who wish to include constructivist arguments in their scholarship. Presenting results for the year 2010, this volume covers China, the US, UK, Germany,
France, Brazil, Japan, and India (Disclosure: the author of the present bibliography has two chapters in the book, one empirical, one theoretical).