

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Syllabus

Legitimacy in International Relations: Between Soft Power and Conflict Resolution - 58482

Last update 13-10-2024

HU Credits: 4

Degree/Cycle: 1st degree (Bachelor)

Responsible Department: International Relations

Academic year: 0

Semester: 1st Semester

Teaching Languages: Hebrew

Campus: Mt. Scopus

Course/Module Coordinator: Dr. Daniel F. Wajner

Coordinator Email: daniel.wajner@mail.huji.ac.il

Coordinator Office Hours:

Teaching Staff:

Dr. Daniel Wajner

Course/Module description:

The present course delves deeper into one subject that has occupied a place of honor in contemporary International Relations – the dynamics of legitimacy and legitimation in world politics. Politicians, journalists, and analysts refer constantly to the legitimation and de-legitimation processes of certain states, political regimes, international organizations or non-governmental organizations, and make assessments of how those actors resonate with international audiences through the performance of multiple legitimation strategies. Given the vagueness of these arguments, this course aims to familiarize students with the burgeoning IR literature that has focused on international legitimacy, as well as to provide them with basic theoretical, epistemological and methodological tools to conduct analysis on worldwide cases adopting a legitimacy perspective.

Course/Module aims:

- To expose the students to the scientific literature on international legitimacy, as well as to the methods applied to analyze (de)legitimation strategies and (de)legitimation processes in multiple cases in contemporary international relations.
- To encourage the use of those theoretical and methodological tools to explain major events in global politics in general and the Middle East in particular, while employing group exercises and various didactic games.
- To train the students to carry out their own independent scientific research (including seminar work), which will focus on the analysis of the (de-)legitimation strategies of different actors in the international system.

Learning outcomes - On successful completion of this module, students should be able to:

The course is divided into four sections. We firstly approach into the concept of international legitimacy and its relations with linked notions such as (soft) power, authority, legality, norms, anarchy, and diplomacy. We then analyze why diverse national, regional and global actors are in a constant quest for legitimacy due to the current "performative" politics, and the ways they manage to deal with the respective challenges they face. In the third section we examine how these actors may turn from objects into subjects of the (de)legitimation dynamics through rhetorical strategies, as well as the dilemmas derived from being capable of influencing either towards the use of force on international conflicts or during

negotiated peace processes. We finally discuss the prospect of conducting research and contributing to the development of legitimacy studies as a research program.

Attendance requirements(%):

80

Teaching arrangement and method of instruction: Students are expected to participate actively during the course, formulating questions for discussion from the reading material and work on a research project related to one of the topics studied in class.

The course grade will be compiled as follows:

20% active participation (attendance + participation in discussions).

20% formulation of questions for discussion (at least five times, two questions each time).

60% research project (choosing a topic + research proposal + presenting the research set-up in class).

Also, the students of the course are required to submit a seminar paper based on their research project. The work must be submitted no later than Thursday, 2/29/2024 except for rare, extraordinary cases, after the student has received special permission for this in writing from the lecturer). Throughout the process of preparing the project, it will be possible to consult with the lecturer, following the steps defined in the "work instructions" file that will appear on the Moodle page of the course.

Course/Module Content:

Lessons plan & main topics

1) Introduction to International Legitimacy: sources, mechanisms, effects

2) Legitimacy, Power and Authority

3) Legitimacy, Norms and Legality

4) The Quest for Legitimacy: Audiences, Persuasion, Rhetorical Strategies

5) Regimes' Legitimacy and "Legitimation Crisis"

-
- 6) *Legitimation Battles and the Use of Force in International Conflicts*
 - 7) *The Legitimacy of International Orders and their Hegemonic Powers*
 - 8) *The Legitimacy of International and Regional Organizations*
 - 9) *International and Regional Organizations as Legitimizing Agents*
 - 10) *Non-Governmental Organizations as Legitimizing Agents*
 - 11) *Methodologies for Studying Legitimacy and Legitimation Dynamics*
 - 12) *Legitimacy and Legitimation in Conflict Resolution and Peace Negotiations*
 - 13) *Legitimacy Studies in IR: Quo Vadis?*

Required Reading:

See in the MOODLE page of the course.

Additional Reading Material:

(Students are not required to read all the materials, but only some of them, as of their choice).

General Reading

Thomas M. Franck. 1990. *The power of legitimacy among nations*. Oxford Univ. Press,

Ian Clark, 2005. *Legitimacy in International Society*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

Ian Hurd. 2008. *After anarchy: legitimacy and power in the United Nations Security Council*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Achim Hurrelmann, Steffen Schneider, and Jens Steffek. 2007. *Legitimacy in an Age of Global Politics*. Houndmills-Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan.

Michael Zürn. 2018. *A theory of global governance: Authority, legitimacy, and contestation*. Oxford University Press.

Bruce Gilley, 2009. *The Right to Rule. How States Win and Lose Legitimacy*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Lesson 0 – Legitimacy and Me

Daniel F. Wajner and Arie Kacowicz. 2018. "The Quest for Regional Legitimation: Analyzing the Arab League's legitimizing role in the Arab Spring". *Regional & Federal Studies* 28:3, 489-521.

Daniel F. Wajner, 2019. "'Battling' for Legitimacy: Analyzing Performative Contests in the 'Gaza Flotilla' Paradigmatic Case", *International Studies Quarterly*, 63.4

(2019): 1035-1050.

Lesson 1 - Introduction to International Legitimacy: sources, mechanisms, effects.
Ian Clark, 2005. *Legitimacy in International Society*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, (pp.1-19).

Ian Hurd. 2008. *After anarchy: legitimacy and power in the United Nations Security Council*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (pp.1-12, 29-40).

Achim Hurrelmann, Steffen Schneider, and Jens Steffek. 2007. *Legitimacy in an Age of Global Politics*. Houndmills-Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan. (pp.1-16).

Jonas Tallberg and Michael Zürn. 2019. "The legitimacy and legitimation of international organizations: Introduction and framework." *The Review of International Organizations* 14, 581-606.

Thomas M. Franck. 1990. *The power of legitimacy among nations*. Oxford Univ. Press, (pp.1-26)

Jens Steffek, 2003. *The Legitimation of International Governance: A Discourse Approach*. *European Journal of International Relations* 9(2):287-313.

Inis L Claude. 1966. "Collective legitimization as a political function of the United Nations." *International Organization* 2:3, 367-379.

John Williams. 1998. *Legitimacy and the Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia*. London: McMillan (pp.1-18).

Hilary Charlesworth and Jean-Marc Coicaud, eds. 2010. *Fault lines of international legitimacy*. Cambridge University Press (pp.1-35).

Lesson 2 - Legitimacy, Power and Authority

Michael Zürn. 2018. *A theory of global governance: Authority, legitimacy, and contestation*. Oxford University Press (chapter 2, pp.62-71).

Ian Hurd, 1999. *Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics*. *International Organization* 53(2):379-408.

David A. Lake, 2009. "Relational authority and legitimacy in international relations." *American Behavioral Scientist* 53.3, 331-353.

Martin Wight, 1972. "International Legitimacy." *International Relations* 4:1, 1-28.

Thomas M. Franck, 2006. *The Power of Legitimacy and the Legitimacy of Power: International Law in an Age of Power Disequilibrium*. *The American Journal of International Law* 100(1):88-106.

Janice Bially Mattern, 2005. "Why Soft Power' Isn't So Soft: Representational Force and the Sociolinguistic Construction of Attraction in World Politics." *Millennium* 33:3, 583-612.

David Armstrong and Theo Farrell. 2005. "Force and Legitimacy in World Politics: Introduction." *Review of International Studies* 31.S1: 3-13.

Joseph S. Nye, 2004. *Soft Power- The Means to Success in World Politics* (NYC: PublicAffairs)

Jan Melissen, 2005. *The new public diplomacy: soft power in international relations*. Hampshire: Palgrave-Macmillan.

Max Weber, 1978. *Economy and Society*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Michael Foucault, 1980. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-77*. Brighton: Havester.

Pierre Bourdieu, 1994. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Stephen Lukes, 2005. "Power and the Battle for Hearts and Minds", *Millennium* 33:3, 477-493.

Lesson 3 - Legitimacy, Norms and Legality

Thomas M. Franck. 1990. *The power of legitimacy among nations*. Oxford Univ. Press, (pp.1-26)

Ian Clark, 2005. *Legitimacy in International Society*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, (pp.207-26).

Allen Buchanan, 2003. *Justice, Legitimacy, and Self-Determination: Moral Foundations for International Law: Moral Foundations for International Law*. Oxford University Press (introduction + 233-239).

Jean-Marc Coicaud, 2002. *Legitimacy and politics: a contribution to the study of political right and political responsibility*. Cambridge University Press (pp.10-25).

David Beetham. 1993. In *Defence of Legitimacy*. *Political Studies* XLI, 488-49.

David Beetham, 2013. *The legitimation of power*. Macmillan (introduction).

Fritz W. Scharpf, 1999. *Governing in Europe: effective and democratic?*. Oxford University Press. (on the notion of input/output legitimacy).

Simon Chesterman, 2002. "Legality versus legitimacy: humanitarian intervention, the Security Council, and the rule of law." *Security Dialogue* 33.3, 293-307.

Richard Falk, 2005, "Legality and legitimacy: the quest for principled flexibility and restraint." *Review of international studies* 31.S1, 33-50.

Ruti Teitel, 2014. "Kosovo to Kadi: Legality and Legitimacy in the Contemporary International Order." *Ethics & International Affairs* 28.01, 105-113.

Shane P. Mulligan, 2006. *The uses of legitimacy in international relations*. *Millennium* 34(2):349-375.

Lesson 4 - The Quest for Legitimacy: Audiences, Persuasion, Rhetorical Strategies.

Ronald R. Krebs, and Patrick Thaddeus Jackson. 2007. *Twisting Tongues and Twisting Arms: The Power of Political Rhetoric*. *European Journal of International Relations*, 13(1):35-66.

Rodger Payne, 2001. *Persuasion, Frames and Norm Construction*. *European Journal of International Relations* 7(1): 37-61

Bexell, Magdalena, Farsan Ghassim, and Soetkin Verhaegen. "Audiences of (De) Legitimation in Global Governance." In Bexell, Magdalena, Kristina Jönsson, and Anders Uhlin. *Legitimation and delegitimation in global governance: Practices, justifications, and audiences*. Oxford University Press, 2022, 187-200.

Stacie E. Goddard, 2010. *Indivisible territory and the politics of legitimacy: Jerusalem and Northern Ireland*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (pp.15-38).

Marc Trachtenberg, 2012. *Audience Costs: A Historical Analysis*. *Security Studies* 21(1):3-42.

Coleman, Katharina P. "The legitimacy audience shapes the coalition: lessons from Afghanistan, 2001." *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 11.3 (2017): 339-358.

Bexell, Magdalena, Kristina Jönsson, and Nora Stappert. "Whose legitimacy beliefs count? Targeted audiences in global governance legitimization processes." *Journal of International Relations and Development* 24.2 (2021): 483-508.

Piki Ish-Shalom, 2011. "Defining by naming: Israeli civic warring over the Second Lebanon War." *European Journal of International Relations* 17.3: 475-493.

Tamir Sheafer and Shaul R. Shenhav. "Mediated public diplomacy in a new era of warfare." *The Communication Review* 12.3 (2009): 272-283.

Thomas Risse, 2000. *Let's Argue! Communicative Action in World Politics*. International Organization 54(1):1-40.

Janice Gross Stein, 1992. *International Co-operation and Loss Avoidance: Framing the Problem*. *International Journal* 47(2):202-234

Erving Goffman, 1974. *Frame Analysis: An Essay On The Organization Of Experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Robert M. Entman 1993. "Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm". *Journal of communication* 43:4,51-8.

Daniel F. Wajner and Luis Roniger, 2019. "Transnational Identity Politics in the Americas: Reshaping 'Nuestramerica' as Chavismo's regional legitimization strategy". *Latin American Research Review* 54:2, forthcoming.

Lesson 5 - Regimes' Legitimacy and Legitimation Crisis.

Jürgen Habermas, 1975. *Legitimation Crisis*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press (pp.68-75, 95-100).

Christian Reus-Smit, 2007. *International crises of legitimacy*. *International Politics* 44(2):157-174

Bruce Gilley, 2009. *The Right to Rule. How States Win and Lose Legitimacy*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Muthiah Alagappa, 1995. *Political legitimacy in Southeast Asia: The quest for moral authority*. Stanford University Press (introduction, pp.1-25).

David Beetham, 1991. *The Legitimation of Power*. Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan.

Niklas Luhmann, 1987, "The representation of society within society: The sociology of legitimation", *Current Sociology* 35.2: 101-108.

Claire A. Cutler, 2001. "Critical reflections on the Westphalian assumptions of international law and organization: a crisis of legitimacy." *Review of International Studies* 27.02, 133-150.

Jean-Marc Coicaud, 2002. *Legitimacy and politics: a contribution to the study of political right and political responsibility*. Cambridge University Press (pp.43-85).

Michael Zürn. 2000. "Democratic governance beyond the nation-state: The EU and other international institutions." *European Journal of International Relations* .183-221:(2)6

Michael Hudson. 1977. *Arab politics: The search for legitimacy*. Yale University Press.

Wajner, Daniel F. "The populist way out: Why contemporary populist leaders seek transnational legitimation." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* .416-436 :(2022) 24.3

Lesson 6 - Legitimation Battles and the Use of Force in International Conflicts

Emanuel Adler, 2010. "Damned If You Do, Damned If You Don't: Performative Power and the Strategy of Conventional and Nuclear Defusing." *Security Studies* 19:2, .199-229

Daniel F. Wajner, 2019. "'Battling' for Legitimacy: Analyzing Performative Contests in the 'Gaza Flotilla' Paradigmatic Case", *International Studies Quarterly*, 63.4 (2019): 1035-1050.

Andrew Hurrell, 2005. "Legitimacy and the use of force: can the circle be squared?". *Review of International Studies* 31.S1: 15-32.

Katharina P. Coleman, 2007. *International organizations and peace enforcement: the politics of international legitimacy*. Cambridge University Press (1-41)

Allen Buchanan, 2009. *Human rights, legitimacy, and the use of force*. Oxford Un. Press.

Corneliu Bjola, 2005. "Legitimizing the use of force in international politics: A communicative action perspective." *European Journal of International Relations* 11.2: .266-303

Ted Hopf, 2005. "Identity, legitimacy, and the use of military force: Russia's great power identities and military intervention in Abkhazia." *Review of International Studies* 31.S1: 225-243.

Richard Falk, 2014. *Humanitarian intervention and legitimacy wars: seeking peace and justice in the 21st century*. Routledge.

Bellamy, A. 2008. "The Responsibility to Protect and the Problem of Military Intervention." *International Affairs* 84 (4): 615-639.

Ben D. Mor, 2014. "The structure of rhetorical defense in public diplomacy: Israel's social account of the 2010 Turkish flotilla incident." *Media, War & Conflict* .250-265:(2)7

Lesson 7 - The Legitimacy of International Orders and their Hegemonic Powers

Ian Clark, "Legitimacy in a global order." *Review of International Studies* 29.S1 .75-95 :(2003)

Michael Barnett, 1997. *Bringing in the new world order: liberalism, legitimacy, and the United Nations*. *World Politics*, 49(4), 526-551.

David Lake, 2013. "Legitimizing power: the domestic politics of US international hierarchy." *International Security* 38(2), 74-111.

Stacie E. Goddard, 2009. "When right makes might: how Prussia overturned the European balance of power." *International Security* 33.3: 110-142.

Martha Finnemore, 2009. *Legitimacy, hypocrisy, and the social structure of unipolarity*. *World Politics* 61(1):58-85.

Mlada Bukovansky, 2002. *Legitimacy and Power Politics: The American and French Revolutions in the International Political Culture*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

Ian Hurd. 2007. "Breaking and making norms: American revisionism and crises of legitimacy." *International Politics* 44(2-3): 194-213.

Robert Kagan, 2004. *America's Crisis of Legitimacy*. *Foreign Affairs* 83(2):65-87.

Lavina Rajendram Lee, 2010. *US hegemony and international legitimacy: norms,*

power and followership in the wars on Iraq. Routledge.

Ian Clark, 2005. *Legitimacy in International Society*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, (Conclusion, pp.245-56).

Stacie E. Goddard, and Ronald R. Krebs. 2015. "Rhetoric, legitimation, and grand strategy.", *Security Studies*, 5-36.

Lesson 8 - The Legitimacy of International and Regional Organizations

Jonas Tallberg and Michael Zürn. 2019. "The legitimacy and legitimation of international organizations: Introduction and framework." *The Review of International Organizations* 14, 581-606.

Liesbet Hooghe, Tobias Lenz, and Gary Marks. "Contested world order: The delegitimation of international governance." *The Review of International Organizations* 14.4 (2019): 731-743.

Lisa Dellmuth and Jonas Tallberg. 2015. *The social legitimacy of international organisations: Interest representation, institutional performance, and confidence extrapolation in the United Nations*. *Review of International Studies*,41(3):451-75.

Lenz, Tobias, and Fredrik Söderbaum. "The origins of legitimation strategies in international organizations: agents, audiences and environments." *International Affairs* 99.3 (2023): 899-920.

Michael Zürn. 2004. "Global governance and legitimacy problems." *Government and Opposition* 39(2): 260-287.

Fritz W. Scharpf, 1999. *Governing in Europe: effective and democratic?*. Oxford University Press. (on the notion of input/output legitimacy).

Jean-Marc Coicaud and Veijo Heiskanen. 2001. *The Legitimacy of International Organizations*. New York: UN Univ. Press.

Thomas Risse, and Kleine, M.(2007). *Assessing the legitimacy of the EU's treaty revision methods*. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45(1), 69-80.

Allen Buchanan and Robert O. Keohane. 2006. *The Legitimacy of global governance institutions*. *Ethics and International Affairs* 20(4):405-437.

Dominik Zaum, ed. 2013. *Legitimizing international organizations*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hurrelmann, Achim, and Steffen Schneider, eds. 2015. *The legitimacy of regional integration in Europe and the Americas*. Springer (introduction).

Klaus Dingwerth, Henning Schmidtke, and Tobias Weise. "The rise of democratic legitimation: why international organizations speak the language of democracy." *European Journal of International Relations* 26.3 (2020): 714-741.

Henning Schmidtke, "Elite legitimation and delegitimation of international organizations in the media: Patterns and explanations." *The Review of International Organizations* 14.4 (2019): 633-659.

Tobias Lenz, Burilkov, A., & Viola, L.A. (2019). *Legitimacy and the cognitive sources of international institutional change: the case of regional parliamentarization*. *International Studies Quarterly*, 63(4), 1094-1107.

Lesson 9 - International and Regional Organizations as Legitimizing Agents

Inis L. Claude, 1966. 'Collective Legitimization as a Political Function of the United Nations', *International Organization* 20:3,367-379.

Erik Voeten, 2005. The political origins of the UN Security Council's ability to legitimize the use of force. *International Organization* 59(03):527-557.

Daniel F. Wajner and Arie Kacowicz. 2018. "The Quest for Regional Legitimation: Analyzing the Arab League's legitimizing role in the Arab Spring". *Regional & Federal Studies* 28:3, 489-521.

Jennifer Gronau and Henning Schmidtke, 2016. "The quest for legitimacy in world politics-international institutions' legitimation strategies." *Review of International Studies* 42.3, 535-557.

Lenz, Tobias, and Fredrik Söderbaum. "The origins of legitimation strategies in international organizations: agents, audiences and environments." *International Affairs* 99.3 (2023): 899-920.

Von Billerbeck, Sarah. "'Mirror, mirror on the wall:' self-legitimation by international organizations." *International Studies Quarterly* 64.1 (2020): 207-219.

Schimmelfennig, F., Winzen, T., Lenz, T., Rocabert, J., Crasnic, L., & Gherasimov, C. (2018). *The rise of international parliaments: Strategic legitimation in international organizations*. Oxford University Press, USA.

Ian Hurd, 1999. Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics. *International Organization* 53(2):379-408.

Terrence L. Chapman, 2009. Audience beliefs and international organization legitimacy. *International Organization* 63(04):733-764.

Jonathan Symons, 2011. "The legitimation of international organisations: examining the identity of the communities that grant legitimacy." *Review of International Studies* 37.05, 2557-2583.

Jennifer Mitzen, 2011. *Working Together' Power: Global Governance as Collective Intention*, ISA convention, Montreal 2011.

Karen E. Smith, "The European Union and the politics of Legitimization at the United Nations." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 18.1 (2013): 63-80.

Lesson 10 - Non-Governmental Organizations as Legitimizing Agents

Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. 1999. Transnational advocacy networks in international and regional politics. *International social science journal*, 51(159), 89-101.

Vivien Collingwood, 2006. "Non-governmental organisations, power and legitimacy in international society." *Review of International Studies* 32:3, 439-54.

Daniel F. Wajner, 2017. "Grassroots Diplomacy in Battles for Legitimacy: The Transnational Advocacy Network for the Brazilian Recognition of the Palestinian State", *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 28:1, 128-51.

Press-Barnathan, Galia, and Naama Lutz. "The multilevel identity politics of the 2019 Eurovision Song Contest." *International Affairs* 96.3 (2020): 729-748.

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Richard Langhorne, "The diplomacy of non-state actors." *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 16.2 (2005): 331-339.

Audie Klotz, 1995. *Norms in International Relations: The Struggle Against Apartheid* (Ithaca-New York: Cornell University Press).

James N. Rosenau 2008. *People Count! Networked Individuals in Global Politics*.

Paradigm.

Mark Leonard, 2002. "Diplomacy by other means." *Foreign Policy*: 48-56.

J. Gregory Payne, "Trends in global public relations and grassroots diplomacy." *American Behavioral Scientist* 53.4 (2009): 487.

Alison Van Rooy, 2004. *The global legitimacy game: Civil society, globalization and protest*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Teresa La Porte, "The Legitimacy and Effectiveness of Non-State Actors and the Public Diplomacy Concept." *Public Diplomacy Theory and Conceptual Issues* (2012): 1-4. ISA Annual Convention, San Diego, April 1-4, 2012

Lesson 11 - Methodologies for Studying Legitimacy and Legitimation Dynamics

Achim Hurrelmann, Steffen Schneider, and Jens Steffek. 2007. *Legitimacy in an Age of Global Politics*. Houndmills-Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan (pp.229-37).

Bruce Gilley, 2009. *The Right to Rule. How States Win and Lose Legitimacy*. New York: Columbia University Press (pp.1-28).

Theo Van Leeuwen, 2007. "Legitimation in discourse and communication." *Discourse & Communication* 1.1: 91-112.

Jean-Marc Coicaud, 2002. *Legitimacy and politics: a contribution to the study of political right and political responsibility*. Cambridge Univ. Press (pp.85-96).

M. Stephen Weatherford, 1992. "Measuring political legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 86.01: 149-166.

Thomas Risse, and Kleine, M.(2007). Assessing the legitimacy of the EU's treaty revision methods. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45(1), 69-80.

Christian von Haldenwang, 2016. *Measuring Legitimacy-New Trends, Old Shortcomings?*. Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik gGmbH.

Stacie E. Goddard, 2010. *Indivisible territory and the politics of legitimacy: Jerusalem and Northern Ireland*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tamir Sheafer and Itay Gabay. 2009. "Mediated public diplomacy: A strategic contest over international agenda building and frame building." *Political Communication*, 26(4), 447-467.

Sonja K. Foss, 2009. *Rhetorical Criticism: Exploration and Practice 4th edition* (Illinois: Waveland Press).

John T. Jost and Brenda Major. 2001. *The psychology of legitimacy: Emerging perspectives on ideology, justice, and intergroup relations*. Cambridge University Press.

Wajner, D. F., & Roniger, L. (2022). *Populism and Transnational Projection: The Legitimation Strategies of Pink Tide Neo-Populist Leaderships in Latin America*. *Comparative Political Theory*, 1(aop), 1-30.

Lesson 12- Legitimacy & Legitimation in Conflict Resolution and Peace Negotiations

Stacie E. Goddard, 2006. *Uncommon Ground: Indivisible Territory and the Politics of Legitimacy*. *International Organization* 60(1):35-68

Christopher Gelpi, 2003. *The power of legitimacy: Assessing the role of norms in crisis bargaining*. Princeton University Press.

Adrian Guelke, "International legitimacy, self-determination, and Northern Ireland."

Review of International Studies 11.01 (1985): 37-52.

Daniel F. Wajner, 2020. *International Legitimacy in Conflict Resolution: analyzing legitimization dynamics during peace negotiations in intractable conflicts*. PhD Dissertation, Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Abstract + Chapter 3, pp.61-85).

Daniel Druckman and Justin Green 1995. "Playing two games: Internal negotiations in the Philippines.", in: I. William Zartman. *Elusive peace: negotiating an end to civil wars*. NY: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 299-331.

William I. Zartman, 2000. "Ripeness: The hurting stalemate and beyond." In P.C. Stern and D. Druckman, *International conflict resolution after the Cold War* (DC: Nat. Academy Press), 225-50.

Cecilia Albin, 2001. *Justice and fairness in international negotiation*. Cambridge U. Press.

Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, 1994. *Israel and the Peace Process 1977-1982: In Search of Legitimacy for Peace* (New York: SUNY Press).

Arie M. Kacowicz, 2005. "Rashomon in the Middle East. Clashing Narratives, Images, and Frames in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." *Cooperation and Conflict*, 40:3:343-60

Lesson 13 - Legitimacy Studies in IR: Quo Vadis?

Jens Steffek, 2004. *Why IR Needs Legitimacy: A Rejoinder*. *European Journal of International Relations* (10) 3: 485-490.

Shane P. Mulligan, 2006. *The uses of legitimacy in international relations*. *Millennium* 34(2):349-375.

Wajner, Daniel F. 2022. "The populist way out: Why contemporary populist leaders seek transnational legitimization." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 24:3, 416-436.

Achim Hurrelmann, Steffen Schneider, and Jens Steffek. 2007. *Legitimacy in an Age of Global Politics*. Houndmills-Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan (pp.229-37).

Daniel Gaus, 2011. *The Dynamics of Legitimation. Why the study of political legitimacy needs more realism*. ARENA Working Paper No.p0336.

Grading Scheme:

Essay / Project / Final Assignment / Home Exam / Referat 60 %

Active Participation / Team Assignment 20 %

Submission assignments during the semester: Exercises / Essays / Audits / Reports / Forum / Simulation / others 20 %

Additional information: