

# Security as Practice

Discourse analysis and the Bosnian war

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potentially as to which Other(s) are articulated as the most significant. The fifth point is that, because basic discourses articulate very different Selves and Others and because identity and policy are interlinked, one will expect that basic discourses advocate rather different foreign policies. The sixth and final point is that, when viewed in a dynamic perspective, it is likely that at least one basic discourse will be argued relatively quickly as an issue manifests itself on the foreign policy agenda, while the other basic discourse(s) will be argued in response to and in criticism of this position.

## 4 Intertextualizing foreign policy

### Genres, authority, and knowledge

Texts are simultaneously unique and united: each makes its own particular construction of identity, weaves a series of differentiations and juxtapositions, and couples them to a spatially, temporally, and ethically situated foreign policy. Yet, the inimitability of every individual text is always located within a shared textual space; all texts make references, explicitly or implicitly, to previous ones, and in doing so they both establish their own reading and become mediations on the meaning and status of others. The meaning of a text is thus never fully given by the text itself but is always a product of other readings and interpretations. This process, coined by Julia Kristeva with the concept of *intertextuality* (Kristeva 1980), is both theoretically and methodologically significant for discourse analysis of foreign policy. It highlights that texts are situated within and against other texts, that they draw upon them in constructing their identities and policies, that they appropriate as well as revise the past, and that they build authority by reading and citing that of others. It points analytically, politically, and empirically to seeing official foreign policy texts—statements, speeches, and interviews—not as entities standing separately from wider societal discourses but as entities located within a larger textual web; a web that both includes and goes beyond other policy texts, into journalism, academic writing, popular non-fiction, and, potentially, even fiction.

Understanding foreign policy texts as intertextually linked across a variety of media and genres calls for empirical analysis of how these links are made as well as for thoroughly theorizing the way in which texts build authority and their capacity to speak about a particular issue. As one examines different genres of text and the links between them, it becomes clear that textual authority is not generated or stabilized in an identical manner within prominent genres such as policy texts, journalistic reportage, historiography, quantitative analysis, or literary non-fiction (e.g., memoir and travel writing). All texts constitute themselves as knowledgeable, but their form of knowledge and the way in which it is linked to other modes of authority differ: political leaders construct their authority in part through their right and ability to exercise power; investigative journalism's authority comes from uncovering politically important facts; and literary non-fiction builds authority by mixing

historiography and factual knowledge with experiential forms of knowledge, such as personal encounters and anecdotes.

Different genres employ different modalities of authority, and theorizing how they draw upon knowledge, power, and narrative techniques is important for understanding not only the internal workings of the genres themselves but also the process through which they are linked and politically mobilized. What happens when texts constructed within one modality of authority and knowledge are situated inside a policy text that employs different modalities? Perhaps most striking is when literary non-fiction, or even fiction, is intertextually linked to official foreign policy: such as when Clinton reads a travelogue that does not even broach the question of American foreign policy and changes his policy toward Bosnia, or when the best-selling apocalyptic evangelical *Left Behind* series' discourse of good and evil intertwines with the foreign policy discourse of the George W. Bush administration (Kirkpatrick 2004).

The first section of this chapter pursues these questions by presenting intertextuality as a concept through which the importance of textual influence and debate can be theorized, particularly within the field of foreign policy. The second section suggests three models for how texts and genres might be more systematically organized in relation to official foreign policy discourse. These models point to different research projects and emphasize different ways in which connections between official discourses and non-official material can be theorized, selected, and studied. The third section turns to a discussion of the importance of authority and the constructions and mobilizations of power, knowledge, and narrativity within the genres of policy texts, journalism, academe, and literary non-fiction. Literary non-fiction points most explicitly to the importance of subjective and narrative forms of knowledge, which is discussed in further detail in the fourth section.

### Political intertextuality

All texts, including foreign policy texts, are situated within a wider web of writing: 'any text is,' argues Julia Kristeva in formulating her concept of *intertextuality*, 'constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another' (Kristeva 1980: 66). Kristeva's theory on the intertextual generation of meaning suggests in more concrete terms that no text is written without traces of previous texts, that a text is simultaneously drawing upon a textual past and constructing this past into a unique new text (Der Derian and Shapiro 1989). This process can be most clearly identified when texts make *explicit references* to older works, in particular when these are constructed as texts with a particular authority, or as classics that have to be assessed and criticized. One might consider Waltz's *Theory of International Politics*, a classic text within 1980s International Relations (IR) theory that other IR texts had to relate to. Moving to a higher level of abstraction, works such as Hobbes' *Leviathan* are classics within political theory and the continued

subject of debate on the meaning and interpretation of sovereignty and state power. A more concrete example, which is discussed in chapter 8, is Robert D. Kaplan's *Balkan Ghosts*, which adopted Rebecca West's *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* as the literary references through which Kaplan's Yugoslavian itinerary, encounters, and writing were constructed (West 1941; Kaplan 1993a). But intertextuality might also be more subtle, established through *secondary sources*. Brian Hall has noted, for instance, that West's *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* was the most widely used source for journalists working on the Balkan wars of the 1990s, although their reporting did not necessarily quote her book (Hall 1996).

Intertextuality can also be employed through *conceptual intertextuality*, where the articulation of concepts such as 'the Balkans,' 'security,' and 'democracy' rely upon *implicit references* to a larger body of earlier texts on the same subject. Conceptual intertextuality might also come into play through programmatic *catchphrases*, such as Huntington's 'clash of civilization,' which became a common reference in Western politics and journalism even though Huntington might not always be explicitly quoted (Huntington 1993, 1996).<sup>1</sup> Table 4.1 summarizes the different forms of intertextuality.

As a text makes references to older texts it constructs legitimacy for its own reading, but it also simultaneously reconstructs and reproduces the classical status of the older ones. Rather than seeing new texts as depending on older, one should therefore see the two as interacting in an exchange where one text gains legitimacy from quoting and the other gains legitimacy from being quoted. This construction of an intertextual link produces mutual legitimacy and creates an exchange at the level of meaning. No quote or rendition of an original text is ever a complete reproduction of the original, and the meaning of original texts will therefore always be read and re-read through new texts. Even a direct quote is situated inside a new textual context, reconstructed by it, and meaning is therefore never seamlessly transmitted from one text to another.

This implies that the intertextual focus is not only on which texts are being quoted or which links are being made by other texts, but also on how texts are read and interpreted: how facts and knowledge are drawn from one text to

Table 4.1 Forms of intertextuality

<i>Intertextuality</i>	<i>Intertextual linkages</i>
Explicit	Quotes References
Implicit	Secondary sources Conceptual Catchphrases

another and located within a particular foreign policy discourse. At the abstract theoretical level, there is no original text that is not shaped by being re-read, but this process of textual appropriation comes out particularly strikingly in the case of historical texts. Historical texts are often read through the dominant categories of a contemporary debate, rather than the ones that might have been prevalent at the time of writing. Rebecca West, for example, in *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (from 1940–1) employed the term 'Slavic' extensively and with important political effects, but this term was not widely articulated in debates on Bosnia in the 1990s and hence not in contemporary readings of her book. Readings are performed through the central discourse of their present, thereby lifting parts with representational similarity out of older texts while ignoring or silencing others. The reading of older documents through the discourses of the present implies that texts might be located inside an entirely new foreign policy discourse. George F. Kennan, for instance, wrote an introduction to a 1993 re-publication of a report on the first two Balkan wars (which was originally published by the Carnegie Commission in 1914) situating the report inside a Balkanization discourse of eternal Balkan violence and Western non-intervention. The original report, however, was firmly embedded in an Enlightenment discourse of Balkan civilizational improvement and Western responsibility (see chapters 6 and 8).

This example points to historical texts whose foreign policy discourses are reconstructed by later readings. However, texts might also be textually appropriated as foreign policy texts even though they do not explicitly formulate policy. These texts are located by other texts inside a proper foreign policy discourse by adding or deducing policy. A prominent example of the political mobilization of a non-policy text, discussed in chapter 8, was Kaplan's *Balkan Ghosts*: it did not define a foreign policy, but its construction of Balkan identities is said to have led Clinton to abandon an American 'lift and strike' policy for Bosnia. Kaplan, in turn, later opined that this was not the policy course he thought should have been pursued.

The absence of an explicitly formulated foreign policy opens a text for incorporation into a policy discourse, but can one say that one construction of identity automatically necessitates a particular policy? In principle, no; as shown in the analyses in chapters 6 to 9, one might find empirically that multiple policies can be formulated around the same construction of identity. But while a text might not formulate or logically imply a particular policy, it is simultaneously empirically situated within a larger intertextual and discursive field that influences how identity constructions are being read. If a text articulates a particular construction of identity and this identity is routinely coupled to a specific policy by other texts, this will in all likelihood influence the reading of the policy implications of the text in question. The construction of identity within *Balkan Ghosts* was one that resonated with discourses that normally *did* couple this identity to a policy of Western non-intervention, and thus while perhaps not the intention of the author, it reinforced a discourse

that advocated this policy. And, once the story of the book's impact on Clinton's foreign policy gained hold, it took on a textual importance of its own; the text's notoriety stabilized its status and legitimized construction of both Bosnia as 'ancient Balkan hatred' and the policy that should be pursued.

This case points more generally to the way in which classical texts take on an intertextual life of their own. What is drawn upon is not, then, the text itself but a story about what the text says; *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* was constructed as pro-Serbian, and this reading of West's political affinities was lifted into the present to argue that her book supported a Western policy of inaction in Bosnia in the 1990s, although this was (as chapter 8 shows) a rather limited reading of the original book. These readings occur not simply because people do not read the original, but because their readings are made through the discursive constructions already in place and through established interpretations of the work in question. Although at a meta-theoretical level, no intertextual link or re-reading will ever fully reproduce the original and multiple readings are always possible, one can still argue that at the more specific level of concrete analysis not all readings are equally valid. As chapter 3 argues, one *can* say something decisively about the construction of identity and policy within a given text. One should therefore undertake an intertextual reading which analyzes: first, how identity and policy are articulated within the original text; second, how the construction of identity and policy of the original text is represented in later re-readings; and third, how the original and its re-readings compare (Figure 4.1). The aim of this three-step reading is not simply to decide whether re-readings misinterpret the original, but to identify the potential span between the original and its interpreters, to investigate the possibility of competing re-readings, and to provide an understanding of why and how contemporary discourses work to influence readings of older or non-policy texts.

### Three intertextual models and their research agendas

Foreign policy analysis has usually drawn on policy texts which stipulate official policy or chronicle its parliamentary or bureaucratic genesis and implementation, but an intertextual approach suggests the inclusion of a wider body of texts. Official foreign policy discourse is the discourse through which

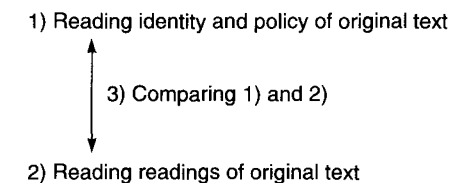


Figure 4.1 Intertextuality as a three-step reading process.

state action is legitimized, and thus under any circumstances crucial for understanding political and social relations within and beyond state boundaries. Adopting official discourse as the analytical point of departure offers a useful tangent between discourse analysis and more conventional forms of foreign policy analysis, and it provides a point of demarcation for a structured account of how to define the analytical, empirical, and methodological focus of one's research project. Official discourse should, however, be situated inside a larger intertextual web that traces intertextual references to other texts, thereby bringing in sources that are constructed either as supporting influences or as texts in need of repudiation. This implies that while an organizational starting point in official discourse might seem rather conservative, it is simultaneously pointing to the inclusion of a multitude of texts and genres, including journalistic reportage, academic analysis, travel writing, autobiography, or even fiction and popular culture. Expanding the focus beyond official discourse to a wider set of actors and media, the list of potential sources and genres grow even longer. Starting with official foreign policy and moving toward a wider conception of public debate, three research models for conducting intertextual analysis can be suggested.

The first model (model 1) is directly based in official foreign policy discourse and centers on political leaders with official authority to sanction the foreign policies pursued as well as those with central roles in executing these policies, for instance high-ranked military staff, senior civil servants (including diplomats and mediators), and heads of international institutions. It identifies the texts produced by these actors, including speeches, political debates, interviews, articles, and books, as well as the texts which have had an intertextual influence on their discourse. The goals of a model 1 study are to carefully investigate the constructions of identity within official discourse, to analyze the way in which intertextual links stabilize this discourse, and to examine how official discourse encounters criticism. Three more specific methodological guidelines can also be presented: first, official policy texts might be either single-authored, as in speeches, articles, and books, or might be produced in dialogue with political opponents or journalists; second, intertextual references may be made either in support of a proposed policy or in response to critical events or contestations of the official policy; third, one might identify intertextual links as they are made explicitly by political leaders or as secondary sources argue them, thereby creating a story of intertextual influence which further heightens the intertextual salience of the text quoted.

Adopting these guidelines calls forth a variety of genres: from direct links to popular culture, as in the influence of Tom Clancy's novels on Vice President Quayle and Secretary of Defense Weinberger (Der Derian 1992: 195), to secondary sources creating stories of influence, as when John F. Kennedy was said to have been heavily influenced during the Cuban Missile Crisis by Barbara Tuchman's account of the outbreak of World War I in *Guns of August* (Der Derian 1992: 174), or popular academic works such as Samuel Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations*, which was reported as being

'fashionable in America's foreign policy establishment' (Walker 1997c). Religious texts can be an intertextual influence, as in George W. Bush's recurring invocations of the Bible, and media texts are intertextually linked when responded to by political leaders, as was the case with Roy Gutman's 1992 Bosnia reports in *Newsday* or the 2004 prison scandal at Abu Ghraib, triggered by photographs broadcast by CBS News' '60 Minutes II.'

Foreign policy memoirs by leading politicians, diplomats, advisors, and military personnel constitute a particular venue for policy leaders to construct themselves and their policies in a favorable light; memoirs are obviously well suited for constructing legacies, but they are also important for the reading of the present and the future. Memoirs might be seen as providing guidance for later conflicts, as when Richard Holbrooke's *To End a War* (on the Bosnian Peace Accord) was read as a lesson on how to engage Milosevic in Kosovo in 1999, or they might be part of a heated foreign policy debate, as with *Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror* by Richard A. Clarke, a former White House counter-terrorism chief (Clarke 2004), which offered ample criticism of—and produced heated responses from—the Bush administration in 2004. Memoirs are also written in an attempt to 'clear the past for the future' as with Hillary Rodham Clinton's *Writing History* (Clinton H.R. 2003), which was met by huge media attention and widely believed to help prepare her for the 2008 Democratic presidential nomination. Or memoirs might be an integral part of an election campaign, as in the 2004 American presidential race, where the timing of Clinton's memoir (Clinton W.J. 2004) was considered crucial to John Kerry's campaign (Rutenberg and Kirkpatrick 2004).

The second intertextual research model (model 2) broadens the analytical scope beyond official discourse and its intertextual links to consider the major actors and arenas within a wider foreign policy debate. The most prominent discourses to consider are those of the political oppositional parties, the media, and corporate institutions. This facilitates analysis of the discursive and political hegemony a governmental position enjoys and thereby of its room for maneuver. It also provides a good indication of how official discourse might change, either through a discursive adjustment made by the present government or were there a change in the government itself. Oppositional political discourse can be investigated through the policy statements made by oppositional parties and influential individual politicians as well as their contributions to the public debate. A particularly useful site for studying oppositional discourses is, however, parliamentary debates as these bring out longer statements within a context of public contestation. The inclusion of the media further deepens the assessment of official discursive hegemony as well as the relationship between the political and the media more broadly, in particular in cases where official discourse has not incorporated or responded to potentially critical reports. Media texts fall in different categories depending on their official and explicitly political status. One can distinguish between editorials/official statements, field reporting opinion pieces, and debate written/spoken by outside sources. The relationship between these

types of media texts is itself a topic worthy of analysis: do field reporting and editorial policy differ or align? Which critical opinions are given space within major media outlets? The inclusion of opinion and debate material implies that prominent public academics might be included in model 2 studies if they manage to write texts that are repeatedly quoted and discussed. Corporate institutions, including employers' associations, trade unions, large firms, powerful NGOs, and in some cases the armed forces, can also come into model 2 focus when they are major voices in foreign policy debates, for instance in the area of trade and economic integration. A particularly noteworthy type of text arises from public campaigns undertaken by institutions to influence either government or the outcome of elections or referenda. As in model 1, it is possible to expand a model 2 study along the intertextual dimension to identify and analyze those texts that are repeatedly constituted as significant sources.

The actors and institutions of model 2 are all considered major players within the broader political debate and they are all explicitly concerned with foreign policy. Moving into model 3, the scope of analysis is expanded to include material not explicitly engaging official policy discourse (model 3A), or which is concerned with policy but has a marginal status (model 3B). Model 3A brings in representations of foreign policy issues as they are articulated within 'high' as well as 'popular' culture and relates them to articulations within official foreign policy discourse.<sup>2</sup> Analysis investigates whether popular representations reproduce or contest those of official discourse and how representations travel between the spheres of entertainment and politics (Shapiro 1990, 1997). Studies of popular culture include film, fiction, television, computer games, photography, and comic books. It analyzes, for instance, how a particular region, country, or people is cinematically represented (Iordanova 2001) or how espionage is treated within popular fiction (Der Derian 1992). Linking popular culture and official foreign policy, one might compare the construction of 'Mexicans' within American cinema and television series with the way in which US foreign policy has constructed 'Mexicans' and approached the question of Mexican immigration, illegal border crossings, and assimilation in the United States. Crucially, from a political point of view a popular culture construction of 'Mexicans' as different from and inferior to 'Anglo-Americans' provides a set of widely circulated identities around which an anti-immigration policy can legitimate itself. Or, to give another example, one might locate an analysis of official American policies on gays in the military inside an account of how homosexuals are constructed within popular media.<sup>3</sup>

Poststructuralist analysis has often focused on popular culture, but analyses of 'high culture' might be equally valid (and the definition of 'popular' should be extensive and historically situated) in showing, for example, how music, poetry, painting, architecture, and literature have been employed in constructing national and civilizational identities. Travel writing in particular has been an important genre for communicating the construction of 'foreign places and people' to the Western public since the eighteenth century and

has been employed by a large variety of professions: by merchants or emissaries; pirates and buccaneers; missionaries; explorers; warriors and Spanish Conquistadores; ambassadors; scientists (botanists, geologists) and engineers; and not least, tourists, from the European Grand Tours of the seventeenth century to the backpacking of the present day (Adams 1983; Pratt 1992). Turning to the present, travelogues and memoirs by regular soldiers make up a commercially popular genre that speaks to foreign policy issues without being explicitly analytical (Turnipseed 2003; Swofford 2003).

Model 3A points to the importance of widely available representations, but less widely dispersed discourses might also be worthy of analysis in model 3B studies as these might intersect with and influence dominant representations in subtle ways and hence become important for the future. Iver B. Neumann, for instance, has traced the Russian debates on Europe and shown how new ideas usually appear in marginal publications and later make their way into the center of debate and the vocabulary of the state (Neumann 1996a: 195). NGOs which do not hold the discursive power associated with model 2 are also potential model 3B actors to consider. Early re-articulations of identity that open political space might be found within the cultural sphere, hence combining models 3A and 3B, as was the case in Slovenia in the 1980s, where the first contestations of the communist Yugoslav project were articulated by 'deconstructionist' groups in music, performance, and the visual arts (Hansen 1996). One might also find satirical television and radio that address contested political issues (Rutenberg 2004).

Keeping a space open for a possible inclusion of marginal actors and discourses becomes salient when analyzing where resistance and future re-articulations might occur, particularly in the cases of authoritarian regimes that do not allow for the public debate that would be identified within model 2, or in cases where governmental discourse has successfully hegemonized the political and media discourses of model 2. The marginal status of texts within model 3B makes it, however, difficult to identify exactly where texts should be found, especially in non-democratic societies, and it is therefore important that model 3B studies are followed by detailed knowledge of the case in question. Students and scholars of IR might have a particular interest in the relationship between official discourse, the wider political debate, and academic analysis, and the last might also be included as a marginal discourse and an object of study within model 3B.

The three intertextual research models (Table 4.2) are structured along a decreasing link to official foreign policy discourse. Does this mean that model 1 is more important than the two others, or that models 1 and 2 should always be privileged over model 3? The answer is no. The ambition of discourse analysis is not only to understand official discourse, and the texts and representations which have directly impacted it, but also to analyze how this discourse is presented as legitimate in relation to the larger public and how it is reproduced or contested across the variety of political sites and genres reflected in different ways by models 2 and 3.

Table 4.2 Intertextual research models

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3A	Model 3B
Analytical focus	Official discourse: Heads of states Governments Senior civil servants High ranked military Heads of international institutions Official statements by international institutions	Wider foreign policy debate: Political opposition The media Corporate insritutions	Cultural representations: Popular culture High culture	Marginal political discourses: Social movements Illegal associations Academics NGOs
Object of analysis	Official texts Direct and secondary intertextual links Supportive texts Critical texts	Political texts Parliamentary debates Speeches, statements Media texts Editorials Field reporting Opinion—debate Corporate institutions Public campaigns Recurring intertextual links	Film, fiction, television, computer games, photography, comics, music, poetry, painting, architecture, travel writing, autobiography	Marginal newspapers, websites, books, pamphlets Academic analysis
Goal of analysis	The stabilization of official discourse through intertextual links The response of official discourse to critical discourses	The hegemony of official discourse The likely transformation of official discourse The internal stability of media discourses	Sedimentation or reproduction of identities in cultural representations	Resistance in non-democratic regimes Dissent in cases of models 1 and 2 hegemony Academic debates

### Constructing authority: power, knowledge, and narrativity

Theorizing foreign policy as intertextually constituted through a larger body of texts points to the importance of *genre*; to understanding texts not as identical in their rhetorical structures but as having a particular 'rationale [that] shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choice of content and style' (Swales 1990: 58). There are certain traits and conventions that are expected when authors write within a particular genre, for example: that academic scientific analysis addresses an issue as truthfully as possible and that the emotional experiences of the author are not part of the analysis; that politicians will construct themselves as forceful leaders and as socially responsible; and that journalism is built on verifiable sources, not on fictional accounts. There is, however, no consensus on how to define genre within discourse analysis or linguistics. Some, like Norman Fairclough, locate it with social practices such as advertising and interviewing, while others, like Julia Kristeva, defines it through the form of the text, such as a short story, a letter, or a speech (Fairclough 1995: 56; Kristeva 1980: 83). For our purpose, a more substantial division based in part on a particular set of activities and in part on an inclination toward a particular form of knowledge production is most useful. More specifically, foreign policy texts fall into the main genres of policy documents, journalism, academic writing, and literary non-fiction (writings that are constituted primarily as non-fiction, but deploy a series of literary or narrative techniques). These distinctions, although rough, point to crucial differences in how texts establish not only identities and foreign policies, and also in how they construct authority and employ forms of knowledge.<sup>4</sup>

To introduce genre into foreign policy discourse analysis is not to define an alternative set of discourses built on genres. Some discourse analyses, such as Norman Fairclough's, are organized along genre-based distinctions, speaking for instance of 'political discourses,' 'media discourses,' or 'cinematic discourse,' but for a politically centered discourse analysis it is more useful to maintain a concept of discourses as defined by *substantial* articulations of identity and policy (Fairclough 1995, 2001; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999). This facilitates a study of how discourses engage each other on substantial political issues, in that foreign policy debates are concerned with a similar issue across multiple genres. Analytically, the *basic discourses* of a debate structure the political and substantial positions and divisions, whereas *intertextual models* identify the locations of different discourses in relations to official discourse and other sites of opinion and debate.

The majority of this book is focused on policy texts, journalism, academic analysis, and on two forms of literary non-fiction: travel writing and memoir.<sup>5</sup> This focus is in part due to considerations of space: to fully theorize fiction and popular culture would require a thorough consideration of visual and interactive forms of representation that goes beyond the boundaries of this book. This book's case study, the Western debate on Bosnia was, furthermore, a powerful illustration of the potential importance of travel writing and



memoir for foreign policy debate, while fiction and popular culture failed to have a similar intertextual influence on official foreign policy discourse. This raises two questions. First, was the Bosnia debate a unique example of the importance of literary non-fiction? The answer here is that there are good reasons to assume that the Bosnian case has parallels. Travel writing and autobiography are genres with huge commercial success that generate widespread attention and sales, despite these works' questionable academic status.<sup>6</sup> Tracing the history of memoirs and travel writing, they have, furthermore, long historical connections to the field of international politics. Second, are there other genres or sub-genres that should be included in future studies of foreign policy debates? A relevant addition would be biography, or there could be a more explicit focus on popular science, that is books and magazines that construct themselves with academic authority but are written for a wider audience. Perhaps most challenging, however, would be to embrace religious texts as a genre which has been powerfully politically employed in recent years and which defies conventional epistemological distinctions between fact and fiction, and between verification and faith.

Foreign policy texts might differ in how much emphasis they devote to the elaboration of either identity or policy; they also, obviously, differ in their connection with the formal institutions of foreign policymaking. Importantly, however, they all strive to establish themselves as having the *authority* to speak about a particular foreign policy issue. Yet, different genres employ different modalities of authority: the authority of a president of a nation giving a foreign policy speech differs from that of an academic expert interviewed on primetime news, which differs from that of a travel writer chronicling the political culture of a place and its people. All genres construct *knowledge* as important for the authority of a text, its author and its foreign policy discourse, but to be knowledgeable about a foreign policy issue is a position that can be constructed in a number of different ways. Knowledge might be constituted through objective forms of fact-finding or through subjective and personal encounters; through historiographic readings of long civilizational structures or abstract models of balance of power; through the explicit invocation of the voice and emotion of an author or the detachment of a distanced observer; through bestowing importance on cultural artifacts and traditions; or through a universal utilitarian subjectivity. Knowledge, if seen as a discursively constituted and mobilized modality within foreign policy debates and texts, is thus much broader than the causal positivism advocated by social scientists. To understand why texts that from an academic point of view are sorely lacking in factual content, causal reasoning, and historical accuracy and which nevertheless become influential within foreign policy debates requires a consideration of non-scientific, subjective, and narrative forms of writing.

Subjective and narrative forms of knowledge will be considered more thoroughly below, but it should be noted first that while modalities of authority are connected with different forms of knowledge, authority is not constituted through knowledge alone. For politicians to have authority is not only a matter

of claiming knowledge—about a conflict, national interests, or strategic capabilities—they must also have the ability to *take responsibility and deploy power*. As chapter 2 lays out, policy speech in general, and security discourse in particular, constructs its authors or speaking agents through a dual logic of power and responsibility. Governing politicians have the institutional power to define foreign policy, and their ability to deploy power is discursively mobilized in encounters with enemies as well as allies. But politicians also have a responsibility regarding their body politics, especially in the face of 'imminent danger,' even if this implies making sacrifices on the part of the national collective. When confronting critical foreign policy issues, politicians will therefore often emphasize their ability to lead, to 'provide leadership' and to act with 'force and determination,' and they will stress the 'obligation' bestowed upon them to guard national and societal interests. Authoritarian systems and liberal democracies alike might furthermore deploy a construction of 'obligation' that accentuates the educational and superior skills of the governing leaders: not only are they privy to more extensive, and potentially classified, information, but they also have a vision of the common good and its long-term interests that the public lacks.

There are large differences between and within the genres of journalism and academic writing, but they do (to a larger extent than policy texts and literary non-fiction) construct authority solely around the provision of knowledge. The modality of authority for foreign policy journalism and academic writing—at least within liberal democracies—is to provide information and knowledge that is not implicated in, or written with concern for those with political and financial power. This, of course, is not to say that this adequately represents how the media or the academic world actually operate; rather that the discourse through which these genres construct their authority is one where the separation of knowledge from power is constituted as crucial and where diversions from this separation have to be legitimized through extreme securitizations and constructions of existential threats and dangers.

Turning to literary non-fiction, authority is constructed not only through knowledgeable access to foreign places or secret meetings, but also through literary, poetic, and narrative skills and techniques. What makes for a good memoir or a travelogue is not simply what the author might have experienced and therefore has verifiable knowledge of, but rather his or her ability to entertain: to make foreign places come alive, to make personal experiences exotic or universal. The invocation of an 'I' sets travel writing and memoir aside from most academic writings, and certainly from scientific ones, in that it brings a human subject to the foreground, which facilitates a more intimate relationship between author and reader. The vivid travel narrative seeks to describe the cold of the Himalayas and the sun of Sahara, to give the reader the sensation of traveling without leaving the room. Memoirs can weave a story of the importance of 'lived life,' dramatize the extraordinary achievements of the writer, and narrate experiences with which the reader can identify. As John Hawkesworth wrote in the late eighteenth century, the first-person format

'would, by bringing the Adventurer and the Reader nearer together ... more strongly excite interest, and consequently afford more entertainment' (quoted from Pratt 1992: 235–6).<sup>7</sup> It offers the possibility of entertainment, identification, and intimacy under the (more or less accurate) disguise of information while dispensing with the demand for documentation and statistical validity of traditional academic analysis (Shapiro 1988: 55).

### **Beyond objectivity: narrative knowledge and literary non-fiction**

The most striking difference between scientific and factual forms of knowledge on the one hand and narrative and subjective ones on the other is how the two situate the author within the text. Scientific and factual knowledge stems from a text's ability to demonstrate the existence of pertinent facts, from a positivist model's capacity for adequately accounting for causal effects within a body of data, or from a historiographic scrutiny of archival material. There are many important differences between empiricist fact-finding, abstract causal social science, and historiographic forms of knowledge, not least between the general aspirations of rationalist social science and carefully contextualized historical analysis, but they all converge on presenting knowledge which is verifiable, representative, and could be replicated by others had they access to the same sources. As a result, knowledge is usually presented through the impersonal third person, which 'is used in order to imply an objective level that will connect the study to a scientific, knowledge-validating code' (Shapiro 1988: 66). Narrative and subjective forms of knowledge, by contrast, construct authority through the personal encounters and experiences the author has been privy to, and through writing the first-person 'I' explicitly into the text. Its knowledge is intimately tied to the subjective trajectories of the author, and 'anchors what is being expressed in the sensory experience, judgment, agency, or desires of the human subjects' (Pratt 1992: 76). Accidental encounters with roadside strangers, nameless but imbued with narrative and cultural significance, form the stable of many travelogues; memoirs will describe encounters long in the past and private conversations and personal ruminations that cannot be verified, reproduced, or said to be representative beyond the author's own claims. These are observations which do not constitute a proper data set, nor can they be the basis for causal, scientific analysis.

The importance of personal and subjective forms of knowledge is immediately present in the genres of travelogues and memoir, genres that are constituted as non-fiction in that they are supposedly about 'real travels' and 'real lives' rather than fictitious ones, but which nevertheless appropriate a series of literary means that bring to the fore the narrative and poetic aspects of writing as well as the 'writing of Self and Others.' At first the two genres might differ in that travel writing is more about 'writing the Others' and memoir more about 'writing the Self,' but there is significant overlap, particularly

perhaps in the case of foreign policy. Travel writing is usually written in first person and employed to reflect on the development of the Self, and foreign policy memoir usually involve a fair amount of traveling, whether as a politician, diplomat, or member of the military. Most foreign policy literary non-fiction draws on elements of both travel writing and memoir, in writing personal as well as collective identities.

Treating travel writing and memoir as literary non-fiction highlights their ambiguous position between scientific knowledge and 'pure fiction.' The history of travel writing shows that travels and expeditions have been intimately connected with the birth of modern science, from Herodotus who 'knew personally all of the Mediterranean lands, especially Egypt, interviewed other travelers, checked sources, related anecdotes, included myths' to the botanists and colonial travel writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Adams 1983: 46; Pratt 1992). Yet, this scientific genesis has been accompanied, since the modern travel narrative of Marco Polo's *Book of Marvels* from the early fourteenth century, by writings where supernatural beings and fictitious characters were mixed with the 'real' (Todorov 1995: 61–2). Travel writing as a genre thus balances between science on the one hand, and autobiography on the other (Todorov 1995: 68), between fact and fiction, although the fictitious often seeks to masquerade as fact (Holland and Huggan 1998: xi). Specific authors blend these two components in different ways, and particular epochs privilege certain mixtures, but it is the combination of empiricist claims to factual knowledge and the aesthetic pleasures of a narration of 'subjective inquiry,' of 'anecdote and analysis,' which is the knowledge form as well as the narrative attraction of this genre (Holland and Huggan 1998: 9–11). Even twentieth-century travel writing that presents itself as factual often employs elements of literary freedom, for instance in narrating several trips as though they were one, in changing the time and places of particular encounters, and in recounting dialogues word by word to an extent beyond any human mnemonic capacity.

Turning to memoir this might at first appear to be a factual genre where 'most readers still expect autobiographers to be making a good faith effort to tell the truth as they see it' (Bjorklund 1998: 27). Readers of political memoirs presume the account will be truthful insofar as the author is not consciously presenting false information, and relevant material is addressed even if it compromises the author. Readers expect to gain access to closed negotiations, private meetings, and secret discussions, or to get a 'raw and truthful' account of what war is really like 'in the field.' But not only is this a personalized—and subjective—account of events, it is also one where facts are interspersed with 'the author's candid opinions of others' (Bjorklund 1998: 31). It would, however, be impossible for any memoirist or travel writer to give a complete account of everything that has ever happened in one's life or on a travel, and literary non-fiction is therefore dependent not only on the author's truthfulness and memory but also on the author's selection of what is most important. Autobiographers, argues Bjorklund, 'select "events" and "facts" from their

lives that fit into a comprehensible narrative' (Bjorklund 1998: 17), thereby making autobiography, in Philip Roth's words, 'probably the most manipulative of all literary forms' (quoted from Bjorklund 1998: 159). The key distinction between memoir on the one hand and history as an academic discipline on the other is thus not simply one of facts, but the personal selection of personal facts as the epistemological basis within memoir; the privilege of the anecdotal over the systematic; and the discursive construction of these facts within a modality of knowledge that is centered on the explicit invocation of the 'I.'<sup>8</sup>

Eakin argues that the importance of selection implies that a narrative structure needs to be employed (Eakin 1992: 193–4). This structure not only helps select events, it also narrates and constructs 'the I' of the autobiographer. Scholars working in the field of autobiography therefore distinguish analytically between 'the recollecting self' and 'the recollected self,' the 'one who writes' and the 'one being written' (Eakin 1992: 183). The construction of the Self inside memoir usually employs two narrative figures: *formative experiences* and *retrospection*. Looking back upon the life narrated, the author will single out certain moments and experiences as formative for the Self: points of realization or dramatic events that transform the author and his or her perception of destiny, identity, meaning, and purpose in life. A formative experience might be constructed as instantaneously transforming, but it might also be written as formative in hindsight; it might be employed at the beginning of a memoir to preface a crucial later development—Holbrooke for example opens his memoir with a youthful backpacking visit to Sarajevo—or it might be a moment of realization at the end of a narrative, as in Rebecca West's *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, which makes all previous encounters fall into place.<sup>9</sup> The formative experience is in both cases a narrative and structuring device, deployed by an author who is writing in the present; the author knows what the effects of an early experience is going to be, or how to write a narrative so that a later experience becomes a satisfying solution to the events preceding it. Formative experiences are, in other words, always narrated from a retrospective vantage point, even if the memoir is written in the present tense and in a chronological form (Eakin 1992: 179). Retrospection might in addition be explicitly employed as a narrative device when the author comments on earlier experiences, for instance indicating that 'had I known this at the time I would have acted differently' or 'this was the moment at which I began to realize that things might go really wrong.'

Employing formative experiences and retrospection, the writing of the Self usually seeks to conform to a set of (discursively constituted) qualities. Very generally, argues Bjorklund, is the wish 'to persuade readers that they possess desirable characteristics through either the content or, less obviously, through the construction of the narrative' (Bjorklund 1998: 21). What constitutes desirable characteristics is dependent upon the social and historical context of the author, but surveying the past 200 years of American autobiography, Bjorklund finds that six qualities stand out: modesty, honesty, an interesting

life, a desire to appear well-educated, a sense of humor and irony, and showing 'commendable emotions such as love and compassion' (Bjorklund 1998: 22–37). These qualities are then employed in autobiographies of the nineteenth century in two proto-typical narratives of the Self: the dominant one of religious conversion and a competing one of self-development (Bjorklund 1998). Extrapolating these two models to a more general level, which is useful for our specific case of political memoirs, one can identify a *narrative of conversion*, where the Self undergoes a religious, spiritual, or cultural conversion from a fallen, barren, evil existence to a truer, better, deeper one; 'the oldest continuous tradition of autobiographical writing' argues Eakin (Eakin 1992: 78). The *narrative of self-development*, on the other hand, is one which often chronicles the rise of the successful self-made businessman. Here the narrative plot is not one of submitting the fallible Self to a higher, divine power; rather, in accordance with scientific and evolutionary theories, it is one of developing mental or moral qualities, importantly amongst them education and discipline (Bjorklund 1998: 66–88; Eakin 1992: 78). The Self of this narrative undergoes a development, and might experience what was labeled 'turning points,' but it does not experience the radical transformation of the 'converted Self' and the narrative is thus one of refinement or success (Bjorklund 1998: 77).<sup>10</sup> Looking specifically to the genre of foreign policy memoir, what is of interest is not only what new information memoir might uncover, but how it might be employed to constitute the Self and legitimize past foreign policies, thereby granting future legitimacy to particular constructions of identity and policies.<sup>11</sup> Or, alternatively, how a retrospective revision of the policy pursued is set within a narrative of conversion.

The narration of the Self within subjective forms of knowledge introduces an epistemological emphasis on personal encounters. It is through the traveling and memorializing Self that Others are encountered, both in their personal, individual identities and in their collective ones. *Personal encounters* are selected among a series of possibilities, and although often presented as anecdotal or coincidental they become emblematic for larger, general constructions of identity; as 'typical of Bosnian Serbs,' or of 'Turks' or 'Scandinavians.' A person is not simply encountered as a freestanding individual, but is situated and constructed inside a larger discourse of collective identities. Different narrative techniques might be employed to write forth this collective identity: an account of 'what Scandinavians are' might be presented early in the text and the 'Scandinavianess' of subsequent 'Scandinavians' assessed in accordance therewith, or the author might select particular elements and give them a paradigmatic status by repeatedly presenting encounters with, for instance, 'drunken Balkan men,' in effect establishing a collective drunken male Balkan identity.

The construction of personal encounters in literary non-fiction is always situated within a simultaneous construction of collective identity, but collective identity might also be an explicit epistemological concern produced through a *cultural hermeneutic*. The Self does not only encounter individuals, it also

encounters a set of objects and habits which are articulated as indicative of a place or a people. Aspects singled out might include architecture, food, landscapes, literature, music, paintings, churches, interior design, and clothing; not as simple observations, but as expressions of political identities and cultures. Cultural artifacts and landscapes, for instance, are thus seen as representations of deeper identities. One can know a country through understanding its architecture, literary tradition, or food, and it is in turn through these artifacts and anthropomorphized landscapes that identity is being reproduced.

The epistemological investment in personal encounters and cultural hermeneutics creates an important difference between literary non-fiction and other forms of writing. But it should also be noted that subjective forms of personalized knowledge are often combined with other forms of knowledge in discussions of structural and historical factors, of philosophical principles and general political, cultural, and religious questions, perhaps even, theories of IR (Eakin 1992: 120). It is thus precisely in the intersection between the mobilization of traditional academic forms of epistemic authority—to know the history of a place, Clausewitz's theory of warfare, or the schisms within the Orthodox church—and the personal authority of lived, narrated presence that the commercial and political popularity of travel writing and memoir should be found. And as literary non-fiction tends to combine several forms of knowledge, there are also appropriations of subjective and narrative forms of knowledge within other genres. Journalism and travel writing collaborate frequently as magazines and newspapers are used as venues for articles to be published as book-length travelogues later. Field reporting might appropriate the personal encounter as an epistemological and narrative strategy, as in Michael Herr's groundbreaking impressionistic *Dispatches*, which chronicled the life of 'the grunts,' the everyday soldiers, during the Vietnam War (Herr 1977). Politicians frequently mobilize 'autobiographical speech,' for instance in accounting for their 'life story,' and hence their political righteousness and trustworthiness, for instance in President Bush's narrative of conversion to evangelical Christian, or in 2004 presidential candidate John Kerry's construction of his service during the Vietnam War as a formative experience (Hansen 2005). Politicians might also emphasize personal encounters with emblematic individuals that shaped their understanding of and policy toward a particular issue.<sup>12</sup>

In conclusion, it should be stressed that narrative and subjective forms of knowledge are not in and of themselves more conservative, progressive, or feminist than other forms of knowledge and writing (Stec 1997: 140). Subjective forms of knowledge can be used to destabilize established constructions of collective identity, but they might also be appropriated to reproduce collective narratives that discipline and distance the Other. They hold distinct possibilities and dangers when mobilized in a political context, as do all other forms of writing, but the key to analysis, as well as to political practice, is to understand their distinct form, authority, and attraction.

## 5 Research designs

### Asking questions and choosing texts

At the heart of foreign policy research should be an engagement with politically pertinent issues, but 'reality' is always larger than the number of questions one can ask of it; to formulate a research project is therefore inevitably to make a series of choices. For poststructuralist discourse analysis, the central choices concern whether one should study official foreign policy discourse or expand the scope to include the political opposition, the media, and marginal discourses; whether one should examine the foreign policy discourse of one Self or of multiple Selves; whether one should select one particular moment or a longer historical development; whether one should study one event or issue or a multiplicity; and, finally, which material should be selected as the foundation for and object of analysis. Making these choices might sometimes appear as if produced by the case itself. If there is heated debate it would be reasonable to analyze competing discourses; if the media has propelled governmental discursive changes, it appears commonsensical to include both discourses; and if a country or an institution has undergone radical change, it would seem logical to trace this transformation through an analysis of the discourses before and after the historical turning point. But rarely, if ever, does a case present itself 'beyond any reasonable choice'; there will always be a process of selecting agents of discourse as well as the material to be drawn upon. Even official foreign policy discourse is articulated through a multitude of sources, ranging from official speeches, press statements, parliamentary debates, and interviews, and going beyond official discourse to the intertextual references made within it; the choices expand exponentially.

This chapter builds on the theoretical framework of the first four chapters and turns to the more concrete methodological issues involved in selecting research questions and building research designs. In short, it discusses how discourse analysis can be 'put to work.' The first section begins with a discussion of the research questions produced by the three intertextual models developed in chapter 4 and continues by combining these models with decisions along three substantive dimensions: first, whether to focus on one Self or multiple Selves; second, whether to make a study of a particular moment or analyze a longer historical development; and third, whether to examine one foreign policy event or compare foreign policy discourses across a larger