

# ROUGH DRAFT: NOT FOR CITATION, PLEASE

## **“I choose to feel threatened”: Performing In/Security in Buffy the Vampire Slayer**

Christina Rowley and Jutta Weldes  
University of Bristol (UK)

### **Abstract**

In recent decades, the meaning and nature of security and insecurity have been problematised, first with the end of the cold war and then with the ‘war on terror’. In this paper we argue that in/securities are discursively and performatively constituted in relation to identity. To investigate these processes of constitution one might seek out these discourses in what is considered their natural habitat, within the discussions of high politics that preoccupy both policy-making circles and much of the academic study of world politics. But these constitutive processes are also evident, if generally neglected by most IR scholars, in popular culture. In this paper, we therefore investigate discourses of in/security in the television series *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (*Buffy*).

The ‘Buffyverse’ offers a rich text through which to investigate competing discourses of in/security. It is particularly useful for our purposes because it encompasses, within a single universe, a host of competing, contesting, but also mutually constituting discourses of in/security. For example, several positivist discourses of in/security are prominent in *Buffy*, including the realist problematic of anarchy, self-help and ‘problems of cooperation’, the liberal counter-discourse of collective security; a discourse of ‘human security’ – the need to have circumstances permissive of human dignity, freedom and livelihood, and ongoing food in/security. At the same time, *Buffy* encompasses post-positivist discourses of in/security, notably the in/security of identity. The juxtaposition of these various discourses of in/security highlights their discursive and performative nature. The Buffyverse, then, itself performs a post-structural understanding of identity and in/security.

## ROUGH DRAFT: NOT FOR CITATION, PLEASE

### “I choose to feel threatened”:<sup>1</sup> Performing In/Security in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*

Christina Rowley and Jutta Weldes<sup>2</sup>  
University of Bristol (UK)

#### **Introduction:** [Buffy Quote]

In recent decades, the meaning and nature of in/security have been problematised, first with the end of the cold war and then with the ‘war on terror’.<sup>3</sup> This occurred both in the discipline of International Relations (IR), and in the practices of world politics, and notably in the discourses of U.S. foreign policy. The end of the cold war brought many discussions about the transformed nature of threat(s) and in/security in world politics in general and in the context of U.S. foreign policy in particular. Both policy makers and academic analysts lamented the end of the ‘grand strategy’ of containment and the certainty of a known and predictable enemy (e.g., Art 19991, Joffe 1995, Kurth 1996, Posen and Ross 1996, Van Evera 1990). With the demise of the Soviet Union, in/security had to be redefined. It was generally agreed that, while threats had been singular, known, rational, large-scale and deterrable in the cold war, they had, in the post-cold war era, become multiple, unknown, non-rational, small-scale or terrorist and undeterrable (Aspen 1992, 9). That is, the singular threat of the Soviet Union or ‘international communism’ was replaced by diffuse and multiple in/securities. The reverse occurred with 9/11 and the subsequent ‘war on terror’. The multiple threats of the post-cold war era have been reduced to a single ‘axis of evil’ – terrorists and their supporters – in U.S. foreign policy discourse, a move paralleled by the retreat among some IR scholars back to the simplicities of realism. [CR: ADD Debrix, Chaps 2-3; Huntington (civilizations = meta states), Kaplan (retrieve domestic as bounded space) and Brzezinski (great power politics and chessboard).]

The same movement – from singularity to plurality and back to singularity – can be seen in the television show *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. Buffy begins with a generally singular notion of identity and in/security, but over the course of the first six seasons its conceptions of identity and in/security are increasingly pluralised. In season seven – which aired in 2002-3 and is therefore likely to have been written after 9/11 – *Buffy* reverts to singularity. Just as IR and U.S. foreign policy discourse retreats from plurality to singularity in the face of ‘the axis of evil’, *Buffy* reverts to singularity in the face of ‘the first evil’. In this sense, *Buffy* reproduces the in/security logic of the ‘war on terror’.<sup>4</sup> [what do we mean by this?]

---

<sup>1</sup> Anya, ‘The I in Team’ (4.13). We designate *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* by giving the season, and then the episode within the season. Thus, ‘The I in Team’ is the thirteenth episode of the fourth season.

<sup>2</sup> This paper was prepared for both the annual meeting of the Popular Culture Association/American Culture Association, 19-22 March 2008, and the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, 25-29 March, 2008, both in San Francisco. We would like to thank Sadie Weldes, with her impressive knowledge of the minutiae of *Buffy*, for research assistance.

<sup>3</sup> We use ‘in/security’ with a slash in order to highlight the always constructed nature of concrete insecurities. Security is an unattainable end goal. What ‘security’ policy tries to do is to respond to threats, to ‘insecurities’, that are themselves always constructed with relation to identity, both of the self and of others.

<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, this is to an extent true for season five of *Angel* as well, as it was for season 3 of *The West Wing*, most egregiously in the latter in ‘Isaac and Ishmael’ (3.1), a stand alone episode written as a direct response to 9/11. To be clear: we are not arguing that the writers of *Buffy* and *Angel*, or their creator Joss Whedon (or, for that matter, Aaron Sorkin, writer of *The West Wing*), were intentionally supporting the ‘war on terror’. Instead, as we argue below, we are claiming structural homologies that may well have been unintentional.

Nor is this similarity unusual. It is increasingly recognised that ‘high politics’ and popular culture are interconnected.<sup>5</sup> As Stuart Croft recently argued, ‘Without understanding what has occurred in America at the level of popular culture, its meaning and impact, it is not possible fully to comprehend the American crisis discourse that is the ‘war on terror’ (2006, 1). We can fruitfully think of these interconnections in terms of intertextuality, of which there are various forms.<sup>6</sup> Citational or ‘manifest’ intertextuality (Fairclough 1992, 85), for example, refers to quoting or citing one text in another text. Thus, Ronald Reagan made an intertextual reference in 1983, when he quipped after the American hostages in Lebanon were freed that ‘Boy, I saw *Rambo* last night. Now I know what to do the next time this happens’ (Jeffords 1994, 28). Constitutive intertextuality, or interdiscursivity (Fairclough 1992, 85), in contrast, refers to the structural congruence of seemingly discrete and disparate discourses. An example is the way in which the discourse of *Star Trek*, despite its overall liberal pretensions, reproduces the hierarchy, interventionism and militarism of U.S. foreign policy (Weldes, 1999).

In this paper, we examine the construction of in/security in the ‘Buffyverse’,<sup>7</sup> noting the intertextual relations between it and discourses of in/security in both the discipline of IR and U.S. foreign policy. In so doing, we highlight in particular the structural homologies in the constitution of identity and in/security across Buffy and IR/U.S. foreign policy. At the same time, we note the ways that the shifts between singularity and multiplicity of identity and in/security in *Buffy* loosely track similar changes in IR/U.S. foreign policy.<sup>8</sup> But *Buffy* does not simply reproduce the common sense of IR/U.S. foreign policy. Instead, it provides a progressive critique of conventional notions of identity and in/security. The argument in this paper is that over the first six seasons *Buffy* moves from a singular, modernist conception of identity and in/security like that prominent in IR/U.S. foreign policy to performing<sup>9</sup> a plural, post-modernist one. By this we mean that in *Buffy* competing, sometimes contradictory, sometimes complementary, narratives of identity and in/security coexist [and are, at times, mutually constituting?]. This plurality of constructions of identity and in/security highlights their constructed nature, their ultimate arbitrariness: none are understood as essential or given. In other words, it can be otherwise. And this recognition of the constructedness of identity and in/security, both by the characters in the show and by *Buffy*’s audience, in turn allows for reflexivity and for a critical engagement with ones’ own interpretations or discursive constructions. What this analysis highlights is that taking a self-reflexive approach to discursive constructions re-politicises them and creates space for agency and choice, allowing for more nuanced and complexified understandings of identity and insecurity.

The paper is organized as follows. After briefly explaining why we examine *Buffy* rather than some other popular cultural artefact (others would be equally valid), we then examine the performance within *Buffy* of identity and in/security. In the third section we begin with the singular notion of identity and in/security defining the ‘monster of the week’ plots and examine the progressive pluralisation of the notions of identity and in/security across the first six seasons. In the fourth section we critically examine *Buffy*’s retreat to singularity in season seven. We conclude by arguing

---

<sup>5</sup> An expanding literature examines diverse forms of intertextuality between popular culture and world politics. See, among many others, Franklin, 2005; Heller, 2005; Hooper, 2001; Lawrence and Jewett, 2002; Lipschutz, 2001; Nexon and Neumann, 2006; Sharp, 2000; Weber, 2006; Weldes 1999, 2001, 2003.

<sup>6</sup> The two we discuss here do not exhaust the notion of intertextuality. One might, for example, also view Derrida’s notion of the trace (Spivak 1976, xv) as constituting a form of intertextuality in that words / phrases / concepts inevitably carry with them residues of their previously articulated meanings.

<sup>7</sup> ‘Buffyverse’ is a term coined by fans of *Buffy* and its spin-off, *Angel*, to denote the fictional universe in which both are set.

<sup>8</sup> There is, of course, a vast literature on the Buffyverse, but very little of it engages centrally with the disciplinary knowledges of Political Science / International Relations. One important exception is Molloy (2003).

<sup>9</sup> Broadly speaking, performativity refers to the same processes as does the concept of construction. We deliberately use ‘performativity’ – performance, perform – in order both to highlight the need constantly to re-articulate, re-produce, and re-construct meanings, and to expand the notion of construction from texts alone to practices as well.

that even the reduced version of identity and in/security enacted in the final season of *Buffy* is preferable to those performed in the Bush administration's 'war on terror' discourse.

### Why *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*?<sup>10</sup>

*I'd call that a radical interpretation of the text.*<sup>11</sup>

*Buffy*, which aired in the U.S. from March 1997 through May 2003, is set in the fictional town of Sunnydale, California, the location of the 'Hellmouth' – 'a centre of mystical energy'<sup>12</sup> which both attracts and nourishes evil and provides a point of contact between Earth and Hell.<sup>13</sup> A cross-genre combination of horror, science fiction (SF), soap opera, sitcom and teen drama, the show follows the heroic adventures of Buffy Summers, the Slayer, and her friends as they battle evil in its many forms, including vampires, demons, witches, and gods. The introductory voiceover in *Buffy* (frequent in the first season but less so later on) explains the slayer and her role: 'Into each generation a slayer is born. One girl in all the world, the chosen one, born with the strength and skill to hunt the vampires; to stop the spread of evil.'<sup>14</sup> Buffy fights evil under the tutelage of Rupert Giles, her Watcher, and with the help of her friends. Collectively calling themselves the Scoobies,<sup>15</sup> they include Willow Rosenberg (a computer nerd who develops immense powers of witchcraft), Xander Harris, (the not-too-bright but loyal boy next door), and Cordelia Chase (the snobbish cheerleader and reluctant Scoobie), although the gang expands and transforms across the seasons to include, among others, Anya (an on-again, off-again vengeance demon) and Tara (Willow's girlfriend, also a powerful witch). [FINISH LATER: INCLUDE ONLY WHAT IS RELEVANT TO OUR ARGUMENT AS SCENE SETTING]

We have chosen to examine the performance of in/security in *Buffy* for two main reasons. The first is *Buffy*'s extraordinary popularity. There is a vast *Buffy* 'industry' that comprises, among other things, the original film (1992, Dir. Fran Rubel Kuzui), seven seasons of television *Buffy*, five seasons of the spin-off *Angel*, *Buffy* season eight in comic form, novelisations of both television shows, and spin-off novels and comics. *Buffy* also has a huge internet presence, with many fan sites, discussion fora, fan fiction, quizzes, Facebook applications, and Wikipedia entries.<sup>16</sup> There are *Buffy* parties and viewings; a *Buffy* magazine; and myriad *Buffy* merchandise, including dolls, figurines, playing cards and Top Trumps, boardgames, CDs, T-shirts, jigsaws, posters, mugs, bookmarks, and much, much more. *Buffy* has achieved such iconic status that even people who neither like *Buffy* nor watch it are familiar with it. It has in this sense passed beyond the boundaries of the text to become part of the wider culture. It is a 'water cooler show' – like *Friends*, *Star Trek*, *The West Wing*, *Lost* – a show one feels one ought to know about.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Also known as BtVS. Although *Angel* is also part of the Buffyverse, for reasons of space we largely restrict ourselves to an analysis of *Buffy*. We do, however, occasionally draw upon specific background, events, and plot devices from *Angel* where these are particularly useful.

<sup>11</sup> Oz to Willow, in 'Doppelg ngland' (3.16).

<sup>12</sup> Giles, 'Welcome to the Hellmouth' (1.1). We discover in later episodes that the Sunnydale Hellmouth is not unique – there is another Hellmouth in Cleveland, Ohio, and possibly others ('Chosen' (7.22)).

<sup>13</sup> Wikipedia, 'Hellmouth (Buffy the Vampire Slayer)'

([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hellmouth\\_\(Buffy\\_the\\_Vampire\\_Slayer\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hellmouth_(Buffy_the_Vampire_Slayer))) [accessed 29/02/08]. In 'The Harvest' (1.2), Luke, a vampire, claims that when the Hellmouth is opened and the Master is freed, 'hell itself will come to town.'

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, 'Welcome to the Hellmouth' (1.1).

<sup>15</sup> An intertextual reference to the gang in the Scoobie Doo comics and films. Buffy's friends are also occasionally referred to as the Slayerettes.

<sup>16</sup> A Google search (5 March 2008) for 'Buffy the Vampire Slayer' generated more than 5 million results. 'Buffy' generated just under 20 million hits (12 March 2008).

<sup>17</sup> There is also a vast academic literature on the Buffyverse, and on *Buffy* in particular. It has, for example, its own academic journals: the peer-reviewed *Slayage: The Online International Journal of Buffy Studies* (URL <http://slayageonline.com/>) and *Watcher Junior* (undergraduate Buffy papers) (URL <http://www.watcherjunior.tv/03/>).

More importantly, though, *Buffy* is fundamentally about in/security, which is its major thread and plot device. The basic premise and the diverse plotlines are always organized around problems of in/security, whether for individuals, communities, humanity, the world, or even demons and vampires. As a result, it lends itself particularly well to examining in/security and its production.<sup>18</sup> Set in a fictional town in California, the show nevertheless contains many important elements of our ‘real world’ – high school, relationships, families, anxieties, conflict, danger, and Armageddon. At the same time, however, because of its fantasy and SF elements, it also provides a moment of estrangement or defamiliarisation. With its presentation of an alternative world,<sup>19</sup> as Philip John Davies comments about SF more generally, *Buffy* can ‘accommodate radical doubt and questioning’ (1990, 4), thus providing space to interrogate the common sense constructions of identity and in/security in both academic disciplines and contemporary politics.

### **In/Security in *Buffy***

*Mostly, they’re just gonna kill you.*<sup>20</sup>

In this section we argue that there is a gradual shift across the first six seasons of *Buffy* in which identity and in/security are performed as increasingly plural, diverse and uncertain. It thus provides an expanding critique of the conventional understandings of in/security dominant in IR and U.S. foreign policy. Insecurities, threats, and identities all become more complex and more overtly interconnected, and boundaries between and among identities, self and others, threats and security, become blurred. At the same time, the characters become gradually more self-reflective about identities and the ‘causes’ of in/security and their role in constructing these. In contrast, we argue in the following section, season seven of *Buffy* marks a retreat back to a more singular conception of identity and in/security.

### **Pluralising In/Security in *Buffy***

*Giles: It’s terribly simple. The good guys are stalwart and true. The bad guys are easily distinguished by their pointy horns or black hats and we always defeat them and save the day. Nobody ever dies ... and everyone lives happily ever after.*

*Buffy: Liar.*<sup>21</sup>

*Buffy* begins with a rather strikingly conventional, realist and modernist conception of identity and in/security. This conception is based on singularity and certainty: threats are objective, external and given and identities are unproblematised. [EXPAND] The first two seasons are rife with episodes featuring one-off ‘monsters of the week’, sometimes vampire, sometimes demon, sometimes other

---

There have so far also been three international multi-day conferences. ‘[T]hree hundred and ninety Buffyologists from all over the world’ attended ‘SC1: The Slayage Conference on Buffy the Vampire Slayer’, held in Nashville in May 2004 to discuss over 180 papers on BtVS (<http://slayageonline.com/SCBtVS/index.htm>). ‘SC2: The Slayage Conference on the Whedonverses’ was held in Barnesville, GA, in May 2006 (<http://slayageonline.com/SCW/>). And ‘Staking a Claim: Exploring the Global Reach of Buffy’ was held at the University of South Australia in Adelaide in July 2003. By 2002, Derik A. Badman’s ‘Academic Buffy Bibliography’ already contained over 140 academic treatments of aspects of the Buffyverse (<http://slayageonline.com/essays/slayage7/Badman.htm> [accessed 03/03/08]).

<sup>18</sup> Of course, this is also a problem, as the nature of this basic premise means that in the Buffyverse everything is securitised.

<sup>19</sup> Indeed several alternative worlds, given the many references to alternative dimensions, including hell dimensions, ‘the land of perpetual Wednesday’ (‘Triangle’ (5.11), ‘a world without shrimp’ (‘Superstar’ (4.17) and ‘Triangle’), et cetera.

<sup>20</sup> *Buffy*, ‘Welcome to the Hellmouth’ (1:1).

<sup>21</sup> ‘Lie to Me’ (2.7).

supernatural phenomena. These threats are all of a type: they are objective, external, physical threats to (one or all of) individuals, Sunnydale High School, the community of Sunnydale, and potentially the world. These threats are decisively dealt with by Buffy and her companions, generally through the use of force. For example, in 'Teacher's Pet' (1.4) Buffy's biology teacher is murdered and Xander and another classmate kidnapped by a substitute teacher who is actually a giant preying mantis. In 'I Robot, You Jane' (1.8), the demon Moloch is accidentally released from imprisonment in a medieval manuscript into the Internet. It is assumed that he will do evil, because he is a demon. Similarly, (in 'EPISODE' (1.X) we learn that the Master is constrained by the earthquake which locked him in a limbo on the Hellmouth, unable to come fully corporeal and thus realise his unchanging evil ambition to rule Sunnydale. More generally, the threat is always obvious, and external. The monsters always attack first, and it is always clear that they are evil. Thus, the vampires inevitably attack Buffy (or others), and we can be certain that they are a threat because their faces 'vamp', or morph from a human to a vampire appearance. Certainty is central here, and 'we' simply react to 'them'.

The structural assumption concerns a balance of power between vampires and humans. Buffy patrols the cemeteries of Sunnydale,<sup>22</sup> trying to contain the vampire threat by keeping down their numbers. A graphic example of what happens when the balance tips in favour of the vampires can be seen in 'The Wish' (3.9) in which we see the outcome of Cordelia's wish that Buffy had never come to Sunnydale: vampires control the town, which has become hell on earth. No motivation is sought or provided, and there is no need to understand these vampires, demons and monsters because they are known from the outset to be evil and dangerous. The means of protection is generally violence: the solution to the problem of security is simply to find whatever means will allow the 'us' to eliminate 'them'. There is no rehabilitation of vampires.<sup>23</sup> In these early episodes, then, both identities and in/securities remain unproblematized. Capability is what counts, not motivation, because evil is evil.<sup>24</sup> The logic is simple: monsters bad : kill them.

Reproducing the inside / outside, domestic / international logic of IR, the Summers' home, where Buffy lives with her mother Joyce and later her sister Dawn, is initially a secure domestic space. Vampires cannot cross the threshold without an explicit invitation from a person who lives there. Although it is possible to invite vampires in unwittingly, this is portrayed as a mistake – and furthermore can be undone with the correct reversal spell, once more rendering the home secure. As with the pluralisation of threats in the post-cold war era, the threats that can and do enter Buffy's home expand over time. In 'Ted' (2.11), for example, Ted is dating Joyce, but turns out to be a robot and serial wife killer. In 'Bad Eggs' (2.12) the high school students are given eggs to care for as part of a project on parental responsibility. When they bring the eggs home, however, they hatch into face hugger-like creatures that attach to their central nervous systems and control them. In 'Dead Mans Party' (3.2), Joyce brings a Nigerian face mask home from the gallery where she works. This mask, it turns out, transforms people and animals into zombies when it attaches to their faces. (cf. Jowett 2005 on domestic spaces in *Buffy*). [EXPAND: moving to pluralisation of threat is not the last shift. Cannot keep the domestic hermetically sealed.]

At the same time, threats are pluralized. Like a post-cold war IR and U.S. foreign policy, there is a proliferation of threats without a change in the identity / conception of self and other. More threats but realist responses. Buffy is not only the vampire slayer, but the slayer of manifold evils, encountering an increasingly diverse range of demons, witches, sorcerers, werewolves, shape shifters, ghosts, and reanimated corpses. For example, in 'I Robot, You Jane' (1.8), a demon called

---

<sup>22</sup> Of which there are 13/15. .

<sup>23</sup> [NOTE: Return to theme in Initiative section re rehabilitation versus behaviour modification and intention versus capability.]

<sup>24</sup> As many critics have pointed out, U.S. foreign policy in the Cold War was premised on the same assumption, that the U.S. had to react to Soviet capabilities not intentions. [CITES; NSC68, etc]

Moloch the Corrupter is scanned into the computer and enters cyberspace. He befriends Willow as 'Malcolm' and convinces two students to build him a robot body. Giles and another teacher bind the demon to the robot body so that Buffy is able to kill it. [ADD additional threats – e.g., Willow's magic addiction as drugs in season six -- and parallel end of cold war proliferation of threats]

Formally – in slayer mythology – the slayer is understood to fight alone.

Xander: How do you kill them [vampires]?

Buffy: You don't; I do.

Xander: We saddle up, right?

Buffy: There's no 'we', ok? I'm the slayer and you're not.<sup>25</sup>

The slayer fights the demons and protects the community just as the military fights external threats to the state. And Buffy does often patrol alone, particularly in the cemetery, killing vampires and demons. But in fact, *Buffy* relies on her Watcher and her friends to fight most evil, performing a liberal notion of collective security. 'The Scoobies' – friends who more often than not assist Buffy – are formed early on and teamwork is central to fighting the manifold evils at the Hellmouth. (see below for more on teamwork in *Buffy*.) As Rhonda Wilcox argues, 'The importance of community, trust, friendship' is 'one of the great themes of the show' (2005, 6).

The narrative is complicated in other ways as well. In 'The Witch' (1.3), Catherine Madison, the mother of high school student Amy, takes her daughter's place to relive her glory days as a cheerleader. She systematically attacks other cheerleaders, including Buffy, to get a place on the squad. Although a witch, she is also human, undermining the assumption that only demons are evil or threatening. The character Angel is also a complication. Although he appears in the first episode ('Welcome to the Hellmouth'), anonymously lending aid to Buffy, we do not know until the episode 'Angel' (1.7) that he is vampire, and, moreover, 'a vampire with a soul', thus making him good rather than evil. Just as humans can be evil, so not all demons are. The positivist-style certainty characteristic of the remainder of the first season is undermined as well in its last episode, 'Prophecy Girl' (1.12). It was foretold that Buffy would die in her encounter with 'The Master' (the ruler of a vampire cult) but although Buffy 'technically' dies, she is resuscitated, thus subverting the prophecy and thus the certainty attached to the future. Moreover, because of her brief death, a second slayer is produced, violating the stricture that there is 'one girl in all the world'.<sup>26</sup> Again, the central premise of the show is subverted and transformed.

As these early examples foreshadow, *Buffy* rapidly moves away from the singular realist and modernist conception of identity and in/security, shifting towards increasingly plural performances of both. *Buffy* -- and the characters on *Buffy* -- are aware of these realist discursive deployments, which always remain a possibility, but which over time come no longer to be the only, or even the first, possible narrative. [EXPAND] By centralising questions of identity, Buffy increasingly pluralises threats, in/securities and possible courses of actions. Buffy illustrates the complexity of in/security and its relation to identity. Because the plots of *Buffy* are character rather than monster driven, the show highlights not only the links between identity and in/security, but also, and more importantly, the in/security of identity. [MORE ON IDENTITY]

*Buffy* also becomes more self-reflexive through an awareness of the social construction of identity and in/security. Ironically, this comes not from academic knowledge (when Buffy encounters social constructivism in a Sociology unit at U.C. Sunnydale, she finds it overwhelming<sup>27</sup>) but rather through personal experience and self-reflection. 'Nightmares' (1.10) [[]] 'Out of Mind, Out of

---

<sup>25</sup> 'The Harvest' (1.2).

<sup>26</sup> These are not errors – or plot discontinuities – but rather demonstrate the immense complexity of the Buffyverse.

<sup>27</sup> In this same class (in 'Life Serial' (6.5)), Willow defines social constructivism as [[]].

Sight' (1.11) [][] 'The Wish' (3.9) [][] 'Something Blue' (4.9) [][] In 'New Moon Rising' (4.19), for example, Oz returns to Sunnydale having learned from monks in the Himalayas how to control his werewolf transformation. He in effect uses 'mind overt matter' to construct his own reality. He does not accept the biological 'fact' of his werewolf nature as definitive of his identity, as its unchangeable core. 'Normal Again' (6.16) [][] 'Same Time, Same Place' (7.3) [][] Most importantly, perhaps, is the episode 'Fear Itself' (4.4), where the demon makes manifest the specific insecurities that people fear the most.<sup>28</sup> [][] These episodes reflect, in a variety of ways, both the characters' gradual awareness of the social construction of in/security and, more broadly, the show's makers' understanding of the social construction of in/security. As a result of both, these processes of identity and in/security construction are highlighted for the viewers. [Decide which are the best examples and fill in]

[Paragraph on the expansion of moral community (Molloy, 2003).<sup>29</sup>]

Just as threats are pluralized, identity becomes more complex as well. Good guys turn into bad guys, for example, and vice versa. The vampire Angel loses his soul, once again becoming evil ('Surprise' (2.13)); his soul is restored by Willow, rendering him good again, but Buffy has to dispatch him to a hell dimension to save the world from destruction ('Becoming, Part 2' (2.22)). [][] In 'Graduation Day, Part 1' (3.21) Angel is shot with a poisoned arrow by Faith, another slayer and 'one of us', who traitorously joins forces with the Mayor, helping him bring about his 'ascension' into demon-hood (e.g., 'Enemies' (3.17)). Joyce becomes a threat to Buffy once Buffy has told her about being the Slayer. [conclude paragraph on complexification of identities]

Conversely, not only is moral community expanded, but the possibility arises that one might recognise the self as threat.<sup>30</sup> That is, threats that 'we' generate are also highlighted. Faith, who is one of 'us', kills the human and feels no remorse ('Bad Girls' (3.14)). In 'Superstar' (4.17), the creation of Jonathan's superstar identity simultaneously, though inadvertently, creates the monster that threatens everyone, including Jonathan himself. In 'Gingerbread' (3.11), the threat is ostensibly witches who have apparently killed two young children. It later transpires that the two children are actually the manifestation of a demon who feeds off human fear. But what is interesting about the episode is that the 'real', more tangible threat to Buffy and her friends comes from the town's adults. In the face of their fear of the (alleged) witches, a group of mothers, including Buffy's mother Joyce, form MOO -- 'Mothers Opposed to the Occult'. In their general fear of the 'occult', and Joyce's specific fears concerning Buffy's identity as the slayer, they end up trying to burn their children -- Amy, Willow, and Buffy -- at the stake. MOO's approach is to 'establish a predictable, systematic world in order to control it' (Breton and McMaster, 2001). Critical of Buffy's 'ad hoc' approach to good and evil. Ironically, it was only the witchcraft to which MOO was so opposed that could undo the demon that was fooling them into fear. The belief that you can have perfect security leads to more fear of insecurity. [Return here to domestic space]

Buffy and the Scoobies, in contrast, are not upset when faced with insecurity. They are used to living with insecurity everyday and treat it as a permanent, and familiar, condition. Insecurity is

---

<sup>28</sup> Although these constructions usually happen through the supernatural, we know that in *Buffy* the 'high school is hell metaphor' so that the supernatural highlights that is 'true' about our real world. [CITES]

<sup>29</sup> The original rule that humans cannot be slain like demons appears to be violated in several early episodes, including *The Witch* (1.3) and *The Pack* (1.6). For example, in *The Witch* Amy's mother is imprisoned in a statue, seeming for all eternity, and thus as good as killed. The zookeeper in *The Pack* is eaten by hyenas after Buffy throws him into their enclosure. Although apparently instances of the Slayer killing evil humans, this is not the case. In both instances, the human's death / imprisonment is actually the outcome of their own actions. Amy's mother is imprisoned when her own spell is reflected back at her in the course of battle, and the zookeeper, when eaten by the hyenas, has bewitched himself into one.

<sup>30</sup> This is strikingly illustrated in the *Angel* episode [][] in which Angel kills a demon, only to find out afterwards that it was a pregnant woman's protector and that she will now be killed.

mundane. They are not looking for perfect security; rather, they seek simply to be more secure than [when someone was attacking them.] For the Scoobies, permanent security is neither an achievable condition nor a sensible objective. Instead, security is always relative. It is one's attitude towards in/security that determines what impact it has on one's life. For example, in 'Never Kill a Boy on the First Date' (1.5) Buffy refuses to miss out on Homecoming just because yet another catastrophe looms. 'If the apocalypse comes,' Buffy says, 'beep me.'

[SUMMARY PARAGRAPH and ties to IR/USFP] The fact that identity is definitive / constitutive of in/security becomes ever more obvious / apparent. In contrast, in IR and USFP, this pluralisation does not occur, or only to a very limited extent. IR increasingly plural conceptions of threats, but responses do not dramatically change. Any change is retreated from with the post-cold war visions of the world. USFP threats become plural??]

### *Competing Epistemologies: The Initiative versus the Scoobies*

*I see a demon, it dies.*<sup>31</sup>

*Buffy: There's different degrees of—*

*Riley: Evil?*

*Buffy: It's just... different with different demons.*

*There are creatures-- vampires, for example—  
that aren't evil at all.*<sup>32</sup>

Season four introduces the Initiative, a covert U.S. government organization, run by the psychology professor Maggie Walsh, whose mission is to capture, research, and control, as well as eliminate, the 'Hostile Sub-Terrestrial' or HST (e.g., demons, vampires and the like).<sup>33</sup> The Initiative, is located underground on the Sunnydale campus. The entrance is through a fraternity where the Initiative's commandoes live as students at U.C. Sunnydale.<sup>34</sup> These commandoes conduct military operations to capture HSTs and imprison them in the 'HST containment area'. The project's scientists then experiment on them; 'xenomorphic behaviour modification' is designed to eliminate the demon threat.<sup>35</sup> Also known as 'sub-Ts', they are given numbers rather than names: the vampire Spike is known within The Initiative as 'Hostile 17'. The Initiative is coded in a way that resembles the more conventional militaries that we see in contemporary Hollywood war films. For example, they march in formation, wear camouflage, use high-tech night vision goggles and weaponry. They answer to a clear chain of command<sup>36</sup> and possess military ranks, and we see the importance of the small military unit and of masculinist military esprit de corps. These codings situate the Initiative firmly within the U.S. military.

---

<sup>31</sup> Forrest, 'Goodbye Iowa' (14).

<sup>32</sup> Buffy, 'New Moon Rising' (4.19).

<sup>33</sup> The back story to The Initiative links it clearly to the development during World War II of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons (e.g., Angle, 'Why We Fight' (5.13)). The overt covert mission of The Initiative is paralleled by an even more covert covert mission, that of creating a hybridized (demon-human) super cyborg soldier. Adam, a Frankenstein being constructed by Walsh and who kills his creator (e.g., 'The I in Team' (4.12)), is a bastardized version of The Initiative in the sense that he takes the same objectivist, modernist approach to knowledge, resulting in his killing and dissecting a child to find out how he 'works', much like the Initiative experiments on demons ('Goodbye Iowa' (4.14)). It later emerges that the commandoes, including Riley, are also super soldiers, unwittingly taking drugs that both enhance their performance and, in the long term, kill them (e.g., 'Goodbye Iowa' (4.14)).

<sup>34</sup> The Initiative's underground complex is reminiscent of the lairs of James Bond villains. And later, Walsh appears a bit like a James Bond villain, calling Adam her 'baby' in a slightly deranged sort of way, and displaying some characteristics of the ego-maniac, as when she declares that Buffy 'has no idea who she's dealing with' ('The I in Team' (4.13)).

<sup>35</sup> Walsh, 'The I in Team' (4.13).

<sup>36</sup> With the exception of Maggie Walsh, who seems to sit above the military command.

[paragraph here on positivism and the relationship between scientific research and military institutions and practices.] [Note that the Initiative are never shown to pursue other sources of information, which in practice means denying the validity of any other perspective – nothing useful to be learned from ancient chronicles or other texts, for example, which Giles and the Scoobies routinely consult.]

The episode ‘Doomed’ (4.11) makes explicit the contrast between the singular modernist and the plural postmodern conceptions of identity and in/security in *Buffy*. The Initiative’s approach to fighting evil is modernist. It is certain, unquestionably, that it is right. It deploys a militaristic approach to producing security, based on physical force carried out by military commandoes. It deploys a ‘problem solving’<sup>37</sup> approach that never questions the common sense that ‘demon is bad’. In pursuing the Vahrall demon in ‘Doomed’, for instance, the commandoes are briefed on its physical characteristics (e.g., size, weight, special hazards), based on the characteristics of *any* Vahrall demon, with no attention to *this specific* individual. They use scientific methods to track it, following its pheromone signature (e.g., Breton and McMaster Slayage 1). They don’t know where it is going, but they do know where it has been. Similarly, in ‘The I in Team’ (4.13), the commandoes are instructed to capture ‘sub-T 67119’, identified as ‘demon class, Polgara species’. They are told of its ‘distinct protein marker’ and its unique defensive capabilities. Descriptions of demons focus on capabilities; intentions are ignored. The modernist approach used by the Initiative denies demons agency, treating them as objects rather than subjects. As Forrest says: [demons are just fancy animals and nothing more: find exact quote]. Here, moral clarity is the taken-for-granted basis for action.

[Paragraph on the Initiative’s notion of security? Focus on objective, external physical threats. Focus on military / scientific solutions. Security only to be achieved through military and scientific means. The Initiative / the military as apart from society; secret mission; not a threat but rather the solution.]

[Paragraph here on the Initiative’s idea of a good team. E.g., ‘The I in Team’ and other episodes showing the relationships between and among Riley and other commandoes. Militarised, hierarchical, masculinist. When Riley, Buffy’s boyfriend, leaves, he does so by/through punching a senior officer. The officer says, ‘Finn, you’re a dead man.’ Riley responds, ‘No, sir, I’m an anarchist.’]

[Segue to the Scoobies using quotes from ‘Doomed’ where the Initiative describes their knowledge of the Vahrall demon, and the immediate segue to Buffy and Giles using very different sources of information to acquire knowledge about this demon.]

The difference in the approach taken by Buffy, Giles and the rest of the Scoobies is stark. While they do use scientific knowledge – Willow is a computer and internet research expert -- they are by no means restricted to it. Among other sources of information, they make use of ancient and historical texts, individual testimonies, prophecies, oracles,<sup>38</sup> magic, poetry, fairy tales and nursery rhymes, myths, and newspaper archives. [ADD that the Scoobies rely on their emotional reactions, which sometimes provide them with extra insight and power. EXAMPLES; CITES]

The Scoobies are also keenly aware of the incompleteness of the militarised account of threats. Both the Scoobies and the Initiative strategically pursue information and demons, but the force of the critique that *Buffy* offers is that they see each situation and demon as unique and contextualised. One crucial hallmark of the pluralized *Buffy* is that they come to treat [at least some of] the demons

---

<sup>37</sup> Robert Cox defined problem-solving theory, as opposed to critical theory, as that which ‘takes the world as it finds it ... as the given framework for action’ (1981, 129).

<sup>38</sup> These are more commonly seen in *Angel*.

as subjects. In researching a threat, they always ask: ‘what does it want?’ The Scoobies, that is, are concerned with motivation, with intention and purpose, thus constituting demons not only as sentient, but as potentially fuller, indeed sometimes quite complex, subjects. The vampire Spike is a good example. ‘Hostile 17’ to The Initiative, he is much more than that to the Scoobies. He alternately threatens and helps the Scoobies; is alternately a dangerous threat or friend, funny or crazed, repulsive or sexy, Buffy’s enemy or her lover.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, Faith’s relationship with the mayor highlights not only their evil but simultaneously their humanity, and thus the complexity of identity. Faith is both traitorous (to Buffy) and loyal (to the Mayor), while the Mayor is both evil (wants to become an immortal demon) and loving (creating for her the first real relationship that Faith has ever known) (Chambers and Williford 2004, §24). And again, to the Initiative, a werewolf is like any demon, capable of killing and therefore to be killed. The Scoobies, in contrast, protect Oz, Willow’s former boyfriend and a Scoobie, when he returns in ‘New Moon Rising’ (4.19), and, led by Spike, rescue him from the Initiative when he is captured. The Scoobies, then, recognise individual demon identities and the different interests that might follow from them. This difference is highlighted in ‘The I in Team’ (4.13). When the commandoes, including Buffy, are being instructed on the pursuit of the Polgara demon (see above), Buffy is the only one to raise questions, and they are about the demon’s motivations:

Buffy: What do they want? Why are they here? Sacrifices, treasure, or are they just getting rampagey?

Dr Angelman: They’re not sentient, just destructive I believe.

Professor Walsh: They do have keen eyesight, however. You might want to be suited up for this. This is a zap and trap people. Capture not a kill.

When Buffy later says to Riley that ‘Questions are an Initiative faux pas,’ he responds, ‘It’s a little unusual. She’s [Walsh] just not used to it.’ This highlights the contrast between the Scoobies and both the hierarchical command structure of the Initiative and the supposed unquestioned authority of ‘expert’, scientific knowledge. It also highlights that for Buffy and her friends, moral clarity is part of the problem, not the self-evident basis for action.

The Scoobies also have different ways of thinking about and dealing with threats. For Buffy and company, military solutions do not necessarily produce the best security. While the threat may be articulated in a realist narrative and militarised approaches methods used to counteract it, other narratives and therefore other approaches can also be seen in *Buffy*. Most significantly, the Scoobies are aware of their own complicity in the construction of enemies and the relative threats these enemies pose. In particular, it quite often turns out that what appears to be an objective, external threat is constituted through people’s own fears and in/securities. As we noted earlier, in ‘Nightmares’ (1.10), the threats are actually manifestations of the unconscious dreams of a victim of child abuse. In a more general sense, the construction of in/security can be seen in the episode ‘Pangs’ (4.8), in which Buffy and her friends must fight the vengeful spirits of the native American Chumash tribe. Willow argues, throughout the episode, that this threat is the result of the forcible colonisation of the North American continent and the deliberate policies targeting the native American population. So, for example, it is surmised that Xander suffers from a variety of diseases because settlers had brought diseases to the ‘new world’.<sup>40</sup>

*Buffy*’s notion of a good team – in contrast to that of the Initiative – has at least three important elements. First, each member is valued for the skills and perspectives he or she can and does

---

<sup>39</sup> His complex relationship with Buffy is highlighted in ‘Once More with Feeling’ (6.7), in which Spike sings: ‘I hope she fries, I’m free if that bitch dies; I’d better help her out’ and then ‘First I’ll kill her, then I’ll save her ... No, first I’ll save her, then I’ll kill her’.

<sup>40</sup> It has been noted by Dominic Alessio that this episode is problematic in its representation of native Americans once more as indigenous savages, as ‘brutal murderer ... unreasoning ... [and] destructive’ (2001, 733). [Flesh out]

provide. Second, the membership itself is fluid. And third and most importantly, the method of decision making is deliberative and participatory. Each member contributes special skills: Willow is both a computer expert and later a powerful witch; Xander has some military experience (i.e., 'Halloween' (2.6), carpentry skills, and, crucially, complete loyalty; Giles contributes historical and bibliographical expertise, as well as being a competent mystical linguist; Tara provides emotional support, social reproduction, as well as witchcraft; and Buffy has supernatural slayer strength.

Second, other people (and demons etc) can be, and often are, brought into the group. Spike, even when still evil, makes a deal to help Buffy capture the evil Angelus (Angel as vampire) in exchange for Druscilla ('Becoming, Part 2' (2.22)). Anya, the vengeance demon, becomes a member by virtue of her relationship with Xander ('The Prom' (3.20)). The entire graduating class of '99 is enlisted to fight the Mayor at his ascension ('Graduation Day, Part 2' (3.22)). And Riley actively joins the Scoobies ('Goodbye Iowa' (4.14)).

Third, the team's means of working and decision making is central. If someone has a better idea, a new insight, an alternative way of approaching a problem, they are listened to. The team is genuinely committed to dialogic interaction rather than hierarchical command.<sup>41</sup> 'The Yoko Factor' (4.20) highlights how well the team works most of the time. In this episode Adam gets Spike to sow disharmony among the Scoobies. He successfully sets each against the others by playing on their specific insecurities, causing the group to split apart. They are all identity insecurities: Giles is made to feel that they no longer need him, as he is no longer officially a watcher; Xander is made to think that Willow and Buffy think he should join the army as there is nothing else he is fit for; he undermines Willow's faith in Buffy's acceptance of Willow's coming out; and Buffy is isolated from Riley when Xander accidentally reveals too much information about Buffy's past with Angel. Because of the resulting mutual distrust, the group is unable to pursue productive discussions about the threat that Adam poses, and thus fails to work cooperatively. Buffy decides to confront Adam alone, and is severely beaten. Once the group are forced to confront these issues, they realise Spike's role and are newly re-empowered to face Adam together, coming up with a plan that combines their strengths and skills.

In the next episode, 'Primeval' (4.21), not only do they demonstrate the importance of teamwork and collective security, but also that teamwork is more than the sum of its parts (that collective security can only be achieved through the pursuit of group rather than self interests). Buffy, Giles, Xander and Willow – hand, head, heart and spirit respectively – mystically conjoin into one 'super Buffy' with Willow's magical and Giles's linguistic abilities, as well as the strength of the first slayer. This enables them to defeat Adam by successfully fighting him, and ripping out his nuclear power source. In 'The Gift' (5.22), each team member has a different task to perform based on their strengths and each joins the operation voluntarily. Here the importance of teamwork is spelled out and the alternative conception of power as 'the power to' rather than merely 'power over'.<sup>42</sup>

Uncertainty is central to the Scoobies' approach to fighting evil. [Centrality of uncertainty in the more plural world that Buffy and her friends inhabit. Riley definitively leaves The Initiative, and comes much closer to []. When, suffering withdrawal from the super soldier drugs Walsh had been

---

<sup>41</sup> Dawn, Buffy's sister (introduced in season five, 'Buffy vs. Dracula' (5.1)) initially represents a counter-example to these three features of teamwork in Buffy. To begin with, as a young teenager, she is not allowed to participate in any Scooby activities and is not viewed as possessing any special skills or abilities. Both Buffy and Joyce, their mother, want to protect Dawn from things that go bump in the night. This approach proves frustrating for Dawn and ultimately leads her to seek thrills and danger by herself, thus getting into greater trouble and more threatening situations. However, over time, we see Dawn mature and become a fully fledged member of the group, demonstrating both traditional and Internet research skills and linguistic capabilities, as well as nascent fighting skills. This illustrates that traditional approaches to security – 'protecting from' – are unsuccessful in comparison with strategies of empowerment.

<sup>42</sup> Hence, Giles and the others sing in 'Once More with Feeling' (6.7) 'We'll see it through, it's what we're always here to do.'

giving him, he says: I don't know anything. I don't know which team I'm on; who the bad guys are. Maybe I'm a bad guy. Maybe I'm a thing you should kill' ('Goodbye Iowa' (4.14)).] This uncertainly also means that the Initiative, initially an ally of Buffy's in the fights against demons, itself becomes a major threat. Once Buffy and her friends discover the even more covert part of the Initiative's mission -- constructing the hybridised cyborg super-soldier -- the Initiative itself becomes their main threat. When Giles says to Spike: 'As long as the Initiative is in operation, it's not safe for you here [in Sunnydale]', Buffy explains: 'No, it's not safe for any of us.' ('The I in Team' (4.13)). [conclude this]

### ***The Retreat to Singularity***

*Don't get linear on me now, man.*<sup>43</sup>

Season seven, which appeared in 2002-3 and was written after September 11, 2001, begins with the words 'It's about power'.<sup>44</sup> The season's big bad has previously been seen in season three<sup>45</sup> when Angel appears to be haunted by the ghosts of those he has tortured and killed. It later turns out that the hauntings are produced by 'The First', the primeval, ultimate evil. It is evil incarnate (apart from the fact that it cannot take corporeal form) able to take on the appearance of any dead person it chooses. The First has a master plan that gradually unfolds as the season progresses, involving the assassination of all potential slayers ('potentials') in order to put an end to the slayer line. In order to protect the potentials, who are being picked off across the globe, Buffy and Giles bring them to Sunnydale where the Scoobies set about building them into an army. The threat turns out to be bigger than anything they have ever faced as underneath the Hellmouth thousands of Turok-Han (more commonly known as Übevamps)<sup>46</sup> are waiting for The First to find a way to open the Seal of Danzalthar to create hell on earth (yet again).<sup>47</sup>

[Paragraph on Buffy as leader. Retreat from the cooperative/collective security to a single authoritative/dictatorial leader.]

[Paragraph on the claims that democracy doesn't work under conditions of threat from 'evil' so return to strong leadership.]

[Paragraph on retreat from pluralized power to military power – explicit militarised training of the potentials. The shift in the conceptualisation of power from a collective 'power to' to a conventional notion of 'power over'.]

[Paragraph on the normative issue for us.] Retreating from plurality to singularity – a retreat enacted in *Buffy* as in IR and U.S. foreign policy discourse -- is normatively problematical. Singularity – of identity and thus of in/security -- inappropriately fixes meaning, always a political act. It reduces potentially diverse understandings of identity and in/security, and thus diverse possibilities for thinking and acting. In so doing, it reduces options, choices, and agency. Thus, the singular understanding of identity and in/security constituted in / constitutive of the discourse of the 'war on terror' has locked the U.S., and many of its allies, into a pattern of politics that sanctions, among other things, torture and the erosion of basic political and civil rights. At the same time, this singular discourse decreases the possibility that we might define these patterns as wrong. Plurality, in contrast, resists closure of meaning. Thus plurality and the recognition of open meanings is better in *Buffy* and in the 'real world', whether IR or U.S. foreign policy. In short, we want to argue, the

---

<sup>43</sup> Xander, 'Restless' (4.22).

<sup>44</sup> Buffy, 'Lessons' (7.1).

<sup>45</sup> In 'Amends' (3.10).

<sup>46</sup> They first appear in 'Never Leave Me' (7.9) [CHECK THIS]

<sup>47</sup> This threat is shown to Buffy by the Shadow Men (who created the first slayer) in a vision in 'Get it Done' (7.15).

post-modern understanding of identity and in/security performed in the first six seasons of *Buffy* is normatively superior.

### **Conclusions** [Buffy Quote]

[In the conclusion we will argue that, despite the apparent retreat to singularity in season seven, *Buffy* provides an extensive critique of conventional conceptions of identity and in/security. The retheorisation of power at the denouement of season seven (last 2 episodes) reopens the critical space that appeared to be closed down. We argue that the pluralized conceptions of identity and in/security performed in *Buffy* provide conceptual tools to critique contemporary U.S. foreign policy. The very fact the season seven quite obviously parallels the ‘war on terror’, but then subverts that performance, makes *Buffy* as good vehicle for using popular culture to understand world politics critically.]

## Bibliography

Allesio, Dominic. “‘Things are different now’?: A postcolonial analysis of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*,” *The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms*, 6(6), 2001, pp. 731-740.

Art, Robert. ‘A defensible defense: America’s grand strategy after the cold war,’ *International Security*, 15(4), 1991, pp. 5-53.

Aspen, Les. ‘From deterrence to denuking: Dealing with proliferation in the 1990s,’ 18 February, mimeo.

Brannon, Julie Sloan. “‘It’s about power’: Buffy, Foucault and the quest for self,” *Slayage: The Online International Journal of Buffy Studies*, 6(4), Summer 2007.

Breton, Rob, and Lindsay McMaster. ‘Dissing the age of MOO: Initiatives, alternatives, and rationality in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*,’ *Slayage: The Online International Journal of Buffy Studies*, 1(1), January 2001.

Bussolini, Joseph. ‘Los Alamos is the Hellmouth,’ *Slayage: The Online Journal of Buffy Studies*, 5(2), online at <http://slayage.online.com/PDF/bussolini.pdf> [accessed 19 October 2007].

Chambers, Samuel A., and Daniel Williford. ‘Anti-imperialism in the Buffyverse: Challenging the mythos of Bush as vampire slayer,’ *Poroi*, 3(2), December 2004. Online at <http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/poroi/papers/chambers041001.html> [accessed 18/01/08].

Cordesman, Anthony. ‘Biological warfare and the “Buffy Paradigm”,’ Center for Strategic and International Studies, September 2001, online at [http://www.csis.org/component/option,com\\_csis\\_pubs/task,view/id,1281](http://www.csis.org/component/option,com_csis_pubs/task,view/id,1281) [accessed 19 October 2007].

Cox, Robert W. ‘Social forces, states and world orders: Beyond international relations theory,’ *Millennium*, 10(2), 1981, pp. 126-155.

Davies, Philip John, ed. *Science Fiction, Social Conflict, and War*, New York and Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.

Fairclough, Norman. *Discourse and Social Change*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992.

Franklin, M. I., ed. *Resounding International Relations: On Music, Culture, and Politics*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Heller, Dana, ed. *The Selling of 9/11: How a National Tragedy Became a Commodity*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Hooper, Charlotte. *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2001.

Jeffords, Susan. *Hard Bodies: Hollywood masculinity in the Reagan Era*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994.

Joffe, Josef. “‘Bismarck’ or ‘Britain’? Toward an American grand strategy after bipolarity,” *International Security*, 19(4), 1995, pp. 94-117.

- Jowett, Lorna, 'The Summers house as domestic space in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*,' *Slayage: The Online Journal of Buffy Studies*, 5(2), online at <http://slayage.online.com/PDF/jowett2.pdf> [accessed 19 October 2007].
- Kaveney, Roz. *Reading the Vampire Slayer: An Unofficial Critical Companion to Buffy and Angel*, London and New York: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2003.
- Kurth, James. 'America's grand strategy: A pattern of history,' *National Interest*, 43(Spring), 1996, pp. 3-19.
- Lawrence, John Shelton, and Robert Jewett. *The Myth of the American Superhero*, Grand Rapids, MI, and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2002.
- Lipschutz, Ronnie D. *Cold War Fantasies: Film, Fiction, and Foreign Policy*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.
- Molloy, Patricia. 'Demon diasporas: Confronting the other and the other-worldly in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* and *Angel*,' in Jutta Weldes, ed., *To Seek Out New Worlds: Science Fiction and World Politics*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, pp. 99-121.
- Nexon, Daniel H., and Iver B. Neumann, eds. *Harry Potter and International Relations*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006.
- Pateman, Matthew. "'You say tomato": Englishness in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*,' *Cercles*, 5, 2003, pp. 103-113, online at <http://www.cercles.com/n8/pateman.pdf> [accessed 19 October 2007].
- Posen, Barry R., and Andrew L. Ross. 'Competing visions for U.S. grand strategy,' *International Security*, 21(3), 1996, pp. 5-53.
- Potts, Donna L. 'Convents, Claddagh rings and even *The Book of Kells*: Representing the Irish in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*,' *SIMILE: Studies in Media & Information on Literacy Education*, 2(3), 2003, online at <http://utpjournals.com/simile/issue10/pottsfulltext.html> [accessed 19 October 2007].
- Sharp, Joanne P. *Condensing the Cold War: Reader's Digest and American Identity*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2000.
- South, James B. *Buffy the Vampire Slayer and Philosophy: Fear and Trembling in Sunnydale*, Chicago and La Salle, IL: Carus Publishing Company, 2003.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 'Translator's preface,' in Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.
- Van Evera, Stephen. 'Why Europe matters, why the third world doesn't: American grand strategy after the cold war,' *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 13(2), 1990, pp. 1-51.
- Weber, Cynthia. *Imagining America at War: Morality, Politics, and Film*, New York and London: Routledge, 2006.
- Weldes, Jutta. 'Going cultural: *Star Trek*, state action, and popular culture,' *Millennium*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 1999, pp. 117-134.

Weldes, Jutta. 'Globalization is science fiction,' *Millennium*, Vol. 30, No. 3, 2001, pp. 647-667.

Weldes, Jutta, ed. *To Seek Out New Worlds: Science Fiction and World Politics*, New York: Palgrave, 2003.

Wilcox, Rhonda. *Why Buffy Matters: The Art of Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, London and New York: I.B. Taurus, 2005.

Wilcox, Rhonda V., and David Laveney, eds., *Fighting the Forces: What's at Stake in Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.