



**SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAMME**

**INTP 448: IDENTITY AND WORLD POLITICS**

**TRIMESTERS 1 AND 2, 2010**

1 March to 13 November 2010

**Trimester dates**

Teaching dates: 1 March 2010 to 15 October 2010

Mid-trimester break: 5 April to 18 April 2010; 23 August to 5 September 2010

Study week: 18 October to 21 October 2010

Examination/Assessment period: 22 October to 13 November 2010

You must be able to attend an examination at the University at any time during the formal examination period.

**Withdrawal dates**

Information on withdrawals and refunds may be found at

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawalsrefunds.aspx>

**Contact Details**

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<b>Office Hours:</b>	Tuesdays 11:00-13:00 or by appointment
<b>Seminar Time:</b>	Thursday 09:00-10:50
<b>Lecture Venue:</b>	Murphy 404

**Course delivery**

This course has one seminar per week. The seminar is scheduled for two hours. Seminar will involve analysis of readings, class discussion and student presentations.

**Communication of additional information**

Additional information or information about any changes to the course timetable or programme will be announced in class and posted on Blackboard. Information will sometimes also be emailed to your student email address. It is important that you check your student email regularly (or have emails forwarded to an address that you do use regularly) in order to receive all relevant information.

**Course content**

The concept of identity has grown in importance in the social sciences both as an explanatory variable and as an independent subject of analysis. This course introduces concepts, theories and empirical research on the role of individual and collective identities in political life. It first surveys different

concepts of identity, as well as psychological and sociological theories of individual and collective identity formation, and methods of measuring identity in politics. It then examines instrumentalist, structuralist and institutional theories of what shapes linguistic and ethnic identities, and analyses the formation and deployment of national identities both domestically and in world politics. When do identities become politicised and with what effects? The latter part of the course focuses on the role of norms and socialisation for state behaviour in international relations, and considers the consequences of identities and identity politics for political and economic outcomes across the world.

### **Learning objectives**

Students passing the course will:

1. Develop an understanding of the different ways in which the concept of identity is used in the social sciences, as well as the means of measuring the concept.
2. Develop an understanding of the main theoretical arguments about what shapes individual and collective identities in social and political life.
3. Develop an awareness of the ways in which individual and collective identities influence political and social outcomes.
4. Demonstrate good understanding of the political uses of different types of identities (e.g. religious, linguistic, national, ethnic) in historical and contemporary case studies.
5. Develop the ability to research and write well-structured, theoretically-informed essays about the origins and evolution of collective identities in national and international politics, as well their social and political consequences.

### **Expected workload**

In accordance with Faculty of Humanities and Social Science guidelines the overall workload for this course is 300 hours in total for reading, writing, and researching material. This includes 2 hours of seminars per week.

### **Group work**

There is no assessed group work as a part of this course, although seminars will involve active participation in group discussions and collaboration in analysis of the readings.

### **Readings**

#### **Essential texts:**

There is no assigned text book for this course. However, there is an INTP 448 Book of Readings, which contains the compulsory readings for the course. Additional compulsory readings will be assigned throughout the year, and will usually be made available to you via library E-Reserves. For the first two weeks of trimester all undergraduate textbooks and student notes will be sold from the Memorial Theatre foyer, while postgraduate textbooks and student notes will be available from the top floor of vicbooks in the Student Union Building, Kelburn Campus. After week two all undergraduate textbooks will be sold from vicbooks and student notes from the Student Notes Distribution Centre on the ground floor of the Student Union Building.

Customers can order textbooks and student notes online at [www.vicbooks.co.nz](http://www.vicbooks.co.nz) or can email an order or enquiry to [enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz](mailto:enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz). Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from the shop. Customers will be contacted when they are available.

Opening hours are 8.00 am – 6.00 pm, Monday – Friday during term time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays). Phone: 463 5515.

### **Assessment requirements**

The assessment for this course comprises one research proposal (10%), one research paper (50%), and a final exam (40%).

The research proposal is due by 5pm on Monday, May 17, and should be submitted both electronically to Blackboard and in hard copy to the course co-ordinator's box outside the PSIR office on Murphy 5<sup>th</sup>

floor. This proposal serves as your first stage of preparation for the research paper due on Friday, October 15. Students will be required to formulate their own research topic related to some aspect of the course themes and content. The research proposal will present the research question, summarize the project, discuss research methods and present a bibliography. More detailed guidelines on the required content and format of the research proposal will be posted on Blackboard in the first three weeks of the course.

The research paper is due by 5pm, Friday October 15. It is to be 8 000 – 10 000 words in length, including footnotes. Please read carefully the Penalties provisions outlined below. The research paper should be submitted both electronically to Blackboard and in hard copy to the course co-ordinator's box outside the PSIR office on Murphy 5<sup>th</sup> floor.

The final examination will be a 3-hour exam scheduled in the examination period of October 22 to November 13, 2010.

The research paper assesses students' ability to research in-depth and critically analyse key questions on a topic related to core course themes. The final examination similarly assesses students' ability to critically engage with concepts, theories and case studies covered in the course.

### **Return of assignments**

The research proposal will be graded and comments returned to students within three weeks of receipt of the proposal. The final research paper can be returned only after all Honours paper and exams have been graded and moderated externally. Once this process is complete, the research paper will be available from the Political Science and International Relations office and you will be advised by email that it is ready to be collected.

### **Penalties**

There is a uniform deadline for the final submission of all written in-term work (including research papers) for Honours courses in Political Science and International Relations. This deadline is adhered to firmly. Extensions are granted only in exceptional circumstances, under the conditions stipulated in Victoria University's aegrotat regulations, and extensions must be approved by the Honours Coordinator (Dr Jon Johannson) in advance of the deadline. In 2010 the deadline for Research Papers is 5pm, Friday 15 October. Work not submitted by this deadline will not be taken into consideration when determining final results.

### **Mandatory course requirements**

To gain a pass in INTP 448 each student must:

- present the assigned readings in one class (not assessed)
- give a work-in-progress presentation of their research (not assessed)
- submit the research proposal and research paper on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work)
- sit the final examination.

### **Class Representative**

A class representative will be elected in the first class, and that person's name and contact details will be available to VUWSA, the Course Coordinator and the class. The class representative provides a communication channel to liaise with the Course Coordinator on behalf of students.

### **Academic Integrity and Plagiarism**

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas
- The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website:  
<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

### **Use of Turnitin**

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <http://www.turnitin.com>. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which compares submitted work with a very large database of existing material. At the discretion of the Head of School, handwritten work may be copy-typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted material on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions is not made available to any other party.

### **GENERAL UNIVERSITY POLICIES AND STATUTES**

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the *Victoria University Calendar* or go to the Academic Policy and Student Policy sections on:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy>

The AVC(Academic) website also provides information for students in a number of areas including Academic Grievances, Student and Staff conduct, Meeting the needs of students with impairments, and student support/VUWSA student advocates. This website can be accessed at:

[http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about\\_victoria/avcadademic/Publications.aspx](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/avcadademic/Publications.aspx)

## INTP 448: IDENTITY AND WORLD POLITICS

Below is an outline of the topics and readings for each week of the course. Required readings, as well as some suggested readings, are listed. In the first two weeks, a more comprehensive list of suggested readings on identities will be distributed and posted on Blackboard.

Each week, one or two students will be responsible for giving a brief presentation of key themes in the readings and for proposing some questions for class discussion. A sign-up sheet for this will be distributed in the first class.

### PART I: INTRODUCTION TO IDENTITY

#### March 11: What is identity? Does it matter and why?

##### Questions:

What are the different definitions offered of individual and collective identities?

What does it mean for identity to be an independent (explanatory) variable? A dependent (outcome) variable?

How persuasive do you find the typology adopted by Abdelal *et al* for defining and conceptualising identity? How might you amend it? Is it useful for understanding all types of identity?

##### Required:

Fearon, J. (1999) "What is identity (as we now use the word)?" unpubl. ms., Stanford University.

Baldwin, J. (1964) "Stranger in the Village", in *Notes of a Native Son*. London: Michael Joseph. (Also available online at: <https://pantherfile.uwm.edu/gjay/www/Whiteness/stranger.htm>)

Abdelal, R., Y. Herrera, A. Johnston and R. McDermott (2006) "Identity as a Variable", *Perspectives on Politics* 4: 4, 695-711.

##### Suggested:

Brubaker, R. and F. Cooper (2000) "Beyond 'identity'", *Theory and Society* 29: 1, 1-47.

Brewer, M. (2001) "The many faces of social identity: implications for political psychology", *Political Psychology* 22: 1, 115-125.

Ellemers, N., R. Spears, and B. Doosje (eds.) (1999) *Social Identity: Context, Commitment, Content*. Wiley-Blackwell.

#### March 18: Types of identities – race, class, gender, religion and language

##### Questions:

Where do identities come from and how do they interact?

Do linguistic, class, religious, ethnic and national identities all function similarly in political life? If not, how are they different and what are the implications of this for how we might study them?

##### Required:

Sen, A. (2006) *Identity and Violence: the Illusion of Destiny*. NY: Norton, 18-39.

Roediger, D. (1999) *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. London: Verso, 133-163.

Varshney, A. (1997) "Classes, like ethnic groups, are imagined communities: a response to Rao", *Economic and Political Weekly* 32: 28 (Jul 12-18), 1737-1741.

Doran, M. (2004) "Negotiating between *Bourge* and *Racaille*: Verlan as youth identity practice in suburban Paris", in A. Pavlenko and A. Blackledge (eds.) *Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 93-124.

**Suggested:**

[On class, race and their interaction] Lamont, M. (2000) *The Dignity of Working Men: Morality and the Boundaries of Race, Class, and Immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

[On language identity] Bucholtz, M. and K. Hall (2005) "Identity and interaction: a sociocultural linguistic approach", *Discourse Studies* 7: 4-5, 585-614.

**PART II: IDENTITY AND ITS POLITICAL USES AS DEPENDENT VARIABLE**

**March 25: Identity choice and change – ice-box versus tool-box accounts**

**Questions:**

What is a primordial argument of identity? What is an instrumentalist argument of identity?

Is Taylor's argument about the link between "recognition", "dignity" and identity a satisfactory mid-way point between primordialism and instrumentalism?

If we accept that identities are constructed and fluid, rather than given and unchangeable, how can we explain why (and when) some identities become activated, but not others?

**Required:**

Varshney, A. (2009) "Ethnicity and ethnic conflict", in C. Boix & S. Stokes (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 274-294.

Bates, R. (1974) "Modernization, ethnic competition, and the rationality of politics in contemporary Africa", in M. Doro and N. Stultz (eds.) *Governing in Black Africa*. NY: Africana Publishing Company, 153-167.

Taylor, C. (1992) "The politics of recognition", in A. Guttman (ed.) *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

**Suggested:**

Geertz, C. (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books, 255-277.

**April 1: CLASS CANCELLED**

**April 5 – April 18: MID-TRIMESTER BREAK**

**April 22: Identity choice and change – structural and institutional accounts**

What are the core arguments expressed by structural and institutional accounts of identity choice?

What are the main strengths and weaknesses of these explanations?

Are these theories better at explaining identity origin/choice or identity change? At the individual or collective level?

How persuasive do you consider structural and institutional accounts to be compared to the primordial and instrumentalist explanations of the previous week?

Are certain explanations more suited to particular types of identity or to particular parts of the world?

**Required:**

Laitin, D. (1998) *Identity in Formation*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 3-24.

Posner, D. (2004) "The political salience of cultural difference: why Chewas and Tumbukas are allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi", *American Political Science Review* 98: 4, 529-545.

Kertzer, D. and D. Arel (2002) "Censuses, identity formation, and the struggle for political power", in D. Kertzer and D. Arel (eds.), *Census and Identity: the Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Language in National Censuses*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-42.

Yashar, D. (1998) "Contesting citizenship: indigenous movements and democracy in Latin America", *Comparative Politics* 31: 1, 23-42.

**Suggested:**

Waters, M. (1999) *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 44-93 (Chaps. 2 & 3).

Fearon, J. And D. Laitin (2000) "Review: Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity", *International Organization* 54: 4, 845-877.

**April 29: National identity**

**Questions:**

Where do nations come from? Which vehicles (e.g. sport, language, religion, institutions) are used to create nations, and what explains variation in the strength and content of national identity across countries?

Is national identity different from other types of collective identity? How might we measure national identity? Can national identity really "cause" anything?

Who defines the national "we" and who is included and excluded from it?

**Task:** Choose one country and conduct some brief research on its national identity. How is the nation defined and contested by political leaders? Recalling the dimensions of identity outlined by Abdelal *et al*, how would you assess the content and social purpose of the national identity in your case? (Possible cases where there has been recent debate: British values; France's Stasi Commission on secularism and current debate on national identity; Bouchard-Taylor Commission in Quebec; debates in New Zealand surrounding "one nation"/"bicultural nation".)

**Required:**

Guibernau, M. (2007) *The Identity of Nations*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 9-32.

Zolberg, A. and L. Woon (1999) "Why Islam is like Spanish: cultural incorporation in Europe and the United States", *Politics and Society* 27: 5, 5-38.

Ramadan, T. (2006) Manifesto for a new "WE", article published on the author's website, 7 July 2006: [http://www.tariqramadan.com/?page=pdf&id\\_article=743](http://www.tariqramadan.com/?page=pdf&id_article=743)

**Suggested:**

Gellner, E. (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*

Simpson, A. (2008) "Introduction", in A. Simpson (ed.), *Language and National Identity in Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-25.

Ward, T. (2009) "Sport and national identity", *Soccer and Society* 10: 5, 518-531. (The entire issue deals with questions of sport and Australian national identity.)

vom Hau, M. (2009) “Unpacking the school: Textbooks, teachers, and the construction of nationhood in Mexico, Argentina, and Peru, *Latin American Research Review* 44: 3, 127-xxx.

Raney, T. (2009) “As Canadian as possible ... under what circumstances? Public opinion on national identity in Canada outside Quebec”, *Journal of Canadian Studies* 43: 3, 5-29.

Grbic, D. (2010) :Social and cultural meanings of tolerance: immigration, incorporation and identity in Aotearoa, New Zealand”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36: 1, 125-148.

Abizadeh, A. (2002) “Does liberal democracy presuppose a cultural nation?”, *American Political Science Review* 96: 3, 495-509.

Miller, D. (1988) “The ethical significance of nationality”, *Ethics* 98 (July): 647-662.

### **May 6:           Aggregating and disaggregating the nation – European and regional identities**

#### **Questions:**

Survey research shows that people tend to have multiple identities, activating them situationally. Are identities compatible or competing? In political practice, will one identity ultimately have primacy? If so, what are the implications of Europe and regionalism for nation-states and national identities?

What are the prospects of a meaningful European identity? On what basis would it rest?

#### **Required:**

Risse, T. (2001) “A European identity? Europeanization and the evolution of nation-state identities”, in Cowles, M., J. Caporaso and T. Risse (eds.) *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 198-216.

McCrone, D. (2002) “Who do you say you are?”, *Ethnicities* 2: 3, 301-320.

### **May 13: Identity as a variable – questions of measurement and method**

#### **Questions:**

Once we have decided that we want to explore questions of identity in national or international politics, how do we go about measuring the concept at individual, collective or institutional level?

Think about the strengths and weaknesses of each type of measurement – what can each capture and not capture? For which kinds of identity-related questions, and at which level (individual, collective, state), would each technique be most appropriate?

How persuasive do you find the use of the measurement method in the chapter that you chose to read?

#### **Required reading:**

Abdelal, R., Y. Herrera, A. Johnston and R. McDermott (2006) “Identity as a Variable”, *Perspectives on Politics* 4: 4, 695-711. (Re-read this from Week 2)

Varshney, A. (1997) “Postmodernism, civic engagement, and ethnic conflict: a passage to India”, *Comparative Politics* 30: 1, 1-20. [Discussion of interaction and mediation effects – i.e. institutions of civic life as mediating the power and influence of identity.]

\*\* Read one other chapter from *Identity as a Variable* in accordance with your interests.\*\*

## **PART III: IDENTITY AS AN INDEPENDENT VARIABLE**

### **May 20: Theories of how identities shape our preferences and behaviour**

#### **Questions:**



The readings are important texts that consider the role of identities from Comparative Politics and International Relations perspectives. Are there different understandings of identity in each sub-field?

What are identity-based explanations alternatives to?

What kind of identities do Lipset and Rokkan discuss and to what extent can they explain political outcomes? Are you persuaded about the causal role of identities?

**Required:**

Lipset, S. M. and S. Rokkan (1990) "Cleavage structures, party systems, and voter alignments", in P. Mair (ed.) *The West European Party System*. Oxford: OUP, 91-138.

Jepperson, R., A. Wendt, and P. Katzenstein (1996) "Norms, identity and culture in national security", in P. Katzenstein (ed.) *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 33-75.

Wendt, A. (1992) "Anarchy is what states make of it: the social construction of power politics", *International Organization* 46: 2, 391-425.

**Suggested:**

Lamy, S. (2008) "Contemporary mainstream approaches: neo-realism and neo-liberalism", in Baylis, J., S. Smith and P. Owens (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.). Oxford: OUP.

Barnett, M. (2008) "Social constructivism", in Baylis, J., S. Smith and P. Owens (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.). Oxford: OUP.

Hopf, T. (2002) *The Social Construction of International Politics: Identities and Foreign Policies*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 23-38.

**May 27: Norms, socialisation and legitimacy I**

**Questions:**

What are the mechanisms by which norms and socialisation are argued to affect behaviour?

Do identity-based arguments provide persuasive explanations of why minority and human rights norms have spread across Europe and across the world?

**Required:**

Finnemore, M. And K. Sikkink (1998) "International norm dynamics and political change", *International Organization* 54: 2, 887-917.

Checkel, J. (2001) "Why comply? Social learning and European identity change", *International Organization* 55: 3, 553-588

**Suggested:**

Checkel, J. (1999) "Norms, institutions, and national identity in contemporary Europe", *International Studies Quarterly* 43, 83-114.

Kelley, J. (2004) "International actors on the domestic scene: membership conditionality and socialization by international institutions", *International Organization* 58: 3, 425-457.

Jepperson, R., A. Wendt, and P. Katzenstein (1996) "Norms, identity and culture in national security", in P. Katzenstein (ed.) *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 33-75.

**June 3: Norms, socialisation and legitimacy II**

**Question:**

A further identity-based argument is that purposive identities (recall Abdelal *et al*) are important; i.e. who you think you are, or who you want to be, influences the way you act as a leader or a collectivity.

What are the merits of purposive and legitimacy arguments? How are “national branding”, diplomacy and paradiplomacy used to present particular state and/or national identities?

**Required readings to be assigned in due course.**

**MID-YEAR BREAK**

**July 15: The relationship between identities and the political economy**

**Questions:**

Much of the literature we have read focuses on identities as affecting political outcomes (e.g. ethnic voting, state behaviour in the international arena). In what ways do identities have consequences in the national and international political economy?

Are you convinced that the strength and content of national identity affects countries’ economic performance and societal “well-being”.

**Required:**

Campbell, J. and J. Hall (2009) “National identity and the political economy of small states”, *Review of International Political Economy* 16: 4, 547-57.

Crepaz, M. (2007) *Trust Beyond Borders: Immigration, the Welfare State, and Identity in Modern Societies*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. [Extracts to be assigned in due course.]

**July 22: Student presentations.**

**July 29: Student presentations.**

**August 5: Student presentations.**

**August 12: Student presentations.**

**August 19: Student presentations.**

**MID-TRIMESTER BREAK**

**September 9 – October 7:** Class suspended. Students work on their research essays.

**October 14:** Final class – revision session prior to final examination