Chapter 11: Identity Politics: Nationalism, Religion, and Ethnicity

I. Introduction
   A. Multiple identities
   B. Manipulating identities
   C. Nationalism
   D. Religious identities
   E. Ethnic identities
   F. The break-up of Yugoslavia
   G. Approaches to culture

II. Multiple identities
   A. Conflicting identities as national (dis)unity
      1. Individuals who share identities have a collective identity
      2. Although people have multiple identities, in recent centuries
         most people have identified most strongly with their nation-state
      3. From time to time, the dominance of national identities in global
         politics has been challenged
      4. In recent decades other identities are coming to the fore
      5. Factors accounting for the upsurge in nonstate identities
         a. The declining importance of territory
         b. the proliferation of globalized communication networks
      6. Potentially conflicting identities and loyalties is a growing
         problem for Europe
         a. Muslim immigration since World War II
         b. Changing attitudes toward Muslim immigration since 2001
         c. Turkey and the EU
         d. French Muslims
         e. British Muslims
   B. Divided loyalties?
      1. Although most people have multiple identities, few of these are
         politically salient at any given moment
      2. Identity is contextual
      3. Every issue calls forth somewhat different identities
4. Sometimes issues arise that force individuals to choose between competing identities
   a. America’s Civil War
   b. America’s Muslims after 2001
5. The process in which identities create in-groups and out-groups is a recurrent feature of global politics and a source of potential conflict

C. “We” versus “them” in global politics
1. Common identities foster group formation (in-groups), while those with other identities remain “outsiders” (out-groups)
2. A basic fact in global politics is a world divided into groups that often mistrust one another
3. People’s loyalties follow their identities
4. People feel less loyal to members of groups in which they are not members
5. Such identity-based feelings strengthen bonds within groups and exacerbate conflicts and violence in global politics
6. Many of today’s most intractable conflicts pit identity groups against one another
   a. Example: Sudan
7. The degree to which groups see the world differently reflects psychological distance
   a. The greater the distance, the more that people will have different values and interests
   b. And the greater the probability they will misperceive or misunderstand one another and find themselves in conflict
   c. Example: The rich and the poor in the world’s urban centers
8. Identity groups tend to be moral communities
   a. Example: Europeans in the 17th century

D. Identities and technological change
1. In past centuries, governments fostered nation-state identities by controlling the channels of social communication
2. Technology fosters new identities and weakens old ones
3. The accelerating pace of technological change complicates states’ ability to control the flow of information and ideas to citizens
a. China

b. Technological change also threatens states’ ability to promote a unifying national tradition that differentiates “us” from “them” and anchors people’s loyalties

III. Manipulating identities

A. Political leaders manipulate identities for their own benefit and intensify the passions of followers by using symbols and historical myths

B. Mythmaking entails a struggle over how history is written and the memories it evokes

C. Cases

1. Former Yugoslavia
   a. Bosnian Muslims
   b. Slobodan Milošević’s manipulation of Serbian identity

2. Chechnya
   a. Shamil Basayev’s manipulation of Chechen identity

D. In highlighting ancient grievances and triumphs, leaders create “memories” for their followers

E. They use symbols and symbolic acts to remind people of who they are and what their ancestors accomplished

   1. Example: Ireland

F. Historical memories and myths sustain old identities and loyalties

IV. Nationalism

A. The bases of nationalism

   1. Nations are defined by some mix of characteristics
      a. Language
      b. History
      c. Ethnicity
      d. Religion

   2. There is no consensual meaning of nation
      a. Nations are imagined communities
      b. Nationals share a sense of ownership in the nation and a sense of common destiny

   3. Over time, people act in ways that deepen and anchor the bonds of nationhood, develop cooperative habits, and are threatened or persecuted by others as a group
a. Example: the emergence and evolution of nationalism in Europe

4. Was the spread of nationalism a positive or negative development?
   a. Liberal nationalism
      (1) Nationalism was a benevolent ideology that went hand in hand with liberalism and democracy
      (2) Giuseppe Mazzini
      (3) Woodrow Wilson
   b. Malignant nationalism
      (1) Nationalism encourages the use of violence in politics
      (2) Heinrich von Trietschke
      (3) German General Friedrich von Bernhardi
      (4) Fascism was a product of this strain of nationalism

B. Nations, states, and nation-states
   1. Nationalism reinforced state power
      a. It provided an emotional and psychological element that made people feel as if they controlled their own destinies
      b. It made the boundaries between states rigid
      c. It promoted interstate rivalry and conflict
      d. It increased the size and intensity of wars
   2. The nation-state’s triumph over rival identities was always partial and contingent
   3. The incompatibility of national and state boundaries is greater outside Western Europe
   4. Case: the Kurds

V. The brutal break-up of Yugoslavia
   A. Yugoslavia was created from the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Empire
      1. A union of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, Bosnia, and Herzegovina
   B. In 1941 Yugoslavia was invaded and conquered by Nazi Germany
   C. For four decades, communist leader Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980) governed Yugoslavia with an iron fist
      1. Pioneered an ideology of national communism that repressed
conflicting national identities

2. Ethnic tensions began to resurface with his death

D. The Bosnian war

1. Slobodan Milošević succeeded Tito as head of the communist party, and later became the president of Serbia
2. Advocated the creation of a Greater Serbia
3. Croatia, Slovenia declared independence, followed by Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina
4. Serbia used force to prevent the break-up of Yugoslavia
5. War erupted among Serbs, Croatians, and Bosnians
6. Foreign intervention
   a. The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in 1992
   b. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
7. Ceasefire and the Dayton Peace Accord

E. The Kosovo War

1. Fought over the Serb province of Kosovo
2. A clash between Serb nationalism and Albanian nationalism
3. Violence continued, despite diplomatic pressure applied by the international community
4. War erupted in March 1999 as NATO forces began air and cruise missile attacks to compel Serbian capitulation
5. In June 1999, Milošević was compelled to turn over Kosovo to NATO control
6. The Kosovo Force (KFOR) was created by the UN Security Council to maintain security, monitor the withdrawal of Serb forces, and ensure the safe return of refugees

F. The ethnic hatreds that led to the destruction of Yugoslavia reflect the consequences of conflicting identities in global politics

VI. Religious identities

A. Religion has played a formidable role in global politics throughout history

B. Contemporary states, too, routinely harness religion to promote legitimacy
   1. Russia
   2. Saudi Arabia
3. Israel  
4. India  
5. Tibet  

C. In some countries, religious identity competes with citizenship for people’s loyalties  
   1. Pre-Westphalia Europe  
   2. Islamic fundamentalism today  

VII. Ethnic identities  
   A. Based on a belief that members are linked by blood ties related to family and kinship  
      1. Africa and Nigeria  
   B. Ethnic identities also threaten the integrity of countries in the developed world  
      1. Spanish Basques and Catalans  
      2. Belgian Flemish and Walloons  
      3. French Corsicans  
      4. Québécois  
      5. Scots  

VIII. Approaches to culture  
   A. A clash of civilizations?  
      1. Samuel Huntington’s *A Clash of Civilizations* argued world politics is entering a new phase in which conflicts will “occur between nations and groups of different civilizations”  
      2. The argument:  
         a. A civilization is a cultural entity  
         b. Eight civilizations  
            (1) Western  
            (2) Confucian  
            (3) Japanese  
            (4) Islamic  
            (5) Hindu  
            (6) Slavic-Orthodox  
            (7) Latin American  
            (8) African
c. Civilizational conflicts would feature a kin-country syndrome
d. A number of global events in 1993 reflected growing tensions between countries in different civilizations
e. The West’s influence had begun to decline and it increasingly had to face challenger civilizations

3. Numerous incidents seem to reinforce Huntington’s thesis
   a. The 9/11 terrorist attacks
   b. The thesis also reinforced the anger that swept Muslim communities worldwide after a Danish newspaper published cartoons satirizing Muhammad

4. Immigration
   a. The current wave of Mexican immigration into the US is unique and is producing insulated cultural islands
   b. The analysis is an extension of the clash of civilizations argument

5. Critique
   a. The concept of the state remains central to the framework
   b. The concept of a civilization remains unclear
   c. Major conflicts have arisen between countries within the same civilization
   d. Each of Huntington’s civilizations also has internal fault lines
   e. Western culture is less about religion and language and more about modernity
   f. Encounters among those from different civilizations rarely produce conflict and instead often bring cultural enrichment
   g. Empirical analysis tends to refute Huntington’s conclusion
   h. The clash between Islam and the West is less about political values and more about gender equality and sexual liberation (World Values Survey)

   B. Alternative cultural models

IX. Conclusion
   A. Multiple identities
   B. Manipulating identities
   C. Nationalism
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