

## UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Department of Political Science  
Fall 2005

Professor Ian S. Lustick  
Stiteler 206

### Syllabus for Political Science 614

#### Political Identities and Political Institutions

The politics of identity has replaced the politics of class and the politics of ideology as a central focus of concern in our discipline. In this seminar efforts will be made to explore the notion that individual and group identities are subjects most effectively studied within the analytic field surrounding questions about the crystallization, operation, consequences, transformation, and collapse of political institutions. Toward this end we will consider work done on identities and/or institutions from a variety of theoretical perspectives, including structural-functionalism, historical institutionalism, rational choice, post-modernism, evolution, and agent-based modeling.

Even cursory consideration of the concepts of identity and institution reveals how close and complex are their relationships to one another. Identities as stabilized frames of reference for individuals or groups are usually taken to be the ground of preferences. Institutions are usually imagined as stabilized procedures for aggregating preferences among individuals or groups. Yet institutions are commonly observed to shape identities, even as institutions are commonly observed to be shaped in accordance with the demands of identities of individuals and groups.

The purpose of this course is to search for a coherent theory of institutionalization based on the proposition that such a theory should apply to both identities and institutions. The course will begin with consideration of basic theories of institutions and of identities. We will then consider processes by which authority structures institutionalize identities, and then processes by which identities are seen to shape the institutionalization of authority structures. This will lead to consideration of a number of perspectives on the reciprocal effects of more or less simultaneous processes of authority structure and identity institutionalization.

#### Structure of the Course

The class meets once a week for intensive and critical discussion of assigned reading and research in progress. Although contextual and introductory material for each book or set of readings will sometimes be provided in lecture format, responsibility for the direction of class discussions will be shared between professor and students.

#### Requirements of the Course

There will be no examinations in this course. During the course, however, each student will be required to hand in at least five two to three page comments on weekly readings. These

comments will be collected at each class from those who have chosen to write about that week's readings. Students will not receive formal grades on these short essays, but they will be evaluated and will be considered an important element in each student's contribution to our collective enterprise. Students are also well-advised to use these essays as vehicles for exploring ideas for paper topics. Grades in the course will be assigned based equally on contributions to seminar discussions and on a research paper in which each student will compare processes of institutionalization involving both an authority structure and an identity or identities. In addition to discussion of the assigned reading, portions of some classes will be devoted to sharing ideas about research in progress. Close consultation with the instructor in the choice of topic and the development of the research design is expected. Papers will be happily received for grading by December 21. Students may elect to submit their papers by the beginning of the Spring term without penalty. Those who do so will have their incompletes changed to regular grades within one month.

All students should purchase the following books, which are required reading for the course. These books have been ordered and are available at House of Our Own Bookstore on Spruce Street. A boldfaced "EJ" signifies that the reading is available on-line via the Electronic Journals section of the Library's search engine. Direct links to URL's are provided for others. Other readings will be posted on Blackboard or otherwise made available.

### **Required for Purchase:**

Brian Barry, Sociologists, Economists, and Democracy

Anthony Marx, Making Race and Nation

Mancur Olson, The Logic of Collective Action

Douglass North, Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance (1990)

Ian S. Lustick, Unsettled States, Disputed Lands: Britain and Ireland, France and Algeria, Israel and the West Bank/Gaza (1993)

Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks, Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (eds).

### **Course Schedule**

#### **Part I: Identities and Institutions**

##### **September 8, 2005: Introduction: Chance, Design, and Emergence in the Study of Institutions and Identity**

In Class Reading: Paul A. David, "Clio and the Economics of Qwerty," Economic History, Vol. 75, no.2, pp. 332-37;

[http://www.utdallas.edu/~liebowitz/knowledge\\_goods/david1985aer.htm](http://www.utdallas.edu/~liebowitz/knowledge_goods/david1985aer.htm)

Computer demonstration: Conway's Game of Life

**September 15, 2005: Why Institutions?**

Required Reading:

Mancur Olson The Logic of Collective Action, Chaps 1,2,6.  
Brian Barry, Sociologists, Economists, and Democracy

March, James G., and Johan P. Olsen. 1984. "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life." American Political Science Review 78(3): 734-749.

**September 22, 2005: What are Institutions? What is Institutionalization?**

Required Reading:

Douglass C. North, Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance

Douglass C. North, "Economic Performance Through Time: The Limits to Knowledge" Nobel Prize Lecture: <http://www.nobel.se/economics/laureates/1993/north-lecture.html>

Avner Greif and David D. Laitin, "A Theory of Endogenous Institutional Change," American Political Science Review, Vol. 98, no. 4 (November 2004) pp. 633-652.

**September 29, 2005: What are identities?**

Required Reading:

Anthony D. Smith, "Structure and persistence of *ethnie*," in The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Migration, Montserrat Guibernau and John Rex, eds. (1997)

Johnson, Gary R. 1997. "The Architecture of Ethnic Identity." Politics and the Life Sciences. Vol. 16, no. 2 (September): 257-262.

Walker Connor, "Beyond Reason: The Nature of the Ethnonational Bond," in Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding, pp. 195-209. (1994).

Ernest Renan, "What is a Nation?"  
<http://www.tamilnation.org/selfdetermination/nation/renan.htm>

David Laitin, "The Ogaadeen Question and Changes in Somali Identity," Chapter 16 in State Versus Ethnic Claims: African Policy Dilemmas, Donald Rothchild and Victor A. Olorunsola, eds.

**October 6, 2005: What are Identities? II**

**Required Reading:**

Daniel C. Dennett, "The Reality of Selves," Consciousness Explained, pp. 412-430.

Daniel C. Dennett, "E Pluribus Unum," in Darwin's Dangerous Idea

Dominic Abrams and Michael A. Hogg, "An Introduction to the Social Identity Approach," in Social Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances, Dominic Abrams and Michael A. Hogg (eds.), 1990, pp. 1-9.

Kanchan Chandra, et. al., "Cumulative Findings in the Study of Ethnic Politics"  
<http://www.nd.edu/~apsac/pdf/APSA-CP20Winter202001.pdf> pp. 7-25.

Judith Butler, "Melancholy Gender/Refused Identification," in The Psychic Life of Power  
(Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997) pp. 132-150.

Vamik D. Volkan, "Psychoanalysis and Diplomacy: Part I. Individual and Large Group Identity," Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies, Vol. I, no. 1 (1999) pp. 29-55. X 99 Inst.  
Week 6

**Part II: Politics, Institutions, and Identities: Concepts and Theories in Action**

**October 15, 2005:** Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks, Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (eds). (sections to be announced)

Lustick, Ian S. and Dan Miodownik,. 2000. "The institutionalization of identity: Micro adaptation, macro effects, and collective consequences." Studies in Comparative International Development, Vol. 37, no.2 (2002) pp. 24-53.

**October 22, 2005:**

Ian S. Lustick, Unsettled States, Disputed Lands: Britain and Ireland, France and Algeria, Israel and the West Bank/Gaza (1993) Parts I and II

H. Tajfel (1970) Experiments in intergroup discrimination," Scientific American, 223, 96-102.

**October 29, 2005:**

Lustick, Unsettled States, Disputed Lands, Parts III and IV

Eugen Weber, "Cultures and Civilization," Peasants into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914, pp. 485-496.

**November 5, 2005:**

Timothy Mitchell, "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics," American Political Science Review, Vol. 85, no. 1 (March 1991) pp. 77-96. **EJ**

Anthony Marx, Making Race and Nation

**November 12, 2005:**

Anthony Marx, Making Race and Nation

**November 19, 2005:**

Students will report on their reading of a book, chosen in consultation with the instructor, that deploys concepts of identity institutionalization for explanatory purposes.

**December 1, 2005: Workshop on Paper Preparation**

**December 8, 2005: Discussion of Preliminary Research**

## **Some Recommended Reading on Themes of Identity and Institutions**

- Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities (1983)
- Fredrik Barth, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries (London: Allen and Unwin, 1969)
- Leonard Binder, et. al., Crises and Sequences in Political Development (1971)
- Rogers Brubaker, Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)
- Daniel Byman, "Forever Enemies? The Manipulation of Ethnic Identities to End Ethnic Wars," Security Studies, Vol. 9, no. 3, Spring 2000 pp. 149-190.
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Emergent Actors in World Politics: How States and Nations Develop and Dissolve (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997)
- Alfred Chandler, Strategy and Structure: Chapters in the History of the American Industrial Enterprise (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1962)
- Glenn Chafetz, Michael Spirtas, Benjamin Frankel, eds, The Origins of National Interests (London: Frank Cass, 1999)
- David and Ruth Collier, Shaping the Political Arena
- Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, "Introduction: From the Moment of Social History to the Work of Cultural Representation," in Becoming National, Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) pp. 3-12.
- Eller and Coughlan (1993). "The Poverty of Primordialism: The Demystification of Ethnic Attachments," Ethnic and Racial Studies, 16, April, 183-202.
- Karl Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication
- Rupert Emerson, From Empire to Nation (1960)
- Thomas Ertman, Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe (1997)
- Samuel Finer, "State- and Nation-Building in Europe: The Role of the Military," in The Formation of National States in Europe (Charles Tilly, ed.) pp. 84-108
- The Formation of National States in Europe, Charles Tilly, ed. (1975).
- Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison
- Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism (1983)
- Dmitry Gorenburg, "Not with One Voice: An Explanation of Intragroup Variation in Nationalist Sentiment," World Politics, Vol. 53, no. 1 (October 2000) pp. 115-42.
- Russell Hardin, "Group Identification," in One for All: The Logic of Group Conflict (1995) pp. 46-71.
- Russell Hardin, One for All: The Logic of Group Conflict (1995)
- Michael Hechter, "Nationalism and Rationality," Studies in Comparative International Development Vol. 35, no. 1 (Spring 2000) pp. 3-19.
- Michael Hechter, Containing Nationalism (2002)
- Otto Hintze, "The Formation of States and Constitutional Development," in The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze, Martin Gilbert (1975) pp. 157-177.
- Samuel Huntington, "Clash of Civilizations" Foreign Affairs, Vol. 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993)

- Samuel P. Huntington, "Political Development and Political Decay," World Politics, 1965, Vol\_ 17, No 3, pp. 386-430.
- Robert D. Kaplan, Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History (1993)
- Paul A. Kowert, "National Identity: Inside and Out," in Glenn Chafetz, Michael Spirtas, Benjamin Frankel, eds, The Origins of National Interests (London: Frank Cass, 1999) 1-34.
- Yosef Lapid and Friedrich Kratochwil. The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory. London: Lynne Reiner, 1996.
- David D. Laitin, Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change among the Yoruba (1986)
- David D. Laitin Identities in Formation (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1998).
- Arend Lijphart, "Consociational Democracy," World Politics 21 (January 1969).
- Seymour M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: an Introduction," in Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives (1967)
- Lockhart, Charles. 1999. "Cultural contributions to explaining institutional form, political change, and rational decisions." Comparative Political Studies 32 (7): 862-93.
- Ian S. Lustick, "Israel as a Non-Arab State: The Political Implications of Mass Immigration of Non-Jews," Middle East Journal, Vol. 53, no. 3 (Summer 1999) pp. 101-117.
- Ian S. Lustick, "Lijphart, Lakatos, and Consociationalism" World Politics, 1997
- Ian S. Lustick, "Hegemony and the Riddle of Nationalism: The Dialectics of Nationalism and Religion in the Middle East," Logos, Vol. 1, no. 3 (Summer 2002) pp. 18-24.  
[http://logosonline.home.igc.org/issue\\_1.3.pdf](http://logosonline.home.igc.org/issue_1.3.pdf)
- Ian Lustick, State-Building Failure in British Ireland and French Algeria (1985)  
<http://www.ssc.upenn.edu/polisci/faculty/data/lustick/libro-statebuild1.pdf>
- Ian S. Lustick, "Agent-Based Modelling of Collective Identity: Testing Constructivist Theory," Journal of Artificial Societies and Social Simulation (January 2000) Vol. 3, no. 1  
<http://jasss.soc.surrey.ac.uk/3/1>
- James March and Johan Olsen, "Institutional Perspectives on Political Institutions," Governance, Vol. 9, no. 3 (July 1996) pp. 247-264).
- Joseph A. Massad, Colonial Effects: The Making of National Identity in Jordan
- Barrington Moore, The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy
- Clement Henry Moore, "The Colonial Dialectic," in The Politics of North Africa, pp. 34-90.
- Nagel, Joanne. "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture," Social Problems, Vol. 41, no. 1 (February 1994) pp. 152-176.
- Brendan O'Leary, "On the Nature of Nationalism: An Appraisal of Ernest Gellner's Writings on Nationalism," British Journal of Political Science, 1997, pp. 191-222.
- B. O'Leary and J. McGarry (1995) "Regulating Nations and Ethnic Communities," in Breton, A. Et. al. (eds), Nationalism and Rationality pp. 245-289
- Brendan O'Leary, Ian S. Lustick, and Thomas Callaghy, eds. Right-sizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)
- Vali Nasr, "The Negotiable State: Borders and Power-Struggles in Pakistan," in Right-sizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders, Brendan O'Leary, Ian S. Lustick, and Thomas Callaghy, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) pp. 168-200.
- Daniel N. Posner, "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Cewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi," American Political Science Review, Vol. 98, no. 4 (November 2004) pp. 529-545.
- Remmer, Karen. 1997. "Theoretical decay and theoretical development: the resurgence of institutional analysis." World Politics 50 (1): 34-61.

- Philip G. Roeder, "Soviet Federalism and Ethnic Mobilization," World Politics 43 (January 1991), pp. 196-232.
- William H. Riker, The Art of Political Manipulation (1986)
- William Riker, "The Heresthetics of Constitution Making: The Presidency in 1787." American Political Science Review. 1984. 78:1-16
- Marc Howard Ross, (1995) "Psychocultural Interpretation Theory and Peacemaking in Ethnic Conflicts," Political Psychology, Vol. 16, no. 3 (1995) pp. 523-544.
- John Sabini, 1992. Social Psychology. pp. 20-27.
- Edward Schatz. 2000. "Framing Strategies and Non-Conflict in Multi-Ethnic Kazakhstan." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*. Vol. 6, no. 2 (Summer): 70-92.
- Kenneth Shepsle, "Institutional Equilibrium and Equilibrium Institutions," in Political Science: The Science of Politics, Herbert F. Weisberg (edited), pp. 51-81.
- Herbert Simon, Administrative Behavior
- Hendrik Spruyt, The Sovereign State and Its Competitors
- E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (1963)
- James D. Thompson, Organizations in Action
- Charles Tilly, "Western State-Making and Theories of Political Transformation," in The Formation of National States in Europe (Charles Tilly, ed.) pp. 601-638.
- Edward Tiryakian and Ronald Rogowski (eds.). New Nationalism of the Developed West (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1985).
- Katherine Verdery, National Ideology Under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceausescu's Romania (1991)
- Susan Watkins, From Provinces into Nations (1991)
- Barry Weingast, "Rational-Choice Institutionalism" in Political Science: State of the Discipline, Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner, eds. Pp. 660-692.