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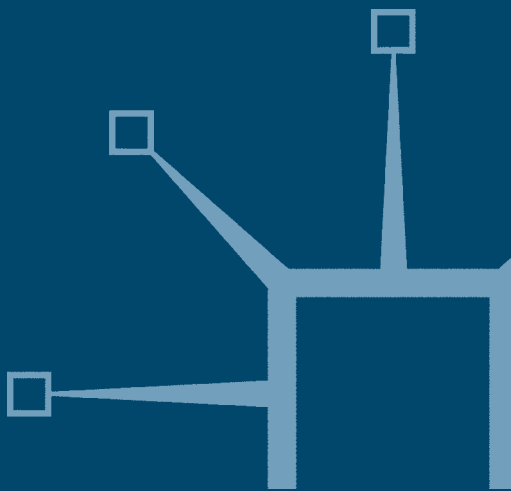
IDENTITY AND GLOBAL POLITICS

EMPIRICAL AND THEORETICAL ELABORATIONS

Edited by
Patricia M. Goff and
Kevin C. Dunn



Identity and Global Politics

Culture and Religion in International Relations

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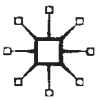

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To our teachers

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Chapter 1

Introduction: In Defense of Identity

Patricia M. Goff and Kevin C. Dunn

Identity is back. The concept of identity has made a remarkable comeback in the social sciences and humanities. In International Relations (IR), many turned to identity-based analysis when the end of the Cold War disrupted the intellectual dominance of (neo)realism and (neo)liberalism. While it would be inaccurate to say that identity suddenly (re)emerged as a factor in world politics, as an analytical category it has only recently found its way into the conventional lexicon of IR theorists.

In part, identity provides a perch from which to criticize "mainstream" schools of thought in IR. (Neo)realism and (neo)liberalism tend to bracket identity or assume that it exists prior to their main issues of concern. Therefore, the possibility of analysis through the lens of identity held out great promise for those frustrated by the narrow parameters within which prevailing paradigms would have us conduct our research. Identity seemed to allow us to pose hitherto under-researched questions and to illuminate underappreciated phenomena.

Increasingly, the concept of identity itself is coming under scrutiny, which is, of course, appropriate if we want to justify its place high on the list of key analytical categories that orient our research. We must now shift our emphasis away from efforts to make the case for the *promise* of identity toward a sustained analysis of the nature and the mechanics of the contribution identity can make to the study of global politics. Despite John R. Gillis's (1994: 4) assertion that "identities . . . are not things we think *about*, but things we think *with*," we maintain that thinking *about* identity in more systematic ways may allow us to more effectively think *with* it. It is in this spirit that we undertake this volume.

Needless to say, this is a tall order. Reintroducing the concept of identity into IR scholarship is fraught with complexity. As Patrick Jackson notes in his contribution to this volume (chapter 10), there is no consensus on what identity is, how it "matters," or how best to study it, and this may be a good thing. Nonetheless, the plurality of definitions of and

approaches to identity can run up against prevailing epistemological and methodological commitments. In addition to these discipline-specific challenges, many have already recognized that the return of identity necessitates a rethinking and a reconceptualization of the term itself. Those who argue for the relevance of identity as a theoretical concept are cognizant of the problems that can ensue from use of a narrow or reductionist understanding of it. Indeed, contemporary IR scholars thinking about identity have gone to great lengths to articulate the limitations of identity as it has been conceptualized in the past.

Of particular interest to IR scholars working on identity is an effort to avoid assuming that identity is primarily and inextricably tied to the nation-state. While ethno-national identity is clearly still relevant, "taking the nation-state to be the single irreducible component of identity and privileging this particular form of human attachment" (Krause 1996: 101) marginalizes other possible foundations for collective identity. In addition, many argue for the need to avoid reification of identity. We must not bring identity back unless we have successfully cast out those inclinations toward essentialization that plagued identity in the past. These and other observations lead scholars working in this area to repeat an important and true, yet largely unexamined, set of statements: identities are constructed and multiple. Identities do not correspond to bounded and immutable categories. Rather, they are contested, informed by human perception, and constantly evolving in response to changing circumstances. Identities are relational, often if not always defined against an other. Indeed, few studies of identity in IR start without a caveat that echoes some of these concerns designed to signal that we now start from a more sophisticated understanding of the complexity of identity. But such opening caveats themselves raise as many questions as they answer and it is in an effort to answer some of them that we have assembled the chapters in this volume. For example, aspects of identity that pose few problems in metatheoretical discussions of identity can throw up significant obstacles at the empirical or methodological level. What methodological questions emerge for the discipline when the study of identities is placed at the forefront of an IR research agenda? What does it mean to say that identities are constructed, multiple, fluid, and relational? Who participates in the construction of identities? To what end and using what resources? What does this imply for empirical work? How can we presume to study an identity that is fluid and constantly in flux? Indeed, does fluidity imply *constant* flux? How can IR scholars conceptualize and study identity in relevant and useful ways?

As identity's newfound relationship with mainstream IR enters its second decade, there are rising concerns that the discipline's deployment of the word "identity" may come at a cost. Perhaps the best articulation of these concerns can be found in Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper's engaging article "Beyond 'identity' " from *Theory and Society* (2000). While they do not focus on IR as a field, it seems apparent that IR risks replicating some of the problems that Brubaker and Cooper highlight. Their basic contention is that identity has become too ambiguous and

"too torn between 'hard' and 'soft' meanings, essential connotations and constructivist qualifiers" to be useful for social analysis (2000: 2). Significantly, their critique rests not so much on the analytical category of identity itself as much as on the failure of intellectuals to clarify what exactly they mean by "identity," their lack of rigor in employing the term, and inconsistencies in its usage.

As we mentioned, it has become fashionable, if not compulsory, for IR scholars to genuflect to the belief that identities are fluid, constructed, multiple, and relational. Yet as Brubaker and Cooper observe,

> If identity is everywhere, it is nowhere. If it is fluid, how can we understand the ways in which self-understandings may harden, congeal, and crystallize? If it is constructed, how can we understand the sometimes coercive force of external identifications? If it is multiple, how do we understand the terrible singularity that is often striven for—and sometimes realized—by politicians seeking to transform mere categories into unitary and exclusive groups? How can we understand the power and pathos of identity politics? (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 1)

Brubaker and Cooper charge that the "uneasy amalgam" of constructivist language and essentialist assumptions concerning identity undermines its usefulness as an analytical category. They argue:

> Weak or soft conceptions of identity are routinely packaged with standard qualifiers indicating that identity is multiple, unstable, in flux, contingent, fragmented, constructed, negotiated, and so on. These qualifiers have become so familiar—indeed obligatory—in recent years that one reads (and writes) them virtually automatically. They risk becoming mere placeholders, gestures signaling a stance rather than words conveying meaning. (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 11)

For Brubaker and Cooper, the solution is to move "beyond" the concept of identity entirely. They propose that identitarian language be jettisoned in favor of such concepts as "identification and categorization," "self-understanding and social location," and "commonality, connectedness, groupness" (2000: 14–21). While we agree with Brubaker and Cooper's overall critique that much of the scholarly use of "identity" may be plagued by ambiguity, we are unconvinced that the substitution of other labels provides any inherent advantages. In fact, they themselves run the risk of fragmenting and isolating mutually reinforcing and interrelated social processes. The solution, it appears to us, is to unpack the term "identity" in order to grapple directly with the conceptual ambiguity, as well as the plurality of definitions and approaches, that may characterize usage of identity in the study of world politics. The dual goals of such an unpacking should be an increased intellectual clarity regarding the term and an improved methodological understanding of the concept for the field of IR. These are the overarching goals of this volume. We propose to engage these issues through a sustained analytical reflection on the very features

of identity that we now embrace as given: alterity; the fluidity and dynamism of identities; the fact that identities are multiple; and, the fact that they are constructed. These are key features of any identity, yet few works seek to unpack their meaning and implications. Therefore, we propose taking a step back and, rather than *assuming* these four features, we make them the object of inquiry.

In order to do this, the volume is organized so as to focus on each of the four dimensions of identity. While all four dimensions are commonly implicated in studies of identity, we believe it is highly beneficial to disaggregate these dimensions since they are crucial to the prevailing concept of identity. As such, they provide an important entry point for unpacking the broader analytical category of identity. It should be stressed that *our intention is not to erect boundaries between these four dimensions*. Instead, we use this four-fold organizing framework as a heuristic device. In so doing, we confront head on the conceptual complexities of identity rather than joining Brubaker and Cooper's call for alternative conceptualizations. In the rest of this chapter, we briefly survey the key issues related to each of the four dimensions.

Alterity

Many have noted that identity is a relational term and that it is defined against an other (Todorov 1984; Connolly 1991; Neumann 1999). Benedict Anderson (1991) suggests that it is not coincidental that we have never seen an identity that is continuous across all of humankind. It is, nevertheless, important to ask whether all identities must be explicitly exclusionary. Eva Mackey (1999) demonstrates that the Canadian identity is based on pluralist multiculturalism. Obviously, not all possible others are incorporated into the Canadian identity, but some that have no traditional links to notions of "Canadian" are. (The image of a Mountie with a turban comes to mind here.) While this is not a perfectly inclusionary example of identity formation, it does point to another possibility for coping with the presence of the other—incorporate her rather than marginalize her. Similarly, Daniel Deudney (1996) problematizes the assumption that we must always have an other in arguing that we might be compelled to shift our identification from the territory of a given nation-state to a broader, more ecologically conscious identification with the earth and the human community. This may indeed be a long way off, but assuming an other makes it exceedingly unlikely.

These two examples of other ways of thinking about alterity point to several questions that naturally emerge from an assumption of the relational nature of identity, but that have gotten little attention in the literature. For what purposes and under what circumstances are identities used for subordinating an "out-group"? When are they not used for these sorts of purposes? When can they be put to peaceful or inclusionary ends? Can we identify a set of circumstances under which identity might distinguish, but

not subordinate? Ultimately, this line of inquiry is, in part, tapping into the relationship between identity and power. Included here is the question of authorship and the implications for an identity narrative that emanates not from an "in-group," but from outside of the entity to which the identity is said to apply. For example, gender definitions that do not map onto the lived reality of men and women might fall into this category, as would Western conceptions of Orientalism (Said 1979). The possibility of ascription leads one to ask what happens when a collectivity objects to its characterization. Who needs to accept an identity for it to have importance? While these are not the only questions we can ask about alterity and identity, they are emblematic of the sorts of issues that merit reflection as part of an effort to articulate more clearly what we mean—and what it means for our research programs—to start from the assumption that identities are relational.

Iver Neumann, Jacinta O'Hagan, and Jacqui True (chapters 2–4) point to important conclusions about alterity, conclusions that are reinforced by other contributors to the volume. In particular, they show that the relationship between self and other is quite ambiguous and fluid, with the possibility of crossing boundaries between self and other very real. In addition, several chapters suggest that, while "othering" strategies can have the effect of subordinating or excluding an outgroup, it need not. Indeed, *inclusion* in a group may serve to subordinate.

Fluidity

Many past studies of identity, especially ethnically based national identity, presumed that identity is fixed, homogeneous, natural, bounded, and easily defined. Such a conceptualization led to essentialized and stereotypical renderings of various actors. In response to this, many have argued that identities are, at the very least, fragmented, hybrid, and contested. While it is obvious that more recent studies are correct in characterizing identity as dynamic and evolving, it is debatable whether a pendulum swing too far away from the possibility of coherence is helpful. As Claudia Strauss and Naomi Quinn point out,

> some understandings are widely shared among members of a social group, surprisingly resistant to change in the thinking of individuals, broadly applicable across different contexts of their lives, powerfully motivating sources of their action, and remarkably stable over succeeding generations. (1997: 3)

The truth of this statement points to a need to ask why and under what circumstances some identities evolve more than or more quickly than others. Why do some retain a relative degree of continuity over time? How and why have "black Americans" become "African Americans" and "French Canadians" "Québecois"? Why is it that other identities have not altered as noticeably? Rather than assuming fluidity and dynamism in the same way we assumed fixedness, our contributors approach the achievement of

continuity in some instances as something to be explained. They consider the gray area between the either-or proposition that "identities are predetermined and fixed or identities are completely constructed and fluid," (Strauss and Quinn 1997: 9) a gray area that may be missed if we posit unreflectively the fluidity and dynamism of identity.

Jamie Frueh, Samantha Arnold, and Siba Grovogui (chapters 5–7) offer analyses of both continuity and change in identities. All three authors, as do others in the volume, suggest that change in identities is related to evolving events and material circumstances. Yet the relationship here is a complex one. While events can provoke change in identities, so can evolving identities influence events and material circumstances. Ultimately, there is an apparent ongoing effort to align identities with prevailing circumstances and vice versa. As several authors suggest, identities evolve within certain parameters. The extent and direction of that evolution seems, in part, contingent on decisions by key agents that identities and the practices that instantiate them become or remain "this, not that."

Constructedness

In the wake of constructivist, feminist, and post-structuralist interventions in IR, it has become *de rigueur* to declare that identities are constructed. Yet, there is often very little consensus as to what forces and dynamics are involved in identity construction, to say nothing of an agreement on an accepted methodological approach. Many key questions remain unresolved about the social construction processes. Suggesting that identity is constructed begs the question "by whom?" (or by what?). Which actors, practices, mechanisms, institutions, and so forth are implicated in the social construction of a given identity? Do these vary across identities? Can we isolate a range of constitutive practices and agents? Who participates in the construction of identities? How is the construction of identity undertaken? How does one engage in an empirical investigation of the discursive construction of identities? That is, what types and forms of discourses "count" and which ones do not? How much weight should be put on specific discourses and narratives? How can we understand the discursive commonalities and disjunctures in identity construction? How are material practices and forces related to these discursive constructions? How does one grapple with social contestation and intentional agency?

Kevin Dunn, Douglas Blum, and Patrick Jackson (chapters 8–10) each offer unique, yet compatible, analyses of the construction of identity. They point to the variety of actors implicated in the construction of identities, including state and non-state actors and agents from both inside and outside the identity community. All three authors, as well as other contributors, suggest that who participates in identity construction may not be limited, but their relative influence or effectiveness is. Dunn, Blum, and Jackson each identify specific agents implicated in the construction of identities, as well as their respective strategies. In so doing, they demonstrate

the important relationship between material circumstances and identity construction.

Multiplicity

Once the belief that identities in world politics are singular and inconsequential is exploded, we are left with an understanding of identities as multidimensional, sometimes hierarchically organized, and always in process. A key next step is to clarify the concept of multiplicity. Our concern in this section is the multiplicity of the subject, as well as the multiplicity inherent in identities themselves. Recognizing that identity is multiple has enabled pathbreaking theoretical advances in the field of IR. For many years, the prominence of studies of national identity, as well as the perception of the state as the central actor in the international arena, left the impression that one's ethnic or national affiliation was of utmost importance and trumped all other conceptions of the self. In recent years, however, feminists and others have argued that many other aspects of one's being—gender, sexual orientation, and so forth—figure into one's self understanding. States also have multiple identities, and they shift back and forth between them. Often, these identity constructions are not only complex, but contradictory.

Given that actors have multiple identities, perhaps the primary question IR scholars must grapple with is: why do certain ones come to the fore in certain circumstances? Certainly, it seems reasonable to posit that identities are contingent on context. But it is doubtful that the salience of all identities is related to a single event or process such as revolution or globalization. How are we to understand the complex relationship between lived experience and the multiplicity of identities? How much attention should one give to examining material circumstances or ideational forces? For example, if we were to explore the multiplicity of identities emerging within the contested process of globalization, how can we understand the roles played by ideas, existing identities, and cultural practices, on the one hand, and the material circumstances generated by global restructuring, on the other? A key challenge is specifying which factors must be taken into consideration in dealing with the relative importance of multiple identities.

Erin Manning, Zoë Wilson and David Black, and Marianne Marchand (chapters 11–13) examine the multiplicity of identity from various angles. Manning's analysis suggests that multiple identities are constantly in play and the possibility of moving back and forth between them in relatively seamless ways is very real. Wilson and Black implicitly accept this (as do other contributors to the volume), yet they highlight the very real material consequences of opting for one identity over another. Marchand argues that fastening on to one or another identity is part and parcel of articulating new realities that keep step with changing material circumstances, both for those who embrace the changing circumstances and those who resist them.

By focusing on these four dimensions of identity, we carve out an important swathe of inquiry into the usefulness of identity as an analytical category. In so doing, we hope to underscore the importance of paying as much attention to the social construction of *identity* as we pay to the social construction of *identities*.

Our contributors provide studies of civilizational, national, gender, imperial, regional, religious, ethnic, historical, and state identities, offering cases drawn from a diversity of regions, including Latin America, Africa, the former Soviet bloc, the United States, France, and Bengal, in order to bring into focus what it means to say that identities are relational, fluid, constructed, and multiple. In addition, the contributors are explicit about how they theorized one of the four dimensions of identity (alterity, fluidity, constructedness, multiplicity). This, of course, often proved difficult, because the contributors' work on identity tends to combine several of the dimensions listed. It should be stressed again, however, that we are not trying to establish rigid or exclusionary boundaries between these dimensions. Responding to the concerns articulated by Brubaker and Cooper and other identity critics, we felt it important to disaggregate the four dimensions in order to heighten the conceptual clarity and consistency, as well as intellectual rigor, of our discussions on identity. And this has proven to be the case.

The contributors illustrate their theoretical insights with empirical case studies. In fact, all of the chapters in this volume are empirically driven. Rather than beginning with abstract theorization about identity, each chapter draws from its empirical evidence to extrapolate theoretical insights about identity, specifically with regard to alterity, fluidity, constructedness, and multiplicity. These case studies are geographically and historically varied, covering America, Africa, Europe, and Asia, and ranging from European colonialism in the Third World to the current post–September 11 war on terrorism. Each chapter confronts some of the unanswered questions associated with a dimension of identity via an empirical study in the author's field of expertise. The empirical scope of the chapters ranges widely, which allows the authors to explore the issues from a variety of angles and provide more useful claims than might a more geographically and/or historically limited volume.

Finally, the contributors explicitly discuss their methodological assumptions and decisions. Their empirical contributions serve as exemplars that can, in turn, facilitate a discussion of the methodology employed to study identity. To this end, each author includes in his/her contribution a self-conscious reflection on the methodological choices he/she made to complete an identity-centered analysis. The goal is not only to provide specific insights, but to stimulate future methodological discussions of how we "do" identity research in IR.

The volume's conclusion serves as the capstone chapter, drawing out the theoretical lessons from each contribution to the volume, articulating the overarching themes of the book, and positing questions and possible fruitful paths for future research.

Part I

Alterity

Chapter 2

Deep Structure, Free-Floating Signifier, or Something in Between? Europe's Alterity in Putin's Russia

Iver B. Neumann

Alterity is a Foucauldian term that emerged as part and parcel of the shift from structuralism to post-structuralism. The key shift from structuralism to post-structuralism involved a turn away from grounding the analysis in a latent structure that was alleged to exist beyond the social, to insisting on the more free-floating character of manifest structures. There remains a tension between the view that signifiers are in principle free-floating, and the view that some parts of social practices show a greater resistance to change than others, so must be less free-floating (compare Wæver 2001). The chapter aims to present a model of Russian discourse that strikes a middle position in the sense that all structures are seen as changeable in principle, but some more changeable than others. Discourse is treated as a layered phenomenon.

Methodologically, an extreme structuralist position would be that, inasmuch as a deep structure is by definition present in *any* text, any text may serve as a starting point for the analysis. Conversely, an extreme post-structuralist position would be to see every text as unique and so equally worthy of analysis, but also equally unworthy of serving as a template for generalization. Pragmatically, a place to start would be texts that are invested with a lot of authority (in the sense that they emanate from a key institutional site, including key sites of knowledge production), and

that have as rich a reception as possible. Synchronically, that would mean that they are read by a lot of people, diachronically that they are widely referenced. If the research interest is in how things change, in the sense of how new preconditions for action emerge, the more these texts bear the marks of narrative tension the better, for this means that the text struggles to suborn one narrative by foregrounding another. The strategy of this chapter is to kick off from one such text, and then to demonstrate whence the two narratives in evidence heed. Since the latter is a diachronic task, the texts used are those to which reference has often been made in political, historical, and social scientific treatments of the issues at hand.

Thematically, I fasten on one possible deep structure of national discourse, namely the presentation of history as the memory of a basically unchanging state. Since the nation-state is a master narrative of how a maximum number of relevant identities are all tied together in the concept of a self with permanence in time and space, it runs against the root metaphors of nation-states to admit to being an other to previous versions of the self. When it nonetheless happens, as it did in the Millennium speech of Russian Prime Minister Vladimir V. Putin, we should pay special heed. In this broadcast, which gained further distribution in paper and on the net later on, Putin greeted Russia by drawing up the following assessment of the country's past and present:

> The main thing is that Soviet power did not let the country develop a flourishing society which could be developing dynamically, with free people. First and foremost, the ideological approach to the economy made our country lag increasingly behind (*otstavanie*) the developed states. It is bitter to admit that for almost seven decades we travelled down a blind alley, which took us away from the main track of civilisation [. . .] The experience of the 1990s vividly shows that the genuine and efficient revival of our Fatherland cannot be brought about on Russian soil simply by dint of abstract models and schemata extracted from foreign textbooks. The mechanical copying of the experiences of other states will not bring progress. Every country, Russia included, has a duty to search for its own path of renewal. We still have not made much headway [. . .] Society has been in a state of schism (*raskol*) [. . .] Russia will not soon, if ever, be a replica of, say, the US or Great Britain, where liberal values have deep-seated traditions. For us, the state, with its institutions and structures, always played an exclusively important role in the life of the country and its people. For the Russian (*rossiyanin*), a strong state is not an anomaly, not something with which he has to struggle, but, on the contrary, a source of and a guarantee for order, as well as the initiator and main moving force of any change. Contemporary Russian society does not mistake a strong and effective state for a totalitarian one. (http://www.government.gov.rus/government/minister/article-vvp1.html)

This chapter discusses the historical preconditions that made these statements possible and made them seem central enough to the head of state to propel him to spend this exemplary communicative opportunity on them.

It then moves on to demonstrate how the use of these terms actually forges a compromise between the two major political forces in today's Russia—nationalists and Westernizers. The claim is that this particular piece of identity politics aims to weave together these two historical narratives of Russian nationhood, and so strengthen the weave of state by reducing the tension between those who identify with either one of them. This, after all, is the task that has been highlighted as the special domain of The Statesman's Art since Plato wrote his eponymous dialogue on the topic, so the centrality of identity to politics is hardly an issue that needs defending. The methodological claim, that discourse analysis is particularly apposite for an analysis of this kind, may be more contentious. This is strange, for the place to study meaning must surely be the place where it is produced, namely in language. If anyone should like to argue that it should be studied *outside of* the narratives of politicians and of the material that they have to work with, then surely the burden of proof must rest with them. In IR, the usual counterclaim is a different one, namely that meaning is irrelevant to politics, that the explanatory purchase has to be made outside of language and outside of meaning (e.g., in the shape of the states system or in the mode of production). Yet even if we acknowledge the importance of structural factors such as these—and as a structuralist of sorts I for one certainly do so—I cannot see why it should follow that these structures should be *wholly* determinate on meaning and action. Indeed, inasmuch as the task I set myself here is to strike a pose somewhere between structuralism and post-structuralism, the whole point of the exercise is to acknowledge the importance of structure while also validating the importance of the (statesman's) unique act.

Excavating Narratives: Westernizers Versus Nationalists

Putin's statement rounded off a rowdy decade in Russia's history. The representations of Russia and its relationship to Europe that surface in this quote are the result of a compromise, which at least temporarily settles the struggles that broke out when Gorbachev ascended as General Secretary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The immediate historical setting for this assessment seems fairly clear-cut. With Gorbachev becoming secretary general of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1985, the slogan of the "common European home," which had its roots in diplomatic practice of the early 1980s, became central to Russian political discourse. Old representations of state, people, class, and human being were challenged by new ones. The new representations of Russian identity involved a political struggle over how to differentiate Russia from Europe (as well as from Asia, cf. Hauner 1990). The Russian discourse on Europe pitted Westernizers against nationalists.

The Westernizers emerged both out of the dissident movement and out of Gorbachev's entourage of reform communists. The framework within

which they represented Europe was a cultural one, stressing liberal ideas about the integrity of the individual and the limited rights of the state *vis-à-vis* the citizen as the common political goals of all mankind. Russia was not held to be morally superior to Europe, but as its potential equal and in certain respects contemporary inferior.

If Westernizers dominated Russian discourse on Europe in the late 1980s and into the 1990s, a nationalist opposition was also clearly present. To pick an example that is methodologically apposite because it distills a narrative usually formulated more vaguely elsewhere and clearly opposed to the one put forward by Gorbachev, El'giz Pozdnyakov complained that "The disease of 'Europeanism,' of 'Westernism,' came to Russia" with Peter the Great (Pozdnyakov 1991: 46). Since then, he charged, a number of Russians have seen Russia through the eyes of an outsider. These Westernizers have either held that Russia's destiny lay with European civilization, or they have not seen a destiny for it at all. In either case, they have been wrong. Russia's particular destiny is to maintain a strong state so that it can act as the holder of the balance between East and West, a task "vitally important both for Russia and the entire planet" (Pozdnyakov 1991: 46). And Pozdnyakov goes on to write,

> Russia cannot return to Europe because it never belonged to it. Russia cannot join it because it is part of another type of civilization, another cultural and religious type. [. . .] Any attempt to make us common with Western civilization and even to force us to join it undertaken in the past resulted in superficial borrowings, deceptive reforms, useless luxury and moral lapses. [. . .] in nature there does not exist such a thing as a "Common Civilization." The term in fact denotes the pretention of Western European civilization to the exclusive rights to universal significance. (Pozdnyakov 1991: 49, 54)

Other nationalists presented another variant of this narrative, one that was not grounded in the need for a strong state, but in the need for spiritual regeneration. For example, in 1990 Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn published a long Philippic against modernity: Russia should not spend its force being a superpower, but on attaining spiritual clarity; free elections and a multiparty system were harmful onslaughts against the organic Russian nation; Russia should concentrate on restructuring its own house rather than any common European one (Solzhenitsyn 1990).

The years 1992 and 1993 were pivotal for Russian discourse on Europe. Given that so many aspects of the political were being re-presented so thoroughly, the stakes were very high, and given the radical incompatibility of the two representations of the European other, the question was how the relationship between these representations would play itself out. The two extreme (and for that reason rather unlikely) possibilities seemed to be that there would arise a monological situation whereby one representation swallowed the other, or a civil war. What ensued instead was a two-fold dialogical development. First, the regrouping of communism as

a political force took the shape of infusing the nationalist representation with a number of key ideas and institutional resources out of the former communist regime. The Russian Communist Party took the idea of a "nationally comprehended, spiritually grounded statehood" as its starting point (Zyuganov 1994: 42). This re-presentation of Russia was set out in books by the party chairman Gennadiy Zyuganov whose very titles underlined this nationalist starting point: *Great Power, Russia—My Motherland*, and *The Ideology of State Patriotism* (Zyuganov 1996). The view that new partitions are developing between East and West in Europe is a common denominator of Russian discourse. Typically, in trying to come up with an answer to NATO expansion Russian nationalists and communists avail themselves of elements that historically have been part of Russian nationalist *and* communist discourse (Williams and Neumann 2000). Indeed, the entire operation of reorganizing the Russian Communist Party on a nationalist–communist platform may be viewed in this light, as when Zyuganov argues that "The empire is the form which both historically and geopolitically has been closest to the development of Russia" (Zyuganov 1996: 223), and that "Soviet culture" represented an important manifestation of this development. Russia is specifically cast as a bulwark against Western civilization, whose essence is "extreme individualism, warlike atheism, religious indifference, mass mentality and mass culture, contempt of traditions and subscription to the principle of quantity before quality" (Zyuganov 1996: 149). Building on this general approach, it may be argued that Russia is an independent civilization that is threatened by the cultural encroachment of NATO and should answer by pursuing a policy of isolationist consolidation as did vice chairman of the Duma Committee on Foreign Affairs Aleksey Podberezkin, when he argues,

> NATO's intense insistence on [. . .] gobbling up new strategic territory and show its muscle outside the borders of an unstable state with an economy which is in tatters will, I think, not have a deterring effect on the people of that state. [. . . On the contrary,] The idea of once again being "a besieged fortress" will knit the Russian people closer together than the many agreements and insurances by the West about peace and freedom. (Podberezkin 1996: 64)

Specifically, "the Partnership for Peace does not afford the participants any security guarantees, but offers a very useful cover under which Americans may organize their short-term military presence on the territory of the previous members of the Warsaw Pact as well as [. . .] fuelling the anti-Russian atmosphere in these parts" (Podberezkin 1996: 64). Russia should answer by "minimalising the participation of its armed forces in peace keeping operations" and rather concentrate on its own internal military reform (1996: 69). Other variants of the nationalist representation than those that went into the forging of a national communist position were pushed to the margins of political life. The others of this representation

were not only a hostile "West," but also the very forces of cosmopolitanism and globalization that it was said to have set in train and to control.

In terms of method, the textual corpus that I have mustered in order to tease out the nationalist narrative is as disparate as are its many variants. The reading strategy was one of excavating a number of attacks on the narrative told by Gorbachev, attacks that themselves congeal into a counternarrative premised on the idea of a "strong" Russia (with the source of strength being a contested issue) that guarantees an historical continuity against Gorbachev's onslaught. These texts differ in genre, in distribution and in reception. What they have in common, however—and this is enough for the task at hand—is to make up one of the two narratives that are in evidence in Putin's speech. Their importance is that they instantiate a narrative that the statesman deems important enough to be an antithesis to his own attempted nation-building synthesis. Inasmuch as the statesman in Russia was addressing not only his people, but also his electorate, *he himself* worked on the presupposition that this narrative was a constitutive part of the nation. A discourse analysis that aimed to excavate overall representations would have to ground itself in different source material in addition to that used here (e.g. letters to newspaper editors, popular culture, participant observation). My claim to mass relevance is indirect: someone who makes his living as a politician among other things by gauging the public mood and whose political future is at stake held that this narrative was constitutive of the identity of his electorate.

Where the other narrative in evidence was concerned, 1992 and 1993 saw the end of the stand-off between the Westernizing and the nationalist representations. The political strength of this nationalist re-presentation began to work on the Westernizing representation, shearing it of what came to be known as its "romantic" tendency to hold up "the West" as an entity to be unequivocally copied. This was the beginning of the compromise that I am going to argue in the conclusion that the Putin regime embodies. Thus, although Westernizers sat on a number of key material and institutional resources, the Westernizing representation of Russia did not crowd out the nationalist one. Of course, the European discourse on Russia is one factor that may help us understand why this did not come to be: despite Gorbachev's discursive work, Russia was not recognized as a European country in a number of key social, political, and economic contexts. One reason why Russian Westernizers were not able to carry the day in Russian discourse is to do with how their efforts to be accepted as a "normal" European country in overall European discourse came to naught.

However, a change of this magnitude may hardly be understood if one does not see it against a historical background that provided a benchmark against which developments were represented in the first place. In order to understand that, it is necessary to understand what happened in Russian discourse itself, how it was that the nationalist representation could maintain such a strong position in discourse in lieu of a relative dearth of

institutional and material capital. The reason, I will argue, is to do with how the nationalist representation came complete with references back to an unbroken and proud national history. This history being propelled by, among other things, nationalist sentiments allegedly of the same kind as those that made up the stuff of that nationalist representation which now presented those historical references. It was the symbolic capital that the nationalist representation was able to draw on in its discursive work, which first forced the Westernizing representation into a dialogue, and then transformed it to become more compatible with the nationalist representation. Put another way, there was a stiffness in Russian discourse that the Westernizing representation could not break down, and so it happened that it was transformed itself instead. Since the nationalist representation drew its strength from the narratives it told about itself and its role in Russian history, one must look to those narratives and that history, and not only to the wider European discourse, in order to understand the shift in Russian discourse.

Two Representations of Europe, Two Traditions

It would be a mistake to see either the Russian debate about Europe that emerged in the 1980s and the 1990s or the shift from Gorbachev to Putin as a unique response to post-Soviet challenges. On the contrary, the conflict between Westernizers and nationalists can be traced in the *samizdat* writings of the 1960s and 1970s, as well as in writings of the tsarist period. For example, the most striking thing about Solzhenitsyn's piece from 1990 quoted earlier is, arguably, its almost verbatim repetition of the views set out in the *samizdat* articles in the collection *From Under the Rubble* (1975). Solzhenitsyn's articles attacked Westernizers, and particularly Andrey Sakharov, for parroting false Western ideas about freedom:

> The West has supped more than its fill of every kind of freedom, including intellectual freedom. And has this saved it? We see it today crawling on hands and knees, its will paralyzed, uneasy about the future, spiritually racked and dejected. Unlimited external freedom in itself is quite inadequate to save us. Intellectual freedom is a very desirable gift, but, like any sort of freedom, a gift of conditional, not intrinsic, worth, only a means by which we can attain another and higher goal. (Solzhenitsyn 1975: 18)

Where Sakharov's suggestion for introducing the multiparty system was concerned, Solzhenitsyn wanted nothing to do with it: "[A] society in which political parties are active never rises in the moral scale [. . .] can we not, we wonder, rise above the two-party or multiparty parliamentary system?" (Solzhenitsyn 1975: 20). As witnessed by Solzhenitsyn's attack on the "national bolsheviks" (Solzhenitsyn 1975: 119–129), today's statist nationalists also have its precedents in the 1960s. Yet this internal nationalist debate between spiritual and statist nationalists has a much longer history.

Traces of it can be found in the Russian semiofficial life of the 1920s, and it was a fixture of the political debate in tsarist times.

In a closely argued book published in 1920, *Europe and Humanity*, Prince Nikolay Sergeevich Trubetskoy delivered a blistering attack against the very idea that Russia and other non-European countries should look to Europe for political and economic models. If a people opts for a Europeanizing course, Trubetskoy argues, then it has to gear its entire development toward European models, and shear off all the discoveries that do not square with this concept. Since it cannot do all these things in one step, the Europeanized people will be torn to pieces by generational and social tensions. National unity will suffer. The inevitable result is a cycle of "progress" and "stagnation." "And so," Trubetskoy (1920: 69–70) concludes, "the upshoot of Europeanisation is so heavy and horrible that it cannot be considered a good, but a bad thing."

Turning now to the precedents of today's Westernizing representation of Russia, one is immediately confronted by the question of how to categorize Stalinism. From Bukharin and Trotskiy onward, anti-Stalinist communists have insisted that Stalin was certainly no Westernizer, but an Asian despot, a Ghengis Khan. Bukharin, for example, attacked Stalin's program of super-industrialization as a policy "in line with old Russia," and referred to it at a number of occasions as being "Asiatic." Stalin himself he privately referred to as a "Genghis Khan" (see Cohen 1974: 291). This representation is present in contemporary discourse: for example, Starikov (1989) argues that Stalin's Asiatic paternalistic model for society crowded out a European one based on a civil society.

The Stalinist representation of Soviet Russia and the Soviet Union, on the contrary, put itself forward not as "Asiatic," but as the epitome of European thinking. This despite a passage in that basic statement of Stalinism—the *Short Course of the Party History*—which explicitly states that Stalinists saw themselves as fighting Westernization inside the party. One notes that communists of all shades invested large amounts of energy in presenting themselves as the true Europeans—in Stalin's case, indeed as the only true European. This was in the best Russian Marxist tradition. Someone like Nikolay Ivanovich Sieber, a Marx scholar, could hardly have been clearer in his insistence on the necessity of Russian industrialization for individualization when he wrote already in the early 1870s that "We shall have no sense in this country until the Russian *muzhik* is cooked up in the factory boiler" (quoted in Kindersley 1962: 9). But the populists, who still preferred their peasants raw, also argued in terms of European precedents. Writing in 1869, for example, Tkachev maintained that individualism, as espoused by Russian Westernizers, was first formulated by Protagoras and the Sophists, the ideologists of the urban, bourgeois civilization of Athens. Against this individualism, he set the antiindividualism of the Sparta celebrated by Plato (Walicki 1969: 41–45). Tkachev's intervention is interesting not least for the choice of comparative case. At this time, ancient Greece was almost universally held to be not only the

"proto-European" phase of history, but also the cradle of European civilization as such. By choosing this particular point of reference for a comparison of Russia and Europe, Tkachev is able to present his own program as a European one.

The debates between Marxists and populists were preceded by the debates between liberals and "Russian socialists." There exists an almost paradigmatic exchange of letters between Turgenev and Herzen from the early 1860s, where Herzen held that Russia was a cousin of Europe, who had taken little part in the family chronicle, but whose "charms were fresher and more commendable than her cousins" (Herzen 1968: 1747). Turgenev ([1862] 1963: 64–65) begged to differ. "Russia is not a maltreated and bonded Venus of Milo, she is a girl just like her older sisters—only a little broader in the beam," he held. Indeed, both Herzen and Turgenev saw the relationship in terms of family metaphors, but when it came to degree of kinship and to relative desirability, they parted ways. Actually, already in 1847–48, Botkin and Herzen discussed the pros and cons of industrialization and the need for an indigenous working class in Russia. Botkin, a tea merchant, prayed that "God give Russia a bourgeoisie!," only to be met with a counter-prayer from Herzen: "God save Russia from the bourgeoisie!" Belinskiy, in a letter to Botkin declared, "So far all I have seen is that countries without a middle class are doomed to eternal insignificance" (Gerschenkron 1962: 164–166).

In terms of method, the latter part of this section was a straightforward archaeological dig. Beginning with the narratives that were in evidence in the 1990s, I simply asked where we may find the elements of these narratives in previous times. I did not look for disparities or variants, only for the major narrative elements. Thus, the reading is an unashamedly homogenizing one. The lack of shame is warranted given my limited aim, which is to excavate the preconditions for how Putin could do what he did when he delivered his Millennium speech. If the aim had been (the at least equally worthy one) to demonstrate that his representations of the Russian nation were not the same as those made by a number of previous Russians, and that these previous representations all differ from one another (however subtly), then this method would not have been warranted. My claim is simply that, in the degree that Putin and his electorate experience a sharing of certain narratives—and this is after all a key issue to any act of identity politics—these narratives have to be powered by something. The specific "something" under scrutiny here is the bundle of overlapping representations of the past, in particular past clashes over what Russian identity should entail. The politically active element is not what actually happened at a particular day or in a particular year, between two particular actors or in a particular institution. The active element is a genre—identity clashes, populated with a set of narratives about what it is to be Russian. The "history" at work is history understood as the imagined chronological aspect of Russian identity. Hence the appositeness of a very broad-gauged approach to history as the one I just executed in this section.

Without privileging being over becoming or universalism over particularism, structural pressure must be acknowledged as being one of the strongest, and perhaps the strongest, contexts that may help us understand the continued centrality of Westernizing and nationalist representations in Russian discourse on Europe as well as in overall political discourse. Russia's political and economic backwardness that is its low degree of functional differentiation of power between politics and economy and between state and society meant that the country continuously had to face up to the challenge posed by the more highly differentiated and therefore more efficient political and economic order in Western Europe. I avoid the word "advanced" here because of its normative and modernist connotations: in its starkest and most immediate form, the challenge was to do with the need for Russia to maintain an economic base that would make it possible to sustain its military power and thus its role in international politics. Inasmuch as West European models were seen to be more efficient in performing this than was the Russian model, it meant that Russia's strength relative to that of West European states was in decline, and so the question of what was to be done was deemed to be unavoidable. Structural pressure made it easier—but of course in no way inevitable—for some rather than other representations to dominate discourse.

The pressure for each state to borrow from the most effective models available in order to maintain the economic base for their political and military power was and is acknowledged by some participants in Russian discourse, and contested by others. If interstate competition is one context that may further our understanding of *why* Russian discourse on what to do about allegedly more efficient Western models is a recurrent theme in Russian history since the formation of an international system, it also suggests the broad layout of options available to the participants. On the one hand, one would expect one group of participants to find the solution to the problem in copying Western models, and one would expect them to carry on an internal debate about which variant of the Western models should be copied, and to what extent and at which speed it should happen. On the other hand, one would expect to find a group of participants that would either deny that the Western models are indeed more economically effective, or maintain that economic effectiveness should take a backseat to other concerns.

Of course, the possibility always exists that some new idea may emerge and spawn a specifically Russian model for economic and political organization. It would indeed be an overstatement to conclude that the inventory of the debate is given once and for all. Yet it is difficult to see how this can happen in any other way than by negating some aspect of thinking that could be referred to as "European." Russians are too caught up in its relationship with Europe to think entirely independently of it. When a contemporary antimodern romantic nationalist like Solzhenitsyn rails against Western civilization, he does so within what is routinely referred to as *European* literary genres like the novel and the essay, availing

himself of European-developed media like the newspaper, in a public debate upheld by conventions developed in Europe, in a formal language with its roots in Europe, availing himself of linguistic archaisms in the way pioneered by German romantic nationalists. In short, it is the fate of Russians and others who have wanted to forge a non-European, anti-hegemonic debate that such debates cannot fail to maintain ties to Europe, if only inversely so, because of the very fact that they are patterned as attempts to negate the European debate, and therefore remain defined by it. Globalization means that "Europe" may be nowhere, in the sense that it no longer has one and the same center in all contexts, but it also means that "Europe" is everywhere, in the sense that discursive elements like the ones mentioned are permeating more and more discourses.

The most acute participants in Russian discourse on Europe have acknowledged the structural pressure exerted by Western hegemony, and predicated their thinking on it. Herzen, Trotskiy, and Trubetskoy all acknowledged that Russia could not simply disregard Europe's dynamism. Yet, characteristically, except for communism, Russian discourse has not been able to produce any models that could take the place of the European ones. If Trubetskoy drew up an impressive and depressing catalogue of the disadvantages for Russia of copying European models—the humiliation conferred on it by Europe's arrogance in usurping the term "human civilization" for itself, the handicap incurred by competing on somebody else's "home turf," the imbalance caused by Russia's recurrent breakneck attempts at "catching up" and the concurrent split between a "Westernized" elite and its people—his alternatives to further copying were far from equally impressive. The Westernizing representation has shed its romantic aspect. "The West" is no longer unequivocally something to be copied, and there is no longer an expectation that Russia can become part of Europe as the result of a five-year plan or two. As so many aspects of Russian politics and society have changed since the advent of *perestroyka*, however, the centrality of Russian discourse on Europe has only increased. It is this lingering centrality, and not the uniqueness of each of the constellations of representations of which it is made up that I wanted to highlight in this reading of Russia in terms of its European other.

A Model of Russian European Policy

One may try to capture discourse in its synchronicity, understanding the state of discourse at any one point in time as what Yuri Lotman has called a *semiosphere*:

> Imagine a museum hall where exhibits from different periods are on display, along with inscriptions in known and unknown languages, and instructions for decoding them; besides there are the explanations composed by the museum staff, plans for tours and rules for the behaviour of the visitors. Imagine also in this hall tour-leaders and the visitors and imagine all this

> as a single mechanism (which *in a certain sense* it is). This is an image of the semiosphere. [. . .] all elements of the semiosphere are in dynamic, not static, correlations whose terms are constantly changing. [. . .] What "works" is not the most recent temporal section, but the whole packed history of cultural texts. [. . .] In fact, everything continued in the actual memory of culture is directly or indirectly part of that culture's synchrony. (Lotman 1990: 126–127)

The basic layer may be conceptualized as the *constellation* of the human collective's ideas about itself. Contrary to what seems to be the case in for example, Germany and France (Wæver 2001, 1992), it will simply not do to model the Russian case by beginning from the relations between conceptualizations of state and nation. In Russia, the conceptualization of *the leader* is equally basic. The very concept of state in Russian—*gosudarstvo*—comes from *gosudar*, which translates as head (of an extended household). The well-known reference to the Tsar as "little father" (*batushka*, grandfather) further underlines the parallel between the idea of the household and the state, and the *paterfamilias* and the head of state. This link, so important in West European countries particularly before the coming of modernity (see, e.g., the classic debate between Filmer and Mill), also existed in a Russian tapping, and maintains strength to this day. In the Soviet period, furthermore, the state was penetrated by the Party. In order to capture the basic constellation of that period, the party must also be included. As a starting point, then, the model shown in figure 2.1 may be proposed.

Some justification of this figure seems in order. The first constellation on the basic layer (1–1) is the one of the Slavophiles, where the state is treated as an alien and indeed evil feature that intrudes onto the organic ties between the leader and the nation. It can be shown how the Slavophile formulation of this constellation drew on early German romantic ideas about relations between the realms of the cultural and the political, and so we have here one example of discursive overlap between all-European and Russian discourses (Neumann 1996). It is true that this basic constellation has yielded less specific European policies than the others. When I nonetheless venture to include it, it is because it is frequently invoked in its own right, and furnishes Russian political discourse with a dimension that is nonetheless real for being represented as "irrational," perhaps even apolitical, by most Western analytical lights. What is at stake here is the modeling of Russian discourse as it unfolds, not a censoring of it to make it fit with rationalistic models of the political.

The second constellation on the basic layer (1–2) is a monolithic one, where the leader is the state is the people is the party, or where the leader is the state is the nation. The state is conceptualized not as an arbitrator between groups, but as the organic embodiment of the sum total of the human collective that is Russia. Soviet official discourse included the genre of slogans—huge red cardboard things that filled public space with inscriptions such as "The plans of the party are the plans of the people."

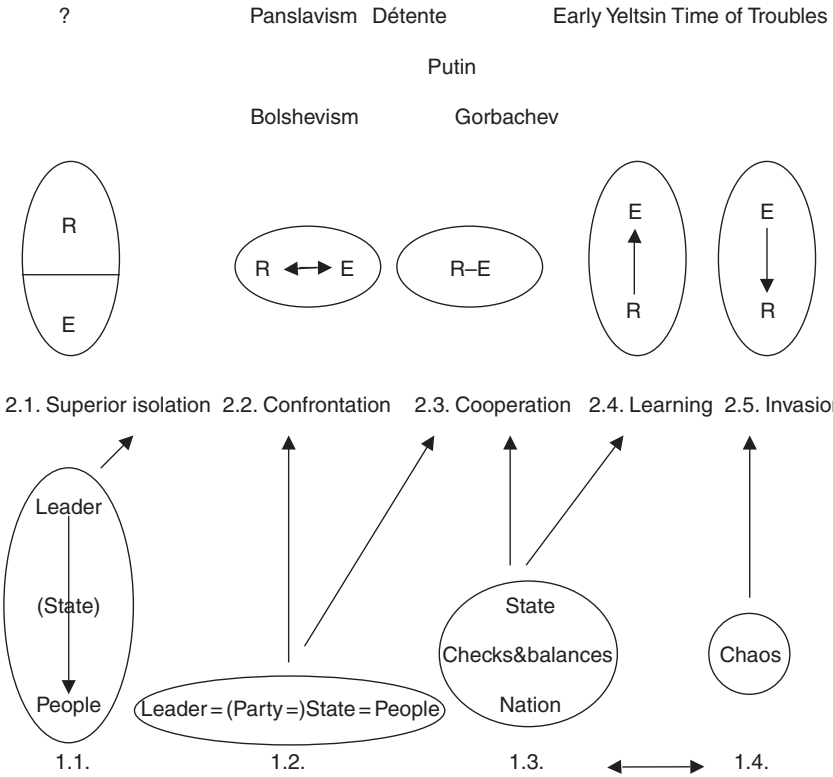

Figure 2.1 The layers of Russian (R) discourse on Europe (E). Layer 1, basic concepts; layer 2, general policy; layer 3, historical examples

Politics, then, was not conceptualized as mediation between groups, but as a struggle by a monolithic human collective—the Soviet Union—for objective emancipation. Contradictions in politics were relegated to the outside—to relations between the Soviet Union and other collectives, to relations between the international proletariat led by the Soviet Union and other collectives, to contradictions between collectives other than the Soviet Union. I have conflated this overwhelmingly dominant constellation of the Soviet period with the standard nationalist conceptualization of the state and the nation as two sides of the same coin, where the state is the shield of the nation just as the party is the shield of the people. The structural similarity at the root of this is to do with an *organic* way of thinking about relations between human collectives; the constellation is not monolithic in the sense that state and nation are the same thing, but in the sense that they are organically interlinked so that contradictions between them cannot be thought of as anything else than *illness* in the body politic. To the tsarist regime, the nation was the body to which the state was the head—to the Soviet one, the people was the body to which the party was the head. For both regimes, the leader was leader exactly because he

embodied the state and the nation/people both. The point is a structural one, not in the sense of a deep structure unreachable, inaccessible, and therefore unchangeable, but in the sense of offering constellations that are similar enough to warrant modeling conflation for our specific purpose. The capping argument in favor of conflation, however, is an empirical one, witness the way discursive elements of these two strands have *themselves* combined in the 1990s under the heading of the Red–Brown alliance. What is at stake here is not the organizational combination in blocs and so on, which is tenuous, but the discursive combination, which is arguably much less so.

The third constellation on the basic layer (1–3) should, be readily identifiable and not in need of much explanation—it is a generic *Rechtsstaat* model. The fourth basic level one constellation (1–4) is the radical other of Russian political discourse—the specter of a stateless situation, almost invariably associated with the Time of Troubles (*smutnoe vremya, smuta*) of the first decade of the seventeenth century. One of the basic resources of Russian political discourse is to invoke this specter and argue that if not a specific layer one constellation is adopted as a model, the alternative will be a new Time of Troubles, rife with the historical echoes of the Civil War of the early twentieth century and the Tatar (i.e., Mongol) Yoke of the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries all rolled into one: there will be no strong hand/law, foreign powers will come in to feast on the cadaver of Russia, and so on.

Gorbachev's reform drive was launched under three different headings: *perestroyka*, *glasnost*, *uskorenie*. One could argue that these three slogans referred to rather different basic constellations. Perestroyka was very much an "away from here is my goal" undertaking, with the slogan *tak nel'zja zhit'*—it is impossible to live like this—being indicative of an acknowledged malaise to which there was no widely acknowledged cure. Beginning in 1990 and culminating in 1992, an attempt was made to reorient discourse in the direction of the basic constellation of the *Rechtsstaat*, which was seen by some as a possible cure. For a short moment, Yel'tsin even adopted this as a position alternative to Gorbachev's, not least since Gorbachev himself manifestly made a point out of not adopting it and thus left it free for the opposition to use. Gorbachev's invocation of the two other slogans further showed the depth of the political crisis. *Glasnost'* was sometimes interpreted as a call for freedom of the press, that is, a phenomenon with a clear affinity to a *Rechtsstaat* constellation. Etymologically, however, it may be traced back to Slavophile thinking, where it referred to how the tsar might allow the voice of the people (in the singular) to reach him without having it tampered with on its way. The thrust of the last slogan, of *uskorenie*, acceleration, indicated that the basic constellation of the Soviet period (1–2) was fine, and that all that was needed was an overhaul. This slogan was quickly dropped, thus furnishing more discursive evidence for the depth of the ongoing political crisis. I mention this here to show how changes initiated by the beginning of the Gorbachev years set in motion all the three basic constellations at level one.

As a corollary of the fact that in Russia, contrary to the example of Germany and France (Wæver 1992), the political sphere has also enveloped

the first and deepest layer of the discursive structure. Therefore, the distance between Russian conceptualizations of Europe and its specific European policies seems to be more immediate than in the German and French cases. There is an obvious reason for the pervasiveness of the political and the correspondingly more shallow span between the levels of discourse, and it is to do with the hegemonic pressure exerted by those conceptualizations of state and nations that are active at the core of the international system onto conceptualizations of state and nature in the rest of the system. In the case of France and Germany, there exists a complementarity between the way in which state and nation are conceptualized. If one should boil Russian politics since its entry into the modern states system in the late 1600s down to one question, however, it would have to be the one of how and to what extent Russia should adopt some "European" model of state/society relations. Russian debates about economic and political reform over the last 300 years have been about this, and it has been the main dimension in Russian debates about themselves and Europe at least over the last 200 years (Neumann 1996). As already argued, it is also at the core of the now decade-long political struggle over which constellation to put at the base of Russian discourse.

I now turn to the proposed second layer of discourse, consisting of variously proposed structural relations between the basic constellations of the first layer and the collective's conceptualizations of Europe. Historically, there have evolved two such possible relations from basic constellations one: Russian leadership (2–1) and Russia versus Europe (2–2).

There is a very good reason why the ways in which the structure of Russo-European relations emerge in the second layer of Russian European discourse, with one exception, involve the two entities Russia and Europe, and not the whole gamut of Great Powers. This is that Russia, alone of the European Great Powers, adheres to a political discourse that is generated first and foremost by a constellation of state, nation and so on, which is of another kind than the generic one shared by all other European Great Powers; if those constellations are indeed different, they may all be subsumed under the heading of *Rechtsstaat*. It could be argued that the entire Western policy of containment was about this; to sit back and wait until the hegemonic force of the *Rechtsstaat* model and its associated economic model of capitalism permeated Russian discourse and worked the demise of the Soviet Union. It could also be argued that, when the slogan of the Gorbachev era became "we cannot live like this," that signaled the success of this policy. And yet, if the model of the *Rechtsstaat* enjoyed a heyday in Russian discourse between 1990 and 1992, that heyday was not halcyon enough to establish the *Rechtstaat* as the new major generative constellation of political discourse. Thus, when Russia finds itself marginalized in the central discourses about the European Union (EU) and NATO, and time and again is confronted with such a high degree of coordination amongst the other powers that what emerges is a Russo-European dialogue rather than an all-European heterologue, it is for a very good reason. It is among other things in recognition of this that Russia has tried to make

the OSCE a two-tiered (NATO and CIS) central locus of European security discourse, and it is first and foremost because Russia is not recognized as a heavy-enough dialogue partner that the other powers refuse to treat this proposal seriously. This refusal in turn fans Russian anxieties about not being recognized as a great European power. The rest of Europe's responses to these fears have been to treat Russia as a Great Power by courtesy (e.g., in G-7, thus underscoring that its status as a Great Power is indeed in doubt), to acknowledge Russia's nuclear capacity as a vital Great Power credit (thus underscoring that its Great Power status is unidimensional) and, at least in the early 1990s but in an ever-diminishing degree, to acknowledge Russia's maintenance of a sphere of influence in the Asian CIS countries (thus drawing into doubt its recognition of Russia's similar Great Power presence in Europe). The point is this: by dint of being the hegemonic model in European (and international) discourse, the basic constellation of the *Rechtsstaat* enhances its presence in Russian discourse as well.

Conclusion

Seen in the light of Russian conceptual history, the shift away from "Europe" under Putin was overdetermined. The Putin quote given at the outset carries within itself so much of the Russian discursive universe, and sets it in motion in such a way that it is seen to evolve around the pivotal figure of Vladimir Putin. Putin plays off the fear of chaos in order to argue in favor of a strong state, but at the same time he makes certain that he nods in the direction of a *Rechtsstaat* by arguing that it should not being "totalitarian." The only dictatorship shall be the dictatorship of law. On the relationship to the West, he argues on the one hand that Russia is a distinct entity with a distinct tradition that cannot copy the experiences of other countries. On the other hand, he refers to amongst others the West European countries as "more developed" and insists that Russia travel along the same "path" as they do. Both moves serve to forge a compromise between the two main political camps in the Russia of the 1990s. This is indeed the explicit aim: in order to avoid chaos, this split has to be overcome. The word used for split—*raskol*—refers to the deep religious split between old believers and Petrine doctrine of the late seventeenth century, yet another traumatic experience in Russian history. Whether as "Europe" or as "the West," there is alterity at work here at the most basic level of Russian discourse—Russia exists first and foremost in relation to this other.

The compromise between the two basic representations of Europe—those of the nationalists and the Westernizers respectively—is brought about from a sound institutional basis, namely the FSB, inheritor of the KGB. It is hardly historically unique that an institution of force steps into the breech and forges a political compromise when the basic political question of who we are and who the enemy is cannot be settled by other political actors. The major problem is that, in a situation where the EU and

NATO are hegemonic political forces in Europe and post-sovereignty is the name of the game, Putin's representation of Europe as a system of sovereign states that are perched uneasily between conflict and cooperation is a lonely one. It is not Russia that developed a domination representation of Europe, which is *outré* relative to representations that are to be found in other countries. On the contrary, having emerged from the communist discourse that set it apart, Russia has embraced the litany of national interests, Great Powers, *Realpolitik* and so on—that is, a classical Realist position. The problem is that this is a representation that seems to be weakening in most other quarters. It is everybody else who moves away, and Russia that embodies the European tradition. Even this has been seen before: after the Napoleonic wars, as seen from Petersburg, it was everybody else who abandoned the Europe of *l'ancien régime*, while Russia was left as true Europe's sole defender. At the present juncture, as seen from Moscow, everybody else abandons the game posited on sovereignty for a new one based on integration, networks, and other dangerous pursuits. In the sphere of economics, as the Putin quote indicates, Russia must broaden its interface with Europe in order to immerse itself in a market economy. In the sphere of politics, on the other hand, Russia is likely to become the last guardian in Europe of the nation-state. It is this *Realpolitik* constellation of a European balance of power system including the mighty presence of the United States that is central to contemporary Russian discourse, as it was in the nineteenth century, as well as during the Cold War. "Europe" is used in contemporary Russian discourse to refer to a rather different entity, namely that network of integrating European states, the most important institutionalization of which is the EU. However, the dominant representation of "the West" tends not only to overshadow "Europe," but also to represent its integration as a process that is strengthening the social underpinnings of "the West" and thus increasing the challenge it poses to Russia. As long as this conceptual framework reigns, the quicker European integration will be, the more problematic Europe's relations with Russia are therefore likely to become.

In terms of the break from structuralism to post-structuralism, I should like to strike a middle position by arguing that Russia's relationship to an entity called Europe or the West may indeed be modelled as a deep structure in Russian discourse, in contradistinction to more malleable layers that concern the questions of what *kind* of other is in question, and what specific kind of relationship should exist between the Russian self and its European other. Contrary to the structural claim, the latent structure is social and therefore in principle changeable. Contrary to the post-structural claim, all signifiers are not equally free-floating.

In terms of method, this chapter has examined how the statesman attempts to weave together narratives. The particular practice that I have fastened on here is speech writing. In its choice of subject matter, then, this chapter has been deeply conventional. It is always worthwhile to excavate the clash of narratives, for they are at the core of identity politics.

We should be grateful to post-structuralists like Rob Walker as well as to constructivists like Nick Onuf for prising open this space, and we should fill it and widen it by delivering empirical work that is informed by their theories. And then we should push on, remembering that discourses are upheld by their *practices*. The linguistic turn in IR has given us a number of interesting studies of preconditions for action and of how things change. Time for a practice turn that may complement these insights by new insights into the effects of action and of how things stay the same.

Chapter 3

"The Power and the Passion": Civilizational Identity and Alterity in the Wake of September 11[1]

Jacinta O'Hagan

Without a doubt, the politics of identity are now firmly and prominently placed on the agenda of IR. Events in the Balkans, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia have increasingly drawn attention to the importance of how communities perceive themselves and others. This renewed interest in identity and world politics has often focused on national and ethnic identity. By comparison, the concept of civilizational identity may seem a rarefied if not antiquated level at which to engage with questions of identity, too broad and removed from the experience of everyday life and politics to be truly useful. However, the dramatic events of September 11, 2001 demonstrated that issues of identity written on the broad level of cultural identity can be deeply relevant to the conduct of contemporary world politics at the global level of "high politics," directly engaging the attention of political leaders throughout the world. Politics, religion, and class are interwoven in a manner that fuses the power of politics with the passion of belonging to a broader identity.

Stuart Hall (1996) usefully distinguishes between identity and the process of identification, which he notes has both psychological and discursive dimensions to it. This is useful since it allows us to reflect on subjective elements of the sense of self, but also to think about how the sense of self and other is produced and reproduced relationally in and through discourses that deploy representations of self and other. Discourse is viewed here not simply as linguistic tools that describe an existing reality. Rather discourse is the medium through which we interpret the material and constitute the social world on an intersubjective basis. As Roxanne Doty argues, discourses delineate the terms of intelligibility whereby a particular reality is known and acted upon (Doty 1996: 5). Therefore discourse is significant in that it helps to establish the legitimacy of

particular positions and to define the possible horizons of action. Therefore, discourses of identity play an important role in framing and constituting the political. They not only help to constitute actors, they establish what is possible, what is legitimate and what is desirable (Milliken 1999). This chapter examines responses to September 11 as a way of focusing on how discourses of civilizational identities constitute perceptions of self and other in ways that are both powerful and passionate, and have significant political implications.

What is Identity and Why does it Matter?

Identity is that which gives us a sense of self, which tells us who we are and what we do. Differentiation and perceptions of alterity are central to the constitution of the self, that is the processes through which individuals and groups build their sense of identity by distinguishing themselves from others (Neumann 1999). In recognizing that which is different, the self begins to define itself. Without differences, argues William Connolly, an identity loses its distinctness and solidity: "Identity requires difference in order to be, and it converts difference into otherness in order to secure its own self-certainty" (Connolly 1991: 64).

The consequences of the politics and tactics of differentiation are central to the work of Tvetzan Todorov in his discussion of civilizational interaction. Todorov confronts the problem of meeting the other as both different and equal. In his analysis of the European encounter with the peoples of the Americas, Todorov describes how difference was equated with inferiority, whereas equality was equated with similarity (Todorov 1984: 151–167; Blaney and Inayatullah 1994: 28). Todorov's work demonstrates how processes of differentiation are of relevance to the conduct of international and inter-civilizational relations, and how a community's perception of its identity can be constituted, reconstituted, and reinforced through contact with those perceived as different. Todorov suggests that to account for the differences that exist in actuality, we must distinguish at least three levels at which the constitution occurs. The first is the level of value judgement, what Todorov describes as an axiological level: "the other is good or bad, I love or do not love him," or "he is my equal or inferior." The second level is the action of *rapprochement*, or distancing in relation to the other: "I embrace the other's values, I identify myself with him; or else I identify the other with myself, I impose my image upon him; between submission to the other and the other's submission, there is also a third term which is neutrality or indifference." This level is described as the praxeological axis. The third level is described as operating at the epistemic level. It relates to the degree of knowledge the self has of the other, the degree to which one knows or is ignorant of the other's identity (Todorov 1984). Todorov notes that there exist relationships and affinities between these three levels, but they cannot be reduced to one another, and we cannot presume one as necessarily starting from the other. Todorov's

approach usefully enables us to reflect on the complexities and even paradoxes that can be involved in the constitution of alterity. It also provides us with a potentially useful framework of analysis for comparing and contrasting constitutions of alterity.

A second set of key questions that one might add to Todorov's axes for the construction of alterity relate to the grounds that are used for distinguishing between self and other. What criteria are used for drawing the boundaries of community? And what form of community is identified? One dimension of identity that largely disappeared from our frameworks of analysis of world politics for several decades was that of the broader cultural identity. Debates in IR have focused primarily on the level of national identity. In comparison, civilizational identity appears a somewhat distant and even antiquated level of cultural identification. However, a feature of post–Cold War politics has been the way in which such identities have been invoked. Such invocations help locate the immediate community in a transnational imagined community, broad in both temporal and geographic scope. Civilizational identity appears to have grown in prominence in political rhetoric, a trend further enhanced since September 11, 2001.

Civilization can be used in the singular sense, to imply a universal process, or to refer to a plurality of cultural collectives. In relation to debates about civilizational identity, these two trends in the concept of civilization contribute to differently constituted others. The first strand evolves from the inception of the term civilization where the term was associated with good conduct and the maintenance of order in contrast to the condition of barbarism. When civilization is conceptualized as a progressive process, the other is often constituted as the barbarian or the savage: those who are without civilization. The second central strand in the etymological development of the term is that of civilization in the plural, which refers to civilizations as diverse cultural communities. When civilization is conceptualized in terms of a cultural collective, the other may be constituted as another civilization.

Why Civilizational Identity and Why Now?

Assumptions about a clear standard of civilization that privileged Western culture as superior, prominent in nineteenth-century European thought, waned somewhat in the twentieth century. The experiences of the World Wars and of the Holocaust undermined any such assumptions about Europe and the West as the font of civilization. Furthermore, as international norms shifted in the twentieth century away from the support of colonialism and racial inequality, the previous associations between "civilization" as a concept and imperialism led to a discrediting of the term in certain political contexts. However, the term remained a powerful dimension of the rhetoric of the Cold War, in which Western rhetoricians often constituted Western civilization as standing in contrast to the barbarism of the communist system (Jackson 2003). However, since September 11,

there has been a resurgence of interest in the politics of civilizational identity evident, not just in academic texts, but also in political and public discourse.

This chapter focuses on the rhetoric of civilizational identity that has emerged in the wake of September 11. In doing this, the following does not try to explain September 11 in terms of civilizational interaction. Rather, it is a discussion of the way in which representations of self and other in the context of civilizational identities have been employed, projected, and responded to. This chapter asks: what are the discourses of civilizational identity and of interaction between civilizational identities that have been deployed in discussing September 11? It does not ask "has September 11 proved the 'clash of civilizations' correct?" Instead it reflects on how and why the "clash of civilizations" has been used in explaining, and understanding this event.

In examining the discourse of civilizational identity in the context of September 11, the first thing that emerges is that there is not one, but several contending discourses. While there may be a certain degree of overlap in their rhetoric and commentary upon the events, and variation within these broadly categorized discourses, we can usefully identify three key strands. The first discourse identifies the events of September 11 as representative of a clash between distinct civilizations. The second is a discourse that explains the events of 9/11 as part of a broader contrast, indeed struggle, between the forces of civilization and the forces of barbarism. These two discourses represent the dualism that has long existed in our employment of the concept of civilization. However, there is also a third and perhaps less often cited discourse of civilizational identity that argues that while the events of 9/11 do not represent a clash of civilizations, they do demonstrate the need to establish a much stronger dialogue between civilizations in order to enhance understanding across cultures that are increasingly intermingled and interdependent, and to correct the misperceptions, tensions, and imbalances that currently exist between civilizations. These three discourses present different perceptions of difference, on whether difference is antagonistic or affirmative, and on relations with the other, varying on whether the other should be excluded or even eradicated, or engaged with on an equal and reciprocal basis.

September 11 and the "Clash of Civilizations"

The first of these discourses, the "clash of civilizations" is perhaps the most often referred to in discussions of 9/11. Indeed a great deal of ink has been spilt discussing whether the attacks and subsequent response are manifestations of the continuing "quasi war" between Islam and the West that Huntington places at the heart of his 1996 book. Huntington has famously argued that culture, specifically civilization, is becoming the organizing principle of world order, replacing the ideological order that structured the Cold War world. In particular, Huntington focuses on

the ongoing rivalry between Islam and the West. This historic rivalry, he argues, has been fueled in the modern era by resentment and envy in the Muslim world of the West's power and success, and by the volatility of many Muslim societies, due in part to socio-demographic factors.

While many have rejected this controversial argument, the thesis has again become a potent focus for debate. Indeed while often rejected in the context of September 11, it frequently acted as the first point of reference for interpretations of the meaning of that day's events (Acharya 2002a; Pipes 2002; Said 2001). One of the reasons that it has become such a feature of the debate is the way in which key parties to the debate and elements of the media evoked this discourse of civilizational identity in their rhetoric. Most prominent here is the rhetoric of Osama bin Laden, with whom the perpetrators of the attacks were linked. In recent years, bin Laden's rhetoric of *jihad* against the United States and the West has presented perhaps one of the clearest evocations of the "clash of civilizations" thesis. Bin Laden's call for "holy war" against the United States. and its allies is premised on several sources of discontent: first the occupation of sacred sites of Islam, including the stationing of U.S. troops in the holy lands of Saudi Arabia—the "land of the two holy places" and the control of the site of the Al-Aqsa mosque by Jewish state of Israel. The United States, he argued, has been "plundering the riches" of Saudi Arabia, dictating to its rulers, humiliating its people, terrorizing its neighbors, and using it as a base from which to attack neighboring Muslim peoples (bin Laden 1998). Second, he condemned the United States and its allies for perpetrating destruction upon the Iraqi people, during the course of the 1990–91 Gulf War and subsequent blockade (bin Laden 1996, 1998). Third, he was critical of U.S. support for Israel and its occupation of Jerusalem, the site of the Al-Aqsa mosque, in addition to its harsh policies toward Palestinians. He also alluded to the plight of Muslims in conflicts across the world: the blood of Muslims has been spilt in Bosnia, Chechnya, Sudan (bin Laden 1996; Mir 2001). In interviews conducted following the attacks, bin Laden clearly identified the attack as a further blow in the *jihad* of Muslims against the West, arguing "[t]his battle is not between *al-Qaida* and the U.S. This is a battle of Muslims against global crusaders" (2001a).

Throughout his statements, bin Laden located his anger and resentment at the United States in the context of a broader cultural and historical struggle. The other is constituted as the alliance of Crusaders or Christians, and Zionists or Jews and their allies. The constitution of identity, therefore, is very much structured around religious identity as an expression of distinct cultures, although it is not constituted solely in theological terms. Bin Laden discussed the West's oppression of Muslims as an attack upon "religion and on life," arguing that the United States is innately hostile to Islam. He argued that Islam is now engaged in a decisive battle with Jews and those who support the "Crusaders" and "Zionists." His rhetoric moved seamlessly across religious, political, and economic concerns. Religious and political identities are closely interwoven in this

discourse. This discourse of civilizational identity is simultaneously deeply embedded in history; the history of conflict between Islam and Christianity, the history of the Crusades. This association between 9/11 and earlier conflict between Islam and the West, already present in bin Laden's rhetoric, was further fueled by President George W. Bush's initial reference to the war on terrorism in the wake of 9/11 as a "crusade."

Yet, bin Laden and his supporters were not the only ones that have engaged this particular discourse of civilizational identity. While the clash of civilizations thesis has its many detractors, it also found supporters in the West in the wake of 9/11. The most prominent was, of course, the Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi. Like other Western leaders, Berlusconi declared that the attacks on New York and Washington were attacks not only on the United States but also on Western civilization. Berlusconi then distinguished himself by advocating that "the West should be conscious of the superiority of our civilizations which consists of a value system that has given people widespread prosperity in those countries that embrace it, and guarantees respect for human rights and religion. . . .," this respect "certainly does not exist in Islamic countries" (Hooper and Connolly 2001). The West, he observed, is "bound to Occidentalise and conquer new people." He further urged Europe to "reconstitute itself on the basis of its Christian roots" (Erlanger 2001b). Berlusconi was not alone in his views. There were commentators in the West willing to embrace this discourse of civilizational identity. As the "war on terrorism" gathered momentum in the wake of September 11, the *USA Today* exhorted its readers to understand that the war would never be won until the context was understood: "We need to understand fully that this phenomenon is a very clear part of the 'Clash of Civilizations,' which is now manifesting itself as a war between cultures . . . whether or not we want it to be, this is a clash between Islam and the West" (Howell 2002).

Alterity and the "Clash of Civilizations"

What, then, is the purpose of alterity in this discourse? To a large extent the distinction between self and other distinguishes friend from foe, ally from enemy, and the victims from its oppressors. In bin Laden's discourse, it is Muslims who have suffered oppression and aggression. Consequently, the call to arms is perceived as a "defensive *jihad*" to throw off the oppressive other (Mir 2001), to exclude and expel it. In the language of Berlusconi and other Western commentators, there is no parallel sense of launching a *jihad* against Islam, but there is a strong sense of the Muslim other presenting a threat that must be contained. There is a strong sense that the enmity or rivalry is irreversible, that the battle in which the parties are engaged is ongoing, long-standing, and at a critical stage.[2] The exercise of othering in this discourse creates a clear in-and-out group, Islam versus the infidel in bin Laden vocabulary; Christians versus Muslims for certain Western commentators. The other in this case presents another

worldview. It is posited as a threat and morally inferior, or in the case of bin Laden's references to the U.S. performance in Somalia, inferior in courage (1996, 2001a). Within this discourse of civilizational identity there seems little room for accommodation of the other unless the other assimilates with the self, through conversion, and indeed through conversion not just to the Islamic faith but adherence to a particular interpretation of the faith.

How then is alterity constructed in this discourse of civilizational identity in relation to Todorov's framework of analysis? The discourse is one that constructs the other in the context of a plurality of civilizations, but while the other might comprise another civilizational identity and its allies, this does not imply that the other is seen as an equal to the self. When viewed along the first axis of differentiation, which examines differentiation in terms of value judgements, the other is perceived as bad, historically threatening, and inferior. The other's moral inferiority is demonstrated by its exploitation of the civilizational brethren, by its cowardice (in bin Laden's rhetoric) or in terms of the values it upholds. When viewed along the praxeological axis, the relationship is also a bleak one. The perceived distance between self and civilizational other is great. There seems little prospect of, nor incentive for, rapprochement or accommodation. There is no desire to embrace the values of the other. In fact, in the case of bin Laden's articulation of this discourse, there is resentment that the values of the other have been so powerfully projected onto the self. Those who are seen to have embraced the values of the other are cast as outside, becoming "other" themselves. On the epistemic axis the perception that emanates from this discourse is that the other is well known through the course of centuries of conflict and oppression. On all these axes, therefore, the difference between self and other is perceived as great, and there is little willingness to embrace the other. More to the point, there is a desire to shake off, defeat, or contain the other, the source of age-old threat.

Implications

The discourse of civilizations in conflict helps to legitimate actions such as those taken on September 11, if those actions are read as a symbolic, morale sapping attack on a powerful, pervasive, and threatening foe. A further goal was, no doubt, to stimulate further resistance by Muslim peoples to the West and its allies. Conversely, in Western states, this discourse, while not widely embraced by state and federal authorities, perhaps subtly underpinned the adoption of security measures that profile immigrants and visitors from particular cultural backgrounds as potential suspects (Cole 2001). However, in considering the implications of this discourse it is worth reflecting upon how widely accepted this ascription of self and other was. Indeed this ascription of civilizational identity has been widely contested, by political leaders and commentators the world over. For instance Amitav Acharya argues that the responses to September 11 around

the world demonstrate that civilizational affinities are irrelevant. The alliances formed in the wake of the events of that day demonstrate that states and societies are not governed by their civilizational identity but by traditional perceptions of interests and power (Acharya 2002a). For others more interested in the representation of identities, the depiction of Islamic and Western civilizations in this discourse critically lacks complexity and differentiation. For many, bin Laden and his cohort's interpretation of Islam is narrow and extreme (Scott Doran 2001; Sciolini 2001; Pipes 2002). Furthermore, the depiction of two distinct civilizations suggested by this discourse belies the complexity of the contemporary world. Muslim societies such as Egypt not only incorporate a large Christian population, but also, at some levels, embrace many dimensions of Western and America culture (Soueif 2001; Waxman 2001). Similarly Western societies are increasingly multicultural and complex.

Sitting on the distant sidelines, it is difficult to accurately judge the extent to which the image of self and other represented in bin Laden's rhetoric was accepted or rejected within the Muslim world. Undoubtedly, the events of September 11 stimulated a certain amount of popular support (Acharya 2002b). This was evidenced in street demonstrations in Pakistan and Indonesia, but ultimately the call to *jihad* was not widely embraced as some had feared—or hoped. However, the initial waves of public protest were profoundly unsettling for the governing regimes in states such as Pakistan, Egypt, and Indonesia. The aftershock of 9/11 threatened, and in some respects continues to threaten, to deepen rifts in already unstable societies. What is interesting here is that the debate in part concerns who represents the legitimate voice, the "authentic" identity of these societies. It suggests that the discourse of identity entailed within the "clash of civilizations" may be as relevant for the constitution of self and other *within* states and societies as between them.

Civilizations versus Barbarians

The second broad strand of discourse of civilizational identity that emerged in the wake of 9/11 is one that returns to the pattern of constituting identity not in contrast to other civilizations perceived as other cultural collectives, but in contrast to barbarism. This constitution was particularly prevalent in the positions expressed by Western leaders, and was prominent in the rhetoric of the U.S. leadership's response to the attacks. The principal feature of this discourse of civilizational identity is the view that the attacks of September 11 were not just an attack on the United States but upon civilization in general, an attack against humanity (Powell 2001a,b; Blair 2001a). It was, as German chancellor Gerhard Schroeder observed, "a declaration of war against the entire civilized world" (Erlanger 2001a). What does civilization mean in this context? Here civilization is not used to depict the identity of a particular cultural community, but as a signifier of progress that encompasses all of humanity.

Civilizational identity here then is premised upon the aspiration toward a range of universal values and norms, not upon a particular religious, ethnic, or linguistic identity. The other, in this context, is one who seeks to destroy these universal values and aspirations. These values include freedom, justice, democracy, and human rights. The other is constituted as someone who does not subscribe to these values and is consequently a "barbarian": they are regressive and repressive. As British Prime Minister Tony Blair argued, "We are democratic. They are not. We have respect for human life. They do not. We hold essentially liberal values. They do not" (Blair 2001a).

The core values Blair identifies here are central to the constitution of civilizational self and other in this discourse. First and foremost, civilization is taken to stand for freedom and democracy. These were attacks, argued Blair, on "the basic democratic values in which we believe so passionately" (2001a). George W. Bush told the UN General Assembly: "We face an enemy that hates not our policies, but our existence, the tolerance of openness and creative cultures that defines us" (Bush 2001b). It is worth noting that the freedom that Blair and Bush advocate is not only expressed in political terms but also in economic, primarily in free trade and the principles of capitalism. Democracy and the free market are clearly represented as key elements of civilization that bring wealth and prosperity and enhance cooperation. In contrast the terrorists were representative of forces of repression. Here, Bush's rhetoric drew powerful analogies between contemporary terrorism and the experiences of totalitarianism and fascism in the past (Bush 2001a).

A further value that has been used to differentiate civilization from its other in this discourse is justice. In responding to September 11, Western leaders have persistently pointed to the need to bring the perpetrators of the attacks and their allies "to justice," to institute the rule of law (Blair 2001a,b; BBC 2001). This was particularly prominent in the weeks following September 11 during which the United States implicated Osama bin Laden in the attacks. "I want him, I want justice" said Bush in the immediate aftermath of the attacks (Stout 2001) and further in his 2002 "State of the Union" address "We will bring the terrorists to justice, or we will bring justice to the terrorists" (quoted in Barber 2002: 245). The upholding of justice and the rule of law, then, has been a central "plank" of the Western response to the 9/11 attacks.[3] Civilization entails the rule of law. The other includes those who act outside the remit of both customary and natural law, employing the illegitimate use of violence in attacking innocents and civilians. This is particularly relevant to the attack on the World Trade Center where the casualties were largely civilian—men, women, and children. In contrast then the other is a criminal, a "band of mass murderers" (Bush 2001c). This further defines the other as "barbarian" in that their actions are immoral, they are capable of "killing without discrimination." This raises further the spectre that the other would seriously contemplate the ultimate, indiscriminate weapons, weapons of mass destruction (Blair 2001a).

Therefore, in this discourse, civilizational identity is not constituted in antithesis to a plurality of other civilizations. Here civilization is equated with enlightened values, with progress, modernity. Civilizational identity is not used to represent a clash between diverse civilizations, but to call upon a community of mankind that shares common "standards of civilizations." It calls into being a multicultural civilizational identity constituted in relation to an other that embodies elements alien to or controlled within "civilized societies." The threat to civilization, argued Bush, was "erasing old lines of rivalry and resentment between nations . . . The vast majority of nations are now on the same side of the moral and ideological divide" (Bush 2001c). After Bush's initial slip in describing the war against terrorism as "a crusade," he and his allies reiterated that the war against terrorism does not constitute a war against Islam, but a battle between good and evil. While Bush visited a mosque, Blair appealed to

> decent law abiding Muslims throughout the world . . . Neither you nor Islam is responsible for this; on the contrary, we know you share our shock at this terrorism and we ask you as friends to make common cause with us in defeating this barbarism that is totally foreign to the true spirit and teachings of Islam. (Blair 2001a)

In this discourse, then, the civilized are the community of humanity, a multicultural coalition of the good, constituted in antithesis to the common enemy of evil, of barbarism.

Alterity, Civilization, and Barbarism

What, then, is the purpose behind the ascription of self and other in this discourse? The purpose is clearly to delegitimize those designated as the barbarian other, to place them beyond the pale of international society. In addition, alterity here helps to legitimize forceful responses to these actions that, in many respects, challenge the normal codes and procedures of international and domestic societies.[4] An underlying goal of engagement with this discourse, I believe, was the desire to prevent the escalation of the repercussions of September 11 to a broader level of conflict between Muslims and those of other faiths that could destabilize both domestic and international relations further. This was done through appealing to civilization as a holistic concept in which cultural differences within the conception of self are irrelevant in the face of the challenge presented by the other.

Can this discourse be inclusive? In many respects, this constitution of self and other firmly and irrevocably excludes the other. One of the features of the rhetoric of Bush and others following September 11 is the stark choice that states and societies are presented with: you must choose either to join the forces of the good, of civilization, or support the forces of evil and barbarism. In Bush's words, "You are either with us or against us." This choice is problematic for some given the ambiguities and difficulties that

remain in the complex political question of deciding who and what constitutes terrorism (Lynch 2001). However, it is perhaps worth noting that the choice offered in this discourse is a normative and practical one that does permit agency on behalf of state and societies.

How then is alterity constructed in this discourse of civilizational identity? Here we find that the first axiological level that examines values again presents a prominent axis of difference. The other is distinguished by their lack of morals and "civilized values" such as a respect for life and freedom. The other is unrelentingly portrayed as evil and morally inferior, indeed unconstrained by morals and therefore ever more threatening. Therefore, on the praxeological level, there is little or no room for embracing the values of the other. A great distance is again maintained between self and other. In fact, it is critical in this discourse to maintain the perception of distance between the values of self and other in order to maintain the cohesion of the identity of the self. The other is not to be embraced but eradicated. What of the epistemic level, the extent to which the other is known? At one level, the threat of the other emanates from the other seeming so alien, elusive, and concealed, accentuating the fear that the other as terrorist may be secreted within the community. At another level, the other is known, in so far as the other mirrors a threat from the past. The civilized world has met and dealt with such an enemy before in the form of totalitarianism.

Implications

The discourse of civilization versus the barbarian therefore has the potential to embrace a broad community of peoples from diverse societies in the conception of self. For many, the understanding of September 11 as an act of barbarism is intuitively correct. It appeals to an instinctive sense of revulsion toward violence perpetrated on such a large scale against so many, particularly those remote from the political grievances that we take to underpin these attacks, such as the shoppers and workers in the World Trade Center and those who sought to rescue them. Those promoting this discourse have sought to highlight the bonds of humanity based on universal values. The construction of the other as an enemy of civilized societies, regardless of culture or religion, facilitated the crucial building of an international coalition of support necessary for the United States and its allies to intervene in October 2001 in Afghanistan, quickly dislodging the Taliban regime. This included not only Western allies such as the members of NATO and states such as Australia, but also the support of Muslim countries, such as Pakistan, and former rivals such as Russia.

At the same time, there has been some skepticism expressed about the degree to which the concept of "civilization" that is being projected is truly an inclusive and universal one. Within the United States, for instance, the instigation of the "war on terrorism" contributed to practices, such as the reintroduction of racial profiling, and the tightening of controls and

surveillance of migrants and visitors that led to concerns about racial and ethnic discrimination (Cole 2001; Shapiro 2001).[5] Beyond the U.S. domestic context, it was felt by some commentators that the civilization projected as universal is primarily Western civilization, and it was to the protection of the norms and values of Western civilization that the rest of humanity was being asked to rally (Quaraishi 2001; Noor 2001). Furthermore, the sympathy that may have been felt around the world for what the American people had suffered on September 11 was not sufficient to dispel suspicion and dislike for U.S. policies held in many quarters. Gallup polls conducted in Arab and Muslim countries in December 2001 and January 2002 evidenced a broadly held opinion that the United States was aggressive, arrogant, easily provoked, and biased, particularly in its steady support for Israel in its response to the Palestinian *intafada* (El-Doufani 2002; Saikal 2002).[6] Indeed, it appeared by late 2002 that the renewed sense of multilateralism that emerged in response to the attacks of September 11 was being replaced by a growing tendency toward unilateralism by the United States, a trend increasingly worrying many European observers (Matthews 2002).[7] The discourse of civilizational identity and alterity facilitated the creation of a tacit coalition. However, it became questionable whether or not it was sufficient to maintain the cohesion of this coalition as the immediacy of the initial crisis receded. While powerful and attractive in some respects, this discourse of civilizational identity was contested at several levels.

Dialogue Among Civilizations

This third discourse of civilizational identity that has emerged in the debate surrounding September 11 is one that returns to a discourse of a plurality of civilizations, but seeks to promote communication rather than confrontation between civilizations. Its representation of the other is distinguished from that in the preceding two discourses in that it seeks to engage with the other in a constructive manner. This discourse, then, acknowledges a plurality of civilizations, however, it highlights that underlying cultural diversity is a common humanity (Sezer 2002). The very key to this discourse is that it acknowledges differences between civilizations as real and important. It further acknowledges that such differences can result in tension and apprehension between peoples of different civilizational identities. However, it suggests that such tensions do not arise from the fact of difference, but from the lack of communication between civilizations, leading to misperceptions and misunderstanding of difference (Belkeziz 2002). Thus advocates of this discourse lobby for the establishment of a dialogue between civilizations.

This discourse of civilizational identity was actively promoted in the international arena during the course of the late 1990s—most prominently by the Iranian President Khatami (Lynch 2000). Khatami's goal was undoubtedly in part to develop a platform from which to repair

Iranian–U.S. relations in the context of enhancing understanding between Islam and the West.[8] The concept of the dialogue was subsequently embraced by the UN, which designated 2001 the "The United Nations Year of Dialogue among Civilizations," and the Arab League, which in November 2001 held a conference entitled "Dialogue of Civilizations: an Exchange, not a Clash" (UN 1998; Xinhua 2001). The EU and the Organizations of the Islamic Confederation (OIC) also publicly embraced it.

While a range of Arab and Muslim leaders joined the international public outcry condemning the actions of 9/11, these states also expressed concern that the "war on terrorism" could become a war on Islam (Algosaibi 2001; Kharrazi 2002). These regimes rapidly found themselves placed in a difficult position by Bush's statement that there was no middle ground, that states were either with or against the United States in its war on terrorism. A number of these regimes already faced with Islamist challenges within their states, were keen not to inflame pro-Islamist sympathies further. In addition there was discomfort with the broad brush definition put forward by the United States of terrorism that included such groups as Hezbollah and other elements of the Palestinian *intafada* regarded by many in the region not as terrorists but as legitimate freedom fighters (Nasrallah 2002; Nakhoul 2002; Sciolini 2001). At the same time, Israel's policies toward Palestinians are regarded by many in Middle Eastern and Muslim societies as terrorist, however, this state continues to enjoy U.S. support. This led to the accusation that the United States was applying a double standard in its "war on terrorism" (Nasrallah 2001; Kharrazi 2001; Lynch 2001). Therefore, definition of who and who is not viewed as a terrorist is an extremely difficult one that complicates the acceptance of a discourse of civilizational identity premised simply on a society's attitude toward terrorism. The discourse of civilizations in dialogue has provided a useful alternative discourse of self and other for such powers, indeed a way of avoiding escalating tensions to the level of civilizational confrontation and a way of taking an independent stance on the debate.

Alterity and Civilizational Dialogue

What, then, is the purpose of alterity in this discourse? In marked contrast to the preceding two discourses of civilizational identity, here the other is not presumed or constituted as necessarily inferior, subordinate, or threatening. Cultural differences are acknowledged, but they are not assumed to inherently constitute barriers to relations. The discourse suggests instead that such barriers are often the product of misunderstanding or ignorance. The goal, therefore, is not to construct the other as necessarily inferior or threatening, but to dismantle stereotypical images that necessarily present the other in such a manner. This discourse provides an example of differentiation being used not to exclude or subordinate, but to engage more fully with the other. Indeed one of the underlying goals is to highlight and indeed correct existing inequalities within relations between civilizational identities.

In this respect, the discourse reflects deep concern with power relations, and the way in which inequalities of power have enhanced misperceptions and ignorance. The concept of the relationship between power and alterity in this discourse is one that reflects insights from the analysis of Orientalism. There is the perception that Western, and in particular U.S. hegemony, constitute non-Western civilizational identities in a manner that subordinates them to Western culture, and that this needs to be rectified by a more comprehensive understanding of non-Western cultures such as Islam. Western civilization, while hegemonic, argues Belkeziz, has remained ignorant of the true nature of Islam as a peaceful and progressive religion (Belkeziz 2002; Al-Shar'a 2002). Khatami has argued that the dominant Cartesian–Faustian narratives of Western civilization should give way and begin to listen to other narratives proposed by other cultural domains (Khatami 2000). At the same time, this is not a discourse that has simply been engaged by non-Western advocates and societies. As noted earlier, the concepts have been embraced by the EU and was cautiously welcomed by the United States.[9] If followed to its logical conclusion, there is also space within this debate for recognition that whilst the West may be prone to Orientalism, the non-West has also conversely engaged in Occidentalism that produces an equally reductionist image of the West.

Not surprisingly, this discourse presents quite a different constitution of alterity when analyzed in relation to Todorov's axes of differentiation. Like the discourse of "clash of civilization," it presumes a plurality of civilizations, but suggests that relations between them are not necessarily antagonistic; indeed they can be affirmative (Buckley 1999). On the axiological level of value judgements, the other is viewed as different but not necessarily bad or lesser than the self. On the praxeological level, the values of the other may appear remote, but this does not necessarily mean they are incompatible or incommensurable with those of the self. Indeed there is the hope and belief that commonalities can be identified between self and other. However this discourse highlights again the perception of non-Western societies that, due to the power of the other, Western identity is too often unthinkingly projected as the universal norm. These issues, however, can be addressed in the context of the third epistemic level. This is perhaps the most fundamental axis in this discourse of self and other. This discourse accepts that in many important respects self and other are not known to one another. We find in this discourse the assumption that improved communication and knowledge of the other will enhance understanding and respect, reducing tension and ideally leading to a more egalitarian international society where difference is not just tolerated or treated as something to be eradicated or assimilated, but accepted.

Implications

A central question, of course, is who must accept this discourse of civilizational identity for it to be truly relevant in the political context? The fact

that the discourse has been articulated by organizations such as the EU, the OIC, and the Arab League demonstrates that the discourse does have resonance with political elites in several states. Furthermore they are willing to utilize this discourse to frame diplomatic interaction. However, doubtless the discourse must move beyond the rhetoric of public diplomacy and into the broader community of civil society to have true resonance. Indeed it is perhaps at the level of the street and the village that such a discourse could have its most meaning and profound impact. This is also the most challenging arena perhaps in which to promote this dialogue. Yet at the same time, this is a discourse that perhaps more accurately reflects key dimensions of life in many societies today. Few societies are in practice hermetically sealed, homogeneous cultural communities. Granted, certain communities are more heterogeneous than others in terms of religion, ethnicity, and other dimensions of culture, be this a product of long-standing tradition or of processes such as migration. With the advent of modern technology and communications, all societies are increasingly interpenetrated by the material and ideational cultures of others. For some, this may appear to be too much of a one-way process, perpetuating unwelcome hegemony of Western civilization and producing "Westoxification." However, viewed more broadly exchanges between civilizations and societies in the past, while not without negative side effects, have often been the stimulus for evolution and growth, and the emergence of joint values (Khatami 2000; McNeill 1991; Sezer 2002).

The discourse of dialogue is premised on the belief that, whether welcomed or not, processes of exchange cannot be reversed or halted. Indeed, they must be acknowledged and embraced if there is any chance to minimize the negative dimensions (Sezer 2002). As OIC Secretary General Belkeziz (2002) noted, the proximity of cultures, and their growing interaction and interdependence raises issues that must be dealt with and managed, issues relating to resource management, immigration, and trade between Europe and its Islamic neighbors, for instance. Perhaps then the central implication of this discourse is the opportunity that it presents for establishing a framework for dialogue within which to address immediate and important problems and issues that arise from interaction.

For those who engage with this discourse, there are many urgent incentives toward embracing this particular discourse of civilizational identity. Not the least of these are the implications of adopting alternatives. The clash of civilization discourse continues the practice of constituting the other as remote and threatening, raising fears that it may fuel rather than defuse tensions between different cultural communities. The discourse of civilization and barbarism, while superficially and perhaps normatively compelling, tends to brush under the carpet serious issues about how difference within the community of the self is dealt with. Failure to address real and meaningful differences and genuine sources of discontent can nurture alienation and resentment, discontents that may manifest themselves in violence, whether at the local or the global level.

The goal of the discourse of dialogue is ambitious and its advocates are not without their own political agendas. It is certainly not, at present, the most prominent of the three discourses of civilizational identity generated by the events of 9/11. However, it does provide an empirical example, and indeed welcome effort, to engage with alterity in a manner that is inclusive and egalitarian.

Conclusion

The rhetoric of civilizational identity is an important aspect of the debates surrounding September 11 but we find not one but several discourses of identity and constitutions of alterity. This chapter has identified three dominant strands of discourse. These may become subtly interwoven in particular rhetorics. Furthermore there are interesting points of overlap, of commonality, and difference in these discourses. The most obvious point of comparison is that the first and third discourse evoke a plurality of civilizations in which the principal other is another civilizational identity, while the second engages with the concept of civilization as a unified self constituted in antithesis to the barbarian other. The discourse of dialogue amongst civilizations also acknowledges the presence of "barbarians" in global politics, those whose acts place them beyond the pale of normal political interaction. However, while the discourse of civilizations versus barbarians focuses on the barbarian other as constituting the primary other, subsuming cultural differences within a civilizational whole, the discourse of dialogue focuses attention on and acknowledges meaningful cultural and political differences *between* different civilizations. In this discourse, the salient self and other are civilizations as cultural collectives. This points to a further key point of contrast between these discourses: what are the tactics of differentiation in the constitution of the other? In the first two discourses, the other is constituted as inferior and threatening. Interestingly, the principal grounds on which the other is constituted as inferior in both these discourses are normative or moral grounds. In the clash of civilizations discourse and civilizations versus barbarians, the other is perceived as ethically inferior in relations to their perceived use of violence or oppression, in terms of their lack of courage, or of their criminality. The other's moral inferiority is manifested in their exercise of power or influence, presenting a sense of threat enhanced by the perception that this continues a long history of power abuse. In both discourses the other is seen as a threat because of their tendency toward an indiscriminate use of violence.

Such a constitution of the other has significant political implications. It predisposes one to view those perceived as the other as those that must be contained or eradicated rather than engaged or negotiated with. In the context of September 11, the prominence of these discourses can be correlated with the political emphasis on the physical elimination of the terrorist threat, rather than on efforts to probe and address the deeper sources of discontent that fueled such attacks. The emphasis is on exclusion rather than engagement with the other. In contrast, the discourse of

dialogue constitutes the other as different but not necessarily inferior or threatening. Significantly, this discourse facilitates and advocates engagement with the other rather than exclusion.

When is engagement with the other then desirable? The position adopted in the discourse of dialogue implies that engagement is a necessary and unavoidable aspect of politics. Indeed, it highlights that interaction and engagement are persistent elements of politics, trade, and philosophical development. While such exchanges can produce competition and conflict, they can also have creative and productive consequences. Engagement has become ever more significant in an increasingly interdependent world. The discourse of dialogue suggests that engagement with, and inclusion of the other, is ever more necessary and desirable to discover points of commonality in such a dynamic context. It also becomes increasingly desirable and necessary in order to acknowledge and negotiate points of difference and incommensurability. This is to acknowledge that growing interconnectedness and interdependence brings "complicated entanglement" in which difference persists (Ang 1997). With improved communications, interests, attitudes, and experiences may be better understood, but this does not mean that all differences are necessarily assimilable. It is this acknowledgment of the continued salience of difference between self and other that significantly distinguishes the discourse of dialogue from that of civilization constituted in a more holistic manner in contrast to the barbarian. Ien Ang notes that to acknowledge the persistence of incommensurability is not to argue for a totalized and mutually exclusive discursive universe, such as those suggested in the first two discourses, but to recognize the limits and partiality of all communications across cultural divisions. This does not necessarily mean political paralysis for Ang, rather it becomes the starting point for common political pursuits, but based on a delicate and negotiated "solidarity of difference," rather than a solid unified "we."

Ang's discussion appears to reflect very much the concerns and ambitions found in the dialogue of civilizations approach. Such an approach requires the recognition of differences in experiences, perceptions, values, and power in establishing the terms of dialogue, be these in relations to the response to terrorism or to managing issues of trade, migration, or resource distribution. Indeed the events of September 11 and subsequent responses suggest it is not only desirable but imperative to build an acknowledgment of difference in order to build platforms for cooperation on issues of common concern. This may be a difficult, but necessary task.

The discourses analyzed in this chapter have all been important in justifying and legitimating political actions by various parties to this particular conflict. Moreover, I believe we can see the further employment of these discourses in relation to other events and circumstances at the global and the local level to locate the self, and to guide and justify political and social action. Such discourses do have ramifications for world politics. What I hope this chapter has demonstrated is that the ramifications depend, in part, upon the discourse with which we engage.

Notes

1. I wish to thank Alexandra Siddall, Edward Locke, and Leah Farrell for their assistance with research for this Chapter. Matt MacDonald, Jim Richardson, Barbara Sullivan, Audie Klotz, David Blaney for reading and commenting upon earlier drafts of this chapter. Thanks also to other members of the "Identity and International Relations: Beyond the First Wave" ISA workshop and of the "Reflections on September 11" seminar at the School of Politics and International Studies, University of Queensland. Finally, I am grateful to the editors for their helpful comments, and Midnight Oil for the title.
2. It is worth noting that bin Laden at one point acknowledged that not all Westerners are irrevocably evil, that some Westerners are good hearted (Mir 2001). However, at the same time, he condoned a *fatwa* against America and their allies everywhere, arguing that ultimately all Americans are implicated in the policies of the U.S. government (Mir 2001).
3. It also became a point of contestation as questions were raised about the legality of the U.S. led intervention in Afghanistan (An-Na'im 2002) and the U.S. detention of suspected al Qaida fighters at "Camp X" in Guantanemo Bay, Cuba.
4. In the international context, this includes international intervention in another state implicated in the terrorist attack: Afghanistan. In the domestic context, the attacks facilitated the introduction, the extension of surveillance, and policing powers that some have felt undermine civil liberties.
5. U.S. law professor David Cole argued that the USA Patriot Act introduced as part of the U.S. response to September 11 attacks imposes "guilt by association on immigrants" criticizing provisions such as authorization of the Attorney General to lock up aliens on suspicion without a hearing, permitting the INS to conduct secret immigration proceedings, and permitting ethnic profiling by allowing the Justice Department to conduct interviews with more than 5000 immigrants on the basis of their age, gender, and country of origin (Cole 2001). In October 2002 the United States introduced finger printing of male between the ages of 16 and 45 from a number of Middle Eastern and Muslim states entering the United States.
6. Saikal notes that these surveys indicated that whilst 67% of respondents described the events of September 11 as morally unjustifiable, they did not think that the United States and nations of the West had sufficient respect for Arabs, Islamic culture, or religion; 53% maintained an unfavorable view of the United States and 58% a dislike for George Bush (Saikal 2002).
7. These concerns were further borne out by the divisions that emerged within Europe in relation to the U.S.-led intervention in Iraq in 2003.
8. The idea of dialogue provides Khatami and his supporters with an avenue to engage with the state that was one of the foci of Iranian revolutions' anger and resentment, but on a basis that promised a new quality of respect and equality, in spite of, rather than through the removal of, their basic differences. In addition, it has allowed Iran to bid for a role as a spokesperson for the interests of the South.
9. The idea of dialogue was cautiously welcomed by the United States when proposed by the Iranian regime in 1998, though the United States signaled it

would avail of the opportunity to raise concerns about issues such as Iran's development of weapons of mass destruction and support for terrorism. The U.S. representative to the UN did participate in the UN Conference on "A Dialogue Among Civilizations" held in November 2001. However, relations between the United States and Iran have since deteriorated, culminating in President Bush's citing of Iran as one of the states comprising the "axis of evil" in world politics today (Bush 2002).

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Chapter 4

Engendering Social Transformations in the Postsocialist Czech Republic

Jacqui True

In 1989 and 1990, all over Central and Eastern Europe communist regimes fell. The revolutions against communism raised the "Iron Curtain" and rolled out the carpet of liberty for the citizens of Eastern Europe. From now on, it seemed, all roads would lead to the West rather than to Moscow. This story is a favorite with the Western media and foreign policy establishment. In their telling democracy and capitalism triumphed over a failed socialist experiment. Explaining how this course of events unfolded though, and which forces made it possible has been left to scholars.

IR specialists have offered a range of explanations for the collapse of Soviet communism. Among the most persuasive accounts are those that feature identity as a central category in explaining systemic change. One such account traces the change in state identity that resulted in a new Soviet approach to foreign policy in the 1980s.[1] Transnational diffusion of ideas about arms control among the epistemic community of professional scientists not only influenced Soviet and American strategy, they altered the identities on which the Cold War relationship of nuclear deterrence (and "mutually assured destruction") was based.[2] Yet another account of communism's demise highlights how international human rights norms were used by domestic opposition movements in Eastern Europe to render the illegitimate acts of communist regimes transparent and shift the identification of elites and the broader public away from the Soviet sphere toward the West.[3] However, while these identity-centered studies have been useful in explaining the initial toppling of state socialist regimes, they do not seek to understand the role identity has played in the subsequent transitions in Central and Eastern Europe.

In this chapter I define *identity* as the social construction of a self, be it a state form, an institution or an individual, that makes action possible even as it limits the range of actions that are possible. This conception of

identity is crucial to my explanation and understanding of postsocialist transformations. One cannot comprehend a number of key events in the Czech Republic's transition, including, the divorce of Czechoslovakia, the fast adoption of a neoliberal reform program in the newly formed Czech Republic, the exclusion of Roma from Czech citizenship, and the relative success of the Czech Republic's application for EU membership, without mobilizing identity as a concept. IR realists and liberals among others argue that material conditions or *interests* are more determining of these outcomes than less tangible *identities* or ideas about self and other. In my view this dichotomy is a misnomer: identities, especially modern Western identities typically bear a materialist bias (i.e., they conceive of culture as the conquest and control of nature and of human beings as those who possess "things," as in the property-owning, sovereign individual). From this perspective, instrumental interests are themselves based on particular, historically specific cultural identities.[4] Conversely, identities have material force and are in many respects akin to material forces.[5] Constructing an identity in a global capitalist system, for example, is inextricably tied to the differentiation process that allows firms and states alike to capture markets and accumulate capital. Thus, political economy and identity are not discreet approaches to understanding global politics, but rather aspects of the same explanation for systemic change.[6]

This chapter explores the significance of identity in the Czech transition after 1989. I pose the question, what does the shift in the content if not the form of political discourse in this transition tell us about the role of *alterity* in national identity (re)formation? By alterity I refer not just to the notion that identities are relational, but more to the point that they can only be articulated or represented in relation to an "other" that is positioned "outside" the self.

Czech Identity as Alterity

Formed in January 1993, the Czech Republic is the product of a hegemonizing nation-state project led by a small group of political élites with some popular support. In the decade following the end of the communist regime a new Czech identity was forged. This identity was projected as industrious, modern, rational, masculine, and Western against those groups positioned on the margins of the nation such as Slovaks, Roma, and women. Slovaks were seen as belonging to the Soviet, eastern sphere, as economically backward, and irrational in their passion for nation. Roma were viewed as lazy, dirty, criminal, and sexually promiscuous. Women, for their part were considered to be natural subordinates, subjects not citizens in the new Czech nation-state.

Their association with the socialist past tainted these liminal groups—insofar as successive communist regimes had sought to "emancipate" them. They were considered inappropriate for inclusion in a new pro-capitalist, pro-Western Czech identity. New postsocialist identities in the

Czech Republic typically invoked the pre-socialist era or constructed themselves in conscious opposition to official state socialist identities and discourses (Holy 1996: 5). But previous socialist identities continued to inform and shape new postsocialist identities. In this sense, identities are not only *relational*, that is, defined in relation to an ever-present "other," they are also *path-dependent*. Postsocialist identities are not made on a *tabula rasa*. They evolve slowly, even in periods of radical change, building on past discourses, legitimate expressions of identity, and often deep-seated mentalities.[7]

During the transition from communism the Czech self was redefined not only by new territorial boundaries setting it apart from Slovakia but by rebuilt city walls and citizenship laws to keep out Romany people; and by zoning for prostitution, harassment practices at work and in the Czech parliament and other subtle social spatial markers to keep women in their place and out of power. Through these exclusions a new Czech national identity inhabited the power vacuum left by the Communist Party in 1989. Ironically, just as European states were accepting that their identities were multifarious and in flux by recognizing the rights of minorities and equal opportunities for men and women as pillars of their citizenship and EU membership, Czechs were seeking to expedite their return to Europe by expelling minorities and women from public life. Even de facto Czech feminists argued that women must subordinate themselves to the national project in communism's wake by putting their identities as citizens ahead of their interests as women. Particular gender identities should be held in check, they argued, until the nation (*read*: men's citizenship), suppressed by communism, is secured.[8]

Through interpretivist methods and a bricolage of empirical sources I observed the way that oppositional gender identities of masculine and feminine, men and women are manipulated for the construction of a new Czech national identity. If the argument is that gender identity is pervasive and yet taken for granted, central to the analysis of postsocialist change and yet marginal in most accounts of this change then an appropriate methodological strategy is to demonstrate how gender identities are at work across formal as well as informal political, economic, and cultural spheres. But it is also important to historicize identities since the form that they take is always changing. Identities are both phenomena that need to be explained and that can serve as an explanation for systemic change. It follows then that postsocialist gender identities must be given some historical content and context.

State Socialism as Otherness

State socialism tended to *officially* deny the existence of gender differences, allowing class to be the only expression and principle of differentiation. As Slavenka Drakulic has explained, "just being a woman—not to mention a beauty—was a constant battle against the way the whole system

work[ed]."[9] Communism was a very masculinized political model. The rhetoric of socialism proposed full legal, economic, and political equality between men and women. But the state's claim to have achieved this goal of equality and its repression of any autonomous political organizing closed off the possibilities for expressing gender identities and constructing common gender interests based on them. Indeed, men and women resisted the state's dominant role by retreating to the private sphere, which had the unintentional effect of reinforcing traditional gender roles. Class identity, articulated through the Communist Party's domination of the state, was the only legitimate expression of identity in this system. This identity privileged work in the socialist labor force over the work of social reproduction at home and thus more closely mirrored men's life experiences than women's.

After 1989 and the velvet revolution that banished the communist regime in Czechoslovakia, gender differences found renewed expression, however. In contrast to socialism's claim to emancipate women through labor, the choice *not* to labor but to express one's femininity became the idiom of emancipation. Performative displays of diverse identities contested the communist monopoly of identity and liberated the public space in East European societies.[10] New expressions of masculinity and femininity simultaneously negated the former socialist common sense, where identity and community were tied to labor and class. After socialism, these new expressions of identity affirmed a nascent common sense of individualism, sexual identity, and gender difference. Identity here is co-constitutive: anticommunist identities led the change in regime, and this change in political and economic system was registered first and foremost as a change in identity.

With respect to gender, playing up one's masculinity or femininity through consumption has been a popular marker of postsocialist freedom and individuality. Czech men and women have been extremely receptive to Western consumer goods and capitalist market expansion. But it was the socialist regime that ignited these Western consumerist gender identities in the first place. Communist leaders sought to placate the politically repressed Czechoslovak population with promises of material comfort and a standard of living as good as the West's that they could not deliver on. In a similar way during the transition from communism the cultural and symbolic aspects of capitalism conveyed through gender identities played a central role in persuading former socialist subjects of the benefits of global markets, while obscuring the forthcoming costs (growing unemployment, poverty, sexual exploitation, and crime). For instance, the pervasive advertising of consumer goods featuring sexually available and attractive women and men fueled Czech desires for new things by associating the capitalist market with liberation rather than with the deindustrialization, large job losses, and massive decline in Czech purchasing power that liberalization and the saturation of Western imports brought about. The message was you could continue to consume and as one slogan put it,

"f—the world," even if you lost your job. In short, the rapid adoption of a radical neoliberal reform program in the Czech Republic was politically viable not because it was in the economic interests of many Czechs but because it resonated with their identification with the West, in particular with Western dominant masculinities and femininities.

From the outset of the transition careful deployment of ideological slogans and symbols served as a mechanism of national and international integration by uniting the Czech population against the former communist regime and by forging a new identity for the Czech Republic in the heart of Europe. Both anticommunism and pro-Europeanism were used as resources to create social consensus around radical reform. "Return to Europe" was the Civic Forum's slogan in the first Czechoslovak democratic elections in June 1990. As Minister of Finance, Václav Klaus linked this desire to be part of Europe to his economic reform program. He argued that the creation of the new property regime was essential to the restoration of Czechoslovakia's place in Europe.[11] A new postsocialist national identity was thus founded on explicitly liberal principles that negated the former regime, with the exception of gender where illiberal principles pertained.

The transitions from communism were hailed in the region *as a return to what is natural*: to Europe, private property, and sexual hierarchy rather than gender equality between men and women.[12] The government and media has consistently portrayed gender differences as unchanging "facts of nature" and typecast gender equality as either a foreign or former communist artifice. For example, in the early years of transition the social policy group within the Civic Forum government agreed on the benefit of women returning to the home after the demise of state socialism. Former dissident, Jiřina Šiklová explained, they saw it as "not only a wise way of dealing with the potential high unemployment but also as the natural order of things."[13] Some years on, forced to explain the rise in gender inequality in order to comply with EU equal opportunities law, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs added a postscript to the official wage chart that showed a disproportionate increase in male manager's wages between 1995 and 1998. It read: "Beware. These figures do not indicate discrimination in real terms. The difference is mostly because women are usually put into less difficult jobs with lower salaries. Even in the same job, the woman is usually in charge of less-qualified work within the same job category as men."[14] The implication here is that gender inequality is nothing to be concerned about; indeed it is so ingrained Czech officials were often dumbfounded as to why they had to account for it, other than to simply placate the EU.

Such a shift in discourse was starkly ironic, if not dialectical, given the social "emancipation" of the 1950s and 1960s rested on the "fact of gender mutability" and Communist Party newspapers routinely celebrated new socialist men and women. One of the legacies of anticommunist identities today is that there is no longer an immediately available or credible language in which ideas about gender equality can be expressed given their

association with failed state socialist regimes. This lack of a liberal discourse has had implications for the range of identities open to women in particular in the Czech Republic today.

New Postsocialist Identities and New Exclusions

After 1990 the Czechoslovak socialist state's support of women's identities as workers and mothers was replaced by a new national identity based on a middle class, ethnically white, male norm. Women workers were made redundant or became unemployed through privatization and restructuring at greater rates than men in nearly all the countries in Central and Eastern Europe, including the Czech Republic. They also lost many of their former social and economic rights. The political rhetoric in the early transition years created a "cult of domesticity," where women were encouraged to withdraw from the labor force into the private world of the household and the family.[15] In addition, the backlash against socialism and the new capitalism promoted the sexual objectification of women and gave support to new dominant Western and aspiring Western masculinities in the capitalist marketplace.[16]

Western expatriate men in the region frequently talked about Eastern and Central European "emerging markets" as *sexy*; they were the adventure playgrounds for male managers, investors, and professional risk-takers.[17] (*Playboy* described Prague, for example, as a "great multinational orgy of buying and selling").[18] The capitalist push eastward allowed these men to claim "virgin territory," and to reassert their Western dominant masculine identity vis-à-vis the "wild, wild East."[19] Meanwhile, men in Central and Eastern Europe sought to prove themselves to Western élites by maintaining the image of committed reformers, reliable debtors, and potential members of Europe.[20]

For its part, *CzechInvest*, the Czech Republic's state agency for foreign investment, marketed the Czech Republic abroad with an advertisement that read: "What makes the Czech Republic a Model Location for foreign investors? No, it's not the Czech Republic's top international models like Eva Herzigová. Rather, it's the country's proven ability to satisfy the needs of foreign investors seeking to better serve their customers while enhancing profitability." It is impossible to analyze this advertisement and ignore the gender identities that underpin the presentation of national self. In the ad, *CzechInvest* attempts to seduce Western investors by inventing the Czech Republic as a nation where attractive women are sexually available to foreign men. Political élites in the Czech Republic will do virtually anything to prove that they are "man" enough to rejoin the capitalist West. After the "emasculating" experience of socialism, they want the world to know that they have power over "their" women. In the Czech case, the virtually all-male alliance between former communist dissidents and neoliberal technocrats to restore capitalism was based in part on their common gender identity/interest in extricating the economy from politics, and establishing an ethical, public sphere separate from the family and private life.[21]

As I have argued the construction of political identity against communism and those groups associated with communism has resulted in new exclusions in the postsocialist Czech Republic. Many of these exclusions have been gender-based, and have disproportionately affected women. In addition to widespread employment discrimination, sexual harassment, feminized poverty, they have taken the form of women's marginalization in the new Czech democratic institutions, and a public/media backlash against gender equality and feminism, which are seen as part of previous socialist experiments. For instance, when the term "sexual harassment" first appeared on the Czech scene and women's groups began to discuss women's experiences in Czech workplaces, the local media declared it an American feminist invasion and a new form of totalitarianism.[22] Newspapers and journals foregrounded elite men's views that defended men's right to "slap and tickle" women at work as the natural relations between men and women and a part of Czech culture. According to Marie Čermáková, women themselves are not willing to take cases of discrimination to court for fear of being branded feminists in an anticommunist culture.[23]

Processes of national and regional integration in the Czech Republic have often reinforced latent gender identities. For example, the preparations in the Czech Republic for joining the EU have served to underscore the gendered nature of Czech identity. This gendered state identity has in turn received implicit support from EU actors, revealing their own gendered identities. In the race among states to join the EU, Czech government officials have focused narrowly on the legal aspects of equal opportunities seeking to prove that Czech laws and traditions accord with EU law and policy. They have initiated few proactive measures to monitor equal opportunities and equal treatment of women and men. According to EU-contracted evaluator Mita Castle-Kanerová, the EU integration departments in Czech ministries were instructed to speed up this process of harmonization. The European Commission (EC) let the Czechs know that "the time of actual implementation when real sanctions might apply was still far off."[24] In other words, the EU let Czech political élites know, in a *man-to-man* sort of way, that they would turn a blind eye to Czech practices regarding women and men's relations.

Take the example of sexual harassment again. In order to fulfil the requirements for EU admission and remove any barriers to market making, the Czech parliament discussed a draft law on sexual harassment designed to harmonize Czech law with EU law in December 1999. This law was passed in 2000. However, male experts, psychologists, and politicians publicly expressed their skepticism toward the law. The Minister of Labor and Social Affairs is on record as stating that the draft amendment to the Work Act, which will define the term sexual harassment, is not a Czech initiative but rather appeases EU demands. These critics of the new law argue that it is impractical in the Czech context where "a different view of morality exists than in America" (from whence they see the law deriving), and where the integrity of the law will be undermined by everyday practice. Although not all deny that sexual harassment is present in Czech workplaces, they claim

that passing a law against it "will elevate human foolishness to a new height."[25]

Certainly, there was no indication that the Czech premier, Miloš Zeman, changed his sexist attitudes in light of his country's bid for EU membership. In 2000, he stated that holding a referendum on EU entry before knowing the conditions of the union would be tantamount to "facing the decision whether or not to marry a woman whose age, size of breasts or waist, or dowry are unknown."[26] In its obliviousness to the appropriate discourse of Western, liberal societies, such explicit language reveals the deeply gendered character of the Czech state. Moreover, to the extent that the analogy used in this statement by the Czech Premier did not merit comment by the EU, it shows the EU to be a sexist actor as well, complicit with gender-based discrimination that is contrary to its own body of law and policy. Empowered by the EU, the Czech government has used a large amount of their financial assistance to translate documents and make amendments to national legislation. Not surprisingly given the "cheap talk" of the EU, these amendments have failed to register any change in the sexist attitudes of Czech politicians, let alone that of Czech employers and employees.[27]

Exploiting Gender Identity in Transition

Many of the agents of transformation in the nascent Czech marketplace and postsocialist government have been conscious of the significance of gender identity and the gains to be had from exploiting it for national identity and social integration, capitalist expansion, and global governance. I came to this realization through my investigation of primary and secondary sources of information relating to four sites of transformation: the labor market, the consumer market, the family, and civil society. I considered these sites in particular, to be microcosms of the interplay between local forces and global integration. I concur with Pierre Bourdieu that the deepest logic of the social world "can be grasped only if one lunges into the particularity of an empirical reality, historically located and dated, but with the objective of constructing it as a 'special case of what is possible.' "[28] In this sense my study of the Czech case is historically specific and yet not unique, since aspects of the processes of transformation that have occurred there could feasibly be occurring elsewhere, especially in light of globalization.

During my residence and research visits to the Czech Republic I collected a range of secondary materials produced by local research institutes, government ministries, and international organizations. I also engaged in considerable primary research, interviewing informants in government agencies, academic institutions, business enterprises, culture industries, and a range of civil society groups. For instance, by investigating policy documents resulting from key discussions within the Civic Forum government, I found that in 1990 policymakers believed that sending women workers home by stressing their roles and identities as mothers would

solve the problem of structural unemployment in the economic transition to capitalism.[29] Union leaders were prepared to sacrifice women's jobs in order to save the jobs of men (and indeed saw women's employment as men's potential unemployment). Employers preferred to hire men, in the hope of avoiding any of the social costs associated with the social reproduction of labor and foreign-owned firms adopted the non-Western practice of using gender-specific linguistic forms in job advertising.[30]

As well as positive incentives, former Czech premier Klaus (1992–97) and his Civic Democratic Party–led government used negative sanctions to ensure the political success of their economic reform program between 1992 and 1994 in particular. They manipulated anticommunist identities to neutralize any political opposition to privatization and state restructuring.[31] This anticommunism effectively disabled individuals and groups, such as women but also labor unions and dissident intellectuals, from participating and influencing the political process, who were marked by their discursive association with the former state socialist regime. As a result, the reform program of the Czech neoliberals was implemented relatively easily and quickly beginning in June 1990 with the assistance of Western advisors and international organizations.

Turning to the cultural realm we find Western business managers were quick to recognize the "market-pull" of gender-specific products and sexually explicit advertising images, while global media corporations saw a gap in the local Czech market for selling "women's" content, even de facto feminist content. The objectification of gender facilitated the extension of markets and capitalist market culture in the Czech Republic during the 1990s. Products that exploited gender differences and firms that target gender-specific consumer markets appeared to have a strategic advantage in generating profits and greater market-share. For instance, cigarette packaging that differentiates among men and women smokers, marketing that links the use of nifty mobile phones to masculinity virility, *woman-to-woman* selling of beauty and household goods were all market winners.[32] One of the reasons for this development since 1989, I suggest, is the ubiquitous identification by Czechs and other post-communist citizens with the West, specifically with Western-dominant representations of masculinities and femininities.

In national politics, patterns of sexism reveal a degree of gender consciousness among Czech élites. Zeman, the Czech Premier and leader of the Social Democratic political party decided to appoint all men to the cabinet in 1996 and 1998, ostensibly on the grounds that women are inexperienced for such high-level political posts. Countering this political exclusion of women citizens, international organizations and Western governments have sought to extend and deepen democratization in the Czech Republic (and in other transition countries) by targeting specifically *women's* organizations in civil society for aid and support.

Collectively the behavior of a range of local and global actors in the Czech transition have restructured the new market and political institutions in such a way that gender has become a salient identity and legitimate

basis for exclusion. But when women are seen primarily as victims or "unintended costs," rather than agents, as in much of the scholarly and policy analysis of postsocialist transitions, the focus is taken away from biased and exclusionary institutions and structures. For example, it has been argued that women's marginalization is an unintended cost of the transitions in Eastern Europe, and that gender bias in processes of restructuring is inadvertent.[33] The argument goes, if only policymakers and other decision-making élites were made more aware of the negative impact of their policies and behavior on women, they would attempt to put things right. It is further argued that, if the current exclusion of women from full participation in the new private sectors and governments of Eastern Europe were addressed, the costs of gender *inequality* could soon be turned into the benefits of gender *equality*.[34] However, this line of argument denies the power of identities shaped by gender in the course of local and global structural change.

Ironically, as many feminist scholars have noted, feminism became a political movement based on women's identities *as women* to fight the way women have been relegated to the category *woman*. It is no different in the Czech Republic where identities may be imposed from outside the group as much as they are embraced from within the group. As mentioned in some of the examples above, some actors in the Czech transition have sought to redefine and revalue previously repressed gender-specific identities and differences for women's empowerment. For individual Czech women, sometimes this has meant embracing feminine difference through consumption, and through civil society activism (rather than so-called male politics). In the case of some Czech women's groups it has meant rejecting the feminist label and its negative association in their society with communist projects of gender "equalization."

In contrast to Czech (male) political élites who have uncritically accepted Western expertise and models, the reticence toward feminism reflects the determination among women leaders in Czech civil society to defend their unique subjectivities and moderate Western influences in the process of globalization.[35] However, just as East–West business cooperation forges global integration and is instrumental in ensuring free entry and the appropriate investment climate for global capital, East–West feminist cooperation has opened new spaces, offering an important inroad for global civil society in the Czech Republic among other transition countries.[36] Through these encounters with Westerners, Czech women's organizations have been able to articulate common, typically neglected, problems in their own language and in terms of their own society. Paradoxically though, because this women's networking is often critical of gender-based configurations of power (within postsocialist societies as well as between East and West), they are frequently received as a form of cultural imperialism *imported* from the West rather than a revival of Czech feminist traditions that derive from the interwar First Republic and the 1968 Prague Spring democratization. Yet, Western foreign investment,

business practices, American constitutional expertise, and the onslaught of wealthy tourists from around the world are not seen as threatening Czech national identity.

In sum, a number of actors in the Czech transition, among them local women's organizations, international organization's, Western NGOs, and the global media have reinforced gender identities and differences (whether due to historical legacy, current institutional design, or bodily difference) in the course of working to promote national and international unity where all citizens are treated fairly and given opportunities to develop their human capacities. Although this is not exactly evidence of identity being put to peaceful and inclusionary ends, or of an identity distinguishing without subordinating, it does highlight the dialectical nature of group identity, its potential for oppression and for emancipation at the same time, albeit in different contexts.

Toward Intersectional Identities

The approach to identity construction put forward here is informed by a relational ontology. Such an ontology assumes that studying women may tell you a lot about the constitution of power relations, that a focus on transformations and representations of Eastern Europe may reveal as much as about norms and values in the West as it does of those in the East, and that understanding postsocialism involves understanding first and foremost its socialist referent. However, in addition to this relational starting point a gendered approach is *intersectional* in its methodology. It is intersectional because it demands that an examination of any given alterity, for instance, the apparent marginalization of women vis-à-vis men after socialism, must lead to the examination of multiple axes of alterity, in this case of specific gendered, geopolitical, and historical alterities.[37]

In the course of the Czech postsocialist transformation more than one identity was always at stake and/or invoked explicitly. As such, any comprehensive account of this transformation needed to analyze how identities are mutually constructed, from within and without. For example, both Czech perceptions of the EU and EU perceptions of the Czech transition have shaped the formation of a postsocialist political identity. But this political identity has also been shaped by gender identities. Czechs view "the West" through a gendered lens in terms of dominant representations of masculinity and femininity in global media and consumer markets. Western business, investment, and expertise present in the Czech Republic in the 1990s not only facilitated the diffusion of capitalist practices; they imposed new gender norms that have affected women and men differently.

The layering of alterities was strikingly evident in the Czech transition—East/West, socialism/postsocialism, and man/woman. Taking a gendered approach illuminates each of these alterities and how together, they have reconstituted "Czech" identity. Such an approach does not seek

to determine which identity is causal or primary in engendering other forms of identification, which, in turn, condition political behavior. Rather, it reveals how various political identities are made possible through a process of differentiation and othering but also through their dependence on other "deeper" collective identities, such as gender, race, or ethnicity, that are seen to be more foundational. *Intersections* not *boundaries* are seen as the loci of power and identity. Gender is only one of the most taken for granted of identities and is itself socially constructed and therefore in need of explanation. But precisely because gender identities are so commonly—if not universally—used as referents for other identities, when they are deconstructed, so too are the state, national, and indeed, international identities that IR scholars are concerned with. Thus, the focus need not be specifically on women or relations among men and women in order for conceptually important insights for IR to be gained from gender analysis.

Conclusion

I began this chapter with this question: what does the shift in gender discourse during and after communism tell us about the role alterity plays in identity formation? I can now answer that question directly. My study tells us that multiple alterities are at work in the formation and emergence of a postsocialist state. Changes in gender relations and in particular, the diminution in women's rights after 1989 can be attributed in large part to the construction of Czech identity and democracy against state socialism and the discourses of equality and emancipation associated with it. This anticommunist identity construction has limited the full possibilities for the political expression of individual and group identities in postsocialist Czech society. Theorizing identity in this way helps us to understand differential power relations, why some individuals and groups were subordinated and relatively powerless, and why others dominated or were empowered by and through the Czech postsocialist transition.

Despite the seemingly determining and subordinating effects of alterity on postsocialist Czech identities, these identities are neither fixed nor unchanging. We should be alert to the mechanisms that serve to fix or change identities, and for the forms of everyday resistance that potentially subvert those identities imposed from without. If we take the time to closely study identities, comparing them across cases or watching their construction and reconstruction through time, then we come to see that there is nothing inherent about identity that explains why some have gained and some have lost in the transitions from communism. From a gendered perspective, this view leads us to recognize the agency of women and men; and we might learn why and through which identities some women and men have achieved greater agency than others. As we have seen in the Czech Republic, new forms of gender identity may give rise to new forms of local and transnational collective action; collective action

that seeks to liberate women and men from the constraints of identities conceived as alterities.

Notes

1. Emanuel Adler, "The Emergence of Cooperation: National Epistemic Communities and the International Evolution of the Idea of Nuclear Arms Control," *International Organization* 46, 1 (1992): 101–145; Rey Koslowski and Fredrich V. Kratochwil, "Understanding Change in International Politics," The Soviet Empire's Demise and the International System," *International Organization* 48, 2 (1994): 215–247.
2. Matthew Evangelista, *Unarmed Forces: The Transnational Movement to End the Cold War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).
3. Daniel Thomas, *The Helsinki Effect: International Norms, Human Rights and the Demise of Communism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).
4. See Ladislav Holý, *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Margaret Weatherall and Jonathan Potter, *Mapping the Language of Racism: Discourse and the Legitimation of Exploitation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).
5. Neo-Gramscian approaches view ideas, ideologies, and identities as material forces, part of the international political economy, see e.g., Robert W. Cox, *Approaches to World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
6. See Nancy Fraser From Redistribution to Recognition?" in *Justice Interruptus: Critical Reflections on the Postsocialist Condition* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 11–39, and "Heterosexism, Misrecognition and Capitalism: A Response to Judith Butler," *New Left Review* 228, March–April (1998): 140–149, for an approach that combines cultural and materialist arguments in a feminist social theory of justice.
7. See Kazimierz Poznanski, "Rethinking Comparative Economics: From Organizational Simplicity to Institutional Complexity," *East European Politics and Societies* 12, 1 (1998): 171–199; also "The Crisis of Modernity: Capitalism and Communism Reexamined," *East European Politics and Societies* 14, 3 (2000): 676–692.
8. For example, see Jiřina Šiklová, "McDonalds, Terminators, Coca-Cola Ads and Feminism: Imports from the West?" in *Bodies of Bread and Butter: Reconfiguring Women's Lives in the Post-Communist Czech Republic*, ed. Suzannah Trnka with Laura Busheikin (Prague: Prague Gender Studies Center, 1993); also "Why We Resist Western-Style Feminism," *Transitions* 7, January (1998): 30–34; Jiřina Smějkalová-Strickland, "Do Czech Women Need Feminism? Perspectives of Feminist Theories and Practices in the Czech Republic," in *Bodies of Bread and Butter: Reconfiguring Women's Lives in the Post-Communist Czech Republic*, ed. Suzannah Trnka with Laura Busheikin (Prague: Prague Gender Studies Centre, 1993).
9. Slavenka Drakulic, *How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1993), 32.
10. Cf. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminist Subversions of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990).
11. Hilary Appel, "The Ideological Determinants of Liberal Economic Reform: The Case of Privatization," *World Politics* 52, 4 (2000): 539.

12. Václav Klaus frequently spoke of post-communism as "a return to the natural order of things" in 1990–91, and is still one of the most articulate proponents of this view in the Czech Republic. See Klaus, *Nemám rád katastrofické scénafie* (Ostrava: Sagit, 1991). See also Mikko Lagerspetz, "Postsocialism as a Return: Notes on a Discursive Strategy," *East European Politics and Societies* 13, 2 (1999): 377–391.
13. Jiřina Šiklová quoted in Ruth Rosen, "Male Democracies, Female Dissidents," *Tikkun* 5, 6 (1990): 12.
14. Discussed in Emma McClune, "So How Far Have You Come Really Baby," *The Prague Tribune*, March (1998).
15. See Elzbieta Matynia, "Finding a Voice: Women in Central Europe," in *The Challenge of Local Feminisms: Women's Movements in Global Perspective*, ed. A. Basu (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); Peggy Watson, "The Rise of Masculinism in Eastern Europe," *New Left Review* 198 (1993).
16. My notion that postsocialist transitions involve a contest between dominant Western masculinities and aspiring Western, Eastern, and Central European masculinities can be compared with Charlotte Hooper's (*Manly States: Masculinities, Gender Politics and International Relations* (Columbia University Press, 2000), 75) discussion of subordinate and hegemonic masculinities. Both concepts convey that there are multiple masculinities, while, at the same time, stressing the power relations between men and women, and between different groups of men.
17. Adam Jones, "Time to Invest in Foreign Adventure," *Sunday Times*, June 9 (1996).
18. Bruce Jay Friedman "My Prague (Czechoslovakia)," *Playboy* 40: 1, January (1993): 114–116.
19. The West's identity was destabilized by the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, in Eastern Europe, "the West found a sucker still having faith in its values" (Slavoj Žižek, "Eastern European Liberalism and its Discontents," *New German Critique* 57 (1992): 25). As pupils of capitalist democracy, Eastern European countries provided "an object with which the [western] subject can identify even as it differentiates itself," in Ann Norton, *Reflections on Political Identity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 53.
20. Josef Borocz, "From Comprador State to Auctioneer State: Property Change, Realignment, and Periphalization in Post-State Socialist Central and Eastern Europe," in David A. Smith, Dorothy J. Solinger, and Steven C. Topik, eds., *States and Sovereignty in the Global Economy* (New York: Routledge, 1999).
21. See Gil Eyal "Anti-Politics and the Spirit of Capitalism" for the Festschift in honor of Ivan Szlenyi, manuscript, 1999.
22. For versions of these arguments see the writings of Josef Škvorecký in 1992 and 1993, e.g., "Je možné mluvit se ženou bez pohlavního obtěžovaní?: Dobrodružství amerického feminismus." *Respekt* 39, no. 10, October 28, 1992: 13. It took until 1999 for a major daily newspaper to commission a social scientific survey of women's workplace experiences. This survey found that 45% of Czech women had been sexually harassed, many of them repeatedly. More strikingly, one-third of those women quit their jobs as a result of unwanted and unpleasant sexual advances by a male superior in their workplace, and only 2% informed the police. See Sofres Factum,

Názory Na Problém Sexuálního ObtěžováníŽen Na Pracovišti, Zprava z výzkumu veřejného mínení (Praha: Sofres Factum s.r.o., 1999).

23. Quoted in Katerina Zachválová, "He Cannot Get Pregnant," *Transitions* 8, 7 (1999).
24. Mita Castle-Kanerová, "Equal Opportunities in the Czech Republic and Other East-Central European Countries as Part of the Requirement for Accession into the European Union," *Czech Sociological Review* 7, 2 (1999): 238.
25. Petr Kučera, "Sexuální obtěžování bude protizákonné," *Lidové Noviny*, December 4, 1999: 1.
26. *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Newsline, Volume II*, August 8, 2000.
27. For a further discussion of the gap between the formal institutional norms of the EU and their actual diffusion to Central and Eastern Europe, see Wade Jacoby, "Talking the Talk: The Cultural and Institutional Effects of Western Models," in *Post-Communist Transformation and the Social Sciences: Cross-Discplinary Approaches*, ed. Frank Boenker, Klaus Muller, and Andreas Pickel (Lanham, ML: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002).
28. Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 2.
29. For a fuller discussion of this attempt to send women workers back home see my book, *Gender, Globalization, and Postsocialism: The Czech Republic After Communism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003); see also, Mitchell Orenstein, "Out of the Red: Building Capitalism and Democracy in Post-Communist Europe," Ph. D. dissertation, Yale University, 1996.
30. Liba Paukert, "Privatization and Employment: Labour Transfer Policies and Practices in the Czech Republic," *Labour Market Papers No. 4*, Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1995; Petra Jedličková, "Hledáme atraktivní asistenku ředitelé do 25-ti let: Discriminace podle věku a pohlaví v inžcaron;eratěch naších zaměstnávatelu," *Žen Sen* 1, 2 (1996): 30. In 1996 the Czech Helsinký Foundation in Prague began to compile a file of discriminatory job advertisements according to job titles, the specified age and sex required for the position. (Personal Interview with the Vice-Chair of the Czech Helskinki Commitee, Dr. Libuše Šilhánová, July 1996.) See also International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, *Women 2000: An Investigation into the Status of Women's Rights in Central and South-Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States* (Vienna, 2000).
31. See Appel "The Ideological Determinants of Liberal Economic Reform"; Hilary Appel and John Gould. "Identity Politics and Economic Reform: Examining Industry-State Relations in the Czech and Slovak Republics," *Europe-Asia Studies* 52 (2000): 111–130.
32. Further evidence for these claims is provided in True, Chapter 5, "Expanding Consumer Markets," *Gender, Globalization, and Postsocialism*.
33. Swanee Hunt, "Women's Vital Voices: The Costs of Exclusion in Eastern Europe," *Foreign Affairs* 76, 4 (1997): 2–9; United Nations Childrens Foundation, *Women in Transition: Regional Monitoring Report No. 6* (Florence, 1999).
34. Ibid.
35. Jiřina Šiklová, "Má feminismus vČechách šanci," *Nová Přítomnost* 1 (1998): 8–13; "Why We Resist Western-Style Feminism." Hana Havelková, "Transitory and Persistent Differences: Feminism East and West," in

Transitions, Environments, Translations: Feminisms in International Politics, ed. Joan Scott, Cora Kaplan, and Debra Keates (New York: Routledge, 1997); Mírek Vodrážka, "Before the Great Exodus: The Root of Czech Antifeminism," trans. Pavla Slaba and Anne Petrov. Lecture delivered at the University of California-Berkeley and Stanford University, 1994.

36. Shana Penn, "Looking East, Looking West." *Transitions* 7, January (1998): 48–51.
37. Knowledge about the diversity of women's experiences and contexts leads feminists to appreciate the interrelated character of social hierarchies and their influence on oppression. Consequently, they seek to break down not only the exclusionary boundaries of gender, but also those of race, class, sex, sexuality, ethnicity, caste, religion, country of origin, national identity, aboriginal status, immigration status, regional geography, language, cultural practices, forms of dress, beliefs, ability, health status, family history, age, and education. See Brooke A. Ackerly and Jacqui True, "Transnational Justice: The Contribution of Feminism to Critical International Relations Theory." Working Paper, Center for International Studies, University of Southern California, 2001.

Part II

Fluidity

Chapter 5

Studying Continuity and Change in South African Political Identity

Jamie Frueh

One of the aphorisms from the last decade or so of increased interest in political identity is that identity is fluid. This focus on changeability has the potential for hinting that problems of identity are somehow superstructural or false. Ethnic conflicts, for example, may seem quickly resolvable simply by inventing and/or empowering alternate structures of identity that tap into different sets of interests and behavioral patterns. The misuse of the terminology of constructivism has contributed to this sense of utopianism by providing justifications for treating identity as an object of human control. This simplistic understanding of constructivism has made it difficult to legitimate both constructivism as a meta-theoretical foundation and identity research more generally. Political identity is both more complex and resilient than much of the contemporary literature suggests.

This chapter describes how I dealt with some of the methodological problems that confront the use of identity in political research in the context of applying a constructivist understanding of political identity to the transformation of the apartheid social order in South Africa.[1] Responding to the challenges posed by the editors of this volume, I found it helpful to ask "Which aspects of identity have been stable and which ones fluid?" This is an empirical question, not a theoretical one. In some social moments, identities are treated as if they are stable, while in others they seem to be malleable. Identity labels, and all social arrangements, are susceptible to the creative energies of the actors who continually recreate

them with their behavior. Ultimately, social order is an effect. Order exists to the degree that a society's members align their behaviors with a set of expectations and assumptions, thereby providing a predictable environment for interaction. From a constructivist perspective, order is not static, but continually adapted by the actions of persons within it. Given that an order's power is based largely on predictability, and thus the perception of consistency, such adaptations are normally perceived as continuity. While a radical change in social order is always a possibility because the power of a social order depends on the active acquiescence to its rules, we can certainly assess whether that possibility is more or less remote. (We can, of course, be wrong, as the surprise ending of the Cold War demonstrated.)

From within a constructivist epistemology, it is impossible to know if identity's true nature is fixed or fluid. This does not prevent us, however, from studying how actors within a particular society deal with identity. The short answer to questions about why identities can appear to be either stable or dynamic is that identity labels, as a critical component of social power, are susceptible to the same pressures of continuity and change as other aspects of reality. As part of the universe of meanings that provides the basis for human interaction, the power of labels rests on a practical consensus among the people who use them. It is this basis in action that provides not just a method for studying identity, but also a method for using identity to study politics.

Identity as Methodology

My political identity research project focuses on the transformation of the apartheid social order in South Africa. Because apartheid's social arrangements were explicitly organized around racial manifestations of identity, paying attention to the changes in identity yields particular insights into how the broader arrangements were altered. My intention was to trace the demise of apartheid by focusing on the concepts and terms available to South Africans as they struggled to make sense of themselves, their actions, and their place in society. The protagonists in my story, therefore, are the shifting networks of ideas that mediate the relationships among South Africans and between South Africans and their social order.

To get at these ideas, I found it useful to make a distinction between identity and identity labels. In this understanding, an *identity* is a list of descriptive *identity labels* that could be applied to a person. (While in my case "person" refers primarily to individuals, the analytical framework is easily adapted to different "levels of analysis" in which actors are often states or other corporate entities.) Because the concept of label encompasses all potential descriptions, regardless of whether they are currently considered political, identity becomes expansive and complex. Labels are continuously rearranged into hierarchies that are more or less appropriate to a particular social context. Each label is a code that conveys expectations and assumptions by effectively asserting that the person so labeled is

similar in some important way to all others (past and present) to whom the label is attributed. The four or five labels that are most important to a particular interaction can be thought of as a *persona*. The definition of a social context is negotiated through the labels and personas that participants in an interaction effectively assert for themselves and others. Political identity as a methodology treats labels as intersubjective and malleable raw materials that people use to build and rebuild understandings of their world.

Under apartheid, South Africans understood their world (not just social life, economics, and politics, but reality as a whole) through a framework of race; today, if post-apartheid rhetoric is to be believed, they do not. My research sought to answer two sets of questions. First, what is the most important category of identity in contemporary South Africa? Is it still race? Or has some other type of characteristic taken its place? Second, to the degree that a change in political identity has taken place, how did that happen? By what processes did South Africans successfully alter their society's structures of political identity?

To answer these questions, I undertook an empirical analysis of the power of South African identity labels, the ways that they are used to organize social activity and how both the labels and their power have changed during the transition away from apartheid. My methodology is best described as the ethnographic discourse analysis of texts surrounding three of the political conflicts that defined the transition. When combined with the tactics of discourse analysis, ethnography analyzes communicative acts to uncover social arrangements, patterns, and rules. If culture is an intersubjective imaginative universe, behavior that activates that culture may be studied as if it were a text, a creative act produced in coherence with established patterns and therefore meaningful.[2] Speech acts (both oral and written) are especially helpful because they are explicitly designed to transfer meaning and are created through the rules and understandings of the culture. As one group of researchers noted,

> Foucauldian discourse analysis, then, unravels notions of identity that we normally take for granted, and it opens texts up in three kinds of ways: first to analyse how they construct images of the self as if it were something coherent; second to explore how those images function to reproduce certain experiences consistent with a coherent self; and third to highlight how texts themselves are riven by variation.[3]

For this study, therefore, I examined a variety of texts, including interviews, newspaper archives, government publications, and school textbooks. This diversity is important. "The power of apartheid was relayed through millions of channels of communication, from the government-controlled media through to everyday conversation. Power is, rather, a function of a multiplicity of discursive practices that fabricates and positions subjects."[4] My data consist of these texts as representations of the

general patterns of communication that frame South African's understanding of identity.

I limited the textual evidence by focusing on three prominent political conflicts of the transition—the student uprisings that began in Soweto in June 1976, the debate over government proposals to reform the constitution in 1983 and 1984, and crime in contemporary South Africa. As events in the material, lived reality of South Africans, the conflicts were catalysts around which ideas of identity coalesced and discourses within which the social power of identities were negotiated. Participants sought justification for their actions in the labels they asserted for themselves and others. Observers within the society also made assertions and judgments about who the participants were and the rules that should govern their actions. These assertions of identity were important to how participants acted and how other nonparticipants assessed the conflict. The labels that were accepted as valid tied actors into social structures that determined standards of normality and assumptions about rules that should be guiding behavior. In addition, because participants were often forced to justify rules and actions in the face of challenges, these social conflicts provided access to understandings of reality that were normally hidden by the fact that everyone assumed them to be natural or "just the way things are."

I sorted the texts into three broad and diverse categories—the media, the government, and resistance. Using these texts, I analyzed how the structures of political identity were negotiated during the two overlapping processes of the transition: the dismantling of apartheid and the construction of an alternative social order. Within these discourses that surrounded the conflicts of the transition, identity labels were the medium through which agents actualized existing social rules (they behaved as "good" Blacks or students or bosses would) and the medium through which they asserted changes to those rules (after Soweto, "students" did indeed sometimes burn down government buildings). These labels provide ethnographic evidence for how the social structures of South African identity changed during the encompassing sociopolitical transformation and for the categorization scheme that has succeeded race as the governing identity framework of post-apartheid society.

The Political Identity of Dismantling Apartheid

Like all social orders, apartheid was a set of institutions established to simplify and systematize social life. Apartheid was based on what Kathryn Manzo has called the postulate of difference.[5] Bucking the global trend toward the postulate of identity (the Enlightenment idea that *individuals* are fundamentally the same because of the universal gift of rationality), the South African government constructed a system of laws based on the premise that *racial groups* are fundamentally different from each other. This presumption produced a system of political identity dramatically

different from the liberal individualism of the West. As a government spokesman explained, "[t]he population of South Africa does not comprise a conglomerate of individuals, some of who merely happen to be White and others Black. History (British Imperialism) brought together within the confines of the same geo-political entity various nations, each with its own culture, language, traditions, political and social systems, and area of hegemony."[6]

From this perspective, the primary source of social complexity and root of social problems was racial diversity. Apartheid, therefore, simplified life by institutionalizing the idea that all political interest, all social interaction, indeed all human activity was determined by or at least infected with a single manifestation of identity—race. Under apartheid, South Africans needed to assume that, whatever other identity labels could be applied to them, their actions would always be interpreted primarily through categories of race. People behaved as White mothers or Coloured drivers or African lawyers. Because racism made sense of the social environment, South Africans of all races behaved racially. That is, they strove to live up to the standards by which society at large judged them. For most people, and for all people most of the time, this reaction was unconscious; apartheid made racism seem natural. As one South African told me, "South Africans were born into institutions in a sense. It wasn't a politics of choice. I think that's what the liberal mind still failed to understand: some people are not individuals and even when you become an individual, when you experience that paradigm shift in a value system, you are still caught up in structures of your old paradigm. You can't move out of it."[7] As a result, apartheid made racial generalizations not only acceptable, but valid predictors of behavior in social interactions. This was especially true from the mid-1960s through the early 1970s, when apartheid achieved a remarkable depth of social order. Events in 1976, however, altered the power of the apartheid order and began its decline.

On June 16, 1976, students in Soweto, a sprawling complex of townships southwest of Johannesburg, rioted after police fired shots into a protest march, killing several teenagers. The unrest soon spread throughout Soweto and to other parts of the country, and it flared sporadically for the next year and a half. The violence brought about dramatic changes in political identity, as the state sought to explain the rupture of social order and protesters claimed the power to continue it. The contest over how to understand the events of June 16 was expressed in texts that drew upon established identity labels and sought to legitimate others. The contestants were the White government's stories of the events, which focused on material ruin, the differences between the rioters and "regular" Blacks and the condemnation of disorder, and antiapartheid stories that blamed the police for the events, validated the power of Black youths, and celebrated the disruption of order.

For those invested in preserving the apartheid order, the safest possible explanation for Soweto and its aftermath was that the violence was

a foreign plot, an attack on the integrity of the South African state coordinated by foreign (i.e. White) communists.[8] The default explanation for antiapartheid activities, developed over decades of defending apartheid in the international arena, was that communists wanted control of South Africa and government officials instinctively found conspiracy in Soweto. The police colonel in charge of the riot police and a purported expert on communist guerrillas claimed that he confronted crowds using "a well-known communist tactic."[9] In his speech to Parliament the day after the shootings, Justice Minister Jimmy Kruger, claimed that the students' upraised fists were "a sign of the Communist Party."[10] Through its descriptions and explanations government officials sought to divest the violence of any romance and rather connect it to broadly shared social negatives, which in their minds were criminals and communists. At the same time it attempted to maintain the integrity of "African scholar" and related labels to encourage people to abide by the established rules of those labels. By portraying the impetus for the riots as coming from outside normal society, the government's story preserved the inertial force and direction of the existing social order.

In contrast, antiapartheid stories claimed the uprising to be the reaction of regular people to oppression. Notice the identity labels of the actors in the following description.

> On the morning of Wednesday, June 16, 1976, Soweto unexpectedly rose up against white rule and became the focal point of a countrywide revolt. It was on that day that thousands of Sowetan schoolchildren marched to protest the use of Afrikaans as the language of instruction in their segregated schools. The police fired on the unarmed demonstrators, killing several and wounding many more. Soweto exploded. Stores were looted, government buildings were burned, and people were killed. South African history reached one of its decisive turning points, and Soweto became an international symbol of black protest and white oppression.[11]

Such stories claimed political agency for identity labels that within apartheid carried only political incompetence. In the years prior to 1976, throwing rocks and burning down liquor stores were not readily available as political statements and they were certainly beyond any interpretation of the standards of normality attached to the label "student." Afterward, this was no longer so. "Youth" also became re-empowered as a category of political actor.

In addition, these stories redefined the meanings of many labels that were already explicitly political. People claimed legitimacy for labels that the government sought to apply negatively—"protester," "rioter," even "terrorist," and "comrade." Within the opposition stories, such labels were valued precisely because they signified action against apartheid. The stories presented these identities as accessible to average Black South Africans. When "unarmed schoolchildren" and "peaceful student demonstrators" became "revolutionary martyrs" and "heroic dead" by marching

and attacking the "racist rulers" who "declared war on our kids," then "protesters" and "rioters" were transformed from troublemakers, people whom all those who benefited from an orderly society could agree to condemn, into legitimate spokespersons for "the people" who had no other voice. These politics were negotiated through identity labels. The label "Black," for example, was an axis of contention. The Black Consciousness Movement used Black as a symbol of oppression rather than race in an effort to change the psychology of apartheid and to demonstrate the socially constructed nature of race. The government responded by passing laws that made Black the official identity label specific to Africans, changing the references in all its legislation from Bantu.

In the contest to define the events of 1976, the antiapartheid stories won, and by the late 1980s, apartheid was no longer an effective way to organize and regulate social interactions. In the years following Soweto, the antiapartheid movement increasingly was able to blame apartheid for most of the negative aspects of people's lives, inspiring more and more people to consciously resist its rules. As apartheid's rules became politicized—pulled from the social background noise and noticed as a particular set of rules whose value and ethical status could be debated—South Africans were able to think about their social order and the relationship of their daily activities to it. The resistance movement convinced an increasing number of South Africans to participate in "the struggle" between "the people" and a privileged racist elite. At one point in the mid 1980s, for example, some young Black men began ignoring traffic lights in Soweto because they said they had not been consulted on the placement of those lights.[12]

People who under apartheid had lived their daily lives as Africans (presumably trying to be "good" Africans by fulfilling the expectations society attached to the label) increasingly began to act as protesters, as Black youth and as members of "the people." The antiapartheid discourse appropriated labels that the state was using to try to delegitimize resistance and turned them into implicit arguments for disorder. The negative attachment the government had for communism, for example, was appropriated and reinterpreted through the use of the label "comrade," which came to have a very specific meaning related to the vanguard of resistance in the townships. "The phrase [comrade] was popularized by ANC documents, Radio Freedom, and prisoners on Robben Island. But black youths were the ones brazen enough to call each other comrades in daily conversation and the word became their label."[13] Steven Mufson notes that the label "comrade" became more inclusive over time.

> As the number of people involved in township organizations soared, "comrade" became an inclusive term, extended to anyone who joined the struggle against apartheid. Members of anti-apartheid organizations, whether young or old would call themselves comrades, as casually as one might call someone "mister" or "old boy." Black trade union members called each other

> comrades. Even those seen as sympathizing with blacks could be called comrade.[14]

One comrade from the mid-1980s told me that comrades served as a kind of family; "Wherever we are, we are a group of comrades." He said it did not matter with which organization you were affiliated, "just as long as you were resisting and fighting for freedom."[15] Resistors were empowered, indeed expected, to act in ways that were unimaginable within apartheid's understanding of reality.

> Once you regard yourself or you are regarded as a comrade, you would then adjust your mind and you behave accordingly. So I am a comrade, I have to fight against the government and must support all activities that are related to that and I must be seen to be participating. In the course of participating I am also becoming a comrade.[16]

The global antiapartheid movement provided another perspective that those within the country were able to draw upon for confidence and strength.[17] Once Blacks began to redefine their daily travails as aspects of a national and even global problem, people began to think of resistance at the local level as working for a kind of transcendental justice and this was reflected in the identity labels they adopted. This international attention also added both material and psychological costs to being a White South African, threatening the civilized, Western, "benevolent leader" persona upon which the dominant rationalization of White power and privilege rested.

While resistance to apartheid created new political *actors* (in the sense that more people became conscious that their actions had a relationship to the social order), it also created new *categories* of actors in the political system. A new relationship to the social order was encapsulated into personas that were easily transportable and transferable to others around the country, and as they spread, they legitimated activities opposed to the order the state sought to maintain. Antiapartheid stories redefined political identity labels, bestowing on those who successfully asserted them the power to disrupt order. Both South Africans and the social standards by which their behavior was judged changed dramatically in the 1980s.

The Soweto uprising and succeeding waves of unrest presaged the failure of apartheid to regulate politics by squeezing life into a single identity category—race. Through resistance activities, more and more Black South Africans rejected the image of themselves as political objects and adopted personas that carried the power to act in ways that were unimaginable for those constrained within apartheid identities. This was necessarily an uneven and conflictual process. Changes in consciousness take place one person at a time. Apartheid lost legitimacy sporadically, with some labels politicized for some and not for others. However, by decreasing the predictability of interaction—the heart of social order—the resistance movement exercised the power of individuals to withdraw their acceptance

of their lot. With no real prospects for a return to smooth cooperative order within the confines of apartheid racism, the White government decided that its best chance for a favorable negotiating position was to begin those negotiations sooner rather than later. From 1990 to 1994, South Africans renegotiated their social order. As the major parties slowly coalesced into a solid center, confidence rose that the transition would be successful and South Africans became not only invested in a "New South Africa," but also proud of their country and its largely peaceful transition.

Political Identity in the New South Africa

In post-apartheid South Africa, people are keenly aware that they are building a new social order. They take pride in the transition, and yet there is still a sense in which their new non/multiracial individualistic system of identity is, for many South Africans, a foreign transplant. This has made the process of solidifying a new social order quite difficult, and several major social problems have provided opportunities for the discourse of the new South Africa to coalesce. One of these issues is crime. From this perspective, crime is one of the ways that less powerful members of society insert their claims and perspectives into the negotiation of social rules. In this sense, criminal acts are part of the public discourse, a way for people to remind society that the reason most Blacks fought against apartheid was because they thought its demise would bring very practical improvements in their daily lives. People who steal are asserting that they should have what others currently possess; those who claim to be victims are asserting that they should be able to keep what they have and maintain a sense of security. The struggle over apartheid demonstrated quite clearly that classifying certain activities as crimes is a rhetorical tool that the powerful use to justify some aspirations and to discredit others. The discourse over crime, therefore, has become part of the complex process by which South Africa is solidifying an alternative to apartheid. My research methodology is based on the idea that when South Africans talk about issues like crime, they are consciously and unconsciously sorting through the identity labels that will be powerful in the post-apartheid social order.

Apartheid failed, in part, because social movements succeeded in politicizing everyday life and redefining many activities from crime to resistance, thereby altering their social value. The end of "the struggle" in 1994 also ended popular support for justifying criminal activity with political rhetoric. The global attention focused on the transition meant that South Africans were invested in the perception that political violence had ended. There was a prevailing pride in the transition and a sense that political violence would signify its failure, while the same violence would be more compatible with success if it were portrayed as crime. Labeling these activities as crimes means that those involved become criminals and victims,

identities that cut across the former racial divisions. As a resident of Johannesburg told me,

> [o]ne of the identities that I think is very interesting today is that of victim and potential victim and how that is articulated to citizen and rich and car driver and house owner and those sorts of thing. If you are a car owner in Johannesburg there is a notion of potential victimhood that there was not three years ago [because of the increase in carjacking]. Now every time you get in your car you are a potential victim. Your daughter is a potential victim. That identity is very explicit in our heads.[18]

Common victimization by crime has mobilized people to enter the political arena as actors whose race is irrelevant, and to coalesce into politically motivated, issue-centered groups that act and are seen to act in society. Wilfred Scharf, a criminologist at the University of Cape Town, characterized the variety of anticrime civil disobedience campaigns that sprang up in the 1990s as "race-, class- and gender-blind in many respects, whereas those distinctions could have been a lot more pronounced under other circumstances."[19]

The belief that race can be used as a simple indicator of all important characteristics is challenged when labels that are clearly important to society, like "criminal" and "victim," cannot be neatly squeezed into racial boundaries. As important public issues are interpreted through identity categories other than race, the usefulness of race as a code for determining rules of behavior in social interactions decreases. The discourse on crime, therefore, has became an opportunity to move away from apartheid's racism by dealing with an important political issue in non-, and in some cases anti-racial terms. The move from race- to issue-centered politics has helped solidify a much more complex understanding of politics and, in the process, crime has come to be one of the primary fulcrums across which South Africans are being pried loose from their racial reality.

To find out the system of political identity that South Africans embraced after apartheid, I studied a variety of competing discourses. In general, what I found was a discourse on crime generally marked by a diverse, nuanced, and intricate portrait of both criminals and victims that, I argue, reflects South Africa's current structures of political identity. South Africans now think of the people involved in crime through nationality labels in some contexts, class, and employment distinctions in others. People are sorted using gender or geographic or cultural or age differences depending on the specific circumstances. Political identity is contextual and dependent upon the relationships within which the conversation is taking place. This contextuality implies an appreciation of how individual identity can shift and change, and how the power of the identity labels that make up those individual identities can change. The multiple and shifting nature of the labels and personas means that diversity is normal and that there are nearly infinite bases for individuals to make claims on each other,

making life less predictable and much more complex. This crime discourse indicates that South Africans as a whole have abandoned the apartheid identity project—the search for a single category of identity to govern all social contexts.

That diversity is made up of a variety of competing discourses. The forces of the state, for example, clearly had investments, both domestic and international, in entrenching an encompassing national identity. This was often referred to as "Rainbow Nationalism," a phrase used first by Nobel Laureate Desmond Tutu. In September 1998, while on a state visit to Mauritius, President Nelson Mandela made a speech in which he tried to force a conversion from racial to national identity labels. A *Sunday Times/Business Times* survey had found that 74 percent of South Africa's most skilled residents were considering emigrating, with 62 percent citing crime as the most important reason.[20] In response, Mandela evoked nationalism strongly and clearly: "Indeed some of the people have been frightened by the high level of crime but we are convinced that real South Africans are being sorted out in the course of the process, who are saying: 'This is my country, I am not going to run away from the troubles of my country, I am here to serve my country.' "[21]

The comments touched off a public battle over nationalism couched in definitions of real South Africans. The former National Party organ, the *Citizen*, was perhaps the most vitriolic.

> Crime is a shockingly real problem for millions of South Africans, who do not have to prove their own "reality" by waiting to be murdered. People are outraged at having their life-and-death problems pooh-poohed when their leader is on yet another of his overseas trips. Real South Africans don't enjoy hearing foreign audiences being told things are not so bad here. Real South Africans would like their politicians to spend more time at home trying to help reduce crime. Real South Africans want to see their President being a stronger leader in his own cabinet, getting the ministers of justice, police and prisons working together to make sure that criminals are properly tracked down, properly tried, and properly punished.[22]

The debate thus became a competition to explain the important "national" issues of crime and emigration. Class and employability were presented in several editorials as the categories through which crime should be understood.[23] Others focused on racial divisions or the racism of the comment.[24] Several resorted to the ambiguous "communities" to describe the differential effects of crime.

What is striking is that each newspaper used the opportunity to promote nationalism as a solution to both crime and the divisions of society (whether racial, class, or party), the same thing Mandela was doing (if rather obliquely). The *Sowetan* sought answers in "civil society" and "patriotic responsibility."[25] The *Natal Witness* lumped people "regardless of their gender or colour" into the category of "our shared national resources."[26] Crime was presented as "a national problem"; it "is not a race issue and

should never become one."[27] In this discourse, crime became an opportunity to move away from apartheid's racism by dealing with an important political issue in non-, and in some cases antiracial terms. The hope of most national elites is that, once freed, they will adopt a more nation-based political reality, one that values those qualities and characteristics that these national elites are purported to possess, thereby increasing the power of those elites.

However, it is also the case that there is a significant hangover from the institutionalized importance of race. In more than one hundred interviews with South Africans, I asked, "Who are the criminals?" The initial response of almost everyone was something like, "Oh, it's not just the Blacks" or "It's people from all races." My question, which was clearly a politically loaded one, was nearly universally interpreted as "From which racial groups do criminals come?" The substance of the answers demonstrates that, as a society, South Africans have embraced the goal of dislodging race as the primary means of dealing with each other. It does appear, however, that they have yet to appreciate the full implications of that goal. Gone are the most egregious racial stereotypes—that Africans, Coloureds, and Indians are too stupid to vote, that crane operator jobs must be reserved for Whites because Blacks have faulty depth perception, that Whites cannot survive in a Black-led South Africa. But many of the fears and feelings of acute difference have simply migrated to other types of labels. In addition to crime, I found people using the idea of culture or language or class to justify treating people of different races differently. While the cement that held racial identity labels firmly in the top position of South Africans' identities has been broken, race still has significant power and racial labels still are often the most important aspect of a South African's identity. Many identity labels have significantly altered their meanings, but the post-apartheid structure of South African identity is still being negotiated. Constructivists argue that it will be renegotiated continuously through the behavior of those who use it. My investigation of South African identity provided an opportunity to refine my understanding of the general process by which both social change and social stability are produced, as well as the role of identity in that process.

Constructivism and the Dynamics of Political Identity

Constructivists and the terminology of constructivism have helped provide an understanding of identity of which Neorealism and Neoliberalism were incapable. My understanding of constructivism and its ontology would be characterized by Jeffrey Checkel as "thick."[28] It differs, therefore, in a few significant ways from the constructivism with which most scholars of in the field of World Politics would be most familiar—the one developed in Alexander Wendt's 1999 book *Social Theory of International Politics*—which Checkel describes as "thin" because of Wendt's commitment to an epistemology of scientific realism.[29] Thick constructivism

begins with an epistemology of agnosticism—given that human awareness is mediated by a process of cognition that organizes and orders the world as it is perceived, humans have no way of knowing if what we believe about the material world corresponds to its true nature.[30] From this assertion flows an ontology that shifts the referent for the concept of reality from material existence to social importance. The actions of those within a society contribute to order to the degree that they conform to an intersubjective reality, arranged into a set of social rules. The assumption that a social arrangement is ultimately an arbitrary manifestation of political power provides the motivation for studying each one and comparing its political inventions to those of others.

While constructivism's approach to identity has remained undertheorized, a theory of identity rooted more deeply in constructivist ontology can help account for how identities change by making identity a focus of the process of social construction. I am not arguing that identity labels are somehow causal in the process of making and remaking society, rather that they provide a valuable mediating entity through which researchers can grab hold of the process of co-constitution. Identities and identity labels are socially constructed, but they are also located within the process by which reality is constructed more broadly. This process of construction is continuous and recursive and I argue that each movement from agent to structure and vice versa passes through structures of identity. Identity labels are implicated in both directions of the two-way process of co-constitution.[31] Socially competent actors read labels as signals for what kind of behavior to expect from others and for how to behave toward them. In this way, identity labels tie interaction into the system of intersubjective assumptions, expectations, and patterns of behavior and, at the same time, serve as the mechanism by which social agents organize the adaptations they continually make to those social structures. To the extent that observers accept that an agent embodies a particular label, that person's actions come to constitute (i.e., either reinforce or change) the social momentum of that label's ideal type. Depending on whether their actions fit expectations, agents either add to or, in effect, challenge the existing meaning of the label.

While using political identity as a heuristic treats identity labels as things that people employ in their discourses, the epistemological agnosticism that flows from this version of constructivism prohibits us from making any claims about the true nature of identity. We cannot state with certainty that identity is or is not a core essence of the self, or a process by which reification takes place, or a list of descriptive, socially constructed labels. Some scholars of identity seem particularly worried about explanations that reify identity using models and metaphors. However, reifications are a necessary part of social relations. We build (and continually rebuild) social arrangements though our actions. Even if the results are ultimately susceptible to different patterns of actions, they are real for those within the society and it seems appropriate to think about them that way.

Constructivism is about creation—a stream of contingent creation that sometimes is presented as change and sometimes as stability. The temporary reifications of South African political identity provided a way to look for insights into the encompassing social transformation.

From this perspective, identity is constantly changing, even if it does not always seem to be. Identity changes on two related axes. The first axis is the regularity with which particular labels are part of a person's persona. Are certain descriptions consistently important to how a person is perceived in society, both by that person and by others? If we periodically took snapshots of a person's label hierarchy during interactions with others, would certain labels nearly always be in the "top ten"? While it does not seem particularly controversial to suggest that certain types of labels would be associated with particular activities (an individual's gender labels with dating activities, a country's level of development with its stance toward trade policy), it might be more controversial to suggest that those labels may be of little or no importance in most other interactions. Any identity list would include a stunning variety of labels, most of which are usually ignored by scholars of world politics who generally bracket everything except the military might, economic development, and ideological institutions of nation-states and the citizenship, class, ethnicity, and (more recently) gender of individuals. Also, the smaller the temporal units of analysis, the more change we would expect to find along this axis. For example, in the course of a conversation, the labels "speaker" and "listener" would normally alternate among the persons involved, adding and subtracting a momentary dosage of power to the one holding the floor. Adopting the perspective of constructivist political identity allows a more precise understanding of identity and thus a better description of the rules and expectations that a person is actualizing in any particular interaction.

The second axis of fluidity in identity has to do with the meanings of the constitutive labels. While a person may "own" an identity as a whole, he, she, or it cannot be said to own the labels that constitute that identity. Labels are communal property. They are not Weberian ideal types or Platonic forms, but containers of social meaning, part of the social commons, and their meanings are renegotiated continuously through the actions of society's members. As such, they are one of the key ways that social activity is organized and understood. How an actor is identified is essential to understanding the act and judging whether it is normal or not, justified or not, innovative or not. From a constructivist perspective, the meanings of labels are dependent on the patterns of their use. A label conveys meaning because evoking it draws on a tradition that is mutually understood, but each time a label is invoked, the label is used in a new context. While identities are not stable, the meanings of identity labels can be because they can be treated as stable by the practical consensus of society. Labels such as professor or comrade can maintain the same general relationship to the overarching social order in the face of evolutionary or even radical social changes as long as members of society continue to use

them in ways that they deem to be consistent. However, even if the changes are presented as maintaining the stability of the broader social structures, as members use the labels they are constantly tweaking them, applying them to new situations and in new ways. These small alterations generally go unnoticed, and yet their accumulated impact can be enormous, as the examples from the South African transition demonstrate. Some labels are more elastic than others, but all are susceptible to the vagaries of social use.

In practice, members of a society consistently use certain labels to justify and explain certain actions, and persons who use other labels to present the same activities are usually punished. Creative adaptations that are accepted are interpreted either as an inconsequential tweaking of the meaning of an existing identity label or the generation of an entirely new one. Persons with power are often able to represent adaptations either as non-changes or as an evolution that only further demonstrates the solid foundations of the existing social order. Even large adaptations, either to an identity or to an identity label, often are presented in ways that preserve a sense of continuity with the past. The practices of ignoring change or presenting it as continuity serve those who benefit from the existing system of privilege distribution. Elites have social power because they possess identity labels valued by the current social order, and the powerful, almost by definition, largely control the discourse within which these interpretations are embedded. Still, manipulation of the discourse by the powerful is only sometimes conscious, for the powerful are often even more psychologically dependent on the belief system that justifies their privilege than subordinate members of society.

Whether consciously or not, labels often do become part of political strategy. Because labels are a marker of similarity, they are a resource for those who want to tap into the political power of a preexisting constituency. The power comes from gaining hegemony over the standards by which actors judge themselves to be "good" Zulus or comrades or professors. Identity labels are mobilized when those with the label in their repertoire (or those without it) come to believe that the label is important to how they should behave. Sometimes this accentuation is a justification created after a group has coalesced through a visceral reaction to an issue and sometimes it is a conscious strategy to gain power. An identity label and its accompanying cohort of actors can be empowered by increasing the importance of some characteristic that many people seem to share—that is, making a previously innocuous descriptive label part of actors' everyday personas. This process of construction, with its incumbent questions of agency, is beyond the scope of this chapter, but it is a very intriguing part of the study of political identity and one that I believe this heuristic is useful for describing.

None of this should be read to underestimate the power of social arrangements or overemphasize the potential for radical change. Everyday activities take place within the power relations of an existing social order.

In normal times, most members of a society will feel that they have very few practical choices with respect to the identities and the rules that they are able to activate in social situations, and observers are likely to punish innovations they perceive to be threatening to existing social arrangements. And yet those arrangements are adapted continuously to account for the evolution of material circumstances and to maintain a society's existing momentum. While these small, adaptive changes of everyday life appear as stability to those within the existing social arrangements, any particular creative act has the potential to catch on and evolve into a social rule. Any actor can become an agent (in the sociological sense) with respect to one aspect of the social order, even if the rest of the rules and patterns and meanings continue to confront her, him, or it as structures beyond the control of any one actor. One of the advantages of this perspective is that, by removing agency from the actor and embedding it instead in the identity labels that the agent successfully asserts in an interaction, we can much more precisely attribute creativity and responsibility while acknowledging that most of the time actors are not agents. Most of the time, actors follow the patterns and rules of the social order into which they were born, in this reading by obeying the expectations encoded into identity labels that they and others accept as descriptive of themselves in a particular context. If we adopt this perspective, examining the labels that people use to make sense of their world becomes a valuable way to study politics.

Conclusions for Using Identity to Study Politics

The question that spawned this argument was "What aspects of identity are stable and which ones change?" The obvious answer for a scholar of world politics is that the fluidity of identity depends on power. I have argued that by disaggregating identity into socially defined identity labels, scholars can have better access to negotiations of power. Whether an identity label and its accompanying rules are treated as stable and predictable or fluid and negotiable is determined in practice, sometimes consciously, but most often through the praxis of everyday life. Scholars often revert to the metaphor of space to explain new opportunities for action ("space for action was opened up"), but another way to think about them is as newly normalized behaviors that come to be associated with previously disempowered identity labels. Privileging labels instead of the actors to whom they apply means that actors are agents when they successfully assert agency-laden identity labels in their personas. From this perspective, a social order conveys creative power to certain of its members by empowering identity labels that actors can assert (more or less successfully) or be afflicted with (more or less successfully) in certain circumstances. Existing definitions of power provide social stability because actors who successfully assert agency-laden labels are more likely to have their adaptations and adjustments validated.

The methodological argument made here is that because the bank of socially meaningful identity labels is a resource that persons draw on to sort and organize reality, scholars can study the labels and their patterns of use as a window into the society more broadly. Questions of the continuity or change in a particular identity label are a convenient nexus where an interested researcher can grab hold of the mutual constitution of society and individuals. This perspective is just one among many, but I argue that it does have certain advantages.

First, it allows persons within a society to specify through their actions which identities are privileged in any particular context. We need not assume that only certain similarities and differences are important to politics. This aspect of constructivist political identity was particularly important in trying to answer my questions about South African social change. Second, this perspective traverses traditional levels of analysis. Labels can be applied to any type of actor—states, individuals, corporations, even sub-body conceptions of actors. A focus on identity labels abstracts out personality from the analysis of politics and inserts personas instead. We worry not about how personal characteristics are linked to particular persons, but about how such characteristics are used to justify and explain actions. We can analyze the broader social arrangements by seeing why such justifications have the power to persuade. What types of discursive claims fit into the understanding of reality and which do not? And often we can learn as much from the assertions that fail to take hold (such as the early 1980s efforts to "reform" apartheid) as those that do. Third, studying labels allows us to get even more precise articulations of agency by going beyond spatial representations to temporal ones. Persons are agents *when* they successfully assert agency-laden labels. Agency and identity become as much about time as they do about material, corporeal manifestations. The attribution of personhood to corporate entities makes larger entities responsible for acts.

While the politics of dismantling apartheid and building an alternative social order were explicitly about altering the power of a particular manifestation of identity—race—and its position in people's identities, all politics involve structures of identity. Identity labels are a necessary part of political activity, if for no other reason than actors' general need to answer some sort of "Who?" question. Who are we and who are we against? Who am I that I have the right/responsibility/ability to act? Who are they that hold power over me? Paying attention to identity labels and how they change or not can therefore provide valuable insights into political discourse.

Notes

1. For a more expansive version, see *Political Identity and Social Change: The Remaking of the South African Social Order* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2003).
2. See Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

3. Erica Burman, Amanda Kottler, Ann Levitt, and Ian Parker, "Power and Discourse: Culture and Change in South Africa," in *Culture, Power and Difference: Discourse Analysis in South Africa*, ed., Ann Levitt, Amanda Kottler, Erica Burman, and Ian Parker (London: Zed Books, 1997), 3.
4. Ibid., 3.
5. Kathryn A. Manzo, *Domination, Resistance and Social Change in South Africa: The Local Effects of Global Power* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992).
6. D.C. van der Spuy, *Amnesty for Terrorism* (Pretoria: National Bureau of International Communications, 1978), 29.
7. Wynand Malan, interview with author, July 31, 1997, Johannesburg.
8. "Even following the convictions in October and November of a few Whites on security charges, there was reason to believe that a White hand, possibly Marxist, was still guiding aspects of the unrest from inside South Africa." Bob Hitchcock, *Flashpoint South Africa* (Cape Town: Don Nelson, 1977), 194, quoted in Frank Molteno, "The Uprising of 16th June," *Social Dynamics* 5, n.1 (1979): 59.
9. Cited in Denis Herbstein, *White Man, We Want to Talk to You* (New York: Africana, 1979), 15.
10. Cited in Alan Brooks and Jeremy Brickhill, *Whirlwind Before the Storm* (London: International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1980), 27.
11. Khehla Shubane, "Soweto," in *All Here and Now: Black Politics in South Africa in the 1980s*, ed., Tom Lodge and Bill Nasson (US: The Ford Foundation, 1991), 257.
12. Steven Mufson, *Fighting Years: Black Resistance and the Struggle for a New South Africa* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990), 12.
13. Ibid., 118.
14. Ibid., 121.
15. Interview with George, July 29, 1997, Johannesburg.
16. Member of Parliament and former local resistance leader, interview by author, Bronkhurstspruit, July 29, 1997.
17. See Audie Klotz, *Norms in International Relations: The Struggle Against Apartheid* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).
18. Antony, interviewed by author, July 31, 1997, Johannesburg.
19. Wilfred Scharf, interviewed by author, July 7, 1997, Cape Town.
20. "Real South Africans," *Citizen*, September 15, 1998, 6, DNB. The newspapers surveyed 11,000 South Africans.
21. "True S. Africans 'Won't Run Away,'" *Citizen*, September 14, 1998, 1, DNB.
22. "Real South Africans," *Citizen*, September 15, 1998, 6.
23. "Crime and Emigration," *Business Day*, September 15, 1998, 19; "Wake Up Call," *Natal Witness*, September 14, 1998, 8; both DNB.
24. "The 'White' Factor," *Eastern Province Herald*, September 15, 1998, 4; "Moving Beyond Fear and Loathing," *Sunday Independent*, September 20, 1998, 10. "Real South Africans," *Citizen*, September 15, 1998, 6; all DNB.
25. "Comment," *Sowetan*, September 15, 1998, 8, received from the DNB list server, September 1998.
26. "Wake Up Call," DNB, September 14, 1998.
27. "The 'White' Factor," DNB, September 15, 1998.
28. Jeffrey Checkel, "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory," *World Politics* 50 (January 1998): 324–348. Also interesting is Ted Hopf's distinction between conventional and critical constructivism.

Critical constructivism aims at exploding the myths associated with identity formation, whereas conventional constructivists wish to treat those identities as possible causes of action. Critical constructivism thus claims an interest in change, and a capacity to foster change, that no conventional constructivist could make. Ted Hopf, "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory," *International Security* 23, 1 (Summer 1998): 184.

29. Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
30. This version of constructivism is heavily influenced by Nicholas Onuf. See especially *World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1989).
31. Many constructivists who have focused on identity have chosen to write about only one of the two directions of constitution. Many seem to neglect the agent-to-identity-to-structure direction generally adopted by mainstream IR. Jeff Checkel (325–326) also argues this. For an example of an article that utilizes the agency-to-identity-to-structure direction, see Roxanne Lynn Doty, "Sovereignty and the Nation: Constructing the Boundaries of National Identity," in Thomas J. Berserker and Cynthia Weber (eds.), *State Sovereignty as Social Construct* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 121–147.

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Chapter 6

"The Language of Respectability" and the (Re)Constitution of Muslim Selves in Colonial Bengal

Samantha L. Arnold

This chapter explores some of the methodological and theoretical issues specifically related to the effort to think about the "fluidity" of identity.[1] It is informed by an understanding of identities not as ontologized "things," but as the effects of discursive practices. More specifically, identities are understood herein as performative, as "tenuously constituted in time . . . through a stylized repetition of acts" and therefore as having "no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitute its reality."[2] This move to resist a substantialized notion of identity directs our attention not to the ways in which identities change or do not change, but rather to the ways in which identities have the *appearance* of stability or instability over time. And importantly, the emphasis on performativity draws attention to the fact that identities are "done" by actual people (constructed as "doers" in the process of "doing"),[3] and creates meaningful theoretical space for a bottom-up approach to IR.

(Re)doing identity in IR must be more than an exclusively theoretical exercise—we must provide empirical content to our theoretical constructs, even while the complexities of identity at the level of theory sometimes do not lend themselves in a straightforward way to empirical work. Without question, I have confronted this difficulty in my own work on Muslim identities in colonial Bengal; in this chapter I explore some of the struggles I have had in my ongoing efforts to conduct and convey empirical research in a manner consistent with my theoretical understanding of identities as performatively constituted. In particular, I briefly lay out the problem I encountered concerning the "referent" of analysis when studying "identities"—a problem that forced me to grapple with the question of just what it is that is being studied, and how to go about studying it, when we understand the "thing" we are studying as an effect of discursive practices.

Finally, as a way of concretizing what could otherwise be a rather abstract discussion of the theoretical and methodological issues involved in doing identity in IR, I draw on my research into Muslim identities in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Bengal. The editors of this volume have invited contributors to view the achievement of continuity as something that must be explained lest we default into the unreflexive assumption that change is the "natural state" or "essence" of identities. So, rather than consider the ways in which various Muslim identity practices may have "failed to repeat" over the last quarter of the nineteenth century, I explore instead the ways in which a particular standard of Islamic orthodoxy was (re)produced and sustained until well into the twentieth century. Critically, it was this standard through which the question of what it meant—indeed what it *could* mean—to be a Muslim in Bengal was mediated. An exploration of the ways in which this seemingly enduring standard of orthodoxy was performatively (re)constituted in an ongoing way as the "test" of "true" Muslim-ness neatly illustrates, I think, the necessity of thinking about identities not as *things* that can be "fluid" or "stable," but rather as discursive *effects* that only ever appear to be fluid or stable.

Identity as Performative

In the simplest terms, Judith Butler's notion of "performativity" refers to the idea that identity is constituted "by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results."[4] In what may be its best-known application in IR, David Campbell has advanced the argument that foreign policy is an identity practice, an argument in which the performative constitution of the state is a core proposition.[5] The essence of Campbell's argument is that the interpretation of danger by the state constitutes the very identity that the state is claiming to protect through its foreign policy—in other words, that identity is constituted through its own effects, a proposition that flies in the face of any notion that a "stable" and "fixed" state identity is the referent of security, the "thing" to be protected. Resisting this move to ontologize identity, a performative understanding resists also the closures that are effected by an objectified, substantialized rendering of identity. Such renditions carry the troubling implication that identity is a thing, perhaps primordial, that always exists "out there," always recognizable to itself. If space is allowed for identity as being constituted, constructed in practice, there is nevertheless too frequently a sense that identity is or could be an achieved state of being, the end result of a process of becoming. It distracts our attention, by the erasure of difference that it connotes, from the contestations, marginalizations, and exercises of power that (re)produce identities. An understanding of identities as performative, on the other hand, highlights their always-ongoing constitution and renders untenable the idea that identities exist "out there," ready for sharing, negotiating, challenging, or altering. It implicates subjects in the (re)articulation of the very structures of representation by which they are constituted as subjects, and

points to the centrality of the exercise of power, marginalization, domination, and exclusion in the materialization of discursive effects. A performative understanding of identities thus creates a great deal of space for thinking about the questions of alterity, multiplicity, and constructedness.

In this chapter I briefly explore this potential with specific reference to the way that a performative understanding of identity creates space for thinking about (and studying empirically) both stability and change without inadvertently ontologizing identities. Butler notes that gender is "a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance," having stressed that even when gender "seems to congeal into the most reified forms, the 'congealing' is itself an insistent and insidious practice, sustained and regulated by various social means."[6] To the extent that Butler's argument about gender identities can be applied to identity in general, then the question of how identities seem or seem not to "change" is more precisely a question of how the discursive practices through which identities are constituted are (or are not) sustained. But insofar as identities are constituted through a "stylized repetition of acts" it is vital to understand that the repetition is always ongoing, and the "stability" of the identity this repetition (re)produces is only the *appearance* of stability. Butler does maintain space for a transformation of identity, however, by pointing to "the possibility of a failure to repeat, a de-formity, or a parodic repetition."[7] It is because of this possibility that identities must be understood not as enduring, but rather as only "tenuously constituted in time."

I cannot do more here than glance across the depth and nuance of Butler's arguments, which have implications for thinking about identity that go far beyond the limits of this chapter. In presenting identity in these terms, my central purpose is to point to the terrain of empirical interrogations of identity, that is, to the very acts that constitute (and are constituted as meaningful by) the substantive appearance of identity. But what is the nature of these "acts"? I have suggested that identity is constituted discursively . . . does this mean that identity is all in our heads? How do we begin to empirically study interpretations, meanings, and ideas?

Taking seriously the idea that identities are performatively constituted in discursive practices does not in any way disconnect us from "reality." A discursive strategy denies only that the objective world can be meaningfully apprehended independently of discourse. Moreover, insofar as discourses organize the material world within a system of related meanings, we can say that discourses have material effects. In this connection, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe argue that discursive structures have a material character, and remind us that to assert otherwise is "to accept the very classical dichotomy between an objective field constituted outside any discursive intervention, and a discourse consisting of the pure expression of thought."[8] Thus, to suggest that the "referent" of analysis when interrogating identities is the discursive practices that constitute them is to draw attention to both meanings and their reiterative discursive and material effects.

My initial exploration of Muslim identities in Bengal as articulated by the Muslim literati in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth centuries suggested a rich empirical source for a consideration of the "stylized repetition of acts" that (re)constituted the various (and competing) senses of "Muslim-ness" at the beginning of the period, and the "failures to repeat," the "de-formities" that (re)constituted those imaginarratives in increasingly convergent ways by the end of the century. Judith Butler has suggested, "[a] political genealogy of gender ontologies, if it is successful, will deconstruct the substantive appearance of gender into its constitutive acts and locate and account for those acts."[9] This is precisely what I set out to do with respect to the different articulations of "Muslim-ness" by the Bengal Muslim literati. But, in the "accounting" a sneaky sort of slippage occurred in my project, one that led me to inadvertently ontologize identities, reintroduce the dichotomy of material/discourse that I had explicitly rejected, and accord causal explanatory power to a context that I had implicitly rendered separate from and prior to the constitution of Muslim identities. Just how this happened despite my best intentions is what I want to turn to next.

The Chrysalis, or How I "Thingified" Identities—a Cautionary Tale

Metaphors are tricky things; although they are offered in order to represent and clarify an idea or related ideas, they have a way of imposing themselves on the very ideas they are intended to merely convey. In my case, a reliance on the "chrysalis" as a metaphoric image for identity had two pernicious effects as I began my empirical research. The first is related to the importation of "thingness" into my project despite my explicit rejection of substantialized notions of identity, and more specifically, to the way in which I set up that "thing" in relation not only to the historical context but also to prior moments in "its" own history. The second derives from the first; in setting up identity as a "thing" that could be explained, I ended up rendering it as an effect of "its" history and historical context. In practical terms, this had the effect of subtly but meaningfully shifting the empirical focus away from the discursive practices themselves and toward the *context* in which identities were being constituted.

The contextuality of performatively constituted identity that I was trying to convey, the "accounting" for the "acts" that I was trying to accomplish in that turn, was something that I understood as located in a series of structured contingencies. However, the English language seems to have particular difficulty talking about what amounts to a "process" without simultaneously invoking images of evolution, development, or unilinearity. These images do capture the always-ongoingness that I understood to be central to performatively constituted identities, but they also imply a sense of improvement, of moving from lower to higher stages or forms. They suggest, too, that the "lineage" of an identity can be traced backward

to some defining moment—an ideologically charged suggestion that presupposes the present-day existence of some "thing" that transcends context and history, and that can identify itself in the past.

Unable to convey the shade of meaning that I was after without endless neologisms and contortions of language, I thought that metaphoric images might be better suited to the task of thinking about identity, and I initially employed a metaphor that is essentially rooted in the life process itself—that of the chrysalis, or cocoon. I found the metaphor of the ever-chrysalis powerful in its ability to capture the ceaseless action that goes on within. It also pointed to the dangers of freezing or suspending the "stylized repetition of acts" for the purposes of examination; in this case, the freezing of the chrysalis in order to scrutinize a particular "act" would surely cause the disruption of that very thing.

In locating the discursive practices constitutive of identity in an ongoing and transhistorical process represented by the chrysalis metaphor, I believed I was highlighting the always-ongoing constitution of identities. By focusing on the organic relationship between the moments in the process, I thought that I was pointing to the location of identity practices within the "limits of the possible" defined by the context and the prior moments in the process itself. What I ended up doing, however, was constituting the identity as a "thing," as a "continuity" with a traceable history and *real* linkages between past and present. This had meaningful implications for my empirical work, for in effect it meant that understanding Muslim identities in colonial Bengal was an exercise in historical chronology. And because identity practices were by this turn located in a process, the process itself became centrally important. What this meant in practical terms was that everything became relevant, that every "act" had to be explained with reference to the proceeding "acts," and the events that defined the context slyly assumed a causal role, or acted as a motive force. It also meant that I had great trouble figuring out how I would write this up, where I would start, and what the limits of the chronology would be.[10]

What I eventually realized was this: in searching for some (independently apprehendible) "context" in which to locate and explain the discursive acts constituting various Muslim-nesses, I was reintroducing (and "operationalizing") a dichotomy that *I don't accept*. In effect, in addition to creating identity as a thing through my use of the chrysalis metaphor, I was compounding that mistake by then separating that thing from its context and its own history, and attributing some causality or at least explanatory power to the latter—I was hunting for the origins and foundations of a "thingified" identity. I had, fundamentally and spectacularly, missed my own point.

The "groundedness" that I am interested in cannot be some context seen from *my* perspective—complicated, rich, but ultimately rendered as a causal or permissive "background" for the articulation of the particular discursive practices in which I am interested. Rather, this "groundedness" can come only from the perspective of the people whom I want to make visible to IR in the first place, the Muslims in Bengal. If what I am interested in is

how they understood themselves, how they imagined themselves to be Muslims, and how that played itself out, then what must be explored is how they *themselves* attached meaning to their context. What matters, in other words, is not this land reform act, or that debate over social status, but the *meanings* that become attached to those events in that "present."

My missteps, then, were several. Despite a theoretical understanding of identities as the effects of discursive practices, I had nevertheless "thingified" identities by locating those practices in an organic *process*, even while I struggled to convey the always-ongoingness of that process and its very constitution in social practice. In doing so, with reference to the chrysalis metaphor, I had moreover rendered identity as an actual historical continuity; it changed across time, but in locating the different moments in that process in an organic relationship, I created a historical thing with a traceable lineage. There is indeed a necessary connection between different moments in the ongoing performative constitution of identity, but this connection is discursive, and is located in the ways that the "past" is constituted and meaningfully deployed *in the present*. The emphasis on the context of both the past and present as central to understanding the changing articulations of identity is, therefore, both right and wrong. Where previously I had been focused on the past and present context as somehow explanatory in a permissive way, I realized that it is really the "imaginarrative" of that past and present context that is of central importance. In other words, the ways in which the past and present are rendered meaningful to people in the present is the location of the very "practice" that I saw as central to identity. Where previously the "referent" had been the process itself insofar as it provided "groundedness" for the discursive practices through which identity is constituted, I finally realized that the focus of my project needed to be the always-ongoing-present. Identity practices, like revisionist histories, have very little to do with "history," and everything to do with the "now."

In the remainder of this chapter, I hope to illustrate more concretely some of the points I have rather abstractly developed earlier with reference to my exploration of Muslim identities in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Bengal. Throughout this period, the Muslim literati was engaged in debates about the "mother-tongue" of the Bengal Muslims, an issue that cannot be separated from different conceptions of what it meant to be a Muslim, and more particularly, a Muslim in Bengal. Reading through one aspect of these debates—specifically, unpacking the arguments made by those Muslims in support of Urdu as the mother-tongue—I explore the discursive (re)deployment of a particular standard of Islamic orthodoxy against which the Bengali language was considered both profane and un-Islamic, and Bengali-speaking Muslims to be not "true" Muslims. By discursively constituting Urdu as the language of both "respectable" Muslims and of "orthodox" Muslims (and in this turn equating respectability and a particular standard of orthodoxy), a Muslim identity understood as incompatible with a Bengali identity—such that Bengali Muslims could not be "good" Muslims—was (re)constituted until well into the twentieth century.

Writing in an "Ungodly Language"

The attitude of those who understood themselves to be orthodox Muslims toward the Bengali language since the time of the Muslim conquest has been complicated by two competing perceptions. On the one hand, these Muslims held that the translation of Islamic principles and knowledge into non-Islamic languages was not only sinful, but ultimately impossible. On the other, there was an awareness that the great majority of Muslims in Bengal did not speak the Islamic languages, and were thus effectively prevented from acquiring the very knowledge these Muslims deemed necessary for one to be a "good" Muslim.

Shah Muhammad Sagir, a poet of the early fifteenth century wrote:

> I want to avoid sin, fear and shame and be firm. People enjoy the language used in various poems, and whatever a person is attached to will make him happy. People are afraid of writing *ketabs* (i.e., books based on Arabic and Persian originals) in Bengali. Everyone will blame me but it is not right that they should. I have thought about this subject and I feel that such fears are false. If what is written is true, it does not matter what language it is written in. I have heard wise men say that one's mother-tongue is the most precious jewel in the treasury of wealth.[11]

Although apologetic about his use of Bengali, Sagir stated his conviction in this text that no sin attached to the treatment of Muslim themes in that language. Sagir's confidence, however, was not widely shared by Muslim poets in the sixteenth- and seventeenth centuries. What is clear in the apologias that frequently served as introductions to their work is a reluctance to translate classical Persian and Arabic stories, poems, histories, and above all, religious works into Bengali, a language that they considered profane, even while they believed that this was necessary in order to educate rural Muslims in Bengal about the principles of Islam. This tension is reflected, for example, in the work of Abdun Nabi, who in 1684 wrote, "I am afraid in my heart that God [Gosain] may be angry with me for writing Muslim scriptures in Bengali. But I reject the fear and firmly resolve to write in order to do good to the common people."[12] Sheikh Muttalib, also writing in the seventeenth century expressed a similar conviction, stating:

> I have translated Muslim religious books in Bengali. I am sure I committed a grave sin. But I have this assurance in my mind that the believers will bless me as they understand my book. The blessings of the faithful will bring virtue to me and Allah the Forgiver, will surely forgive my sin.[13]

The fact that these authors opted to write in Bengali instead of the "Islamic languages" indicates that the perceived imperative to educate rural Bengal Muslims in their vernacular outweighed but did not diminish the clear discomfort these authors felt; what is vitally important to underscore is their awareness that by writing in Bengali on Islamic themes they

were engaging in the commission of sin—notwithstanding their expectation of forgiveness—and were violating the dictates of the Perso-Arabic standard of Islamic orthodoxy to which these authors quite explicitly adhered and intended to disseminate.

Until very late in the nineteenth century, adherence to this (nominally) Perso-Arabic standard of orthodoxy continued to define a "true" Muslim, and interestingly, the test of one's orthodoxy was in many ways a linguistic one. Knowledge of the "Islamic languages," and especially of Urdu, was understood as necessary in order to be a "good" Muslim. However, the bulk of the Muslim population in Bengal was, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as in the fifteenth century, Bengali speaking; in the later context, defined in large measure by the perceived need to forge a united Muslim community to counter the economically and politically dominant Hindus, the fact that most Muslims could not be mobilized *as Muslims*, due in part to the linguistic divide, became problematic. This realization was articulated in 1880 by a Muslim writing under the pseudonym of "Saeed" who warned:

> . . . the refusal or inability of the higher Mosalmaans to adopt the Bengaali has greatly affected the relationship between them and the lower Mosalmaans. We do not learn the Bengaali—whilst our lower orders cannot learn the Persian, cannot learn even the Hindustaani [Urdu]. There are thus no means of fellow-feeling or of acting together. The knowledge we possess does not reach down to our lower neighbours—our character, ideas and habits of thought do not affect them.[14]

Over the next quarter-century, most of the "higher Mosalmans" had come to terms with the necessity of cultivating some form of Bengali for pragmatic reasons, in effect striking the same compromise as the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Muslim writers; some had further accepted that Bengali was their mother-tongue, and ultimately the prevailing "orthodoxy" would be reconstituted so as to allow space for Bengali as the mother-tongue, if not the "national language" of Bengal Muslims. Until then, a small but influential section of primarily Calcutta-based Muslims refused to compromise on this point. Rather than adopt Bengali even as their *lingua franca*, these Muslims argued instead that the entire Muslim community of Bengal should regard Urdu as its mother-tongue. And, deployed in the context of the debate over the mother-tongue was the equation of "true" Muslims with Urdu-speaking Muslims. An important aspect of this turn was the continued (re)constitution of a Muslim identity as incompatible with a Bengali identity, and the discursive production of "Muslims" out of "Bengalis."

The Social Context of the Language Debates

Critical to an understanding of the debates over the "mother-tongue" of the Muslims in Bengal in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

is the extent to which Bengal Muslim society was "clearly caught between the two opposite pulls of an extra-territorial 'Islamic' ideology and of a local geographical 'Bengali' culture."[15] These different orientations were constituted as mutually incompatible by the self-styled representatives of the Perso-Arabic standard of Islamic orthodoxy—the socially powerful *ashraf* who refused to understand themselves as being "of" Bengal even while they were "in" Bengal. The *ashraf* understood themselves instead to be the descendants of immigrants from central Asia, Persia, Arabia, Afghanistan, and Northern India, and more specifically, as descended directly from the Prophet's daughter and the forth Caliph of Islam (Saiyads), the Afghan conquerors (Pathans), the Mongol conquerors (Mughals), or the chiefs of Arabia (Sheikhs). It was on the basis of this claim to foreign origins that the *ashraf* differentiated themselves from the bulk of the Muslim population in Bengal, the *atrap*. While the *atrap* understood themselves in terms of their relationship to the land of Bengal as cultivators, the *ashraf* dismissed the *atrap* as converts from Hinduism, and incomplete converts at that, practicing a degraded form of Islam permeated with Hindu "accretions."[16] Thus, the *ashraf* claimed for themselves not only a preeminent social status derived from their close or lineal relationship to the Prophet, but also cultivated a collective image of themselves as the only "true" Muslims in Bengal insofar as they alone adhered to a Perso-Arabic standard of Islamic orthodoxy.[17]

Urdu: The Language of "Respectability" and "Orthodoxy"

An important marker of the *ashraf*'s claim to "orthodoxy" was their refusal to learn (or perhaps, to speak[18]) the Bengali language, let alone accept Bengali as their mother-tongue; instead, these Muslims insisted on using Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, the so-called Islamic languages. There are several points worth noting in this context. On one level, any suggestion that Bengali might be the language of all Muslims in Bengal served to undermine the socioreligious authority that derived from the *ashraf*'s claim to foreign origins and thereby a closer relationship to the Prophet. The connection between knowledge and use of the "Islamic languages"—which were understood as "foreign languages"[19]—and the foreign origins of the *ashraf* themselves was explicitly and frequently noted in official publications and in the press. In this connection, Abdul Karim writing in 1900 observed:

> The Musalmans of Bengal may be divided into two classes, viz. Musalmans by descent and Musalmans by conversion . . . the Musalmans of those places that are largely inhabited by Musalmans by descent generally attach much importance to Urdu, Persian, and Arabic, while the Musalmans of places largely inhabited by converts, care very little for these languages.[20]

This sentiment is echoed too in the views of the Mohammadan Literary Society, an organization committed to the cause of Muslim education and

advancement, and whose members included the most aristocratic and "orthodox" members of *ashraf* society.[21] According to Abdul Luteef, the Society's *sharif* founder, Bengali was the mother-tongue only of the "low-class" Muslims who were ethnically related to the Hindus, while "respectable" Muslims descended from immigrants and conquerors spoke Urdu as their mother-tongue.[22] And, without question, there was a clear sense in which Urdu was discursively (re)produced as the language of "genteel society." Despite the growing criticism of this position by the turn of the century, still in 1910 reference in the *Muhammadi* was made to the "many Muslims who think it degrading to speak in Bengali instead of Urdu,"[23] and as late as 1927 it was observed that many Bengali-speaking Muslims claimed that "in order to qualify as aristocratic Muslims it is essential to change their mother-tongue."[24] The association of Urdu with social respectability was reflected too in the reports written by District Magistrates and Divisional Commissioners in the late nineteenth century on the status of education in Bengal, and it is significant that the observations and conclusions made in these reports regarding the attitude of Bengal Muslims toward the Bengali language were materialized in later Government policies on vernacular education. According to the Commissioner of Dacca, Bengali was in 1873 studied "only by some of the children of the lower classes and by those of the class of *amlahs* and *mookhtears*," while "the cultivation and use of the Urdu, written in Arabic characters, is certainly considered among Mahomedans to be more respectable."[25] Even Dewlar Hossein, himself an advocate of Bengali education for the "high-class" Muslims for practical reasons, did not dispute the necessity of Urdu because, as he pointed out, "[n]o Mosalman in Bengal can be admitted into the society of the higher classes who does not possess a knowledge of the Hindustani [Urdu] language—who is unable to converse in it fluently and idiomatically."[26]

Knowledge of Urdu as a test for "respectability" was linked, no doubt, to the social exclusivity of the Urdu-speaking Muslim minority in Bengal. But "respectability" among these Muslims was more directly linked to one's knowledge of Islamic culture and scriptures. In this context, Delwar Hossein noted in 1880:

> The title of gentleman is denied to him who is ignorant of the language in Ferdaosi narrated, Sa'di instructed, and Haafez loved. The Persian moreover is still the language of correspondence among the higher Moslems throughout India. The Arabic is the language in which the Holy Kor-aan is written—the language of the Moslem Religion and Law—the language in which the Prophet spoke and taught. An acquaintance with Arabic literature is necessary to constitute erudition and piety.[27]

Maulvi Alauddin Ahmed observed in 1891 that "[u]p to present times there has been a complete absence from the field of Bengali literature of Muslim writing and the exposition of Islam's glory,"[28] an observation that

reflected the centuries-old reluctance or out-right refusal on the part of most "orthodox" Muslims to have religious literature rendered in a "profane" language, and lent a certain credence to the assertion that this literature was largely inaccessible to anyone without linguistic competence in the "Islamic languages." There was in fact, as noted earlier, a burgeoning literature addressing Islamic themes and written in Bengali dating back to the sixteenth century; however, this literature was heavily penetrated by (and constitutive of) elements of the localized ("degraded") Islam of Bengal and did not meet the test of "orthodoxy" as it was understood by these *ashraf*. It is especially interesting to note that in and of itself, no religious significance is attached to Urdu—it is not the language in which "the Prophet spoke and taught," or the language in which the foundational Islamic texts had been written; indeed, with reference to the Perso-Arabic standard to which the *ashraf* claimed to adhere, there is no sense in which Urdu could be considered an "Islamic language" at all. However Urdu, a blending of Hindi, Persian, and Arabic, was frequently referred to alongside of Persian and Arabic implicitly or explicitly as an "Islamic language,"[29] and was in this way discursively constituted not only as the language of "gentlemen," but also as a language into which these centrally important religious works and concepts could be translated without the commission of sin, something not possible with respect to translations into Bengali in the minds of these Urdu-speaking Muslims. In that sense Urdu was produced as an important Indian "gateway" language providing access to the Islamic knowledge deemed necessary for "good" Muslims. As an "Islamic" language, it was the language of original and translated Muslim literature, and, in addition to Persian, was the medium of instruction in the *maktabs* [Koran schools]. Thus, as Khan Bahadur Abdul Majid Chaudhuri observed in 1903:

> All sacred books of the Muhammadans being written either in Arabic, Persian or Urdu, it is necessary for a Muhammadan to learn something . . . of these languages, if he wishes to claim any knowledge of his religion and respect from the society.[30]

This attitude was expressed well into the twentieth century. The *Education Gazette* reported in 1911 that it is "impossible for Musalman students to receive proper religious instruction through the medium of Bengali books. For that purpose they must have recourse to Persian and Urdu."[31] Abdul Malik Choudhury's observation in 1916 points to their continuing influence, and moreover to the move to establish Urdu as the mother tongue of Bengal Muslims:

> "Such Holy books as the *Quran* and *Hadith* cannot be translated into [Bengali], nor can our religious ceremonies be discussed in it. It is Urdu that is the mother-tongue of the Muslims and it is in Urdu that we must converse with each other and indeed even dream"—these kind of edicts have been proclaimed everywhere and their influence has not been in vain.[32]

In this way, aside from whatever social prestige or exclusivity was attached to their use of Urdu, it had been constructed as a specifically Muslim language, and became associated with a particular standard of religiosity. Thus, an insistence by the *ashraf* that Urdu was their mother-tongue was both consistent with, and (re)constitutive of the *ashraf*'s status as representatives of Islamic "orthodoxy" in Bengal. This connection is made explicit in the 1916 *Report of the Moslem Education Advisory Committee* in which it was noted:

> There is an idea at the back of the minds of more conservative members of the community that Urdu is the mother-tongue of all Moslems. Such persons admit that Moslems have had to adopt the vernacular of the people among whom they live for the affairs of everyday life, but they contend that the language which is connected with Moslem religion and tradition is Urdu.[33]

The linguistic differentiation of the *ashraf* from the "people among whom they live" points to the ongoing refusal of the *ashraf* to admit that they were Bengalis or at least that they had some connection to Bengal. By implication, there is also a reaffirmation of the mutual incompatibility of a "true" Muslim identity and a Bengali identity. The notion that Urdu is the mother-tongue of "*all* Moslems," when read against the admission that they might for practical reasons have to adopt the vernacular of the "people among whom they live" can be read in two ways. One reading, which takes the "people among whom they live" to refer to the Bengali Muslims, points to the continued unwillingness to admit that these "people" were in fact Muslims too despite their use of Bengali. A second reading, in which the "people among whom they live" refers in general to Bengalis, reaffirms the idea that a Muslim identity is not compatible with a Bengali identity. Either way, the equation of Urdu with orthodoxy is clear.

Urdu: The Mother-tongue of All Muslims?

As I have noted, underlying those arguments concerned to demonstrate that Urdu is the language of the *ashraf* even while admitting that Bengali may well be the mother-tongue of the *atrap* is the (re)production of an image of Muslims in Bengal as belonging to two distinct communities—"real" Muslims on the one hand, and "half-Muslim" converts on the other. However, there were arguments "in the air" suggestive of quite a different agenda; rather than (re)producing the distinction between *ashraf* and *atrap*, some arguments seemed intended to deploy Urdu in order to *erase* that distinction—the perception of a growing imperative to accomplish precisely such an erasure was brought into sharp focus over the last decades of the nineteenth century. This need to cultivate "fellow-feeling" between the "higher Musalmans" and the "lower orders" placed the *ashraf* in a difficult position; as Saeed/Hossein recognized in 1880, the cultivation of a sense of community between the *ashraf* and the *atrap* was significantly

compromised by the former's unwillingness or inability to use anything but Urdu (at least in public). The task of transcending the linguistic barrier would thus be placed squarely upon the *atrap*—if the Urdu-speaking Muslims would not use Bengali, then the Bengali-speaking "converts" would have to adopt Urdu. This is in fact something many were eager to do in the context of the reformist movements of the late nineteenth century and the "ashrafization" attending the increased wealth of many Muslim cultivators that sparked among the *atrap* a rejection of Bengali culture and language. As Rafiuddin Ahmed has argued in this context, "[v]irtually everyone was keen to discard his Bengali identity and be recognized as a *sharif* of alien origin,"[34] and the adoption of Urdu provided a way for these "half-Muslims" to reconstitute themselves as "true" and "respectable" Muslims.

The discursive erasure of the line separating Urdu-speaking Muslims from Bengali-speaking Muslims was apparent in the admission by some *ashraf* that perhaps Bengali was not the mother-tongue of the *atrap* Muslims after all. Abdul Karim was vocal in his opposition to the idea of introducing Urdu as the mother-tongue of Bengali Muslims but nevertheless contributed to the notion that Bengali's status as the mother-tongue was not unassailable. He argued in 1900 that:

> Properly speaking the Musalmans of Bengal have no particular language of their own, as their distinct dialect does not deserve to be called by this name. The assumption that Bengali is the vernacular of all the Musalmans is not wholly correct. In large towns many Musalmans speak Urdu, while in the Mufussil the mother-tongue of the respectable Musalmans is a kind of Bengali which is different from pure Bengali.[35]

Here, we see an effort to establish a distinction between the Bengali spoken by the Hindus from that spoken by respectable Muslims in the countryside. This goes some way toward including the Bengali-speaking Muslims within the limits of the "orthodox" by establishing that while many Muslims did not speak Urdu as their mother-tongue, nor did they speak Bengali. Importantly, these quasi-Bengali-speaking Muslims (a reference to the "Musalmani Bengali" spoken by many Muslims, a dialect that was fundamentally Bengali but marked by its inclusion of Arabic and Persian vocabularies) are described as "respectable," a characterization that serves to alter the test of "orthodoxy" such that the requirement of "real" Muslims is not so much that they speak Urdu, but rather that they do not speak Bengali.

This line of reasoning is picked up by another observer, who argued not only that Bengali was not the mother-tongue of Muslims in Bengal, but on the contrary that Urdu, or something like it, served in this function for all Bengali Muslims. Muzhar-i-Tawheed, to whose letter to the editor of the *Mussalman* I have already referred, makes an argument to that effect. He begins by asserting that, "if we are sure of anything, we are sure of this, that Bengali is as much foreign to the Mussalmans of Bengal as any other foreign tongue." But, as is clear from what follows, Tawheed's characterization of

Bengali as a "foreign tongue" applies not only to the *ashraf*, but also to the *atrap*, who speak, according to Tawheed:

> . . . in a jargon which a Hindu will probably not understand, for only the pronouns and verbs are Bengali, and the rest Urdu, Persian, and Arabic . . . This is the language to which Moulavi Abdul Karim Saheb characterises as "a kind of Bengali" which the "agriculturalists speak." But it is respectfully submitted that it is not "a kind of Bengali" but a kind of Urdu. So, the Muslim majority of Bengal speaks a kind of Urdu, while the minority speaks complete and through Urdu, though bad Urdu.[36]

Quite a different approach was taken by some Muslims who accepted that Urdu was not the mother-tongue of all Muslims in Bengal, but who argued that it *should* be. There is evidence of this in the protestations of those opposed to this move. For example, the editor of the *Naba-Nur*, a journal known for its liberal editorial policy on social issues, complained in 1903 about those Muslims who "desire to create a single mother-tongue for Muslims throughout the whole of India by forcibly conferring upon Urdu the status of the mother-tongue of Bengali Muslims;"[37] the *Darsan* similarly notes in 1913 that "some Moslems in Bengal are trying to make Urdu their mother-tongue."[38] In 1916, Abdul Malek Chowdhury pointed in the *Al-Elsam* to the "many people [who] still cling to the unnatural and extraordinary desire to sow the seed of Urdu in the soil of Bengal,"[39] while Mozaffar Ahmad noted in the same journal the following year that non-Bengali Muslims "are trying to promote their mother-tongue" on the grounds that "Urdu literature has attained the peak of excellence and therefore Bengalis by virtue of being Muslim ought to learn Urdu."[40] What is clear in each instance is the sense that the advocates of Urdu were trying to displace the "local" mother-tongue with a "foreign" language, and in this way, the association of Urdu with the ("foreign") *ashraf*, and of Bengali with the ("local") *atrap* was maintained. With specific reference to the last example, it is especially telling to note that while the distinction between "Bengalis" and "non-Bengalis" is maintained and Urdu is described as the mother-tongue only of the latter, the former are urged to adopt Urdu "by virtue of being Muslim." Here we see a discursive turn having the effect of reinforcing the distinction between "Bengalis" and "non-Bengalis" while simultaneously calling on "Bengalis" to transcend the linguistic barrier between them. Most importantly, the "Bengalis" are encouraged to do so precisely because they are also Muslim. This is especially interesting because it has the effect of constituting the Bengalis as "Muslims" in advance of their acquisition of the very "Islamic languages" needed to be a "good" Muslim.

Conclusion

Debates about the mother-tongue of the Bengal Muslims were inseparable from questions of what it meant or could mean to be a Muslim in

Bengal. The decision by some sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Muslim authors to write in Bengali, a "profane" language, had implications not only for how these authors were viewed by other Muslims but also how they understood themselves and their relationship to their faith. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the language issue was no less bound up with these very fundamental questions of identity. It is this connection that I have tried to underscore in this chapter by exploring some of the ways in which Urdu was performatively (re)constituted and deployed as the language of respectability and orthodoxy for Muslims in Bengal such that Urdu-speaking Muslims were (re)produced as "true" Muslims.

Notes

1. While "fluidity" has become a touchstone of efforts to understand identity, I am suspicious of the term, or more correctly, of the implications that flow from it. In particular, I would suggest that "fluidity" lends itself too easily to images of identities as amorphous, but nevertheless substantialized "things" which themselves undergo change—an image against which I consciously struggle in my own work.
2. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990), 140, 136.
3. Butler addresses the question of "agency" and the "subject," arguing that "there need not be a 'doer behind the deed,' but that the 'doer' is variably constructed in and through the deed" (142). The impossibility of a prediscursive subject is viewed by some as having closed any space for agency, but Butler stresses that the *constitution* of the subject *in* discourse is not a *determination* of the subject *by* discourse. She points to the irony of the charge that there can be no agency without the prediscursive subject, noting that "the internal paradox of this foundationalism is that it presumes, fixes, and constrains the very 'subjects' that it hopes to represent and liberate" (Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 148).
4. Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 25. While I am using the concept as developed by Butler, the idea of performativity, i.e., the notion that language constitutes the "reality" it was supposed only to describe was initially articulated by J. L. Austin. See J. L. Austin, J. O. Urmson, and Marina Sbisa (eds.), *How to Do Things with Words*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975). For a discussion of that work, and an exploration of the ways that "performativity" has been developed and differently understood by literary, post-structural, and gender theorists, see Jonathon Culler, "Philosophy and Literature: The Fortunes of the Performative," *Poetics Today*, 21: 3 (2000).
5. See Campbell, *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998 (1992)); see also Campbell's *National Deconstruction: Violence, Identity, and Justice in Bosnia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998) in which the idea of the performative constitution of identity is applied to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

6. Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 33.
7. Ibid., 141.
8. Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London and New York: Verso, 1987 (1985)), 108.
9. Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 33.
10. I was finally forced to confront the difficulty that I had unknowingly constructed for myself as the result of a good old-fashioned academic argument about my project and the difficulties I had been having getting the thing on paper. The discussion culminated with my colleague and friend standing over the table, shaking her finger in my direction, repeating loudly: "You have no problem! You have no problem!" She insisted that my difficulty was self-imposed—and more importantly, was a chimera.
11. Shah Muhammad Sagir, *Yusef Zulekha*, cited in Afia Dil, *Two Traditions of the Bengali Language* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993), 60, italics in original. See also Syed Sajjad Husain, *Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts in Munshi Abdul Karim's Collection* (Dacca: Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1960), 59.
12. Abdun Nabi, *Amir Hamza*, cited in M. E. Haq, *Muslim Bangiya Sahitya* (Dacca: Pakistan Publications, 1965), 59; reproduced in Asim Roy, "Social Factors in the Making of Bengali Islam," *South Asia* 3 (1973) 28.
13. Sheikh Muttalib, *Kifaytul Mussalin*, cited in Dil, *Two Traditions*, 61. See also Husain, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 587.
14. "Saeed," in *The Future of the Muhammadans of Bengal* (Urdoo Guide Press, 1880), cited in Sultan Jahan Salik (ed.), *Muslim Modernism in Bengal: Selected Writings of Delawarr Hosaen Ahamed Meerza (1840–1913), Vol. I* (Centre for Social Studies, 1980), 97; "Saeed" was the pseudonym of Delwar Hossein Ahmed (1840–1913), a middle-class, English-educated "radical" who argued forcefully that Bengali was the mother-tongue of the Muslims in Bengal, and who urged educated Muslims to learn both English and Bengali for the betterment of the Muslim community.
15. Asim Roy, "The Bengal Muslim 'Cultural Mediators' and the Bengal Muslim Identity in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *South Asia*, 10:1 (June, 1987), 11.
16. There is little doubt that the bulk of Muslims in Bengal are in fact indigenous converts to Islam (although it seems less likely that they were converts from Hinduism, which was not itself well established in Bengal at the time of Muslim penetration); however, the local origins of the *atrap*, while always relevant to the *ashraf*, did not become a matter of concern to the *atrap* until well into the nineteenth century, when the upward mobility of agriculturalists in combination with the revivalist–traditionalist Islamic movements throughout the century fueled a process of "ashrafization" that made the questions of origins central to the status-hungry *atrap*. Even still, L. S. S. O'Malley of the Indian Civil Service noted at the beginning of the twentieth century that the *atrap* "frankly admit their inferiority to the Ashraf. They do not, however, know or admit that they are descendants of converts to Islam; according to them, they are the tillers of the soil, while the Ashraf do not cultivate the land with their own hands." See O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteer: Khulna* (Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1908), 65.

17. It is worth pointing out that despite this claim, the "orthodoxy" to which the *ashraf* adhered and according to which they defined themselves as "true" Muslims was nevertheless mediated through localized structures of meaning. Richard M. Eaton, in his exploration of Islamization in Bengal, reveals the extent to which the *ashraf*'s understanding of Islam was in fact permeated by Indian—and undeniably "localized"—practices and sensibilities. If the idea of what a "true" Muslim looks like is measured against a Perso-Arabic standard, it is ironic that the *ashraf* rejected what they characterized as the "unorthodox" practices of Bengal in favor of equally "unorthodox" practices of northern India. See Richard M. Eaton, "Who Are the Bengal Muslims? Conversion and Islamization in Bengal," in R. Ahmed (ed.), *Understanding the Bengal Muslims: Interpretive Essays* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001).
18. It was frequently suggested that the *ashraf* could—and did—in fact speak Bengali in the home but were typically unwilling to be heard speaking that language in public. As one government official noted in 1872, many Muslims who used Bengali in their homes nevertheless viewed it with "contempt and perhaps disgust" and identified Urdu as the "language of their *jat* [people]." Similarly, in his response to Muzhar-i-Tawheed's 1925 letter to the editor of the *Mussalman* that presented an argument in favor of Urdu, Abul Hayat alleged that "in spite of his incurable dislike of the Bengali language" Tawheed and his family spoke Bengali in the privacy of their home. In the *Nur-al-Iman*, an "Islamic magazine" edited by Mirza Mohammad Yusuf Ali, it was noted of the *ashraf* that while "it is easier for them to express their feelings in Bengali, they desist from doing so," while Muhammad Wajed Ali attacks the *maulavis*' (religious leaders) refusal to speak "let alone write, one or two words in Bengali." He continues, "[I]f they do ever happen to say a couple of words in fluent Bengali then they do not feel . . . at ease unless they add 'I mean, I mean,' and then translate one or two unnecessary words into Urdu." See: *Bengal Education Proceedings*, (1872), 78, cited in Rafiuddin Ahmed, *The Bengal Muslims 1871–1906: A Quest for Identity* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988 (1981)), 123–124; Abul Hayat, letter to the editor of the *Mussalman* (1925), cited in Abul Hayat, *Mussalmans of Bengal* (Calcutta: Robi Art Press, 1966), 95; "Nur-al-Imaner Apil," *Nur-al-Iman* 1: 3 (1307/1900), cited in Mustafa Nurul Islam, *Bengali Muslim Public Opinion as Reflected in the Bengali Press, 1901–1930* (Dacca: Bangla Academy, 1973), 222–223; and Mohammad Wajed Ali, "Sahitya prasanga," *Al-Elsam*, 2: 10 (Magh, 1323/1917), cited in Islam, *Bengali Muslim Public Opinion*, 186.
19. Maulvi Alauddin Ahmed observed that "Muslim literature and religious books are all written in the foreign languages—Arabic or Persian." See *Upadesa-Sangraha* (1891), 4, cited in Sufia Ahmed, *Muslim Community in Bengal, 1884–1912* (Bangladesh: Oxford University Press, 1974), 325. Maulvi Ahmed goes on to praise the efforts of "certain religious minded and enquiring persons" who have translated Islamic texts into Bengali. Thus, we have a sense that while the *ashraf* would have considered the "foreignness" of the Islamic languages to be a virtue, Maulvi Ahmed's characterization is suggestive of a view of Arabic and Persian as having no integral place within Islam as practiced in Bengal. See also Mohammad Lutfar Rahman, "Urdu o Bangla sahitya," *Bangiya-Musalman-sahitya*

patrika, 4:1 (Baisakh, 1328/1921), cited in Islam, *Bengali Muslim Public Opinion*, 231.

20. Adbul Karim, *Muhammadan Education in Bengal* (Calcutta: Metcalfe Press, 1900), 7. In the same text Karim notes that Urdu is not the vernacular of the Bengal Muslims but is rather the national language "by which they communicate with their co-religionists all over India" (8).
21. The Mohammadan Literary Society was founded in 1863 and signaled, according to Sarkar, "the emergence in Bengal of an urban Muslim intelligentsia of English-educated and professional people." See Chandiprasad Sarkar, *The Bengali Muslims: A Study in their Politicization, 1912–1929* (Calcutta: K. P. Bagchi and Company, 1991), 7.
22. See Emran Hussain, "The Role of Muslim Elites in the Awakening of the Bengali Muslims During the Second Half of the 19th Century," *The Islamic Quarterly*, 41:1 (1997), 11.
23. *Report on the Native Papers in Bengal* (1910) reporting on an article appearing in the *Muhammadi*, (December 2, 1910).
24. Tasaddak Ahmad, "Abhibhashan," *Sikha*, 1 (Chaitra, 1333/1927), cited in Islam, *Bengali Muslim Public Opinion*, 232.
25. *Bengal Education Proceedings* (1873), cited in Ahmed, *The Bengal Muslims*, 23.
26. Hossein in Salik, *Muslim Modernism in Bengal*, 87.
27. Ibid., 87.
28. Maulvi Alauddin Ahmed, *Upadesa-Sangraha* (1891), cited in Ahmed, *The Muslim Community in Bengal*, 325.
29. See: Ismail Hossain Siraji, "Sahitya sakti o jati sangathan," *Naba Nur*, 1:3 (Asarh, 1310/1903), cited in Islam, *Bengali Muslim Public Opinion*, 165; *Resalat* (March 24, 1918), cited in the *Report on Indian Newspapers and Periodicals in Bengal*; Mozaffar Ahmad, "Banga dese Madrasar siksa," *Bangiya-Musalman-Sahitya-Patrika*, 2:3 (Kartik, 1326/1919), cited in Islam, *Bengali Muslim Public Opinion*, 186; Mohammad Golam Maola, "Bangala sahitya o Musalman," *Sahityik*, 1:11 (Aswin, 1334/1927), cited in Islam, *Bengali Muslim Public Opinion*, 243; Delwar Hossein, "The Future of Mosalmaans" (1880) in *Muslim Modernism in Bengal*, 76.
30. Letter from Khan Bahadur Abdul Majid Chaudhuri to the Government of Bengal, November 30, 1903, *Bengal Education Proceedings 1903 (September)* cited in Ahmed, *The Bengal Muslims*, 129.
31. *Education Gazette* (April 28, 1911), *Report on the Native Papers in Bengal*.
32. Abdul Malik Choudhury, "Banga Sahitye Srihatter Musalman," *Al-Eslam*, 2:6 (Aswin, 1323/1916), cited in Islam, *Bengali Muslim Public Opinion*, 224.
33. "Report of the Moslem Education Advisory Committee," *Bengal General Proceedings* (1916), 108, cited in Ahmed, *The Bengal Muslims*, 130.
34. Ahmed, *The Bengal Muslims*, 119.
35. Abdul Karim, *Muhammadan Education in Bengal*, 7.
36. Muzhar-i-Tawheed, letter to the editor of the *Mussalman* (1925), in Abul Hayat, *Mussalmans of Bengal*, 88. The passage ends with the statement with which this section opens: "It is a shameful think for us to say that Bengali is the mother tongue of the Muslims of Bengal."
37. Editor, "Matribhasa o Bangiya Musalman," *Naba Nur*, 1:9 (Paus, 1310/1903), cited in Islam, *Bengali Muslim Public Opinion*, 223.

38. *Darsan* (August 22, 1913), *Report on the Native Papers in Bengal*.
39. Choudhury, "Banga Sahitye Srihatter Musalman," cited in Islam, *Bengali Muslim Public Opinion*, 224.
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Chapter 7

The Trouble with the *Évolués*: French Republicanism, Colonial Subjectivity, and Identity

Siba N. Grovogui

It is now a cliché that the end of the Cold War offers an opportunity to rethink IR. Nonetheless, the cliché has bearing on international theorizing. To some, this rethinking has involved the incorporation into analysis of previously ignored actors, particularly nontraditional, nonstate, and transnational ones. Consistently, Yale Ferguson and Richard W. Mansbach have rightly suggested that IR theorists "conceive of global politics as involving a world of 'polities' rather than states and focus on the relationships among authority, identities, and ideology."[1] They and others have argued rightly that studies of IR would be more interesting if they placed greater interest on "who and what controls which persons with regard to which issues, and why?" As well, they have argued that the manners and reasons that "political affiliations evolve and die and new ones emerge" ought to matter to theorists.[2] Their recommended approach would highlight the fact that identity, power, and interest have historically been central to global realities (frequently dubbed international reality). It would also illuminate the cultural, temporal, and spatial dimensions of global politics: the bundles of contexts within which identity, power, and interests are constructed, mediated, contested, and otherwise.

To these ends, other theorists have sought to reexamine the entire ethnographic, hermeneutic, and historiographic foundation of the field of IR. For instance, David Campbell has undertaken to "rethink the problematic of subjectivity" in modern politics.[3] As envisaged by Campbell, this problematic is presently constituted around identity, contingently mediated by sovereignty, and reflected in such cognitive faculties as responsibility.[4] Consistently, Campbell joins others like Michael Shapiro[5] in de-constructing the operative moral cartography of modern foreign policies and corresponding fields of study. They are particularly interested

in the imaginary upon which both foreign policy and IR theory are founded—a historical sense of self and its relationship to others, their cultures and interests, within individual geographical spaces.

Campbell's and Shapiro's project diverges in methodology, teleology, and outcomes from that of scholars like Ferguson and Mansbach. Yet, to the extent that their analytical assumptions can be combined, the two approaches can be expected to inspire new perspectives on the apparent contradictions between, on the one hand, the illusory but effective fixity, homogeneity, and/or naturalness of identity in ideological discourses and, on the other, the actual fluidity, boundedness, fragmentation, hybridity, and/or contestability of identity in practice. If the studies of identity in this context seem ineffectual it is because theorists frequently foreground their own intuitions, which are at times acquired in nongeneralizable contexts, and/or inherited ontological verities, including the canonized impressions of past and present global (international) orders and their participants. Particularly, I fault the prevailing narratives of the nature and evolution of the international system, community and/or society, which privilege European events, their trajectories, and *dénouements* as central paradigms for understanding international existence.[6]

In *The Republican Legacy in International Thought*, for example, Nicholas Onuf provides evidence of the endurance of the "republican way of thinking about law, politics and society in the context of international thought."[7] He highlights this phenomenon through two parallel stories of the development and legacies of the thoughts of Vattel and Kant. Onuf does injustice to the central proposition that could have been easily mended by the counsel of *Worlds of Our Making*,[8] his other equally lucid oeuvre. This is to broaden the understanding of the international by consciously and deliberately looking at the facts: "deeds done; acts taken; and words spoken" everywhere.[9] It remains that Europe has produced and continues to produce epic events, including transformative wars—like the Thirty Years War, Napoleonic wars, the two world wars—and formative actions—like the treaty of Augsburg, the peace of Westphalia, the Council of Europe, and the Treaty of Rome. These events generated political giants, emperors, kings, and statesmen. Along the way intellectual giants (e.g. Vattel and Kant), cultural giants (poets, artists, humanists) reflected on these events in such compelling manners that their reflections may still guide the present.

On the other hand, Europe is but a province of the world whose rise and expansion have been at once compelling, disturbed, and disturbing! One of the disturbing elements was the inability of post-Renaissance European intellectual giants to recognize their debts to their non-European contemporaries, reflecting the rising hegemony of Europe empires. From then onward, Europeans did not allow themselves to "encounter" native intellectuals, politicians, humanists, and others whose ideas were central to the deliberations of Europe's own political giants.[10] Hence, the generalized perception of modern Europe that international thought emanates exclusively from Europe. Similarly, today's scholarship has vastly discounted

the effects of colonial and postcolonial "encounters" on European reflections.

I hasten to add that the associated problems are not Onuf's alone and it is not my intention to charge anyone of hubris and parochialism. Quite the contrary, I take his two volumes to be significant contributions to international thought. Yet, there is a fundamental problem that has reemerged in this "post-communist" liberal renaissance that disquietingly reminds the non-West of the "colonial past." This problem is captured in Anglo-Saxon institutionalism by tropes of "initiation" and "moral teaching," on the one hand, and socialization and "moral learning," on the other. Accordingly, the West is initiator, teacher, if not legislator, of ideas, norms, and institutions to "pupils" and "students" elsewhere whose learning processes can only involve "conversion," "assimilation," and/or "imitation." Related views take for granted the rhetoric of power and its manifest structures. But they do not adequately illuminate the processes and networks of knowledge particularly in their relationship to the multiple identities, values, and aspirations that constitute the global order.

My point of departure is that no modern political entity has escaped from global processes of transculturation, fragmentation, and transformation that allow thoughts and ideas to mutate in ways exceeding their original forms. This chapter provides a concrete story that defies Onuf's and other constructivist and institutionalist understandings of the production, circulation, and institutionalization of international thought. The case involves colonized elites, or *évolués*, who helped to lay the foundation for the revival of republicanism in wartime France. At a time when French public life was highly fragmented and partisan politics produced policy inertia, the *évolués* and their followers emerged as the primary arbiters of metropolitan contestations over postwar institutions and their symbols: on the one hand, the republic, nation, sovereignty, state, and empire and, on the other, loyalty and patriotism, dissidence and treason, and liberty and democracy. The story contrasts sharply with the commonsense that poses France and the West as initiators and teachers of the values and institutions necessary to social and political reproduction elsewhere.

Colonized, Colonizers, and the Rhetoric of the International System

My first goal is to impress upon theorists a need to reconsider their intuitive and expressed impressions of the nature of the boundaries of modern identities (including sovereignty, state, and citizenship) and the contexts of the contestations of identities (nations and empires). Second, I wish to highlight the connections between the forms of exclusions embedded in certain forms of universalism and their institutionalization, on the one hand, and the causes of historical forms of parochialism leading to fragmentation, on the other. These analyses will lead me to the reformulation of the ethical propositions upon which modern identities floundered in

these instances. My final objective is to caution against the unexpressed but equally potent assumptions in IR theories about the aforementioned identities, their base-cultures, traditions, and interests. Such assumptions frequently find their way into derivative propositions about politics in different regions of the world and, consequently, the responsibilities, duties, and obligations of various actors in global politics.

I begin with a rejection of two central propositions that have dominated international theory. One is the centrality and timelessness of the state as a condition of modern identities and its imaginaries. The other is the assumption that "Europe" and "the West" have been irreproachable and selfless initiators and purveyors of international value and morality. Indeed, it is not evident that the state has been the primary medium and instrument of modern identities. Modern empires have helped shape the identities of the vast majority of the world populations for a period longer than the states that succeeded them. In Africa certainly the state is an imperial derivation, with boundaries set for colonial purposes and by imperial fiats, with real consequences.

As a colonial empire, "Greater France" (*la Grande France*[11]) was ultimately an amalgamation of political and social entities as well as cultures and institutions. These entities existed within complementary (inclusive) as well as conflicting (exclusive) relations. The position of "Metropolitan France" in this ensemble as colonial power had at its core a constitutive if not constitutional identity reproduced through political, cultural, social, and economic practices, or institutions: *grandeur Française*—the idea that France should play a role in the world commensurate with its achievements and standing among "civilized nations" and "Great Powers."[12] The ideology of French grandeur was born of the dynamics of conquest, commercial expansion, scientific advancement, and a related sense of moral superiority. Related events allowed France to ideologically and politically debase the peoples and nations that it conquered.[13]

French intellectuals, public figures, and politicians did not just deem their presumed superiority to be material. As Enlightenment-era debates showed, French intellectuals mistook material endowment as confirmation of superior moral attributes. From the Enlightenment onward, France viewed its technical and political "achievements" (which include its advances against other Europeans powers during intra-European wars) to justify its place in the world and support its claim to conquest (imperialism) presumably to regenerate and elevate the *indigènes* from their social inertia and moral bankruptcy. This motif provided the background to both conservative and liberal French ideologies that supported France's *mission civilizatrice*. It coincides with the tendency dating from colonial times to categorize the constituents of the international order into moral teachers, legislators, and enforcers of global morality, on the one hand, and pupils, victims, and nonsocialized subjects, on the other. This is especially the case in France where the general attitude can be summarized in the following manner: that (1) French civilization and humanist traditions

continue to provide a moral compass to former colonial subjects; (2) the existence in France of a "democratic rule-of-law state" affords protection and dignity to the individual; (3) French state and nation may legitimately position themselves as dispensers of lessons to Africans and others regarding human solidarity and humanitarianism toward afflicted populations, groups, and individuals; and (4) the former French colonies owe gratitude to France for its civilizational import.[14]

On these and other bases, France has claimed a unique and unchallenged connection to humanism, liberty, and related practices of democracy and humanitarianism. France and French thought are afforded moral authority and exclusive membership in the club of legislators and enforcers of the terms of global transactions and governance. Related French views and sentiments are replicated throughout colonial empires. In their light, time applies differently to non-Western entities[15] who are cast by colonial discourses and their inherited categories as "premodern," "pre-political" and thus inhabiting the "Western prehistory." The identities born by these "entities" are rich with values and customs. They are thus informed by the past immemorialized by memory and thus unable to imagine and project adequately into the future. The past and its memory are barriers to conceiving of norms and institutions outside of the context of culture. Similarly, they lack reproducible thought or science, outside of those acquired through contacts with the West. This latter point is a crucial one in regard to the functions of hybridity and transculturation. Here, related processes do not affirm sameness but they serve to assure the assimilation, conversion, and transformation of the other away from its origin into something different in essence—other modes of being akin to mimicry now opposed to nonsocialization.

This perspective sets the contexts for the relationship between the *métropole* and colonial territories, particularly in regard to the colonial order of subjectivity. In both ideological contexts, France aimed to emancipate native colonial populations from *indigènes* (whose status was juridically defined by the *indigenat*) to citizens. Accordingly, French law granted citizenship to *évolués*, or the natives who proved themselves reformed or regenerated through acculturation into French ways and habits of mind.[16] Much has been said about the colonized moving up and around within the structures of empire. The most interesting debate has centered around the anticolonial imaginary, which for many Western observers only confirms Western cultural hegemony. This is certainly the case with the category of colonial persons in the French empire who ascended to the status of the *évolués*, literally evolved. The *évolués* owed their status either to their associations with the empire (as in the case of so-called customary chiefs), their functions within its structures (veterans of colonial wars), or their education. In this latter regard, French colonial rhetoric held that education provided colonial subject (e.g. "the black man" or *homme noir*) with the requisite knowledge, affect, and desire to become "citizens." The basic idea of the *évolués* was that educated black men—they were mostly men—would

become if not white men but culturally French. This idea has held sway over even contemporary progressive, that is anticolonial, intellectuals.

As Fred Cooper and others have shown, "colonialism was a perfectly ordinary political structure" with ambiguous relations to the modern state.[17] Although unimaginable today, colonialism set in motion movements of peoples and ideas in a way that has yet to be captured by institutionalists and constructivists. Specifically, empire and colonialism created compelling if conflicting identities both on the part of those who set them up and those upon whom it was imposed and wished to transform it. Because of their common origins, these entities who inhabited the categories of colonizers and colonized shared certain assets, including language and cultural resources, that allowed the colonized in particular to move across and away from the categories to which they were confined by law, politics, and economy.[18]

Cooper goes on to make a significant corrective to the notion that decolonization arose in the natural course of the evolution of Western institutions. According to him, the "colonized people and slaves certainly played crucial roles in their own liberation, [and] not simply by acting their categories."[19] Moreover, the colonized never acted alone. They were joined by "intersections of different sorts of [metropolitan] people with different motivations and interests, whose overlapping viewpoints crystallized around particular ways of framing an issue."[20] The import of Cooper's correction is lost on many precisely who do not dispute the Frenchness of the points or nodes of crystallization of wartime and postwar debates.

There are many reasons for the enduring nature of this understanding. One of them is the cultural ethnographic engendering of the *évolués* in Europe, which presupposed that Africans necessarily converted to French traditions and customs and *never* the other way round. At its core, the concept of *évolué* implied that Africans obtained reformation and regeneration through enlightenment ideologies and colonial policy. This belief was reinforced by institutional practices that aimed simultaneously to integrate the *évolués* into French society while keeping them politically subordinate.

There were momentary fissures in the system of difference upon which both colonialism and the French civilizing mission were founded. As Alice L. Conklin has rightly insisted, the colonies were sites which, however unequal, provided spaces "of conflict and negotiation between colonizer and colonized, where French assumptions about the ability of Africans to evolve, and of France to civilize them, were contested."[21] Even so, Africans frequently transgressed the boundaries of the tropes and topoi envisaged by the colonial authority as contexts of ideological and political contestations. There were momentous occasions when the *évolués* both rejected the foundation of the symbolic order that was colonialism and significantly contributed to the transformation and reformation of French political culture. Such a moment presented itself during World War II when, due to the surrender of Vichy and the advent of the resistance, the relationships between French elites and the *évolués* changed fundamentally to

place the former in the role of dependence and receivership vis-à-vis the latter within both France and Greater France: the combination of *métropole* and empire.

Which France?: Republic, Empire, and Greater France

To reiterate an earlier point, the path laid down by Ferguson and Mansbach and others would allow theorists to recover premodern and modern identities for the benefit of comparative analyses. The relevant perspectives—whether they take identities as fixed and homogeneous *or* fluid and contestable—assume nature, culture, and values where they should have been paying close attention to manifestations of interests, power, and the institutions that sustain them. However, few modern identities and their base justifications are shaped by conditions that are localizable solely in the space within which they arise. Nor is it compelling to confine the intellectual, psychological, and moral resources subtending identity exclusively to their manifestations in a particular locale. Such approaches do not sufficiently capture the complexities of identity formation, their rationalizations, and their functions in global politics. Our understandings of identity are therefore better served by examinations of the sociocultural contexts, institutional setups, and ethico-political dynamics that frame the identities in question. Specifically, modern IR has narrated the histories and relations of European polities in regard to their colonies by assuming at all times a clear delineation between the colonizers and the colonized. Thus, France is understood to function independently of its colonies. In this light, France is supposed to find within itself the requisite resources for its reproduction or perpetual regeneration. The corollary to this view is that, as a colonial power, France imposed its rule upon distant lands and that it thus established total dominion upon their political, cultural, and intellectual affairs. This view of the colonial relationship is accurate insofar as colonialism created the contexts of conflict and negotiations between colonizers and colonized. But it is mistaken in regard to *inter alia* French identity, the relevance of colonial ideologies, and the subjectivity and agency of the colonized.

In the early period of the Armistice and occupation, there reigned among French elites confusions over the identity and the direction of France. Many in metropolitan France had accepted as necessary both the surrender of the French state and German occupation. But the need to preserve the unity of French sovereignty led a plurality of the French army, metropolitan bureaucracy, and colonial officialdom to pledge loyalty to the Vichy government as a means of preserving the French state. Others rebelled against the state on behalf of the nation and the republic. These so-called dissidents included soldiers, functionaries, teachers, students, and merchants. These self-appointed representatives of the French republic and its progressive and egalitarian traditions were led by General De Gaulle from London. Due to this deep division of the *métropole*,

metropolitan contestations and deliberations were fraught with confusions, tensions, and contradictions.

The intra-French contestations began with the rationalizations by the Vichy government of its capitulation under the Armistice. In a speech commemorating Joan of Arc in Limoges, Pétain compared that heroine's era and the one in which France found itself. In Joan's times, the chief of state explained, France was beset by the same political pathologies as now: "same weaknesses, same divisions, same self-doubts, same desperate hopes placed in liberation by foreigners."[22] Pétain viewed surrender as temporary and a means of preserving French unity and sovereignty at a time of weakness. To him, the Armistice was a lesser humiliation than what otherwise could have been outright German rule and the loss of empire to foreign rivals. As the French head of state explained it, the English were not only the occupiers but also the ones who coveted French colonial empire. To this end, England sought to weaken France by cultivating "internal squabbles that worsened the tragic consequences of a foreign war." It did so by forming an important political party that placed the salvation of France in the hands of the English—a not so oblique reference to de Gaulle.

Finally, Pétain seemed to be distressed that France had been drawn needlessly into a foreign war and that "foreign propaganda had succeeded in dividing French opinion such that everyone doubted themselves and the leader of France while few thought of themselves anymore as French."[23] In this latter regard, Pétain made explicit allusions to the values and personal attributes that, according to French conservative traditions, enabled Joan of Arc to save France: first, love of family and nation; second, faith in god, country, and oneself; and, third, selflessness and unity around the leader.[24] In these lights, France could once again be cured of the ills of weakness (divisions, self-doubts, desperation) if it placed its hopes and faith in its leader and God. Only then can France recover its glory.

The need to restore France to its past glory was not a desire peculiar to Pétain. The colonial federation of West Africa remained "indisputably French" due to the action of a colonial governor, Pierre-François Boisson. As an official of the state, this governor was committed to the preservation of the unity of French sovereignty, the defense of the French state, and the protection of the *Patrie* (motherland). In so doing, he accepted the indivisibility of French sovereignty and the claim of the Vichy government to be the sole representative of the French state. It is also on the same grounds that he recognized Pétain, the head of Vichy as head of state and sole sovereign. Indeed, Boisson remained loyal to Pétain and his Vichy government for as long as his position was politically viable. These sentiments led to conflicting positions. Boisson received his directives from Vichy but he implemented only those that accorded with his own estimation of the interests of the French state. He would not pledge to guarantee the survival of the Vichy government, but he defended the institution of the state represented by Pétain, the head of that state. Further, Boisson was committed to the preservation of the empire. He understood that the

Armistice undermined the prospect of France as a world power and, as a result, objected to the surrender of France to Germany. In this latter regard, Boisson was sympathetic to those who entered into dissidence to oppose the Armistice and its terms. Indeed, he was favorable to the need to end German occupation of French territory, a need most forcefully expressed by Charles de Gaulle and represented by his Free French movement and the Council for the Defense of the Empire. Yet—at least initially—Boisson ardently opposed the dissidents whom he regarded as engendering disunity and weakening France before its competitors: in particular, Britain and the United States. In the end, Boisson held the paradoxical position of pledging to defend the French state, even if this meant Pétain, against dissidents with whom he agreed in principle on the need to remove German occupation.

Boisson and the loyalists were not alone in their predicament. The dissidents too were confused in their reflections on French identity and the notions of the *Patrie* (motherland), state, and republic and, in these contexts, dissidence, loyalty, and imperialism. As I show later, many dissidents, particularly those in colonial officialdom, understood the convergence of their own positions on the future role of France with those loyalists such as Boisson. Although a plurality of dissidents opposed Boisson as head of Vichy loyalists, officials who were keen on preserving the empire appreciated the subtleties of Boisson's approach to the question of empire. Many perceived the utility of preserving the French character of the West African colonial federation. Yet, unlike Boisson, the dissidents did not have the power of colonial bureaucracies and institutions at their disposal. Dissident colonial functionaries, soldiers, merchants, and clergymen depended on material assistance from Britain and the United States as well as cooperation from colonial populations.

Redefining France from Outside the Métropole

At this moment of humiliation and despair under Nazi occupation, neither state loyalists nor the dissidents possessed the authority to incontestably define what was meant by France and who represented it. In the ensuing confusion and contestations, French dissidents found salvation in the actions and thought of an "*évolué*, a man of color" named Félix Adolphe Sylvestre Eboué and his humanist republican vision. To be sure, Eboué, the territory of Chad, and the French East Africa Federation (FEA) emerged as crucial nodes in the French republican imaginary by happenstance. On August 26, 27, and 28, 1940, Eboué, then colonial governor of Chad, invited World War I Chadian and French veterans to Fort Lamy, the capital. The meeting—which was also attended by French administrators, missionaries, and other adventurers—had several objectives. These included the fate of thousands of African conscripts who were declared missing at the time of the Armistice.[25] But, the meeting quickly turned to the collapse of the French state and the advent of the as-yet-to-be-formed dissident

movement initiated by de Gaulle's June appeal from England. While the French participants squabbled over bureaucratic procedure, political hierarchy, and authority, Eboué skillfully transformed the gathering into a movement of, first, revolt against Vichy and, second, support for the emergent French dissidence, precursor to the French resistance. Further, Eboué channeled the discussions to considerations of African solidarity with French people and the future of the empire after the war.

The events and symbolism of Chad and FEA have been variously recognized, but its larger significance has been downplayed in French historiography. The revolt spearheaded by Eboué against the authority of Vichy placed the colony of Chad and then FEA in the hands of the dissidents. It also established these territories as the only part of Greater France where French state sovereignty and republicanism remained united. But the Chad and FEA events irreparably changed colonial dynamics, both ideologically and politically. In the first instance, the events in Chad and FEA gave momentum to the dissidence that became the Free French movement against Vichy and German occupation. Ideologically, these events dramatically revitalized republicanism such that the defense of the republic could be elevated above the particular state necessities invoked by Vichy.

One important dimension seldom recognized is that Eboué was the first official to sever metaphorically and politically the institutional and formal link between the French state and the Republic. His actions convincingly demonstrated that dissidence could be reconciled with a higher form of political loyalty. French intellectuals had previously conceived of the base distinctions, but few politicians had contemplated its practical effects in the context of the new war, the feared collapse of empire, and the loss of Grandeur. Once Eboué defied Vichy and sided with de Gaulle's movement of French dissidence, he and his action became references for the resistance or dissidence in state parlance. Eboué's actions were instantaneously memorialized by the dissidence as evidence that loyal French citizens could legitimately defend the Republic against a surrendered state as a higher form of patriotism, and not be guilty of disloyalty or treason as the state had proclaimed. Eboué's formulation was crucial in shaping subsequent political discourses. Indeed, Chad and FEA became the sites where the principal French dissidents and resisters came to attest to the legitimacy of their particular understandings of French identity, encompassing the notions of sovereignty, state, nation (*Patrie*), republic, and empire.[26]

Relatedly, the Chad–FEA events humbled French colonial authorities and availed Eboué of the opportunity to clarify muddled republican ideologies. Due to these and other events, French authorities were compelled to recognize that the African contribution to World War II was larger than at any other time during colonial relations.[27] But the most important effect of French defeat and the Armistice is that they positioned the colonized as the primary arbiters of metropolitan contestations and deliberations over postwar symbols and institutions, particularly

in regard to the state, sovereignty, nation, republic, and loyalty. One explanation for the symbolic ascent of the colonized was the confusion and inertia that befell French decision-makers after the Armistice. Defeat and surrender compounded the fragmentation of French public life along ideological and political lines. This situation resulted in partisan politics, discordance, and immobility in public policy.

As intimated earlier, Eboué used the opportunity of the Armistice and his revolt against it as an opportunity to offer philosophical commentaries in the hope of prodding political experimentation. Eboué's appeals and memoranda on the reason of his support for the dissidence redefined French institutions such as to clarify the relationship between the French state, which had surrendered to Germany, and the French republic, which lived inside its citizens even in defeat. This distinction was also predicated upon one according to which Africans and the black world may oppose the French state as an instrument of oppression underneath a humanist mask. Concurrently, Africans could assist thoughtful French citizens in search of a new "revolutionary" humanism in lieu of the discredited one. These positions were founded upon a unique brand of humanism and a broader understanding of republicanism.

Eboué and his Chadian followers took wartime dynamics to augur a revolution of ideas that would ultimately lead to real transformations in the relationships between and among colonizer and colonized. His expressed reasons for African solidarity toward France deliberately struck explicit humanitarian and philosophical themes: "The generosity that we wish to extend [to the resistance] has to be direct and the sacrifice personal and sensible." Later, Eboué recalled the sentiment that moved him—which he believed he shared with the dissidents and the leader of French resistance, General de Gaulle: "The new spirit, the spirit of national community must, with the sacrifices that it requires, enter profoundly in our mores and supercede our parochial interests and calculations. The days of August 26, 27, and 28 did not simply signal the birth of a new consciousness; they inaugurated an era of disinterested engagement and only selflessness will give life and dignity to our country."[28]

Eboué envisaged a postcolonial vision for the postwar order, one free of colonial ontology and its symbolic order of subjectivity, agency, and morality. Where once French rationalism, science, and ideas of progress stood uncontested, Eboué now found the means of salvation through a symbiosis of multiple sources of morality—an antithesis of post–Enlightenment French universalism. There was, Eboué proclaimed, an indisputable lesson at the heart of his actions: that underneath "religious and philosophic doctrines, which appear divergent [there resided] the same thought patterns and the energy for identical initiatives."[29] This view held great currency in the colonial world after World War I—that "rhetorical and representational differences" did not necessarily impede political efficacy and agreements. It was at the heart of Enlightenment ideologies, distinctions between reason, science, and philosophy, on the one hand, and

passion, alchemy, and superstition, on the other. Anticolonialists no longer viewed rationalism in an absolute and positive light. Rather, the two world wars were evidence that rationalism and related European institutions had failed the world. To Africans, therefore, it was appropriate to consider other sources of morality along with those emanating from the canons of the Enlightenment. Hence, Eboué would reproach no one "for their philosophical or religious opinions because they have found in such opinions the keys to the problem that confronts the conscience of the French."[30]

Évolués: Africans, Republicans, Maybe French

Throughout their internal disputations, French elites recognized the significance of developments in the colonies. This recognition caused both Vichy supporters and the dissidents to rush to Africa to seek support. The subsequent role of Africans has been grossly misunderstood. In particular, historians and theorists have long assumed that wartime African solidarity toward the colonizer originated exclusively from a fiat by the colonial power. To be sure, the initial order that enjoined Africans into the war efforts began with the order for general mobilization issued by the French state in September 1939. But what of the period following June 1940? Again, given the nonexistence of France as a coherent and effective entity, which authority from which institution could have enforced the order to mobilize without the deliberate assent of the *évolués* and those who represented so-called natives? How does one explain the speed of mobilization and the enthusiasm with which Africans mobilized in the service of France?

A key to the answers to these questions may be found in one of the most unsympathetic quarters of French society at the time, the Vichy government. Like many cognizant observers at the time, Vichy officials were astounded by the atmosphere of solidarity from the Africa continent. Commenting on the enthusiasm and pro-French activities by World War I African veterans, a colonial officer of the Vichy regime noted, "In 1916–17, we were victorious yet the populations of many of our colonies rebelled. In 1940 we are cruelly defeated and yet all the natives have faithfully come to us."[31] Charles de Gaulle, who had proclaimed himself chief of the Free French, and his political associates also were cognizant of the import of African participation in the war efforts to the survival of France.[32] As I show elsewhere, de Gaulle, and his so-called Council for the Defense of the Empire took steps to accommodate new colonial realities: the increased role of Africans in wartime events and debates.

The significant point here is that African solidarity toward the dissidence and, later, the resistance was conceptualized and generated with the assistance of the *évolués* and the support of native populations. The vast majority of political groupings in France were cognizant of this phenomenon. In fact, many French entities paid rhetorical support for African demands for dignity and respect after the war, but a plurality

remained wary of the changing colonial perceptions of France among the *évolués*; their increasing criticism of post-Enlightenment ideologies; and the rapidly emerging anticolonial visions of the future relationship between France and its colonies, on the one hand, and global relations, on the other. Indeed, the chief of the resistance and his allies from all quarters of French society grew uncomfortable with the increasing role of the so-called *évolués* as arbiters of metropolitan contestations.[33]

There is no more misunderstood ideological category emanating from the established views of France, its colonial rule, and colonial identities than that of the *évolué*, literally the colonized who have evolved from backwardness into civilization. As imperial legislator, France created this colonial category of colonial subjects in the hope that they would mimic French habits, unquestionably embrace French traditions, positively support French imperial goals. The point of departure for all discussions of the concept of *évolué* is the context of its advent in nineteenth-century French republicanism and its self-ascribed universalist and emancipatory impulse. Then, French republicans subscribed to the core values of universalism and emancipation; self-help and solidarity; reason, science, and progress; patriotism by loyal, disciplined, and enlightened citizenry.[34] Their second assumption was that Africans obtained reformation and regeneration only through enlightenment brought about by their education and acculturation into French traditions and institutions. The related policy mandated the eradication of indigenous languages and slavery as well as presumed "barbaric customary law and feudal chieftancies." In their stead, France's colonial elites claimed to advance the virtues of "a common language, freedom, social equality, and liberal justice" throughout their colonies.[35]

The *évolué* has been viewed developmentally either through the trope of cultural and political emancipation or that of the familial language of colonial paternalism. In the former sense, the trope of *évolué* presumed African dependence on French ideologies (e.g. republicanism, sovereignty, citizenship) and political traditions (liberalism, socialism, communism, etc.) such that Africans are viewed necessarily as replicators of metropolitan institutions and interests. In the latter sense, the *évolués* were France's overseas children who reached maturation or adulthood and thus were allowed to join the family of the nation through citizenship.[36] This alternative view has been abandoned recently due, first, to its infantilization of Africans and, two, to the fact that few African *évolués* ever became French citizens on equal footing with metropolitan natives.

Despite the commonly held view of France as legislator of ideology and intellectual master, on the one hand, and of the *évolués*, as cultural replicator and civilizational pupil, French elites were not always able to intellectually prevail over the *évolués* and thus to impose their ideological paradigms in colonial contestations. Nor were French entities always the final arbiters of such contests. The confusions in these regards have been perpetuated by theorists' assumption that the willingness of the *évolués* to

give up their time, resources, and lives in defense of the *métropole* amounted to the success of the colonial project of subjectivity and resulting identities. Rather, I propose that the *évolués* brought their own cultural resources and imagination to bear on their indexation of French traditions and institutions; their translations of French cultural idioms; and their consumption of French political ideas. In this process, the *évolué* periodically transformed French political traditions, cultural habits, and political thought.

I would like to insist here that the colonized seldom performed its function nor assumed its ascribed identity according to their assigned places in the colonial order. To fully understand the function and identity of the *évolués* in the symbolic colonial order, one must examine the performance of the *évolués* beyond the propositional ascriptions and expectations of emancipation and reformation emanating from colonial ontology. With regard to colonial solidarity toward occupied France, the impetus was the desire of the *évolués* for new forms of humanism and postcolonial subjectivity. Further, when the colonized declared solidarity toward the colonizer, they did so within the context of the refutation of the ontology and core values that sustained colonialism:

> [We] found in our religious and philosophic doctrines, which appear divergent, the same thought patterns and the energy to take an identical initiative. There is a greater lesson that seems to us indisputable that we must take to heart in our actions. If we were able to deliberate together and reach conclusions with ease with others who underwent a serious crisis of consciousness, it is because we shared common national and cultural dispositions that allowed us, despite our rhetorical and representational differences, to make the same appeal. This is what generated the movement [to defend the French republic] and it is what must maintain it in order to make it always more efficacious.[37]

The author of this quote, Félix Eboué, was expressing here an idea that had great currency in the colonial world after World War I: that European rationalism had failed the world and that other sources of morality had to be considered along with those emanating from the canons of the Enlightenment. Hence, "nobody amongst us can be reproached for their philosophical or religious opinions because they have found in such opinions the keys to the problem that confronts the conscience of the French."[38] The idea of a multiplicity of sources within which to conceive of postcolonial relations was predictably suspect to the plurality of colonial administrators who associated French authority and power to its civilization, rationalism, and capitalism. More controversial among native French colonial administrators was Eboué's intimation to a vision of the postwar order, which he envisaged to be postcolonial—or free of colonial ontology and its symbolic order of subjectivity, agency, and morality.[39]

Apart from French Jews and other direct victims of Vichy and the Nazis, no corporate entity was liable so negatively to react to the racist

ideology of the Nazis and Fascists as African populations. Although the vast majority of Africans could not articulate French republicanism in opposing the Axis powers, countless could stand for the idea of a racist order worse than colonialism! By issuing an order for mobilization, French officials tapped into a stronger sentiment and resolve to fight racism than they had anticipated. Further, Africans understood the ultimate end of the war to be freedom for all. Hence, African elites would continue to "bind their lot in with the destiny" with those French constituencies that proclaimed to unite the struggle for the restoration of the Republic and French sovereignty with a struggle for liberty (freedom) everywhere. It is not surprising, therefore, that the surrender of Vichy and the cessation of official hostility between France and Germany did not deter Africans in their resolve. The entry of de Gaulle into rebellion against the state only provided them with the structure within which to channel their resolve and their actions of solidarity.

Eboué and other *évolués* intuitively and substantively separated their sentiments toward the French state, which Africans associated with colonial oppression, from their humanitarian obligations to the French nation—which deserved support. This distinction was crucial. It was the basis upon which Eboué and others (including the dissidents themselves) privileged the defense of the Republic as of paramount interest to the nation and, thus, taking precedence over the protection of the state. In this logic, loyalty to the nation—and thus support for all republican institutions—was a higher expression of citizenship than loyalty to the state. Indeed, patriotism was owed to the *Patrie*, or the nation, and not to a single governing machinery. Therefore, to rebel against the state in defense of republicanism could be construed as nothing else but the highest form of patriotism—and certainly not treason.

Conclusion

My intention has been to further elaborate on an existing idea that thought, identity, and culture are not unidimensional. My contribution has been to highlight a central dimension of modern identities, complemented by a commentary on constructivist and institutionalist approaches to identity. In the first instance, I wished to demonstrate that there are multiple contradictions, tensions, and ambiguities involved in both the formation and study of identity. These reside in (1) the cultural context within which any ethnographic entity is considered sufficiently significant to warrant its isolation; (2) the institutional location of identity both in practice and theory; and (3) the relationships that bring into significance the identity of the considered entities. In the present context, my aim was not to isolate a particular identity for the purpose of its analysis; but to highlight (1) the cultural engendering of the ethnographic category of the *évolués*; (2) the institutional practices of the inception of the *évolués* that aimed to simultaneously integrate them into French society and to keep

them politically subordinate; and (3) the dynamics that defined the directions of the transformations in the identities of the *évolués*. The latter point is particularly important in that it suggests an intimate connection between identity formation and relationships among involved contemporaneous entities. It also suggests the fungibility and porousness of identities without which the *évolués* would not have been able to both participate in and transcend the colonial order. Finally, I wish to intimate that complex philosophical and ethical deliberations can be significantly altered by equally deep processes of identification and identity formation.

The alienation of the *évolués* from French universalist pretensions and the related determination later to found nations of their own was greatly influenced by the return of the historical ethos of Western hegemony, European reconstruction, and French grandeur as organizing principles of global geopolitics, the international political economy, and the distribution of cultural goods and their incorporation in international knowledge. Certainly, there are profound flaws at the heart of the formal and aesthetic notions upon which the *évolués* founded their own notions of postcolonial identity, particularly nations and states. But the *évolués* cannot be faulted for not desiring symbiotic symbolic systems and hybrid identities. Some *évolués* even considered the benefits of assimilation or incorporation within a new postcolonial order encompassing Greater France and possibly the international community.

Identity is born of experience. It is a way of looking at and responding to systems of difference. Identities, therefore, must function within boundaries and thus limitations due to the inherent incompleteness of any symbolic order. The generative condition of identity is relational in that it depends upon mechanisms that frequently have material bases in power, authority, and interest. These complete immaterial albeit tangible factors as well: philosophical verities, ethical or moral inclinations, and intellectual or psychological dispositions. This is to suggest that the boundedness, fluidity, fragmentation, and other dynamics of any identities cannot be properly understood outside of what one may term culture—comprising traditions and institutions both temporally and spatially located and defined—and their ends, defined by historical trajectories. Specifically, in colonial French Africa, the materiality of the *métropole* was frequently indistinguishable from that of empire within what was frequently labeled Greater France. The relevant political systems not only overlapped, their political and symbolic economies intermeshed at the levels of language of power, policy, and their significations. Thus, the causes of the disintegration of the globalist, humanist, and humanitarian impulses of anticolonialism and anti-Fascism during World War II are to be located in contemporaneous dynamics of contestations and their outcomes. The most significant of such outcomes were the advent of Bretton Woods Institutions, European reconstruction, and the inclusion of France among the permanent members of the UN Security Council. These events caused the return of French "appetite" for grandeur, conveniently framed by the language of *realpolitik* to give them a cloak of respectability.

This to say that the *évolués* espoused or disavowed their ascribed colonial identities depending upon the trajectories of larger struggles over power, subjectivity, and interest within and beyond the empire. To be sure, subsequent expressions of identity—whether so-called tribalism, nationalism, and pan-Africanism—took root in particular spaces, regions, cultures, customs, and institutional practices. Nonetheless, their political and ethical articulations reflected concurrent historical dynamics that delineated and defined the boundaries and functions of identity.

My other general contribution to existing debates is that it is not sufficient to posit reflexively that identities are constitutively *fragmented and dynamic* and that they are also polymorphic, contestable, interactive and process-like.[40] Such insights accomplish little if they are not accompanied by clear appreciations of international existence. In this conjunction, I wished to demonstrate that theorists have misconstrued postwar institutional development particularly in regard to decolonization and the role of the colonized within it. Again, the lack of understanding in this area is bewildering because institutionalists and constructivists in particular begin their speculations with the assumptions that thought emerges contingently to reflect actual experiences; that identity is by nature *socially constructed*; and that culture is *optional* to a large extent.

Despite their proclamations and indeed dispositions, constructivists and institutionalists have not fully realized the implications of the foregoing theorems. As demonstrated by Onuf, they have frequently expounded on the production of ideas and circulation of thought without taking care to distinguish the related processes from other practices. These include the instantiations of ideas as institutions or their furtherance through foreign policy as capacities, resources, and technologies for all within the moral order.[41] Thus are perpetuated contrasting views of "Europe" or the "West" and "the rest." Accordingly, Western identity lends itself to enlightenment, progressivism, and regeneration that nonetheless affirm its essence. That image of the West is proposed constitutively as both timely and timeless. It is timeless in that it has assumed a full form, one that can constantly and predictably be reproduced according to known variable values and norms. As such, the West is able to withstand outside influences and remain the same. It is timely as an identity imperative, a model to be reproduced, and a desirable projection for others to emulate. In this light, the West is rights-bearing, value-creating, enlightened, progressive, and regenerative. Others are not and in fact the opposite.

There are indeed difficulties in insisting on linear genealogies, monovalent referents, and simple symbolic associations to the metaphors and allegories contained in international thought. As these politics, cultures, and identities intertwined, so too are the origins and configurations of ideas that they share. To be effective, constructivists and institutionalists would need to index modern political languages as well as follow up on their transformations through the politics, cultures, and identities that transformed and/or altered them. They must begin to learn international events or history from the perspective and imaginaries of persons and

entities whose thoughts, cultures, and identities might contingently be taken to be distinct and whose aim was to produce new politics, values, and ethics. These might be the bases for broadening international theory and its imaginary. It is only through understanding the flux of international existence in its complexity that a person like Felix Eboué can be understood to have deliberately enacted or initiated something different in the annals of republican thought—based perhaps on a distinct ethos or form of humanism previously unimaginable and not replicated since.

Notes

1. Yosef Lapid and Friedrich Kratochwil (eds.), *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997), 21.
2. Ibid., 21.
3. Quoted in ibid., 17.
4. Ibid., 163–180.
5. Michael J. Shapiro, *Violent Cartographies: Mapping Cultures of War* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).
6. I refer here to the claims of founders and adherents of the English School, reprised by institutionalists and constructivists in the United States that the values and norms of the contemporary international system and international society originated in the West and spread throughout the world through empire.
7. Nicholas Onuf, *The Republican Legacy in International Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
8. Nicholas Onuf, *World of Our Making* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1989).
9. Ibid., 36.
10. See, Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 20–24.
11. "France et Plus Grande France" and "Peuple de France et de la Plus Grande France" were used interchangeable, although according to circumstance, to refer to France and its empire.
12. Many officially sanctioned phrases captured France's self-image of grandeur, including "the traditional place of France within the concert of nations"; "the role of France among the great powers"; "the moral authority of France in the world"; "the destiny of France"; "France as great and strong nation." See, e.g., *Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer*, 1Affpol 879/1–13.
13. David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 28–73 and 76–121.
14. All these impressions may be found for instance in Tzvetan Todorov's seminal book: *On Human Diversity: Nationalism, Racism, and Exoticism in French Thought*, Catherine Porter, trans. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993).
15. Eric Wolf, *Europe and the Peoples Without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Others: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).
16. Alice L. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), passim.

17. Frederick Cooper, "Networks, Moral Discourse, and History," in Thomas M. Callaghy et al. (eds.), *Intervention and Transnationalism in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 23.
18. Ibid., 23–46.
19. Ibid., 23 and passim.
20. Ibid., 23.
21. Conklin, *A Mission*, 5 and passim.
22. Etat Français, *Bulletin d'Information Des Troupes Du Groupe De L'AOF*, Juillet 1942, 4–5.
23. Ibid., 4–5.
24. Ibid., 4–5.
25. Myron Eckenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Senegalais in French West Africa, 1857–1960* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1991), 88.
26. As a testament, de Gaulle and other French officials chose Brazzaville, the capital of French East Africa, in 1944 as the site from which to look at their proposal for colonial reform.
27. Eckenberg, *Colonial Conscripts*, 88 and passim.
28. Félix Eboué, "Le Programme du Gouverneur Général Eboué," *Le Courrier Africain, Edition de l'AEF*, no. 25 (Janvier 1941).
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Etat Français a Vichy, "Rapport Politique Haut Commissariat de l'Afrique Française, 1940," *Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer*, 1Affpol 928/2.
32. As suggested by the quote below, this recognition lasted until the day of the liberation of Paris:

    > Thus is the measure of the distance that we have covered. Among those of Fort Lamy, Douala, Brazzaville, Bangui, from the bushes to the combatants of the hinterlands, there formed a community of faith whose end rested in action and in success. These are the children of the same people guided by the same instinct in Africa and in the maquis who pulled France from the worse nightmares to restore it to enlightenment and grandeur. Réné Pléven, "Libération de Paris," *Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer*, 1Affpol 879/1.

33. Several colonial administrators and French elites warned against the increasing role of the *évolués* in defining the objectives of the war above and over French nationals and public opinion. See, for instance, M. Parr, "Commentaires d'un article du Times," *Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer*, 1Affpol 873/3.
34. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize*, 1–10.
35. Ibid., 6.
36. Professor Robert Laffont, "Text de discours radiodiffusé," *Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer*, 1Affpol 879/7.
37. Eboué, "Le Programme," *le Courrier Africain*.
38. Ibid.
39. M. Parr, "Commentaires," *Centre des Archives*.
40. Lapid and Kratochwil, *The Return of Culture and Identity*, 7–8.
41. Mark Laffey and Jutta Weldes, "Beyond Belief: Ideas and Symbolic Technologies in the Study of International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations*, 3: 2 (1997), 193–237.

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Part III

Constructedness

Chapter 8

Narrating Identity: Constructing the Congo During the 1960 Crisis

Kevin C. Dunn

On June 30, 1960, the Belgian government officially granted the Congo its independence as a sovereign state. At the Independence ceremony, Belgian King Baudouin and newly elected Congolese Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba each addressed the crowd, delivering two extremely different versions of the Belgian colonial project in the Congo. The Belgian king's comments, like the dominant Belgian discourses, continued to be informed by the rhetoric of salvation and civilization. Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, however, articulated a very different interpretation of the previous eighty years; one which focused on the collective suffering and abuse of the Congolese by a harshly repressive regime. These two speeches were delivered from the same stage and the differences are extremely important, for the divergent interpretations of colonial history were central elements in the narrativization of Congolese identity. These narratives not only were in direct conflict on that June afternoon, but each provided the larger narrative by which the subsequent events were interpreted by each side. As such, it is important to explore how these conflicting narratives were structured and interpreted, and how they produced meaning for the events that followed the Congo's independence. In this essay, I explore how narrativity is intimately related to identity construction in IR. In addition to discussing various theoretical and methodological questions, I will use the case of the 1960 Congo Crisis to illustrate how this material conflict was rooted in the contest over Congolese identity and who had the authority to author that identity.[1]

A Brief History of the 1960 Crisis

Less than a week after King Baudouin and Patrice Lumumba inaugurated an independent Congo, several units in the Congolese army, the *Force Publique*, mutinied, demanding promotions, pay raises, and the removal of white officers. At the time of independence, the *Force Publique* remained a colonial structure with its black soldiers suffering harsh treatment at the hands of exclusively white officers. Belgian troops stationed in the Congo intervened and actively engaged the Congolese army and civilians. On July 9, 1960, the Belgian Council of Ministers dispatched additional troops to the Congo, against the wishes of the Congo government. As a result, more Congolese troops mutinied and violence intensified. On July 11, Moise Tshombe, the regional leader of the southern province of Katanga, announced his region's secession and quickly acquired Belgian support. On the following day, Lumumba cabled the Secretary-General of the United Nations and asked for UN military assistance. The United Nations responded by sending a multinational force to the Congo in order to "restore law and order." Fearing a superpower showdown over the Congo, UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld began the intensive diplomatic activity of trying to return Belgian troops to their barracks, keep Russian troops out of the Congo, and have the multinational UN force maintain domestic peace. Sensing Western discontentment with Lumumba and with strong encouragement from his European advisers, President Kasavubu fired Prime Minister Lumumba on September 5, 1960. Lumumba responded the same day by firing Kasavubu, creating a standoff with both leaders claiming legitimacy. The internal political situation was further muddled on September 14, when Mobutu, encouraged by the CIA, announced a military coup and created yet another national government. By this time, the U.S. government had already decided Lumumba must be removed, and the CIA was plotting to assassinate the Congolese leader. Despite being under UN protection/house arrest, Lumumba managed to escape from Leopoldville and flee toward Stanleyville. However, he was captured en route. Lumumba was then flown to Katanga, where he was handed over to the secessionist forces. Lumumba was beaten, tortured, and eventually murdered.

Narrating Identity and International Relations

Identities of states, like other social identities (however multiple and changing), are formed by being located or locating themselves within social narratives. As Margaret Somers notes, "it is through narrativity that we come to know, understand, and make sense of the social world, and it is through narratives and narrativity that we constitute our social identities."[2] Narratives of national identities are generally formed by a gradual layering on and connecting of events and meanings, usually through three steps: the selection of events themselves, the linking of these events to

each other in causal and associational ways (plotting), and interpreting what the events and plots signify.[3] This essay asserts that these three acts of narrativization (selecting, plotting, interpreting) lay at the heart of identity construction within international relations.

However, these identity-constructing narratives are rarely the exclusive product of a state's policy makers. External forces are constantly at play, seeking to select, plot, and interpret the events and meanings by which identities are narrated. Examining identity construction in IR requires paying attention to struggles over the articulation and circulation of identity-producing narratives. Moreover, actors do not create these narratives at will. They are limited by the availability of accepted representations and narratives. As Somers and Gibson note, "Which kind of narratives will socially predominate is contested politically and will depend in large part on the distribution of power."[4] Within the 1960 Crisis, the Congo's sovereignty and the identity of its citizenry were rewritten and reinscribed by multiple actors, each claiming dominant authorship. External actors' attempts to narrate Congolese identity were intimately tied to their ability to intervene within Congolese internal affairs.

Identities are formed by the gradual layering on and connecting of events and meanings, and this opens up numerous points of contestation. For example, which events will be selected, and by whom? How will these events by linked to other events to form a causal relationship? Who will perform that act of emplotment? Who will interpret what the events and plot signify? That is to say, whose interpretation of the narrative—and the identities that narrative helps construct—will become dominant?

A useful way of understanding the historic contestation over identity narratives can be found in the "long conversation" concept of historical anthropologists Jean and John Comaroff. In their work on the colonial contact between the Tswana peoples of South Africa and British Christian missionaries, the Comaroff's define the "long conversation" as "the actions and interactions that laid the bases of an intelligible colonial discourse."[5] They argue that there were two faces to this conversation between colonizer and colonized: what was talked *about*; and the struggle to gain mastery over the *terms* of the encounter. Identities of states and their citizenry are historically produced within similar "long conversations," where multiple actors have come together to contest the meanings of those identities and the terms in which they are expressed. However, there is a third dimension to the "long conversation" overlooked by the Comaroffs. I refer to the struggle over finding and creating an acceptable position or space within the conversation. Specifically, this refers to the ability to access "discursive space"—acceptable space within which to engage in the conversation. Delineating and policing discursive space has been an important element in identity construction in IR, especially for disadvantaged Third World states like the Congo. At times, international discursive space has been actively closed off to competing and counter-hegemonic discourses. For example, during the 1960s, Western governments not only intervened

directly to deny the seating of Patrice Lumumba's UN delegation, but also his access to the radio station in his country's capital. Both of these actions effectively limited his ability to articulate and circulate his narratives of Congolese identity.

One of the implications of this unequal access is that politically and economically dispossessed actors search for other ways to articulate discourses on their identity. Frequently, violence functions as a discursive tool. For example, when denied the space to articulate resistance, dissidents in the eastern part of the Congo took up arms against intervening Western forces during the 1960 Crisis. In this case, and other similar cases throughout Congolese history, the use of violence should be understood in part as a tool for the discursively dispossessed and disenfranchised. In this chapter, I will examine why certain voices are "heard," and others not, in the long conversation of narrating the identity of the Congo.

My use of discourse and discourse analysis is drawn from the works of Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Ernesto Laclau, and Chantal Mouffe, who accept that a discourse is a relational totality of signifying sequences that together constitute a more or less coherent framework for what can be said and done. The concept of discourse has an explanatory role since social interaction can only be explained in relation to its discursive context. Unlike other IR approaches that focus on *structure* (either in a neorealist or Marxian sense), a discursive approach rejects the idea of an organizing center that arrests and grounds the play of meaning. As such, a discourse informs rather than guides social interaction by influencing the cognitive scripts, categories, and rationalities that are indispensable for social action.[6] Structural IR approaches mistakenly privilege prescriptive norms of conduct and specific resource allocations, ignoring the ways in which both are discursively constructed. Thus, for this chapter, the process of narrating identities within IR involves attempts to discursively fix the meaning of the "Congo" and to establish its positional relationship *vis-à-vis* other actors.

A discursive analysis approach examines the discourses that construct the subject—in this case the "Congo." Yet, it is important to keep in mind that, while discourses shape power, power also shapes discourse, and that power, like discourses, is never totally centralized. The primary goal of this approach is to explore the relationship between discourse and power as they relate to the identity construction. This is not to suggest that only the discursive is important for understanding IR. Rather, I am responding to what I regard as an exclusive focus on material-based explanations of IR, particularly in regards to examinations of the Congo and the international community. For example, Adam Hochschild's *King Leopold's Ghost* explains the brutality of colonial conquest by focusing exclusively on the Belgian king's greed while David Gibb's *The Political Economy of Third World Intervention* argues that neocolonial economic interests determined the West's relationship with Mobutu's Zaïre for several decades. These and similar works make valuable contributions, but they focus exclusively on

material practices while completely ignoring the discursive. In practice, the material and the discursive are inherently intertwined because it is unsustainable to maintain a distinction between practice and discourse. Exclusive focus on material practices mistakenly assumes that interests, agendas, motivations, and identities are all inherently given. All of these elements are discursively articulated and produced. Focusing on the role of narrativity in IR (re)focuses on the discursive, not at the expense of the material, but to better situate and explain material practices.

It should never be forgotten that discourses on a state's identity have political dynamics. In the case of the Congo, they enabled external actors to "know" the Congo and to act upon what they "know." Certain paths of action become possible within distinct discourses, while other paths have been "unthinkable." This approach has important implications with regards to social action and agency. It rejects approaches such as (neo)Realism and (neo)Liberalism, which argue that actors are motivated by inherent (universal) interests, rational means–ends preferences, or by internalized norms and values.[7] Rather, it claims that social action and agency result because people are guided to act in certain ways, and not others by their sense of *self* and *other*, as defined at that particular place and time. Agency can only be understood by recognizing the various discursive narratives in which actors find themselves. This approach resituates power in history away from a focus on subject *positioning* (as reflected in the theories of (neo)Realism, (neo)Liberalism, and Marxism) to one of subject *construction*.

When researching the construction of Congolese identity, I engaged empirical data from a broad array of sources, many of which may be considered outside the scope of traditional political science analysis. While the majority of sources came from the "political" realm of governmental reports, speeches, and documents, I also drew from journalism, travel literature, academic treatises, fiction, film, museum displays, art, images, maps, and other "alternative" texts. These texts often provide the most vivid and potent examples of the techniques by which Third World subjects have been narrated by Western hegemonic powers.[8] For many outside observers, including politicians, these are the sources that have provided the primary framework within which the Congo has been made "knowable." As David Newbury pointed out, many Westerns are intellectually uninformed about the Congo, but are so inundated by stereotypical images that they feel they have a defined cognitive framework.[9] Clear examples of this include the use of popular press reports as "evidence" in Congressional debates on the 1960 Crisis by U.S. Senators such as Styles Bridges, Olin Johnson, and Paul Dague.[10] Novels such as *Heart of Darkness*, films such as *Congo*, and cartoons such as *Tintin in the Congo* constitute the basic discursive structure through which many Westerners view the Congo even today. As Kenneth Ferguson has noted, "To determine the American understanding of Africa, for example, most academics study canonical texts of foreign policy like state department bulletins or administration policy statements. These are not unimportant sources, but . . . [a popular

musician is] a far more important American-international diplomat than whoever happens to be the American representative to the United Nations at a particular time, because he has far more control over representations of 'Africaness.' "[11]

Critically exploring the ways in which a state's identity has been narrated requires casting the empirical net wide, for the narratives that contribute in the construction of that identity necessarily come from multiple and varied sources, and are often embedded in popular culture. In the case of the 1960s Crisis, discursive authorship of the Congo's identity was being articulated and circulated in a myriad of forms: in the international and regional media, on the floors of the United Nations and OAU, in pamphlets and fliers passed around at political meetings across the globe, in government pronouncements from Western and African capitals, in best-selling novels, in fictional and documentary films, and in the "bush" of the Congolese jungle. In addition to the multiple forms of discursive authorship, a variety of actors were engaged in constructing competing narratives. For example, on the floor of the UN General Assembly, representatives from the Soviet Union, newly independent African states (most notably Ghana and Guinea), Belgium, and the United States all competed to present their interpretation of Congolese identity and a narrative of the events taking place there. Within the Congo, there were multiple voices competing to either articulate a Congolese national identity, or seeking to privilege a regional, sub-state identity. Within the Congo, those voices came from President Kasavubu, Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, future coup leader Joseph Mobutu, secessionist leader Moise Tshombe, as well as local media figures, citizenry groups, and members of the army. Obviously, some of these narrative voices were reproduced and circulated more than others, giving them a greater degree of "weight." Exploring the complexities of this overall discursive production requires engagement with a wide and diverse spectrum of sources. For this chapter, I have chosen to highlight what I consider to be the three most important voices: Patrice Lumumba, the Eisenhower administration, and the Belgian government. The reason for choosing Lumumba is because he able to articulate and circulate his identity discourses more effectively than any other domestic Congolese actor. Likewise, the American and Belgian governments were able to access and control international discursive space more effectively than other narrative-producing actors.

The next section of this chapter examines the 1960 Congo Crisis from the perspective of clashing narrativization by exploring how competing Belgian, Congolese, and American forces selected, plotted, and interpreted their narratives of Congolese identity. Particular attention will be paid to the differences in causal emplotment, which refers to the meaning-making process in which actions and events are situated within larger, accepted narratives. More specifically, it is the act of creating meaning, of making sense of the social world. As we shall see, the events of the 1960 Crisis were emplotted by different actors into differing larger narratives: for Lumumba

it was the narrative of Belgian exploitation, for the Belgian government it was the narrative of Belgian Paternalism and "*Notre Congo*," while the U.S. government emplotted the events within the larger narrative of Cold War conflict. This case is offered both as an example of how narrativity is intimately related to identity construction in IR and as an empirical example of my methodological approach.

Patrice Lumumba's Narrative of a Suffering Congolese Identity

> *Our lot was eighty years of colonial rule; our wounds are still too fresh and painful to be driven from our memory.*
>
> *We have known tiring labor exacted in exchange for salary which did not allow us to satisfy our hunger, to clothe and lodge ourselves decently or to raise our children like loved beings.*
>
> *We have known ironies, insults, blows which we had to endure morning, noon, and night because we were "Negroes."*
>
> —*Patrice Lumumba's Independence Day Speech*[12]

Throughout the 1950s, Patrice Emery Lumumba emerged as one of the most popular articulators of a Congolese nationalist/pro-independence position. Lumumba helped form the *Mouvement National Congolais* (MNC), becoming its leader and serving another prison sentence in 1959 for reputedly fomenting riots in Stanleyville. He was begrudgingly released by colonial authorities in January 1960 to attend the Roundtable Conference on decolonization in Brussels. The MNC won the most votes in the May 1960 elections and Lumumba formed a coalition government, with himself as prime minister and defense minister. Lumumba's popularity was tied to the fact that he authored important counter-narratives that challenged dominant Belgian views of the colonial project. He offered an interpretation of the previous 80 years that focused on colonial exploitation, repression, and resource extraction. However, there simply was not the space within the colonial narratives for Congolese to articulate a counter-interpretation. By disrupting and even opposing the accepted narratives, Lumumba was seen by most white Belgians (both in the Congo and Belgium) as radical, unstable, and dangerous.

In articulating a narrative of Congolese identity, Lumumba was the sole Congolese politician stressing a "national" identity rather than one based on region or ethnicity, as did most other political leaders such as Joseph Kasavubu and Moise Tshombe. Lumumba narrated a national identity through selecting, plotting, and interpreting events from colonial history. By grounding Congolese identity in the collective social memories of suffering at the hands of Belgian colonizers, Lumumba articulated what it meant to be "Congolese." This conception was clearly articulated in his Independence Day speech, which followed Baudouin's recitation of the Belgian colonial narrative. As such, Lumumba was offering an alternative

narrative of the colonial project and Congolese identity. Since this speech is representative of the nationalist discourse Lumumba authored, and because it was used by the Belgian and American governments and media as "evidence" of Lumumba's irrationality and immaturity, it bears quoting at length. In the opening passages, he stated:

> Our lot was eighty years of colonial rule; our wounds are still too fresh and painful to be driven from our memory.
>
> We have known tiring labor exacted in exchange for salary which did not allow us to satisfy our hunger, to clothe and lodge ourselves decently or to raise our children like loved beings.
>
> We have known ironies, insults, blows which we had to endure morning, noon, and night because we were "Negroes." Who will forget that to a Negro the familiar verb forms were used, not indeed as with a friend, but because the honorable formal verb forms were reserved for the whites?
>
> We have known that our lands were despoiled in the name of supposedly legal texts which recognized only the law of the stronger.
>
> We have known that the law was never the same depending on whether it concerned a white or a Negro: accommodating for one group, it was cruel and inhuman for the other.
>
> We have known the atrocious sufferings of those banished for political opinions or religious beliefs; exiled in their own countries, their end was truly worse than death itself.
>
> We have known that there were magnificent houses for the whites in the cities and tumble-down straw huts for the Negroes, that Negro was not admitted in movie houses or restaurants or stores labeled "Europeans," that a Negro traveled in the hulls of river boats at the feet of the white in his first class cabin.
>
> Who will forget, finally, the fusillades where so many of our brothers perished or the prisons where all those brutally flung who no longer wished to submit to the regime of a law of oppression and exploitation which the colonists had made a tool of their domination?
>
> All that, my brothers, we have profoundly suffered.[13]

In contrast to Baudouin's speech, Lumumba's provided an important alternative narrative of the colonial project that exposed the repression, exploitation, and violence that the Belgian narrative sought to erase. Lumumba's speech politicized the tensions and resistance between whites and blacks that Baudouin's narrative romanticized or dismissed within the depoliticized framework of Paternalism. Moreover, Lumumba's speech created a counterimage of the Congolese population. The Congolese, in Lumumba's narrative, were not children or savages, immature or irrational. Rather, they were presented as part of a "we"—as victimized men and women who had survived with dignity, humanity, strength, and unity. Paternalism was replaced with a different but still familial metaphor—"brotherhood."

While the Belgian government and media denied the historicity of the crisis by explaining it in terms of the Congolese's "natural" barbarity,

Lumumba articulated a narrative based on specific historical and political events—namely, Belgian intervention. In Lumumba's interpretation of events, the initial uprising by numerous *Force Publique* soldiers was due to their continued mistreatment at the hands of their white officers. In the wake of these mutinies, Lumumba traveled across the country in an effort to quell the rebellion. Lumumba raised all soldiers a grade and promised future reforms. However, Lumumba met with limited success, largely because of the actions of Belgian military forces on the ground, which continued to move against Congolese soldiers and civilians. Lumumba also regarded the secession of Katanga as resulting from Belgian intervention and complicity.[14] He interpreted the events following independence within a narrative framework dominated by the portrayal of an interventionist and exploitative Belgium. As Lumumba often pointed out, the engagement of Belgian troops was in direct violation of the treaty of friendship that explicitly stated that Belgian forces stationed in the Congo could not intervene except on demand of the Congolese Minister of National Defense. The minister of defense was Patrice Lumumba himself.

What is important to recognize in this discussion is the ways in which Patrice Lumumba was severely limited in his ability to articulate and circulate his alternative narratives and interpretations of events due to his inability to access wider discursive space. Domestically, Lumumba's main vehicles for articulating and circulating his discourses were direct public speeches and the Congolese media. After Kasavubu fired him and Mobutu moved to "neutralize" him, Lumumba's mobility was severely limited and, more importantly, he was physically denied access to the radio station in Leopoldville, thus eliminating his ability to speak directly to the country's population. Moreover, Lumumba had limited access to international media sources. Lumumba's ability to promote his interpretation of events was limited in part because he lacked credibility in the West, particularly in Belgium. Within the Belgian media, Lumumba became the personification of Congolese impertinence, immaturity, and savagery. They portrayed him as an unstable, nationalistic radical.[15] In her study of *La Libre Belgique*, Christine Masuy notes that media representations of Lumumba became increasingly demoniacal over time. Much of the coverage focused on Lumumba's physical attributes—his "choppy" French, white and broad teeth, and goatee—to present the prime minister in purely negative terms.[16] Similar rhetorical and representational moves were enacted across Belgian media in general.[17] For example, the Belgian paper *Le Soir* reprinted Lumumba's Independence Day speech on page three of its special edition, after a front page editorial attacking Lumumba's "diatribe" and reproducing the full text of King Baudouin's speech. This one instance would prove to be the only time Lumumba would have his speeches directly reproduced in the international media. Most of the coverage of his Independence Day address derogatorily paraphrased it, as when *Time* wrote: "Patrice Lumumba, jealous of the limelight everyone else was enjoying, took the opportunity to launch a vicious attack on the departing

Belgian rulers. 'Slavery was imposed on us by force!' he cried, as the King sat shocked and pale."[18] After Independence Day, no international publication printed an interview with Lumumba, which would have allowed him to articulate his interpretations to a wider audience. Lumumba's inability to access the international media meant that he was unable to circulate his discourses beyond a limited domestic stage.

Furthermore, Washington actively used its hegemonic control over discursive space against Patrice Lumumba. For example, the delegation he sent to the United Nations was denied seating, after intense maneuvering by the Eisenhower administration.[19] When Lumumba traveled to the United States, he was not given audience with Eisenhower or other top-ranking government officials, limiting the scope of his discursive delivery. For example, while he did meet individually with the UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, he was not given the opportunity to address the UN General Assembly. In effect, Lumumba's ability to use international organizations as a platform for articulating and circulating his discourse was completely cut off.[20] Thus, Lumumba was denied a space from which to articulate and circulate his narrativization of Congolese identity.

Paternal Belgian Narratives of Immaturity and Ingratitude

> *The independence of Congo constitutes the culmination of the work conceived by the genius of King Leopold II, undertaken by Him with a tenacious courage and continued with perseverance by Belgium. It marks a decisive hour in the destiny not only of Congo itself, but, I don't hesitate to state, of the whole of Africa. For 80 years, Belgium sent to your soil her best sons, first in order to rescue the Congo basin from the odious slave trade that decimated its populations; afterwards in order to bring together the different tribes who, previously hostile, together will constitute the greatest of the independent States of Africa; finally, in order to call forth a happier life for the various regions of the Congo that are represented here, united in one Parliament.*
>
> —*King Baudouin's Independence Day Speech*[21]

As King Baudouin's speech illustrates, glorified elements of Belgian colonial history were selected and linked together in causal and associational ways to produce the dominant narrative of Belgian colonial domination in the Congo. At its core was the salvation and civilizing discourses articulated by Henry Morton Stanley, Leopold II, and his colonial agents decades beforehand. On the threshold of Congolese independence, the young King Baudouin proclaimed that the "purpose of our presence on the African continent was defined by Leopold II; to open up these backwards countries to European civilization; summon their populations to emancipation, to freedom and to progress after having freed them from slavery, disease and misery."[22] In the wake of Belgium's inheritance of the Congo from Leopold II, the colonial state had instituted a colonial practice they

themselves termed "Paternalism," with its overt emphasis on the white man as *father* and African as *child*.[23] This policy was articulated in Governor-General Pierre Ryckman's treatise *Dominer Pour Servir* [Dominate to Serve/Domination for Service].[24] Even as late as 1959, this paternal metaphor continued to inform Belgian colonial policy. When speaking of the Congo's rural population seven months before independence, Belgian Minister of Colonies Auguste de Schrijver stated, "I see these simple populations outside the large urban centers, and I feel myself more than ever the father of a family."[25]

As the colonial project selected and plotted elements to construct Congolese identities, meaning was assigned to the events and symbols. Perhaps the most pervasive theme in the narrativization of the Belgian colonial mission was the view of the Congolese as *still evolving*. The predominant discourse held that some progress had been made in civilizing them, and these successes were typically represented by symbols of Western technology and industry: hydroelectric dams, railroads and highways, mining facilities, plantations, urban sprawl, primary schools, and health care facilities. These were the physical markings of "civilization" the Belgian colonial project had etched on the surface of its Congo; material and physical markers of "development." However, it was felt that, by and large, the Congolese still remained precariously close to their savage roots. They were still to be regarded as "children" in need of Paternalism. For example, Prof. Guy Malengreau of the University of Louvain wrote in 1955:

> In reality . . . the great mass of the Congo's inhabitants are incapable of governing themselves. This will be so for a long time to come . . . . To enlarge the political rights of the colony's inhabitants would be in reality to abandon the fate of millions of natives to a handful of men whose interests are often in opposition to those of the bulk of the population for whom Belgium's guardianship is today the only protection.[26]

At the time of independence, many Belgians often expressed the view that the Congolese were savages who "were up in the trees just fifty years ago."[27]

On January 13, 1959, King Baudouin proclaimed that, "our firm resolution, today, is to lead the Congolese populations, without harmful procrastination, but also without thoughtless haste, toward independence, in prosperity and in peace."[28] But the question remained: *when*? The colonial narrative established that the Congolese "children" were still in the process of civilizing. In a speech to a joint session of the U.S. Congress on May 12, 1959, King Baudouin stated that: "all my countrymen join me in the desire to raise the population of the Congo to a level that will enable them freely to choose their future destiny. *As soon as they are mature, as soon as they have received the loving care in education that we can give them*, we shall launch them forth on their own enterprise and independent existence."[29] Thus, it was clear that the Belgian government considered the Africans still too undeveloped to handle self-rule. Such a narrative was found not

only in official declarations, but in popular cultural expressions as well: from political cartoons to the colonial Congolese display at the 1958 Brussels Universal Exhibition (which attracted over 350 million people). Yet, this image of Africans as children graciously accepting the white's strong, guiding hand toward higher development was challenged by their increasingly violent resistance. Within the logic of the colonial narrative, however, this violence confirmed the pervasive and underlying image of the Congolese as inherent savages. If the colonial project was now regarded as flawed, it was not due to deficiencies in Paternalism, but because of the seeming impossibility of uplifting an inherently savage and barbaric race.[30]

In keeping with the Paternal discourse, independence and freedom were presented as being "gifts" bestowed upon the Congolese "children" by the benevolent parent. Yet, many Belgian politicians feared that Paternalism had not yet adequately raised these "children" to "adulthood," and that the Congolese "children" would be easy prey to communism.[31] Belgian rhetoric repeatedly regarded self-rule as a developmental stage within the modernist paradigm. Take, for example, these passages from the Belgian government's January 13, 1959 declaration of decolonization of the Congo:

> In exercising her sovereignty, Belgium has assumed responsibilities toward all the inhabitants of the Congo. In the course of the political evolution defined in this declaration, it is her duty to maintain a sound administration and to keep it under her control. She will hand over these responsibilities as the new Congolese institutions gradually prove they are capable of maintaining order and respect for public and private obligations, and the protection of persons and property . . . [T]he Congolese people will show their wisdom and maturity by undertaking with us the shaping of the new structures, and by assuming conscientiously the serious responsibilities its future involves.[32]

Thus, within the narratives it created, the Belgian government established that the Congolese had to prove themselves to be civilized and developed in order to have the gifts of sovereignty and self-rule bestowed upon them.

Shortly after independence, Belgian troops returned to the streets of the Congo, ostensibly to put down Congolese soldiers who had mutinied against their white officers. The Belgian government's intervention in the Congo was based on how the events immediately following independence were emplotted and interpreted within their larger narrative of Congolese identity. There are two important elements of this narrative worth highlighting at the outset. First, the Congo was often conceived as an extension of Belgian domestic space. Thus, the 1960 Crisis and the Belgian government's response were regarded, to a certain degree, as a domestic affair—or more precisely, within the language of Paternalism, a family affair. Thus, the Belgian government operated from a self-perceived right and responsibility to intervene. Second, sovereignty and independence had been defined as *gifts* rather than *rights*. Tied to this understanding was the belief

that sovereignty and independence were intimately linked to a developmental stage within a modernist paradigm. Within the Belgian government's narrative, the Congolese proved within the first few days of independence that they were not "developed" enough for the "gifts" of sovereignty and self-rule, so the gifts could and should be taken back. Moreover, the Congolese (mis)use of those gifts was seen as threatening to white lives, interests, and investments. Therefore, it *had* to be taken away. The parents *had* to intervene.

American Narratives of Savagery and "Red Weeds"

> *Should the Congo crumble into chaos and become a successful object of Communist penetration, the Soviet bloc will have acquired an asset without price—a base of operations in the heart of Africa from which to spread its tentacles over this newest of continents. The avoidance of this very real danger is the immediate objective of our policy in the Congo.*
>
> *—Under Sec. of State George Ball*[33]

While the Belgian government emplotted the events of the 1960 Crisis within their larger narrative of Paternalism and Lumumba emplotted the events within the larger narrative of colonial repression and exploitation, the government of the United States operated within a framework supplied by the narrative of Cold War competition. As George Ball's statement notes, the Eisenhower administration's interpretation of the 1960 Congo Crisis shifted discussions of the Congo's identity away from varying interpretations of colonial history to assumptions about Cold War competition, which focused on the fear of Congo as chaos and the threat of communism.

In the post–World War II era, the United States constructed a national image of itself as definer and protector of "Western" values, namely freedom, democracy, and the free market. In his insightful work on U.S. foreign policy and the politics of identity, David Campbell argues that U.S. identity was strongly tied to constructions of otherness, particularly given the imagining of "America" as an idealized, ahistoric nation, reaching beyond its geographical boundaries.[34] As Kennan Ferguson notes, during the Cold War the "dominant political discourse of the United States positioned it as the custodian of identity, policing and locating allies and enemies, threats to, and infections of the American body politics."[35] Defining itself as the protector of "Western" values and global hegemon authorized the U.S. government to resolve international "problems." One such problem was what the American government officials and media called the "Congo Question." Rhetorically framing the situation as the "Congo Question" placed authorship of both the question and the answer in the hands of the questioner, in this case the Eisenhower administration, the State Department, and the CIA.

American narratives on the Congo's identity were firmly rooted in earlier images of the Congo as a chaotic, savage, and primitive jungle. This imagery was emplotted within the framing narrative of Cold War competition. In the Cold War context, the American government interpreted "chaos" as a fertile soil from which "red weeds" grow, to use a metaphor employed by *Time* magazine.[36] American views of Soviet aims in the Third World had been established by George Kennan's infamous "Long Telegram" that asserted: "Toward colonial areas and backwards or dependent peoples, Soviet policy, even on official plane, will be directed toward weakening of power and influence and contacts of advanced Western nations, on theory that insofar as this policy is successful, there will be created a vacuum which will favor Communist-Soviet penetration."[37] Thus, the Cold War rhetorical maneuver meant constructing the Congo as easy prey for Communist conquest, as expressed in numerous political cartoons of the day. These two existing discursive trends—Congo's inherent backwardness and Cold War anxiety—converged to narrate the Congolese as irrational, immature, and easy targets for Soviet influence. The employment of these embedded narratives indicates to me that the Eisenhower administration (like the Belgian government) was aware that their narratives would produce certain political outcomes and material consequences.

A defining element of the U.S. government's narrativization of the 1960 Congo Crisis that also suggests a certain degree of intentionality was the reemployment of the rhetorical devices scripted by Stanley, Leopold II, his colonial agents, and the Congo Reform movement. These images shaped not only public policy, but the larger American cultural understanding of the Congo, having been repeated, circulated, and reproduced in American culture throughout the twentieth century. From Stanley's earliest reports, to novels like Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* to repeated Hollywood cinematic constructions, the Congo became synonymous with savagery, primitivism, chaos, barbarianism, cannibalism, and unchecked nature. The events of 1960 were interpreted within this cognitive framework. For instance, *Time* magazine's coverage of the Congo's independence was enunciated in the language of supposed Congolese primitivism. Its headline proclaimed "Belgian Congo: Freedom Yes, Civilization Maybe."[38] In his memoirs, President Eisenhower referred to the Congolese as "a restless and militant population in a state of gross ignorance—even by African standards."[39]

The *Force Publique*'s mutiny was perceived through such discursive lens. In the initial coverage of the mutiny, *Time* ran a photograph of rioters with the caption: "Congo Tribalists Fighting In Leopoldville: With a primeval howl, a reversion to savagery."[40] The text of the report was even more telling: "With a primeval howl, a nation of 14 million people reverted to near savagery, plunged backward into the long night of chaos." Such reporting relied on established constructions of Congolese as primitive savages, and failed to note that the civilian population was not generally involved in the

uprising, and only a few sectors of the *Force Publique* were in mutiny.[41] The political dynamics behind the mutiny were disregarded or delegitimized in American narratives. As *Time* reported: "There seemed *no logical explanation* for the madness that swept the Congo. The Congolese involved gave *no coherent answers* except to ask bitterly where were the pay raises and easy jobs and plentiful food that had been promised by the politicians?"[42] These rhetorical moves worked to separate the political motives from the event in the eyes of the reader, casting it instead as "madness."

In their narrative of Congolese identity, American government officials portrayed the Congolese as not civilized or mature enough to "handle" complex notions of Western democracy or other "modern" political concepts. In a State Department Policy Paper on the Congo, Ambassador Timberlake stated: "the fact is that the Congo is years from more than a facade of democracy . . . [Not one Congolese understood] even the most elementary principles of democracy."[43] The dominant American view was that the Congolese were incapable of ruling themselves. Once such a notion was disseminated and internalized, Congolese sovereignty and independence became meaningless.

As the crisis progressed and the Eisenhower administration became increasingly convinced that Patrice Lumumba was a communist troublemaker, Washington became more critical of the Belgian government's policy. The bulk of the US discourse on the Congo involved a construction of Lumumba that overdetermined his eventual removal. In representing Lumumba as "irrational," American media and government officials took their cue from the Belgians. These media representations are important for, in the case of the 1960 Congo Crisis, they not only *reflect* the dominant discourse on the Congo, but clearly *shaped* American policy toward the Congo. American politicians, largely unfamiliar with Congolese history and politics, formed their opinions of the situation from the popular press, as is evident by the high number of popular press articles quoted in the *Congressional Record*. For example, Senator Styles Bridges used a report from the *Washington Evening Star* as evidence that Lumumba was an "ex-convict . . . who has fallen into the Red trap."[44] Likewise, Senator Olin Johnston spoke authoritatively on the Senate floor from a report in the *National Review*: "[Lumumba] is a cheap embezzler, a schizoid agitator (half witch doctor, half Marxist), an opportunist ready to sell out to the highest bidder, ex officio big chief No. 1 of a gang of jungle primitives strutting about in the masks of cabinet ministers."[45]

The narratives of Congolese primitivism and Cold War competition converged to produce a reading of the 1960 Crisis in which any and all solutions required the removal of Lumumba. By late August, *Time* had already concluded that the "Congo might yet prove able to govern itself. But after two hectic months in office, Lumumba hardly seems the man for the job."[46] For the Congo to become "civilized" and "genuinely" independent, Lumumba had to go.[47] Western media and policy-makers began envisioning a post–Lumumba Congo, employing what Hannah Arendt refers to as

"infallible prediction."[48] Their rhetoric became propaganda, scripting a future Congo already achieved through self-fulfilling prophecies of, in this case, the forceful removal of the Prime Minister. The CIA decided that the Congo crisis could only be resolved if Lumumba was permanently removed—something Kasavubu and Mobutu had failed to accomplish. CIA Director Dulles cabled Leopoldville: "In high quarters here it is the clear-cut conclusion that if [Lumumba] continues to hold high office, the inevitable result will at best be chaos and at worst pave the way to communist takeover of the Congo . . . . Consequently we conclude that his removal must be an urgent and prime objective."[49]

The actual events surrounding Lumumba's murder remain highly contested to this day. Although the Belgian government officially apologized for Lumumba's assassination in February 2002, the specific roles and degrees the CIA and Belgian intelligence forces played in Lumumba's arrest, beating, transfer, murder, and subsequent cover-up remain unclear.[50] What is clear, and well documented in a U.S. Senate Report, is the fact that the CIA initiated several plans to assassinate Lumumba, from the hiring of hit men to the importation of a lethal dose of poison in a diplomatic-immunity pouch. The organizing force of these activities was Lawrence Devlin, the CIA's station chief in Leopoldville. As Dulles's cable quoted here illustrates, Devlin was operating on orders from higher authorities, and these "highest quarters" seemed to include the president. In testimony before a Senate hearing, CIA Station Officer Hedgman stated that it was his understanding that President Eisenhower had directly authorized the assassination of Lumumba.[51]

Conclusions

Within the 1960 Congo Crisis, there were multiple and varied attempts to construct and control the identity of the Congo. This was largely done through narrativization. Within the narratives produced by Patrice Lumumba and the governments and media of the United States and Belgium, Congolese identity was contested through the competing attempts to layer and connect events and meanings. These identity-constructing narratives sought to select events of importance, link these events to each other in causal and associational ways, and interpret what the events and plot supposedly signified. Through their discursive constructions, some agents were frequently able to employ coercive force to restrict or silence other competing narratives. By way of a conclusion, I'd like to highlight three important points that this case study illustrates: the connection between the discursive and the material, the importance of alternative identity narratives and resistance, and the contestation and control over discursive space.

It should be noted that the different narratives produced during the 1960 Crisis had direct material consequences. For example, the Belgian

government operated within a framework informed by its colonial narrative of paternalism and ownership. As such, these discourses authorized the government's dismissal of Lumumba's claims to sovereignty and autonomy. These narratives enabled direct and violent intervention, as well as material support to "mature" breakaway provinces. Likewise, the U.S. government, operating within its own scripted narrative of Cold War competition and Congolese barbarity and chaos, pursued interventionist policies that included the forceful removal of Patrice Lumumba. Lumumba also engaged in authoring alternative discourses on Congolese history and identity, but was ultimately unable to access the international discursive spaces from which to circulate these alternative narratives. These examples not only illustrate that these discursive narratives were interrelated to material actions, but that agency can only be understood by recognizing the various narratives in which actors find themselves. This approach resituates power in history away from a focus on subject *positioning* (as reflected in the traditional IR theories of (neo)Realism, (neo)Liberalism, and Marxism) to one of subject *construction*.

While recognizing the importance of narrativity in the construction of identities within IR, the case of the Congo also illustrates that discourses are neither monolithic nor unchallenged. It is important to recognize that internal actors also have discursive agency and do not passively have their identity written for/upon them. This point underscores the intersubjectivity of identity production and contestation. Identities exist in the contested ground between competing discursive representations. At any given time, there are different interpretations of a given identity that are competing with each other for dominance. Representations of the Congo have established regimes of "truth" and "knowledge," particularly a "reality" in which practices such as domination, exploitation, and resistance have been enabled—both by external actors and indigenous Africans. It is not enough to only examine the dominant or hegemonic discourses, for that gives only a partial picture and works to reify the imagery of domination. In identity research, it is important to explore the counter-discourses being enunciated and employed. For example, in the case of the Congo, Africans have constructed counter-discourses to challenge Western-imposed visions of the Congo. In his few months in office, Lumumba articulated national identity narratives that directly challenged existing images of the Congo held by most Westerners. Much of what occurred in the Congo during the 1960 Crisis can be understood by examining the political dynamic engendered by these competing discourses on the Congo's identity. Including counter-discourses, particularly from African actors, is necessary for achieving greater texture and nuance in the study of identity production and contestation.

Given the contestation over narratives and interpretations of events during the Crisis, what was at stake was the ability to articulate and circulate those narratives and interpretations within the international

community. With respect to the United States and Belgium, Washington had far greater discursive space within which to articulate and circulate its versions of Congolese "reality" than did Brussels. In large part, this was tied to the decline of Belgium's (always limited) power and the rise of the United States as a superpower during the twentieth century. In the wake of the two world wars, European authoritative discourses, and their power to articulate, inscribe, and enforce those discourses, were greatly diminished. In their place, the United States had emerged as the dominant Western power that, instead of allowing a plurality of identity discourses, sought to privilege its own reading/writing, while challenging and marginalizing other discourses. The United States enjoyed greater discursive space, not only because of its political hegemony, evidenced in its ability to shape policies in such organizations as the United Nations and NATO, but also because of its cultural hegemony. For instance, American publications such as *Time*, *Life*, *New York Times*, and *International Herald Tribune* had a far greater global readership than did *Le Soir* and *Le Libre Belgique*, the two major Belgian newspapers.

Furthermore, each government imagined different audiences. The Belgian government's discursive audience was primarily a domestic one. The international "community" to which it occasionally appealed to was conceived as the colonial one of hegemonic Western states. In contrast, the post–World War II U.S. government had developed more of an "international consciousness," largely because of its perceived superpower status. Its international audience explicitly (and successfully) included newly independent Third World states.

Finally, Patrice Lumumba was severely limited in his ability to articulate and circulate his alternative narratives and interpretations of events because he was unable to gain access to wider discursive space. After Kasavubu fired him and Mobutu moved to "neutralize" him, Lumumba's domestic mobility was severely limited and, more importantly, he was physically denied access to the radio station in Leopoldville, thus eliminating his ability to speak directly to the country's population. Lumumba's access to international media was also limited. After his Independence Day speech, no international publication printed an interview with Lumumba, which would have allowed him to articulate his interpretations to a wider audience. The delegation Lumumba sent to the United Nations was denied seating, after intense maneuvering by the Eisenhower administration. Lumumba's inability to access the international institutions and media meant that he was unable to circulate his discourses beyond a limited domestic stage. The implication of this silencing of Lumumba was that Western governments were able to claim to speak authoritatively of and for the Congo: direct intervention by the U.S. and Belgian governments meant that they would still control international authorship of the Congo's identity even after "independence."

Notes

1. This chapter draws upon material from the book *Imagining the Congo*: *The International Relations of Identity*, especially Chapter Three (New York: Palgrave, 2003).
2. Margaret R. Somers, "The Narrative Constitution of Identity: A Relational and Network Approach," *Theory and Society* 23 (1994), 606.
3. Stephen Cornell, "That's the Story of Our Life," in Paul Spickard and W. Jeffrey Burroughs (eds.), *We Are a People: Narrative and Multiplicity in Constructing Ethnic Identity* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 2000).
4. Margaret R. Somers and Gloria D. Gibson, "Reclaiming the Epistemological 'Other': Narrative and the Social Constitution of Identity" in Craig Calhoun (ed.), *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 73.
5. Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*: *Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciouness in South Africa. Vol. I* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 199.
6. Jacob Torfing, *New Theories of Discourse: Laclau, Mouffe and Zizek* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 81–82.
7. Wendy Brown, *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).
8. Craig N. Murphy, "Book Review of *Imperial Encounters* by Roxanne Lynn Doty," *American Political Science Review* 91:4 (1997), 1003.
9. David Newbury, "Understanding Genocide," *African Studies Review* 41:1 (1998).
10. See *Congressional Record*, August 12, 1960: 16281; August 17, 1960: 16641; and February 16, 1961: A955.
11. Kennan Ferguson, "Unmapping and Remapping the World: Foreign Policy as Aesthetic Practice," in Shapiro and Alker (eds.), *Challenging Boundaries* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 180–181.
12. Quoted in Alan Merriam, *Congo: Background of Conflict* (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1961), 353.
13. Ibid., 352–353.
14. Significantly, most of Belgium's economic investment in the Congo was centered in the southern region of Katanga, where copper, cobalt, tin, zinc, and uranium (from 1944 to 1960) were mined. In that region, Belgians had over $3.5 billion invested, and an expatriate population of roughly 40,000 Belgian citizens. The region provided 60% of Congo's foreign currency earnings, most of which was held by one corporation, *Union Miniére du Haut-Katanga* (UMHK).
15. Brigitte Morue, *Lumumba a travers la presse belge: Jan. 1960–Nov. 1961* (Ph.D. Dissertation. Universite Libre de Bruxelles, 1980).
16. Christine Masuy, "Du portrait au personage. La diabolisation symbolique de Patrice Lumumba dans *La Libre Belgique*," in Halen and Riesz (eds.), *Patrice Lumumba entre Dieu et Diable: Un héros africain dans ses images* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997).
17. Pierre Halen and János Riesz (eds.), *Patrice Lumumba entre Dieu et Diable: Un héros africain dans ses images* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997).
18. *Time*, July 11, 1960, 33.

19. Stephen R. Weissman, *American Foreign Policy in the Congo 1960–1964* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 106–108.
20. The Organization of African Unity (OAU), the first continent-wide regional organization, would not be created until 1963.
21. J. Gerard-Libios and Benoit Verhaegen, *Congo 1960* (Brussels: CRISP, 1961), 318.
22. *Belgian Congo To-Day*, January 1959, 3.
23. Crawford Young, *Politics in the Congo: Decolonization and Independence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 59–72.
24. Importantly, the first section of the book, devoted to the articulation of Belgian Paternalism, rests on the acceptance of certain representations of Congolese identity (i.e., as lazy children), which is the focus of the entire second half of the book. Pierre Ryckmans, *Dominer Pour Servir* (Brussels: L'Edition Universelle, 1948).
25. Quoted in Young, *Politics in the Congo*, 59.
26. Guy Malengreau, "Recent Developments in Belgian Africa," in C. Grove Haines (ed.), *Africa Today* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1955), 356.
27. Merriam, *Congo: Background of Conflict*, 57–58.
28. *Belgian Congo To-Day*, January 1959, 3.
29. *Congressional Record*, June 1959: 7969–7970; emphasis added.
30. Pierre Ryckmans stated: "The whole history of Africa before the arrival of the white man is that of an appalling tyranny, and if he left there would be a return to the old situation. At the present stage the native peoples would not administer themselves" (quoted in *Belgian Congo To-Day*, January 1955, 38).
31. A representative example of this sentiment is found in the writing of Raymond Scheyen, member of the Belgian Parliament and former Finance Minister for Congo and Belgium (in succession). In response to the U.S. government urging European powers to decolonize, he argued: "Is it too much to hope that in the light of recent developments [i.e., the 'Mau Mau' emergency in Kenya] the statesmen in Washington, taking account of reality, will finally understand that in giving a premature autonomy to peoples who are too young for it, they may do more harm than good in putting them at the mercy of communism?" Raymond Scheyen, *Et Le Congo?* (Brussels: Van Ruys, 1956), 109–110.
32. *The Political Future of the Belgian Congo* (Brussels, InforCongo, 1960), 25–27.
33. George W. Ball, *The Elements in Our Congo Policy* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), 2.
34. David Campbell, *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1992), 144.
35. Ferguson, "Unmapping and Remapping the World," 167.
36. *Time*, September 12, 1960, 29.
37. George Kennan, "The Long Telegram [1946]," in Kenneth M. Jensen (ed.), *Origins of the Cold War: The Novikov, Kennan, and Roberts "Long Telegrams" of 1946* (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 1993), 24.
38. *Time*, January 11, 1960, 24.
39. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Waging Peace 1956–1961* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), 573.
40. *Time*, July 18, 1960, 17.

41. Helen Kitchen, *Footnotes to the Congo Story* (New York: Walker and Co., 1967), 22.
42. *Time*, July 18, 1960, 17; emphasis added.
43. U.S. State Department, "Policy Paper," January 25, 1961, 50.
44. *Congressional Record*, August 12, 1960, 16281.
45. *Congressional Record*, August 17, 1960, 16641.
46. *Time*, August 29, 1960, 21.
47. *Time* asked: "What indeed could anyone do to transform Patrice Lumumba's Congo into a reasonable facsimile of a civilized state?" (September 5, 1960, 22).
48. Weissman, *American Foreign Policy in the Congo*, 86–87.
49. CIA Cable, Dulles to Station Officer, August 26, 1960.
50. Ludo De Witte, *The Assassination of Lumumba* (London: Verso, 2001).
51. U.S. Senate Report, *Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1976), 25.

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Chapter 9

Agency, State–Society Relations, and the Construction of National Identity: Case Studies from the Transcaspian Region

Douglas W. Blum

The past two decades have seen an outpouring of scholarly attention on the problem of cultural globalization. Along the way, the focus of most scholarly effort has been on the causes of this process as well as its effects on local cultures: Westernization; backlash; hybridization; or perhaps something uniquely global.[1] Insofar as agency has figured in such analyses, it has been overwhelmingly located either in globalization's primary origin, the developed exporting states, or in its ultimate destination, the mass publics of the developing world. This tendency has been redressed in recent years by a growing number of studies that have focused on the state's role in determining the outcome of cultural globalization, especially through the contestation of its effects on national identity. And yet important as these works have been, they have tended to overlook the *particularity* and *contingency* of state agency, especially at the subnational level.

How, then, has globalization been responded to by state- and nation-building elites, and why? What narratives and identities have been crafted to blunt, escape, or embrace its impact on national identities and norms? What does this inquiry tell us about the changing nature of state–society relations and the larger connection between state, society, and international politics? This chapter attempts to further our understanding of these crucial but relatively neglected questions by analyzing official as well as semiautonomous, "delegated" state agency in the post-Soviet south. As such, it illustrates the complex ways in which a variety of forces engage in identity construction at both the state and national levels.

In situating this study I focus on the former Soviet cities of Astrakhan (Russia), Almaty (Kazakhstan), and Baku (Azerbaijan). The reason for choosing these sites is twofold: since the fall of the USSR they have been suddenly and intensely exposed to global culture for the first time, and the entire phenomenon of globalization in this region has been little researched. Yet the specific merits of case selection are not of primary concern here, inasmuch as this chapter does not set out to test alternative theories. On the contrary it provides an interpretive inquiry, one that explores the nature of agency involved in national identity construction and what this reveals about the evolving public sphere. Furthermore, in order to keep this inquiry manageable and to establish a stable referent the focus here will be on *youth culture*, in particular "Western" attitudes and practices that appear to be making inroads among the younger generation. This is important inasmuch as the assimilation of national identity and interests among young people—or the failure of such assimilation—carries important implications for social cohesion.

I am struck by two general observations. One is the overwhelming preoccupation with Western influences and their identity implications, which are then wholly contested. The other is that such contestation is repeatedly marked by two fundamental objectives: (1) sanitizing or detoxifying the most virulent strains of globalization in ways consistent with the larger state-building project, and (2) coopting its benign or productive features for the same purpose. Along the way, the states under consideration have used central ministries as well as decentralized intellectual entrepreneurs to fight a rearguard cultural battle. This battle is intended not to eradicate Western influence, but rather to limit certain "dangerous excesses" while channeling its perceived beneficial aspects in order to promote the identity goals and policy purposes of the state. In particular, the state responds through a neo- and pseudo-traditional discourse designed to create a historicized image of the ideal citizen as obedient and industrious. Consequently the process of contesting cultural globalization reflects acceptance, rejection, as well as adaptation to the influx of foreign ideas. This hybrid response is constitutive of an evolving national identity that stems largely from the hegemonic force of neoliberalism, despite the elaborate emphasis placed on ostensibly unique, indigenous, and traditional features.

Epistemological and Methodological Approach

I conceptualize national identity as a set of collective self-understandings that connect groups of individuals into larger social units. I further conceive of discourse as the primary social vehicle for meaning production. Thus on one level discourse is fundamentally constitutive of the entire field of social relations. Indeed, at this level discourse makes imaginable or precludes from imagination.[2] In these ways discourse is subtle, often subliminal, and is best approached as the conceptual and linguistic conditions within which action becomes possible. And yet discourse has many uses.

One is problem solving, including the interpretation and disposition of discordant ideas. In such cases language tends to become overtly (de)legitimative, as commonly accepted institutional facts are problematized and generally unnoticed "background" understandings are thrust forward and questioned.[3] Ultimately problem solving ends with either the reaffirmation or invalidation of group solidarity, including its underlying identity bases and boundaries. In this study I focus precisely on such openly contested terrain.

This epistemological choice is itself a product of the identity changes introduced by cultural globalization, and their collisions with established and widely preferred social norms. Such collisions are a ubiquitous and often intractable problem. As Craig Calhoun observes, herein lies "the modern challenge of deciding how to fit into projects of collective and individual identity that presuppose inscription in a multiplicity of often incommensurable identity schemes."[4] There is effectively no way to embrace such modern values and identity schemes gently, without their jostling uncomfortably against established beliefs and behaviors. Mike Featherstone makes this point well in explaining modern (or "global") culture as "the sense of heaps, congeries and aggregates of cultural particularities juxtaposed together on the same field . . . in which the fact that they are different and do not fit together, or want to fit together, becomes noticeable and a source of practical problems."[5]

Analyzing discourse is therefore revealing for diagnostic as well as interpretive explanatory reasons. This is equally true of two kinds of discourse that I will consider. First, broad social (or "popular") discourse constitutes the range of available identities in the Transcaspian cities, and tells us where boundaries are uncertain and under negotiation or in the process of being redrawn. Second, elite discourse on the part of actors who engage in such negotiations strategically and systematically, and who are able to draw upon privileged symbolic and material resources, shows how and for what reasons certain identities are intentionally manipulated and mobilized. My guiding assumption is that the two levels of discourse are nested; elite discourse and agency—including state policymaking—is grounded in social discourse. As Ted Hopf argues, "[A]ny . . . decision maker is part of a social cognitive structure that comprises . . . identities and discourses and . . . these constitute any . . . decision maker's understanding of himself."[6]

Of course, any putative correspondence between policymaking and social discourse should be treated as an empirical question. It is incumbent on the analyst to document the ambient social discourse and specialized policymaking discourse in order to establish the linkage between them. This does not, of course, explain everything we might wish to know about the conditions (discursive, institutional, or material) under which identity change or continuity occurs, but it does illuminate the layer of social meanings associated with particular choices.

In conducting discourse analysis for this study I use three kinds of sources, each for a different purpose. In order to tap social discourse at

large I read the open media; to gauge state policy goals and approaches I consult official state programs; and to discover elite discourse and practice involved in the construction of youth identity I conduct in-depth interviews with key actors and read the literature they provide to young people. In each case, rather than imposing specific analytical categories on this data, I let the values and concerns expressed therein emerge by themselves, inductively. In particular, in order to explore social discourse I examine newspapers or radio broadcasts that have wide circulation in each of the three cities, looking for discussion of modernization, culture, and youth.

In addition to analyzing published and articulated arguments, I also examine official texts (doctrines, decrees, and programs) enunciating state policy toward youth and youth identity formation. These reveal key assumptions and goals relevant to nation-building. As such they are indicative of the strategies pursued by state actors, either alone or in conjunction with other actors outside the institutional bounds of the state. Official texts are therefore useful not only as substantive indicators of preferred (by the state) national identity, but also as methodological checks on inferences about the values and constructs embedded in elite discourse.

Finally, I ask individual agents (or elite "entrepreneurs") about their goals and strategies with regard to shaping youth behavior and culture, and probe for their underlying values. Along the way I inquire about the influence of the world outside on local youth culture. How and to what extent is this apparent, and is it positive or negative? Analytically, I try to discern (if not explicitly volunteered) the extent to which such perceived influences are related to the programs and services they offer young people. Indeed, in analyzing official texts I pose essentially the same questions about perceptions, goals, strategies, and values. With these guidelines in mind, at this point it is useful to begin the empirical analysis of official narratives and practices relevant to nation- and state-building.

Globalization and Legitimacy: Nation-Building and State-Building

Since the collapse of the USSR the post-Soviet states have been forced to rebuild themselves by establishing viable institutions of governance and administration. Their efforts to do so vividly reflect globalization in political and economic terms. This includes consolidation of political power by the state and the systematic introduction of new forms of economic organization—more or less along market lines—in a manner conducive to increased investment, production, and trade. Meanwhile each state has attempted to establish its legitimacy through the process of nation-building, involving the strategic linkage between official authority and national identity, through the manipulation of various inclusive/civic and exclusive/ethnic themes. In the wake of the Soviet collapse this process calls for a thoroughgoing creation of new systems of meaning

and order. Western forms of political and economic institutionalization, as well as modes of infrastructure and spatial organization, are increasingly imitated throughout the region. This convergence is the result of both private sector activity and public policy, as government officials consciously attempt to foster efficiency in technology and industry.

Shared assumptions about the shape of modernity and its intrinsic desirability appear to be pervasive among elites in each country. Such convergence reflects what John Meyer and other scholars have referred to as the establishment of a "world culture" propagated and overseen by leading intergovernmental organizations, which both exhorts and institutionally defines the values of equality, progress, development, and rationality.[7] Underlying this world culture many observers detect hegemony (in Gramscian terms), involving the imposition and internalization of Western neoliberalism as constituting the currently prevailing "standard of civilization."[8]

Yet, the process of nation-building has followed a somewhat contradictory pattern in each of the three countries, and indeed in all former Soviet states of Eurasia, of favoring the titular ethnic group while at the same time articulating aspects of inclusive civic nationalism. On the one hand this involves promoting the indigenous titular language as well as reinventing national histories, cultural narratives, and symbols. On the other hand, tolerance is officially espoused and exclusivist ethnic nationalism is rejected. Thus in Kazakhstan the Nazarbaev regime has fostered a culturally ethnic approach to nation-building while championing an official ideology of republican multinationalism.[9] Official national identity formation in Azerbaijan under Aliev also features a prominent discourse of multinationalism, emphasizing on the country's historical role as a bridge between Asia and Europe, while constructing the nation symbolically by invoking the legacy of Turkism, Zoroastrianism, and (especially) moderate Islam.[10] Islam is a significant marker of official national identity in Kazakhstan also. It is true that this version of Islam is depicted in relatively secular contexts such as state flags and currencies as well as seasonal changes and social rituals, and is therefore made theoretically compatible with the discourse of inclusive civic nationalism.[11] Nonetheless this dualism continues to be problematic in practice, as Azeris and Kazakhs, respectively, enjoy substantial advantages over other ethnic groups in political and cultural rights.[12] In Russia by comparison, despite a similarly narrow symbolic rendition of nationalism (marked by Orthodoxy and Slavic traditions), the official discourse of civic nationalism has generally been more faithfully translated into policy.[13] Moreover, while no definitive answer has yet emerged in the quest to define a unifying "Russian idea," extremist views have been gradually marginalized under Vladimir Putin.

Notwithstanding these inconsistencies in implementing the civic nationalist discourse, its obvious and often explicitly stated purpose is to foster social stability. The state thus attempts to construct an assimilationist identity with which to reconcile ethnic particularism, hoping in this way to quell the danger of conflict even while, paradoxically, pandering to

a majoritarian form of nationalism. This tendency to promote conflicting strains of national identity persists because neotraditionalism is required for other reasons than merely that of propitiating titular ethnics. In other words the state is locked into this contradictory pattern because neotraditionalism is perceived to be necessary in order to counter the equally dangerous threat of cultural homogenization along Western lines. Were such thoroughgoing identity convergence to take place the state's ability to manage the functional aspects of globalization would be severely undermined. In short, the legitimacy of the state-building project as something not only modern but also culturally specific—and therefore plausibly sovereign—hinges on the success of the nation-building endeavor.

Two distinct and inherently contradictory tendencies can be observed in the state- and nation-building policies of Russia, Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan. On one hand the general embrace of Western-style modernity would suggest that economic and institutional globalization is gathering pace. This in turn might seem to open the doors to a larger, steamrolling trend of cultural uniformity.[14] And yet, the state also assiduously promotes cultural traditionalism (in more or less narrowly ethnicized terms) in its official construction of national identity. The empirical question, then, is how the state attempts to implement these dual projects of modernization and traditionalization while overseeing the generation that is now coming of age, and that carries responsibility for the nation-state's future development. In particular, to what extent are the cultural implications of globalization accepted along with its concrete organizational and material forms? Or, if they are not accepted, then how is globalization contested in the construction of youth identity?

The Social Discourse of Globalization and Youth Culture

There has been a precipitous decline of Soviet culture since 1991 and an almost equally rapid proliferation of Western pop culture. Not surprisingly the discourse in each city is full of references to this incursion of alien values and styles. Much of this commentary is positive; free thought and personal independence are considered intrinsically good as well as conducive to development. Likewise, the establishment of market institutions is seen as necessary for the growth of domestic industry, technology, and national wealth, which is a source of immense pride. Such pride is as much a reflection of international as domestic approval; in fact domestic appreciation appears to be largely a function of attaining "international standards" and therefore, ostensibly, legitimate standing.

And yet, almost inextricably connected with positive attitudes are highly ambivalent attitudes regarding the social ills of modernization. These include a perceived decline of morality, such as sexual promiscuity, drug use, violence, as well as a general drift toward alienation and asocial behavior. To a minor extent such negative reactions are culturally specific, particularly certain gender-related attitudes in the predominantly Muslim

cities of Baku and Almaty compared to largely Orthodox and secular Astrakhan. This includes norms concerning chaste and proper behavior as well as a taboo against sex before marriage for young women. Such sensibilities are offended by new behavioral trends widely attributed to Western influence. Yet on the whole much the same ambivalence over cultural globalization is shared in each city. As captured in the words of one Kazakh cinematographer, this reflects the fear that cultural globalization threatens assimilation and identity erosion.

> In all times the authentic production of art had strong national roots, was fed by folk poetry, music, philosophy. This is natural. However what is occurring everywhere now carries the world away to total unification. Thanks to scientific-technical progress the process of cultural interaction has become so intensive and extreme that we simply do not manage, during all of these changes, to think through their consequences and avoid unjustified losses.[15]

The threat, often spelled out in highly alarmist terms, is one of impending social anomie along with an inability to transmit the essential values and markers constituting national identity from one generation to the next. Such worries about change and stability are often linked to expressions of longing for national traditions that seem to be slipping away. Indeed, the rebirth of nationalism has been an important theme of popular discourse in Russia, Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan since the perestroika period, as cultural and intellectual elites have searched for a recoverable past with which to inform collective imaginings of the present. Some of the rhetoric verges on reactionary or in its embrace of traditionalism and repudiation of artificial modernization, with calls to "save us from the loss of memory and disaster" or "save us from the frenzied pace of contemporary life."[16]

The upshot of popular fascination and anxiety over globalization is an intense ambivalence, frequently distilled in a discursive quest for meaning. For example, an article about the proliferation of tattoos among the younger generation in Baku noted its creeping sexualization: "it has not yet progressed to the lower parts of the body, breast, etc, but . . . ." This was obviously only a matter of time. And yet the author noted that wearing a tattoo requires "bravery and independent judgement," aspects of the new individualism that clearly deserved praise.[17] Precisely this mixture of disgust, excitement, and grudging admiration is characteristic of the social discourse on cultural globalization.

Official National Youth Policy

The challenge of establishing legitimacy in post-Soviet space is complicated by cultural globalization. Youth culture is a particularly sensitive area of national identity formation. Daunting under any conditions, the

inherent difficulties of intergenerational identity reproduction become still more problematic as a maelstrom of images, values, and commodities create vivid sensual temptations or otherwise call into question established norms and institutions. By affecting youth identity formation and the future normative foundations of society, globalization collides head-on with the twin imperatives of nation-building and state-building. The social discourse is full of such tensions.

In order to meet the challenge all three states have developed official youth policies. These include analysis of current problems, designation of operational goals, and concrete plans of action at various levels of government.[18] In each case—apparently quite independently—this process has evolved over a period of several years, beginning with a recognition in the mid-1990s that problems of youth combined several features: material impoverishment and a lack of concrete prospects rooted in the post-Soviet economic collapse, a rapid increase in deviant behaviors linked to rising Western influence and media exposure, and growing alienation or detachment from the essential values and development imperatives pursued by the state. The result by the late 1990s was an elaboration of institutional frameworks for crafting and implementing youth policy. This in turn led to the drafting of general "concept statements" and "target programs" that were debated both in parliament and within the state bureaucracy, culminating in the proclamation of official doctrines and legal statutes by 2001–02. While not necessarily set in stone, these documents nevertheless provide a clear indication of the ideas and goals essential to each state's policy orientation.

The documents are remarkably similar, a fact that reflects not only the shared cultural propensities of these post-Leninist states but also their comparable positions on the periphery of the world system and their broadly equivalent nation- and state-building responses. Each national statement recognizes the material and moral problems encountered by young people in their transitional societies, including rampant unemployment, disease, and substance abuse. Along the way the pernicious influence of foreign values is explicitly noted in terms that resonate with the social discourse. For example, in the words of the Kazakhstani "Conception":

> It is necessary to recognize that the mass media, especially the electronic, vitally affects the formation of ethical and moral values of youth. The propaganda of a cult of viciousness and violence exerts massive pressure on the psychological condition of youth, forms corresponding models of behavior [and] stereotypical perceptions of life.[19]

Because the youth are seen to possess immense creative potential that may be used either for constructive or destructive purposes, it is considered necessary to systematically encourage the former and to foster youth initiative, while at the same time inculcating a sense of responsibility to

society.[20] In order to achieve such ambitious goals it would be necessary to "take the process of the socialization of youth under state control," as the Russian program candidly stated.[21] Implementing such a massive instructional effort called for careful planning and policy coordination among state agencies at the central, regional, and local levels. In addition, it would require state-supported media programming and various public productions devoted to the appropriate cultural themes. And yet each national statement also acknowledged the state's inability to accomplish these goals on its own. Instead, an elaborate social partnership would need to be created in which the youth itself was accorded a leading role. To quote from "Youth of Kazakhstan":

> [W]orld practice shows that cooperation and the attraction of children's and youth social organizations to the resolution of actual problems of children and youth is the less expensive and most effective path. Under the conditions of partnership relations in the framework of such organizations optimal conditions are created for the socialization and self-realization of a young individual's personality.[22]

Accomplishing this goal, however, requires state authorities to grapple with globalization directly by negotiating the institutional and discursive terrain of youth culture. This in turn necessitates systematic planning and coordination to ensure that young people receive the appropriate practical and moral instruction. The following section addresses these conceptual and organizational issues in exploring how national youth identity is actively constructed by cultural entrepreneurs.

Agency in the Construction of National Youth Identity

The states under investigation have developed official national identity platforms that make it possible, at least in the abstract, to engage in identity construction at the national and local levels. The intentional construction of national identity requires active mediation; the individuals engaged in this work may be considered cultural entrepreneurs. Following Roy Shaw, an entrepreneur (Shaw uses the term "animateur") will be considered someone "who is dedicated to the widest cultural diffusion *and* jealous of the standards of the culture he is diffusing."[23] This involves creating a discourse of invented and resurrected traditions as well as normative innovations, through which the ideal citizen is constituted as morally grounded, nationally identified, and industrious. The preferred identity must then be convincingly articulated and enacted in such a way that young people internalize and reproduce it through their own action. It is up to the entrepreneur to choreograph this intricate step.

In order to explore the role of agency in the construction of national youth identity it is necessary to distinguish three groups of entrepreneurs: state, substate, and non-state. For the purposes of this chapter, "state"

actors are officials working within the formal governmental and bureaucratic apparatus at the central, regional, and local levels, who make and/or oversee the implementation of youth policy.[24] This includes government-organized groups (GONGOs) whose function is to orchestrate NGO activity in this sphere.[25] "Substate" actors are those in the *employ* of the state who neither exercise authority over policymaking nor hold others accountable for its implementation. Instead, substate actors are directly involved in implementation itself. This category includes teachers, directors of orphanages, librarians, school psychologists, and the staff of state-sponsored youth centers. Finally, "non-state" actors are those with no formal connection to the process of making, overseeing, or implementing government policy. Such non-state actors are overwhelmingly NGO activists involved in youth affairs. Based on empirical observation, by far most of the non-state actors in the three cities under investigation appear to be reasonably autonomous from their donors and well-connected with their local communities.[26] At the same they tend to be only loosely connected with one another, and—at least in objective terms—often compete for money and other resources.[27]

As noted here, the official doctrines of each state call for systematically involving youth NGOs in developing and carrying out youth policy. In Astrakhan, although many youth groups have affiliated with the pro-Putin national movement called Council of Youth Organizations, the practical work of overseeing youth NGOs is performed by various state agencies at the city and regional levels. In the opinion of Vice-Mayor of Astrakhan Vadim Monin, local non-state entrepreneurs are essential for reproducing the desired national identity among the younger generation. "The culture can defend itself," he believes, "based on the individual efforts of filmmakers, journalists, artists, and so on." Monin solicits requests for funding from NGOs and selectively aids those representing what he considers wholesome values, in the process effectively commissioning such groups to implement youth policy on behalf of the state. Precisely the same pattern of intermingling and delegation takes place in Almaty and Baku, as state agencies and GONGOs invite youth groups to take part in festivals and to lead workshops on topics related to youth culture, such as interview strategies, standardized test-taking skills, and sex education. The goal here is not merely to delegate but also to enhance state supervision over youth activities.

The ability of state agents to conduct this supervisory work effectively is aided by the apparent absence of a widely shared stigma against officialdom. On the contrary, youth organizations generally subscribe to the goals pursued by state agencies and often initiate contact with them. To be sure, there continues to be a high level of cynicism toward politics in general among young people in the former USSR.[28] In Baku and Almaty there is also well-founded skepticism about the supposed independence of state-backed groups like Talapker and NAYORA, which at times blends into suspicion. However, this does not necessarily translate into mistrust of

individual civil servants or official agencies working in the area of youth culture. Far from being resistant to state involvement or fearful over losing control, most leaders hope to engage and influence the state, thereby achieving greater social impact. The upshot is that youth organizations are well known to state officials, who energetically seek to work with them—at least by inviting them to participate in state-sponsored events.

Substate actors add to this pattern of cultural subcontracting to youth NGOs. On a day-to-day basis teachers, librarians and the like have extensive leeway to pursue their cultural programming interests, and often invite youth NGOs to give presentations. In the process substate actors frequently serve as indirect conduits of (nonmonetary) state support for youth NGOs.

In sum, official culture policy has been forced to change with the times in both substantive and procedural ways. In addition to pursuing its combined strategies of modernization, traditionalization, and hybridization, the state constantly works through substate and non-state cultural agents. This represents a concession to the reality that the state can no longer mandate one point of view without risking its legitimacy in the eyes of the younger generation as well as the international community. Non-state actors, in particular, are crucial for the success of this approach because their independence and ability to relate to young people (often as peers) makes them especially convincing purveyors of ideas. To the extent that their essential attitudes and goals regarding youth policy dovetail with those of the state, these entrepreneurs become an invaluable tool for nation-building. Insofar as their work contributes to governance, moreover, this relationship constitutes an adaptive form of state-building involving a partial reconfiguration of sovereignty, thus resembling other types of state delegation to private actors under conditions of globalization.[29]

Active Identity Construction: Elite Discourse and Entrepreneurship

State-building and nation-building projects—including youth identity formation—are taking place in Baku, Almaty, and Astrakhan against the backdrop of an ongoing social discourse on national identity and globalization. State, substate, and non-state actors involved in these projects are not only affected by social discourse but must respond to it in order to effectively pursue their agendas.

In analyzing the responsive entrepreneurial discourse that arises in the construction of national youth identity, two key patterns emerge. One is an overwhelming preoccupation with Western influences and their identity implications, which are largely contested. The other is that such contestation is repeatedly marked by two fundamental objectives: (1) co-opting the benign or productive features of globalization in ways consistent with the larger state-building project, and (2) sanitizing or detoxifying its most virulent strains for the same purpose. Accomplishing

these objectives requires the entrepreneur to carry out three interrelated projects: modernization, traditionalization, and hybridization. Each of these projects will be briefly considered in turn.

Modernization

Without belaboring the themes already discussed with regard to popular discourse, affirmation of modernity and of the central role assigned to the individual within it is a prominent feature of entrepreneurial discourse. State, substate, and non-state actors alike place a major emphasis on the basic pillars of economic neoliberalism: the market, individual rationality and initiative, international integration, and foreign investment. The typical sentiment is that competition and the market system are "good"; that is, they are "more rational and pragmatic."[30]

This outlook has important implications for the practice of identity construction among the youth. For example, the president of the Scouts of Azerbaijan, Namik Chefarov, invites his young charges to propose specific activities and see them through.

> Everyone is an individual person, and if I pull rank they will lose initiative. Personal autonomy is crucial to get what you want in life, in family, in business. For that it is necessary to be independent . . . This reflects the reality of the market system . . . Being professional, personable, and able to communicate—all this is essential for success.[31]

In this way, almost regardless of the particular activity in question, by encouraging such practices and beliefs Chefarov is involved in constructing an identity consonant with neoliberal norms.

Numerous other organized efforts are made to prepare the youth for success in the market. NGOs provide reading materials and hold trainings on topics such as effective communication, simulated business situations, and client interactions, and offer seminars with titles like "How to Start Up a Firm," "Theory and Practice of Conversation," and "Personal Growth."[32] Children's libraries put up exhibits on "Legal Rights of Youth" and "New Possibilities for Economic Entrepreneurs."[33] Youth groups publish magazines featuring articles entitled "I'd Like to Be a Businessman, Let Me Learn How" and "Festival of Entrepreneurship."[34] Young people are encouraged to learn computer skills and surf the Internet, while under the activist's watchful eye pernicious influences like pornography can be avoided.[35] The ability to speak English is also considered essential, providing not only a gateway to knowledge but also a tool for national development. Teaching English and computer are thus seen as complementary strategies for encouraging modernization.

NGO activists as well as state and substate actors often see personal freedoms in instrumental terms, as connoting initiative and market disciplined "self-sufficiency," which in turn are considered essential for

productivity and participation in the international economy. Thus according to Akram Abdullaev, president of the state-backed (GONGO) youth umbrella group NAYORA, "Independent thinking is good, integration is good. We need more exchange, more science and technology."[36] Here the intrinsic merit of free thought takes a back seat to its pragmatic value. A member of the youth wing of President Nazarbaev's Otan party in Kazakhstan put the same point in negative terms, "Censorship is impossible. If we have censorship we will lag behind the entire world again."[37]

Finally, the new openness helps to legitimate state authority by distinguishing it from the previous model of top-down dictat. As one youth center director remarked, "In the Soviet times there was plenty of extremism; now we want to avoid too much single-mindedness."[38] Still, pragmatic concerns do not override traditional–normative ones. Freedom of choice for its own sake is not considered beneficial unless guided by the prescribed moral fiber. More important than learning to express their individuality, children need to be taught how to stand up to peer pressure and to resist evil enticements. As one Astrakhan official remarked, "We give them a choice—how to say no."[39]

Traditionalization

While endorsing personal freedoms on principled and strategic grounds, cultural entrepreneurs also unanimously express concerns over the "excessive" individualism brought about by Westernization. In doing so they echo popular discursive notions about the slippery slope leading from personal freedom to selfishness, promiscuity, violence, and drug-induced maladjustment. As the head of a state sponsored youth umbrella organization in Almaty observed, "Kids want to be not just free, but absolutely free. And in this gap there is a great danger of negative ideological influence."[40] The implication is clear: left on their own, the youth lack direction and tend to develop hedonistic, selfish attitudes.

Among other things, this has significance for national security. In the view of a member of the youth wing of Kazakhstan's ruling political party, "If you take an average kid, they are unlikely to be national patriots. If you ask them what they are ready to do for their country, they'll say 'I don't want to.'"[41] In a related way, uncritically aping Western styles is often portrayed as revealing a lack of national pride as well as an absence of refinement and sophistication; becoming completely Westernized, especially at the lowest-common-denominator level of popular culture, is simply déclassé. As an orphanage director exclaimed, with regard to Western values of sexuality and violence, "This is Azerbaijan. This is Islam. Of course this is a civilized country, but there is still a need for decency. This is not the West."[42] The objective, then, is to draw a sharp distinction between modernization and cultural globalization. A common approach is to offset objectionable Western values by augmenting national and traditional ones, which are seen as a powerful source of social glue. Not only does tradition

impart a sense of connectedness and identification with national purpose, but it also fosters state control in more practical terms. In the words of one cultural official from Astrakhan, "The absence of common traditions complicates understanding and decisionmaking."[43]

Another vital aspect of youth enculturation is "spirituality," albeit mainly of a secular nature. Spirituality is frequently referred to as meaning an attachment to nonmaterial values, especially those related to national culture and social connectedness. Although wistful longing for spirituality tends to be backward-looking and thus reveals nostalgia for Soviet values, such views are also voiced by those who otherwise endorse neoliberal norms, including non-state actors most receptive to Western ideas. The focus on native–traditional culture is thus not intended to promote insularity. On the contrary traditionalism is often regarded, somewhat counterintuitively, as being instrumentally useful in facilitating international economic and political integration.

> It is important to consider integration and national mentality. We need to retain our own values . . . [And yet] integration into the West is good for economic development, for thinking for oneself . . . Therefore it can be said that preservation of our national mentality *allows* integration.[44]

How, then, to successfully promote such values? All entrepreneurs agree it is ineffective to attempt to impose traditional values and practices by means of coercion. Not only is this delegitimized as a Soviet-style practice, it is simply considered impracticable. "We fine people for speaking Russian [in order to encourage the use of Kazakh], but it only works for half a day," commented one teacher in Almaty.[45] In the view of most, the cultural battle must be waged subtly. A typical approach is expressed by Azerbaijan Deputy Minister of Youth, Sport, and Tourism, Intiqam Babaev: "It is impossible to forbid, only to manage. We can't use force, but we must explain to young people why it is bad. They want to get information on what is happening, and we try to counterbalance—this is a counter-propaganda contest."[46]

NGO leaders are less didactic, but they too take clear moral and traditional stands and present seemingly objective information strategically. Above all, as entrepreneurs unanimously agree, young people should not be allowed to manage their business and draw their conclusions without expert guidance. As one librarian commented, "Even dead people should not be left to their own devices."[47]

Instead a concerted effort is made to involve the youth in programs of varying content in which the educational and social aspects are key to overcoming the alienating effect of Western television and video. Dramatic and musical theater provides a marvellous vehicle for promoting intangible virtues. Such programs frequently involve the conscious manipulation of identities which are ostensibly primordial but dormant. For example, Russian and Kazakh national identities are claimed to be

generous and charitable; these qualities are enacted in youth cultural performances and outreach programs such as helping invalids or providing charity to the poor, often in association with state organizations.[48]

Finally, a major emphasis is placed on sports and physical fitness. These activities are considered not merely healthy and popular, but also positively related to feelings of nationalism and willingness to serve in the armed forces. Not surprisingly in view of the Nagorno–Karabakh conflict this is particularly true in Azerbaijan, where organized sports are officially viewed as a means of instilling patriotism.[49] But everywhere it is the *organization* of sport, not only the sport itself, that is important. Thus in Astrakhan's sports centers "children not only develop physically, but also acquire vitally important habits."[50]

Hybridization

In addition to selectively endorsing or blocking Western values while asserting traditional ones, entrepreneurs also interweave and manipulate elements of both value systems so as to support nation- and/or state-building goals. This effort includes: (1) appropriating the imprimature of the West in order to sanction or proscribe specific ideas; and (2) demystifying, and therefore hopefully rendering less attractive, certain moderately acceptable forms of Western culture.

A favorite tactic is to cull elements of Western (or global) culture and then use these to sell an argument that might otherwise be dismissed. At one magazine the editors simply download information from the Internet on hot topics like the sexual revolution and AIDS. For example, reflecting a widespread concern over sexual transmission of AIDS, the magazine ran a story on a French youth club devoted to the practice of virginity, under the title "The French Do Not Have Sex." On the other hand, in a concession to reality the journal also provided information about condoms and their appropriate use, again from open Internet sources. "We don't give advice," a staff member insists, "we give information."[51]

To a considerable extent, of course, an accommodating stance is simply a pragmatic concession to reality. This is evident in the words of an editor at the newspaper *Karavan*, who even while criticizing excessive Western cultural influence acknowledged that he looks for material likely to generate high readership, which in practice means Western content.[52] As the deputy director of one school remarked, "There is no way to *stop* the West, it would just go underground." For this reason she organizes evenings at local night clubs and includes programming content she personally finds in bad taste, such as breakdance and Britney Spears; after all, it is "better than on the street."[53]

Entrepreneurs also try to promote hybridization by providing mixed programs in which rock is sandwiched between more traditional offerings. For example, at the annual youth cultural festival in Almaty the list of music groups is drawn partly from requests by young people themselves

(filtered through Arman's Foundation), and includes Western bands like Nazareth as well as Russian and local bands. It is, after all, a "present for kids from the mayor," in the words of Alma Beisebaeva, Director of the City Administration Department of Culture. Nevertheless, Beisebaeva strategically includes some healthful "presents" likely to be more appreciated by audience members in their later years: "Unfortunately they don't like classical and folk music, but we include it anyway so they know it and so they might learn it."[54] The same strategem is evident in the inclusion of rock music alongside traditional folk and classical music in an Astrakhan festival. In the words of the official responsible for this arrangement, "We need to give kids what they want, and at the same time provide a varied exposure."[55] Mixing and melding innocuous or traditional themes with dangerous Western elements promotes decontamination, not merely by watering down the concentration of cultural toxins but also by subsuming them within a broader narrative of legitimate symbols, and thereby relativizing the novel and provocative aspects. After all, as entrepreneurs calculate, if previously forbidden temptations are no longer illicit, their attraction—and potency—are quickly reduced.

Mixed cultural dramas also provide an opportunity for the symbolic international assertion of national identity between native and (often absent) foreign audiences. The key point here is that delineating and even celebrating difference offers a means of consolidating national identity.[56] Ideally, through such exchanges one's own identity should be essentially reaffirmed, even while awareness of the outside world is enhanced. In the words of an Astrakhan official: "Globalization should mean 'mutual enrichment' and 'accumulation' of cultural outlooks, not 'erosion.' [Therefore] kids should get native and foreign culture."[57]

Here again such programs reflect a calculated gamble on the part of cultural agents. A question that arises, however, is whether their efforts can succeed. Who, in the end, is being co-opted? Indeed, this question poses itself still more insistently when cultural entrepreneurs attempt fusion. For example, in Baku the Council of Youth encourages a synthesis of classical jazz with traditional *mugam* instrumentation and style.[58] In other conscious efforts to mimic the "modern" Western style, the Baku NGO Reliable Future sponsored a combination performance of rock music together with orchestra and chorus, while in Almaty the semi-official Talapker included in its annual youth cultural festival a new version of dombra, the ancient instrument of the steppes, but now set in a contemporary arrangement with "big sound."[59] The gambit being played here involves using Western form to cultivate traditional content, without the former insidiously undermining the latter's effect.

Conclusion

I have argued that the nation- and state-building projects underway in Astrakhan, Almaty, and Baku are to a significant extent a response to

globalization. Certainly, foreign culture and its social consequences have become a focal point of social and elite discourse. Yet in surveying each discourse we find a mix of similar and different identity constructs. While social discourse reflects a great deal of enthusiasm for Western popular culture, it also reveals a strong current of resistance to perceived hedonism as well as a demand for a distinct national identity. Elite discourse is also ambivalent, but for essentially different reasons. On the one hand it, too, is highly critical of Western popular culture. On the other hand, for pragmatic and symbolic reasons it embraces modernization. Elite discourse therefore reproduces many of the fundamental assumptions of neoliberalism, including the importance of individual volition and action. Arguably, in so doing it ultimately validates the very Westernized constructs it hopes to avoid. As observed earlier, although many entrepreneurs are aware of this irony in youth policy they tend to regard it as a stratagem—one whose outcome they can control.

To achieve their goals cultural entrepreneurs collaborate extensively. Indeed, perhaps the most striking aspect of youth identity construction in this part of the world is the high degree of purposive interaction it involves, both inside and outside of the state. This ought not to surprise us. After all, regardless of their different social positions there is often a great deal of confluence in the practical goals of nationalists and state-builders, as the former seek a state while the latter seek to define the nation and bring it under the state's auspices. These tendencies are in no way limited to the Transcaspian region, but occur throughout the world.[60] The well-worn insight that national traditions are "invented"[61] therefore tells only half of the story: in addition to such manipulative "official" nationalism one typically finds "popular" nationalism based on residual practices and beliefs.[62] Moreover, this jousting for control of identity formation is exacerbated under postcolonialism conditions, which often produce a groundswell of popular nationalism.[63] Such popular sentiments also reflect practical concerns, which are resolved not through some transcendant rational calculus but rather through understandings produced by power and its institutionalization. Non-state cultural entrepreneurs thus seek alliances with the state partly because they embrace the developmental thrust of state policy, reflecting the fact that they, too, are influenced by the dominant trope of neoliberalism.

This raises a key analytical problem: cultural entrepreneurs stand astride massive global flows of ideas, and it is not always clear to what extent their agency is truly autonomous rather than predetermined by disparities in power and knowledge. Are these individuals—both inside and outside of the state bureaucracy—best understood as creative conjurers of new social identities, or as reproducers of ideas and practices already established elsewhere? By way of answer, the evidence in this chapter testifies to the importance of choices made and strategies used by cultural entrepreneurs. Although clearly influenced by hegemonic ideas, they have nonetheless managed to fashion a set of hybrid constructions, centering

around an image of socially responsible individualism anchored in a thick narrative of actual and synthetic traditions. In this respect the role played by entrepreneurs is analogous to that of "principled activists" within transnational networks, as described by Keck and Sikkink: "[n]o mere automatic 'enactors,' these are people who seek to amplify the generative power of norms, broaden the scope of practices these norms engender, and sometimes even renegotiate or transform the norms themselves."[64] Entrepreneurs in the Transcaspian region perform exactly such functions, and do so moreover in evolving political contexts that they help to shape by their action.

The last point calls for a clarification: if national youth identity is collaboratively constructed by official and nonofficial actors, what does this imply for state–building and state–society relations? The few works that have addressed this question have tended to emphasize the state's ability to manage this process in such a way as to reaffirm its own integrity along with its preferred identity constructs. Thus according to Appadurai, in mediating globalization the state plays the role of "arbitrageur," screening, filtering, and reorienting flows from outside and then artfully combining their elements, with selective value added, for its own reproductive and regenerative purposes.[65] But where exactly, in the Transcaspian context, does the state leave off and society begin? Of course we can categorize individuals—as I have done—based on their institutional affiliations. Yet this misses the more fundamental issue, which is the nature of the process whereby national youth identity is negotiated and conferred.

An examination of this process reveals that the state cannot effectively mediate globalization alone. On the contrary, in attempting to do so it systematically and extensively delegates this function to actors operating outside the bounds of the state. In return, what I have called substate and non-state actors eagerly seek out each other and state actors as well, to engage youth audiences in a coordinated display of legitimate norms, roles, and ideas. For this reason the state is able, at least to a large extent, to orchestrate the process of mediation in ways convivial to its purposes. We find entrepreneurs involved in a broadly dialogical process of contesting and constructing social order, in which they are at times fully societal actors and at times deeply complicit in building the state. National identity formation and state-building turn out be closely interrelated, as an understanding of the nature of agency involved in each process makes clear.

The foregoing analysis thus calls into question the traditional notion of the state as a privileged site of agency operating within fixed institutional bounds. While certainly privileged in certain respects, the state is also constrained by its distance from society. This is all the more true under globalization, as transnational flows of ideas both complement and complicate local processes. Transcaspian youth policy offers an insight into the state's flexibility in responding to this situation. As we have seen, rather than working *apart from* and *upon* society in attempting to construct

preferred identities, state actors in Baku, Astrakhan, and Almaty work *with* and *through* other actors at various levels of social penetration and organization. The result is that social space is constructed along with national identity; that is, through collaboration for the purpose of drawing identity boundaries, state–society relations themselves are being recast.

Notes

1. Representative examples are Jan Aart Scholte, "Globalisation and Social Change (Part II)," *Transnational Associations*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (March/April 1998): 62–79; Martin Albrow, *The Global Age: State and Society Beyond Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); and Peter Kloos, "The Dialectics of Globalization and Localization," in Don Kalb et al. (eds.), *The Ends of Globalization: Bringing Society Back In* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 281–297.
2. Here Bourdieu's notion of "habitus" is relevant, as the pervasive and routinized understandings that produce an unconscious orientation to the world. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 52–65.
3. On "social facts," including institutional facts, and background understandings see John Searle, *The Construction of Social Reality* (New York: Free Press, 1995), 23–28 and 137–147.
4. Craig Calhoun, "Social Theory and the Politics of Identity," in idem. (ed.), *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 10–36, at 12.
5. Mike Featherstone, *Undoing Culture: Globalization* (London: Sage Publications, 1995), 123–124.
6. Ted Hopf, *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities & Foreign Policies, Moscow, 1955 and 1999* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2002), 20. Hopf further defines social cognitive structure as "a sociotemporal historical site within which there is a collection of intersubjective meanings to the discursive practices of its members," 21.
7. John W. Meyer, John Boli, George M. Thomas, and Franscisco Ramirez, "World Society and the Nation-State," *American Journal of Sociology* 103 (July 1997): 144–181; John Boli and George M. Thomas (eds.), *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations Since 1875* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).
8. For example, see Robert W. Cox, *Production, Power, and World Order: Social Forces in the Making of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 211–253; and Ali Mazrui, "Globalization and Cross-Cultural Values: The Politics of Identity and Judgment," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 21, Issue 3 (Summer 1999): 97–109.
9. Martha Brill Olcott, *Kazakhstan: Unfulfilled Promise* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002), 51–86 and 177–183; Pal Kolsto (ed.), *Nation-Building and Ethnic Integration in Post-Soviet Societies* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999); and Azamat Sarsembayev, "Imagined Communities: Kazak Nationalism and Kazakification in the 1990s," *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 18, Issue 3 (September 1999): 319–347.

10. Mehran Kamrava, "State-Building in Azerbaijan: The Search for Consolidation," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 55, Issue 2 (Spring 2001): 216–237; Tadeusz Swietochowski, "Azerbaijan: Perspectives from the Crossroads," *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 18, Issue 4 (December 1999): 419–435; Elin Suleymanov, "Azerbaijan, Azerbaijanis and the Search for Identity," *Analysis of Current Events*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (February 2001).
11. Graham Smith, *The Post-Soviet States: Mapping the Politics of Transition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), chapter 4. Despite official use of Islamic symbols, the Azeri elite has been from the outset overwhelmingly secular in orientation. See Tadeusz Swietochowski, *Russia and Azerbaijan: A Borderland in Transition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 193–220. Kazakhstan is the only Central Asian state that neither officially celebrates any Muslim holiday nor refers to Islam in its constitution.
12. Olivier Roy, *The New Central Asia: the Creation of Nations* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 161–189.
13. Valery Tishkov, *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict in and After the Soviet Union: The Mind Aflame* (London: Sage Publications, 1997); Vera Tolz, "Forging the Nation: National Identity and Nation Building in Post-Communist Russia," *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 6 (1998): 993–1022. See also Astrid Tuminez, *Russian Nationalism since 1856: Ideology and the Making of Foreign Policy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).
14. As Diawara observes in analyzing resistance to hegemonic globalization in the traditional African marketplace, "The concept of Western technology involves a masked essentialism and immanence that cement the relationship between the European and modern technology and posits that any participation in the technological revolution must necessarily import European culture." Manthia Diawara, "Toward a Regional Imaginary in Africa," in Frederic Jameson and Miyoshi (eds.), *The Cultures of Globalization* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998), 103–124, at 119.
15. Sapargali Suleimenov (member of the Kazakhstan Union of Cinematographers), "Taina talantlivogo kino," *Kazakhstanskaia pravda*, September 20, 2000. Similar concerns have been raised in the context of Russian cinema, including the difficulties of competing with the American film industry despite government support. See "U kultury est problemy i bez kino," *Vedomosti*, April 12, 2001; "Stimul ili kormushka?" *Vremia Novostei*, July 19, 2002.
16. "Zhivi, glubinka Astrakhanskaia! Khrani nas ot bespamiatstva i bed!" *Volga*, February 8, 2000; "Ne zabyvaia narodnye traditsii," *Kazakhstanskaia pravda*, June 28, 2000.
17. "Natelnye izobrazheniia," *Zerkalo*, August 3, 2000. See also Nancy Condee, "Body Graphics: Tattooing the Fall of Communism," in Adele Marie Barker (ed.), *Consuming Russia: Popular Culture, Sex, and Society Since Gorbachev* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 339–361.
18. This includes the following documents (in Russian): "Concept of State Youth Policy in the Russian Federation," approved by the Government Commission on State Youth Policy, protocol No. 4, December 5, 2001; Federal Target Program, "Youth of Russia, 2001–2005," Resolution of the Russian Government No. 1275, December 25, 2000; "Program 'Youth of

Kazakhstan,'" Resolution of the Government of Kazakhstan No. 249, February 17, 2001; "Concept of the State Youth Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan," Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, No. 73, August 28, 1999; "On Youth Policy," Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan, May 6, 2002.

19. "Concept of the State Youth Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan," article 3.3.
20. "Strategy and Basic Directions of the State Youth Policy of the Russian Federation Until 2012: 'Initiative of Youth—Future of Russia,'" 2002, 9–10, available on-line at: http://www.gov.ru/main/ministry/isp_vlast47.html.
21. "Initiative of Youth—Future of Russia," 4.
22. Resolution of the Government of Kazakhstan No. 249, February 17, 2001, "Program 'Youth of Kazakhstan,'" introduction to section 5.
23. Roy Shaw, "The Cultural 'Animateur' in Contemporary Society," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, Vol. 14 (1972): 460–472, at 462.
24. In Azerbaijan the Ministry of Youth, Sport, and Tourism is responsible for overseeing youth affairs generally and for supervising participation of other central as well as local agencies for the implementation of youth policy. In Russia, there exists a Department of Youth Policy under the Ministry of Education, which is tasked with interagency planning and with coordinating national with regional and local youth programs. In Kazakhstan analogous functions are served by the Ministry of Culture, Information, and Social Accord in conjunction with the Ministry of Education.
25. The relevant GONGO in Russia is Council of Youth Organizations, also known as Walking Together, which is obsequiously loyal to its apparent patron President Vladimir Putin. For Azerbaijan there is the National Assembly of Youth Organization of Azerbaijan (NAYORA) as well as The Council of Youth of Azerbaijan, the direct descendant of the Komsomol. The comparable national group in Kazakhstan is For the Future of Kazakhstan, which is joined in Almaty by the Foundation for Youth Development (also known as Talapker) created under the mayor's apparatus.
26. This stands in contrast to the findings of some other researchers who have examined the role of post-Soviet NGOs in different issue-areas. See Sarah E. Mendelson and John K. Glenn, "Democracy Assistance and NGO Strategies in Post-Communist Societies," Carnegie Endowmen for International Peace, Working Paper Series, Number 8, February 2000.
27. See James Richter, "Promoting Civil Society?" *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 49, Issue 1 (January/February 2002): 30–41.
28. See Fran Markowitz, "Not Nationalists: Russian Teenagers' Soulful A-politics," *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 51, No. 7 (November 1999): 1183–1198.
29. Leo Panitch, "Rethinking the Role of the State," in James Mittleman (ed.), *Globalization: Critical Reflections* (Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner, 1997), 83–113; and Saskia Sassen, *Losing Control? Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).
30. Interview with Guliia Karsybekova, Head, Division of Education, Science and Culture, City Administration, Almaty.
31. Interview with Namik Chefarov, President, Scouts of Azerbaijan, Baku.
32. Interviews with staff, Teenage Center, Almaty; and Nabil Seidov, president of Reliable Future, Baku. Reliable Future maintains two libraries stocked with new books on technology, economics, and science.

33. Interviews with Liudmila Soboleva, Chief Librarian, Astrakhan region Youth Library; and staff, National Children's Library, Almaty.
34. "V biznesmeny ia b poshel, pust menia nauchat," *Molodezh i Pravo*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (February 2001): 24–26, published by the NGO Zan, Almaty; "Prazdnik predprinimatelstva," *Teenager*, Vol. 4, No. 17 (June 2001): 3, published by the NGO Tsentr Tineidzher, Almaty.
35. Interview with Akmara Pazilova, director, Almatynskii raion Youth Center, Almaty.
36. Interview with Akram Abdullaev, president, NAYORA (National Youth Organization of Azerbaijan), Baku.
37. Interview with Timur Bakiev, member of central staff, Otan (President Nazarbaev's Political Party), Almaty.
38. Interview with Akmara Pazilova, director, Almatynskii raion Youth Center, Almaty.
39. Interviews at Trusovskii raion administration, Astrakhan.
40. Interview with Arman Kudaibergenov, director, State Foundation for the Development of Youth Policy (Talapker), Almaty.
41. Interview with Timur Bakiev, Youth Wing, Otan, Almaty.
42. Interview with Makhbuba (hanim), Orphanage Number 3, Akhmed Li, Baku.
43. Interview with Leonid Volkov, Head of Division of Youth, Tourism, and International Ties, Oblast Administration, Astrakhan.
44. Interview with Rugiya Yusifova, Executive Director, Youth Enlightened Organization of Azerbaijan, Baku.
45. Interview with Balzhan Suzhikova, International Business School, Almaty.
46. Interview with Intiqam Babaev, Baku.
47. Interview with librarian (requested anonymity), Youth Library, Baku.
48. Interview with Valentina Liakhova, head, Oblast Division of Culture, Astrakhan.
49. "Roundtable on 'Military Patriotism and Mass Media,'" *AzadInform* 77, April 8, 1999, in *Habarlar-L Digest*, April 9, 1999. For example Karate competition are held to mark World Azerbaijanians' Solidarity Day. "Competition Between Karate Federations' Clubs Was Held," *AzadInform*, January 3, 2000, in *Habarlar-L Digest* 1284, January 3, 2000. Promoting sports is also an act of constituency building. "Baku Mayor to Pay More Attention to Soccer and Ushio," Javid Huseynov, *ANS_ChM Cultural News*, January 7, 2000, in *Habarlar-L Digest* 1292, January 8, 2000.
50. "The More Complete the Upbringing, the Happier the People" [Chem sovershennee vospitanie, tem shastlivee narody], *Volga* (Astrakhan), January 12, 2000.
51. Interview at Teenage Center, Almaty.
52. Such Western content sometimes pertains to material directly borrowed from foreign sources, and sometimes pertains to topic, such as alternative music or lifestyle. Interview with Max Saklakov, Almaty.
53. Interview at Humanities and Linguistics High School, Almaty.
54. Alma Beisebaeva, Director of the City Administration Department of Culture, Almaty.
55. Interview with Leonid Volkov, Head of Division of Youth, Tourism, and International Ties, Oblast Administration, Astrakhan.

56. A Russian thesis is V. M. Pivoev, "'Svoe' i 'chuzhoe' v etnicheskoi i natsionalnoi kulture," in V. M. Pivoev (ed.), *"Svoe" i "Chuzhoe" v Kul'ture* (Petrozavodsk: Izdatelstvo Petrozavodskogo Universiteta, 1998), 7–18.
57. Interview with Volkov, Oblast Administration, Astrakhan.
58. Interview with Agadzhan Akhmedov, Council of Youth of Azerbaijan, Baku.
59. Interviews with Nabil Seidov, president of Reliable Future, Baku; and Alma Beisebaeva, Director of the City Administration Department of Culture, Almaty.
60. See Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 39.
61. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
62. See Joseph Camilleri, "State, Civil Society, and Economy," in Joseph Camilleri, Anthony Jarvis, and Albert Paolini (eds.), *The State in Transition: Reimagining Political Space* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1995), 209–228 and 221.
63. As Benedict Anderson argues, such inherently unsettled, transitional settings tend to produce widespread social preoccupation with national identity as well as more "Machiavellian" state-led nationalist projects. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1991), 113–114.
64. Viewing their agency from this standpoint offers a way of linking the study of cultural globalization, and its active mediation, with the study of transnational diffusion of norms and the literature on social movements. See Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1998), 35.
65. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, 42.

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Chapter 10

Whose Identity?: Rhetorical Commonplaces in "American" Wartime Foreign Policy

Patrick Thaddeus Jackson

The claim that important aspects of world politics are socially constructed should no longer appear controversial to IR scholars. Yet, debate about the proper role of identity in the study of world politics continues apace, with scholars on one extreme trying to force identity into a variable framework, and on the other arguing that the multifaceted nature of identity makes systematic study of world politics impossible. Scholars debate whether identity "matters" in world politics without having any real consensus on what it might *mean* for identity (or any other factor) to "matter," and conduct research on identity using a variety of incompatible methods: textual analysis, interviews, polling data, cultural criticism, and so on. They also disagree about the extent to which identity should be regarded as socially constructed, with scholars placing the limits of this social construction in a number of different places. There is thus a good deal of confusion among scholars working on identity, and this confusion contributes to the field's lack of consensus on these issues.

The principle of social construction, *properly understood*, can only be opposed by scholars who argue that the important things about social life are best explained by a *purely* materialist account (Wendt 1999: 93–95). I maintain that identity as a completely social construct, *properly understood and researched*, is equally difficult to oppose.[1] The key to treating identity as a completely social construct requires a *methodology* that preserves the socially constructed character of identity even while using this as a basis from which to generate knowledge.[2] This is where much contemporary work in IR runs into problems, as it makes ontological claims about identity as a social construct that are then performatively contradicted by the concrete research

methodology subsequently deployed. The "bracketing" of agents and structures, "morphogenesis," "symbolic interactionism," and various other approaches utilized in IR research often end up engaging in the needless reification of actors, transforming "identity" into a mere attribute of some pre-constituted entity. This presents severe theoretical difficulties, undermining much of the "knowledge" produced by such work. To correct this, what is needed is some sustained methodological reflection on what it means to study identity as a social construct. There has been little of that in IR recently, as scholars have tended to focus on *methods* rather than on *methodology*: techniques rather than the rationale for the use of those techniques (Waltz 1979: 13). This is unfortunate, because only such reflection can ensure that we are producing knowledge in a meaningful manner.

In the next section of this chapter I sketch a methodology for the study of identity that avoids such needless reification. The key, I suggest, is to shift our analytical attention from various essentialist definitions of the actors in world politics and their supposed interests to the rhetorical processes whereby political entrepreneurs try to (re)configure the boundaries of legitimate action, and thereby the boundaries of the actor "in the name of" which the action is performed. In the third section, I apply this methodology to three key moments in what we conventionally call "American foreign policy": the declarations of war in 1917, 1941, and 2001. I suggest that paying close attention to the actual terms of debate casts doubt on the presumption that the relevant actor in these three situations is "America" or "the United States"; rather, "civilization" seems to be the actor involved, with the United States functioning merely as its representative. This is a rhetorical strategy, to be sure, but *actors are, at base, rhetorical strategies*—or at least should be treated as such for the purpose of generating philosophically consistent social knowledge. Scholars of world politics do ourselves a disservice by assuming that we know in advance who the actors are in some social situation; it is better to allow actors to emerge from concrete empirical work. The results may surprise us.

Rhetorical Commonplaces and the "Identity" of a Polity

Until the mid-1980s, most mainstream work in IR involved the explication of interests and the use of those interests to explain state behavior. "Interest," however, is more of a trope or rhetorical commonplace than a clear delineation of specific actions. What matters for social and political analysis is *how* this ambiguous term is given some specific meaning, which requires that serious attention be paid to the terms of the contemporary political debates. We require an account of how those interests were determined, and how the debates about "interests" were settled. As constructivists of various stripes have argued, any solution to this problem of ambiguous interests[3] requires a consideration of *identity*, because identity enjoys a certain analytical priority over interests. Questions about interests always rest on questions about identity, and presume their solution;

questions about who the actors *are* in a given situation, likewise, are always themselves questions about the identity of that actor.

How then should we analyze identity, so that we can capture this "stabilizing" role played by various identity components in practice? A useful place to begin is with Yale Ferguson and Richard Mansbach's forceful (but sadly underappreciated) call for a fundamental change in the way that we study world politics. As a replacement for the organizing metaphor of the solid sovereign state, they propose the more flexible notion of the "polity":

> A polity (or political authority) has a distinct identity; a capacity to mobilize persons and their resources for political purposes, that is, for value satisfaction; and a degree of institutionalization and hierarchy (leaders and constituents). It should be stressed that a polity in our conception is distinguishable from any unitary notion of society . . . and even from social networks. . . . Most organized social groups, from families to transnational firms, are polities. (Ibid.: 34)

Several factors render this a reasonable starting point for a more consistent approach to the role of identity in world politics. First of all, "polities" are *actors*, distinguished from other elements of social life by their appropriate possession of active verbs; polities in Ferguson and Mansbach's account *do* things. Yet polities do not have to be organized in a rigid fashion, and may not look like states at all.

Second, Ferguson and Mansbach's approach permits, and even expects, the overlapping of political authorities in a way that other organizing notions do not. *Competition* for loyalties is the main substance of interaction between polities, and there is no simple hierarchy of loyalties that places one polity above all others as a matter of course. Polities are related both "horizontally"—the interaction between one polity and its various "peers"—and "vertically"—the interaction between a polity and those other polities that share the same space, which arises from "the overlapping and layering of polities." Polities, even relatively enduring and solid polities like the Westphalian state, can find themselves "nested" within larger polities that claim the loyalty "of some or all of the same constituents" (ibid.: 47–51). And polities can vanish from the scene, only to reappear at some later time. The world opened up by the polities perspective is therefore fluid and flexible, and a world in which change is *expected*; the analytical task is therefore the explanation of relative stabilities, including relative stabilities in the boundaries of legitimate action.[4]

Third, a focus on polities is intimately connected to a focus on networks of social transaction and practice. A polity is not just a network, but is a configuration of social networks that has agentic properties, so that actions can be performed in its name; nonetheless, a concentration on social networks is essential to the identification of polities and to an explanation of their dynamics. It is not necessary—or even *possible*—to

provide any more basic "microfoundations" than those networks of social practice; individuals exist largely as nodes in a network, social sites wherein different loyalty claims collide and have to be negotiated.[5] The terms of this negotiation, which is made possible by the "mismatches and social noise" between varying loyalty claims, are in fact the agency exercised by the actor located at that point in the wider network (White 1992: 313–314). A polity-centered analysis thus preserves *both* human agency *and* the possibility of systematic social explanation.

Finally, Ferguson and Mansbach direct our analytical attention to what is probably *the* key issue for any analysis of actor-hood: authority. To be an actor means, at its most basic, to have the authority and capacity for action; both of these aspects are required, because capacity without authority is mere force, while authority without capacity is somewhat irrelevant. What complicates this observation, however, is the fact that authority can often be used as a resource to enhance capacity. "Politicians and bureaucrats . . . act in the name of the state trying to *persuade* various audiences that their policies embody 'the national interest,'" the authors point out; the ability to speak and act "in the name of the state" plays a causally relevant role in the success or failure of the attempt (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996: 11). So we must analyze authority if we are to have a hope of grasping how polities function.

How should we go about doing this? I suggest that a useful way to do so involves delineating the rhetorical commonplaces that are deployed by those who are advancing identity claims and linking them to specific actions. These commonplaces provide the raw material out of which actors and their actions are produced in the flow of events (Kratochwil 1989: 40–42; Shotter 1993: 65–69). A rhetorical commonplace links speakers and their audience, providing a set of always ambiguous resources on which a speaker may draw in order to make her claims. In the absence of such commonplaces, communication would be impossible, because of the inherent undecidability of language: words enjoy no essential link to things, and the meaning of a word or phrase is inextricably bound up with its use in practice (Wittgenstein 1953: §117, §381). But commonplaces are less "fully predetermined, already decided distinctions" than "historically developed . . . 'topological' *resources*" that can be "expressed or formulated in different ways in different, concrete circumstances" (Shotter 1993: 170–171). Commonplaces restrict ambiguity, but they do not eliminate it; their ambiguous character means that further rhetorical and discursive work will always be required to lock down their meaning and justify some specific course of action.

The key process here is *legitimation*, which simply means the process by which certain courses of action are constructed as acceptable and others are constructed as unacceptable (Abbott 1996). Legitimation should not be conflated with some universally valid sort of "legitimacy," as actions that are legitimated may be unacceptable when viewed from a different moral perspective; even the most vicious totalitarian dictatorship engages

in legitimation to the extent that its leaders and representatives give public reasons for their conduct. These public reasons—regardless of whether or not anyone actually *believes* them—constitute legitimation to the extent that they build a socially sustainable case in favor of some policy option. Legitimation in this Weberian sense is closer to domination than it is to rational consensus (Hopf 2002: 409). The focus in this kind of analysis remains on how policies are made acceptable and how their advocates render opposing policy options unacceptable, not on why groups prefer certain policies rather than others; a legitimated policy is no more inherently acceptable than any other, but has been made that way by being successfully defined as within the sphere of competence of some particular actor such that the actor's identity is entwined with the action.

Before proceeding, let me clarify a few key points. First, I am not treating individual people as the *source* of the actions that I am analyzing; their motivations are not involved, nor are any essential properties that they might possess. Individual persons are *sites* for the analysis of social relations, largely because the phenomena of interest to social theorists are inextricably tied to questions of meaning—and meaningful action takes place in the social space between individual persons. In other words, "the concept 'individual' refers to interdependent people in the singular, and the concept 'society' refers to interdependent people in the plural" (Elias 1978: 125). Second, and related, the fact that a person does things neither makes them an actor nor centralizes agency as some sort of metaphysical quantity lodged firmly between the ears. Action isn't behavior, after all; action is socially meaningful, and part of that social meaning is the assignment of the responsibility for the action to some actor *that need not be the human being who appears before our eyes*. Actors are social entities, not physical ones, and just because the human social world seems to run on hardware lodged inside of individual skulls does *not* mean that this is the best place to begin when trying to analyze that world.

Hence: a *methodological* focus on individuals as they engage in speech acts and other manipulations and deployments of rhetorical commonplaces should *not* be confused with a philosophical claim that only individuals are agents or actors. If we examine the debate about what we conventionally call a "state policy," for example, what we see are individuals making claims, advancing arguments, trying to shape the public and intersubjective discursive space in such a way as to make their position unassailable. In so doing, they deploy rhetorical commonplaces concerning the identity of the actor or actors in whose name they claim to be speaking, whether these be states, nations, regions, individuals, private social groups, civilizations, humanity, or the planet itself. The results of these deployments, including the ways in which these deployments interact with rival specifications of the identity of the same or different actors, determines both the policy outcome (whether it gets enacted or not) *and* which version of the identity of the relevant actor(s) is concretely enacted.

To be somewhat schematic, there are three steps involved in conducting a consistent analysis of actors and their identities.

1. Select some action or group of actions that you are interested in explaining: batches of resource flows and transfers, instances of organized violence, the decision to award double gold medals in the pairs figure-skating competition in the 2002 Winter Olympics, or whatever. Then trace backward in order to ascertain where the debates that gave rise to these actions took place: how were they authorized? In which fora were they discussed? The selection principle here is "genealogical" (Foucault 1977) inasmuch as the importance of some particular forum only emerges in retrospect, on a case-to-case basis.
2. Construct a "minimal spanning set" of rhetorical commonplaces: a specification of common themes characteristic of the debates in question. This is *not* an effort to capture all of the substance of the debates, but to analytically isolate those commonplaces that appear at key strategic moments in the process. This minimal spanning set should be sufficient to cover ("span") the major positions in the debate, which will most likely appear as some combination of commonplaces arrayed so as to support a specific policy or group of policies; it is "minimal" inasmuch as the analyst should try to eliminate redundancies. These commonplaces and their interconnections can be represented in a table, or in a network diagram (see below for examples). The point is to construct an analytical specification of the contours of the debate that gives an overall picture of the important themes.
3. Use this analytical specification to explain the action or group of actions with which you began, by analyzing how the victorious side of the debate was able to make its position prevail. Inasmuch as both sides of a debate are undoubtedly drawing on at least some similar commonplaces, the focus of attention should be on how each side tries to wrest control of those commonplaces away from their opponents and link them to their own preferred policies. An explanation[6] of how one constellation of commonplaces prevails over another should contain two components: an account of the specific rhetorical maneuvers utilized during actual debates between advocates of each position, and an account of how the arguments advanced in those debates were circulated among the relevant audience and incorporated the commonplaces already present in their daily lives. Inasmuch as some of these commonplaces specify actors in whose name action should be performed, the outcome of the debate is also the outcome of a boundary-drawing process for some social actor or actors.

In the next section, I present a brief application of this methodology to the three explicit declarations of war by the U.S. government in the past hundred years: World Wars I and II and the "war on terrorism" declared on September 20, 2001. Some may question whether the last is really an

explicit declaration of war in the same sense as the others; I believe that it is, inasmuch as the U.S. Congress waived War Powers Act restrictions on the administration's ability to use military force for the duration of the conflict, something that it had not previously done. All three events were also accompanied by an increase in domestic surveillance, novel restrictions on civilian activities, and the use of references to "wartime" as a way of trying to halt debate on other issues. So all three are "wars" in the relevant sense, and the debates surrounding them display some striking rhetorical similarities.

But there is a twist. The most striking rhetorical similarity is that all three wars are enframed as the acts of "the civilized world" or "civilization," exemplified by the United States but not exhausted by it. In terms of the logic I have sketched here, this means that the relevant actor for these three wars is—at least in some sense—*not the United States, but "civilization."* This finding has a number of implications for how we understand the last century of world politics, particularly when we consider that the Cold War—along with most of the military actions undertaken within it—was *not* enframed in these terms, but in a slightly different set of civilizational commonplaces: civilizations, rather than civilization (Jackson 2003a). Indeed, this finding suggests that we should seriously consider rethinking the history of the last century in terms of the oscillation between these two modes of civilizational discourse. While mainstream IR theorists and diplomatic historians have busied themselves trying to explicate events in terms of state action, more diffuse polities may in fact have been moving about and acting "behind the scenes" of what have been conventionally considered the primary events in world politics. Even though his methodology is misleading and his policy prescriptions are inconsistent, Samuel Huntington (1996) may be correct to direct our attention to civilizational issues—even though he underestimates the extent to which these issues have *already* been at play over the course of the past century.

"Civilization" in "American" Foreign Policy

One of Ferguson and Mansbach's more intriguing suggestions is that polities can be "nested" within one another, a larger polity containing one or more subordinate polities (Ferguson and Mansbach 1996: 50–51). While the most obvious examples of this nesting are *geographical*, there might also be a kind of nesting that is more *conceptual*, in that two polities could occupy a similar piece of ground but one could be considered more expansive than another. One might expect this kind of nesting to be most pronounced in cases where the superordinate polity was not well institutionalized but the conceptually subordinate one was. In extreme cases, the superordinate polity might not even be *recognized* as a polity, because of the empirical noise produced by the institutionalized subordinate polity. I would characterize "Europe" as such a *cultural polity*, inasmuch as it surrounds and supervenes on other state or national polities and claims

superiority over them by virtue of being older and more fundamental than they are.[7]

But Europe is not the only cultural polity, and it is not even the only one that was institutionalized during the twentieth century; "Western Civilization" was also given institutional capacity through such initiatives as the Marshall Plan and NATO, and formed the core of the Bretton Woods system as well (Jackson 2003a,b). One can profitably read the internal alliance politics of the "Western bloc" during the Cold War as a rhetorical struggle between these two polities, as American officials sought to use "the West" to restrain European actions and European leaders (DeGaulle above all) sought to use "Europe" as a way to counterbalance the American dominance of "the West." The Cold War is intimately wrapped up with these broad and diffuse actors, and the logic of multiple cultures on which they both depend: rhetorical space was opened for the notion that *other* cultures should be able to proceed in their own way, even if (to Western eyes) these ways appeared wrong. Hence the need to justify military deployments in terms of something like the domino theory: as long as communism kept to itself, it merely needed to be "contained" by a kind of cultural border policing, but if it expanded, it posed a threat to "the West" (Western Europe and the United States) or "Europe" by virtue of the possibility of a chain reaction (Ninkovich 1994). At its rhetorical core, the Cold War is a struggle between mutually exclusive cultural polities.

Not so, however, the three explicit declarations of war by the United States in the past century.[8] All three are importantly framed by a notion of civilization *in the singular*, so that the actor involved is less one culture among others and more the progress of humanity itself. Indeed, there is a way that acting on behalf of "civilization" means acting on behalf of humanity's own enlightened interests; logically, opposing an action legitimated in these terms places one in the same league as the barbarians, primitives, and archaic evildoers characteristic of humanity's *past*, not its *future*. Civilization is therefore a much more universalistic notion than that implied in the universe of multiple cultural polities, and presents a more black-and-white world able to be apprehended in simple moral terms. When linked with the notion that some particular state or nation uniquely represents or exemplifies the best that humanity has to offer, civilization can also underpin policies that are much more unilateral than the multilateral policies implied by the "we're all in this together" logic of multiple cultural polities. All three wars in question display these consequences of acting on behalf of humanity's future.

Interpreting "American" Foreign Policy[9]

Many accounts of what we conventionally call "American foreign policy" are written in terms of an opposition between an "isolationist" position—presumably advocating a complete withdrawal from the world and a retreat behind a "Fortress America"—and an "internationalist" position,

presumably its polar opposite. This is not a particularly helpful way of reading the situation, as the terms are not even descriptively accurate when applied to the debates of the 1930s and 1940s from which they initially came. "Isolationists," for example, were perfectly happy advocating a strong U.S. presence in Asia, while "internationalists" remained quite focused on Europe throughout (Paterson 1988: 79–80; Christensen 1996: 69–73).

In fact, the positions traditionally identified as "isolationism" and "internationalism" are in reality complex amalgamations of rhetorical appeals, complexly linked patterns of justification that make certain policies acceptable while ruling others "out of bounds." Many of these commonplaces have been around for quite some time in American political discourse, while others are of a more recent vintage. In addition, the linkages *between* some of these commonplaces are quite long-standing, allowing historians to isolate two broad "schools" of thinking about American foreign policy: the "exemplarists" who suggest that "perfecting American institutions and practices at home is a full-time job" and that the greatest task of American foreign policy is to create space to carry out such an exercise on its own terms, and the "vindicationists" who suggest that "America must move beyond example and undertake active measures to vindicate the right" (Brands 1998: vii–ix). These terms better catch up the substance of the policy debates than the others that have been proposed. But we need to go further than this, since a prominent part of the "vindicationist" position has always been a reference to some sort of diffuse polity in which the United States of America is nested, while the "exemplarist" position contains such rhetorical references only in passing. Hence "vindicationism" is generally a way of nesting the USA within a larger polity in whose name the U.S. government acts, and represents a kind of local translation of a debate about the contours of that conceptually larger polity.[10]

Schematically, we can represent these opposing positions as a network of rhetorical commonplaces (see figure 10.1). These commonplaces give

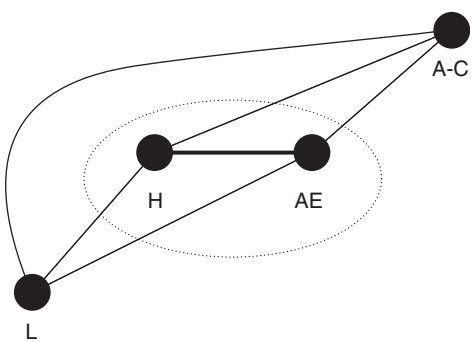

Figure 10.1 The "exemplarist" position (oval = "city on a hill"). Anticommunism is added only after the 1917 Russian Revolution

rise, when mobilized in the course of public debate, to the policy options associated with each position.

Exemplarism, as I have argued elsewhere (Jackson and Nexon 2001: 14–15; Jackson 2003a), rests on a set of four linked rhetorical commonplaces: "American exceptionalism" (AE), which is the notion that the United States constitutes an entity ontologically separate from the rest of the world, particularly from Europe (Boorstin 1960: 19–25); "heliotropism" (H), which is the notion that the progress of civilization follows the path of the sun, so that societies lying further to the West were more advanced (Schulte Nordholt 1995: 1–2); "liberty" (L), as the highest value of American society and something that should not be sacrificed (Hogan 1998); and "anticommunism" (A-C), the opposition to communist doctrine and practice. Anticommunism was first articulated in tandem with the first two commonplaces in support of a foreign policy that emphasized keeping the United States pure; this was graphically illustrated in the mass deportation and expulsion of suspected communists arrested in the Palmer raids of 1919 (Kovel 1994: 17–22). It is no accident that anticommunism was articulated in this way, as the connection between AE and H forms the rhetorical "core" of exemplarism, underpinning the image of the United States as a "city on a hill" which must, at all costs, keep itself pure and unsullied (Baritz 1964). This image is also implicated in the language of "manifest destiny," in which the United States, borne westward on the tides of world history (this is the "heliotropic" part of the image), is given divine license to fill the North American continent and build a kind of New Jerusalem on earth (Stephanson 1995).

The implication of this exemplarist position was that the United States should refrain from entanglement in much of world politics, especially European balance of power politics. The arguments about foreign affairs found among exemplarists (including George Washington's famous "Farewell Address" with its admonition against "entangling alliances") had a "prelapsarian" character, "intent upon preventing the original sin of a balance of power from being committed in North America" (Ninkovich 1994: 46). Such appeals to turn away from Europe did not yield "a history of peaceful isolation," as American desires focused on westward expansion: first to the shores of the Pacific Ocean, and then beyond it to the "civilizing" of China, which was traditionally viewed as a virtual blank slate for American redemption efforts (Schulte Nordholt 1995: 166, 179–184). The linkage between AE and H made policies such as the Monroe Doctrine possible: America would remain separate from the rest of the world, and—since America was the result of world-historical evolutionary process—it would take responsibility for "uplifting" Latin American countries (Corrales and Feinberg 1999: 3–5).

A Variety of "Vindicationisms"

Hence, the rhetorical challenge for anyone wishing to advocate contrary policies—particularly those involving American participation in a

European land war—is to find some other basis on which to place those policies, and to do so in such a way that the traditional exemplarist constellation is undermined. Not surprisingly, the vindicationist positions that square off against exemplarism are not so much *opposed to* these basic rhetorical commonplaces as they are *reconfigurations* of their relationship and different *specifications* of their meaning. This reconfiguration is accomplished, by and large, through a severing of the linkage between American exceptionalism and heliotropism, which allows the vindicationist to seize and respecify one of the commonplaces so that it points in another direction. Because commonplaces are inherently ambiguous, they only mean particular things when specified in some particular manner, frequently in conjunction with other commonplaces; severing rhetorical linkages enables a respecification, and perhaps an actual change of policy.

As an example of this strategy, consider the mode of vindicationism characteristic of Woodrow Wilson's justification of American entry into World War I.[11] Wilson declares that the immediate grounds for such a declaration is the announcement by the German government that unrestricted submarine warfare would be resumed, and claims that he "was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations." This is what makes the policy so horrific, according to Wilson; it is not the specific sinking of any American vessels that prompts action, but the violation of common principles of decency and humanity. "The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. It is a war against all nations . . . The challenge is to all mankind." He declares that the United States should decide its course not according to any narrow notion of self-interest, "but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion." This last phrase is of particular interest, as it is a *direct* rhetorical challenge to American exceptionalism, and seeks to characterize the United States as one country among others rather than a lone defender of the good and the true.

We have clearly moved a great distance from American exceptionalism. Heliotropism, with its references to a grand world-historical process culminating in American-style democracy, remains very much in evidence, exemplified by Wilson's comments praising the Russian revolution for ending centuries of autocratic rule: "The great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naive majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor."[12] One might illustrate Wilson's position—a kind of "civilizational vindicationism"—throughout the speech as shown in figure 10.2.

The distinctive element in Wilson's stance is the introduction of a novel rhetorical commonplace—"civilization," denoted "C" in the diagram—and his tapping of it to sever the linkage between American exceptionalism and heliotropism. In effect, Wilson dismisses American exceptionalism by refocusing attention on the broader community of which the

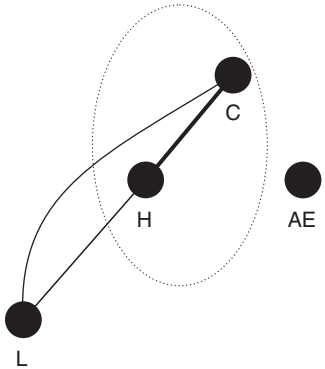

Figure 10.2 T. R./Wilson/FDR "Civilizational vindicationist" position (oval = "champion of the rights of mankind")

United States is a part: the community of civilized nations, a.k.a. "civilization."[13] Heliotropism remains, as the mores of civilization as developed in Western Europe and (especially) the United States are clearly superior to the rest of the (barbarous) world, but it no longer supports a policy of remaining aloof from the world: the United States must actively support the cause of civilization, even at the cost of American lives (Stephanson 1995: 115–116).

The position in question was not unique to Wilson; indeed, it was not even pioneered by him. Theodore Roosevelt was the first American president to rely on a notion of an association of civilized powers as a way of combating American exceptionalism (Roberts 1997: 337–339; Ruggie 1998: 207–208); but in the absence of anything that he could portray as a crisis,[14] he was unable to dislodge exemplarism from its dominant position. Wilson was able to do so for the duration of the war, emphasizing the fact that this was "the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance" (as he characterized it in the speech asking for a declaration of war). But when the immediate danger seemed to have passed, exemplarism reasserted itself with a vengeance, using anticommunism as the pivot to advocate a renewed American withdrawal from the world (Leffler 1994: 14–15). Those trying to advocate increased American involvement in European politics "failed in large part because there were few rhetorical strategies available to link domestic fear of and opposition to communism—which was at least in part fueled by the occurrence of the Russian revolution—to a policy of multilateral global engagement" (Jackson and Nexon 2001: 16). Thus neither Roosevelt nor Wilson was able to dislodge exemplarism and really advance "civilization" as an actor.[15]

It took another Roosevelt—FDR—and another conflict with Germany (and Japan, this time) to really unseat exemplarism from its dominant[16] position. This occurred not as a simple reaction to the bombing of Pearl Harbor, even though the immediate reaction among many policymakers (such as former "isolationist" and influential Republican Senator Arthur

Vandenberg) was that the attack had made neutrality impossible. One possible response to these attacks might have been to look for some way to defend against such attacks in the future; such a policy would have preserved American exceptionalism. Instead, we find the flowering of a renewed vindicationist discourse, bolstered by the "barbaric" actions of Germany and Japan (self-admittedly so, in the case of Nazi Germany) and the availability to American foreign policy elites of a new set of civilizational scripts more firmly linking anticommunism to American global engagement. (Although these new scripts—disseminated through such interwar institutions as the "Western Civ" course at American universities and the unexpected publishing success of Oswald Spengler's *The Decline of the West*—pointed in the direction of a "multiple cultural polities" logic[17] rather than a singular civilizational community as Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt had envisioned, FDR was able to draw on them in his standard "multivocal" manner (Kimball 1991) to forge support for his policies.) So we find FDR regularly speaking of the war against Nazi Germany as a war on behalf of civilization,[18] and of the proposed new institution of the United Nations as an association of civilized powers much like those proposed by TR and Wilson (Fromkin 1995: 505–506). At last civilization as an actor had some institutional capacity.

But this did not last. Immediately after the end of World War II, American troops were demobilized en masse, an action justified in vintage exemplarist terms (Pollard 1985: 20–22). Buoyed by anticommunism that was itself strengthened by Soviet actions which were at the very least ambiguous,[19] exemplarism appeared to be regaining ground—at least until the Truman administration stumbled on a novel (as far as I can tell, this was *not* deliberate) rhetorical strategy: the use of "occidentalism" (the notion that Western Europe and the United States were joined together in a single cultural community with deep historical roots) to link opposition to communism with a military commitment to Western Europe, and then to other locations deemed strategically vital to the defense of "the West." Like "civilization-in-the-singular," occidentalism was deployed against American exceptionalism, breaking down the notion that the (cultural) values that America exemplified could be defended at the territorial boundaries of the United States. In occidentalist discourse, America is still exceptional *within* Western Civilization, and Western Civilization is exceptional when compared to the rest of the world, but (in effect) the firm connection between the physical borders of the United States and the boundaries of America are severed. This delegitimates the positions associated with exemplarist logic, and legitimates a more active involvement—both military and economic—overseas.

Graphically, the occidentalist form of vindicationism looks like figure 10.3. To give merely one textual example of this strategy: consider Secretary of State George Marshall's speech defending the European Recovery Program (better known as the Marshall Plan) to the Congress of Industrial Organizations on October 15, 1947.[20] "The basic issue" facing the United

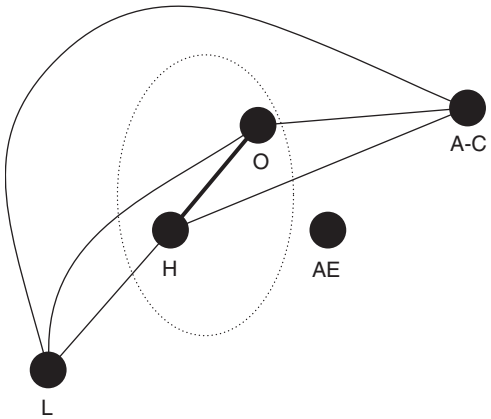

Figure 10.3 "Occidentalist vindicationism" in the early postwar period (oval = "leader of the West/free world" [where "free world" means the West and its allies])

States, Marshall argued, was "simply whether or not men are to be left free to organize their social, political, and economic existence in accordance with their desires, or whether they are to have their lives arranged and dictated for them by small groups of men who have arrogated to themselves this arbitrary power." The solution to this problem was to raise productivity for the long term. But why should the United States, and the C.I.O. in particular, concern itself with European productivity?

> The United States stands in the midst of a highly critical world period. The situation involves dangers which affect every American alike . . . . What endangers the United States endangers all of us—labor, industry, and agriculture alike. Because the economic stability of Europe is essential to the political stability of Europe, it is of tremendous importance to us, to our peace and security, and it is equally important to the entire world. We are faced with the danger of the actual disappearance of the characteristics of western civilization on which our Government and our manner of living are based. (Ibid.: 827–828)

So the danger, while certainly involving narrow American economic interests, was explicitly framed by an occidentalist context: economic stability was needed for political stability, which in turn was required for the stability of the West. Absent this last step, Marshall would have had to demonstrate that a political collapse of European countries posed a direct threat to the United States; otherwise a response of "why should *we* care?" might intrude and make his entire argument irrelevant. Occidentalism here plays its usual role in breaking down the notion that the United States can simply go it alone in the world, referencing instead a larger cultural community in the name of which the United States should act. In a way, the ERP is an act of the West, funded and directed by the United States

to be sure, but inextricably bound up with a broader and more diffuse cultural polity.

The New American Empire: The "War on Terrorism"

When scholars refer to the "postwar bipartisan consensus in American foreign policy," what they are (arguably) really referring to is the dominance of this occidentalist vindicationism from the late 1940s until the late 1970s. After Eisenhower defeated Robert Taft for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1952, there was almost no one on the national political scene seriously advocating a withdrawal from Europe, a weakening of the "Western Alliance" (NATO), or any of the other things that a renewed exemplarist legitimation strategy would imply. But a confluence of events in the 1970s—the end of Bretton Woods, the termination of the war in Vietnam, and Nixon resignation—propelled a relative political outsider named Jimmy Carter into the White House. Carter's foreign policy discourse revolved around moral absolutes that partook of the older, civilization-in-the-singular rhetorical strategy. The prominence of human rights concerns in the Carter years are indicative of this altered focus, as human rights discourse is by definition opposed to occidentalist logic; the actor in question for human rights policies is "humanity," not some particular cultural polity. Viewed in terms of justificatory rhetoric, *this* is where the "bipartisan consensus" comes apart.

I would speculate—although demonstrating this would demand more concrete historical tracing than space permits—that Carter's new moralism and his return to the commonplace of "civilization-in-the-singular" helped to pave the way (unintentionally, of course) for Ronald Reagan's use of that same commonplace in his successful bid for the presidency in 1980. Reagan had been pressing similar themes for decades, but was unable to shift the discourse of the Republican Party in this direction until, in the aftermath of the Nixon scandals, party "outsiders" like him were able to grab positions of power (FitzGerald 2000). But where Carter had used civilization in the traditional Wilsonian/Rooseveltian manner and sought to exclude American exceptionalism by characterizing the United States as part of a community of civilized nations, Reagan *embraced* American exceptionalism, combining it with a notion of civilization to produce what might be called "exceptionalist vindicationism": the United States was unique, ontologically separate, and able to do its own thing, because it was uniquely empowered to speak on behalf of civilization as a whole. Unlike the Wilson or Roosevelt, whose rhetoric envisioned cooperation (even multilateral cooperation) with other "civilized" powers, Reagan's new vindicationism embraced unilateral action underpinned by a strong sense of American distinctiveness. Distinctly subordinate in the new rhetorical position was heliotropism, a sense of historical sweep and process and a concern with helping other countries "develop"; for Reagan, the

United States was simply unique, and other countries could jump on the bandwagon or be run over by it.

Then communism vanished, and anticommunism began to lose its salience as a guiding principle for policy. After an interlude in which George H. W. Bush tried to institutionalize something called the "New World Order," we now have a new enemy—"terrorism"—to occupy the rhetorical place once filled by communism. But with a twist: George W. Bush's opposition to terrorism is positively Reagan-esque, embracing American exceptionalism rather than opposing it. Graphically, it looks like figure 10.4. The striking examples of this during the speech of September 20,[21] is the categorical declaration that the United States will prosecute the war on terrorism against *any* regime that stands in its way: "Every nation in every region now has a decision to make: Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists . . . . From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime." Translation: the United States of America, uniquely empowered to speak on behalf of civilization as a whole, will enforce the boundaries of civilization as it sees fit. Submit or face the consequences. In other words, an American empire, made possible by the conjoining of American exceptionalism and civilization in the singular, standing opposed to consultation with allies (except for the kind of "consultation" which means that the United States talks and the allies nod their heads) and collaborative effort (except for the kind of "collaboration" which means that the United States directs and others follow). And the actor in question? "Civilization," whose voice comes through the United States of America. The United States as the Metatron—the voice of God—for all of human civilization. Join up or suffer the consequences.

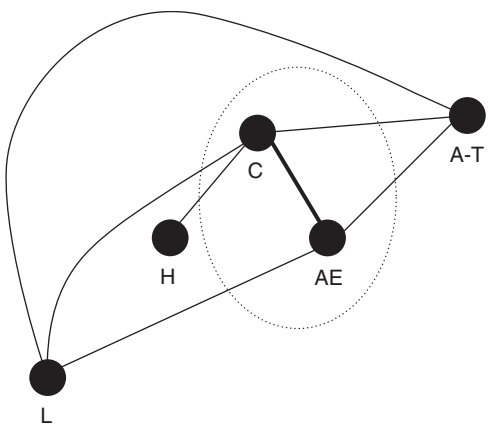

Figure 10.4 GWB's "war on terrorism" (oval = "this is civilization's fight")

Dramatic, yes. But plausible, I suggest, to the extent that the "war on terrorism" is prosecuted and justified in similar terms throughout. A striking incident in the early days of the war may indicate how much things have changed: Silvio Berlusconi, Prime Minister of Italy, speaking to a group of journalists in Berlin on September 26, 2001 commented that Western Civilization was superior to Islam by virtue of its "widespread prosperity" and "respect for human rights and religion . . . This respect certainly does not exist in Islamic countries" (quoted in Erlanger 2001). The reaction was swift, as Berlusconi's comments were condemned from all sides; Berlusconi himself maintained that he had been misquoted. What is striking about this incident is that similar language would have been quite unexceptional during the Cold War (with "communism" taking the place of "Islam"), as the Cold War was explicitly constituted as a "clash of civilizations" (the West versus the East) according to the logic of multiple cultural polities. That it was roundly rejected—to the point that no major media outlet bothered to translate the full text of Berlusconi's comments, and obtaining the original Italian text of them was extremely difficult—simply underlines the fact that things have changed quite dramatically. Whether they will continue on this course remains to be seen.

The national security strategy document released by the Bush administration on September 20, 2002—the one-year anniversary of the War on Terrorism—seems to suggest that the new course is, if anything, being strengthened. The document disposes of the old, restrained exemplarist link between American exceptionalism and heliotropism in the very first paragraph, in favor of a more categorical equation of the American way and civilized behavior itself:

> The great struggles of the twentieth century between liberty and totalitarianism ended with a decisive victory for the forces of freedom—and a single sustainable model for national success: freedom, democracy, and free enterprise. In the twenty-first century, only nations that share a commitment to protecting basic human rights and guaranteeing political and economic freedom will be able to unleash the potential of their people and assure their future prosperity. (White House 2002: iv)

The policy implications of this stance are equally striking: "America will hold to account nations that are compromised by terror, including those who harbor terrorists—because the allies of terror are the enemies of civilization" (ibid.: iv–v). Affirmations of faith in multilateral institutions—supplemented by "coalitions of the willing" from time to time (ibid.: vi)—sound somewhat hollow, since the United States has already reserved the right to determine who is civilized and who is not, and hence who is worthy of support and who has to be unequivocally opposed in the name of civilization.

The remainder of the document continues in this vein. The explicit transformation of foreign aid into a way to bolster transitions to

something more like American democracy (4); the commitment to portray terrorism "in the same light as slavery, piracy, or genocide: behavior that no respectable government can condone or support and all must oppose" (6); the embrace of "counterproliferation" (14) and the abandonment of deterrence in favor of preemptive strikes (15); the redirection of development aid, both that from the United States directly and that channeled through U.S.-dominated international institutions, to focus almost exclusively on the improvement of productivity with judgments of efficacy made by U.S.-determined standards of success (22); the domestic centralization of intelligence information and restructuring of the national security bureaucracy, together with a pronounced expansion in the strategic knowledge of other parts of the world available to the U.S. government (29–30): all of these policy initiatives are underpinned and sustained by the rhetorical coalition of civilization-in-the-singular and American exceptionalism, which figures America as the best and highest exemplar of civilization, empowered to take whatever steps it deems necessary to secure this progressive future. Both the continuity with earlier vindicationisms and the differences are important here, as they seem—as of this writing—to be cementing a *Pax Americana* of distinctly universalist dimensions. Civilization, as interpreted by American governmental officials, seems to be the actor here, as alternate logics of identity are simply swept away.

Conclusion

The initial departure for this set of reflections on "American" foreign policy was a commitment to regarding the identity of the actor implicated in such policy actions as socially constructed: as produced by ongoing patterns of social process and transaction. I argued that the only way to do this consistently was to enter the analysis without any pregiven notions of who the actor in question was; to enter with an assumption like this would be to unnecessarily limit processes of social construction in the name of some theoretical abstraction. Such limitation, characteristic of most mainstream IR (even that self-consciously identified as "constructivist"), prevents analysts from appreciating what is *really* at stake in acknowledging the socially constructed nature of actor identity: a relational view of the social world in which change is presumed and stability, especially the stability of borders both physical and conceptual, is a problem to be explained or a puzzle to be solved *empirically* rather than an abstract issue to be resolved philosophically. If identity is to function as something other than a variable attribute, if it is to be regarded as *constitutive* of actors and actions rather than merely causal in a neopositivist, variable-oriented sense, we must leave questions about actors and their boundaries firmly in the realm of the empirical.

Another consequence emerges from this stance. Identity research, as I conceptualize it, is less research about how something called "identity" produces effects, and more research about how the identity of actors is

established (Norton 1988). Identity, in the sense of a set of dispositional qualities attributed to an actor, is the *consequence* of these actions, not their *cause* (to make the outcome the cause of its antecedents would be to descend into the realm of functionalism). Identity, in my view, is less important for what "it" *does* than for how articulations of "it" figure into a series of rhetorical struggles: in my empirical illustration here, between American exemplarism and its various vindicationist opponents. Inasmuch as these struggles and their outcome exercise a strong shaping effect on the course of policy adoption and implementation, they should be at the center of our analyses; inasmuch as the resources and raw materials with which these struggles are fought consist of characterizations of acceptable actions for some actor to perform, a focus on identity is indispensable.

Notes

1. Doing so would require a complete accounting of all possible actors in world politics, together with clear and distinct knowledge of their essential properties. There are various reasons why this kind of knowledge is unlikely to be achieved; chief among them is the fact that social life seems to be an open system, in which actors have the ability to modify their supposedly "essential" properties over time through more or less deliberate activity (Bhaskar 1989: 82–83).
2. I therefore set aside post-structural work that does not see its goal as the generation of knowledge, but the problematizing of existing knowledge. It is not that such work is not valuable, but that it is engaged in a very different intellectual project.
3. Arguably, *all* interests are "ambiguous." It takes a great deal of social and discursive work to make a particular conception of interests appear natural or obvious (Neumann 1999; Weldes 1999).
4. On the value of this analytical shift, see Jackson and Nexon 1999.
5. This position is similar to Max Weber's methodological individualism, in which the individual is *analytically* privileged as an access point to the "stuff" of social life. This should *not* be confused with the position that individuals are the only real agents in social life. See Jackson 2002 for an extended discussion.
6. Note that the only kind of valid "explanation" in an account like this is a historical explanation with plenty of room for contingency; the search for covering-laws to specify why (in some global sense) one constellation of rhetorical commonplaces triumphs over another is most likely a pointless one.
7. In making this shift (from "civilization" to "culture") I am following the terminology introduced by Oswald Spengler, who divided humanity into six mutually exclusive "high Cultures" and argued that each was so fundamentally distinct from one another that they really couldn't understand each other (Spengler 1926). There is irony in my doing so, inasmuch as Spengler himself is one of the prime movers of the debate that introduces the notion of constitutively independent Cultures (or civilizations) into the political

discourse of the early twentieth century. I adopt his terminology mainly to avoid confusion and to more usefully characterize the rhetorical claims being made, not to signal acceptance of his basic presupposition that Cultures *are* mutually exclusive.

8. It is perhaps not accidental that wars fought during the Cold War and during its immediate aftermath were not justified in civilizational terms, and that none of them involved anything like an explicit declaration of war; the resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq after the invasion of Kuwait comes closest, but still refrains from explicitly using terms like "war." Indeed, this suggests a close conceptual and rhetorical link between war and the more universalist language of civilization, at least in an American context.
9. This discussion draws on chapter 3 of Jackson 2003a.
10. I am aware of the theoretical tension involved in focusing on a local American debate, one side of which involves the conceptual breaking down of the very idea of a "local American debate." The exercise here could (and should) be repeated for other presumptive actors, like "Great Britain" or "France"; elsewhere I have endeavored to do so for postwar Germany as well (Jackson 2003a). That these debates take place within institutions that seem to express a very different logic of organization is testimony to the success of the entity-project called the sovereign territorial state. If nothing else, the empirical results generated by application of the methodology proposed here should serve to displace the naturalness of that entity.
11. Quotations from 65th Congress, 1st session, document #5.
12. Heliotropism always foresaw that the rest of the world would one day look like America, since it—as the "last empire"—was the best approximation of human perfection on earth (Schulte Nordholt 1995). It is this world-historical progression, and not the specific geographical location, which is the heart of the commonplace.
13. Note that *after* the war Wilson's rhetoric altered, becoming—ironically—more like that of Reagan or George W. Bush in trying to link American exceptionalism and civilization more explicitly (Stephanson 1995: 117–118). At the moment I am only concerned—as I said before—with the explicit declarations of war, and not with subsequent language.
14. I am bracketing for the moment any discussion of whether there are "objective" (i.e. not socially constructed) limits to how an event can be portrayed. I am inclined to say no, but space does not permit an adequate discussion of the issue.
15. Although, as recent historical research has shown, Wilson came close—much closer than people used to think—to securing American participation in the League of Nations (Knock 1992). The effects of such an institutionalization of civilization-as-an-actor would likely have been profound.
16. I avoid the term "hegemonic" for a reason; see Scott 1990.
17. Actually, there is a great deal of ambiguity within these discursive scripts, which is in no way reduced by the fact that they slide back and forth between "civilization" and "Western Civilization" somewhat indiscriminately. It is not until after World War II that the ambiguity is at least partially resolved in favor of "Western Civilization."
18. For example, in his March 1, 1945 speech reporting to Congress on the Yalta conference.

19. Naturally, anticommunism provides part of the impetus for interpreting these ambiguous actions in the worst possible light, although more overtly conciliatory moves might have been more difficult to characterize as indicative of an irreducible hostility to all things Western.
20. *Department of State Bulletin*, October 26, 1947.
21. Quotations from the Associated Press transcription of the speech.

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Part IV

Multiplicity

Chapter 11

Tango, Touch, and Moving Multiplicities

Erin Manning

Within the nation's official narratives, the body becomes normalized as that which either contains or is contained by the nation as exclusive territory, relegating the gendered body to either the inside or the outside of the nation's domestic chronotope. As a result, the intelligibility of the engendered body becomes dependent on its representation within the captivity of what the discourse of the nation considers to be the "norm," where, traditionally, the political public space (the polis) is defined through the presence of (white) men and contrasted to the apolitical private space (the home) of women. One of the disturbing paradoxes of this situation is the consequence that disenfranchised groups—such as women, racial others, immigrants, and native peoples—often feel they have no other choice but to turn to the nation or to national values in order to register their claims as political. Turning to the nation will only reproduce normative en-genderings. More often than not, these normative en-genderings are located within strict matrices of identity. Rather than turning to the language of the nation for an articulation of the political, what is necessary is a double-voiced attempt to resist the normative constraints that, for example, make gender "matter," while concurrently revealing the ways in which the normalization of this very materiality is what enables the nation to relegate "woman" to the margins of the political.

In this short chapter, what I propose to do is to expose the manner in which tango, as a dance, provides us with a counter-text to the nation's engendering practices of dematerializing the body thereby subverting its claims on identity practices. Tango, in this case, becomes the metaphor for bodies in motion, a metaphor that challenges not only the nation (the link

between "Argentine" tango and Argentine national identity, for instance), but also the manner in which bodies—leaders and followers, in the case of the dance—are induced to engender themselves along differing strata, depending on how they interpret and improvise, and engender movement. Conflating the gendered body and the nation forces us to contend with the ways in which the nation imposes regulatory discourses on its body-politic in order to disguise the integral subversions of all norms at every juncture. The tango as I wish to explore it here is one that complicates and challenges the roles of the leader and the follower, of the national and the transnational, the identical and the multiplicitous. This engendering tango is, I will argue, always-already inscribed in the (hi)story of the "Argentine" tango, a dance that has, from its immigrant beginnings, spanned the globe, gaining notoriety not solely as a dance located in Buenos Aires, but as a dance that has always been engaged on the limits of both metamorphosis and nostalgia. Certainly, one might argue that Buenos Aires is one of tango's main points of origin, but tango itself resists so stridently the game of origins that even this is debatable.

Tango found its debut in the streets and bordellos of Buenos Aires, conceived largely by immigrants searching for a vocabulary to express their place-lessness in a foreign country. A music and dance born of many influences, including rhythms of Africa, Europe, and America and music from Spain, Africa, the Caribbean, Italy, France, and Germany, tango is also a verb that means "to touch." No matter how we define tango and its "origins," touch never strays from the importance of tango as an improvised encounter with the other as other. Indeed, this element of touch has remained largely unmolested by the rampant exoticization of tango's movements of desire. For touch—a politics of touch—is not easily exoticized, especially if we consider exoticization as a hierarchical classifying of the other. Touch cannot be classified, since touch demands a reciprocity that defies the grid-forming practices of sovereign signifying intelligibilities.

An archaeology of tango's "origins" invokes, on the one hand, a dominantly Argentinean discourse that underscores tango's appurtenance to a purely "Argentine" national identity. Yet, no mention is made regarding the implicit contradiction inherent in a desire to locate tango as an agent of national identity and the fact that tango *as such* resists codification due to its improvised nature. This paradoxical stance results in what Savigliano calls an "effort at justification," a justification, depending who is writing, that focuses on issues of class difference, nationalism, exoticism, or imperialism, largely bypassing the complexities of tango's movements of multiplicity.[1] As Savigliano writes:

> The promotion of tango through imperial exoticism and through "civilized" appropriations generated such a diversity of tango practices that the need to establish an "authentic tango" became a must. . . . The scandalous colonial, racist and classist histories of tango had been pacified under the

> exaggeration of its erotic display. [The] search for tango origins and authenticity led to a different set of complex practices of internal discrimination that were related to the issue of national identity—an issue soaked in colonialism. (1995: 155–156)

Hence, through tango, we have an interesting story not only of the seductions of imperialism and the temptations of nationalism, but also of the subversive qualities of a silenced improvisational movement. Since touch cannot be nationalized or theorized according to a discourse of consumption and national belonging, what we are left with is a battle of appropriation and consumption and a deep silence about tango's impromptu transnational movements of desire. It is these movements of desire that alert us to the fact that tango cannot easily be appropriated, since, to become "nationalized" within a strict categorization of national identity, tango would have become less the dance of touch, and more the choreographed dance of exotic associations with difference (difference understood here as the stable dichotomous presentation of the self-same).[2] A focus on touch and its unpredictable reachings-toward is difficult to appropriate and exoticize without endangering the position of the usurper. Since what imperialism requires for its dissemination of power and control is not a politics of touch but a replication of the movements that would depoliticize this very touch, tango's improvisations, and their counter-nationalizing impulses remain largely unmentioned. Tango therefore becomes legendary not as a movement that is political—I must touch you and you must respond in kind if we are to listen to each other's bodies and create the space in movement we call tango—but as one that is largely depoliticized—the exoticized encounter with desire for consummation.

It is important to note that the legends that depoliticize tango come not only from the "outside." Within Buenos Aires, there is a deep schism between the tango of the over and the underclasses, the tension between the immigrants and the *criollos*, between the natives and the whites. Savigliano writes that, "external imperial interventions, through the process of eroticisation, affected the local reception of tango and how tango intervened in the local and foreign debates concerning the shape of Argentina's national identity" (1995: 138). On the one hand, tango called into question the elite's legitimacy to represent the nation. On the other hand, tango sequestered the natives of Argentina as "others" to the national identity since tango was not "their" dance. "Highly Westernized and the exotic-to-the-West, tango became the national symbol," writes Savigliano (1995: 166).

In 1913, Lugones writes: "Tango is not a national dance, nor is the prostitution that conceives it" (in Savigliano 1995: 140). To appreciate tango as a transnational movement of desire, it is necessary to acknowledge its disputed beginnings, its contested origins, and its complicated presents. For there have always been contestations where tango is concerned, be it the indignation of the Argentinean elite as a betrayed dignified class, or

later the immigrants' disillusion when the same upper class reappropriated the tango as their own once it has been usurped by Paris. The story of tango is fraught with such appropriations, with stilted beginnings and truth-seeking nationalisms, with legitimate and illegitimate births and deaths. There is no "true" tango, be it that which is danced in Buenos Aires, or that which is danced in Finland, Nijmegen, Montreal, or Berlin. Tango is an improvised movement—at its best and most problematic, a politics of touch—carrying within its sensory mechanisms the potential instantiation of a politics that might be called a politics of touch. Tango is a challenge to fraternization as the maxim for democracy, even while it is the dream of a nationally unified identity. Tango is all of these contradictory movements of desire.

The paradox at the heart of tango practices of appropriation and dissemination is expressed in *El Diario*, an Argentinean newspaper, in the early part of the twentieth century: "If tango—already a *poor* representation [. . .] of the national being—was going to stand for Argentina, the Europeans could at least respect the authentic Argentinean practice" (in Savigliano 1995: 140). What we see in this story fraught with "inconsistencies" is a strategy in movement rather than a stable discourse. Interestingly, what is always cast aside in the appropriation of tango for its consumption in an exoticized state (be it by Europeans, Americans, Asians, or by the Argentines themselves) is the body. What is not mentioned is the body as the instability within this signifying system, the body in and as movement, the *bodies* touching, listening, engaging, responding. These bodies are cast aside because they complicate the discourse of tango, because they cannot as easily be located on either the grid of colonialism or imperialism, on the grids of intelligibility of nationalism or exoticization. These bodies are cast aside because they are moving multiplicities. Bodies, when they appear within the discourses of tango mobility, are cast not as conditions of emergence of tango but as reconditionings of the emerged, where touch is conceptualized (if thought of at all) as a static process that can be calculated and disseminated as a stratified chronotope. Ironically, despite tango's exoticization under these premises, there is nothing erotic in this desire-less (touch-less) rendition of tango.

As a politics of touch, tango undermines all theories of coherence, rendering it inexplicable why certain areas of the world become "tangoed" and others less. Tango moves, and through its displacements bodies are instantiated. These bodies are in motion, traversing each other, touching one another, listening or not listening, touching or not touching. This is not an idyllic circumstance. It is a learned desire to be aware, awake, attentive to the other as an-other. It is a desire in movement, a desire to know the spaces our bodies create together, a desire to feel the touch, to share the space of touch, to inaugurate a politics of touch that is always starting over. It is, largely, a badly paid proposition, an endless moving-in-circles, a walk-that-goes-nowhere, an encounter with the night when "those who do serious work" sleep, a silent moment of reciprocity with someone I will

perhaps never meet again. It is therefore not its "usefulness" (in any economic sense of the term) that brings politics to tango. It is touch, a touch that cannot be categorized, classified, organized, defined as anything but the moment-in-passing when I listen(ed) to you.

Multiplicities

The nation-state's governing status as the voice of the political depends on the notion that identity is stable and can be coherently differentiated. What must be undertaken, therefore, alongside the deconstruction of gender and nation in the attempt to locate the political outside the politics of territorial sovereignty, is a deconstruction of identity, whereby "the deconstruction of identity is not the deconstruction of politics; rather, it establishes as political the very terms through which identity is articulated" (Butler 1990: 148). Such a subversion and renunciation of the discourse of identity in gender and national politics—via tango—allows us to begin to envisage a politics of touch that exceeds the bounds of both national identity and the organization of bodies according to gender.

The body can be seen as a challenge to the nation's privileged discourse of identity. Indeed, taking touch as a point of departure, we readily become aware of the fact that even within the close proximity of our skins, no such thing as a stable identity exists: our bodies breathe the outside in, secrete the inside out, imbibing and excreting myriad states of "identity" in movements toward multiplicity. There is no discrete body: the body is never One. This argument in some ways follows alongside the work of Bergson, who demonstrates that there are two types of multiplicity, neither one of them reducible to the One. The first kind of multiplicity is represented by space. This is a "multiplicity of exteriority, of simultaneity, of juxtaposition, of order, of quantitative differentiation, of *difference in degree*; it is a numerical multiplicity, *discontinuous and actual*" (Deleuze 1988: 38). The second kind of multiplicity "is an internal multiplicity of succession, of fusion, or organization, of heterogeneity, of qualitative discrimination, or of *difference in kind*; it is a *virtual and continuous* multiplicity that cannot be reduced to numbers" (1988: 38).

In order for a shift in political thinking that moves from an identity politics to a moving politics of multiplicity (or a politics of touch) to be realized, the nation as stable entity must be dismembered, allowing the captive bodies in its midst to reorganize themselves and to "matter" differently. This can only be undertaken through a renegotiation of the very terms of inclusion and exclusion within the language and imaginary of the nation, whereby the uneasy terrain of the nation is what is at stake. When these normalizations are countered and women no longer choose to remain the epistemological bearers of the national body-politic's political gains, the nation soon reveals itself to be held together only by the threads of pretence.

The fleshy body, understood here as the dancing body or the body-in-movement, forces an implosion of the state apparatus. This raises questions: can the state understand a body that is not, first and foremost, gendered? Can the body be calculated if it *creates* space rather than *taking up* space, if it challenges the very dimensions of its engenderings? It seems to me that the fleshy body is not a body that is approachable within the language of the state apparatus. The fleshy body is irreducibly other to the state, for it carries within its folds the memory of touch as that which challenges the homogeneity of its contours. The fleshy body is the gendering of woman by the state that curtails any possibility of a re-engendering: is not the fleshed body woman *par excellence*, linked, always, to the classical image of femininity, to *mater* and *matrix*, words that carry the weight of reproduction, words that conveniently convey that what matters about the fleshy body is the distinction between form and matter that situates the woman as other to the polis?[3] What if, instead, we were to invite the fleshed body to matter, to form matter? How would we speak of this fleshed body? Where would we speak of fleshiness? How would we dance it? What potential would emerge from and through this fleshy body? These are the questions I pose to gender.

Tango is an interesting example of this notion of gender, for tango invites a clear distinction between genders as well as a potential engendering through movement. Touch is at stake here because it is touch that brings the "genders" together. And yet, might these "genders" potentially be (re)engendered as they move toward one another? The initial contact carries within its sensual morphologies a gendered code that allows me to understand my position not only with respect to you, but, more importantly, with respect to your touch. In the traditional presentation of Argentine tango, the woman is led by the man, the woman following within the leader's codified improvisation to the music. Although the roles are demarcated here, the maxim holds that indeed it does take two to tango, and, as a consequence, the follower's role remains active. But the situation can be reversed as well, and it is here that the gender roles are placed into question, for the engendering of the other that takes place within the dance can escape gendered categorizations, falling instead into the otherwise challenging categories of follower and leader.

What I am trying to signal toward, through this image of leading and following in Argentine tango, is a potential for an engendering of politics that tackles the problematics of gender without needing to draw a firm boundary between established notions of gender. In other words, I would like to speak of engendering as something from which materiality erupts that need not be limited to gender. Engendering can be conceived of as a movement that complicates relations between self and other, but not necessarily through a codification of the "masculine" and the "feminine." In its incarnations as a dance that crosses the boundaries between gender (and it is important to add here that this is still a rare occurrence) I experience in tango the potential for such an engendering that allows my body

to matter differently. This mattering takes place through the openness to the touch of a body I cannot feel without allowing myself to listen, to move alongside, to engage. An other engenders my alterity in movement, an extension to my self that surprises me because of its improvisatory nature, because I am feeling myself not as myself, but through and as the touch of an other.

I do not wish to underplay the violence implicit in this touching encounter with the other with whom, at best, I lose the sense of who is leading and who is following.[4] Perhaps the violence of language, of touch, of movement is necessary to the demarcation between self and other, necessary to the language of politics? Is there not always a potential violence in the miscommunication of two bodies moving together and apart? Perhaps it is better to acknowledge this violent tendency, this violence that marks the space of the reaching-out through which touch asserts itself? Must we not articulate a politics that incorporates the potential of violence within its fleshy body in order to expose and potentially subvert that very same violence as the harbinger of law and order? As Judith Butler writes: "If there is a violence necessary to the language of politics, then the risk of that violation might well be followed by another in which we begin, without ending, without mastering, to own—and yet never fully to own—the exclusions by which we proceed" (1993: 53).

The issue that remains, it seems to me, within this complex identification of the body, touch, movement, violence, writing, is how and where the political fits in to this matrix. The political seems important if not essential to me here because I understand the contact between self and other to occur in an (in)commonality, an in-front-of, that must be theorized as such. In other words, these engenderings become such because they challenge the composition of space and time, a challenge that I understand to be political because it is a reflection on how and why we continue to touch one another, to reach out to each other, to dance together, to disagree, to do violence to one another. Ideally, then, I would like touch to work as a metaphor for a politics that exceeds national demarcations both physical and ideological, a politics that undermines strict notions of identity and territory. Although I worry that this endeavor may call forth its own utopic tendencies, I persist because I think of political articulation as the most challenging way of thinking the schism between self and other imposed by sovereign state policy and I understand the senses as clues as to how the body resists the nation's static "body-politic," engaging instead in moving multiplicities.

A body is not a stable entity. Tango moves. My position vacillates, multiplying itself in directions I cannot foresee. Any body that is regarded in excess of the body-politic is a body that cannot speak politically. At least since Descartes, in philosophy, a sensing body is most often a silent, feminized body in opposition to a male rational mind. But, and here is the question that keeps resurfacing, do not those fleshy bodies excluded from the body-politic have a politics understood in different terms? Might these

bodies not incorporate a sensibility that crosses into the body-politic, that touches coherent bodies, infecting them, marking them, dis-easing them? And, if so, do these (gendered) bodies not re-engender themselves in the challenge to mark the difference between the inside and the outside, between the form and the matter, do they not, in some sense, flesh-out the in-between? The regulation of bodies is not a one-sided operation, and cannot be conceptualized as such if we acknowledge the fact that touch is a reciprocal reaching toward, and if we further accept that any reaching toward is a crossing of a border from gender to gender, from gender to engendering, forming matter, mattering form. Bodies are regulated, certainly, but bodies also regulate, reciprocally, and this is their politics, a politics of touch that always already operates outside and in excess of the national body-politic.

When we consider the fleshy body, we can see its operation as that which creates antagonism within the body-politic. Because the fleshy body gets in the way of the ordering of sovereign politics (the fleshy body challenges all grids of intelligibility within the organization of state authority, operating always in the in-between of stratification and the smooth undocumented space of antagonism), it constantly creates tension both amongst other fleshy bodies and in conjunction with the stratified (illusory) bodies of the nation-state. It is not that the fleshy body always opts against stratification, but rather that its inability to be in the world without touch renders its existence within the body-politic somewhat ephemeral. The reason for this is that in the moment of touching the other (within or across time and space), the fleshy body continuously re-engenders itself, causing a potential fissure in the body-politic, since the body-politic is not organized to understand and incorporate excessive bodies, let alone en-gendered ones. Gender lies at the formation of the body-politic, strictly delimiting the operations of the polis (the space of men) in opposition to the oikos (the women's depoliticized home-space). The fleshy body is difference incorporated, though certainly also a difference that can be disciplined in an ongoing process of territorialization and deterritorialization.

The immigrant (in particular, here, the immigrant who creates and dances the tango) is an example of a fleshy body who reaches across national lines to touch the other (to touch him/herself as other). This fleshy body is prevented from politicizing his/her predicament of exclusion by this post-political humanist stance that imposes onto the figure of the immigrant a narrative that ultimately silences him/her. But can the fleshy body be silenced so easily? Does touch not continue despite the imposition of a narrative of "belonging" from which the immigrant is ultimately excluded? Does touch not engender the immigrant as a reciprocity that puts his or her fleshy body at stake in ways that will always remain defiant to the governing state policy? For, is not the ultimate fallacy of the national body-politic the attempt to place the immigrant into a stable receptacle? In other words, if we consider the immigrant a fleshy body that

is continually re-engendered through touch, through exposure, do we not expose the manner in which the state relies not on a body but on an ideal of a body, an ideal that does not and cannot exist? And, if that is the case, must we not allow for the fact that the state narrative is never completely capable of creating a narrative for the immigrant since "the immigrant" per say as fully composed being, does not exist? And couldn't we say the same for the explicitly gendered, raced, aged body?

Touch is our link to the skin. Touch engenders the world, inviting us to reach out and feel our surroundings and the bodies with which our worlds are composed. But touch, in and of itself, does not make a gender or race distinction. For that, there must be an intermediate power. How does this transition from touch to engendering to gender take place? What is excluded or precluded in this systematized link between skin and gendered touch? How does touch operate in the (gendered) construction of the political? Does the shift from engendering through touch to engendering gender as a by-product of the governing body-politic not incapacitate touch, rendering it incapable of sustaining itself outside the very particular dichotomy of inside/outside to which sovereign politics is so thoroughly indebted? Or might touch still be something that, given the broad sensitivity and receptiveness of the skin, challenges the political status-quo? What if we were, then, to take a step back and to challenge both gender and touch to exceed the body-politics to which they may have assigned themselves, thereby exposing the politics both of gender and of touch, one and the other, one through the other?

I place touch at the forefront to prevent myself from falling into the trap of fixing bodies as simple objects of thought. As Judith Butler writes, "this moving beyond their own boundaries, a movement of boundary itself, [is] quite central to what bodies 'are'" (1993: ix). For, gender is only part of what decides the subject, and cultural determinism does have a tendency to be the main tool in helping us understand the constitutive status of gender (and body) norms. What Butler does in *Bodies that Matter* is place construction as the constitutive element of the performativity of gendered bodies. She asks how such constraints "not only produce the domain of intelligible bodies, but produce as well a domain of unthinkable, abject and unlivable bodies?" (1993: xi). Butler's important argument concerns the manner in which the materiality of sex is forcibly produced. She wants to know how bodies are materialized as "sexed," and how and why certain bodies come to matter. Sex is part of a regulative practice that produces the bodies it governs. Sex's materialization takes place (of fails to) through highly regulated practices. As Butler writes, "sex is an ideal construct which is forcibly materialized through time" (1993: 1).

Certainly, one of the shortcomings of touch as a metaphor to a changing notion of politics is that we *can* touch one another in view of the norms by which we identify one another as different bodies—raced, gendered, and so on. Tango is an interesting example of this. Most of the time, within tango, a man leads a woman onto the dance floor. The man offers his body

and the woman enters into the embrace, the closeness often determined by the limits of her desires for intimacy. In this gendered moment, she knows herself as the woman, him as the man. If they are dancing in close embrace, the touching surface between the man and the woman extends from the head all the way to the upper or mid-chest, sometimes also continuing along the thighs. Within this closeness a dance is negotiated that is initiated by the leader and responded to by the follower. But the exchange is far more reciprocal than it appears, for the leader must also respond to the follower. Since the dance is always improvised, leader and follower must not only dance together but listen intently to each other's bodies. Touch operates here as the medium of communication, a medium that operates differently than the exchange of words. If this touch is indeed approached in a reciprocal manner, chances are the couple will dance beautifully together. If not, it is likely that they will have difficulty understanding one another.

This exchange of touch in tango can also cross gender, which makes it all the more interesting. In the early years of tango, for instance, men were taught to dance with one another before they were given the opportunity to dance with a woman. Today, especially in Northern Europe, more and more women lead other women (or men) and it is not unusual to see two men dancing together. In this kind of tango particularly, I would suggest that a political communication through touch takes place that often crosses gender, culture, and race. It is interesting to see the manner in which bodies completely foreign to one another manage, through touch, to speak so intimately to one another across cultures, nations, political systems, and genders. Of course, this is not always the case, for tango can be as regulated as any other normative discourse. But tango does demonstrate how normative discourses can be subverted, in this case through a very special kind of reciprocity enacted through touch.

I am not saying that touch is emancipative per se. What I am saying is that there is no politics without touch, and if we acknowledge a politics of touch within our understanding of the political, we may come closer to appreciating how the senses have been excribed from discussions of how bodies relate to one another. The easy way to do this has been to speak of materiality as the sexing of bodies. A more challenging enterprise, it seems to me, would be to respond to the body as that which is not always already sexed, or always already engendered, but as that which is always already receptive to the touch of the other, and to touching the other. This preliminary stance toward the other ensures a different theoretical stance, for it suggests that we know the other first through the other's skin, and that this knowing is profoundly reciprocal. How we characterize the other after this initial touching is another matter, and it certainly would not be exaggerated to say that in most cases what we opt for is an exchange of power that acts as the invisible support of its own apparatus of distinction and selection.

Touch is both normative and subversive. Touch both ontologizes and transgresses the body, relegating it to the body-politic (in the selection of

the one I touch) and rendering it in excess of it (by exposing that/my body's flesh). The body is haunted by touch, haunted by the impossible logic of spectrality, a spectrality that forever prevents/differs/displaces the closure of the ontological edifice. Touch is the ghost that reaches out to know the body but feels his or her own body instead. Touch is that which invariably, unconditionally, infinitely exposes my flesh to myself. Touch is that which makes me know the other as myself. Touch is that post-political moment when I know that there is no real boundary between self and other. A politics of touch is post-political in the sense that it acknowledges that politics is haunted, that bodies are spooked, that flesh is never quite as dense as it seems.

Politics is haunted by narratives of identity. These narratives undergird the nation's normalization of the connection between identity and territory. Within the nation-state, identity functions as the elocution of what it means to be homed.[5] Tango, located as a post-political movement of multiplicity, can resist the normalization of identity. Indeed, what makes tango interesting in this context is that it feeds the nation's nationalist ego *and* challenges it. Tango is not alone in acting as both a narrative and a counter-narrative of the nation. The vocabularies of belonging, of home, of identity are deeply entrenched in our ways of understanding and locating ourselves in space and time. And yet we resist them, we resist our stabilizing narratives of identity and territory, we resist the normalizing claims we make about our sovereign subjectivities. We resist the notion that we are all the same.

Approaches to a discourse of identity that refuse to narrate this difference do not speak to the complexities of multiplicity. Multiplicity is never one, it is always several. Although this seems obvious, an overwhelming desire often overtakes us to claim this or that multiplicity as our own. Tango resists this narrative. Tango moves. And it is this movement that is at stake in a rearticulation of identity as multiplicity. All bodies move, and all identities are mulitiplicitous. Perhaps we already know this. And yet, we continue to map our bodies as still-lives, embedded in narratives of gender, race, class, nation. There is no gender. There is an engendering practice that allows me to identify with my body in movement. This is tango as I narrate it through my dancing body in movement. Tango does not seek to rearticulate. Tango moves. And like all multiplicities in movement, tango at once embeds itself into a quest for identity and resists it. Yet, despite all its attempts to situate itself within a discourse of (Argentine) national identity, tango continues to move. This is why tango is an apt metaphor for the moving multiplicities that we all are, the moving multiplicities that are our bodies, our politics of touch reaching toward and seeking the other.

Tango here functions as a nationalist/colonialist trope as well as a transnational movement of desire that operates through identifications of multiplicity. On the one hand, tango symbolizes always a certain exoticization of the other, brought to bear through external imperial interventions and claims to national identity. On the other hand, tango performs the

very impossibility of holding the body still long enough to capture self and other as stable identities. It is this tension that makes tango a palpable, tangible, and tactile example of the impossibility of holding the nation's conflation of identity and territory within its sovereign dominion. As I mentioned earlier, tango as an improvised encounter is a dangerous example of the unclassifiable challenges of improvisation. In order for tango to subscribe to narratives of national identity, tango must be cornered into a discourse that stills its bodies-in-motion. Yet, gridlocking tango never actually succeeds, though it does leave some of us symbolically outside its mechanisms of exoticized unpredictability. My body is not in movement—in multiplicity—when I still think I can predict my steps.

Notes

1. Within Argentinean lore, the locus of "original" theses concerning tango comprise Vincente Rossi's historical legend (Casas de Negros 1926), Jorge Luis Borges's mythology (El Idioma de los Argentinos 1928), Carlos Vega's systematic genealogy (Danzas y Canciones Argentines. Teorias e Investigaciones—Un Ensayo Sobre el Tango 1936) and Hector and Luis Bates's social history (La Historia del Tango 1936).
2. "Instead of difference being understood as part of the process by which power is constituted, it is taken as a separate sociological fact, as the reflection of some enduring or preexisting 'culture.' [. . .] How can our politics expose this process instead of simply appealing to preexisting identity groups?" (Scott 1998: 27).
3. Irigaray argues that within philosophy, matter remains the site at which the feminine is excluded: "The economy that claims to include the feminine as the subordinate term in a binary opposition of masculine/feminine excludes the feminine, produces the feminine as that which must be excluded for that economy to operate" (in Butler 1993: 36). Within the form/matter opposition, the feminine remains that which is ship-wrecked, property-less, improper since "woman" is *a priori* excluded from the discourse of metaphysics. As Irigaray writes: "If she takes on a proper name, even the proper name of 'woman' in the singular, that can only be a kind of radical mime that seeks to jar the term from its ontological presuppositions" (in Butler 1993: 38).

   Irigaray's argument is that the exclusion of the feminine from the discourse of metaphysics takes place in and through the formulation of matter. Matter (the feminine) that cannot be contained within the form/matter distinction operates like Derrida's notion of the supplement, as a result of which "woman" is redoubled, at once as a pole in a binary opposition and that that which exceeds the binary coupling as a figure for its nonsystematizability. Irigaray argues that the exclusion that is underwritten within the form/matter binary is in fact the differentiating relation between masculine and feminine, where the masculine occupies both terms of the binary opposition and the feminine remains unintelligible. The disavowed remnant of the feminine then serves as the inscriptional space of the phallus, the specular surface on which the masculine is reflected. Certainly, as Irigaray

suggests, the feminine then exceeds this figuration, yet what remains dangerous to the category of "woman" is the fact that this excess remains within a sphere of unthematizability that itself constitutes and is constituted by the feminine.

4. For more on violence and touch, see Erin Manning "Erring Toward the Other: Violence and Touch," in *Transnational Movements of Desire and a Politics of Touch* (forthcoming).
5. For more on that the link between home, identity and the nation, see Erin Manning, *Ephemeral Territories: Representing Nation, Home and Identity in Canada* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2003).

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Chapter 12

Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity: Human Rights, Zimbabwe's "Land Crisis" and South Africa's "Quiet Diplomacy"[1]

J. Zoë Wilson and David Black

The South African government's foreign policy stance toward Zimbabwe's land redistribution crisis, and the wider political crisis of which it is a pivotal element, is often portrayed as confused, contradictory, and marked by failure ("Speak Out" 2003)—particularly in light of South Africa's foundational commitment to make human rights a central "pillar" of its post-apartheid foreign policy. In this essay we illustrate the interpretive purchase of viewing the African National Congress's (ANC) ambivalence and preference for "quiet diplomacy" through a lens that admits a complex of historically contingent identities co-extant in the "rainbow nation."

This chapter proceeds in five parts, with the emphasis on the methodology we used to get from inductive observations to plausible limited causality. First, we explore the conflicting imperatives invoked by South Africa's unique position in the region, and which are placed into stark relief by the Zimbabwe crisis. Second, we examine the potential of using the identity concept to delineate the political complexes that bear on the international behavior of nation-states.[2]

Third, we illustrate why we suspected that the ANC's foreign policy behavior, in this case, is partially attributable to a complex of domestic factors that correspond to the recognition that Zimbabwe's "land redistribution" program was a potential lightning rod for currents of political electricity that threaten to ignite smoldering divisions and disillusionments, and ultimately lay bare the cracks and fissures upon which the "rainbow nation" is built. To illustrate the purchase of this explanation, we use the identity lens to show that the "new" South Africa is both partially

constituted and disarticulated by currents of historically contingent, trans- and subnational senses of community, solidarity, sympathy, enmity, and distance that are not well illuminated by rational actor models of state behavior. Further, the issues upon which the tenuous solidarity of the "rainbow nation" threatens to fracture are substantively congruent with the symbolic/sensationalist dimensions (land/color) of the Zimbabwean problematic as well as its underlying material processes (elite capture/corruption).

Fourth, we look to the ANC government's foreign policy behavior for signs that our hypothesis and theoretical approach are "on track," and conclude that this behavior is tortured and self-contradictory in ways that suggest a complex negotiation between the volatile and fragmented constituents of the domestic political landscape. Thus, the evidence does not falsify our hypothesis.

We conclude by briefly reflecting upon our methodological approach and its utility for understanding foreign policy behavior, in this case and more broadly.

Rights and Region in South African Foreign Policy

Human rights and regional social integration have emerged as key themes in South African foreign policy since the start of the transition from apartheid in the early 1990s. Yet both themes, and the identities associated with them, have been fraught with ambiguities and contradictions. In key respects they remain aspirations rather than deeply embedded social "realities." Thus, to study them is to witness processes of social construction in progress.

South Africa's embrace of a human rights culture and identity has been both intense and relatively tenuous, for obvious historical and structural reasons. Jeremy Sarkin (1998: 628) has asserted, principally with respect to the domestic context that:

> A human rights culture could not develop in apartheid South Africa. The system bred intolerance, a culture of violence, and a lack of respect for life and, indeed, rights in general. After the fall of apartheid there was therefore an urgent need to help create and foster a human rights culture and to demonstrate the value of, and need for, human rights.

Similarly, a preoccupation with human rights in foreign policy was entirely predictable given the fact that South Africa's transition was at least partly a product of the most celebrated and sustained transnational human rights campaign of the post–World War II era (Mandela 1993: 87–88; Black 1999). Moreover, it was consistent with the urgent efforts to foster a human rights culture domestically. So it was that in the most important foreign policy statements of the immediate pre- and post-transition years, human rights received pride of place, as exemplified in Nelson Mandela's oft-cited assertion that "Human rights will be the light that guides our foreign affairs" (Mandela 1993: 88).

Despite a retreat from the more expansive expressions of this priority toward the end of the 1990s and subsequently, the promotion of human rights has continued to be presented as a core commitment of the new South Africa. The unsettled questions are how this commitment to rights will be manifested, and what values and principles will be emphasized.

Sharing pride of place among the pillars of South Africa's new foreign policy was a new engagement with (Southern) Africa. Mandela wrote that "South Africa cannot escape its African destiny," and that "Southern Africa commands a special priority in our foreign policy. We are inextricably part of southern Africa and our destiny is linked to that of a region, which is much more than a mere geographical concept" (1993: 89, 90). Yet South Africa's attempts to identify with its region and continent have been greatly complicated by its history of institutionalized racism, regional, economic, and political domination, and ruthless destabilization of key neighboring states during apartheid's protracted death throes in the 1980s. As Vale and Maseko note, "South Africa's leadership of Africa is . . . condemned by its unhappy past" (1998: 283). Moreover, even though the region as a whole has benefited from the end of apartheid and the emergence of a relatively benign, cooperative, and internationally legitimate South African government, the regional economic dominance of South African interests has grown considerably since 1994.[3] Further, South Africa's fragile rights culture has come under pressure from linked concerns with crime and unauthorized migration ("illegal aliens").

Paradoxically, the country's remarkable negotiated transition has generated wariness of the "new" South Africa among its neighbors, insofar as this pacted outcome left white economic and social privilege largely untouched. The damaging suspicion lingers, therefore, that South Africa remains "a white country with a black President" (to quote a former Nigerian Information Minister from the Abacha era), and an agent of Western interests in Africa (Schoeman 2000: 53; Hamill and Lee 2001: 49–50). This residual identity crisis (Western outpost and continental rogue elephant versus exemplar and champion of rights, freedom and equality) helps to explain the rising salience of an international ethics of continental solidarity in the post-Mandela era, and indeed President Thabo Mbeki's trademark African Renaissance rhetoric.

In the case of Zimbabwe, the imperative of regional social integration seems to have prevailed over, or at least effectively muted, the rights imperative in South African foreign policy, as explained in the fourth section. The government's many critics, both inside South Africa and beyond the continent, have found this outcome puzzling. Certainly, given South Africa's preponderance of material "power resources" within the region, and the various ways its "national interest" could be interpreted, neither rational choice nor structuralist explanations for its behavior appear convincing or sufficient. This led us to explore the purchase of the concept of identity, as outlined in the remainder of this chapter.

The Concept of Identity

John Ruggie's (1998) popular distinction between American *hegemony* and *American* hegemony illuminates an under-explored aspect of foreign policy long hidden by realist "conventional wisdom." In his critique of Waltz' billiard ball model of the international realm, Ruggie argues that ignoring the domestic and transnational relations that bear upon state behavior results, at best, in partial pictures, and at worst, in erroneous depictions of complex phenomena (cf. Griffiths 1999: 195). The foreign policy behavior of a nation-state, Ruggie argues, depends not only upon the distribution of power and resources it can mobilize toward its own survival but also, crucially, upon the historically contingent memories, values, structures, and legacies its political elite and citizens draw upon to make sense of the world and their place within it—and increasingly even the opinions and values of "foreigners" (i.e. transnational advocacy organizations, the Security Council, etc.)

The disarticulation of metanarratives about states and their "interests"[4] brings with it pressures to explain multiple and difficult-to-measure causes for nation-state behavior. Upon the decay of analyses premised on "rational-actor-states," we now find a willingness to engage with the processes interwoven throughout various "levels of analysis" and within which a multiplicity of interests and rationalities, new hybridities and the ever-presence of contradiction operate. As Ruggie's distinction suggests, however, the concept of identity can be an important bridge over some of the explanatory cracks left by the fracturing of rational actor models.

While Stuart Hall (1992: 274) has cautioned that the concept of identity remains "provisional and open to contestation," "too complex, too underdeveloped, and too little understood in contemporary social science to be definitively tested . . . ," below we illustrate how and why it nevertheless can be an important lens though which to understand the multiplicity of factors that bear on nation-state behavior, and the outcomes that flow from them. Specifically, the concept of identity helps to discharge and delineate the processes of social cohesion and fragmentation, loyalties, and antagonisms, expectation and shared norms, conceptions of self and otherness, and so on (Anderson 1991; Smith 1991) that shape and constrain the international behavior of *modern* nation-states (cf. Pierson 1996).

The domestic political landscape—which at least partly determines a nation's global face—is fractured by multiple, often competing and disjointed identities (Hall 1992: 280), including the sublimation of nationalistic identifications to various shifting and/or emerging identities formed around sub- and transnational issues such as environmental protection, human rights, basic amenities, land, trade, labor, and migration (cf. Desai 2002 [on South Africa]; Lipschutz 2000; van Creveld 1999;), or personal attributes such as gender, sexual orientation, language, religion, ethnicity, diasporic ties, and so on (cf. du Toit 2001: 142–146 on South Africa). Further, many people adopt more than one identity, even more than one dominant identity, any one of which may take precedence depending on the circumstances.

In this complex environment, governments attempt to "narrate the nation" (Hall 1992: 292) into existence while negotiating contending visions embodied by difference. When successful, "the state" becomes or remains a "nation"; when unsuccessful the *natural* or conventional legitimacy of the nation-state becomes an intrinsically ambiguous and controversial boundary. Seen in this light, any given foreign policy stance is not simply a strategy for state survival or interest promotion, but also part of a struggle to direct the public imagination about community (cf. Anderson 1991); the more vivid the issue in the domestic or global imagination, the higher the stakes.

We contend, then, that there exists a complex and dialectical dimension to foreign policy that projects national interests out into the international scene while also struggling to constitute and remain within the boundaries of who (at least the most powerful[5] or numerous) citizens of that state believe they are, and where they are going.

Methodologically, to get a sense of the various positions in play, it is necessary to first familiarize oneself with history, legal, and constitutional parameters, the myths and symbols of nationhood and the sources of the sense(s) of patriotism. This should be tempered with information about the human rights situation and the condition of institutions for deliberative democracy, such as the media civil society organizations, and so on. This will provide the analyst with a sense of the extent to which foreign policy reflects the interests and identities of a narrow political elite, thick negotiation characteristic of highly complex and diverse political systems, or something in the middle—as well as the issues that impress themselves upon the public imaginary. It will also provide some sense of the events, myths, symbols, values, and sense of destiny that not only constitute the nation, but also make it appear inevitable, commonsensical, even preordained—or the lines upon which this image of coherence fractures. Survey and census data can also be an important source for locating cohesions and fractures in popular sentiment.

At this point, the analyst should have enough information to both understand how a particular foreign policy issue might resonate across currents of political sensitivity, and to hypothesize what a foreign policy designed, at least in part, to accomplish domestic identity formation or preservation objectives would look like.

For example, as we illustrate here, in the South African case complex currents of uncertainty, disillusionment, solidarity, and hope crosscut (to uneven effect) the white economic elite, the black political (and struggle era) elite, the emerging bourgeoisie, the "poors" (cf. Desai 2002) and landless peoples, and so on, in ways that make the Zimbabwean land question and how to deal with the increasingly rights-abusive Mugabe regime a particularly volatile issue.

Further, this volatility was and is likely to combine with, and fuel flare-ups of, domestic community frustration, *inter alia*, ultimately *causing* the ANC to opt for "quiet diplomacy" as a way to sublimate an issue that promises high risks, but few returns.

In the following section, we illustrate some of the information[6] we used to generate a hypothesis about the potentialities the Zimbabwean crisis suspended over the ANC regime, and a contingent hypothesis that these potentialities would ultimately overwhelm pressure from Britain, the United States, and Australia among others to take a firmer stand.[7]

Mapping Political Difference in South Africa

An Uneasy Transition

Perhaps most salient to the discussion here is that the ANC, which emerged as South Africa's dominant political party in the transitional election of 1994, promised to listen to and heed the "will of the people." The Apartheid system that this election formally ended comprised political, geographical, and economic apartheids (cf. van Niekerk 2001: 34), and relied upon a fierce ideology guaranteed by a potent coercive state security apparatus. "It was a military-oriented rule and as such, it effectively eliminated all channels for negotiation with person or groups" (van der Waldt 2001: 153). All aspects of life, from education to recreation, were subject to state control and regulated by a plethora of Acts and Laws, robustly enforced. In 1989 the National Security Management System, activated in the 1980s to implement *stability* and *order*, was largely dismantled. In 1996, the constitutional democracy of South Africa was officially born—two years after the first universal franchise elections in the country's history.

The promise of democracy has been unequally realized, however; redress and opportunity have not kept pace with political freedom, and many find that little has changed, while new uncertainties lurk (cf. Desai 2002). In 1995–96, surveys (cf. du Toit 2001: 149) indicated that South Africans had significant confidence in law and order institutions, particularly the police, government, parliament, and the legal system. By 1999 however, confidence levels in public institutions had fallen significantly, giving way to "widespread skepticism about government capacities." Similarly, the most recent Markinor survey suggested that "the general trend is one of creeping disillusionment—nevertheless peppered with hope."[8]

Much of this waning confidence has been attributed, on the one hand, to the failure to significantly bridge the gap between the rich and the poor, and on the other, to rising levels of crime. While the link between persistent poverties, social dislocation, the culture of violence sown by apartheid, and the prevalence of crime—especially among male youths (cf. ibid.)—is not well understood, many emphasize that the post-settlement strategies and decisions pursued by the ANC have been ineffectual at best, and have exacerbated this destructive complex at worst (cf. Bond 2001).

All of this echoes the trajectory of Zimbabwe's transition, as Ruth Weiss (1994: 173) notes: "The rich–poor gap was one of the issues which the ZANU (PF) government attempted to bridge. By 1993, it had not succeeded."

The "New" Political Elite

The ANC has come under attack for multiple reasons (and from multiple directions), which appear and fade from the media lens with some regularity. Its quick retreat from the social welfare-oriented Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) and its replacement with the more politically and economically conservative Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy has contributed to lingering suspicions that the party has abandoned (or at least taken for granted) its core constituency among the poor, black majority and sought instead to foster wealth generating opportunities for its own members. This perception is heightened by a series of corruption and misappropriation of funds allegations (notably associated with the "Arms Deal"—cf. Black 2003a), accompanied by sensationalist accounts of mansions, Mercedes, and other luxury items accruing to the new elite.

One recent IDASA survey found that "as early as 1995 already almost one quarter of all respondents believed that the new government was equally corrupt as the old one, with another 41 per cent believing the new one to be *more* corrupt" [emphasis in original] (du Toit 2001: 149–150).

Recently, the ANC has been mired in controversy over its newly adopted position that its core values ought to be determined by its "core" members, leading to the marginalization of dissenting voices within the party and a barrage of criticism that it has been captured by a narrow elite seeking to consolidate and harden its position of power and privilege by fudging the line between the ANC's global legitimacy and the interests of an increasingly "out of touch" political aristocracy.

Fear and skepticism about South Africa's "new" political elite emanate from all sides. One the one hand, the *myth of growth* to which it has become wedded is characterized as a "cynical piece of myth making, with deliberate and calculated deception designed to soothe 'the poors,' while allowing the new African elite to enrich themselves economically and entrench themselves politically." On the other hand, the African Renaissance is depicted as serving "the interest of this new elite in instrumental ways by presenting that rationale for the Africanisation of the public service and the justification for the administrative cleansing of all non-African minorities from the state bureaucracies" (du Toit 2001: 170).

Correspondingly, the ANC—the *de facto* ruling party—walks a tightrope of high expectations but low confidence among the former victims of apartheid, and low levels of overall optimism among the minority "population groups" whose collective identities were institutionalized under apartheid: Asians (7 percent), Coloureds (23 percent), and Whites (4 percent) (see ibid.: 148).

Much of the alleged elitism within the ANC echoes the Zimbabwean transition to independence in the early 1980s, as Ruth Weiss

(1994: 143) documents:

> During the transitional era leaders could still walk through the streets largely unrecognised. Once in office, that changed. Official cars and bodyguards became the norm, creating new barriers between the rulers and the ruled. Weekend garden parties, sumptuous weddings and lavish funerals became as much a mark of status as the BMW or Mercedes cars.

Both the ANC and Zimbabwe's ZANU (PF), however, have held tenaciously to their "struggle" identities. The Zimbabwean regime, for example, has emphasized the link between land reform and the *incomplete* transition from colonialism and white rule, and the moral obligation remaining for substantive structural redress. Thus, the current land redistribution process has been characterized by the government as the *Third Chimurenga*—or final phase of the liberation struggle, in which the land is returned to the people (Booysen 2002: 5)—despite well-founded allegations that the process has handsomely rewarded the ZANU elite, who have used strong arm tactics to quash growing popular disillusionment.

Similarly, the ANC has steadfastly pursued the identity of "paragon of non-racialism and egalitarianism" (Desai 2002: 121), maintaining that its goals remain those it espoused during the long years of struggle—even if the means have had to be tempered to suit the harsh economic *realities* associated with globalization. Critics argue, however, that the ANC's radical vision has been obscured as its members have become blinded by the spoils that control over the state apparatus offers. In this context, the "black economic empowerment" now emphasized by the government represents a sharply truncated vision of redistribution, benefiting a privileged fraction of black South Africans.

The "Old" Economic Elite

Apartheid South Africa's tendency to overpromote white interests resulted in a cross-sectoral dominance of white economic privilege (cf. Davenport and Saunders 2000). And as noted earlier, while the country experienced a remarkable negotiated political transition, this pacted outcome meant that white socioeconomic privilege was largely undiminished.

This situation has given emotional resonance to the charge, noted earlier, that post-apartheid South Africa remains "a white country with a black President", and a bulwark of white, Western interests on the continent. Again we find echoes of the early years of the Mugabe regime, as Weiss (1994: 144) notes: "Mugabe's cautious economic policies were based on fears of destroying what was a highly diversified economy and the acceptance that this was capitalist and white dominated."

The most controversial sector in terms of South Africa's foreign policy toward Zimbabwe has been land. Dealing with "the land question" is profoundly complicated by South Africa's own uneven progress in social welfare improvements and rising popular cynicism, fueled by political controversies, allegations of corruption and numerous exposés of, ostensibly, social welfare policies with negligible benefits for impoverished Blacks. For example, a recent study conducted by the Wits University Education Policy Unit found that "school funding policies that are supposed to redress apartheid era inequities serve to privilege historically advantaged schools."[9]

Nevertheless, despite the diverse manifestations of economic inequality, the land issue remains a particularly salient lightning rod for persistent spatial legacies that continue to reproduce race correspondent divisions, activities and enclaves, and a serious issue in its own right.

The history of land policies in South Africa is unambiguously and grossly unjust, defined largely by "spoon-fed" white interests (cf. Davenport and Saunders 2000: 604) coupled with the effective suppression of African entrepreneurship, and various forms of marginalization and indenture, well documented in the historical record. The issue of "squatting," as an important theme within the land question, is particularly fraught with historical animosities, with white landowners and landless blacks sharing a long history of clashes "mediated" in the past by the partisan apartheid state, but now unhappily inherited by the ANC.

Not surprisingly, reaction among South Africans to Zimbabwe's land crisis has been mixed. Freeman (2001: 14), for example, cites an April 2000 poll showing that 54 percent of South Africans approved of the occupation of white-owned farms in Zimbabwe. Just as important, however, is that Zimbabwean "war veterans"[10] example has not been lost on landless South African peasants, who, in increasing numbers, can be found "squatting" on fallow white lands. Nor is their example lost on South Africa's privileged white minority, many of whom live in fear of a future in which their social and economic advantages, like those of white Zimbabwean farmers, will come under attack.

A major problem, of course, is that the primary target of the Zimbabwean "land invaders" has been the 4,500 white-owned commercial farms—the structural legacy of a highly coercive and deeply unjust white settler state, subsequently "legitimized" through colonial-era legislation buttressed by racialist ideology. This powerfully echoes South Africa's own past . . . and possible present.

Despite the political transition, South Africa remains the most unequal society in Africa, with no other African country *besides Zimbabwe* even coming close (Rumney 2001: 15). The Zimbabwean issue, and the land question at its core, thus divide South Africans, principally along racial lines, and constitute a serious challenge to the thin veneer of a common "rainbow" identity. The "land question" is not unique in this regard however.

Heterogeneity and Otherness

As Pierre du Toit argues (2001: 142–146), apartheid imposed identities. The apartheid state and its intellectual allies expended no small measure of energy "probing the 'true' identities of the various South African socio-cultural formations," and no small amount of resources forcing differences and divisions into existence and institutionalizing their future. In response, the "new" South Africa has emphasized unity and multiculturalism under the rubric of the "rainbow nation."

As du Toit argues, however, statistics suggest that neither the victims nor the beneficiaries of apartheid straightforwardly adopted the now-benign South African identity come 1994. Rather, surveys indicate that "[o]nly 17.3 percent of respondents identified themselves first and foremost as 'South African' . . . [while] [o]nly 13.5 per cent of the Black/African respondents saw themselves as South Africans first, most of them preferring racial or cultural markers" (142–143). These same surveys indicated that high levels of "social distance" continued to characterize relationships between various cultural, ethnic, and racial groups—a measure often correlated to intolerance and violence (cf. Black 1998). "[C]ultural criteria, intertwined with race" appeared to be the basis for social distance and/or closeness, while membership in organizations such as trade unions did not correlate significantly with social sympathies (du Toit 2001: 143).

Age and gender also correlate to growing fissures and fragmentation. Desai (2002: 59), for example, documents that 80 percent of youth surveyed:

> indicated that they have no respect for adults anymore. Gone are the days when any older person was an "uncle" whom one would greet politely. Adults, particularly men, according to them, are a big disappointment. They are drinkers, fools, abusers, cheats. The police aren't to be trusted, politicians sell out, teachers are "in it for the money," and preachers care more about the collection plate than the flock.

Thus, South African society is not only a multicultural tapestry, but one liberally threaded with political competition, security vacuums, prisoner's dilemmas, and long-standing mistrust and animosities. The dangers inherent in high levels of social distance are exacerbated by high levels of crime and the consequent rise in self-help behavior such as vigilantism, petty warlordism, and "turf" conflicts (cf. ibid.: 145–150), and the rise of a massive private security industry and processes of "enclosure" in better off suburbs.

A number of analysts have hypothesized that a "brittle peace" is held together by thin wafers of nationalisms weakly bound together by promises and myths, which to date have proved a "powerful sedative to the poor, making them amenable to current deprivation and tolerant to the fact that gratification of material needs have to be deferred" (cf. ibid.: 157). Others have documented that animosities sown during apartheid run

deeper still, and that the fault lines of the apartheid state still tremble (cf. Desai 2002).

In many respects South Africa has a more heterogeneous social and political landscape than Zimbabwe, which may ultimately foster tolerance or alternatively precipitate "balkanization." In the present, however, it shares with Zimbabwe a likelihood that the transition toward greater social closeness will be incomplete, with social frictions persisting for years, even decades to come (cf. Weiss 1994: 92–101).

In sum

The number of pressures and divisions that characterize the complex underbelly of South African citizenship suggest to us that the "new" South Africa is both partially constituted and disarticulated by currents of historically contingent, trans- and subnational senses of community, solidarity, sympathy, enmity, and distance. Further, a perhaps superficial, but nevertheless substantive similarity between the legacies of racist settler colonialism and elite capture of the postcolonial state in Zimbabwe and South Africa were likely to be seen as points with a high level of potential to reopen old and new wounds—to uneven effect for the ANC.

For example, criticism that the "ANC's economic policies . . . but for a small crony elite, actually entrench white control of wealth and (have) deepened Black misery" (Desai 2002: cf. Bond 2001) is now widespread, and increasingly accompanied by community resistance in response to the perception of a renege on pre-1996 promises. Communities are adopting antiapartheid tactics in order to wrest effective political control away from public officials, while paradoxically, the social fabric continues to fray as a result of persistent, grinding poverty (Desai 2002). At the same time, the white-owned media has been monitoring the ANC response to these challenges with increasing alarm, looking for signs that the pacted agreement that left economic privileges intact may disintegrate.

We hypothesized that this complex amalgam of uncertainty and disillusionment would, *inter alia*, ultimately *cause* the ANC to opt for "quiet diplomacy" as a way of sublimating an issue that promised high risks but few returns. Statements, like the following made by South African President, Thabo Mbeki added to this conviction:

> The particular focus on Zimbabwe—that the West has suggested that the worst crisis in the world is Zimbabwe, I am saying it doesn't help us to solve the problems of Zimbabwe . . . It doesn't help to pretend that this is the most grievous problem in the world—forget all else. Because it suggests that particular agendas are being pursued here. And we are being dragooned to play; to come and fulfill and implement other people's agendas. ("Mbeki on the State of the Nation" 2002: 15)

In the following section, we look to the ANC's foreign policy behavior for signs that our hypothesis and theoretical approach is "on track," and

conclude that its foreign policy toward Zimbabwe in particular is tortured and self-contradictory in ways that suggest a complex negotiation between a number of contending constituencies and political currents. Thus, we find that this foreign policy supports our hypothesis attributing limited causality to historical contingency and a multiplicity of domestic correlates.

Foreign Policy

As the euphoria of South Africa's "negotiated revolution" gave way to the sobering realities of transition at home and regional reentry, the ANC tempered its active foreign policy agenda, and in particular its more idealistic strain. In this context, it effected a partial retreat from the role of regional human rights advocate under cover of multilateralism (Black 2001; Maluwa 2000).[11]

By May 1999, in a speech to the South African Institute of International Affairs, then Director-General of Foreign Affairs Jackie Selebi was giving pride of place to wealth creation and security as the country's key foreign policy priorities. Regarding "human rights, democracy, good governance and transparency," he argued: "South Africa has a proud track record in this field. However, the past five years have . . . taught us that it is in this area more than any other that the wrong tactics and strategies can undermine the goals that you set yourselves" (May 1999).

Nevertheless, Zimbabwe typifies a "tough case," in which evasion is not an option. South Africa cannot but engage with events in neighboring Zimbabwe, notably because the latter's instability directly threatens South Africa's own prospects for social cohesion and economic recovery, not least by shaking the confidence of potential tourists and investors. Indeed, Zimbabwe's deepening troubles have been directly linked by the South African Reserve Bank to fluctuations in, and the overall decline of, the value of South Africa's currency, the Rand (International Crisis Group 2002: 9).[12] Further, the flow of Zimbabweans across the South African border is reinforcing perceptions of threat and scarcity—linked in the popular mind to crime—and raising the specter of an acceleration of xenophobic incidents.

Just as important, however, is that for reasons discussed earlier, the Zimbabwe issue (and the "land question" within it) resonates with both landless and impoverished black South Africans, and their privileged but insecure white compatriots, in potent and potentially explosive ways. For this reason, the Zimbabwean "question" commands an extraordinary and arguably disproportionate share of media attention and political energy, particularly in light of humanitarian catastrophes of greater magnitude elsewhere in the region.

As noted in the second section moreover, this is an issue on which the South African government *should* have substantial leverage, and therefore foreign policy options—certainly from the perspective of rational-actor

assumptions and approaches. Zimbabwe is South Africa's largest African trading partner, and the latter enjoys a consistently large trade surplus of close to 5 : 1. More to the point, Zimbabwe is crucially dependent on South African suppliers for key commodities. Most strikingly, the parastatal Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority is heavily reliant for power supplies on the South African parastatal, Eskom, to which it has fallen heavily in arrears (Makgohlo 2001: 58–59).

In extremis, the South African military, while significantly diminished from the height of its power in the late apartheid years, remains the most potent in the Southern African region by a considerable distance. Finally, the "new" South Africa clearly enjoys a degree of global stature unrivalled in its region and, arguably, its continent. What has it made of these apparent assets?

South Africa's Foreign Policy Toward Zimbabwe

In this context, the South African government has repeatedly opted for "quiet diplomacy," first trying to encourage a plausible democratic electoral exercise in the June 2000 Parliamentary elections, and subsequently directing its efforts toward ensuring that the impending land redistribution conformed with the "rule of law"—while being careful not to criticize the radical precepts underpinning the redistribution program more generally. Similarly, in response to the deeply flawed and highly coercive March 2002 Presidential elections that returned Robert Mugabe to power, the official South African Observer Mission also initially accepted this process as "generally free and fair," only reluctantly reversing its position when confronted by multilateral pressure to accept the findings of a damning report from the Commonwealth Observer Mission (cf. Booysen 2002).

South Africa has also worked closely with Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo and other Southern African Development Community (SADC) leaders on this issue, at least in part to head off any charge that it is acting as an agent of the West.[13] This motive also helps to explain why both Nigeria and South Africa opposed new Commonwealth sanctions at the Commonwealth "Troika" meeting of September 2002, in the face of Australian demands and widespread Western support for such a step.[14] This interpretation is also consistent with Thabo Mbeki's criticism of the Commonwealth's failure to treat the military coup in Pakistan and the "irregularities" in Zimbabwe's Presidential election in the same way: "[W]e asked, why is nobody saying anything whatsoever about Pakistan, but it is Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe everyday? Is a military coup less of an offence? Or is a military coup in Pakistan okay?" ("Mbeki on the State of the Nation" 2002: 15).

As repression in Zimbabwe has continued to escalate in apparent defiance of both African and non-African organizations and leaders, Mbeki's approach has become a lightning rod for international and domestic criticism, coming most forcefully from major media outlets and the opposition

Democratic Party (DP)[15] in South Africa. Significantly, Mbeki has narrowly constructed calls for stronger action as in effect demands that it coercively "take sides" with the former colonizing power—demands he rejects:

> [The land question] doesn't come to us. We never took the land from the Zimbabweans and gave it to the whites. There was never an obligation on the South African government to, say, supply money to pay compensation. This was a matter between the colonising power and their colony. (Ibid.)

Rather, Mbeki has consistently construed South Africa's role as that of impartial advocate for constructive engagement between the interested parties. More concretely, he and his government have quietly but consistently advocated the creation of a "Government of National Unity" incorporating ZANU-PF and its bitter opposition rival, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), as the best way forward for Zimbabwe—implicitly both reflecting and legitimizing South Africa's own path from apartheid structured around a GNU. In this way, the South African government has attempted to straddle distinct rights claims and the identity currents and political imperatives underpinning them.

And indeed, the ANC may have had no other effective choice. For the government to have vociferously defended minority rights, constitutionality, and the authority of the courts in the Zimbabwean context—and hence to have forthrightly criticized the mounting abuses of its ZANU-PF regime—would have been to lay itself open to the charge of defending white privilege and the priorities of rich Western governments and investors over landless African peasants and the working poor. This would be a potentially explosive position to take, both domestically and regionally, in light of the social precepts of Africanism as described by Susan Booysen:

> The sentiments of Africanism and resistance to Western (and often former colonial) actions—the later being seen as indicative of disdain for national sovereignty and hypocrisy about the Western world's responsibility for much of Africa's contemporary woes—are legitimate and widely shared in Africa. They find resonance in both past and present experiences. (Booysen 2002: 5)

Tellingly, crowds of supporters greeted Mugabe's presence in South Africa during the World Racism Forum, while U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell's speech was booed.

The South African regime must therefore straddle competing conceptions of "rights" and "justice," corresponding to the more radical, solidaristic, and liberal individualist strands embedded within its own historic struggle identity. With regard to Zimbabwe, "quiet diplomacy" has been the result.

Conclusions

Identity is an important concept and tool for delineating the complex multiplicity of domestic factors that may causally contribute to the foreign policy behavior of nation-states. As this case reveals, however, using the identity concept requires the integration of historical and contemporary political issues—and the continuities that reside within human minds.

At the heart of these processes, however, is a creative extrapolation of the kinds of fears and expectations the analyst can plausibly discern from the minds of key decision makers. What we sought to demonstrate is that those fears and expectations are likely to emerge from thick knowledge that cannot be adequately accounted for by rational-actor models—even presuming that interests can be easily defined. The identity concept helps to discharge and delineate the processes of social cohesion and fragmentation, loyalties and antagonisms, expectation and shared norms, conceptions of self and otherness, and so on (Anderson 1991; Smith 1991) that shape and constrain the international behavior of *modern* nation-states and their leaders.

Not unlike many other such "nation-states," South Africa and its leaders find themselves awkwardly negotiating disparate identity imperatives. This leads to an interpretation of "interests" that seeks simultaneously to identify with the landless poor, African "(ex) freedom fighters," and national and transnational business elites promoting notions of "good governance" and the rule of law. In the case of Zimbabwe, while South Africa enjoys an enormous preponderance of material resources and therefore *should* have a variety of policy instruments at its disposal, including more coercive ones, it has doggedly pursued a distinctly muted approach, which the respected weekly *Mail and Guardian* has described as "one of the great mysteries of the modern world" ("Speak Out" 2003). Our argument is that, when viewed through the prism of identity imperatives, much if not all of the mystery disappears.

Notes

1. The authors would like to thank the editors for their thoughtful and incisive comments on previous drafts. We remain solely responsible for any errors.
2. There is an important distinction to be made between modern states with structures of popular participation in accountability secured by legal, constitutional, and normative checks and balances such as human and citizen rights, and authoritarian states whose elites may find few if any motivations to comply with the popular will, and who resort to repeated use of coercive force in order to impose *legitimacy*.
3. Thus, by the late 1990s, South Africa's GDP was four times that of all the other 13 Southern African Development Community (SADC) states combined, while the value of its trade with Africa had increased a staggering seven times between 1988 and 1997, with South Africa enjoying a huge trade surplus. Information drawn from Mills (1999).

4. This year's Nobel prize honored the work of economists Kaheman and Tversky detailing "that people look mostly to information that surrounds them to understand how the world works, rather than having the unlimited knowledge hitherto assumed by ivory-tower economists. They also proved that people have a hard time working out the probability of future events" (*The Economist*, October 12–18, 2000: 82).
5. One might also want to include the "power of the powerless" in this equation—especially if large segments of the population could be described as vulnerable and marginalized (cf. Caroll 1972).
6. For a more comprehensive account cf. Black and Wilson, *Politikon*, forthcoming.
7. For a discussion of the international factors cf. op. cit.
8. Cf. "SA's Indians the Most Gloomy" (*Mail and Guardian*, January 03–09, 2003, 5).
9. Cf. "Schooling still Favours Rich" (*Mail and Guardian*, January 03–09, 2003, 5).
10. In fact, a mixed bag of ZANU-PF partisans, many too young to have fought in the liberation war, who have led the land invasions as well as often-violent campaigns to intimidate oppositions supporters.
11. A pivotal experience in this regard was South Africa's almost-complete inability to obtain support from its African neighbors in calling for punitive measures against General Sani Abacha's Nigerian regime after the latter executed Ken Saro-Wiwa and the Ogoni Nine in 1995. See van Aardt (1996) and Black (2003b).
12. Interview, Johannesburg, February 2002.
13. "Obasanjo Urges Rule of Law in Zimbabwe Crisis," *Independent Online*, November 30, 2000, http://iol.co.za; "Hain slams SADC Leaders for Ignoring Mugabe," *Independent Online*, January 6, 2001.
14. The "Troika" of Mbeki, Obasanjo, and Australian Prime Minister John Howard was created at the March 2002 Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) to monitor developments in Zimbabwe and advise on further Commonwealth action following the organization's decision to suspend Zimbabwe in light of the report of the Commonwealth Observer Mission on the country's presidential elections. For a critical commentary on South Africa's position in the Troika context, see "We All Suffer," 2002.
15. The DP draws most of its support from white South Africans; similarly, the print media is largely controlled by white capital, making it suspect in the eyes of the both the new political elite and much of the black majority.

Chapter 13

Mexican Identity Contested: Transnationalization of Political Economy and the Construction of Modernity

Marianne H. Marchand

During the last three decades we have witnessed significant changes in existing world order structures, ranging from the undermining of state sovereignty and the Westphalian state system to the disappearance of bipolar geopolitics. The result has been some dramatic changes in international political practices and theorizing. At least since the mid-1980s a multitude of actors and issues, aided in particular by new information technologies such as the fax and E-mail/Internet, has manifested itself forcefully in the international arena. These developments make it difficult nowadays to think about a state-centered international politics.

In order to move beyond a narrow materialist analysis of global restructuring it is important to address its ideational dimensions as well. Such an analysis is in step with the recent turn in IPE/IR (International Political Economy/International Relations) theory toward developing a better understanding of the roles played by ideas, identities, and cultural practices in international affairs (Murphy and Ferro 1995; Lapid and Kratochwil 1997; Jessop and Sum 2001; see also introduction to this volume).

From such an encompassing perspective, globalization or global restructuring concerns a complex set of related, but sometimes disjuncted transformations that involve political, economic, and sociocultural changes.[1] In other words, it entails changes across the range of social reality (Albrow 1997). As such these processes of global restructuring are multidimensional and, first of all, involve our material surroundings, including the ways in which we have organized and are conducting our economic activities, the (political) mechanisms of representation and accountability, as well as existing governance structures (Held 1995). Second, they also encompass the "way we look at the world around us" (Peterson 1997).

This is reflected in discussions about the end of the Cold War which, according to some, will result in a "clash of civilizations" (Huntington 1996) and, according to others, in the triumph of Western-style economic and political liberalism or "the end of history" (Fukuyama 1992). The third dimension of our changing social reality involves our individual and collective identities and subjectivities. Put differently, processes of global restructuring are pushing the question "who are we?" center-stage (Giddens 1991). On the one hand, we are witnessing an increased individualization which, according to some policymakers and academics, is affecting the social cohesion of advanced, postindustrial societies. On the other hand, we are witnessing such diverse reactions as the emergence of extreme nationalist movements, expressions of cultural nationalist feelings during soccer matches, ethnic conflict, religious fundamentalism, as well as indigenous movements like the Zapatistas (Castells 1997).

This chapter addresses the last question of "who are we?" and, in so doing, focuses on the rearticulation of identities and their intersection with the material and ideational dimensions of global transformations. The IR literature has paid much attention to ethno-nationalist identities and in so doing has marginalized other identities. The emergence of such ethno-identities is often seen as a response to or rejection of globalization. Yet, in the context of global transformations a variety of identities are being articulated. And these identities are not necessarily oppositional but can also be reflective of or articulating new realities. One such identity is that of the "modern" and its attendant "cosmopolitan." Against the background of global transformations the label of "modern," and at times cosmopolitan, is important for individuals and groups alike: if one is not perceived as "modern," it can lead to social, political, and economic exclusion.

In recent years the question of modernity has received renewed attention from scholars representing a variety of traditions and fields of study (cf. Beck 1986; Harvey 1990; Giddens 1991; Jameson 1991; Featherstone et al. 1995; Appadurai 1996; Castells 1997). Much of this literature is revisiting and often challenging Western-style modernity. Moreover, it is increasingly recognized that the way in which actors are constructing and relating to modernity is mediated through various structures of inequality (especially gender, ethnicity, and class).

In this chapter the focus will be on the contestation of identity via the articulation of modernity and the pursuit of modernization in Mexico during the last decade. It was with Carlos Salinas de Gortari's controversial assumption of power in 1988 that modernity and modernization were placed at the center of the political agenda. The title of his recent memoirs testifies to this: *México: un paso difícil a la modernidad* (*Mexico: A Difficult Passage to Modernity*). The key question is: how is the opening up of the Mexican political economy related to the rearticulation of modernity? The Zapatista rebellion in Chiapas (1994) and the defeat of the PRI (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional*/Revolutionary Institutional Party) in 2000 are clear indications that this has been a highly contested process that involves profound transformations of Mexican society. The contested nature of

these transformations implies that multiple articulations of modernity are formulated and promoted by different groups. As societal transformations may create new and reinforce old inequalities, it is important to unpack the different notions of Mexican modernity/modern identity and search for the gendered, class, and ethnic underpinnings of such modernities. As this chapter will show through some examples, it is not only in the realm of politics that articulations of modernity take place. Following Charlotte Hooper's analysis (2000), it will be shown that such articulations can also be found in commercial advertisements and political cartoons. Rather than providing an exhaustive overview of different articulations of Mexican modernity, this chapter is exploratory and aims to provide a few examples of how such constructions of modernity are connected to processes of political and economic transformation and restructuring, in particular transnationalization.

In the remainder of the chapter, I will first provide a brief overview of some recent theorizing around globalization, culture, and modernity. Next I will discuss how modernity has entered Mexico's political debates. The last section will address how the continentalization of Mexico's political economy is engendering the emergence of at least two competing regional/collective identities, which are associated with the elitist project of modernization/regionalization and the alternative social movement ethics-based project, respectively.

Debating Modernity

In recent years, it has been possible to distinguish, across various disciplines, at least three major debates concerning issues of modernity in relation to global restructuring or globalization. What stands out from these debates is not only that the notion of modernity is undergoing significant changes, but also that Western-style modernity is being decentered—opening up the possibility to think in terms of multiple modernities—and, finally, that globalization involves both homogenizing and fragmenting tendencies that can be translated to the construction of collective identities, that is, cosmopolitans versus ethnics (cf. Friedman 1997). This chapter draws upon some of these issues, in particular the notion that there is more than one modernity (as reflected in attempts to formulate an Asian modernity) and the insight that the identity associated with modernity is being transformed: from a rational humanist belief in progress and universal values to one or more identities associated with risk taking, mobility, cultural hybridity, and cosmopolitanism (cf. Beck 1986; Giddens 1991; Friedman 1997).

One of the most important gaps in these discussions about modernity is, however, the silence about the gendered underpinnings. As Gender and Development specialists (cf. Boserup 1970; Mohanty 1988), and more recently feminist IR scholars (Chang and Ling 2000; Hooper 2000), have repeatedly demonstrated, constructions of modernity rest upon masculinist underpinnings. For instance, Jonathan Friedman (1997: 85) suggests that

processes of global transformation have engendered and inspired the emergence of a transnational, elitist cosmopolitan identity that is contrasted with the occurrences of Balkanization or tribalization resulting from the ethnicization of lower-class and marginalized populations. New cosmopolitans are associated with Castells's network society and reflect elements of Giddens's reflexive high modernity in that they move easily between cultures (partially absorbing them, hence their hybrid identity), are highly mobile and may also be risk takers.

However, while Friedman's analysis of new cosmopolitanism correctly points at its class and ethnic underpinnings, it fails to address the possible gender dimensions. This suggests the importance of tracing how the language used in describing behavior and attitudes associated with a modern identity reflects masculine as opposed to feminine values.

What emerges from the various debates about globalization or global restructuring and modernity is that the Western modern project is being decentered. This has obvious implications for the way in which we conceptualize (social) transformations within a global (spatial) context.

Debating Modernity in Mexico

Discussions about modernity and modernization are not new in Mexico. It was dictator Porfírio Díaz (1876–80; 1884–1911) who at the end of the nineteenth century introduced an economic policy of modernization by opening up the Mexican economy to foreign investors and constructing an extensive infrastructural network of railroads. In reaction to his economic policies, as well as the lack of democracy, the Mexican revolution erupted in 1910. The Mexican revolution, having gone through various stages of reformism and radicalism, was finally consolidated under president Lázaro Cárdenas in a statist–modernist development project tied to the creation of a mestizo national identity. During the third phase of debates on Mexico's modernity a more pro-business nationalist economic model of modernization was introduced under president Miguel Aléman (1946–52). This developmentalist model of import substitution, also known as *desarrollo estabilizador* (stabilizing development), tended to favor national industry over agriculture and was tied to a relatively tight fiscal policy. Mexico's mestizo identity was not being challenged however. The model could be legitimized because it still remained within the parameters of the major objectives of the Mexican revolution.

The most recent rearticulations of Mexico's modernization are much more profound and involve a significant rethinking of its self-identity, similar to the deep transformations brought about by the Mexican revolution. In response to the economic crisis of the 1980s the government of Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado started to restructure the Mexican political economy. However, it was not until the *sexenio* of President Salinas de Gortari that the process of a profound political economic and societal transformation was started. This transformation was being legitimated as a much

needed modernization of Mexico's political economy and society. In his memoirs[2] Salinas de Gortari justifies his government's policies as the only feasible direction to take in the light of the changed international order brought about by the end of the Cold War and economic globalization (2002: 287). Under the circumstances the only response for Mexico was to "modernize." According to Salinas the modernization of Mexico involved the articulation of a modern nationalism and a form of sovereignty that makes the Mexican people the subject and not the object of the ongoing transformations (2002: 292–293). In other words, Salinas de Gortari's modernization entails a restructuring of the role of the state so as to provide more space for civil society (2002: 295–296). Although Salinas's policies have always been considered neoliberal, he himself has labeled his political project "social liberalist," to be distinguished from neoliberal and statist–developmentalist policies.

The intellectual inspiration for Salinas's political project of modernization along social liberalist lines comes from one of Mexico's famous nineteenth-century presidents, Benito Juárez, and the revolutionary Emiliano Zapata. In Salinas's words:

> For my government, Juárez symbolized the Republic and Zapata justice. And both [symbolized] the nation and the people. They inspired our proposal for a nationalist and popular modernization during the first half of the 1990s. (Salinas de Gortari 2002: 295; translation mine)

Who is the other in Salinas's modernization project? It is the *nomenklatura* of (PRI) politicians who have supported a nationalist protectionist development project under the tutelage of a centralist and authoritarian state (Salinas de Gortari 2002: 293). Interestingly, Salinas himself was a PRI politician and would not have been elected if it weren't for the PRI's electoral machinations and fraud. Within the PRI Salinas sided however with the so-called technocrats who wanted to introduce major political and economic reforms as opposed to the "*políticos*" or, in Salinas's terms, the *nomenklatura*.

Although the theme of modernization and modernity received somewhat less attention during the presidency of Ernesto Zedillo de Léon—most likely because he had to distance himself politically from Salinas—it reemerged during the 2000 presidential campaign. This was the first serious electoral campaign in more than 70 years with three presidential candidates running for office. One of the decisive factors that helped Vicente Fox to gain the presidency was his campaign team's ability to project the image of a "modern," self-made man who had become the national manager of Coca Cola on the basis of hard work.

In contrast, the PRI candidate Francisco Labastida was associated with the image of a dinosaur, the term used since then to identify the old-style PRI politicians and their outdated politics. Moreover, Labastida and some of his PRI collaborators were also indirectly accused of moral decadence

in a widely circulated video clip circulated by the Fox campaign. The clip showed chippendales at a PRI election gathering and indirectly "accused" Labastida of being a homosexual because he was hugging and grabbing one of the other PRI politicians at the buttocks.

The third, leftist candidate, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, was not able to project an image of modernity either. For one, his campaign was not very well organized and many people were tired of hearing the same message since the 1988 elections, when Cárdenas first ran for president and which he, according to many observers, had won. By 2000 Cárdenas was not only seen as the eternal loser but also as having been born with a silver spoon in his mouth, being the son of the famous President Lázaro Cárdenas.

This discussion shows that modernity and modernization have been greatly contested in Mexico. For instance, intellectuals have raised serious questions about the type of modernity that is introduced in the context of neoliberal economic policies (cf. contributions of Carlos Monsivaís in the press; El Fisgón 1996). In the next section I will provide a few illustrations of how these discussions around Mexico's modernization are being framed. I will look in particular at the Red Mexicana de Acción Frente al Libre Comercio (RMALC). The RMALC is a network that exists since 1991 and that includes many labor, environmental, women's and human rights groups. Moreover, it has many ties with opposition groups in Canada and the United States and other Latin American countries with which it has created a hemispheric-wide social alliance. As such the reports and documents produced by RMALC may provide us with some insights into alternative notions of modernity.

Regionalization, Space, and the Construction of Identity

Until recently spatial dimensions of the global political economy were often overlooked by students of IR and IPE (see Agnew and Corbridge 1995). The spatial articulations of global restructuring are, however, attracting increasing attention (Johnston et al. 1995; Herod et al. 1998; Hollingsworth 1998; Scott 1998). This is why the point of departure for this article is that global restructuring (and particularly regionalization) concerns a reorganization of the ways in which spaces are being used, conceptualized, (re)created, negotiated, and contested. Moreover, the reimaginings of space often involve rearticulations of identity(ies). In other words, the emergence of a "North American region" is also suggesting the possible emergence of a regional identity whose nature is highly contested (particularly in Mexico).

Concerning the continentalization of the North American political economy various authors have argued that this has involved significant spatial rearticulations and reimaginings. As early as 1981 Joel Garreau divided the North American political economy into nine distinct geoeconomic regions. More recently, Isidro Morales (1999) distinguishes at least seven regions within Mexico alone. These regions reflect their (relative)

insertion into the global or regional economy. Likewise, Daniel Drache traces not only the division of the North American political economy into micro-regions, but also how this macro-region is organized and connected via specific nodes of or centers of economic activity, similar to Gereffi's GCCs (Drache 2002).

What these authors suggest is that the North American political economy can be "spatially" carved up on the basis of different types of economic activities and attendant industries. At the same time these distinct geo-economic spaces also reflect different levels of (political and economic) integration into the North American political economy and, consequently, the global political economy.

As has been argued elsewhere (Marchand 1994) the creation of these new social and political–economic spaces is leading to and exacerbating forms of exclusion and inclusion along the lines of class, race, gender, ethnicity, and race. At the same time it is also creating new opportunities for specific groups (Marchand and Runyan 2000). Yet, the most interesting dimension for the present analysis is that the restructurings of the North American political economy are embedded in, as well as producing, reimaginings of the different spaces. It is in this context that questions of identity and identity construction are being foregrounded (see Castells 1997; Friedman 1997). Much of this meaning-production has focused on the most transnationalized space, first coined "Mexamerica" by Carlos Fuentes, and its relations to the various subaltern spaces. Synthesizing Fuentes's notion of Mexamerica, Morales defines it as a territory consisting of a strip of 100 kilometers north and south of the Mexican–U.S. border: "this local community is bounded by a large history of cross-country interactions. It is the spatiality of maquiladora-like economy, whose inhabitants communicate in espanglés" (Morales 1997: 875). As such the (re)imagining of Mexamerica reflects a renewed concern with modernity and modernization that is centered around a reinterpretation or even rejection of the images, narratives, and symbols of the Mexican Revolution (Morales 1997). This has serious consequences not only for constructions of (collective) Mexican identity, but also for using the Mexican Revolution as a source of legitimization for political elites.

The introduction of neoliberal economic agenda in Mexico since the mid-1980s—and which is interestingly referred to by its proponents as modernization[3]—has brought with it a set of beliefs and ideas that puts a premium on individualism, mobility, networking, and being a "player" in those economic sectors that are tied to the global economy, like finance, ICT, and so on. This is clearly illustrated in a recent advertisement by Motorola and IUSACELL, a Mexican cell phone company, in nationally distributed newspapers (see *Reforma*, November 13, 2000, 22A). The ad displays an armed Mexican revolutionary—with strings of bullets strapped from his shoulders across his chest—holding a cell phone. The caption reads "in the month of the Revolution you will be well-armed with IUSACELL" (translation mine). What is so fascinating about this ad is that

it brings together various narratives and symbols. First, it involves the appropriation of one of the major public images and symbols of the Mexican Revolution by private (business) actors. In so doing a link between the Mexican and IT revolutions is being established. It is obviously no coincidence that the ad repeatedly appeared during the month of November, which is traditionally the month when the Mexican Revolution is celebrated and commemorated. In other words the ad uses cleverly the marketing ploy of "once a revolutionary always a revolutionary." A closer look at the ad reveals some interesting subtexts however. The figure displayed in the ad is associated with Pancho Villa, one of the major figures of the Mexican Revolution. In accounts of the Mexican Revolution Pancho Villa is often represented as the individualistic, roving bandit who was mostly active in the northern part of the country. Why did the makers of the advertisement select this image to represent the Mexican revolution and not, for instance, a follower of Zapata who is considered more radical and a representative of poor peasants? Could it be that the latter symbol of the Mexican Revolution sits too uneasily with corporate values? This seems plausible, especially against the background of the present day (neo-)Zapatista uprising in Chiapas directed at those actors associated with neoliberal globalization. Another important subtext is that the Mexican/IT revolutions are being associated with a male figure and masculinity. This is occurring despite the fact that the Mexican Revolution is often represented by Adelita, a female revolutionary figure. Why did the makers of the advertisement select a male figure to symbolize the dual Mexican and IT revolutions? Could it be, as Charlotte Hooper suggests, that men (and masculinity) are being associated with the transnationalized spaces of the global political economy or, in Manuel Castells's words, the network society (Hooper 2000)?

The advertisement described here does not stand alone. As suggested earlier, it is actually reflective of discussions around Mexico's modernity/modernization project. What we are currently witnessing are at least two, rather divergent, interpretations of the various attempts to modernize within the context of neoliberal globalization. The first project seems to be distancing itself from the symbols of the Mexican Revolution or, alternatively, seems to engage in a very fragmented representation of the Mexican Revolution distilling out only the liberal and individualistic elements. This project is clearly associated with the introduction of neoliberal economic policies since the mid-1980s. The second project, however, is critical of this and is actively engaged in a recovering and reformulation of the ideals of the Mexican Revolution to attune them to the new demands of a globalizing world. As such both projects involve a rearticulation of Mexican identity.

The first project has been supported and applauded by various North American scholars as illustrated by M. Delal Baer's comments, as early as

1991, on the future of a possible North American free trade agreement:

> Ultimately the three economies may blend into an integrated production network and share a universal, science-based culture that traces its roots to Francis Bacon. The modern denizens of urban Mexico will have more in common with their counterparts in Toronto and Chicago than with the campesinos in rural Oaxaca. (1991: 149)

Delal Baer's notion of modern denizen is clearly elitist and informed by certain notions about ethnicity, that is, the superiority of Anglo-American culture (in economics). However, as feminist scholarship has revealed, constructions of modernity and cosmopolitanism are not only informed by class and ethnicity, but gendered as well. As early as the 1970s gender and development specialists challenged modernization (theory) for associating modern sectors of society with men/masculinity and traditional sectors with women/femininity. More recently, feminist IR research has shown that the transformation of the global economy is embedded in and accompanied by a rearticulation of hegemonic masculinity (Chang and Ling 2000; Hooper 2000). In her in-depth analysis of the uses of gender images and symbolisms in the newspaper *The Economist*, Charlotte Hooper shows that dominant sectors of the global economy, such as finance, high tech, and services, are reflective of and associated with a new, emergent Anglo-American hegemonic masculinity:

> Perhaps the most powerful construction of globalization in *The Economist* is through imagery which integrates science, technology, business, and images of globalization into a kind of entrepreneurial frontier masculinity, in which capitalism meets science fiction . . . . This imagery positions globalization firmly in the glamorous masculine conceptual space of the "international," as far from the feminized world of domestic life as possible. While "spaceship earth" images reinforce the view of the world as a single locality, "the global village," making it appear easily accessible in its entirety . . ., at the same time globalization is also positioned as "out there" by the space mission analogy, so that globalization becomes the "final frontier." (2000: 67–68)

Hooper's analysis suggests that Delal Baer's modern denizens embody the entrepreneurial frontier masculinity of North American continentalization or regionalization. As such, the construction of a dominant North American region, that is, the rearticulation of geo-economic and social spaces through the deepening of the North American regional division of labor, is also engendering an emerging regional identity associated with the "modern denizens" of all three states. Although it may be too early to speak of the articulation of a North American regional identity, it is possible to see some initial signs of a partial or emerging regional identity. The articulations of such an identity are not necessarily replacing existing (national or subnational) identities, but rather complementary to them.

While Delal Baer is favorably disposed to such a state of affairs, others (Friedman 1997; Melucci 1997) are more critical. Instead, they perceive an increasing differentiation between cosmopolitans (whether they reflect certain notions of late modernity or are heralding a notion of hybridity) and locals or ethnicized groups, which represent essentialist understandings of the nation and nationalism. This dualism is reflected in the caricature by El Fisgón from his publication, meaningfully entitled *Como Sobrevivir el Neoliberalismo Sin Dejar de Ser Mexicano* (translation: *How to Survive Neoliberalism Without Losing One's Mexican Identity*). In the caricature we see two male figures side by side. One is representing a stockbroker and is a very well-dressed jet-setting figure. The other person is clearly a very poor, ill-dressed (and possibly hungry) Mexican worker or farmer, most likely from a remote rural village or a poor "barrio."

As the caricature illustrates, the introduction of "neoliberal globalization" has resulted in the creation of two Mexicos: the Mexico of the stockbrokers (*corredores*) and the Mexico of the demonstrators (*marchistas*). The first Mexico, is the Mexico of "for us everything" ("*para nosotros, todo*") and the second Mexico is that of "for them nothing" ("*para ellos, nada*"). The Spanish text in the caricature involves many double-meanings and play on words, as well as rhyme, which unfortunately get lost in the translation.[4] This is illustrated by the way the two men representing the two different Mexicos are being described in the caricature (see table 13.1).

Table 13.1 The Two Mexicos

Stockbroker	*versus*	*Demonstrator*
viste trajes de Giorgio Armani (Dressed in Giorgio Armani)		*viste con que traje Jorge, su hermano* (Dressed in what brought Jorge, his brother)
Éste genera inestabilidad en el país (This one generates instability in the country)		*Éste genera inestabilidad en la bolsa* (This one generates instability on the stock exchange)
Accesorios de Ralph Laurent (Accessories by Ralph Laurent)		*Accesorios de Lorenzo Rafáil* (Accessories by Lorenzo Rafáil)
usa "Eau de Cologne" (Uses "Eau de Cologne")		*usa agua de la que hay en la Colonia* (Uses whatever water there is available in the Colonia or neighborhood)
Calza Gucci (Gucci shoes)		*Calza Gacho* (Barefoot)
Éste pierde milliones jugando a la bolsa (This one loses millions playing the stock exchange)		*Éste es de los milliones que pierden cuando juega la bolsa* (This one is one of the millions who lose when the stock exchange is playing)

Source: El Fisgón (1996: 115; translation mine).

Importantly, the emergence of a partial North American, elitist, cosmopolitan identity—inspired by a frontier masculinity associated with Anglo-American late modernity—is perceived by Mexican (leftist) intellectuals and opposition groups as a major threat to Mexico's (national) identity. For these Mexican intellectuals and social movements opposing NAFTA, Mexico's government's quest for modernity is intricately tied to the introduction of neoliberal economic policies, which started as early as the mid-1980s. With the advent of so-called technocrats to political power, the Mexican state embarked upon a course of a fundamental restructuring of the economy and society along neoliberal principles. This so-called modernization project meant a significant break with the principles of the Mexican Revolution (upon which the modern Mexican state and society were predicated) and the developmentalist state. In the words of Jorge Alcocer,

> The reform advocated by the present Mexican government [Salinas de Gortari Adminstration] implies at root a recognition that the Cardenist-Alemanist models can not continue. The break with Cárdenas depends on dismantling all the institutions and practices that made the state the axis of economic life in Mexico. The final break, long overdue, is encapsulated in the end of the agrarian distribution and privatization of the countryside, as well as in the opening, evidently inevitable, of the Mexican oil industry to the participation of foreign capital.
>
> The break with the Alemanist model, just as total but less traumatic, entails abandoning protectionism and the indiscriminate meddling of the state in economic affairs, and devising a new and untried (for Mexico) economic model that is outwardly integrationist and domestically efficient, and, finally, shedding for once and for all the isolationist complex, in the clear realization that Mexico is part of the world and is at the same time tied to one of its great powers. (1994: 67–68)

Although few people in Mexico would deny the need for some fundamental changes in state–society–market relations, the question is whether the attempt to restructure along neoliberal principles presents a "socially inclusive modernization project." Alcocer suggests it is not: "True modernity in Mexico, a modernity that effectively combines freedom with opportunity, that guarantees every human being the possibility of self-fulfillment with a requisite minimum equality, cannot come about on a terrain of pseudo-democracy" (1994: 68). It is precisely around such notions of equality, social justice, human rights, and democratization that the RMALC and associated groups are constructing their alternative project.

As a result, although still rudimentary, it is possible to discern two competing emerging (modern/regional) identities. The first one is close to Delal Baer's notion of "modern denizens" and can be defined as a regional cosmopolitan identity that is associated with such notions as individualism, mobility, networking, and being a "player" in the transnational sectors of the regional economy (see Marchand 2002). In contrast with

this cosmopolitan regional identity, a second emerging regional identity is being articulated by various opposition groups, including RMALC. As I will try to show in the next few lines, for RMALC this regional identity is linked to its attempts to formulate a more inclusive trajectory of modernization for Mexico or a "modernity from below." This more inclusive Mexican modernity goes beyond a narrow nationalist perspective by embedding it into broader regional processes. At the same time it involves a reinterpretation of the symbols of the Mexican Revolution.

The RMALC, when it was founded in 1991, formulated as its main objective the "formulation of alternatives from a social perspective, which supposed a new model for the country paying attention to the necessities of the population" (Bertha Luján, preface in Arroyo P. and Monroy 1996: 1; translation by the author). As the restructuring of Mexico's political economy took place within the context of globalization and continental integration processes, the coordinators of RMALC realized that their alternative modernization project for Mexico had to be located within this wider context. As part of their strategy, they not only tried to formulate a more socially inclusive modernization project, but they also became immediately involved in the discussions around NAFTA and other free trade schemes, creating alliances with opposition groups and networks abroad (most notably in Canada and the United States). It is against this background that RMALC formulated its major starting point:

> The objective is just and sustainable development which requires the existence of a national project, and its definition and implementation can not be left to free market forces. It is necessary to define, on the basis of broad democratic participation, a viable project for the country in the current context of globalization and defend it; this is why an active role of the state in the economy is crucial. (Arroyo P. and Monroy 1996: 45; translation by the author).

According to RMALC, free trade is not so much an objective but a means to further modernization. As such it should take into account so-called popular interests (*intereses populares*), such as employment, salaries, education, health, social security, democracy, human rights, and the preservation of the environment (Arroyo P. and Monroy 1996: 46). In sum, the RMALC is looking for an alternative modernization trajectory that tries to find a balance between globalization and national sovereignty as well as the self-determination of people in defining economic policies. In more concrete terms, the RMALC has suggested that this would include regulating speculative financial capital flows, the strengthening of Mexico's productive (economic) base, and food security/self-sufficiency in basic staples such as beans and maiz (corn) (RMALC 1995).

Interestingly, RMALC's domestic agenda is intricately tied to its regional project. In its attempt to counter a regional division of labor along neoliberal principles and to formulate a different trajectory of modernization for Mexico, RMALC has been part of North American and

hemispheric-wide alliances. Jointly, these alliances are involved in a continuing process of formulating an alternative ethics-based regional identity around such notions as: corporate responsibility and accountability, social justice (including gender equality), democratic values, basic human rights as well as environmental and social sustainability. This alternative regional identity is contrasted to the elitist (corporate informed) cosmopolitan regional identity and based on the conceptualization of, in particular, the U.S.–Mexican border as a connector rather than a separator, across which an ethics-based cross-border community can and should be built. Moreover, this ethics-based regional identity seeks to be inclusive. Expressions of such an ethics-based regional identity can be found in the documents and practices of the Hemispheric Social Alliance, which includes many of these coalitions and groups but which actually extends beyond North America, and addresses hemispheric-wide regional integration.[5] In other words, these attempts to counter the further implementation of a neoliberal agenda within North America are leading to the, mostly implicit, construction of an alternative (more inclusive) modernization trajectory and attendant regional identity.

As such, the attempts actually follow Hooper's suggestions to "exploit" the contradictions within emerging constructions of Anglo-American hegemonic masculinity by: (1) forging alliances between feminists and "subordinate groups of men in countering negative gender constructions"; and (2) "nurturing all the alternative relations, identities and narratives with which diverse groups of women attempt to construct empowering relations between themselves and globalization" (2000: 71). Not only is the elitist, masculinist, and ethnically biased cosmopolitan regional identity countered by a more inclusive regional identity, but the interventions by oppositional groups and coalitions have (partially) democratized the discussions about and strategizing against North American continentalization by involving women from the barrios in Tijuana, workers in the maquilas of Ciudad Juarez, and Quaker groups from the Midwest. In that sense, it represents a "modernity from below."

Some Conclusions

In general terms the continentalization of the North American political economy, in combination with the institutional framework provided by CUFTA and NAFTA, indicates that the present wave of regionalization and regionalism involves a complex set of political, social, and economic factors. As I have argued in other places (Marchand 1994, 1996b, 2002), the transformation of the North American region is being articulated along the lines of gender, ethnicity, and class. More specifically, gender operates in ways that extend beyond the differential impact on men and women of North American continentalization: in the maquiladora industry gender (relations) are being used and manipulated in hiring and management

practices, while gender symbolism is being deployed by opponents as well as advocates of NAFTA.

Another lesson that can be drawn from the North American experience is that within one geo-economic and geopolitical space, different regionalism projects pursued by different actors may coexist. As such, these different projects can lead to different expressions of regional identity and attendant notions of modernity. For instance, the North American elite-led regionalism project based on neoliberal principles is connected to an emerging regional identity based on notions of cosmopolitanism. On the other hand, opposition groups have formulated an alternative ethics-based regional identity around notions of social and environmental sustainability, social justice, democracy, human rights, and gender equality. These different projects and associated partial identities are also tied to different positions and policies toward those who may be excluded from the overall process of global/regional restructuring. The elite-driven, masculinist, neoliberal regionalism project is primarily focused on a minimalist institutional framework for trade and investment. The broad coalition of opposition forces is clearly supportive of a much more inclusive, socially driven regionalism project that intends to create spaces for the empowerment of subordinate groups.

Finally, the negotiations around and implementation of NAFTA can be seen as a watershed. It not only provided, together with the CUFTA, the institutionalization of a new regional trade and investment regime, it is now also used by U.S. authorities as a blueprint for multilateral and bilateral trade and investment negotiations. In other words, there is an attempt to export a trade and investment agenda, primarily informed by U.S. business interests. By the same token, however, the negotiations around NAFTA have triggered an unprecedented mobilization of civil society around trade and investment issues. As a result, new coalitions and new forms of organizing have emerged. One example is the emergence of transnational activist networks, for instance surrounding the conditions in the maquiladoras, which involves a coalition of labor, environmental, and women's groups, development, religious, and human rights organizations. Another example is the rebellion by the Zapatistas. This rebellion is unique in various respects, because it not only has distanced itself from old-style guerilla movements, but it has triggered the emergence of a much more confident and self-conscious civil society in Mexico. In addition, the Zapatistas have included into their platform an explicitly indigenous and feminist agenda and have been rather innovative in their use of new media and means of communication (see Castells 1997). In sum, North American processes of regionalization are embedded in and structuring the rearticulation of modern identities and distinct modernization trajectories.

Notes

1. Globalization is a rather imprecise term. Therefore, I prefer the term global restructuring that "entails the contingent social, political, economic, and cultural transformation(s) of the old order into a new one" (although it is not yet entirely clear what the direction is of this new order); "this involves the increased functional integration of economic activities (including the integration of financial markets and the emergence of a neo-fordist mode of production) which has been enabled by new communication technologies, the internationalization of the state, and the emergence of a global civil society, increased individualisation as well as mass-mediated images and representations of the emergence of a global culture and a global village" (Marchand 1996a: 577). Throughout the text the term globalization and global restructuring will reflect this meaning and be used interchangeably for reasons of style (except where the term is explicitly borrowed from another author).
2. The memoirs have been challenged for their "truthfulness." Whether the description provided by Salinas is truthful is not important for my argument here. From the perspective put forth in this chapter it is interesting to analyze how the issues are being framed and legitimized, not whether they are truthful.
3. This is, e.g., reflected in the government's Second Program to Modernize the Labor Market, which was funded in 1997 by the Interamerican Development Bank (translated from the Spanish, by the author; see RMALC (1997) *Espejismo y Realidad: El TLCAN Tres Años Después: Análisis y Propuesta Desde la Sociedad Civil*. Mexico: Edipsa).
4. For instance, "corredor" in Spanish can also refer to someone who is running, while "marchista" is derived from the verb marchar, or to walk. So, when in the caricature, the Mexico of the *corredores (de bolsa)* is contrasted with that of the *marchistas (del exodo)*, it also refers to the stockbroker versus the demonstrator, or alternatively, the migrant (*exodo* = exodus).
5. For a brief overview of some of the groups and coalitions involved in cross-border/transnational organizing in the context of NAFTA see Marchand (2002). From November 1–5, 1999, the Hemispheric Social Alliance (HSA) organized an Americas Civil Society Forum in Toronto, which was held in conjunction with the FTAA ministerial meeting. As part of its activities the HSA has produced a document (reflecting an ongoing collaborative process) entitled *Alternatives for the Americas: Building a People's Hemispheric Agreement*.

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Chapter 14

Conclusion: Revisiting the Four Dimensions of Identity

Patricia M. Goff and Kevin C. Dunn

The preceding chapters offer compelling answers to many of the questions raised in the introduction to this volume. In our opinion, the contributors' analyses further justify our inclination to *unpack* identity rather than discarding it, as Brubaker and Cooper (2000) suggest. In this chapter, we draw out some of the conclusions about the four dimensions of identity—alterity, fluidity, constructedness, and multiplicity—to which the preceding chapters point. We do not seek to provide an exhaustive catalogue of these conclusions. Rather, we open a conversation, confident that readers will see much more in each empirical chapter than we could highlight in this short conclusion. We then point to additional key themes and lingering questions running through the chapters.

Alterity

Few studies of identity seem willing or able to escape issues of difference. Indeed, many argue that identity *presumes* an other from which the identity group can be distinguished. But who (or what) is the other? How does it come to be identified and defined? What is the nature of the relationship between the self and the other? Under what circumstances might the other be welcomed into the identity group? Guided by these questions, Iver Neumann (chapter 2) examines Russian efforts to confront the ever-present European other; Jacinta O'Hagan (chapter 3) explores civilizational relations between the West and the Muslim world in the wake of September 11, 2001; and Jacqui True (chapter 4) analyzes the evolving other in the post-Communist Czech Republic.

Taken together, the three chapters point to the variety inherent in the relational manifestations of identities. Neumann's analysis suggests contestation within a singular conception of the other—are we European or aren't we? O'Hagan suggests a variety of ways of characterizing a specific other—in the aftermath of September 11, is the other Muslim, barbaric, or

simply misunderstood? True shows that not only are there multiple ways to characterize the other, there can be a multiplicity of others—in the Czech case, the other is the Socialist past, but this *creates* ancillary others, including women and the Roma.

These differences also underline the variety of entities against which identities can be defined. For True, post-Soviet Czech identity is defined against the country's Socialist past. O'Hagan examines a nebulous other, geographically dispersed and not directly linked to any specific place on a map. Neumann's analysis seems, at first glance, to examine a European other located outside Russian borders. Yet those in Russia who see themselves as or aspire to be European find the other within the self and vice versa. Therefore, in all three analyses, the other—whether it implies a set of attributes associated with another time period, a non-state actor, states, or something else—can be found within the identity community.

That the boundary between self and other can be quite blurred is one illustration of the complex relationship with the other.[1] The authors further capture this complexity by showing that othering strategies need not lead directly to subordination of an "outgroup." Each author demonstrates this in different ways. For example, drawing on Todorov, O'Hagan argues that constituting the other in the aftermath of September 11 need not imply subordination or exclusion. Instead, learning about and engagement with an equal, but poorly understood, other is a very real option. Cultural difference is not the barrier to relations in this conception of the other; rather a lack of communication is. Subordinating or marginalizing the other may serve to legitimize a set of policy strategies, but other avenues are possible.[2]

Just as being other need not imply subordination, True demonstrates that being a member of an identity community need not imply equality.[3] Czechoslovakian women were officially fully integrated into society based on a notion of class equality—they were not an other against which the Soviet era identity was defined. Yet neither were they emancipated in the feminist sense of the word, thus showing that an inclusionary strategy can have the effect of disciplining and subordinating. In the post-Soviet Czech Republic, embracing traditional gender hierarchies and stereotypes has ironically become "emancipatory." Nonetheless, for True, neither the Soviet nor the post-Soviet gender identity is desirable from a feminist standpoint. Women are limited in different ways under each identity construction. Depending on the circumstances, then, an identity that emerges from efforts to specify an other need not necessarily exclude or include, but rather always carries the potential to do either.

In addition to the complex relationship with the other, the three authors in this section provide informative analyses of the emergence of the other. Neumann is unique in that he highlights continuity in the Russian relationship with its European other through history. O'Hagan, on the other hand, explores a moment of transition in American identity politics from a definition of the U.S. identity against the Soviet Communist toward efforts to define the United States against those who perpetrated the attacks on the

World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Likewise, True examines a moment of change in Czech identity conceptions, brought on by the fall of the Soviet system. All three contend that there is a repository of discursive resources available both to allow continuity and to facilitate a shift.

Fluidity

One of the limitations of earlier notions of identity was the presumption that identities are fixed and bounded, that there is a coherent content that we can specify. It is therefore an important corrective to start from the assumption that identity is fluid, yet it is equally important to ensure that such an assumption does not preempt an inquiry into why some identities evolve and others congeal. With this in mind, Jamie Frueh (chapter 5) explores the change in South African identity following the fall of the apartheid regime; Samantha Arnold (chapter 6) investigates efforts at redefining Muslim identity in Bengal; and Siba Grovogui (chapter 7) explores attempts to perpetuate French identity in the wake of World War II. As such, we have an example of change, provocation of and transition toward change, and an effort at continuity.

In all three chapters, changing political events coincide with the possibility of change in identity. Yet, when change does occur, the relationship between change in identity and political developments is not a linear one. For example, in Frueh's analysis of the South African sociopolitical transformation of the 1980s and 1990s, he shows that, on the one hand, the fall of apartheid is preceded by shifts in the meaning and importance of specific identity labels. Identities changed as people positioned themselves in opposition to the apartheid regime, thus contributing to its fall. On the other hand, however, identities further evolved as a consequence of its fall.

Arnold also points out the complicated relationship between identity and the practices thought to instantiate identity. In her study of Muslim identity in Bengal, she notes that the Bengalis ostensibly had no true claim to Muslimness until they adopted the Urdu language. Yet, in order to coax them into doing this, Muslims from outside Bengal invoke the Muslimness of the Bengalis. A claim to Muslim identity, then, is both the consequence of speaking Urdu and the incentive for doing so. Frueh and Arnold both suggest, then, the need to understand identities and political developments holistically rather than as separable components that evolve in a linear fashion.

Of course, political developments can either disrupt sedimented identities or prompt efforts to reinforce a prevailing identity. Grovogui provides a rich analysis, not of how and why identities change, but why they might not. In so doing, he offers a fresh perspective on who might be involved in bringing about change or promoting continuity in prevailing identities. In particular, Grovogui examines the continuity of French identity following World War II. Ironically, those to whom the role of reinvigorating and perpetuating French identity might be expected to fall—the state, under the Vichy regime, or the resistance, led by the exiled Charles de Gaulle—seemed unable to fulfill this task. The task fell instead to those

in French colonial territories. Therefore, those who were, in some senses, "outside" France provided the resources for ensuring a degree of continuity of French identity in the face of cataclysmic war and a puppet government. Those who were "inside," and supposedly legitimate and authentic protectors of French identity, floundered.

Both Arnold and Grovogui highlight how both change and continuity in identities can originate from outside. In both Arnold and Grovogui, the ability of a variety of groups to weigh in on identity formation is less a function of those groups sharing the same territory (although in some instances they do) and more a function of their, in Grovogui's words, "sharing certain assets," including language in the French African case and religion in the Bengal Muslim case.

How do we study fluid identities? One answer is to study the fluidity itself, as Frueh and Arnold do, or the continuity, as Grovogui does. How an identity changes, who promotes or resists the change—these issues can greatly enhance our understanding of specific events in global politics. Another answer may lie in our inclination to separate out identity and material factors. Whether and why identities change is often related to material factors, as several chapters show. However, turning our gaze exclusively to *one or the other* may mean we miss important insights about the influences and implications of the fluidity of identity. Ultimately, the chapters in this volume do not suggest that fluidity equates with constant change. Rather, there are periodic realignments of identity frameworks and material circumstances, of people's understandings of who they are and what they do and why.

Constructedness

That identities are socially constructed has become a commonplace of global politics. Yet asserting that identities are constructed does little to illuminate questions concerning the resources from which identities are constructed and those who participate in that construction. With an eye to confronting these questions, Kevin Dunn (chapter 8) examines the identity narratives deployed by key actors during the 1960s "Congo Crisis"; Douglas Blum (chapter 9) explores the emerging discourses of national identity and youth culture in the post-Soviet Transcaspian region; and Patrick Jackson (chapter 10) interrogates the rhetorical commonplaces of civilizational discourses in American foreign policy across three specific case studies.

The three authors in this section vary on where they choose to locate the authorship of identities. Jackson's and Dunn's chapters both illustrate the importance of state actors in the authorship of national identity discourses. Yet Jackson also argues that even when actions are taken by a national government, ostensibly in its name, a closer consideration of the rhetoric deployed suggests that these actors may draw on crosscutting identities to be effective.[4] Furthermore, Jackson emphasizes that his

approach requires him to assume no "pregiven notions of who the actor in question was." From this standpoint, the state represents a site for the articulation of identities rather than an actor per se.

Blum's contribution underscores the role of non-state actors in the process of identity construction. Dunn and Blum both emphasize the importance of external actors and global influences, suggesting simultaneous processes at the transnational, state, and substate levels. Like Dunn and Jackson, Blum offers a more complex notion of who participates in the forging of state identity. Both Dunn and Blum suggest that not just any actor can participate in the construction of identity. Dunn asserts that, where external actors are concerned in the Congolese case, the ability to narrate an identity is a function of "their ability to intervene within Congolese internal affairs." Blum suggests a similar line of argument in identifying those who participate in the project of integrating Transcaspian traditional and modern identity narratives. Nonetheless, the chapters in this collection suggest that identities are not necessarily (or solely) constructed by those who are subject to it. Nor are they constructed in a vacuum. Rather, existing narratives and ideas provide resources for the construction of identities.

Dunn also raises the important point of access to "discursive space," including media outlets and international institutions. From this perspective, examining narratives and discourse is one of two steps, the second being an inquiry into the extent to which those narratives are circulated. Identity narratives are meaningless unless those who might be subject to them can be exposed to them and register approval or displeasure.[5] This suggests an active role for subjects of identities.

Multiplicity

One can approach the notion that identity is multiple from several angles. One can focus on the identity itself and the ways in which its meaning is contested over time and across relevant constituencies. On the other hand, one can focus on an identity-bearing entity such as an individual or a collective, and observe that neither has a singular identity. Rather, it has several that may or may not be in tension. The chapters in this section spring from these notions: Erin Manning (chapter 11) examines the potential for simultaneity in the multiple identities of the tango dancer; Zoë Wilson and David Black (chapter 12) inquire into how South Africa has managed to bridge its competing desires to be international human rights advocate and Southern African regional partner; Marianne Marchand (chapter 13) weighs Mexico's efforts to navigate multiple identities and the desire to be "modern" against the backdrop of global restructuring.

Together, these three chapters point to important conclusions regarding the multiplicity of identities. Manning suggests that the possibility exists to move back and forth between multiple identities. She argues that our tacit acceptance of traditional discourses of the nation deny this

possibility by implying a hierarchical ordering of identities. As a result, women and immigrants, in particular, are defined—and must define themselves—in terms of the national discourse, which subsumes and subordinates them. Yet, the *potential* for subverting these rules and roles is great, with the result that roles and identities can be constantly "re-engendered."

Wilson and Black's study of post-apartheid South Africa suggests an alternative take on multiple identities, positing that, where identities are in tension, officials may seek policy strategies that mediate between two competing possibilities.[6] Interestingly, however, in the South African case, not all are pleased with the match between the foreign policy strategy of "quiet diplomacy" and an identity defined as "human rights advocate," demonstrating that a variety of practices serves to instantiate a given identity, some with greater effectiveness than others.

Whereas Wilson and Black explore the ways post-apartheid South Africa tries to reconcile two very different identities—identifications with the Southern African region and its postcolonial inequalities on the one hand, and its identity as advocate for the multilateral human rights norms that contributed to its own transition, on the other—Marchand examines how competing groups within Mexican society vie to define what it means to be modern in a time of regional restructuring. While Wilson and Black tell us that one policy does "win out," Marchand argues that the competition between two regional/collective identities—one an elite-led project based on neoliberal principles, the other an ethics-based regional identity founded on social and environmental sustainability—is yet to be decided. In Mexico, contending groups have each staked out positions with regard to the various projects related to "modern" identity, suggesting that civil society will play an equally important role in determining the identity outcome as it seemed to do in South Africa. That a notion of modernity will surge to the fore seems likely. Identity multiplicity seems to carry with it some level of discomfort. At some point, even temporarily, an identity surges to the fore and another recedes, aligning with certain actions and foreclosing others.

Key Themes and Lingering Questions

The contributors to this volume offer a variety of approaches to identity-centered analysis. In some cases, drawing conclusions about identity as an analytic category is among the author's stated purposes. In other cases, identity provides a vehicle for illuminating a particular event or phenomenon. In all cases, the contributors provide empirical studies in which identity figures prominently. Despite the differences in approach, several key themes run through the chapters. In conclusion, we would like to draw out these themes, while bringing attention to a few of the volume's lingering questions.

Identity, the Discursive, and the Material

Most of the contributors to this volume explicitly address the complicated role of discourse within identity construction and practice. As such, they raise questions concerning discourse and the constitution of authority on the one hand, and the contestation of power on the other. For most of the contributors, examining the discursive aspects of identity raises important issues about the relationship between the discursive and the material. The supposed tension between discursive and material explanations remains a core theme in debates over identity in IR.

When identity (re)emerged as a key analytic category for scholars of global politics, some skeptics asked whether identity was intended to replace material factors as a key source of explanation and understanding. Inherent in this question is a rationalist perspective that might make identity yet another "variable." Yet many contributions to this volume explicitly suggest that identity and material factors are not in opposition; they are parts of an organic whole.

Constructivist approaches that have sought to complicate our understanding of the relationship between identity and interests represent one approach to thinking about the relationship between the discursive and the material. In an effort to show that interests are not exogenously given, some constructivists posit a linear relationship wherein interests flow from identity. Yet several chapters in this collection suggest other ways that interests and identities interact (if indeed we take as our starting point that the two are separate—clearly a controversial stance and not one all authors would accept). True, Dunn, Grovogui, and Wilson and Black, for example, substantiate the constructivist position. However, Grovogui and Neumann, among others, suggest that specification of interests precedes delineation or selection of identity strategies. From another perspective, O'Hagan, True, Manning, and Wilson and Black suggest that identity and interests can work at cross-purposes. It is instructive that more than one author shows the relationship between identity and interests to be quite complex and nonlinear, thus making apparent our need to reflect further on the *question*—what is the relationship between identity and interests? In other words, posing the question in these terms presumes that these are separable, when in fact much of the empirical evidence in this volume suggests they are bound up with each other in complicated, organic ways.

Identity and Practice

While many of the contributors to this volume make explicit reference to discourse, they certainly recognize that not only words or ideas, but also the actions and practices that enact the idea, make it knowable. Discursive approaches in no way deny the materiality of the subject being discussed. Quite the contrary: subjects are "real" only through discourse.

Thus, several authors in this volume hold that the material and the discursive are inherently intertwined, and that it is unsustainable to maintain a distinction between practice and discourse.

Many constructivist analyses demonstrate that identities create parameters within which action is possible. As such, identities both constrain and enable. They specify that which is possible or unthinkable. For many, identities have an explanatory role since social interaction can only be explained in relation to its discursive context. As such, a discourse informs and guides social interaction by influencing the cognitive scripts, categories, and rationalities that are indispensable for social action.

The same constructivist analyses that show how interests flow from identity imply that practice flows from identity—identity provides a set of parameters within which certain practices and actions are possible, while others are not. Several contributors to this volume confirm this view, however several also suggest that the arrow should flow in both directions. In other words, not only does identity dictate practice; practice determines whether identity shall congeal around certain ideas or evolve. Arnold and Manning are perhaps most explicit about this, drawing on Butler's notion of identities as "performative." Nonetheless, the other chapters—especially Jackson, True, O'Hagan, and Wilson and Black—all substantiate this view to varying degrees, perhaps justifying Neumann's call at the end of his chapter for a "practice turn" in the study of global politics. Indeed, it would at the very least seem appropriate to expand our answer to the question, "where is identity located?" While some are comfortable with the answer, "in the discourse," it seems we also need to add in "in the practices that instantiate the identity."

Deep Structure and Path Dependency

Suggesting that identities are fluid and constructed implies that identities evolve from something. What becomes debatable is the extent to which identities are related to particular roles, actions, events, or discourses. To what extent is there a greater emphasis on (formal and informal) rules and norms, as opposed to discourse and performance? To what extent are structures and agency relevant in our discussions of identity? Several chapters stake out a position on these issues, maintaining that a well of resources exists from which identities are forged. These resources are discursive, historical, and context-specific.

For example, Neumann notes in his contribution to this volume that there has been an ongoing debate between post-structuralists and structuralists concerning the possibility of deep structures versus free-floating signifiers. Neumann himself stakes out a position between these two extremes, arguing that, "all structures are seen as changeable in principle, but some more changeable than others." Even though identity is a social construction, it is not whatever we want it to be. A limited reserve of discursive resources constrains the ways in which identities evolve, suggesting that domestic history and material circumstances, among other

things, fix the parameters within which identities can develop. True makes a similar point in her analysis of the post-1989 Czech Republic. Its new identity is in direct contradistinction to its Socialist past; therefore any attribute associated with it must be discarded. It is for this reason that True maintains that identities are "path dependent." Contemporary Czech identity is "informed and shaped" by official state socialist identities. True argues, "postsocialist identities are not tabula rasa. They evolve slowly, even in periods of radical change, building on past discourses, legitimate expressions of identity, and often deep-seated mentalities."

Frueh also demonstrates that, even in the case of full-scale change, discursive resources are not discarded. Rather, they fall further down in the hierarchy of identity labels, implying that they may return to the top at a later date. Identities do not disappear to be replaced wholesale by new ideas. Change, therefore, occurs within certain parameters.[7]

Identity and Power

At least two themes emerge in the chapters concerning identity and power. First, O'Hagan, True, Frueh, Grovogui, Dunn, and Manning all suggest that identities confer power by making possible certain actions and precluding others. Thus, certain paths of action become possible within distinct identity discourses, while other paths are "unthinkable." This approach has important implications with regard to social action and agency. Social action and agency result because people are guided to act in certain ways and not others by their sense of who they are, often relative to their notions of *self* and *other*, as defined at that particular place and time. Agency can be understood by recognizing the various discursive narratives in which actors find themselves. Thus, as Roxanne Doty has pointed out, the question of agency becomes one of how "practices of representation create meaning and identities and thereby create the very possibility for agency" (Doty 1996: 168).

Second, Neumann, True, Manning, and Grovogui show that at least some power lies with groups whose identities are being inscribed upon them from without. For example, Neumann notes that not only is the Russian definition of the European important in forging Russian identity, so is the European definition of the Russian. In other words, Russians can claim that they are "of Europe" as much as they like, but without some confirmation of this from Europe, this remains merely an aspiration. Similarly, True notes the consequences of women's complicity with their new identity in the post-Soviet Czech Republic, and Grovogui contends that French Africans rejected their role as pupil of colonial France during World War II, with important consequences.

Method

Contributors to this volume confronted a number of methodological questions in undertaking their research. Where do we "find" identity?

Upon what sorts of "evidence" can we base our analyses? The answers are varied, reflecting a diversity of opinions and approaches. Most locate identity in some combination of discourses, narratives, and/or practice. Some researchers drew from official statements—archival documents, utterances and ideas of national elites. Others focus on discourses of popular culture and public imagery. Still others rely on close textual readings. Some authors—Jackson and Frueh, for example—offer original and innovative methodological approaches. Others draw on known formulations and provide new and important applications of them. In the end, this volume offers no readily acceptable methodological preference. Rather, it contains several explicit discussions of how various scholars "do" identity research. As such, this collection offers explicit reflections on a diversity of approaches, rather than privileging one specific methodological approach at the expense of others. Our goal has been to further methodological debates by making explicit the various methodological decisions that are made.

Common to all contributions, however, is the challenge of converting the oft-repeated theoretical statement that we discuss in the introduction and upon which we base the collection—identities are relational, fluid, constructed, and multiple—into empirical research. Again, each contributor makes his/her own decisions on this front. Perhaps most importantly, all manage to study identity effectively *despite* the "soft meanings" that Brubaker and Cooper (2000) lament. In so doing, the contributors to this volume take us beyond using the statement that identities are relational, fluid, constructed, and multiple as a "mere placeholder" to unpacking and rendering more meaningful this important caveat, thus achieving a key goal of this collection. Ultimately, it seems apparent from the contributions to this collection that those who study identity may not require new methods. Many of our standard approaches are useful and fruitful. However, studying identity may require a willingness to consider a wider variety of evidence. It may also require an openness to a wider variety of guiding questions, including why and how people justify their choices in terms of certain conceptions of who they understand themselves to be as opposed to others, as well as an interest in how what people say about themselves fits with what they do.

Some Remaining Questions

While the twelve chapters of this volume provide important contributions to the growing literature on identity and world politics, many questions remain. For example, while these chapters have begun to explore possible consequences and functions of identities, much more empirical work is needed to examine the complex and contradictory impacts/functions of identity construction and performance in world politics. What insights do other geographically and historically varied case studies provide? For us,

the IR literature on identity will continue to be greatly enriched by empirically grounded comparative studies.

Many of the chapters in this volume explore the relationship between identity and material forces, but further empirical and theoretical work is needed. Can we resolve the discursive-material debate in any meaningful way? What is sacrificed by approaches that privilege one over the other? In addition, the contributors to this volume sought to make their methodological decisions explicit. But this volume by no means seeks to resolve methodological discussions. In fact, one of our primary goals has been to initiate an explicit discussion of methodology. Is there a "best" way to study (and study *with*) identity?

These are only a sampling of the questions that remain. While we hope this volume has answered a number of questions posed in the introduction, we are equally hopeful that it might also contribute to further debate.

Notes

1. See also chapters by Arnold, Blum, Grovogui, Manning, and Marchand on this point.
2. O'Hagan's analysis implies that a certain conception of the other can be called upon to legitimate specific policy choices. Alternatively, specific policy choices flow from a certain conception of the other. There is a complex, multidirectional relationship between narratives used to characterize the other and policies employed to interact with her.
3. See also chapter by Dunn. Echoing True, Dunn shows how the Belgians subordinated the Congolese not by conceptualizing them directly as an "outgroup," but rather by conceptualizing them as "part of the family" to whom the Belgians owed the responsibility of civilizing them.
4. See also Grovogui, O'Hagan, and True on this point.
5. See also Neumann on the importance for the Europeans to confirm Russian efforts to join Europe. As he notes, "One reason why Russian Westernizers were not able to carry the day in Russian discourse is to do with how their efforts to be accepted as a 'normal' European country in overall European discourse came to naught."
6. See also Neumann's analysis of Putin's efforts to bridge the views of Westernizers and the Nationalists with regard to Europe.
7. See also chapters by Blum, Dunn, Grovogui, Jackson, Wilson and Black, and Marchand on this point.

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