NATIONALISM: DIVERSITY & SECURITY

The 25th Annual Conference of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism (ASEN).

Featuring Keynote Addresses from:
Daphne Halikiopolou, Christopher Hill,
Eric Kaufmann, Joep Leerssen, Iver Neumann,
Liliana Riga, Sofia Vasilopoulos,
and Catherine Wihtol de Wenden.

Workshops with: Marco Antonsich,
Jennifer Jackson-Preece, and Joep Leerssen.

21-23 April 2015 at the London School of Economics.
Registration now open at: www.asen.ac.uk
# ASEN CONFERENCE SCHEDULE
Nationalism: Diversity & Security
21-23 April 2015

## Tuesday 21 April

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<td>10:00-11:30</td>
<td>Plenary session 1: Iver Neumann, Christopher Hill – Hong Kong Theatre</td>
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<td>12:00-13:30</td>
<td>1.1 Diversity and security: Balkans</td>
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## Wednesday 22 April

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<tr>
<td>3.1 Imperial sovereignty and national identity</td>
<td>3.2 Diversity and security: an anthropological approach</td>
<td>3.3 Diversity and security in the post-Soviet space</td>
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<td>4.1 Citizenship and naturalization</td>
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<td>5.1 Migration</td>
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<td>6.1: Kurds and Alevis: old and new minorities in the Middle East</td>
<td>6.2 Multiculturalism, integration and homogenization</td>
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<td>15.00-16:30</td>
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## Panels: Overview
### Tuesday 21 April

### Session 1: 11:30-13:00

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<td>Construction of Bosnia and Herzegovina’s internal borders during the Dayton peace negotiations</td>
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<td>Prof Erika Harris</td>
<td>Nine paradoxes of the national self-determination doctrine</td>
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<td>Dr Piro Rexhepi</td>
<td>The security politics of European enlargement and the invention of Balkan crime-terror nexus</td>
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<tr>
<th>Room: CLM 2.05</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ms Dana Landau</td>
<td>Diversity and nationalism in post-conflict statebuilding: minority rights and state legitimacy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miss Natalia Piskunova</td>
<td>Searching for peace: ethnic dimension of Somalia security agenda</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr Robert Schertzer</td>
<td>Is counting enough? Considering the value and practice of national minority representation in diverse states</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr Marius Calu</td>
<td>Multiethnicity in Kosovo: securing unity and accommodating diversity in contemporary statebuilding</td>
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<td>1.3 Security and secession</td>
<td>Mr Goitom Gebreluel</td>
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<td>Room: CLM 2.06</td>
<td>Dr Benedikte Brincker</td>
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<td>Ms Eunice Romero Rivera</td>
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<td>Dr Nives Mazur Kumric</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Workshop 1</strong></td>
<td>Marco Antonsich: Diversity and security in multi-ethnic nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miss Kristina Bakkær Simonsen</td>
<td>How the host nation affects immigrants' belonging: indications of national identity's explanatory value</td>
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<td>Mr Omar Salha</td>
<td>Diplomacy, sport and Islam: tackling Islamophobia through faith and football</td>
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<td>Prof Nicole Gallant</td>
<td>Who's afraid of immigration? Popular representations of the cultural threat of immigration to the Québécois nation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr Durukan Kuzu</td>
<td>Multiculturalism and conflict resolution: a comparative study of the UK, France and Turkey</td>
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<td>Mr Mustafa Cirakli</td>
<td>Turkish-Cypriot political parties and the immigration-settlement debate in Northern Cyprus</td>
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<td>Mr Behar Sadriu</td>
<td>From Kemalism to the AKP: managing citizens of Balkan heritage in Turkey</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr Marco Antonsich</td>
<td>Diversity and nationhood: an institutional perspective</td>
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<td>Dr Ana Ivasiuc</td>
<td>The Great Fear: The visual securitisation of the Roma in Italy</td>
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<td>Dr Carlotta Redi</td>
<td>Immigration and regional nation-building in Tuscany and Veneto: a comparison of two territorial and ideological approaches</td>
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<td>Dr Andrea Carlà</td>
<td>Ethnic tensions and security: a comprehensive theoretical framework</td>
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### Session 1: 9:30-11:00

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>3.1 Imperial sovereignty and national identity</th>
<th>Miss Julia Leikin</th>
<th>National identity as legal strategy in imperial Russian admiralty courts, 1769-1792</th>
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<tr>
<td>Room: CLM 2.04</td>
<td>Prof Vasilis Molos</td>
<td>The Russian origins of Greek nationalism: the Russian Archipelagic Principality (1770-1775) and the invention of a Greek national identity</td>
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<td>Dr Elena Bacchin</td>
<td>Brothers of liberty, a transnational patriotism of Italian democrats supporting Polish insurgents</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.2 Diversity and security: an anthropological approach</td>
<td>Dr Cathrine Thorleifsson</td>
<td>Threatening Others: the dynamics of xenophobia in globalising Europe.</td>
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<td>Room: CLM 2.05</td>
<td>Miss Jas Kaur</td>
<td>Becoming Fiji: an ethnography of shifting discourses of security, diversity and nationhood</td>
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<td>Miss Amelia Abercrombie</td>
<td>International discourses of multiculturalism and Romani culture in Kosovo</td>
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<td>Dr Julien Danero Iglesias</td>
<td>Each Other as a threat</td>
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<td>3.3 Diversity and security in the post-Soviet space</td>
<td>Mr Isaac Scarborough</td>
<td>Interpreting conflict: nationalism, riots, and Tajikistan’s transition to independence</td>
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<td>Room: CLM 2.06</td>
<td>Miss Diana Kudaibergenova</td>
<td>Lost in translation: Russian-speaking minorities and their failed nationalisms in post-independent Latvia and Kazakhstan</td>
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<td>Prof Mark Jubulis</td>
<td>When do cultural minorities pose a security threat to the nation-state? Latvia’s Russian-speaking minority in geopolitical context and comparative perspective</td>
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**Workshop 3**

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<tr>
<td><strong>4.1 Citizenship and naturalization</strong>&lt;br&gt;Room: CLM 2.04</td>
<td><strong>Dr Bridget Byrne</strong>&lt;br&gt;‘Say it like you mean it’: Rituals of citizenship and narratives of nation&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;<strong>Ms Maria Jakob</strong>&lt;br&gt;Citizenship and subjective security in Germany: the role of citizenship ceremonies&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;<strong>Dr Tobias Schwartz</strong>&lt;br&gt;Citizenship ceremonies in Venezuela, 2004-2006</td>
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<td><strong>4.2 Diversity and security: North America</strong>&lt;br&gt;Room: CLM 2.05</td>
<td><strong>Dr Joanna Kaftan</strong>&lt;br&gt;National identity and governmental authority: the intersection of national identity, immigration policy and the child welfare system in the United States&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;<strong>Dr Henio Hoyo</strong>&lt;br&gt;We are naturally mixed - so why should we need migrants? The influence of the official nationalist discourse of ‘mestizaje’ in the attitudes and policies towards migrants in Mexico&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;<strong>Prof Richard Haesly and Prof Liesl Haas</strong>&lt;br&gt;Welcoming the stranger: the evolving political debate on immigration&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;<strong>Prof Guy Laforest and Mr Félix Mathieu</strong>&lt;br&gt;Uncover the struggles and tensions surrounding the normative source of the national habitus: the case of the Parti Quebecois’ Charte de la laïcité</td>
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<td><strong>4.3 Terrorism</strong>&lt;br&gt;Room: CLM 2.06</td>
<td><strong>Dr Andrea Carlà</strong>&lt;br&gt;After 9/11: the imprint of al Qaeda’s attack on U.S. migration policy&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;<strong>Dr Akil Awan</strong>&lt;br&gt;Islamic State, the Caliphate and foreign fighters: constructing identities in a post-national context&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;<strong>Mr Claude Richard Linjuom Mbowou</strong>&lt;br&gt;The production of a national subject in a war torn context&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;<strong>Ms Rojan Ezzati</strong>&lt;br&gt;Defining and contesting ‘the collective we’: insights from post-terror Norway</td>
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<td><strong>4.4 Securitization</strong>&lt;br&gt;Room: CLM 1.02</td>
<td><strong>Dr Hans Siebers</strong>&lt;br&gt;Low intensity ethnic cleansing: the nationalist policies of ethno-territorial homogenization in the Netherlands&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;<strong>Mr Robin Stunzi</strong>&lt;br&gt;Whose security? Swiss politics of asylum and the securitization of migration&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;<strong>Dr Thomas Fetzer</strong>&lt;br&gt;The nationalism-security nexus in economic perspective&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;<strong>Prof Daniele Conversi</strong>&lt;br&gt;Incongruence, counter-entropy and homogenisation: re-reading Ernest Gellner in the light of securitisation studies</td>
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<td><strong>5.1 Migration</strong></td>
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<td>Ms Teresa Buczkowska</td>
<td>Irish migration policies in relation to the 'contract v charity' models of citizenship</td>
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<td>Mr Cihat Battaloglu</td>
<td>Demographic imbalances and new security concern in the Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC) countries</td>
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<td>Dr Burcu Toğral Koca</td>
<td>Reconstructing nation states through migrants: reflections on integration practices in the EU</td>
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<td><strong>5.2 Diversity and security: China</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr Chao-yo Cheng</td>
<td>Autonomy in autocracy: explaining ethnic policies under dictatorships, 1946-2005</td>
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<td>Dr David Tobin</td>
<td>The ‘Life or Death’ of the nation: performing the securitisation of Uyghur ethnicity</td>
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<td>Miss Oana Burcu</td>
<td>The role of sovereignty in Chinese nationalism</td>
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<td><strong>5.3 Identity, polity, and (in)stability</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Prof Sarah Danielsson</td>
<td>The inherent instability of the nation-state: a theoretical and historical examination</td>
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<td>Dr Enrico Gargiulo</td>
<td>Under the pretext of security: the local control on residency as a tool of polity-building</td>
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<td>Miss Ágnes Vass</td>
<td>Conflicting citizenships - conflicting loyalties? The identity effects of double citizenship for ethnic minorities in CEE region</td>
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<td><strong>6.1 Kurds and Alevis: Old and new minorities in the Middle East</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ms Ceren Sengül</td>
<td>We are not 'them': the reconstruction of Kurdish identity as a reaction to the official discourse on 'Turkishness'</td>
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<td>Dr Thomas J Miley</td>
<td>Nationalism and Internationalism in the Rojava Revolution</td>
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<td>Ms Ceren Lord and Dr Besim Can Zirh</td>
<td>A new 'minority' of the Middle East? The Alevi of Turkey in the wake of the Syrian conflict</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr Julia Schneider</td>
<td>East Asian strategies of integration and homogenization: Qing ethnification (1636/1644-1912) vs. Republican assimilation (1912-1949)</td>
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<td>Miss Emma Patrignani</td>
<td>A certain conception of living together</td>
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<td>Dr Madura Rasaratnam</td>
<td>The Indian nation and its ethnic others: explaining the uneven accommodation of Tamil Nadu, Kashmir and Punjab</td>
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<td>Dr Katerina Manevska</td>
<td>The nationalist paradox of multicultural policies</td>
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<td>Mr Alex Cooper</td>
<td>Being out while being in: LGBTQ activists' navigation of identity, Serbian nationalism and EU accession</td>
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<td>Miss Peny (Panagiota) Sotiropoulou</td>
<td>The formation of attitudes towards immigration in Greece: an explanatory model based on individual-level characteristics</td>
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<td>Ms Amrita Middey</td>
<td>Forbidden desires and the nation state: understanding sexuality politics in India</td>
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<td><strong>6.4: Xenophobia in Europe</strong></td>
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<td>Miss Anna Kyriazi</td>
<td>Frames of fear: xenophobic discourse in democracy's borderlands, or, what is common in Jobbik and Golden Dawn</td>
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<td>Dr Veronika Bajt</td>
<td>Nationalist exclusion of the Other: ‘patriotism’ as a disguise for hatred in Slovenia</td>
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<td>Dr Gareth Harris</td>
<td>'We're not far right, we're not far wrong': the shifting boundaries of English nationalism</td>
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<td>Dr Steven Mock</td>
<td>The body of the nation: a cognitive-affective theory of territory in national identity and conflict</td>
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<td>Mr Michael Lawrence</td>
<td>The role of dehumanization in mass violence</td>
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<td>Dr Jonathan Leader Maynard</td>
<td>Unlike minds: ideology, political violence and armed conflict</td>
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<td>Dr Vassilis Petsinis</td>
<td>Ethnic relations, European integration, and geopolitical implications: the cases of Estonia and Croatia</td>
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<td>Mr Thiago Babo</td>
<td>Communities, nationalisms and (in)securities: the European Union and the Nordic case</td>
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<td>Mr Akseli Peltola</td>
<td>General Adolf Ehrnrooth, nationalism and European integration</td>
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<td>Miss Susana Ferreira</td>
<td>Immigration as a security threat: the dilemma of Ceuta and Melilla</td>
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<td>Prof Mateo Ballester Rodriguez</td>
<td>The expulsion of the Moriscos and the issue of national belonging</td>
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<td>Mr Adam Holesch</td>
<td>What holds Spain together? The demise of the Spanish nation-building project</td>
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<td><strong>7.4 Diaspora</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr Bahar Baser</td>
<td>The Kurdish diaspora in Europe: spoiler or supporter of the ‘peace process’ in Turkey?</td>
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<td>Miss Rachana Sharma</td>
<td>The imaginary diaspora through the lens of a literature</td>
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<td>Ms Gemma Ngoc Dao</td>
<td>Practicing diaspora nationalism: a case of the Vietnamese American community</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ms Rachel Lewis</td>
<td>Securing the territorial frontier, constructing the national community: citizenship as a bordering practice in the contemporary UK</td>
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<td>Ms Sarah Perret and Ms Marie Beauchamps</td>
<td>Security rhetoric and politics of national identity in France: a study of Sarkozy’s Grenoble speech</td>
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<td>Dr Gabriella Elgenius</td>
<td>The repatriation of cultural heritage and human remains; performing egalitarianism and politicising apology</td>
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<td>Dr Sharon Weinblum</td>
<td>Re-con structing the boundaries of the nation-state: investigating the Israeli political discourse on non-Jewish migrants from Africa</td>
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<td>Dr Shane Nagle</td>
<td>Historical nationalization of the contested nation-state and the internal ‘Other’: Ireland and Israel</td>
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<td>Ms Shai Tagner</td>
<td>Struggling between Jewish and Democratic: the foundation of asylum regime in Israel</td>
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<td><strong>8.3 Regionalism and trans-nationalism</strong></td>
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<td>Prof Robert Compton</td>
<td>Regionalism, nationalism, and political elites: How congruous in SADC and ASEAN?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr Adriano Cirulli and Dr Enrico Gargiulo</td>
<td>Who belongs to the nation? Nationalism, citizenship and minority groups in ethnonational conflicts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr Giulia Sinatti and Prof Des Gasper</td>
<td>Transnational linkages and integration as nationalist concerns? A (human) security framing</td>
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## Panels: Speakers’ Abstracts

### Tuesday 21 April

#### 1.1 Diversity and security: Balkans

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<th>Ms Josipa Rizankoska and Ms Jasmina Trajkoska</th>
<th>The implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement: a true party commitment towards better inter-ethnic cohabitation in Macedonia or just a party competition strategic tool?</th>
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In August 2001, the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia was amended with the Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA), which put an end to the eight-month armed conflict between the ethnic Albanian community and the Macedonian Defense Forces. The OFA is constantly underlined by the international community as the spirit on which Macedonia should build its capacities for multiethnic cohabitation. However, sometimes the Macedonian political parties promote the OFA as the most valuable product of this post-conflicted society, and sometimes they refer to it as the reason for the worsened inter-ethnic relations in the country.

So we ask: is the OFA implementation parties electoral strategic tool or a real drive for promotion of sustainable multicultural cohabitation? What accounts for the parties’ radicalization of its nationalistic/separatist rhetoric?

This article is a case study which is primarily based on thirty face-to-face interviews conducted in the month of October 2014 with the elite from the most important Macedonian parties, as well as from all the ethnic minority parties. The comparative methodological part is derived from a quantitative analysis of the parties’ manifestos.

We expect party rhetoric to depend on the majority-minority ethnic status, and on parties’ inclusion in or exclusion from government. By tackling the question of how do political parties respond to questions of minority and security? This article shall be clustered under the conference theme of “The nation-state, national minorities and citizenship.”

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<th>Mr Darko Radic</th>
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During the Dayton peace negotiations in an attempt to find a peaceful solution and resolve the military conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina it was necessary to create mutually acceptable solution regarding the constitutional and territorial reorganization of country.

Obstacles that are found along with the process, criteria and methods which are used for mapping and construction of internal borders, as well as the power relations between the parties involved into the negotiations process are just some of the questions which this article aiming to illuminate.

Ethnic identity as a crucial criteria used for bordering process create an invisible borders that even today made distinction between “us” and “them” and at the same time shapes daily life practices of Bosnia and Herzegovina citizens. Created borders between Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republic of Srpska produce the order which includes and excludes, shaping the social reality and relation between different ethnic group members in post-conflict society of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
The existence and maintenance of nations based on cultural and historical distinctiveness deserving of the right—even the moral authority to exist as a separate political and territorial unit is the success of nationalism which rests on the pillar of the national self-determination doctrine. This paper’s point of departure is that self-determination doctrine which is largely responsible for the formation of our international system is inconsistent and paradoxical; the paper places both self-determination and nationalism within international relations and addresses nationalism’s connection to security of people and stability of states.

Using examples from Central Europe, the Balkans and the Middle East, the paper argues that the doctrine which is intended to safeguard peace and human dignity is and always has been at the heart of many conflicts. Starting with the tension between the universality of the national self-determination doctrine and the particularity of the national group whose interests it promotes, the paper explores further eight paradoxes contained within this doctrine. They range from political and legitimacy challenges to the very nation-state it creates, through the violations of human rights contrary to its very meaning, to the fact that national self-determination doctrine, far from being a national issue is actually an international affair.

While not rejecting the doctrine, the paper concludes with the final (ninth) paradox that perhaps the success of this doctrine should not be measured by how many states it can produce, but how it can make the existing states a safe home for more self-differentiating national groups.

The geographic imaginaries through which the EU seeks to build its borders are primarily informed by securitization strategies. Ensuring security and tackling organized crime have been key issues in the politics of EU enlargement in both Bosnia and Kosovo. Since the end of the conflicts in Bosnia and Kosovo, the EU has attempted to engage both countries in the Stabilization and Association Pact (SAP) a process through which various postconflict, state-building mechanisms and EU interventions conceived under the rule of law and security missions.

The EU’s warnings of the potential danger of organized crime and terrorism, associated with bringing Bosnia and Kosovo into the EU fold, have almost always been linked to the fear that “because of their Muslim majority” these two countries already are, or have the potential to become, part of a transnational Islamic network that cooperates with organized crime; “a phenomena that has been coined the ‘crime-terror’ nexus (see European Parliament, 2012).

This article examines how the governments of Bosnia and Kosovo have appropriated the EU crime-terror nexus in the recent arrests of purported terrorists and radical Islamists. I argue that the crime-terror nexus allows the EU to create a new security zone in the Balkans while consolidating its new geopolitical position to overcome perceived divisions between Europeans and others. Thus, in the context of the conference theme, this paper coincides with the transnational dimensions of security and diversity.
When Kosovo declared independence in 2008, it did so not as a nation-state but explicitly as “a state of its citizens and with a strong guarantee of minority rights”. This declaration was made under international supervision following a decade of statebuilding, led by transnational organisations such as the UN, the EU, and the OSCE.

The Kosovo case illustrates how transnational organisations in post-conflict settings have promoted a vision of the state in which diversity is not only valued, but seen as key to state legitimacy, despite the increasing problematization of diversity in Western nation-states, such as declarations of “the failure of multi-culturalism”.

In post-conflict Kosovo, this is evident in the way the international community problematized the majority ethnic Albanians’ nationalism while elevating Kosovo’s diversity “even though demographically minor“ to a core feature of the state. This focus was enshrined through extensive rights for national minorities and a negation of ethnic Albanians’ symbolic ownership of the state. Minority rights are central in this framework, partly due to security concerns regarding national minorities and kin states following ethnic conflict.

However, minority rights were not a panacea for the security and legitimacy dilemmas of the post-conflict state. The “state of its citizens and the very concept of diversity continue to be contested by both majority and minority groups in Kosovo, and battles over symbolic and physical space for nationalist expression persist.

This paper addresses domestic political actors in the ongoing Somalian conflict between ethnic clans. In Somalia, ethnic clans act as non-traditional and non-state actors and stakeholders in the process of peacemaking, as they often perform their activities as mediators between the local population, military bands and formations, economic enterprises and traditional general jurisdiction courts in form of court of sharia.

Clans are determined by patrilineal descent and membership can be as large as several hundred thousand members. Clientelism remains one of the basic principles of recruitment of elites in Somalia and political and economic tradition still plays a foremost role, which results in internal uncertainty. For each actor, 5 aspects shall be assessed: clan interests in the current conflict, relations with other clans and overall influence on the ongoing conflict, clan’s capacity to influence the conflict, clan’s peace agenda (where applicable), and incentives for the clan to progress to peace (where applicable).

Methodologically, for purposes of this paper the methods of case study, comparative analysis and chronological assessment shall be applied. Structurally, this paper provides brief overview of the Somalia conflict and its dynamics, description of clans and tribal clan system in Somalia, actors 5 aspects assessment. Organizational structure in Somali clans is based on authoritarian principles and nepotism. In Somalia, ethnic clans act as non-traditional non-state actors in the whole system of political controversies in this area. With these 5 aspects of ethnic relationships, their stakes and visions of peace, a broader and a pathway to Somalia peace may be found.
Dr Robert Schertzer  | Is counting enough? Considering the value and practice of national minority representation in diverse states
---|---
The study, and promotion, of mechanisms to represent ethno-national minorities is a particularly pressing concern for diverse states. Within the relevant comparative and conflict management literature, there is a broad consensus that electoral and institutional mechanisms that facilitate the representation of minority groups within public institutions helps to maintain peace and stability. These arguments are built upon normative (and empirical) claims that descriptive and substantive representation have positive effects for the legitimacy of the state and the protection of minority interests.

This paper explores the links between the underlying normative and empirical claims and the mechanisms that seek to represent minorities. To explore these links the paper builds an analytical framework of the theory and practice of national minority representation across a number of diverse states. The focus of the analytical framework is to identify the understandings of national identity that informs both the normative positions and the actual approaches. Through this analysis it is evident that the majority of approaches to representation are informed by either an overly constructivist or primordialist view of national identity. The implicit argument is that the study and promotion of mechanisms to represent and protect ethno-national minorities in diverse states largely fails to take a nuanced (ethno-symbolic) perspective on the heterogeneous yet enduring nature of national identity, which has implications for the possible effectiveness of these approaches.

Mr Marius Calu  | Multiethnicity in Kosovo: securing unity and accommodating diversity in contemporary statebuilding
---|---
This paper examines the adoption of a multiethnic liberal democratic model of governance in Kosovo and the dual task of statebuilding to secure unity and accommodate diversity through the development of an extensive institutional and legal framework of minority rights. It defines the management of plurality as a fundamental element of contemporary statebuilding that seeks to build social cohesion and gain the obedience of all its constituent peoples. In this research I explain why in post-conflict and post-independence Kosovo, its domestic sovereignty and legitimisation have become conditioned by the integration, accommodation and protection of minorities.

This research challenges the predominant focus of the current literature on the imposing and exogenous character of statebuilding and draws attention to endogenous factors that may offer a more accurate analysis of how the state model designed for Kosovo has been transformed and limited by local idiosyncrasies. My paper reveals the legislation-implementation gap, the segregation risks and the variation in the de facto levels of integration, depending on the will and capacity of each community to assume their rights.

Kosovo has established its status as a new independent democratic, secular and multiethnic republic, but in practical terms, its largely ethnically homogenous society cannot pursue an Albanian-based national project of statehood, the smany but active minorities remain divided in the absence of social cohesion and a common civic link and Kosovo has yet to create the nation. Consequently, the relationship between state and society in Kosovo remains largely undefined.
1.3 Security and secession

The Horn of Africa region has arguably been the most conflict prone corner of Africa. This region is in many ways unique in a continental context. It is the site of all of successful state-partitions and even most of the failed secession attempts in Africa. It is moreover home to three inter-state wars, one of which was an irredentist war and the remaining two post-secession wars (of which the Ethiopian-Eritrean war alone claimed around 100 000 casualties). Finally, most of the states in the region remain contested and it remains plausible that state-borders can yet again be altered in the future.

Inter-state conflicts and rivalries are in this region spatially as well temporally prevalent, but are so in sharp contrast to the rest of the continent. The analytical framework of path-dependency is employed to understand the roots and dynamics of perpetual state rivalry and state-formation in this region.

I argue that the critical juncture where this particular path dependency was initiated is the unique colonization and decolonization processes that took place between 1896-1960, where indigenous actors autonomously took part in creating and altering state-borders. Through a comparison with state-formations in the rest of Africa, I illustrate how this created unique dynamics. The interplay of conflicting views on regional order, state-fragility, and proxy-warfare together constitute the “increasing returns or positive feed-back loop that account for the path-dependent regional order characterized by perpetual contestation and altering of state-borders.

This analysis illustrates how IR, state-formation and nationalism function in a dialectic relationship.

Dr Benedikte Brincker
A delicate balance of different dependencies: a case-study of Greenland in the Arctic Region

Monday 15th December 2014, Denmark claimed its territorial right to the North Pole. In so doing, it challenged first and foremost the other Arctic nation states, Canada and Russia that also claim their rights to the North Pole. The Arctic region has gained enormous importance in recent years. Due to climate change, the region holds promises of an abundance of natural resources and the prospect of new international trade routes.

This draws attention to one particular country; Greenland. Greenland is part of the Kingdom of Denmark – but it has for many years witnessed moves towards national independence. These calls for national independence clash with Danish nationalism that seeks to maintain the unity of the Kingdom of Denmark.

The clash between Danish and Greenlandic nationalisms comes to the fore with the changes taking place in the Arctic Region. Given its size, climate, and geo-political position, Greenland can never monitor - let alone defend - its own borders. This problem is pressing given the strategic significance that is to a growing extent being ascribed to the Arctic Region.

The position of Greenland ties in with the argument that no state is independent. Instead, every state is faced with the task of balancing different dependencies. In this perspective, Greenland is the case in extremis. The prospect of Greenland seceding from the Kingdom of Denmark relies upon it becoming embedded in the “international community of sovereign nation states” thus balancing different dependencies - while also constituting a challenge to the notion of sovereignty.
Is nationalism always in conflict with diversity? Does mass immigration hinder nationalistic aspirations? How can we explain that former immigrants became national members and active supporters of national self-determination in Catalonia? Does statelessness provide the bases for developing a new way of dealing with diversity for a nationalist movement?

At the beginning of 21st century, approximately three of every four Catalans have at least one immigrant amongst their recent ancestors. Today, only a bit more than 60% of Catalans were born in Catalonia, more than 20% in the rest of Spain, and 15% abroad. With such a demographic composition and with increasing diversity (more than 250 languages are currently spoken in Catalonia), the Catalan case offers a scenario for exploring the relation between immigration, diversity and nationalism.

In recent years, sympathy for independence has grown considerably in Catalonia, and it seems that supporters of independence are increasing in number - but also in diversity. Catalan independenceists are now not only concerned with identity or historical matters. In fact, some of them do not even speak Catalan, nor are they first generation Catalans, having no historical, or genealogical attachment to that territory.

Through in-depth interviews with a diverse sample of Catalan independence supporters, this paper illustrates the way they make sense of independence, national diversity, their migratory background and their own place in the Catalan national project today.

Since the inception of the Republic of Kosovo in February 2008, the contouring of its statehood has been predominantly affected by four interwoven factors: the partial recognition of its sovereignty, perplexed inter-ethnic relations, profound international interference and parallel jurisdictions with the Republic of Serbia.

The efforts put forth to conceptualise the meaning and scope of Kosovo citizenship in such a sensitive socio-political environment have proved particularly challenging. This paper aims to provide an analytical framework for determining essential elements of Kosovo citizenship, with particular emphasis on its practical and ideological implications for the multicultural, yet ethnically divided society.

This is done through an assessment of the key nation-constituting legal norms as well as the deep-rooted ethnic tensions sparked by conflicting perceptions of Kosovo's statehood by the majority (Kosovo Albanian) and minority (Kosovo Serbian) population. By formal definition, Kosovo is an indivisible state of all citizens. However, polarised majority-minority interests have impinged the constitutionally guaranteed civic spirit of the entity, thereby threatening not only national, but also wider international security and integrity.

With the purpose of determining and delineating labyrinthine intersections of a contested nation-state, citizenship, national minorities and security, the paper offers a comprehensive theoretical and empirical analysis of the respective quadrilateral nexus.
## 2.1 Belonging

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<th>Miss Kristina Bakkær Simonsen</th>
<th>How the host nation affects immigrants' belonging: indications of national identity's explanatory value</th>
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Across Western world democracies, the place for newcomers in the host society is an increasingly politicized and problematized issue which provoke strong opinions about national unity and cohesion. Immigrants' belonging is often questioned, and it seems to be a widespread belief that immigrants lack loyalty and attachment to their adopted nations.

Drawing on national identity and boundary-drawing theories, I argue that immigrants’ sense of belonging to host nations depend on how the host nation imagines its community and its concomitant boundaries.

Using a cross-national survey, I find immigrants' level of belonging to vary significantly across the 17 countries in the study. The central contribution of the paper is the finding that neither objective conditions (population diversity and socioeconomic conditions) nor formal boundaries (citizenship policy) explain this cross-national variation. Instead, what matters is the informal and subtle boundary drawing produced in the majority's conception of what is important for being part of the national "us".

Thus, immigrants belonging is significantly greater when the majority population gives priority to feelings, residence and citizenship as markers of nationality. In addition, findings show national identity to be path-dependent with immigrants belonging being greater in settler countries and in nations having democratized early, while lower in former colonizing countries.

By showing that national imageries have real consequences for the welcoming capacities of national communities, and by showing that these welcoming capacities have deep historical roots, the study contributes to the debate within nationalism studies about the causal significance of national identity.

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<th>Mr Omar Salha</th>
<th>Diplomacy, sport and Islam: tackling Islamophobia through faith and football</th>
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Across regions where the luxury of sport is eclipsed by the struggle of everyday life including revolutions, wars, poverty, unemployment, injustice and occupation, sport can still play an influential role for positive change. The ability to transcend cultural, religious and political borders, fostering a culture of friendship and mutual respect whilst combating stereotypes and Islamophobia are some of the key features we often associate with sport.

As issues pertaining to cross-cultural and interfaith dialogue are of paramount importance in today's world, Muslim elite sportspeople practicing ‘soft-power’ as a tool of attraction with respect to their Islamic faith is an unexplored occurrence. This paper will aim to highlight the capacity of sport and professional athletes to tackle the increasing prevalence of anti-Islam hate speech and Islamophobia both in sport and society.
Canadians generally hold positive attitudes toward immigrants. Politically, immigration to Canada is promoted mostly for its impact on economic and demographic growth, while cultural diversity remains largely unaddressed by official discourse.

In Quebec, however, issues relating to the cultural integration of immigrants periodically rise to the forefront of social and political debates; both popular media and some nationalist parties recurrently argue that immigration may threaten the cultural integrity of the Quebecois nation. Although popular representations of immigrants and diversity are quite largely favourable among the general population in Quebec (for instance, less than 10% feel that immigration has negative impacts), up to a third of Quebeckers do believe Quebec might lose its identity in the face of increased immigration.

This paper aims to better understand what types of people perceive immigration as a cultural threat, using a mixed-methods and comparative approach (25 semi-structured interviews and a 3000-respondents survey, comparing Quebec with the rest of Canada, including the francophone communities of other provinces). By isolating those participants whose fears focus solely on national cultural security from people who more broadly reject immigration overall (i.e on several other grounds), I will seek to ascertain both qualitatively and quantitatively the main factors associated this attitude.

Among the factors explored feature a) strength of attachment to and self-identification with the nation, and b) the individual’s personal representation of the nation (arguing in passing that we should move beyond the ethnic/civic divide and distinguish between people’s ethnic, civic, and cultural visions of their own nation).
## 2.2 Diversity and security: Turkey

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<th>Dr Durukan Kuzu</th>
<th>Multiculturalism and conflict resolution: a comparative study of the UK, France and Turkey</th>
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The goal of this paper is to understand why the policies of multiculturalism can be a solution to violent conflict in cases such as Northern Ireland in the UK while it only rekindles radicalism amongst Corsicans in France and the Kurds in Turkey.

As such, the paper seeks to answer two central questions that this conference asks 1- Do national minority policies help or hinder security? 2-Is multiculturalism necessary for security in diverse nation-states?

The paper consists of two parts. The 1st part is aimed at finding out the difference between mobilization strategies of IRA in Northern Ireland and FLNC in Corsica and understand the reason why they react differently to the similar policies of multiculturalism in the UK and France, countries that are similar to each other in many respects such as economy, political culture and geography. The paper will use the method of difference to analyse this.

The 2nd part is aimed at assessing the consistency of the findings in the case of Corsica and compare it to the case of PKK in Turkey which similarly increased its operations at times of reform and weak multiculturalism between 2002 and 2009. At this phase the project will use the method of agreement to understand how and why this similarity occurs between France and Turkey despite all the other political, cultural and geographical differences observed between the two.

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<th>Mr Mustafa Cirakli</th>
<th>Turkish-Cypriot political parties and the immigration-settlement debate in Northern Cyprus</th>
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This paper investigates the political discourse on immigration in northern Cyprus. More specifically, it places the contested migration of populations from mainland Turkey at the heart of identity politics in northern Cyprus and examines how and to what extent the experience of immigration and the integration of Turkish “settlers” have been articulated by the mainstream Turkish-Cypriot political parties within rival discourses on collective identity.

The paper accounts for changes in debates about immigration and settlement issues, most notably the “citizenship rights” of Turkish settlers by means of a discursive analysis of party programmes and relevant media content, evaluating changes in frames, positions and salience. It suggests, among others, that immigration and settlement issues have been given more attention by the Turkish-Cypriot parties since the early 1990s and progressively “securitized” to represent competing visions of collective identity.

Crucially, the paper aims to highlight the contested nature of immigration-settlement politics in northern Cyprus and its interplay with the nationalist framing of identity claims to offer insights on immigration and identity formation from a particularly intriguing context that has not been adequately researched until now.
How has diversity been treated in Turkey? Has the current AKP-dominated government worked to reshape how “ethnic minorities” are viewed in the country? This paper seeks to explore these two broad questions by focusing on the early Republican period through to the 2000s.

Typically, such discussions focus on the either the Kurds or Alevi, as the recent ascent of Kurds to the forefront of Middle East politics and an increasing focus on Alevi rights as part and parcel of Turkey’s EU accession process show.

However, an often ignored issue receiving little attention are the millions of Turkey’s citizens who trace their roots to the Balkans. If the early migrants from the Balkans were treated as a security problem by the early Republican elite, by the 2000s their offspring are increasingly seen as a strategic asset.

This paper will explore the above questions with the aim of discerning the issues surrounding another, more important one: What changes have resulted in diversity being framed as either a problem or opportunity by the state?
### 2.3 Diversity and security: Italy

**Dr Marco Antonsich**
Diversity and nationhood: an institutional perspective

Although in practice nation and diversity can be reconciled, rhetorically the nation is constantly policed in its presumed unchanging identity. Contemporary migratory flows make particular apparent this rhetorical move, as it is exactly in the face of perceived “invasions which an idea of a stable, fixed, unchanging nation emerges in the political debate.

The present article aims to dissect this move, focusing on the case of Italy. As a traditional country of emigration, over the last two decades or so Italy has experienced a constant inflow of international migrants, which have started changing the ethnic composition of the population. Yet, the political debate largely shows an unwillingness to come to terms with this demographic change, privileging instead securitizing discourses. The end result is a reinforced bordering of the national space which hampers the national and local integration of migrants and their children.

**Dr Ana Ivasiuc**
The ‘Great Fear’. The visual securitisation of the Roma in Italy

In the spring of 2008, Italy declared the Nomad emergency as a suspension of regular politics facing the perceived and constructed threat which the Roma, especially the groups migrating from Eastern Europe, would pose to Italian society.

This speech act, privileged locus of analysis in the Copenhagen School, can be seen as a successful securitising move. However, the construction of the Roma as a threat to Italian society and economy is a long process whose roots lie in representations of the Roma as a paradigmatic and threatening Other circulating in Italian culture well before the declaration of the emergency.

The paper examines the ways in which the Nomad camps of Italy and their inhabitants are the subject of securitising discourses and practices of visual representation, in an attempt to understand why and how certain groups of immigrants come to be regarded as a threat.

What is the dynamic of visual representations of the Roma in self-produced film material? Which techniques of visual representation are used to convey an image of threat? The analysis of securitisation of the Roma is based on a visual approach to the construction of the subject as a threat, thereby contributing to the theoretic debate around visual securitisation. The empiric material upon which the analysis is based is a series of video clips published on youtube under the title ‘The Great Fear: Roma Emergency in Milan’.

### Dr Carlotta Redi
**Immigration and regional nation-building in Tuscany and Veneto: a comparison of two territorial and ideological approaches**

Italy represents one of the most broad and awkward barriers of the Schengen system: its geography, and its position as a Mediterranean bridge. At the national level, migration policies have always been the field for ideological and political confrontation of what kind of immigration should be welcome and which one should not. Ever since Matteo Salvini reinforced Lega Nord’s connection with Marine le Pen’s Front National, the political agenda has turned back to this issue.

It’s not just central political debate that’s concerned with immigration policies; so is the periphery at the regional level, especially in 2015 when the elections will take place in Tuscany and Veneto. They are the perfect case studies to test how different territorial nationalisms develop different policies and approaches to integrate immigrants into society.

On one hand, the Legislator in Tuscany has adopted a regional law characterized by plural nation-building. On the other, in Veneto, where national sentiment is stronger, attitudes towards foreigners are far more closed and mistrustful.

The aim of this paper is to investigate these two different case studies; not only at the normative level, but also looking at policies, regional planning, and Constitutional Court case law. The paper will also discuss the political rhetoric used during the 2015 electoral campaigns, where the Veneto is ruled by Lega Nord, and Tuscany by Partito Democratico. In sum, how do differing levels of nationalism affect outcomes of immigration policy and legislation?

### Dr Andrea Carlà
**Ethnic tensions and security: a comprehensive theoretical framework**

Since the end of the Cold War, news reports have held the presence of ethnicity and ethnic diversity responsible for sparking violent clashes. Does ethnic diversity inevitably lead to conflict? What can be done to manage ethnic tensions?

In this paper, I will address these questions by blending Ethnic Politics with concepts and frameworks from Security Studies, applying a security lens to the politics surrounding the contestation and management of ethnic diversity. In particular, I expand further the concepts of societal security and securitization.

Societal security refers to threats that emerge from the fact that humans belong to communal groups that do not correspond to defined state borders. Securitization is the process by which an issue is considered as an existential threat that requires emergency measures. These concepts have great explanatory potential, but previous research have offered a limited understanding of societal security by focusing on only one unit of analysis: state, groups or individuals.

I elaborate an innovative theoretical framework that expands the scope of analysis, developing a multilevel comprehensive understanding of societal security. Furthermore, I propose a methodological plan to study societal security issues and identify a detailed toolkit to prevent or dissolve the violent mobilization of ethnic diversity and societal security threats.

South Tyrol, an Italian province with a history of ethnic tensions, held as a model for dealing with ethnic diversity, will be used as a brief case study to test my framework and toolkit.
This paper explores the relationship between sovereignty and national security through a historical analysis of Russia's use of Ottoman Christian minorities as combatants in its wars against the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century.

In its two wars against the Ottoman empire in the reign of Catherine II (1763-1796), Russia actively recruited Ottoman Christian subjects to serve as ‘irregular forces’ in the navy. This strategy was intended to destabilize the Ottoman empire, but consequently meant that Russian forces had to respect Ottoman Greek trade as well - a policy which was well articulated in imperial decrees.

Through manifestos, policy, and practice, ‘Greek’ became a privileged category during Russia’s tenure in the Aegean Sea. As a result, Greek identities were strategically deployed by merchants in Russian admiralty courts to secure their release. My examination of Russian admiralty records explores these two aspects of the way in which the Russian empire deployed national identities to undermine the political and economic stability of the Ottoman empire.

My research raises questions about Russian and Ottoman imperial sovereignty and early understanding of nationhood. How did the Russian empire use the concept of national identity to undermine Ottoman imperial sovereignty? How did the Ottoman empire deal with subjects who joined Russian forces to fight against it? In one of the earliest manifestations of what historian Dominic Lieven called ‘the dilemma of empire, this paper explores the creation of a Greek national identity as a legal category in Russian admiralty courts.

Over the course of the past three decades, historians have crafted a widely-accepted narrative explaining the origins of Greek nationalism. The story begins in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when the transmission of Enlightenment ideas into the Balkans inspired Greek intellectuals to reflect upon the meaning and significance of "Greekness". While the reception of Enlightenment ideas provoked an increase in the production of secular works and works focused on the Hellenic past, the narrative holds that a Greek national identity only surfaced in the 1790s. It highlights how the French Revolution opened a new horizon of political possibility within the Greek world, polarizing intellectual culture and offering a template for radical reform.

While this narrative is appealing, it overlooks the significance of the Russian intervention into the Greek world during the reign of Catherine II (1762-1796), and the significant influence that it had on the emergence of Greek nationalism.

This paper explores how the Russian attempt to recruit Ottoman Christian irregular soldiers around the time of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1768-1774 influenced the negotiation of Greek identity. Specifically, it considers how “Greekness” was represented in documents relating to the political status of the “Russian Archipelagic Principality (1770-1775) and its Greek inhabitants. The paper suggests that the origins of Greek nationalism can be located in this unique historical moment, when Imperial Russia called upon the Greeks to assert themselves as relevant political agents, and crafted a national identity for them to assume.
My paper deals with the transnational dimension of national movements in 19th century Europe. I argue that internationalism and nationalism were entangled and interconnected and nationalism developed not only in terms of contrasts and opposition with others but also in terms of solidarity and complementarity.

I focus on the case study of Italian democrats who, in the aftermath of unification, found in transnational solidarities towards foreign national struggles a natural continuation of the ideals of the Risorgimento. At the outbreak of the Polish insurrection of 1863 they founded “democratic societies”, organized meetings, sent armed volunteers and collected funds in support of the insurgents. Polish insurrection found no diplomatic support in Italy, but it was a romantic crusade based on a brotherhood of peoples that engaged large parts of the public opinion.

In the 19th century, transnational solidarity with the “oppressed nationalities” was not uncommon; but the connection between Italy and Poland was not based upon cultural, historical or geographical elements but upon values and ideals: it was a fraternity founded on freedom. Moreover, this experience of international solidarity that united the different nucleus of Italian democrats was soon removed from their political memories, but it forged both Italian and Polish identities and cannot be separated from criticisms towards the results of Italian unification.

The paper aims at enlightening new features of national movements underling a common language based on liberty, self-determination and human rights and at creating a connection between history of nationalism in Western and Eastern Europe.
3.2 Diversity and security: an anthropological approach

Dr Cathrine Thorleifsson

Threatening Others: the dynamics of xenophobia in globalising Europe.

The economic insecurity in Europe has given rise to far right wing parties such as the Greek Golden Dawn, the National Front in France and the Jobbik party in Hungary. Far-right groups currently spearhead larger renationalization processes, directed against positions of global integration.

This paper examines the dynamics of three distinct, yet inter-related forms of exclusion in contemporary Europe, namely anti-Muslim racisms, antisemitism and antiziganism. Using the UK, Hungary and Norway as case studies, the paper explores the various historical events, material conditions and social contexts that shape these distinct forms of xenophobia and intolerance toward national minorities.

The paper demonstrates how in three contemporary right-wing nationalist discourses, the categories of "Muslims", "Jews" and "Roma", are constructed as threatening others to the nation-state, as posing a monolithic cultural or religious threat to "our way of life (Baker 1981, Gilroy 1987 and 2000, Goodwin 2011). Used as major contrast categories, notions of an "authentic" nation are being re-narrated (Bhaba 1990), re-imagined (Anderson 1991) and re-invented (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983).

The paper calls for identifying the workings and variable salience of xenophobia not only at the formal institutionalised level, but also through the apolitical deployment of the language of nation and culture that is invoked and reproduced through the intimate register of neighborhood, family, household and self.

Miss Jas Kaur

Becoming Fiji: an ethnography of shifting discourses of security, diversity and nationhood

Fiji is a former British colony whose indigenous population was supplemented by an indentured Indian labour force in the late nineteenth century, leading to the constitution of the multi-ethnic state.

This history is dominated by the concept of ethnic conflict " described as the competitive interest between Fijian paramountcy on one hand, and Indo-Fijian clamour for democracy and equality of opportunity on the other. The so-called "ethnic coup of 1987 appears to corroborate the thesis of ethnic conflict, while that of 2000 uncovered intra-ethnic conflict in addition, and the 2006 coup and its aftermath oriented public discourse around democracy, as well as shared civic and national identity.

It is apparent, therefore, that security can and does mean different things at different times and in different contexts. This in turn problematizes all assumptions that we can speak about security, as well as diversity and the nation-state with any sense of fixity.

Drawing on ethnographic research about Fiji's coups based on informant memories and anticipations, I argue that Fiji and its people " and by extension, its discourses of security, diversity, and what and who constitutes the nation " are best approached through Deleuze's reflections on becoming. Deleuze argues that the historical event is a pre-condition that people " and discourses " leave behind to create something new, to become. Fiji as an outcome of history, and Fiji-becoming are two different things. Security, diversity and the nation-state in the context of Fiji are best conceived through the prism of ideas of becoming.
If multicultural discourse treats languages and cultures as homogeneous bounded entities, I ask how such a discourse, when promoted by international organisations in Kosovo, affects local people’s understandings of their language and culture.

Based on my fieldwork among Roma in Prizren, Kosovo, I will focus particularly on the way local NGOs and state bodies construct cultures and languages according to the requirements of western donor states and international organisations.

Prizren provides an interesting example when it comes to meanings and uses of the term multiculturalism, because there is a strong local sense of a history of Ottoman cosmopolitanism, which is increasingly being redefined under the influence of western notions of multiculturalism. While Roma are more integrated than in other areas, they often feel that their culture and language do not receive the same respect and support as that of other groups.

I will thus ask how culture and language come to be reified as homogeneous, bounded entities which come with rights, responsibilities and, crucially, funding attached to them. I propose that international discourses of multiculturalism have a real effect in shaping local people’s perceptions of their language and culture - although these perceptions, inflected with local ideas, may depart somewhat from what international donors intend.

I will conclude that while anthropologists may critique the notion that cultures and languages are discrete entities, when this notion is propagated by funding bodies, it has real effects on local perceptions and behaviour.

Romanians, one of the largest minority groups in Ukraine, have always been perceived by the Ukrainian state as a threat to national security. Before President Yanukovych was ousted in February 2014, the minority had been supportive of his national policies and his 2012 law which allowed minority languages to be made "regional languages".

But many Romanians started demonstrating in cities like Chernovcy, Odessa and Kyiv when the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement was rejected. Nowadays, while war is raging in Eastern Ukraine, the minority seems caught in the crossfire and faces a dilemma: Romanians have to show loyalty towards the state they live in, Ukraine, and to fight against those seen as “Russian separatists”. For many, this war is not “theirs”.

In this particular and troubled context, the paper sheds light on the way recent developments in Ukraine have been met by the Romanian minority in the country. Based on a theoretical framework inspired by Rogers Brubaker’s triadic (and quadratic) nexus, the paper shows how the minority is taken in a relationship between their homeland, Romania, and the state they live in, Ukraine, being at war with another national minority, Russians, and their homeland, Russia.

On the basis of a fieldwork research in Ukraine in May and June 2014, where methods of political anthropology were used, the paper evidentiates the tension that exists between the perceptions of the Ukrainian nationalizing authorities and the Romanian minority and shows how each sees the other as a threat.
3.3 Diversity and security in the post-Soviet space

Mr Isaac Scarborough
Interpreting conflict: nationalism, riots, and Tajikistan’s transition to independence

As Gorbachev’s reform program of perestroika (rebuilding) and glasnost (openness) rolled across the USSR, Central Asia became the site of large-scale demonstrations, protests, and occasional riots. With few exceptions, these events were treated by the Soviet government in Moscow as signs of growing nationalism. As the national republics gained increasing autonomy and independence from the center, it was said, the local elite’s relationship towards ethnic minorities changed. Rather than the previous representatives of Soviet internationalism, Russians, Meskhetians, and other minorities were now potential threats, outsiders of questionable loyalty to the local government.

Since the fall of the USSR, Moscow’s reading of events has remained largely unquestioned, and the late Soviet unrest in Central Asia has generally been seen as a clear example of nascent nationalist feeling. At the same time, however, the content of these violent events and the actual demands of those involved has rarely been investigated in all detail.

Using the February 1990 riots in Dushanbe, Tajikistan as a central test case this, while also linking to other important events, such as the Zheltoksan meeting in Alma-Ata and the 1989 Ferghana pogroms, this paper will clarify to what degree late Soviet unrest in Central Asia should be understood as nationalist violence. Working with published and unpublished accounts of the riots and Moscow’s response, it will properly situate the events in the broader Soviet context and establish the ways that the slow collapse of the USSR may - or may not - have changed previous internationalist views.

Miss Diana Kudaibergenova
Lost in translation: Russian-speaking minorities and their failed nationalisms in post-independent Latvia and Kazakhstan

The paper explores new data on the identity formation of Russian speakers in the wake of the persistent nationalising rhetoric of the regimes in post-independent Latvia and Kazakhstan. Both states have the biggest Russian minority representation outside Russia and remain highly Russified in terms of the use of the Russian language in public sphere. The existence of these vast minority groups and their strategic location in urban centres and borderline regions with Russia have created a strategic challenge and threat for the nation-building, national security and foreign policy of Latvian and Kazakh nations.

The study is based on the numerous interviews with the leaders of the Russian political movements in Eastern Latvia and Northern Kazakhstan and archival fieldwork in the OSCE Secretariat. The paper questions how and why the Russian speaking groups were not able to solidify an alternative nationalist movement and resist the exclusivist rhetoric of the nationalising regimes despite being objectified as a strong challenge to the nationalist ideology in both of these states.

In Latvia and in Kazakhstan, the Russian speaking minority was discursively framed along the lines of language and citizenship as identity and political support markers. Russian speakers in Latvia lost their Latvian citizenship in the aftermath of the 1994 exclusivist Citizenship Law and became non-citizens but could easily claim Russian citizenship. In Kazakhstan ethnic Russians also lost their claim for the dual nationality in 1994. Both political decisions followed as defensive policies for the non-Russian nation-states of Latvia and Kazakhstan.
Following Russia’s successful annexation of the Crimea region of Ukraine, we have entered a period when the further revision of state borders in the former Soviet space has become a distinct possibility. Putin’s successful manipulation of the Russian minority in eastern Ukraine has been very alarming to other states in the region with large Russian communities.

Latvia is a likely target of all further revisionist aims of Russia, given the fact that Russians make up nearly 30% of Latvia’s population and Russia has repeatedly levelled sharp criticism at Latvia’s treatment of its ethnic Russian minority. As a former Soviet republic, Putin sees Latvia as being within Russia’s historic sphere of influence.

While this paper cannot predict the future of Putin’s foreign policy, we can analyze the potential for ethnic unrest and potential Russian interference in Latvia’s affairs by comparing the Russians and other Russified minorities of Latvia with those in other states such as Ukraine, Moldova, and Estonia.

Who are the Russians of Latvia? Are they integrated and loyal to the Latvian nation-state, or do they look to Russia for protection? Are they concentrated in a particular territory of Latvia, or are they dispersed throughout the country? How are the Russians of Latvia perceived by Latvians? Will NATO and EU membership offer Latvia any protection against potential Russian aggression?
### 4.1 Citizenship and naturalization

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Dr Bridget Byrne</th>
<th>‘Say it like you mean it’: Rituals of citizenship and narratives of nation</th>
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Citizenship ceremonies have been practiced for at least a century in the United States and Canada, and for 50 years in Australia, with more recent introductions in Europe in the last decade or so as part of a series of changes to countries’ citizenship regimes.

This paper will explore what citizenship ceremonies; the rituals created to “make new citizens”; can tell us about understandings of citizenship and the nation. Coming from an empirical study of three countries in Europe and the US, Canada and Australia, the paper asks who is being held up as the welcomed citizen and who is excluded in these public events. What does it mean to “welcome a new citizen” and how are migration and national history imagined in these events? These questions become increasingly urgent in the context of securitisation and given current debates about the withdrawal of citizenship from suspected “extremists”.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Ms Maria Jakob</th>
<th>Citizenship and subjective security in Germany: the role of citizenship ceremonies</th>
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The securitisation of immigration and citizenship after 9/11 resulted in a culturalisation of naturalisation in Germany: a citizenship test was introduced, and from 2007 on all applicants have to formally pledge loyalty to the constitution.

According to the political debates preceding the introduction of the pledge, it was meant to prevent the naturalisation of disloyal - and thus potentially dangerous - individuals. The recent establishment of naturalisation ceremonies in Germany is directly linked to the introduction of this pledge.

This paper explores the ways in which the deliverance of the pledge and naturalisation ceremonies as a whole face subjective security issues concerning immigration and integration. Based on participant observation as well as a discourse analysis of 90 speeches given at German ceremonies, it can be pointed out that the pledge indeed plays an important role in making naturalisation candidates transparent and discernible for the population.

There is, however, an inherent paradox: While the ceremonies present the naturalisation candidates as hard-working, culturally compatible and locally integrated model citizens, they are still required to exceed the rest of the population in demonstrating their loyalty with the obligatory pledge. Citizenship ceremonies thus display a double, ritual as well as discursive, symbolic desecuritisation of naturalisation.
Participation in a citizenship ceremony is in some countries a legally required element of the naturalization procedure, as only the speech act performed there effects naturalisation; alternatively, in other countries the ceremony is not formally binding and everything that happens there is supplemental to the process of naturalisation. Yet another type is composed of a ceremony not required by law, but de facto the easiest way - and for the state administration the preferred way - to get in contact with those individuals who completed their paperwork during the naturalization procedure and are entitled to be naturalized. For this reason, large scale citizenship ceremonies were introduced in Venezuela in the year 2004 as a technique of public administration. One of their aims was to intensify the inclusion of citizens into the states bureaucratic procedures.

This paper will examine the citizenship ceremonies in Venezuela within their political context, and analyse the reasons for their implementation as well the criticisms against them from the political opposition to the government and the civil society. The governmental naturalization campaign is seen by some as an internal threat to the continuance of the nation. By naturalising hundreds of thousands of formerly undocumented immigrants it allegedly tampered with the foundation of political representation and therefore undermined the genuine self-representation of the Venezuelan people. In order to scrutinise this claim, the paper will examine how voters registration has actually been conducted during the citizenship ceremonies.
### 4.2 Diversity and security: North America

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Dr Joanna Kaftan</th>
<th>National identity and governmental authority: the intersection of national identity, immigration policy and the child welfare system in the United States</th>
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National identity in the United States has often been discussed in the context of accommodating diversity. Nevertheless, demographic changes such as the increase in ethnically-driven diversity in the United States place additional pressure on existing Anglo-American conceptions of the nation.

The study examines whether perceptions and attitudes toward immigration affect other areas of governmental authority - specifically concerning child-welfare. The study examines state immigration policies and correlates them with child welfare outcomes - reunification or termination of parental rights. Measures include states' immigration laws, states' interpretation of the Adoption and Safe Families Act (ASFA) and child welfare outcomes by state, controlling for ethnicity.

This article suggests that child-welfare outcomes are influenced by conceptions of, and tensions surrounding a 'preferred' national identity.

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<tr>
<th>Dr Henio Hoyo</th>
<th>We are naturally mixed - so why should we need migrants? The influence of the official nationalist discourse of 'mestizaje' in the attitudes and policies towards migrants in Mexico</th>
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The role that nationalist ideologies play in creating barriers to immigration are well-known. For instance, it can be argued that those Nation-States that trace their origins to an original ethno-cultural community, with particular features that should be maintained, will tend to see immigration as a potential hazard. This can lead to restrictions to immigration, anti-immigrant attitudes, marginalization of migrant communities, and/or demands for their full assimilation.

But then, what happens if a Nation-State promotes an official discourse that traces its own foundations, not to a given “pristine, uncontaminated” origin, but to the opposite instead: to the full ethnic, cultural and genetic mixture of two different communities, one of them of foreign origin? If a national community regards itself as the product of miscegenation and ethno-cultural fusion, will this lead to more tolerant attitudes and policies towards newcomers?

I will analyse attitudes and policies regarding migrants to Mexico; a country that officially presents itself as the product of “mestizaje” (the mixture of Indigenous and Spanish populations) and also has actively promoted it through cultural, educational and demographic policies.

Preliminary results show that, while “mestizaje” ideology strongly influence views towards immigration, it does not necessarily lead to more openness. Some immigrants have been welcomed in very generous terms, while others were subjected to factual restrictions or even to truly discriminatory policies, all according to their perceived adaptability to an “ideal mixed Mexican community”; so sometimes replicating, more than opposing, exclusionary approaches based on an arguably ‘pristine’ ethno-cultural origin.
This paper investigates the ways that large-scale immigration to the United States, particularly from Latin America, is transforming the American political landscape. The issue of immigration, as well as the politics of the immigrants themselves, are reshaping party politics as Republicans and Democrats negotiate a difficult political balance between courting immigrants as potential new voters and assuaging the anti-immigrant sentiments of the party bases.

Political analyses highlight the efforts of Republican politicians, in particular, to soften their anti-immigrant rhetoric in the wake of the 2012 presidential elections. However, we argue that the most significant political evolution on this issue is taking place within the party's largest and most faithful voting constituency: Evangelical Christians.

For decades, Evangelical rhetoric on immigration has closely mirrored the themes of the Republican Party: immigrants represent both a cultural and a security threat. However, in recent years, spurred by demographic changes within the Evangelical Christian community and the emergence of new leadership, key sectors within Evangelical Christianity are calling for immigration reform, framing the need for reform in theological terms ("welcoming the stranger").

Once policy issues become theological issues, they become sticky and resistant to change. We argue that if a more progressive position on immigration takes hold within American Evangelical Christianity, it will pose an existential challenge to the Republican Party. How both parties respond to this challenge will alter not only the national debate on immigration, but could fundamentally alter electoral politics in the United States as well.

We propose a critical analysis of the process that led to the 2014 Parti québécois (PQ) Charte de la laïcité. This document was promoted by the PQ as a tool to achieve a balanced relationship between the culturally francophone majority and ethnocultural minorities.

We show that this attempt to renew Quebec’s nationalism amplified the struggles and tensions that characterize the normative source of the national habitus. More specifically, this paper shows that two umbrella groups; the liberalpluralists on the one hand and the republican-conservatives on the other; have actively fought to get access to that normative source, trying ultimately to spread their national habitus representations as the legitimate ones. The former group suggests an individualist-civic view for Quebec’s nationalism that embraces immigrant groups, Anglo-Quebecois minority and indigenous peoples while the latter suggests a collectivist-civic view for it anchoring into various strands of French-canadian nationalism.

Therefore, two distinct integration models are confronted: liberalpluralists fought against PQ’s Charte, continuing to sustain interculturalism as a Quebecois reformulation of multiculturalism, while republican-conservative support PQ’s Charte while they reject interculturalism.

Three variables help us to distinguish those two umbrella groups: their interpretation of Quebec’s pre-1960 history; their interpretation of the Quiet Revolution; and finally their interpretation of Fernand Dumont’s ideas.
4.3 Terrorism

Dr Andrea Carlà  After 9/11: the imprint of al Qaeda's attack on U.S. migration policy

This paper analyzes how 9/11 affected U.S. migration policies under the Bush administration. After the attack, many migrants; mainly Arabs and Muslims; were arrested, detained, and deported for minor migration violations. The migrant population in its totality experienced heightened security checks and was subjected to new monitoring practices, and the U.S. government multiplied its efforts to stop undocumented migration and fortify its borders.

In order to explain these measures, I update our understanding of how migration policies are forged. I develop an original theoretical framework through concepts borrowed from Security Studies and by adding a security dimension to the study of migration policy. With this framework I disclose the mechanism through which security concerns were used to enact tougher migration policies.

In particular I highlight the importance of the government political discourses in policy formation, showing that the discursive framework of the War on Terror elaborated by the Bush administration caused a process of securitization of migration: migration was considered as an existential threat that required exceptional measures. This process bolstered anti-migrant arguments and favored the enactment of restrictive migration policies.

Dr Akil Awan  Islamic State, the Caliphate and foreign fighters: constructing identities in a post-national context

Earlier this year, ISIS brazenly announced the re-establishment of a Caliphate - the religio-political entity that had historically governed vast swathes of the Islamic world. This ominous proclamation was presaged by convoys of heavily-armed ISIS fighters sweeping through North-East Syria into Northern Iraq, as they symbolically dismantled colonial-era national boundaries along the way.

As validation of this new de facto polity, ISIS truncated its name to simply IS - the Islamic State, removing any lingering allegiance to the nation states from which it was forged; those entities it perceived to be illegitimate and moribund legacies of the old imperial world order. Moreover, evincing global pretensions, IS declared that it was now incumbent on all Muslims worldwide to swear fealty to this new State, and its religio-political leader, Caliph Ibrahim.

The backlash from within the Islamic world against this flagrant usurpation of power and authority has been overwhelmingly negative. However, the resurrection of even a notional Caliphate has resonated with a significant minority of Muslims, drawing around 12,000 foreign fighters from no less than 81 different countries, flocking to the IS banner and willing to fight and die for its nascent Caliphate. A truly globalized mobilization on an epic scale.

What can the rise of IS tell us about radically reconfigured notions of identity and belonging and the construction of highly problematic, post-nationalistic identities, which take religion, belief or civilisation, as the sole locus of identity and belonging in the 21st Century?
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<th>Mr Claude Richard Linjuom Mbowou</th>
<th>The production of a national subject in a war torn context</th>
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I propose to present the results of my recent research in Africa. I was able to investigate how Cameroon, faced with attacks by the Islamist sect Boko Haram, has made the securing of its border with Northern Nigeria a national security issue.

This allows me to deal with the relationship between terrorism, the emergence of an internal enemy and the processing of citizenship in a context of weak state control and strong transnational identifications of certain minorities.

Indeed the violence at the border tends to reinforce interest in foreigners and their circulation. In this area historically characterized by the low participation of states, a great fluidity of borders, strong transnational circulation traditions, with similar populations on both sides of the border, many of whom have never received identity papers, it is difficult for a state to distinguish between its nationals and foreigners. The identification of the original leadership of the Islamist guerrillas as members of the Kanuri community, found both in Nigeria and Cameroon, seems to have played a decisive role in the ethnicization of this threat.

In Cameroon the idea that nationals linked to this minority may be at the origin of the attacks takes root. The war is against an enemy within, a "false Cameroonian" who must be flushed out. The confusion is reinforced by the fact that Islamists conduct targeted operations of identity-card burning in Cameroonian villages.

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<th>Ms Rojan Ezzati</th>
<th>Defining and contesting 'the collective we': insights from post-terror Norway</th>
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When faced with a critical event, society is in need of "a collective we" in order to cope. In this paper we discuss how influential actors in society and in public debates perceive the definition and contestation of unity in the aftermath of the July 22nd, 2011 terror attacks in Norway.

Given the perpetrator's nationalist motives, in the first few weeks after the attacks there was a widespread response that emphasized unity, expressing a wish for covert and overt anti-immigration sentiments to become untenable. However, over time such changes did not occur.

We ask: how have the attacks affected collective identities in Norway; who has the power to define the collective "we"; and how are these definitions contested? The data consists of 20 semi-structured interviews with individuals in influential roles in government institutions and in the public sphere. The struggle over the power to define the collective "we" is contested by actors with different political outlooks.

We find that the attacks have led to increased polarization in Norwegian public debates, where both those who promote diversity and those who disagree with current immigration and integration policies perceive that it is difficult to reach through with their message. This development takes place in a post-terror context where there has been much emphasis on the freedom of speech, but less on the implications of implicitly racialized notions of the national. The polarization in public debates and the lack of confrontation with the perpetrator's nationalist motives influences negotiations about the collective "we".
### 4.4 Securitization

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<th>Dr Hans Siebers</th>
<th>Low intensity ethnic cleansing: the nationalist policies of ethno-territorial homogenization in the Netherlands</th>
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In contemporary Europe, migrants are portrayed as a security threat (Balzacq, 2005; Buonfino, 2004; Huysmans, 2000) to the nation. European history has seen many instances of nationalist responses to security threats in terms of ethnic cleansing (Bell-Fialkoff, 1993) and war.

Democratic and legal traditions and institutions of countries like The Netherlands rule out extremely violent forms of ethnic cleansing like genocide, though, and force states to develop sophisticated forms of ethno-territorial homogenization (Jenne, 2011) that seem more acceptable and legitimate. Likewise, the concept of Low Intensity Warfare (LIW) was developed by the US government for cases in which public opinion and political conditions do not make it opportune to go to war in an outright fashion.

For similar reasons, Dutch nationalist policy responses to migration have adopted LIWs key traits to achieve ethno-territorial homogenization, i.e. they involve relatively low numbers of casualties (1), require convincing efforts to justify these policies and fit them within the legal framework (2), and thus cover up the de facto derailing of these policies into illegal practices (3).

In this paper, I show how this Low Intensity Ethnic Cleansing works out in Dutch policies that both exclude migrants from its territory and subdue resident migrants into the status of second class citizens by erecting ethnic boundaries (Wimmer, 2013) not only at the borders but also within society. It is based on discourse analysis of policy documents and statements by leading voices in public debate as well as on fieldwork in the Dutch labour market.

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<tr>
<th>Mr Robin Stunzi</th>
<th>Whose security? Swiss politics of asylum and the securitization of migration</th>
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Since the end of the 20th century, the nexus between security issues and migration has become more prominent in major countries of immigration, both among policymakers and among researchers in social sciences, law and international relations, where it is referred to as the securitization of migration.

This complex relationship is particularly at stake within the domain of asylum, where the tension between human and national security is a contentious issue. This paper aims at exploring this relationship and its evolution within the development of asylum policy in Switzerland since the 1970s. It focuses on legal, political and administrative discourse to examine how specific understandings of the concept of security have been constructed and transformed within the field of asylum policy in Switzerland.

The paper identifies three different security rationales that have been associated to asylum since the creation of the first Asylum Act: the rhetoric and practices of emergency to deal with situations labelled ‘mass influx’, the perceived threat associated with certain categories of asylum seekers, and the individual security of certain people deemed vulnerable subjects. In the concluding part, I turn to some political and philosophical implications of using security rhetoric and practices within the politics of asylum and refugees.
The paper highlights the economic dimension of the nationalism-security nexus. It argues that nationalist ideology feeds into debates about economic security through notions of autonomy and control of economic resources.

Empirically, the paper draws on recent debates about 'energy security' and 'resource nationalism', and on controversies about foreign takeovers in 'strategic' industries. In doing so, the paper engages with the Copenhagen School of securitization theory.

It will be demonstrated that this approach helps to shed light on the nationalism-security nexus by conceptualizing nationalism as a 'securitizing agent'. At the same time, however, the paper will also highlight the limits of the theory, in particular with regard to its stretching of the security concept and the associated danger of essentializing particular notions of national identity.

Notions of ethnicity and culture have been interchangeably used since at least the advent of nationalism and the nation-state. They have thus been associated with security issues, providing the basis for the 'securitisation' of cultural minorities and justifying assimilationist pressures and practices on the part of the nation-state.

This paper argues that one of the ways to disentangle the diversity-security nexus, and hence de-securitise diversity, is by re-establishing the distinction between ethnicity and culture. Highlighting the different substance of these two concepts, the paper re-reads Gellner's explanation of the rise of nationalism through the homogenising force of industrialism, by noting Gellner's consistent mixing of the two concepts.

The paper finally combines Gellner's notion of incongruence and his description of counter-entropic traits with the early securitisation studies literature as developed in IR since the 1990s.
### 5.1 Migration

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<th>Ms Teresa Buczkowska</th>
<th>Irish migration policies in relation to the 'contract v charity' models of citizenship</th>
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This paper analyses the Irish migration policies in relation to the “contract v charity” models of citizenship. Migration admission policies are employed as a way of production and reiteration of particular type of society with a citizen based on neoliberal principles as its core.

I attempt to contribute to the discussion on the contemporary issue of migration policy and its functioning as an effort to find balance between the national interest and the pressure of the neoliberal market. In neoliberal framework economic self-sufficiency and personal responsibility are promoted as central attributes of good citizenship.

The model of citizenship based on a responsible and economically contributing individual is a form of a contracted relationship with the state. Anyone who does not fulfil condition of contracted correlation with the state falls in to the category of charitable model of citizenship. Similar market based policies are put in place to maximize material gains while limiting social cost of migration in line with national interest of the receiving state. Migration policies are centred on the contract model that encourages and facilitates entry of those who have market based traits and values and discourages and obstructs mobility of those who lack it.

Although international human rights regime puts an obligation on states to facilitate non-economic and humanitarian migration the entry channels for charitable form of mobility are more and more confined. Admission policies mirror the “contract v charity” model of citizenship and anyone who falls outside this framework is deemed undesired and is “illegalised”.

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<tr>
<th>Mr Cihat Battaloglu</th>
<th>Demographic imbalances and new security concern in the Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC) countries</th>
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Over the past four decades, countries in the Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC) have faced a migration boom in the wake of new economic developments and job market requirements. They have attained the third largest proportion of migrant workers in the world after European Union and North America.

Nevertheless, this new demographic trends have brought serious concerns among GCC countries regarding societal security particularly that refers to a threat to the identity of indigenous citizens and the common culture of Khaliji (Arabian Gulf). These states, therefore, have currently started to imply new policies in both social and economic level to protect the identity of indigenous citizens and the Gulf Culture.

In order to discuss this sensitive issue in the Gulf States, this paper explores the security concerns in the societal level of the GCC states. It also addresses current policies and future policy recommendations that would be discussed within the GCC states to overcome societal security problems that could result from demographic imbalances and problems of culture and identity. The paper discusses these issues within a theoretical framework of ‘Societal Security’ as employed by the Copenhagen School.
Migration, - blessed by a vital role in the construction of European economies after the World War II - has never been under such an extended focus of European political agenda. Previously seen as an innocent economic activity, welcomed and encouraged by European states, dealt with liberal asylum policies, migration, has been framed as a security threat to homogenized cultural identity and the socio-economic well-being of the ‘native’ population.

This securitization process (reconstruction of nation states), which works through discourses and practices, has been reinforced since the 9/11. The integration of Muslim communities and/or their alleged inability to integrate into European societies has especially become the focal point of a much larger sense of anxiety.

In other words, so-called ‘cultural differences’ with Muslim communities have been reified and framed as a striking destabilizing factor across the EU. In such a context, the latest integration discourses and practices were designated as strategies of filtering, disciplining and rehabilitating these deviant ‘abnormals’ or preventing them to gain secure legal status.

In unpacking and problematizing these issues, this article, first, delineates the dynamics and history of securitization of migration in the EU. Second, it discusses the recent integration practices and discourses dominating the EU/member states agenda. Especially, integration programmes and citizenship policies will be critically examined. Finally, it suggests that this securitarian process has important impact over multiculturalism and masks the very structural problems, such as racial discrimination, institutional racism, and marginalization of certain groups by culturalizing them.
Why do dictators grant ethnic autonomy? While existing literature posits that credible threats from civil society or rival factions drive policy and institutional concession in authoritarian regimes, I contend that threats alone do not suffice to induce power-sharing authoritarianism. By studying authoritarian ethnic autonomy, I argue that autocrats offer autonomy to co-opt ethnic minorities as new allies against their competitors in the central leadership rather than using autonomy to counter ethnic uprisings.

Using a dynamic game with incomplete information, I demonstrate that dictators grant autonomy when their dominance is challenged by others within the leadership. To recruit minorities' support through ethnic autonomy, autocrats need to acquire a certain level of dominance. They would also prefer groups in which minority elites enjoys sufficient internal command so that dictators can use ethnicities to coordinate compliance and loyalty.

With a cross-sectional time-series dataset from different data sources, I estimate the correlates of the establishment of ethnofederations and subnational autonomous systems in post-WWII authoritarian regimes. The results suggest that leadership change, which places dictators at a relatively weak position relative to their competitors, has a larger effect on the introduction of ethnic autonomy than that of the level of separatism threats imposed by ethnic minorities. Moreover, single-party regimes are consistently more like to implement ethnic autonomy than other types of autocracies. I use China as an instructive case to illustrate how the dynamics of factional conflicts shape changes in the ethnic policies within a regime.

The ethnically targeted violence of July 2009 in Xinjiang, in which 197 people were killed, overshadowed the 60th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. Minority Uyghurs and majority Han were both victims and perpetrators and the violence showed that ethnic relations remain a significant challenge to the party-state’s capacity to provide stability and ethnic unity (minzu tuanjie).

This paper looks beyond the discourse of ethnic inclusion in official Chinese narratives of ethnic unity to their threatening mirror image; the spectre of violence by Uyghurs, which the party-state narrates as a security threat to the ‘life or death’ of China. It will critically analyse official documents, ethnic unity mass education materials, public media, and interviews with witnesses.

The analysis explores how violence is ethnicised and narrated to articulate boundaries and produce them as taken-for-granted referent objects of security in the classroom and on the street. The paper asks how are the same acts of violence against ordinary people by different majority/minority groups framed as different types of threat to China? Who is the referent to be secured by the security practices of the Chinese party-state in Xinjiang?

The paper argues that the securitisation or de-securitisation of violence in official discourse is contingent upon the majority/minority status of the actor, thus producing different subject positions within the nation and different everyday insecurities.
Chinese nationalism, predominantly characterised by elements of sovereignty and primordialism, presents a challenge to the state's changing security, and particularly to its foreign policy towards Japan.

This article examines the construction of Chinese nationalism, bottom-up and top-down, during the 2010 and 2012 vast anti-Japanese demonstrations sparked by conflicts surrounding Diaoyu/Senkaku islands. Chinese media and activists framed this conflict mainly as a territorial sovereignty issue. Therefore, critical discourse analysis is applied on three types of sources: on the semi-authoritative People's Daily as the mouthpiece of the Chinese Communist Party; on commercial national publications; and on personal interviews carried out with Chinese activists.

The aims are to reveal the type of nationalism presented, whether state led or pluralised, and to unpack the discursive rhetoric with a focus on hegemony and ideology, underpinned by notions of sovereignty and history.

The findings show several differences and similarities between the three types of nationalist discourses, varying from the linguistic strategies used, to the messages conveyed and objectives pursued. Moreover, the article discusses the specific circumstances under which these strategies and objectives sometimes overlap with the Government's agenda, while sometimes they restrain it.

In conclusion, this article warns on the potential implications that Chinese nationalism, which holds at its core powerful principles of sovereignty, has on its foreign policy after 2010, a time when China achieved a much sought after status of great power.
### 5.3 Identity, polity, and (in)stability

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<th>Author</th>
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<tr>
<td>Prof Sarah Danielsson</td>
<td>The inherent instability of the nation-state: a theoretical and historical examination</td>
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This paper argues that both in theory and practice, the modern nation-state, by its very definition, is not equipped to handle diversity. Although set up with the illusion of stability, nation-state construction and its subsequent incarnations are inherently unstable and have a limited existence before reconstruction or deconstruction must ensue.

This paper critiques the concept of the nation-state, and challenges the assumption that modern nation-states are a form of government that is here to stay. Through an examination of theories of nationalism, the nation-state and pan-nationalism, as well as the functioning of modern 'nation-states', this paper argues that scholars must come to terms with the inherent instability of the nation-state. Along these lines, through an examination of current secession and nationalist movements in Europe, the author argues Europe is undergoing an existential crisis of the nation-state and a realignment towards more regional identities. Select comparative case-studies across Europe will be used to illustrate these points.

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<th>Author</th>
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<td>Dr Enrico Gargiulo</td>
<td>Under the pretext of security: the local control on residency as a tool of polity-building</td>
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During the last years, several Italian Mayors have showed an increasing attention to the procedures through which the status of residency “that is the enrolment into the registry office of a municipality” is recognized. More specifically, these Mayors have (illegally) narrowed the national requirements to obtain the enrollment into the registry office of the Municipality by means of administrative provisions as well as through informal practices. They have accounted their decisions referring to the need of protecting the safety of their citizens and the public decorum.

Narrowing the access to the status of residency, these Mayors, beyond the rhetoric of security, have tried to draw the line between “legitimate local citizens” people who are formally recognized as residents “and “illegitimate local citizens” people who are denied of the status of residents. As a consequence, the latter, who are often immigrants, have been seriously damaged as, according to the Italian laws, the denying of residency prevents the access to welfare provisions.

Given this premise, the paper aims to analyze the legal mechanisms as well as the institutional discourses that shape the forms of control here described. Through this analysis, it will be shown how these forms of control strengthen, at the local level, the system of civic stratification (Lockwood 1996; Morris 2003) and support Mayors attempts to build, symbolically but also materially, the local community according to their desires.
National/ethnic identities are based on multiple attachments and continuously changing elements that gain or lose significance based on the context. One of these building elements of identity is citizenship, not only the basic component of the modern nation state but also an object of social closure.

Citizenship in CEE countries is often conceptualized as strongly connected to nationhood, and states in the region offer non-territorial citizenship for their ethnic kin living in neighbouring countries based on the individual’s self-identification with the nation. This “ethnizenship”, based on a sense of belonging, is often in tension with the “empty citizenship” of the state of residence, not only at the level of the individual but also a source of conflict among the states of the region; e.g. the dispute of Hungary and Slovakia over extra-territorial citizenship.

Our exploratory paper proposes to assess qualitatively what is the meaning of gaining “ethnizenship” for minority members and how do they reconcile the seemingly conflicting loyalties towards host- and kin-states. We use focus group discussions to be able to examine how members of ethnic Hungarian communities living in Slovakia and Romania (re)construct their identities through their citizenship(s) and how does this affect relations to their host state and the kin-state. As such, we can explore and compare not only how citizenship(s) are integrated (or not) into multi-layered minority identity structures at the individual level but we can also understand how citizenship policies influence interethnic relations both within and among states of the region.
### 6.1 Kurds and Alevi: Old and new minorities in the Middle East

| Ms Ceren Sengül | We are not 'them': the reconstruction of Kurdish identity as a reaction to the official discourse on 'Turkishness' |

This paper focuses on the question of integration between the Turkish state and the Kurds living within the borders of the Turkish state. Even though Kurds are not officially minorities in the Turkish state according to the Turkish constitution, the Turkish state has, since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, considered Kurds a threat to the national unity of the state.

Based on the data collected during my fieldwork (February-June 2013) through interviews, this paper shows that one of the issues at stake regarding the integration of Kurds has been how ‘Turkishness’ is defined through citizenship. This will be discussed by examining the demands of Kurds from the Peace Process, which officially started in March 2013 between the Turkish state and the PKK.

One of the most contested issues during the Process has been the definition of Turkishness and how it has been connected to citizenship. By constitutionally defining everyone bound to the Turkish state through the bond of citizenship as a Turk, the Turkish state has aimed to integrate the Kurds into the nation-state. For Kurds, however, this definition of Turkishness means that Kurdish and Turkish identities cannot coexist.

Based on the qualitative data, this paper shows that how the definition of ‘Turkishness’ has led Kurds to reconstruct the Kurdish identity through their narratives of ‘othering’ and how this, in turn, has resulted in the Turkish state perceiving Kurds as even bigger threats to its national security.

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| Dr Thomas J Miley | Nationalism and Internationalism in the Rojava Revolution |

Since the descent into civil war in Syria, revolutionary forces have seized control of the Kurdish region of Rojava. Hegemonic among the revolutionary forces are cadres closely associated with the Kurdish Workers Party, or PKK. Its charismatic leader, Abdullah Öcalan, remains the supreme authority amongst the revolutionary forces in Rojava, despite the fact that he has been in prison in Turkey since 1999.

Since his imprisonment, Öcalan’s thinking on the question of the nation-state has evolved considerably; as a result, the PKK has explicitly abandoned the aim of an independent Kurdish nation-state, and claims to respect existing nation-state borders while simultaneously attacking the state as an institution, and embracing in its stead a model of democratic confederalism for application throughout the Middle East.

One of the unique features of the revolutionary transformations underway in Rojava is the emphasis on multi-ethnic and religious accommodation embedded into the emergent institutional framework of the revolutionary regime. This paper will present a critical evaluation of the emergent regime for multi-ethnic and multicultural accommodation in Rojava. It will explore the relation of this emergent institutional order to the ideas of Abdullah Öcalan.

The paper will focus on the questions: to what extent have the ethno-nationalist origins of the ascendant political forces in Rojava been transcended in practice and transformed into a form of revolutionary internationalism, and to what extent do these origins inhibit and condition the revolutionary tactics and strategy of the emergent revolutionary democratic nation?
Since the unprecedented uprisings in the Middle East that began in 2011, the increasingly sectarian framings of emerging conflicts have drawn attention to fault lines in neighbouring countries such as Turkey. This has meant greater focus and visibility in the international realm on Turkey’s Alevi-Sunni tensions, which is being increasingly represented and retold within the narrative of a deepening Sunni-Shi’a conflict engulfing the region. In parallel to these regional developments, Turkey’s governing Islamist-leaning Justice and Development Party (AKP) since 2002 has adopted an increasingly sectarian framing in its public discourse, while also re-structuring the public sphere with more religious-conservative references.

Alevis comprise a heterogeneous community whereby certain intra-groupings are defined by ethnic and regional differentiations. Constituting the second largest belief community after Sunni Muslims in Turkey, Alevi-Sunni tensions are subject to discrimination. Since the 1990s, Alevi-Sunni relations have been campaigning for official recognition through the agency of diaspora in Europe, emerging from their ‘invisibility’ through much of the history of the Republic. Alongside a growing sense of insecurity owing to the AKP’s increasingly sectarian stance, Alevis are becoming uneasy with the new international visibility that relocates their belief-culture within the framework of a regional Sunni-Shi’a conflict.

Going beyond representations of the region as ‘seething cauldrons’ of ethnic tension and attendant groupism, in this paper we trace and analyse the emergence and construction of a new minority in the ‘Middle East’. Through an analysis of international and local media sources alongside interviews with various actors within and outside Turkey (including with Alevi organisations along the Syrian border in Hatay, as well as the Alevi diaspora in Europe) the paper explores the re-articulation of the Alevi-Sunni conflict as a Shi’a religious minority, remapped and reframed within the wider narrative of a Sunni-Shi’a conflict in the region while also regionalising the domestic Alevi-Sunni conflict. We also attempt to show how this sectarian nexus was utilized by the AKP government to re-frame certain domestic issues in Turkey, highlighting the mutually constitutive manner in which domestic and regional agendas are shaping approaches to Alevi-Sunni relations. By analysing international and domestic reflections of the sectarian nexus, we claim that the Alevi-Sunni conflict became integrated into the Sunni-Shi’a nexus in the Middle East following the outbreak of Syrian conflict in 2011. We believe this case study provides a nascent yet critical example to discuss the evolution and fluidity of the ‘Middle East’ construct while also focusing on acts of framing and representation as crucial mechanisms whereby ‘groupness’ is constructed.
6.2 Multiculturalism, integration and homogenization

Dr Julia Schneider  East Asian strategies of integration and homogenization: Qing ethnification (1636/1644-1912) vs. Republican assimilation (1912-1949)

Around 1900, Chinese intellectuals were looking for ways to change the Manchu Qing Empire (1636/1644-1912) into a Chinese nation-state. However, there were major obstacles: the Qing Empire's multi-ethnic composition and the non-Chinese, but Manchu origin of the emperors and ruling elite.

Although Chinese intellectuals wanted a Chinese nation-state, few opted for an ethnically pure China proper. Instead, they imagined it territorially identical with the Qing Empire. Consequently, a strategy was needed to integrate a large amount of non-Chinese peoples as part of a Chinese nation.

Assimilation to Chinese people (sinicization) was discussed as the most feasible strategy, an approach derived from a Chinese culturalist world perception. However, Chinese culturalism had never been put to test with regard to build a Chinese nation-state with a multi-ethnic population; in Chinese governance traditions, the inclusion of large groups of non-Chinese people inhabiting own territories had never been an issue.

Instead of drawing on culturalism, Chinese intellectuals could indeed have taken as a model the Qing emperors diversified approach towards their multi-ethnic subjects derived from Manchu and other Northern and Central Asian governance traditions. Although it promoted a growing ethnification, it secured stability.

When a Chinese nation-state, the Republic of China (ROC, 1912-1949) was finally founded, it immediately faced the separation of large non-Chinese regions. The problems of the ROC government in securing the integration of the former Qing territory was a reflection of their assimilative approach to the nation and their consequent inability to deal with the demands of non-Chinese ethnicities.

Miss Emma Patrignani  A certain conception of living together

My paper envisages the conception of ‘living together’ contained in the French statute prohibiting the concealment of one’s face in public places, voted for almost unanimously by the Parliament and whose constitutionality has been confirmed by the Conseil Constitutionnel. As a matter of fact, also the ECHR decision in the case S.A.S. v. France ultimately resolved for the conformity of the provision to the ECHR exactly on the point of the specifically French ‘living together’ conception, considered to be a legitimate ground to restrict the rights to respect for private life and to manifest one’s beliefs.

This is a very clear positioning of the French law towards envisaging diversity as a problem and a threat. A minority is banned from public spaces, and in this way the State is imposing uniformity in the external appearance of its inhabitants.

The paper analyses the arguments that have been advanced in the various legal texts mentioned above in support of the ban. In particular, it tries to place them in the wider matrix of French understanding of nationhood, traditionally described as assimilationist, ignoring any manifestation of ethnocultural belonging interposed between the citizens and the State. The paper also proposes an alternative contextualization of this homogenizing measure, namely as the result of a progressive extension of meaning of State laicity. The term refers nowadays to a strict secularism, one that maintains religious identities in the private sphere and requires the public space to appear as homogeneous as possible.
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<tr>
<th>Dr Madura Rasaratnam</th>
<th>The Indian nation and its ethnic others: explaining the uneven accommodation of Tamil Nadu, Kashmir and Punjab</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Multiculturalism</strong></td>
<td>Multiculturalism has been advanced by its advocates as a means of accommodating ethnic difference within nation-states and the Indian constitution is often held up as an example of this, containing a range of multicultural rights and measures to accommodate demands from linguistic, caste and religious for recognition and re-distribution. These measures, however, have only been unevenly successful in limiting conflict that has sometimes turned violent.</td>
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<td><strong>This paper examines</strong></td>
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<td><strong>The paper argues</strong></td>
<td>The paper argues that the crucial factor that explains this difference is the varying strengths of Congress-led nationalist mobilisation in these states during the colonial era. Where this mobilisation was strong and sustained, as in Tamil Nadu, accommodation was successful. In contrast where it was weak, as in Punjab, or largely absent, as in Kashmir, accommodation has been less successful.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Dr Katerina Manevska</th>
<th>The nationalist paradox of multicultural policies</th>
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<td><strong>The Netherlands</strong></td>
<td>The Netherlands was long renowned for its tolerance towards minority groups. This tolerance, however, quickly vanished after the murder on Dutch politician Pim Fortuyn in 2002 and of Dutch cineaste Theo van Gogh in 2004. Anti-immigrant attitudes grew ever since and are now an important factor in Dutch politics; hence the so-called &quot;Dutch paradox of tolerance.</td>
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<td><strong>A similar - though arguably more extreme - paradox can be found in the Balkans,</strong></td>
<td>A similar - though arguably more extreme - paradox can be found in the Balkans, where the multicultural policies of communist Yugoslavia were quickly lost after the death of its political leader Tito. It resulted in the violent dissolution of the country; interethnic relations in that region are stable, yet precariously fragile.</td>
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<td><strong>In this paper,</strong></td>
<td>In this paper, I argue that rather than &quot;paradoxes&quot;, the outburst of nationalism in these two cases can be seen as a logical consequence of multiculturalist policies that focus on ethnic boundaries. By emphasizing these boundaries, such policies reinforce a tendency to think in terms of an ethnic divide. Following Ethnic Reification Theory, such reinforcement of ethnic boundaries will lead to a greater emphasis on national cultures, which will especially come to the fore in turbulent times in which the social order is disrupted. As such, social disorder should especially lead to nationalism in countries with multiculturalist policies. Since economic crises can be seen as a context in which the social order is being disrupted, this theory is tested by comparing nationalistic attitudes in a range of European countries before and after the start of the current financial crisis.</td>
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### 6.3 Sexualities, attitudes and emotions

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<th>Mr Alex Cooper</th>
<th>Being out while being in: LGBTQ activists' navigation of identity, Serbian nationalism and EU accession</th>
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Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) rights activists in Serbia must contend with strong anti-LGBTQ attitudes and instances of violence. Many Serbians who hold anti-LGBTQ attitudes view non-heteronormative behavior as against the traditions of the Serbian nation. The people who work in the field of LGBTQ activism must navigate through this anti-LGBTQ nationalist environment to accomplish their stated goals and objectives. Often rejecting masculine, heterosexed nationalist ideologies, many LGBTQ activists in Serbia argue for protection on the basis of their rights as Serbian citizens and their rights through a universal human rights framework. These claims are strengthened by these activists' ties to supranational bodies and international human rights groups that work to promote human rights (including sexuality rights) in the country.

In Serbian nationalist discourses, the LGBTQ individual is seen as an enemy twice over. On one hand they are understood as an internal Other that corrupts Serbian society, and on the other, they are seen as connected to an external Other, the EU and other international bodies. This paper examines how LGBTQ activists understand how they occupy these positions. Based on interviews with over 20 LGBTQ activists in Serbia and 4 months of ethnographic research in Belgrade, I argue that these activists embrace this Other label in order to receive recognition and visibility. Taking from literature in Nationalism Studies, Queer Studies and Feminist Studies, I claim that the activists use this precarious position of negotiating their identity as both LGBTQ and Serbian to further their activist work.

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<th>Miss Peny (Panagiota) Sotiropoulou</th>
<th>The formation of attitudes towards immigration in Greece: an explanatory model based on individual-level characteristics</th>
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Greece transformed from an emigration area to an immigration destination in early 1990s. With large numbers of immigrants permanently settling down, diversity became visible and immigration rose to the epicenter of attention. Since then, immigration has generally been presented as a problem. Large proportions of the native population feel threatened by the immigrant presence, holding negative views towards immigrants and immigration. Although attitudes towards immigration constitute a matter of great research interest throughout Europe, little has been done towards explaining the Greek case. This paper provides an explanatory model for the Greek paradigm based on individual-level characteristics, using data from the 2002/2 European Social Survey.

Path analysis showed that the constructed model's explanatory power is almost 36%, with socio-demographic characteristics, amount of contact with immigrants and perceptions of immigrants as a threat to the nation all affecting the formation of attitudes towards immigration. Residents of rural areas, highly educated people and those having more contact with immigrants are more likely to adopt a positive outlook concerning immigration. In contrast, those perceiving immigrants as an economic, cultural and safety threat show significantly higher levels of opposition to immigration. Perceived economic and safety threat have a direct effect, whereas the impact of perceived cultural threat is fully mediated by the aforementioned threats. In general, perception of immigrants as an economic threat has the greatest impact on attitude formation.

These findings provide important implications for the design and implementation of successful immigration policies, in the European Union in general and in Greece specifically.
The paper attempts to understand recent politics of sexuality in India which includes the recriminalisation of same sex love in 2013, rejection of the repeal petition of section 377 in 2014 and the demands for public expression of love. The paper will try to understand the following:

a) The homogenising mechanism of the state through propagating the idea of a single Indian sexuality.

b) It will show how the creation of the "sexual other becomes necessary for normative sexualities to be recognized as legitimate (also looking at how the state may in fact be in conflict with heterosexual pleasures too).

c) Understand anxieties created in traditional institutions such as the family that have played an important role in generating the idea of the state.

d) The dismissal of alternative sexualities as a numerical minority raises questions around how a modern nation state strives to create a unified culture based on sexuality by setting minorities against the majority.

e) The paper will also try to understand the broader debate around the location of the state i.e. the lines between state and civil society becomes blurry so much so that the nation state is understood through the bodies of its citizens.

In order to understand the above I will be looking at liberal as well as right wing response to the law, public expression of love and organized resistances such as "The Kiss of Love protest in India in recent times.

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<tr>
<th>Ms Amrita Middey</th>
<th>Forbidden desires and the nation state: understanding sexuality politics in India</th>
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"Following a serious error, Reuters suggested that I envisaged alliances with Jobbik and Golden Dawn. I have declared exactly the opposite..."

This assertion has two notable elements: first, that it is exactly these two parties that are mentioned together, and, second, that not even Marine le Pen wants to be associated with them. This paper aims to deepen our knowledge regarding these political formations. More specifically, it is an attempt to identify the communicative frames Jobbik and Golden Dawn employ via a thematic analysis of the various texts they produce.

As xenophobia is at the hart of the discourse of both parties and explains large part of their electoral success, I focus solely on issues regarding immigration and cultural diversity. My main questions are who are the enemies, how are they constructed, and what frames, what metaphors are used in party communication? Additionally, the comparative design allows for an explanation of differences and similarities in framing strategies and more general insights.

I find that in both cases the most forceful frame is that of threat: to identity, to law and order, to territorial integrity, to the economy and prosperity. Moreover, racialized conceptions about the inferiority of minorities, as well as assertions of national exceptionalism and superiority emerge intertwined with the aforementioned security considerations.

The link between neo-racism and nationalism across Europe is growing with exclusionary national interests being put to the fore; claims of patriotic endeavours for the homeland being made, and populist hate speech intersecting with sexist, homophobic, racist and generally intolerant discourse.

In Slovenia, as elsewhere, xenophobia remains primarily focused on immigrants, Roma, Muslims, and Jews, who are constructed, discriminated against and persecuted as undesired outsiders, a threat to be dealt with. The first crisis-related nationalist responses to immigration occurred already in early 2009 with anti-immigration policies (banning of visas, tightening border controls, limiting immigrant employment to allegedly ‘protect’ the ‘native’ workers).

Austerity was used as a ready-made excuse for downsizing, frequently at the expense of ‘non-native’ workers. Accompanied by populist and nationalist discourses, such policies sustain all outsiders in rightless positions, or at least at the outskirts of the public good. In addition, radical right groups attempt to mask their racist exclusion with self-proclaimed patriotism, while promoting exclusionary and discriminatory rhetoric against non-Slovenians.

Serving as paradigmatic examples of how patriotism (i.e. the good nationalism) is used to legitimise intolerant and discriminatory rhetoric and practice, analysis shows them putting a special emphasis on mobilising and recruiting young people, whose slim employment possibilities due to the crisis are increasingly contributing to their social exclusion, growing poverty and general disillusionment. Considering the crisis-related high shares of unemployment among the youth, the paper argues that the actual potential of radical nationalist movements is not to be downplayed or dismissed as insignificant.
Dr Gareth Harris  | ‘We’re not far right, we're not far wrong’: the shifting boundaries of English nationalism  
|---|---|

The paper examines the relationship of immigration and ethnic diversity to new and emergent forms of anti-minority protest, such as the English Defence League (EDL). The EDL is a street-based movement which identify itself as English nationalist and primarily mobilises support on the basis of opposition to ‘militant’ Islam.

This research employs qualitative and quantitative methods in comparative case studies of the emergence and evolution of the anti-Muslim protest in two English towns. We examine how demographic trends enable and constrain the political and discursive opportunity structure open to anti-Muslim protest groups and how these opportunities inform the group’s protest narratives.

The research adds to the existing literature by refining theoretical understanding of the mechanisms that bridge macro-structural trends such as immigration and increased diversity and micro-social behaviour in the form of mobilisation by groups like the EDL. Contrary to a mechanistic model in which demographic trends simply fuel increased out group hostility, we highlight the role of place and its interaction with the national and international discursive environment in facilitating successful mobilisation by the EDL.

In some areas, experiences of local diversity shaped the development of the EDL in a way which precluded an appeal to the biological racism adopted by the established extreme right actors. The organisation developed protest narratives that focused on supposed cultural incompatibility between Islam and Western values. Consequently the definition of English nationalism that the EDL promoted is one that was to an extent ethnically inclusive but culturally or religiously exclusive.
### 7.1 Ideological conflict

**Dr Steven Mock**  
The body of the nation: a cognitive-affective theory of territory in national identity and conflict

Are nations modern constructs generated by recent social innovations; or continuous with pre-modern communities possessed of durable ethno-symbolic resources? Are they primarily civic, voluntary loyalties; or necessarily grounded in ascriptive, contingent signifiers of ethnic culture?

These debates are familiar to scholars of nationalism, and the closest we get to resolution is a widespread acknowledgement that the answer is probably complicated. Cognitive-Affective Mapping can be used to cut through such disputes by representing the nation as the network of emotionally loaded concepts that serves to reconcile the countervailing psychological and social forces that create these dilemmas.

This paper demonstrates, with examples, the use of CAM to locate and explain the significance of a particular category of concept - national territory - central to nearly all national identities and a key stake in many violent inter-group conflicts. Territory serves as a 'keystone symbol' that simultaneously satisfies the conflicting impulses underlying the nation's civic and ethnic, modern and primordial character. As perhaps the most concrete, tangible, practical and near-universal non-human element of the system of concepts that amounts to the nation, the reality and indivisibility of the 'homeland' comes to symbolise the reality and indivisibility of the national group itself. In this way, it becomes crucial to the coherence of national identity as a belief system capable of maintaining social stability, and the loss or partition of territory that a group deems to be collectively theirs is experienced not simply as unjust, but unnatural, triggering a desperation difficult for outsiders to understand.

**Mr Michael Lawrence**  
The role of dehumanization in mass violence

As the diverse peoples of the world grow increasingly interconnected, globalization generates often contradictory process of integration and conflict, fostering broadly encompassing conceptions of common humanity while simultaneously aggravating fears of difference and "otherness" that can escalate into violence.

This paper examines "dehumanization" as a psychological mechanism that overcomes feelings of communality to mobilize exclusionary violence. It builds on the philosophical work of Nick Haslam by distinguishing two types of dehumanization; animalistic dehumanization and mechanistic dehumanization; along four dimensions: the role of emotions, the psychological function of dehumanization, the perceived agency of the "other", and the role of ideology.

The paper then examines the operation of these two mechanisms of dehumanization in the mobilization of several types of violence, including war propaganda, genocide and ethnic cleansing, anti-immigrant violence, strategic bombing, and suicide terrorism.

Contrary to common conception, recent works in psychology and micro-sociology suggest that individuals face immense difficulty in using violence and explore the variety of ways by which they overcome their peaceable inhibitions. Engaging this literature, the paper continues by relating mechanisms of dehumanization to behavioral opportunities, broader individual psychology, and situational dynamics in the complex causation of violence. In this way, it probes the role of ideas and the construction of self and other in the mobilization of different forms of violence. The paper ultimately argues that dehumanization is a potent tool for activating mass violence, yet does not constitute a necessary, sufficient, or even proximate cause.
### Unlike minds: ideology, political violence and armed conflict

Scholars of political violence are increasingly concerned with the motives, beliefs and mindsets of violent actors. In particular, expanding literatures on terrorism, genocide, and ethno-religious conflict have emphasised the role of “ideology”. But existing work - whether affirming or dismissing ideology - is held back by latent notions of a single sort of ideological actor, a single sort of “extremist” ideology, and a single way that such an ideology encourages violence.

Empirical research provides abundant evidence, by contrast, that perpetrators of violence are ideologically diverse - in both the content of their ideologies and the role those ideologies play in shaping behaviour. Moreover, this diversity exists not only between identifiable groups such as nations or ethnic communities, but also within groups: perpetrating organisations are not unitary minds but comprised of ideologically heterogeneous populations.

Showing how existing work has failed to address the challenge posed by such diversity, this paper advances present thinking through three main contributions. First, I draw a series of distinctions in analysing the causal pathways linking ideology and violence. Second, I use these distinctions to provide a typology, with examples, of different sorts of ideological actor, both individual and collective, emphasising how many individuals who are not “true believers” can still be influenced by an ideology in ways crucial to the commission of violence. Finally, I discuss how both the distinctions and typology should influence broader theories of political violence, suggesting ways to theorise how different sorts of campaigns of violence emerge from different heterogeneities of actors.
### 7.2 Diversity and security: Europe

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<th>Dr Vassilis Petsinis</th>
<th>Ethnic relations, European integration, and geopolitical implications: the cases of Estonia and Croatia</th>
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This is a comparison between the patterns for managing ethnic relations in Croatia and Estonia within the context of European integration. It sets in context how internal and external actors impact upon the management of ethnic relations in both states. Not much research has been conducted on comparing all of the Western Balkan states with the Baltic republics, thus enhancing the innovative aspects of this study. The main question, here, is: How has the balance of power among the internal and external actors impacted upon the management of ethnic relations in the states compared?

Systemic transformation has generated the circumstances towards the formulation of a consistent and extensive legislation on minority rights in Croatia. Meanwhile, in Estonia, the emphasis on national survival and safeguarding the "Estonian" character of the republic has halted more substantial developments despite the state of social stability. Furthermore, the Croatian case demonstrates that selected aspects of the Communist-era legislation can still be applicable in present-day situations, if properly modified and adapted to European standards.

This paper is highly relevant to the thematic scope of the conference in that it demonstrates how the management of ethnic relations in Central and Eastern Europe can be subject to a variety of internal and external actors. It also sets in context how the management of ethnic relations in Central and Eastern Europe can acquire broader geopolitical implications.

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<tr>
<th>Mr Thiago Babo</th>
<th>Communities, nationalisms and (in)securities: the European Union and the Nordic case</th>
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The work of Karl W. Deutsch was of great influence - both directly and indirectly - to the development of the theoretical debate about the integration processes in international politics, more precisely, those who started in the post-war Europe. According to Deutsch, a "security community" is defined by the existence of a process of integration between individuals based on the building of a sense of community ('we-feeling'), responsible for creating an expectation of peaceful change in the relations between the parts of the community.

Thus, a 'security community' well established would be able to eliminate war as a recurrent practice of international politics. However, Deutsch identifies nationalist feeling as the main obstacle to the full construction of a security community. Therefore, this paper aims to understand to what extent the relationship between 'integration' and 'nationalism' can impact the stability of a 'security community', bringing back a sense of insecurity among the parties.

To this end, this paper will work empirically with two emblematic cases: the European Union and the Nordic countries. In addition, to collaborate with theoretical aspects about the 'security community' this paper will seek for elements in the sociological debate about the structural difference between a community and a society.
Two defining mobilizations in Finland triggered by the collapse of the Soviet Union reached their culmination in 1994: An elite led project of European integration, and a popular neo-nationalist mobilization from below.

In this context, an old infantry general and a decorated II World War veteran Adolf Ehrnrooth rapidly became a celebrated national hero and the symbol of the war generation. In this paper, I study his ideas of Finnish nationhood by conceptually analyzing his remarkably popular memoirs *The Generals Will*, and other public sources.

His ideas about Finnish nationhood and national security are particularly interesting. He was a conservative nationalist, but also a cosmopolitan elitist. Although the symbolic resources he used were based on memories of war and the sacredness of the national unity, his message was inclusive. The boundary mechanisms used in his conception of nationhood were voluntarist rather than organistic. The most important obligation was to express gratitude for the sacrifices of the wartime generation by completing one’s military duties, and raising the children to respect patriotic values and national culture.

Immigration posed no problem; “the greatest threat was the loss of patriotic voluntarism. My argument is that General Ehrnrooth’s message and figure provided a creative solution to the two perceivably incompatible mobilizations. Ehrnrooth helped to bring the patriotic sentiments over to the Yes-side by harnessing the myths and memories of the war. Ehrnrooth was a figure by which the potentially dangerous wave of neo-nationalist sentiments was contained into a coherent nationalist ideology.
## 7.3 Diversity and security: Spain

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<th>Miss Susana Ferreira</th>
<th>Immigration as a security threat: the dilemma of Ceuta and Melilla</th>
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The management of international migrations is one of the major challenges of the 21st century, as today’s international mobility questions the understanding of borders and states capacity to manage these movements. While technological developments have erased borders improving international mobility, new security fears regarding human mobility have aroused. This is one of the main paradoxes of this new globalised world.

Migrations in the Mediterranean basin are seen as a challenge to European security. The paradigmatic cases of the Spanish cities of Ceuta and Melilla, in North Africa, are a great example of that dilemma. How to manage the constant migratory pressure in the cities of Ceuta and Melilla (border assaults and boat crossings)?

So far the Spanish government has placed a great emphasis on border control and surveillance in terms of migratory flows’ management. Thus, stressing the connection between migration and security through a political speech that emphasizes immigration as a threat to internal security. However, the strengthening of border controls may also put in jeopardy migrant’s human security.

The analysis of the migratory pressure in the cities of Ceuta and Melilla and of the mechanisms and instruments adopted by the Spanish government to put a halt to this reality, will give us a better understanding of the immigration-security binomial.

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<th>Prof Mateo Ballester Rodríguez</th>
<th>The expulsion of the Moriscos and the issue of national belonging</th>
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In 1609 a royal edict decreed the expulsion from Spain of the Moriscos, descendents of the Muslims of Al-Andalus. Even though they were for many Christians, since their ancestors had been forced to convert or leave the country, the Moriscos kept diverse cultural traits from their Berber-Arabic background and Muslim past, in terms of language, food taboos and habits, clothing, etc. It was often argued that many of them secretly kept their Muslim faith.

The main argument in favor of the expulsion was the aim to keep religious homogeneity in the country and, linked to that, the perception of the Moriscos as an internal threat. As allegedly hidden Muslims, they were considered to be sympathetic to the Ottomans, and thus suspected to behave as a fifth column in case of an Ottoman attack or invasion of the Spanish territories.

The expulsion was quite popular in general terms, but created however a controversy in which one of the main issues of discussion was whether or not the Moriscos were Spaniards. Some authors criticized or cast doubts on that decision precisely by considering the Moriscos as part of the Spanish nation. One ambiguous and very relevant passage in this respect is to be found in the second part of Cervantes’ Don Quixote.

This case illustrates how ideas of alterity and belonging were already in the Early Modern Age defined in relation to national identity, and how religion has been an essential element in this respect.
In the Spanish State of Autonomies, there are two different types of nation-building projects on the centre-periphery axis. The peripheral types have been the subject of many analyses; the statewide nation-building project has, by far, been the least extensively investigated.

Most of the available studies claim that Spanish nationalism can be best defined with the concept of ‘Banal Nationalism’ or ‘Constitutional Patriotism’. However, it has not been put under scrutiny which instruments the statewide nationalism uses in order to weaken the efforts of the minority nationalism. Since the ‘ultimate loyalty’ demands, in the form of recognition of the right for self-determination in Catalonia, this question has become even more salient and brought the question of internal stability to the agenda.

Can this ‘ultimate asymmetry demand’ be seen as an internal security threat for parts of the majority? The belligerent statements of parts of the Spanish military could facilitate this interpretation. This article will concentrate on three aspects, which could be seen as the link between the statewide institutions and the minority nation, which in some cases are convergent: the strength of national identity, aspects of citizenship and trust in statewide institutions. The preliminary results of the empirical analysis show that all three aspects are highly correlated. The demise of the importance of statewide citizenship and the falling trust in parts of the statewide consensus, such as the constitution and the ‘State of Autonomies’, are the main explanatory variables and introduce important aspects of instability.
7.4 Diaspora

Dr Bahar Baser

The Kurdish Diaspora in Europe: spoiler or supporter of the ‘peace process’ in Turkey?

The growing literature on diasporas’ involvement in homeland conflicts and peace processes show that diasporas can influence both host and homelands and their transnational activism might affect the political, social and economic developments.

Although this is an emerging field of research, there is still much to discover in relation to what role diasporas play under which circumstances. This presentation aims to fill this gap in the literature by focusing on the Kurdish Diaspora in Europe and analyzes the complexities of diaspora involvement in peace processes in the homeland. It seeks to provide clarity on this topic by focusing on the potential role that the Kurdish diaspora play during different phases of the conflict.

The heterogeneous structure of the Kurdish Diaspora and how this fragmentation affects their engagement with homeland political actors will also be analyzed by looking at different groups with varying repertoires of actions and political agendas. Since 2009, namely after the ‘Kurdish Opening’, the AKP government has tried to build relations with the diaspora organizations in Europe. There have been a series of negotiations especially in Germany and there has been a Peace Conference organized by the Kurdish Diaspora in Brussels as a response to a call from the PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan.

In this presentation, a course of crucial events will be mentioned, different perceptions of diaspora actors will be explained and finally a road map to the potential diaspora contributions will be discussed by using a comparative approach that brings examples from different conflict-generated case studies.

Miss Rachana Sharma

The imaginary diaspora through the lens of a literature

In my paper, I will discuss the strategic association and disassociation the nation state bears, the contented notion of porous nature of state, diaspora, and the position of minorities vis-à-vis state.

To establish my arguments, I will rely on literary texts that demonstrate that diasporic space is both enabling and inhibiting. The dilution of identity in the diasporic space, the preservation of identity within the nation state as a common phenomenon among the immigrants, is overarchingly seen as disturbing the existing integrity and harmony. The concept of porous boundaries, fluidity of citizenship, is constantly questioned by exhibiting the vulnerability of immigrants vis-à-vis three literary texts by Rohinton Mistry, Kiran Desai, and Bapsi Sidhwa.

Mistry, Parsi by birth, but Indian by nationality, discusses about the diasporic space and its limitations within a state. There is constant fervor to save the Parsi culture and its dying fraternity. Sidhwa, Pakistani, but an American citizen looks at diaspora as an enabling and uplifting. And Desai, Indian by origin, fleshes out the bitter realities of the diasporic space and unveils the lives of immigrants in a developed country, where the concept of nation fails dreadfully.

The sense of ‘fragility and drying up our own families roots (Hobsbawn) is a constant fear among the immigrants in diasporic space which at the same time is a utopic dystopia unknown, unless experienced. It is a constant move from dystopia to dystopia without knowledge. Concluding with, how literature as a tool allows one to transgress these boundaries.
The Vietnamese refugees came to the U.S. in different waves after the fall of Saigon and gradually settled down as legal immigrants. Their traumatic past and troubled relationship with the homeland made the Vietnamese American community a strongly anti-communist community. Particularly, the term ‘Saigon nationalism’ was defined by Furuya and Collet as an ideological movement to maintain the symbols and the history of the Vietnamese diaspora as opposed to the Vietnamese nationalism in the homeland.

This new kind of nationalism became a common identity for the Vietnamese American in “Little Saigon”, California. As a result of their political activism, the South Vietnam Flag were recognized as the “official flag of the Vietnamese people overseas” in Garden Grove and Westminster, California after resolutions drafted by Vietnamese American politicians were passed in the 1990s. These diaspora nationalists even went so far as to critique the U.S. establishment of diplomatic relations with Hanoi, as well as to protest the visit of Vietnamese government officials to the U.S.

This paper tracks the development of the diaspora nationalism that Vietnamese Americans practiced from 1975 to 1995, and shows how this community struggled to define its nationalist identity in process of U.S.-Vietnam normalization of relations. I believe that topic of my paper suits the overall theme of the conference in that it discusses some unique features of diaspora nationalism and the influence that diaspora communities bring about to their homeland and host state.
8.1 Discourse

Ms Rachel Lewis  
Securing the territorial frontier, constructing the national community: citizenship as a bordering practice in the contemporary UK

This paper examines the subject of citizenship in terms of its relationship both with matters of security, and of "cultural diversity". In doing so, it foregrounds the border as a key subject of inquiry, drawing on insights from the field of critical security studies (Vaughan-Williams, 2009; Salter, 2008) to note that contemporary analyses no longer understand the border in purely cartographic terms as a geopolitical phenomenon, but rather must take into account the ways in which bordering practices simultaneously operate as biopolitical phenomena (Foucault, 1981).

On this account, the border is not simply a territorial wall constituting the population through the decision to admit or exclude, but consists of a more diffuse and heterogeneous set of practices with which to manage and manipulate the population within. From this premise, the paper looks to the contemporary citizenship regime in the UK as part of an assemblage of bordering practices. In doing so, it examines the policy shifts post-2001 towards a more rigorous testing process for "naturalisation" applicants, taking into account the three iterations of the Life in the UK test, and the ceremonial practices that accompany the citizenship process.

From this discursive data, it notes the positioning of citizenship both as a rationing mechanism, a gate-keeping device with which to accept or reject the citizen-candidate; but also, and perhaps more significantly, as a means through which to (re-)codify the supposed cultural values of the national community and thereby to produce the proper, integrated citizen-subject.

Ms Sarah Perret and Ms Marie Beauchamps  
Security rhetoric and politics of national identity in France: a study of Sarkozy’s Grenoble speech

Grenoble, 30 July 2010. The French President Nicolas Sarkozy announced several measures in order to fight insecurity in France, intervening after a series of violent riots and skirmishes between police forces and the inhabitants of Grenoble. Prominent in Sarkozy’s speech was his view of immigration as a cause of insecurity "the Roma population being one of his significant targets.

Recent studies have revealed the political tendency to conflate immigration policies and security policies (Waever; Guild; Bigo). In this paper, we demonstrate that in France, an additional shift has taken place, as the conflation of immigration and security has been entwined with the conceptualization of security in terms of a politics of national identity.

The Grenoble speech of 2010 appears, then, as an expression of a political strategy that challenges the notion of jus soli in the French definition of national identity. Its primary effect is to entrenched immigration matters with security policies, turning the notion of national identity into a securitized concept.

We argue that such political strategy is embedded in a broader habitus of securitization (Bourdieu), in which the performativity of language interacts with the specific constrains of social and political powers (Balzacq). While studying both the narrative and political context of Sarkozy’s speech in Grenoble, we demonstrate the extent to which the politics of national identity in France is productive of a profound mechanisms of abnormalisation (Foucault), whose effect destabilizes the open conception of citizenship associated with the French model of nationality (Renan, Weil, Brubacker).
| Dr Gabriella Elgenius | The repatriation of cultural heritage and human remains; performing egalitarianism and politicising apology |

This paper explores the use of national museums and the repatriation of cultural heritage and human remains for the strategic articulation of social identities and national movements in the Nordic region 1800-2010. We find that the development of national museums, as institutions of nationalism interlinked with rivaling claims to cultural heritage, constitute significant variables challenging the notion of a shared Nordic culture and heritage; expressed first through an ideology of Scandinavianism and later through the discourse of egalitarian and peaceful welfare states. Contemporary repatriation claims highlights relationships akin to the image of a peaceful Nordic history.

We analyse the motives and arguments behind repatriation and their role in the on-going construction of social identities and the politics of recognition, regret and apology. The contours of a Nordic model of repatriation, a set of practises guided primarily by diplomatic (political and cultural) concerns rather than legal ones based on legal ownership, are visible in contemporary Scandinavia, arguably an approach paved by necessity rather than virtue. The repatriation of cultural heritage discourse in Scandinavia has therefore increasingly come to be defined by the success of local claims articulated on ethnic grounds achieved within a civic agenda of diplomacy and egalitarianism. The growth of national movements in Norway, Finland, Iceland, Greenland, the Faroe Islands and more recently in Sápmi among the transnational Sámi communities have resulted in repatriation claims as a result of former imperial trespasses. Historically, repatriation claims have been articulated by nations achieving independence from Denmark and Sweden such as Iceland, Norway and Greenland (Nuuk); by the Sámi communities in Norway, Sweden and Finland but also by the nationalist party in Denmark for the return of objects to their ‘proper home’.

This analysis builds on the research for a new Routledge volume A History of National Museums in Europe (Aronsson and Elgenius, 2014) that brings together relevant theoretical contributions on the institutionalisation of high culture, imaginations of nations, the role of national museums as devices of nation building, the politicisation of majority cultures, the politics of recognition, contested narratives and tolerance necessity.
8.2 Diversity and security: Israel

The purpose of this research is to study the national identity post conflict agreements, Northern Ireland, 1998 and Palestine, 1993. It also seeks to provide a comparative study of national identity, consider various examples and differences of society, culture, regional actors and legal systems in Northern Ireland and Palestine. It will examine the contribution of the political movements to the development of post agreements national identity in Northern Ireland and Palestine.

The Agreements affirmed a commitment to the mutual respect, the civil and religious rights. The agreements also opened a window of cooperation for political groups to promote dialogue, reconciliation, and tolerance. Therefore, there have been a number of external actors playing an important role in supporting and challenging the agreements as well. The agreements also paved the ways to institutionalise the concepts and practices of new citizenship in spite of social, civil and cultural restrictions of both countries.

It will assess what the relationship between nationalism and security after Oslo agreement 1993 and Belfast 1998. It will assess how non-state entity such as radical groups and radical Islamists etc) make claims upon the national minorities or immigrants groups? It will study the circumstances, factors and causes that influenced the national identity. It will discuss if the agreements compatible with human rights and nationalism and How do they relate to the concept of national security? What role do national institutions play in securing the state? How do political parties respond to questions of minority and security?

Dr Ibrahim Natil

Dr Sharon Weinblum
Re-constructing the boundaries of the nation-state: investigating the Israeli political discourse on non-Jewish migrants from Africa

Long a country of sole Jewish immigration, Israel has recently witnessed the entry of regular and irregular non-Jewish migrants onto its territory. This phenomenon has generated concerns of strong intensity in the country, partly due to the very specific identity of the state as ‘Jewish and democratic’ and to its peculiar security situation.

At the intersection of critical security studies and migration studies, the aim of this paper is to examine how the arrival of non-Jewish migrants, in particular from Africa, has been articulated in the Israeli political discourse. More specifically, the paper investigates the competing narratives formulated on the issue on the occasions of the debates over the three amendments (2012, 2013, 2014) of the law used to regulate irregular border crossing by African migrants (the Prevention of Infiltration Law).

Counter to what has been argued elsewhere (Yacobi 2010, Elias and Kemp 2010), the paper claims that the arrival of non-Jewish African migrants and asylum seekers has not produced a transformation of the Israeli national discourse. Rather, the analysis demonstrates that a securitising dominant political narrative has reinforced the identity of the Jewish nation-state by framing African migrants as a homogenous other threatening the identity, economy and security of Israel. It also shows that the counter-narrative of human rights has too, paradoxically reinforced the boundaries of the state as Jewish. The paper then discusses the space for a non-national narrative on migrations in a new nationalising state (Brubaker 1996).
### Dr Shane Nagle

**Historical nationalization of the contested nation-state and the internal ‘Other’: Ireland and Israel**

The pivotal role of historiography in popularizing and consolidating nationalisms of diverse forms is well-established. In the case of “new” nation-states that arise on the basis of separation, unification, or partition, the principal “challenges” to national(ist) historical narratives include in almost all cases their relationship to the state, response to internal “Others” (whether ethnic, religious, linguistic, or a combination of these), and perspective on the state’s borders. How historians and historical commentators respond to these problems will shape popular understandings of “their” nation.

Responding to the theme of majority-minority relations and diversity within nations, this paper will explore this problem through a comparative study of contested national(ist) historiography in Republic of Ireland and the State of Israel. In these contexts, historians as public intellectuals and shapers of policy have been faced with comparable problems and have from the moment of statehood experienced a complicated relationship with the state. This has included an apparent rejection of a conventional narrative of “Irishness” or “Israeliness resulting from the challenges posed by the Irish “revisionists” and the Israeli “new historians.

This paper will compare and contrast the ways in which Irish “national historians since 1922 and Israeli “national historians since 1948 have “nationalized the state, mounted a challenge to Irish nationalism or Zionism, and the ways in which the contested pivotal events of the nation’s history (encapsulated in the common problems of a contested “independence war experience, partition, persistent violent conflict, and the presence of a long-standing internal “Other) have been dealt with.

### Ms Shai Tagger

**Struggling between Jewish and Democratic: the foundation of asylum regime in Israel**

How does a state’s perception of nationhood influence its treatment of asylum-seeking migrants? This paper explores the interplay between national identity and asylum regime through the specific Israeli case study. Israel, the Jewish nation-state, was founded by a people that represented throughout Western history the prototype of an unassimilated ethnic, religious and cultural minority.

In the aftermath of the Holocaust and within the perpetual Zionist-Palestinian conflict, Israel’s status as a haven for all Jews emerged as a pivotal force in the state’s national identity. In practice this fundamental commitment excludes almost all forms of non-Jewish immigration to Israel. Scholars have therefore referred to Israel as an “ethnic immigration country” which practices an “ethnically stratified migration regime”. Recently, Israel has become host to circa 50,000 African migrants, mostly potential asylum seekers. The dominant public and political discourse regards these migrants as an existential national threat. Accordingly, the government and parliament have prompt stern and effective anti-immigration policies. In an unprecedented opposition to the will of the legislative and executive branches, the Israeli supreme court has annulled twice the antiimmigration laws in the name of Israel’s commitment to liberal-democratic values and international law.

This paper will provide, for the first time from an historical prospective, an in-depth analysis of the foundations of Israel’s asylum regime, based upon Israel’s definition as a Jewish and democratic state. It will seek to show how the ongoing struggle on asylum policies stems from the constant tension between the national and liberal-democratic definitions of the state.
This paper examines the linkages, sometimes complementary and other times mutually exclusive, among nationalism and regionalism by examining the politics within SADC and ASEAN states.

How do political elites balance regional commitments, image, and perceptions as they seek to remain in power. This paper contends that careful balancing of contending and often conflicting interests is required in order to maintain human security and legitimacy.

Rather than diminishing nationalism, the regional stage often buttresses it within the context of regional cooperation. The paper draws on examples of member states within SADC and ASEAN and explains nationalist policies within the constraints of each regional organization and domestic politics germane to each country. Thus, on two levels: regional and national, a two-level game exists. Elite political space then consists of the regional in the region and national in the region coupled with national in the domestic state and region within the domestic state.

In the context of globalization, both immigration and minority nationalism challenge the traditional model of a culturally homogeneous nation state. Besides considering these two phenomena as complementary in deconstructing the nation-state, a main aim for scholars is to analyse how they are connected and interacting in specific social and political scenarios.

Immigration is an important reality of the major cities within the territory of national minorities, raising many new challenges for minority nationalism as well as for actors involved in ethnonational conflicts in general. This connection between the two phenomena produces complex and variegated outcomes. In some cases, immigrants are perceived by nationalists, both minority and majority ones, as a threat for their national identity and security. In other cases, for different reasons (such as increasing their ‘civic’ credentials in the international arena, or the influence of other ideological components on the core of their nationalist discourse), nationalists develop an integrative form of nationalism where immigrants and their cultures are perceived as positive resources and fully integrated in a plural national community.

The proposed paper intends to contribute to the broader research activity on how immigration is affecting ethnonational conflicts, providing an analysis of discourses of contemporary nationalist actors on citizenship, security and immigration policies, in contexts of European, as well as non-European ethnonational conflicts. Different discourses emerged in the research will be classified through a typology built on the theoretical categories of citizenship (Marshall), civic stratification (Morris; Lockwood) and transnational rights (Soysal).
Immigration is increasingly depicted as a threat to national security and national identity. Increasing recognition that we live in culturally diverse societies generates concerns about political loyalties and democratic values. These concerns are exemplified in research investigating the relationship between immigrant integration and transnational ties.

In this article, I argue that human security analysis can contribute to the debate on integration and transnationalism by framing it as a security concern. Literature on transnationalism and integration mostly presents itself as a critique to the common sense assumption that the two terms generate a zero-sum game. However, it is difficult to disentangle intellectual positions from researchers' moral convictions, in ways that raise not only political issues, but also conceptual and analytical ones. There is a normative side to researching culturally diverse societies. Based on the assumption that migrants experience a duality between place of origin and place of residence, in fact, such an approach often implies essentialist understandings of identity, belonging and loyalty. As a result, the definitions of transnationalism and integration used by scholars may largely reflect the nation-building efforts of states and their securitisation concerns.

Human security analysis can investigate the ways in which "integration and "transnationalism are defined. Challenging a prevalent focus on integration as migrants' capacity to adapt and fit into existing societal structures, a human security lens can interrogate the meaning of those very structures and invites to think critically about the ways in which, as scholars, we think about integration and transnationalism as positioned researchers.