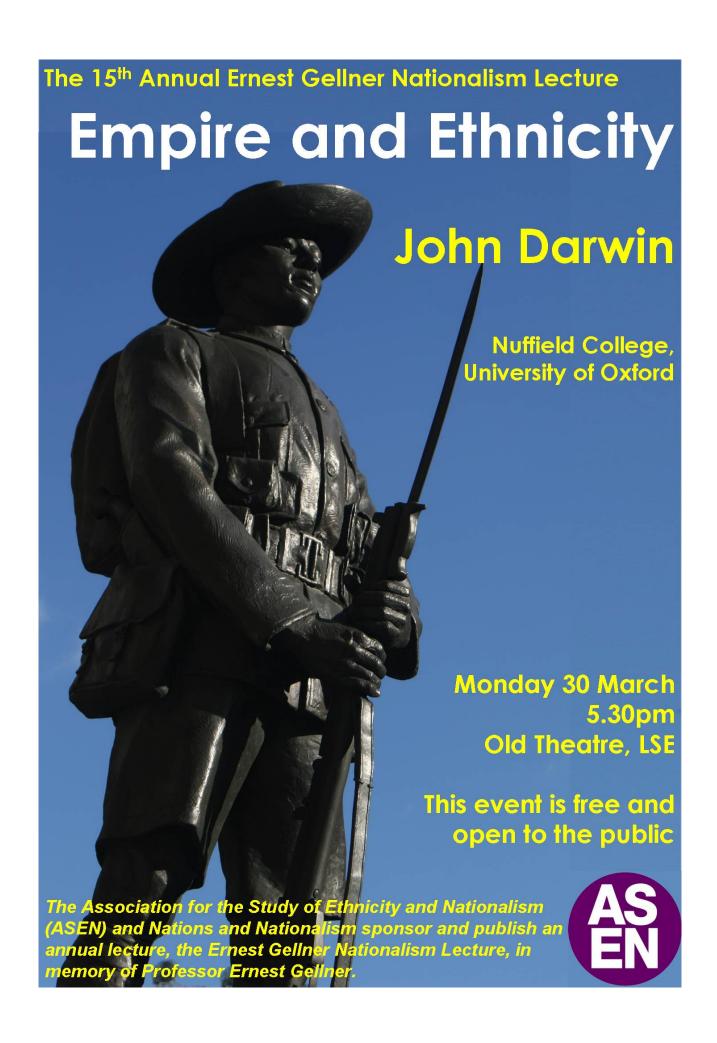The 19th annual ASEN Conference

# Nationalism and Globalisation

**31st March – 2nd April 2009,
London School of Economics**

**Stephen Castles
John Hall
Michael Keating
Stephanie Lawson
Juergen Osterhammel
John Sidel**

LSE

AS
EN

The 15th Annual Ernest Gellner Nationalism Lecture

# Empire and Ethnicity

## John Darwin

Nuffield College,
University of Oxford

Monday 30 March
5.30pm
Old Theatre, LSE

This event is free and
open to the public

*The Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism
(ASEN) and Nations and Nationalism sponsor and publish an
annual lecture, the Ernest Gellner Nationalism Lecture, in
memory of Professor Ernest Gellner.*

ASEN

# Nationalism and Globalisation

Nationalism and globalisation are complex phenomena generating vigorous academic debates. Yet, there has been little sustained theoretical and empirical consideration of their relationship, and no framework devised capable of satisfactorily dealing with the interactions between the two, especially as these change over time and vary from place to place. Yet nationalism has both shaped, and been shaped by globalisation. This conference seeks to explore the relationship between nationalism and globalisation in its various forms, primarily focusing on the impact of globalisation on national identity, national sovereignty, state-formation, and the ways in which nationalism has shaped globalising processes.

The conference will include keynote addresses from leading scholars in the field, including:

Professor Stephen Castles
Professor John Hall
Professor Michael Keating
Professor Stephanie Lawson
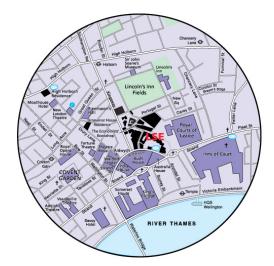Professor Juergen Osterhammel
Professor John Sidel

The conference will also include a round-table discussion with Professor Ronald Suny, Professor John Breuilly and Dr. John Hutchinson.
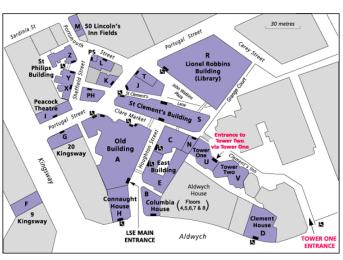
The first day will explore the theoretical and historical relationship between globalisation, nationalism and national identities. The second day will examine current issues such as migration, arms proliferation, financial crisis, multinational corporations and global consumer culture and their impact on the nation-state and national identities. The third day will focus on the interaction between globalisation and novel forms of nationalism and regional identities as well as nationalist responses to supranationalism, including European integration. The conference will adopt a multi-disciplinary approach focusing on historical, theoretical and contemporary aspects of the theme.

The Conference will be preceded by the 15th Annual Ernest Gellner lecture presented by Professor Darwin on Empire and Ethnicity.

# How to find us

**Nearest tube stations:** *Holborn* (Central and Piccadilly lines), and *Temple* (Circle and District lines)
**Bus:** Any bus stopping at *Aldwych*

# Tuesday March 31st 2009

| 8:30-9:30 | Registration and Coffee<br>(Shaw Library, 6th floor, Old Building) |
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| 9:30- 11:15 | Plenary Session  (Old Theatre, Ground Floor, Old Building)<br>Chair: Professor John Darwin, University of Oxford |
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| 9:30-9:45 | Welcome Address<br>Dr. John Hutchinson, LSE |
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| 9:45-10:15 | Nationalism might change its character, again<br>Professor John Hall, McGill University |
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| 10:15-10:45 | Globalisation and Nationalism: Changing Proximities in the Past<br>Professor Juergen Osterhammel, University of Konstanz |
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| 10:45-11:15 | Questions |
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| 11:15-11:45 | Coffee Break (Shaw Library, 6th floor, Old Building) |
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| 11:45-13:15 | Panel Session 1 (Connaught House, LSE) |
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**Nationalism and Globalisation in Africa (H103)**
**Chair Mr. Chris Moffat, LSE**

| Dr. Michael Amoah | Supranationalism, Globalisation and Africa |
|---|---|
| Ms. Tinenenji Banda | The APRM Process: Schizophrenic Institutionalism Par Excellence |
| Dr. Gabrielle Lynch | Kenya's New Indigenes: Negotiating Local Nationalisms in a Global Context |

**Diaspora Politics in Former Communist Europe (H105)**
**Chair Mr. Tobias Eule, University of Cambridge**

| Mr. Francesco Ragazzi | Diaspora Politics as Globalized Ethnic Engineering: The Case of Former Yugoslavia. |
|---|---|
| Dr. Ulrike Ziemer | Longing and Belonging: Armenians and Long Distance Nationalism in Southern Russia |
| Dr. Irina Isaakyan | Living in a trans-national social space: The case of Russian academic Diaspora |

**Perceptions of the Nation in Art (H216)**
**Chair Ms. Rosanne Watson-Bangau, LSE**

| Prof. Huey-Rong Chen | From Beethoven's Symphony No. 7 to Taiwanese Film "Cape No. 7":  the "Realization" of Taiwanese Identity/Nationality through Cultural Globalization/Localization |
|---|---|
| Dr. Andrea Kollnitz | International Influences - Danger or Liberation? Internationalism and Nationalism in Early 20th century Art-criticism |
| Ms. Didem Turkoglu | Facebook: Flagging the Turkish Nation in the Face |

**Youth Conceptions of Nationalism and Ethnicity (H202)**
**Chair TBA**

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|---|---|
| Mr. Jeroen Moes | CosmoPoles: The European Identity of Higher Educated Polish Youth in a Comparative Perspective |
| Mr. Tobias Eule | Ethnicity in Practice: On the Construction of "Ethnic Youth Gangs" in Germany |
| Dr. Natasha Warikoo | Young Elite Conceptions of British Identity and Immigrant Assimilation |

**13:15-13:30**       **ASEN Annual General Meeting (Old Theatre, Ground Floor, Old Building)**

**13:30-14:30**       **Lunch**

**14:30-16:00**       **Panel Session 2 (Connaught House, LSE)**

**Nationalism and Migration in a Global Era (H103)**
**Chair Mr. Tobias Eule, University of Cambridge**

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|---|---|
| Mr. Liav Orgad | Illiberal Liberalism: Cultural Restrictions on Migration and Access to Citizenship in Europe |
| Mr. Jacques Lundja | Global migration patterns and national identities |
| Mr. Diego Acosta | A Belief in the Purity of the Nation in Europe? Possible Dangers of its Influence in Migration and Citizenship Legislation |
| Dr. Veronika Bajt | When do I Belong? Transnational Migration and National Identity |

**Local, Regional and National Perspectives of Globalisation (H105)**
**Chair Mr. Barak Levy-Shilat, LSE**

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|---|---|
| Dr. Muriel Rambour | Another "Third Way". Could post-nationalism overcome the classical opposition between nationalism and supra-nationalism? |
| Prof. Sandra Halperin | Nationalism Reconsidered: the Local/Trans-local Nexus of Globalisation |
| Dr. Kees Terlouw | Rescaling Identity: Communicating Regional Identity Between National Identity and Global Competition |

**Theorising Nationalism and Globalisation (H216)**
**Panel sponsored by the Kuwait Programme on Development, Governance and Globalisation in the Gulf States, LSE, Centre for the Study of Global Governance**

**Chair Mr. Iavor Rangelov, LSE Centre for the Study of Global Governance**

| | |
|---|---|
| Prof. Andre Liebich | Globalizing the 'Principle of Nationality' |
| Dr. Gordana Uzelac | Survival of the Fitter: The Process of National Apperception |
| Dr. Steven Mock | The End of Globalisation, The End of Nations |

**International Peacekeeping and Human Rights (H202)**
**Chair Dr. Esra Bulut, EU Institute for Security Studies**

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|---|---|
| Dr. Rachel Hutchins-Viroux | International NGOs and the Transformation of Solidarity in the Global Age: The Evolution of Community Sentiment in the United States |

| Dr. Asta Maskaliunaite | Nationalism and the peacekeeping discourse. Political and military viewpoints |
| Dr. Denisa Kostovicova | |
| Dr. Vesna Bojicic-Dzelilovic | Bosnia's 'octopus of crime': Transnational networks and post-conflict nationalism |
| Prof. Yamuna Sangarasivam | Extraordinary Rendition: Nationalism and Globalization as Complementary Forces in the U.S. Sponsored "Global War on Terror" |

**16:00-16:30**          **Coffee Break (Shaw Library, 6th floor, Old Building)**

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**16:30-18:00**          **Panel Session 3 (Connaught House, LSE)**

**Beyond Multiculturalism? (H103)**
**Chair Ms. Farah Jamal, LSE**

| Dr. Ephraim Nimni | Nationalism and the Globalisation of Multiculturalism |
| Dr. Mathieu Claveyrolas | Mauritius: a quasi-India and a Creole nation |

**Extremism and Anti-Immigration (H105)**
**Chair Ms. Sofia Vasilopoulou, LSE**

| Dr. Chris Gilligan | '[They] help perpetuate "they're taking our jobs" kinds of arguments': attitudes towards immigrants in a divided society |
| Ms. Sofia Vasilopoulou/ Ms Nathalie Brack | Euroscepticism in radical right parties: same stance, different causality. A question of two different conceptions of national identity? |
| Prof. Michel Huysseune | Defending national identity and interests: the asymmetrical model of globalisation of the Lega Nord |
| Dr. Djamel Mermat | Identity withdrawal within the "planetary village:" a comparison between the British National Party and French National Front in the face of "globalization" |

**Novel Forms of Nationalism (H216)**
**Chair Ms Margit Wunsch, LSE**

| Prof. Nicole Gallant | Pan-aboriginal movements and identity: a multi-layered form of nationalism? |
| Mr. Jean-Paul Sarrazin | New Discourses On National Identity And Ethnic Minorities. The influence of global trends in Colombia |
| Mr. Gabor Halmai | Us Versus? Re-Imagining the Nation in Hungary and Brazil |

**Case Studies in Contemporary Diaspora nationalism (H202)**
**Chair Mr. Tobias Eule, University of Cambridge**

| Dr. Anne- Sophie Bentz | Reconsidering National Identity in the Tibetan Diaspora |
| Dr. Deepa Nair | Diasporic Hindu nationalist discourse over representation of Hinduism in school texts in America |
| Dr. Luis Xavier Rangel-Ortiz | The Emergence of a New Form of Mexican Nationalism in San Antonio, Texas |
| Dr. Sarah Keeler | Globalisation, Identity and 'Cosmopolitan Nationalism' within Kurdish Diasporic Spaces |

| 18:00 | Conference Drinks Reception |
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# Wednesday April 1st 2009

| 9:00-9:30 | Late registration, Shaw Library |
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| 9:30-11:00 | Panel Session 4 (Connaught House, LSE) |
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**Global Trends in Banal Nationalism (H103)**
**Chair Dr. John Hutchinson, LSE**

| Mr. Vincent Martigny | 'Cuisine Française' versus 'Mc World': The Politics of Gastronomy as a Banal Nationalism's Response to Globalisation in France |
|---|---|
| Dr. Helene Thiollet | National identity and immigration in Saudi Arabia: From exceptionalism to "banal nationalism"? |
| Mr. Etienne Smith | Senegalese nationhood under global conditions: homogeneisation and pluralisation of the Senegalese national identity? |

**Globalisation and Novel forms of Nationalism (H216)**
**Panel sponsored by the LSE Centre for the Study of Global Governance**

**Chair Mr. Iavor Rangelov, LSE Centre for the Study of Global Governance**

| Dr. Heinrich Matthee | Globalization, a transformed political order and new forms of Afrikaner nationalism, 1994-2009 |
|---|---|
| Dr. Tigran Matosyan | Does Europe Cause Nationalism? European Values and Identity Construction In Modern Armenia |
| Dr. Agnieszka Joniak-Lüthi | Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (PRC) and the Interaction between the National and the Global |

**Globalisation Before the Age of Nationalism (H105)**
**Chair Ms. Zeynep N. Kaya**

| Mr. Vasilis Molos | Nationness in the Absence of a Nation: Narrating the Prehistory of the Greek National Movement |
|---|---|
| Mr. Barak Levy-Shilat | Diaspora politics in the 18th Century: The British Intervention in Favour of the Jews of Bohemia |
| Dr. Michal Luczewski | Imperial cosmopolitans. Galician peasants before nations and nationalism |

**Global Economy and the Nation (H202)**
**Panel sponsored by the Global Public Policy Network and the Journal of Global Policy**

**Chair Dr. Eva-Maria Nag, Executive Editor of Global Policy / Research Fellow Centre for the Study of Global Governance, LSE**

| Dr. Jonathan Hearn | Global crisis, national blame |
|---|---|
| Dr. Sam Pryke | Economic crisis and nationalism |

| 11:00-11:30 | Coffee Break (Shaw Library, 6th floor, Old Building) |
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| 11:30-13:00 | Plenary Session (Old Theatre, Ground Floor, Old Building) |
| | Chair: Professor John Breuilly, LSE |

| 11:30-12:00 | Waves of Nationalism in the Tides of Globalisation: Contrarian Conclusions Drawn From Southeast Asian History |
| | Professor John Sidel, LSE |

| 12:00-12:30 | Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in a Globalizing World |
| | Professor Stephanie Lawson, Macquarie University |

| 12:30-13:00 | Questions |

| 13:00-14:30 | Lunch Break |

| 14:30- 16:00 | Panel Session 5 (Connaught House, LSE) |

**Theoretical Perspectives of Territoriality and Transnationalism (H103)**
**Chair Professor John Breuilly, LSE**

| Dr. John Etherington | Globalisation, Territoriality and Nationalism |
| Prof. Sarah Danielsson | Pan-Nationalism Reframed: Theories of Nationalism, the Role of the "Nation-State," and the Global Age |
| Mr. Torsten Weber | "Asia for the Asians"? Japanese pan-Asianism between nationalist chauvinism and 'One World' utopia (1905-20) |

**Globalising Forces on Nationalism in the Early 20th Century (H105)**
**Chair Mr. Barak Levy-Shilat, LSE**

| Mr. Björn Hofmeister | Cultural Nationalism, Transnational Citizenship, Colonialism. Geo-Political Visions and Social Mobilization of the Pan-German League, 1891-1939 |
| Prof. Matthew Plowman | Nationalism as a Weapon in Global Conflict: The Indo-Irish-German Conspiracy of World War I |
| Ms. Louise Bergström | Global migration and ethnic nationalism: Sweden in the early 20th century |

**Sub-state Nationalism in the Middle East (H216)**
**Chair Dr. Vivian Ibrahim, SOAS**

| Ms. Alessandra Cecolin | Has Zionism suffocated Iranian cultural identity? The condition of Iranian Jewish immigrants in Israel between 1951 and 1979 |
| Mr. Ibrahim Saylan | Transformation of an Old Conflict? The Interplay of Turkish Nationalism and Kurdish Sub-state Nationalism within European Integration Process |

**The Impact Of Globalisation on National Identity in Europe (H202)**
**Chair Ms. Vanessa Spencer, LSE**

| Prof. Angel Rivero | Internationalism and the Invention of the 1st of December National Day in Portugal |
| Ms. Jula Doebner | "You are Germany" – The reconstruction of German national identity in a globalized world |
| Dr. Joanna Kaftan | Elite strategies in a global world:  A Typology of Polish Patriots |

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| Dr. Jose Sobral | Immigration and contemporary definitions of Portuguese national identity |

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| **16:00-16:30** | **Coffee Break (Shaw Library, 6<sup>th</sup> floor, Old Building)** |

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| **16:30- 18:00** | **Round Table Discussion (Old Theatre, Ground Floor, Old Building)**<br>**Chair: Dr. Daphne Halikiopoulou, LSE** |

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| **Professor Ronald Suny** | **The Future of a Failure:  Globalisation and the Nation-State** |
| **Professor John  Breuilly** | **Nationalism as Global History** |
| **Dr. John Hutchinson** | **Globalisation and Nation-formation in World History** |

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| **19:00** | **Conference Dinner** |

# Thursday April 2<sup>nd</sup> 2009

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| **10:00-11:30** | **Panel Session 6 (Connaught House, LSE)** |

**Reinventing Nationalism through European Integration (H103)**
**Chair TBA**

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|---|---|
| Dr. Madalena<br>Meyer Resende | Extroverted and introverted types of nationalism and their responses to European integration: evidence from Spanish and Polish right-wing political parties |
| Dr Jon Fox/<br>Dr. Peter Vermeersch | Backdoor nationalism:  EU accession and the reinvention of nationalism in Hungary and Poland |
| Dr. Daniel Esparza-Ruiz | National Identity and the Other in the Global Era: The Czechs facing the EU |
| Mr. Alain- Marc Rieu | The EU today: beyond pan-nationalism and globalization |

**Language and Education between the National and the Global (H105)**
**Chair Mr. Robert Schertzer, LSE**

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|---|---|
| Prof. Roman Szul | The Politics of Language in Contemporary Europe: between Nationalism, European Integration and Globalisation |
| Prof. George Richardson/<br>Mr Laurence Abbott | Between the National and the Global: Exploring Tensions in Canadian Citizenship Education |
| Dr. Tuba Kanci | Reconfigurations of Turkish National Identity and Nationalism in the Europeanization Process: An Analysis of Primary Schoolbooks in Turkey |
| Ms. Kathleen Fincham | Non-formal Education and the Construction of Palestinian Identities in South Lebanon |

**Nationalism, Transnationalism and Justice (H216)**
**Chair Mr. Eric Woods**

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| Prof. Atalia Omer | The Globalization of Justice and the Transferability of Protest |
| Dr. Adriano Cirulli | Globalisation, Transnational Social Movements and Radical Nationalism in Basque Country and Ireland |
| Dr. Esra Bulut | Turkish Foreign Policy Between Nationalism, Populism and Transnational Solidarity |

**Sport: Global or National? (H202)**
**Chair Dr Daphne Halikiopoulou, LSE**

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|---|---|
| Prof. Radim Marada | Transnational Nationalism: forms of nationalism in globalized sport arenas |
| Mr. Chris Phillips | Arab Banal Nationalism: Al-Jazeera and the flagging of Arab identity during the 2008 Beijing Olympics |
| Mr. Tilman Turpin | Holidays from history': the 2006 FIFA World Cup and new German patriotism? |

| **11:30-12:00** | **Coffee Break (Shaw Library, 6ᵗʰ floor, Old Building)** |
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| **12:00-13:30** | **Panel Session 7 (Connaught House, LSE)** |
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**The Media, Nationalism and Globalisation (H103)**
**Chair Dr. Athena Leoussi, University of Reading**

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| Ms. Maria Kyriakidou | Imagining ourselves beyond the nation? Exploring cosmopolitanism in relation to mediated representations of distant suffering |
| Dr. Sabina Mihelj | Bringing the Nation back in: Nationhood, Seriality, and Global Communication |
| Dr. Michael Skey | "Do you realise you're a foreigner, and we're not used to them managing our national team?" Using national football reporting in England to analyse competing articulations of identity in an era of globalisation |
| Dr. Václav Štětka | Global media, nation-bound tastes? Audiovisual media flows and cultural identities in Central and Eastern Europe |

**Pan-Nationalism and the Middle East (H105)**
**Chair Dr. Vivian Ibrahim, SOAS**

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|---|---|
| Mr. Djene Rhys Bajalan | Pan Kurdish nationalism: Theory or Praxis? |
| Ms. Jasmine Gani | Differentiating nationalisms in the pan-Arab context |
| Ms. Zeynep N. Kaya | Kurdistan: Aspirational Territory of pan-Kurdish nationalism |

**The Nation in Political Thought (H216)**
**Chair Dr. John Edwards, St. Francis Xavier University**

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|---|---|
| Dr. Uriel Abulof | We, the People? The Rise and Fall of Popular Sovereignty in Canadian Political Thought |
| Mr. Arie Dubnov | The Anti-Cosmopolitan Liberals: Isaiah Berlin and Jacob Talmon and the dilemma of national identity |
| Dr. Shabnam Holliday | Khatami's Islamist-Iranian Discourse of National Identity: A Discourse of Resistance |

**Historical Perspectives of Nationalism and Globalisation in North America (H202)**
**Chair Ms. Danielle Bieber, LSE**

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| Dr. Robert McLaughlin | No Surrender: Orange-Canadian Unionists and Northern Ireland, 1919-1925 |
| Dr. Kenneth Weisbrode | American Nationalists Confront the Old World, 1909-19 |
| Prof. Don Doyle | Mass Migration in the Age of Nationalism |
| Mr. David Prior | The Internal Divisions and Global Visions of American Nationalism after the Civil War |

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| **13:30-14:30** | **Lunch** |

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| **14:30- 16:30** | **Plenary Session (Old Theatre, Ground Floor, Old Building)**<br>**Chair: Dr. John Hutchinson, LSE** |

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| **14:30-15:00** | **Rescaling the Nation. State Transformation and the Nationalities Question**<br>**Professor Michael Keating, European University Institute** |
| **15:00-15:30** | **Migration and Citizenship in the Making of a Global Labour Market**<br>**Professor Stephen Castles, University of Oxford** |
| **15:30-16:00** | **Questions** |
| **16:00-16:30** | **Coffee Break (Shaw Library, 6th floor, Old Building)** |

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| **16:30-18:00** | **Panel Session 8 (Connaught House, LSE)** |

**The Impact of Globalisation on Britishness (H103)**
**Chair Dr. Daphne Halikiopoulou, LSE**

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| Ms. Shanti Sumartojo | National identity in the globalised city: Britishness and the use of Trafalgar Square |
| Ms. Maria Cecire | Medievalism, Popular Culture, and Identity Formation: Nationalism in a Globalizing World |
| Professor Mike Savage/<br>Dr. David Wright/<br>Dr. Modesto Gayo-Cal | Cosmopolitanism and the cultural reach of the White British |
| Dr. Gabriella Elgenius | Does homeland matter? Diaspora in Britain: setting the scene |

**Nations without States and States without Nations (H105)**
**Chair Ms. Danielle Bieber, LSE**

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| Dr. Jeremy Allouche | The nation state confluence, globalisation and conflict in 'non-nation' states |
| Mr. Brieg Powel | Promoting the Dragon: National Identity and the Construction of Wales as an International Actor |

**Minorities and Diaspora Communities in the Mediterranean (H216)**
**Chair Mr. Barak Levy-Shilat, LSE**

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| Mr. Francesco Cerasani | Nationalism and minorities in the Mediterranean. The impact of Barcelona Process on national issues |
| Mr. Giovanni Picker | Everyday Nationalism as neo-Localism. The "Gypsy problem" in Italy between migration and national contexts |

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| Dr. Aidan McGarry | Voice and Participation in the European Union: Responding to the Italian Roma Crisis |

**Globalisation, Authenticity and National Inclusion in Asia (H202)**
**Chair TBA**

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| Ms. Young Ju Rhee | From Ethnically based to Strategic Cosmopolitans: South Korean Citizenship Reforms since 1997 |
| Dr. Sze Wei Ang | Religion and Regionalism as Racial Supplements |
| Mr. Jaewoon Bang | The Effects of Starbucks on Local Coffee Consumption Culture: A Case Study of South Korean Starbucks Patrons |
| Mr. Julian Manning | Persistence of Identity in Japan |

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| **18:15-18:30** | **Closing Address (Old Theatre, Ground Floor, Old Building)**<br>**Prof. John Breuilly, LSE** |

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| **19:00** | **Conference Drinks** |

# KEYNOTES' ABSTRACTS

**Migration and Citizenship in the Making of a Global Labour Market**
**Professor Stephen Castles**
**University of Oxford**

The central argument of this paper is that economic restructuring in the global North since the 1970s has been linked to a new international division of labour, in which workers are differentiated not only on the basis of human capital (education and qualifications) but also on criteria of race, ethnicity, gender, origins and legal status. The racialisation of labour and the hierarchisation of citizenship are central elements of the global labour market which developed during the neo-liberal ascendency from the late 1970s to 2008.

Migration has always been a way in which people seek to improve their livelihoods. Today, the mobility of labour and its differentiation into specific categories has become the basis of a new transnational class structure. People holding the 'right' passports and qualifications enjoy mobility rights which come close to global citizenship. People from the South who lack formal skills can often only move irregularly, running enormous risks. Such workers are effectively non-citizens, and their exclusion from rights is justified through racialisation and gender stereotypes.

Neo-liberal practices such as temporary and causal employment, chains of sub-contracting and informalisation affect both native and migrant workers. However, it is disadvantaged and vulnerable workers – migrant women, irregular workers, ethnic and racial minorities – who get the most precarious positions. But the deprivation of human and worker rights is giving rise to new social movements, such as the strikes of migrant workers in Dubai in 2006, the migrant rights demonstrations of 2006 in the USA, and the movements of youth of migrant background in European cities. The global financial crisis of 2008 could be a turning point, but the direction is not predetermined: it may lead to new forms of exploitation of vulnerable groups, or to employment and migration regimes based on equal citizenship and rights for all.

**Nationalism Might Change its Character, Again**
**Professor John Hall**
**McGill University**

Much classical theory about nationalism—including that of Ernest Gellner, whose biography I have just completed--comes from the experiences of a particular period of European history, roughly speaking 1870-1945. It might be helpful, given the theme of this conference, to ask at the start about the intensity of nationalism in that period, in the light of more recent scholarship, so as then to contrast it with contemporary circumstances. The paper will argue that some things have changed, but that this has less to do with globalization—which does have some importance—than with changing geopolitical conditions.

**Rescaling the Nation. State Transformation and the Nationalities Question**
**Professor Michael Keating**
**European University Institute**

The central question of nationality politics is the relationship of state and nation. In the present era both state and nation and undergoing important transformations. This both creates new nationality conflicts, and provides new ways of dealing with them.

**Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in a Globalizing World**
**Professor Stephanie Lawson**
**Macquarie University**

Debates surrounding the themes of nationalism, globalization and culture over the last two decades or so have tended to evoke a certain imagery – or at least two opposing sets of images, each of which emanates from a certain thesis about where the world is heading in terms of its essential structure. On the one hand, the globalist thesis sees the breakdown of national boundaries – boundaries which have been conceptualized not only in terms of the legal-institutional structure of sovereign states but also in terms of social phenomena, often expressed in the idea of 'culture'. On the other hand, there are numerous supporters of the notion that the world is likely to remain structured predominantly around 'nation-states' and that these entities will not only continue as the most prominent actors in world politics but will also remain the primary site of affective attachment for the vast majority of the world's people. These two basic positions are also reflected in normative international theory, especially in the communitarian/ cosmopolitan debates over the source of moral values as well as how far moral responsibility extends. The concern of this paper is not simply to sift through the various arguments supporting

one or other of these positions, but to bring into focus the question of how culture has been conceptualized in these debates. I suggest that the starting point for most debates on culture in world politics draws from traditional anthropological ideas, the emergence of which are also closely associated with nationalist thought. Conceptions of culture based on these ideas have met with robust criticism from proponents of universalist causes – causes which have become much more prominent in the post-cold war period. This paper argues that both particularist and universalist approaches have something to offer in the continuing project of conceptualizing 'culture' in a globalizing world which is, nonetheless, likely to remain irredeemably pluralistic not along 'national' lines, but in numerous other ways as well.

### Globalisation and Nationalism: Changing Proximities in the Past
### Professor Jürgen Osterhammel
### University of Konstanz (Germany)

The concepts of nationalism and globalisation cannot be paired easily. They derive from different traditions in the social sciences, embody different kinds of historical experience and are usually expressed in distinct narratives. It is perhaps possible, but not really convincing to fuse them into one unified story of the globalisation of nationalism and the national conditioning of increasing globality. Hardly more persuasive is the alternative view of nationalism and globalisation as two contradictory principles locked in perpetual antagonism.

The lecture will refrain from any totalising approach. It will try to demonstrate that, over the past two centuries or so, nationalism and globalisation sometimes grew close, intersected and reinforced one another while at other times they drifted apart. Moreover, the evolution of nationalism and the trajectory of globalisation are just two among several general tendencies shaping the modern world. They should not be seen in isolation.

### Waves of Nationalism in the Tides of Globalisation:
### Contrarian Conclusions Drawn From Southeast Asian History
### Professor John Sidel
### London School of Economics

Against the prevailing tendency to see globalization as a narrowly recent trend and nationalism as a phenomenon of much earlier vintage, this paper resituates the rise of what are usually understood as "nationalist movements" in Southeast Asia against the backdrop of the longer history of the region's integration into broader cultural, economic, intellectual, political, and sociological circuitries of the world beyond. The rise of what is usually taken as "nationalism," it is shown, unfolded in a setting that was profoundly structured by the cosmopolitan legacies of successive waves of integration within what scholars have termed 'the Sanskrit Cosmopolis', the Indian Ocean 'interregional arena', and 'the Muslim world'. The revolutions usually depicted as "nationalist," moreover, arose out of the integration of Southeast Asia within the world capitalist economy and the incorporation of Southeast Asians into distinctly transnational intellectual and ideological currents and structures in the late 19th and early-mid 20th centuries. As seen in the global nature of the peregrinations and political connections of leading "nationalist" figures, the prominent role of diasporic communities, and the key opportunities opened up by international conflicts (e.g. major wars), there was much in the making of "nationalism" that was transnational and international. Against this backdrop, a revisionist history of Southeast Asia leads to the conclusion that the winning of independence and the making of new nation-states in the region represented not only the success of nationalism but in crucial other ways the onset of disappointment and failure.

# PARTICIPANTS' ABSTRACTS

### We, the People? The Rise and Fall of Popular Sovereignty in Canadian Political Thought
### Dr Uriel Abulof
### Princeton University

Focusing on "foundational political ethics," the underlying ideas and ideals that provide for legitimacy, this paper asks if, and how, does Canadian (postmodern) political thought challenge the modern model of legitimacy. This paper aims at deciphering the nature of modern political legitimacy and understanding the uniqueness of Canada in this respect. I argue that Canada poses a normative challenge to the modern model of legitimacy (and its epitome, "popular sovereignty"), by substituting it with new political ethics. By being an exception to the rule, it serves to illustrate it. This purview thus provides us with an important key to better understand both the modern and the postmodern models of political legitimacy, and the impact of globalization on the ethics of nationalism.

### A Belief in the Purity of the Nation in Europe? Possible Dangers of its Influence in Migration and Citizenship Legislation
### Mr Diego Acosta
### King's College, London

Immigration is tremendously important in the EU. In order to address the subject, Governments are constantly changing their migration and citizenship laws and moreover increasingly linking them with integration requirements. Among those requirements, there is a new emphasis on language acquisition and knowledge of the country's history. This is being applied not only to gain citizenship but also in order to obtain permanent residence or as a precondition for the arrival of family members.Why is this common trend taking place at this particular point in time? It could be argued that these tests are a return to strong nation-building. There is a constant repetition of the belief in the purity of the nation in certain political discourses. This line of thinking creates a worrying problem for the future as European national identities are seen as immutable, thus complicating the integration of the new Europeans with an immigrant background.This is not new. States and regimes used these two elements in the 19th century to create nations. However, these processes produced dangerous results of exclusion. Hence a question arises, are these developments desirable in enhancing the integration of immigrants in Europe or do they run the risk of increasing the possibilities of constructing a new 'Other'?

### Supranationalism, Globalisation and Africa
### Dr Michael Amoah
### The Open University

The various forms of nationalism and their international dimensions produce global contours which have security and economic implications for globalisation. Nationalism as an expression of identity and competing interests could be ethnonational, subnational, national, consociational, international, transnational, multinational, or supranational, and subsequently manifest politically as ethnonationalisms, nation-states, consociational states, multinational states and supranationalisms, including supranationalisms with linguistic and religious foundations yet with political, security and economic implications, such as the Arab League and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference. This presentation would argue that despite globalisation being a process by which the people of the world are unified into a single society and function together, and the advantages thereof, nationalism by its very nature, operates against the aims of globalisation and ensures that there are always identity and related interests separating the globe. The paper would discuss the politics of supranationalisms, and their impact on globalised efforts at resolving humanitarian crises, using the UN Security Council and Sudan as an example.

### Religion and Regionalism as Racial Supplements
### Dr Sze Wei Ang
### UCLA

Race continues to be over-determined by national contexts but as the growing literature on transnationalism and globalization shows, racial identity and racial politics are becoming imbricated with politics and ideas that are circulating more globally. Among the most persuasive and prevalent of contemporary global debates is the debate over religion and religious identities. However, the question of race remains the fetishized object in religious discourse and this paper will uncover the role race plays in the invocations of religion or religious authority. This paper looks at the example of how Islam becomes subsumed within racial discourse especially in within the context of the nation-state of Malaysia and relates it to broader histories of regionalism in South East

Asia. I argue that Islam is not only appropriated to shape the nationalist imaginary and thus regulates race relations, but religious discourse also opens the nation up to the transnational imaginary, where the national and transnational flows mutually deconstruct, negotiate, and recalibrate the other. Finally, I will gesture toward the possibility of etiolating an ethics of transnationalism that is produce in response to and, in relation with, nationalist politics.

### Pan Kurdish nationalism: Theory or Praxis?
### Djene Rhys Bajalan
### Istanbul Bilgi University

This paper seeks to examine the phenomenon of 'Pan Kurdish nationalism'. Simply put, Pan Kurdish Nationalism is a nationalism that desires to unite all Kurds living with the boundaries of 'Kurdistan' (the Kurdish Homeland) under the roof of on single and unified state. The concept of a single Kurdish state was a product of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the Great War. However, the subsequent division of the Kurdish population and the projected Kurdish Homeland (Kurdistan) amongst Iraq, Syria Turkey and Iran has led to the development of a multiplicity of Kurdish nationalist organisation operating with the boundaries of existing states. Furthermore, these varieties of Kurdish nationalism are the products the specific conditions within Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria and have often conflicted with each other to the determent of the Pan Kurdish Dream. As such, it will be argued is that, as with Pan Arabism or pan Turkism, Pan Kurdish nationalism although a powerful intellectual idea has in fact found very little political expression.

### When do I Belong? Transnational Migration and National Identity
### Dr Veronika Bajt
### Peace Institute, Institute for Contemporary Social and Political Studies, Slovenia

Rethinking nationalism and national identity in the framework of globalisation and transnational migration patterns, this paper tackles the complex relationship between formal definitions of integration as a two-way process and integration bills that remain embedded in centrality of national identity as constructed by national states. It is necessary to study globalisation and migration processes in conjunction with nationalism, especially in order to understand xenophobic attitudes and anti-immigrant prejudice. I argue for a more inclusive perspective that allows for accommodation of transnational realities of migrants. Their experiences with ethnic prejudice and discrimination speak of the need to confront the exclusionary practices of national states. Though experiencing erosion of their sovereignty that has accelerated with processes of globalisation, which diffuses participation to sub-state and international levels, national states remain in strong control over the question of "who belongs" and who is consigned to the position of the "foreigner". It is for this reason that even obtaining citizenship and thus formally becoming a "national" does not preclude one from life on the margins, forever feeling like an "outsider". Using new empirical material, I theorise gaps in nationalism research by exploring transnational migrants' broader perspectives of identity, belonging and transnational ties.

### The APRM Process: Schizophrenic Institutionalism Par Excellence
### Ms Tinenenji Banda
### Regional Human Security Centre

The decline of the African nationalist movement and the advent of globalisation and its supra-national institutional arrangements have left the African intellectual agenda with a distinctive lacuna. The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) with its reformist agenda and "new dawn" terminology is a dexterous and ambitious attempt to reorganize the continents political and economic firmament, and to assert the continents relevance in an integrating and increasingly trans-national world economy. The fanfare and optimism that characterized its incipience notwithstanding, the APRM faces an acute crisis even as its minutiae are penned. In this paper I contend that the APRM and its processes graphically depict the schizophrenic dilemma faced by supra-national African institutions crafted to respond to the integrationist requirements of transnationalism. I argue that because the APRM process is couched comfortably within the neo-patrimonial arrangements that exclude a participatory and consultative framework, it is therefore alienated from the grassroots participation that has previously been necessary to ferment reform and shift political firmaments. Consequently, despite its supra-national application and its claim to international censure, its exclusionary and technocratic design ensures that it exists only as a veneer of reform designed perhaps to manufacture democracy rather than to enable it.

### Reconsidering National Identity in the Tibetan Diaspora
### Ms Anne-Sophie Bentz
### Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies

A diaspora is defined, at its simplest, as the dispersal of a people from an original homeland. I would like to argue here that this defining feature remains problematic for the Tibetan diaspora: Tibetan refugees, who have not

dispersed much, or far, as the favourite destinations for refuge have been Tibet's neighbouring countries, i.e. India, Nepal and Bhutan, are still not showing clear signs of wanting to disperse further, quite on the contrary. They have indeed come to believe that the Tibetan national identity would be severely threatened, should any further dispersion occur. I will illustrate this belief with two examples, i.e. 1) the Tibetan refugees' mitigated reactions towards the Tibetan United States Resettlement Project (TUSRP), and 2) the Tibetan refugees' adherence to their refugee identity, and so to a precarious stateless statute, especially in India. Yet, their resistance against the current trend of globalisation, understood here as including migration, seems to be simultaneously counterbalanced by a new willingness on their part to use at least some of the resources available in an increasingly globalised world, such as the improved means of communication, to create a kind of virtual Tibetan diaspora, whose specific features I also intend to examine here in further detail.

### Global migration and ethnic nationalism: Sweden in the early 20th century
### Ms Louise Bergström
### European University Institute

This paper concerns the specific trajectory of "ethnic" nationalism that developed in Sweden at the turn of the last century as a consequence of migration on an increasingly global scale. In the decades around 1900 the Swedish national was gradually constructed around ethnicity, race and racial difference. Whereas this development primarily has been interpreted as the outcome of factors internal to Sweden, it also needs to be read against the background of global patterns of migration. Between 1860 and 1920 one million Swedes emigrated, at the same time as immigration brought about an influx of people to the country. In the resulting encounters with other cultures and peoples, Swedish agents increasingly based the national on ethnicity and blood lineage in a perceived practical and political need to identify who was "properly" Swedish. This process of boundary drawing around the "ethnically" Swedish national in the face of global migration is the focus of this paper.

### Turkish Foreign Policy Between Nationalism, Populism and Transnational Solidarity
### Dr Esra Bulut
### EU Institute for Security Studies

The paper explores nationalist and populist language used to communicate, and communicated by, foreign policy by elected leaders in Turkey. It also investigates a recurrent practice of combining nationalist and populist themes, arguments and imagery with appeals to transnational solidarity and justice in the course of this policy. It is often suggested that this language serves the function of dressing up policy based on geopolitical considerations to make it more palatable to electors and others. The paper challenges this reading, suggesting a more holistic approach to the politics of foreign policy. The paper explores three sets of questions relating to content, context and impact. First, why and how do nationalist and populist themes, arguments and imagery occur in Turkish foreign policy? Second, when and how are references to nationalism and populism combined with appeals to transnational solidarity and justice? When and why are particular combinations historically and politically possible? Third, when and how does this language 'cascade' into international politics? The paper analyses the current policy towards the Arab-Israeli Conflict to this effect. The findings from this case are contextualized with an examination of earlier periods. The implications for our understanding of Turkish foreign policy and politics are explored.

### Medievalism, Popular Culture, and Identity Formation: Nationalism in a Globalizing World
### Ms Maria Cecire
### University of Oxford

From questions of "natural" class structure to the rights and abilities of women to the characterization of Islamic societies, children's fantasy has used medieval voices to negotiate the kinds of "timeless" truths that govern attitudes and behaviours in present-day Britain and its cultural offshoots. These concepts have been widely spread via a variety of media, profoundly impacting how young people's individual identities and, consequently, their national identities develop all over the world. This paper establishes the historical and political foundations of children's fantasy, which is largely based on nostalgic reimaginings of a heroic Anglicised past. It goes on to consider the wider ramifications of fantasy for young people as a potent global export as we approach a future in which the Harry Potter generation must take the lead on finding solutions for an array of pressing international issues. By interrogating some of the ways in which children's fantasy has reworked and represented medieval narratives, characters, and concepts, this paper will serve as an introduction to thinking about what role medievalisms play in popular children's literature and, as a result, how they manifest themselves as a potentially nationalist sentiment in contemporary society.

### Has Zionism suffocated Iranian cultural identity? The condition of
### Iranian Jewish immigrants in Israel between 1951 and 1979

**Ms Alessandra Cecolin**
**SOAS**

This paper attempts to analyse why and how the conflict between nationality (Zionism) and Iranian cultural identity became an increasingly difficult issue for the Iranian Jews who decided to immigrate to Israel in 1948, and again after the Khomeini Revolution in 1979. The central aim of this paper is to investigate the relationship between nationalistic and cultural identity through a comparison of these two Iranian Jewish migrations to Israel and determine if during these two different historical periods each with own peculiar socio-political circumstances, Zionism precipitated the suffocation of Iranian cultural identity by absorbing Iranian Jewry into the Israeli mainstream. The two periods of history under examination, 1948 and 1979, were both meaningful and defining moments in Iranian Jewish history: the birth of Israel in 1948 gave Diaspora Jews the first opportunity to become citizens of an Israeli State whilst the Khomeini Revolution in 1979, nominally identified Iran as an Islamic State and it officially denied any relations with Israel. These two Iranian Jewish migrations to Israel in 1948 and 1979 impacted upon the cultural differences between Iranian Jews and Israelis. While the first Iranian immigrants in 1948 dealt with more cultural difficulties when they settled in Israel, the latter had to cope with Khomeini's anti-Zionist policy and more volatile international relations between the two states. The differing circumstances under which the two Iranian Jewish  migrations occurred directly influenced the extent to which cultural identity was protected amongst the Iranian diaspora in the face of rising nationalism.

## Nationalism and minorities in the Mediterranean.
### The impact of Barcelona Process on national issues
**Mr Francesco Cerasani**
**University of Rome 'La Sapienza'**

The wider Mediterranean region is a space of intensive social exchanges and of high symbolical significance with regard to the issues of nationalism. Once a borderland, the Mediterranean is nowadays a boundary of deep tensions. The Mediterranean traverses multiple national, religious, socio-cultural and economic dividing lines. Cross-border ethnic groups, minorities and a wide spectrum of religious communities coexist with global phenomena, such as the impact of migration. In the last 15 years the EU, through the Euro-Mediterranean partnership and the European Neighbourhood Policy, started an action in the Mediterranean region aimed at giving a comprehensive and unifying response to this divide. The EU developed a new framework of mutual obligations in the field of human rights, with a particular focus on minority issues, and promoted projects of political and functional regional integration. The outcome of the commitment of the EU with its southern partners is still controversial. The regional integration hasn't moved forward and old conflicts around the Mediterranean are still open. However, recent evolutions and reforms in some Southern partners suggest a positive link with regard to minority rights, democratisation and conflict resolution.

## From Beethoven's Symphony No. 7 to Taiwanese Film "Cape No. 7":  the "Realization" of Taiwanese Identity/Nationality through Cultural Globalization/Localization
**Professor Huey-Rong Chen**
**Department of Journalism, Culture University, Taipei, Taiwan**

Through semio-narrative analysis of two classical music pieces in two popular media texts in Taiwan: Beethoven's Symphony No. 7 in the Japanese drama Nodame Cantabile (2006) and Schubert's "Heather Rose" in the Taiwan's second top grossing film Cape No. 7 (2008), this paper argues that Taiwan's multi-ethnic national identity has to be "realized" through its own cultural production, not simply consumption, under the awareness of both the situation and the availability of cultural globalization.  The "articulation" that Stuart Hall once applied to audience studies can be found in this paper that a market successful cultural work is because the production of the local is able to "utter clearly" from its specific social/historical perspective, then "form the joint" with the global theme.  However, this identity "articulation" and "realization" has been operated under the market logic of global cultural flow, which, while maintains the availability of globalization for the local, contains a danger to confine the local's view of the global and thus risks a simple ideological utterance if the creator does not aware of the other dimensions of cultural globalization/localization.  In Taiwan's case, it is the examination and exploration of its own globalization process in both history and everyday life that consequently comprises, then "realizes" its own multi-ethnic and multi-cultural nationality that signifies the future integration that must across ethnic, even national boundaries.

## Globalisation, Transnational Social Movements and Radical Nationalism in Basque Country and Ireland
**Dr Adriano Cirulli**
**University of Rome 'La Sapienza'**

Social movements emerged historically within nation-states. As actors of mobilisations they have claimed against the state, considering it as the main polity and the main target of protests. Due to globalisation, and the consequent processes of political and economical transnationalisation (multinational corporations; multilevel governance; increasing role of NGOs; development of supranational institutions such as the European Union), social movements are transforming their strategy and their forms of action. The clearest example of this trend is represented by the emergence, mainly in the last decade, of a transnational network that several leading social movements scholars call 'Global Justice Movement' (GJM). The main hypothesis at the base of the paper is that the transnationalisation of social movements and protests is reshaping also stateless nationalist movements, and particularly radical nationalisms that since the 1960s have developed a leftist discourse and strategy, mixing national liberation and revolutionary socialism. Grounding on some key concepts and methods developed in social movements and nationalism studies (framing processes; repertoires of action; nationalism as thin ideology; etc.), the paper intends to analyse if and how the transnationalisation of protest and the emergence of GJM are transforming Basque and Irish radical nationalist movements' ideology and strategy.

### Mauritius: a quasi-India and a creole nation
### Dr Mathieu Claveyrolas
### Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (Paris, France)

My paper deals with the Mauritius historical and contemporary context, from my anthropological point of view. The ongoing construction of a nation in a context of creoleness (dynamic interpenetration of various cultures resulting from forced migration and slavery context) seems highly relevant for understanding the articulation of globalisation and nationalism. In 150 years, the Indo-mauritians (mostly Hindus ; now 60% of the total population) passed from a quasi-enslaved minority to a majority leading the construction of this new nation. I will discuss, fisrt, the creole nation as the very experience (or prefiguration, as often stated) of globalisation. Then, I will analyse the ambiguous relation of Indo-mauritians to the creole nation. I will also try to contextualise and focus on the changes over time. From a "re-incarnated" indianity (from India to Mauritius) to a "renewed" identity (in the globalisation context), many possible futures can be assessed : will Mauritius illustrate the creole capacity of merging various identities ? Will it incarnate a modern Indian diasporic identity ? While creoleness, inventing supranational identities, challenges classical nationalism, can we nonetheless dismiss the possibility for the new nation to eventually foster traditional national bonds ?

### Pan-Nationalism Reframed: Theories of Nationalism, the Role of
### the "Nation-State," and the Global Age
### Dr. Sarah K. Danielsson
### City University of New York

This theoretical/historical paper argues that historians need to reevaluate the relationship between the "nation-state" and nationalism. Questioning the wide range of theoretical work on nationalism, this paper argues that pan-Nationalism needs to be reexamined and placed more prominently within the discussion of nationalism. Using specific examples of pan-Slavism, pan-Germanism, pan-Arabism, and pan-Turkism, from the 1860s to the 1920s this paper shows that: 1) pan-Nationalism did not rely on the "nation-state" but on the "racialized nation," beyond borders and frontiers; 2) the principles of pan-Nationalism extended beyond the official movements and permeated other, often more accepted, forms of nationalism; 3) pan-Nationalism was not just an "eastern" development, but, contrary to much theoretical work on nationalism, permeated also so-called "western" nationalisms (comparative evidence from England, France and the United States – such as Manifest Destiny- will be used to prove this point); 4) It was the strength of the pan-Nationalist arguments, and their broad acceptance in national debates, that allowed nationalism to flourish later in a globalized age – contrary to what constructionists have argued would take place. This paper concludes that our present theories of nationalism should be refocused from the historically flawed reliance on the "nation-state" and sovereignty. The paper argues that both modern and post-modern strains of nationalism were ripe for the globalized world because of the rise of pan-Nationalism and its influence on the concept of "nation."

### "You are Germany" – The reconstruction of German national identity in a globalized world
### Ms Jula Doebner
### London School of Economics and Political Science

Through discourse and visual analysis the study explores how German national identity is reconstructed in a globalized world, using the social-marketing campaign "Du bist Deutschland" ("You are Germany") as a case study. Theoretically built upon the notions of collective memory, othering and stereotyping the present analysis seeks to understand how the reconstruction of Germanness produced through the campaign deals with an increased globalized and diverse society and how this interacts with the specific German historical memory. Understanding nations as imagined communities and "systems of cultural representations" (Hall 1994:200) this

analysis focuses on the discursive construction of national sameness and difference. Therefore the narrative of a collective political history, the discursive construction of a common culture and the discursive construction of a 'national body' have been adopted from Wodak et al (1999) as discursive formations and will be used as guiding analytical themes. Highlighting thus the unifying and divisive power of national identity this study demonstrates the elitist nature of the campaign, as certain historical elements, places and people are established as the 'others' within it. Providing a wider conception of national identity this study contributes to the understanding of 'our' (Western) nationalism and how nations deal with difference in a global age.

### Mass Migration in the Age of Nationalism
### Professor Don H Doyle, McCausland Professor of History
### University of South Carolina

The rise of nationalism in Europe and the Americas between the Napoleonic wars and World War I coincided with the largest mass migration in human history. Precisely as nationalism was supposed to intensify popular identification with the homeland, millions of citizens were choosing to reassign their national identity. Between 1815 and 1930, 54 million Europeans migrated to the Americas, 33 million of them to the USA. That so many came out of the same places--Ireland, Germany, Italy, Poland, and other parts of Europe--where nationalism stirred the masses underscores this intriguing yet strangely neglected paradox. This paper proposes some new ways of understanding how nationalism and international migration interacted.

### The Anti-Cosmopolitan Liberals: Isaiah Berlin and Jacob Talmon and
### the dilemma of national identity
### Mr Arie Dubnov
### Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The debate between contemporary cosmopolitans and scholars of nationalism is hardly new. A similar dilemma lurked in the shadows of the writings of many of the founding fathers of the study of nationalism, and especially the Jewish émigrés among them, such as Hans Kohn, Ernest Gellner and Elie Kedourie. In this lecture I will focus on two other postwar Jewish Anglophile intellectuals who took part in this debate – the Oxonian liberal philosopher Sir Isaiah Berlin and the Israeli historian Jacob Talmon. I divide my discussion into three: First I will examine Berlin and Talmon's position within the postwar anti-totalitarian discourse and what came to be known as as "liberalism of fear". Secondly, I will show how Jewish identity, combined with deep Zionist convictions, pushed both to divorce anti-nationalist cosmopolitanism, which they regarded as hollow illusionary ideal and associated with impossible assimilation yearnings, from the liberal idea. In conclusion I will suggest that although neither of them had ever developed a systematic theoretical framework to deal with the complex interactions between ethno-nationalism, liberal individualism and multiculturalism, Berlin's vision of pluralism provides the foundations for building such a theory, in which liberalism and nationalism become complementary rather than conflicting notions.

### Does homeland matter?
### Diaspora in Britain: setting the scene
### Dr Gabriella Elgenius
### Nuffield College and Department of Sociology
### University of Oxford

The overall aim of this paper is to link understandings of 'homeland' to perceptions of 'Britishness' and to explore ways in which Diaspora groups in Britain seek to maintain and/or change their identities. We will investigate the background and the setting for this project that is to be carried out within the Polish and the Sikh communities in Britain with reference to notions of belonging and identity expressed through ceremonies, celebrations and commemorations. Through an understanding of the ceremonial forms we gain insights into the nature of Diasporic community building projects and notions of 'home'. By comparing the Polish and the Sikh communities perceived 'difference' in terms of ethnicity, religion and 'race' can also be identified. In this context, the response of the dominant culture and the extent to which Diaspora communities feel included into British culture may also be assessed. This research has drawn upon previous findings conducted on nation building and ceremonial change (Elgenius, 2005, 2008), the decline of traditional identities (with Heath et al. 2007, 2009) and has received funding from the ESRC, the British Academy and the John Fell Foundation.

### National Identity and the Other in the Global Era: The Czechs facing the EU
### Dr Daniel Esparza-Ruiz
### Palacký University in Olomouc

The increasing interest in national identity, especially from the 90s, is closely related to the 'general obsession' in the studies about identities (personal and collective) that seem to be a symptom of the Zeitgeist, precisely and

paradoxically, when the spirit of the current time is dominated by a crisis of identity, or a generalised crisis of identities, understood as a reaction to human disorientation generated by the 'digital revolution' and the expansion of the internet, which have produced a drastic change in the relationship between the human being and the past concept of time and space. In this context new scenarios have emerged: globalisation and cyberspace. Identity is constructed through successive identifications with significant Others, similarly, I understand the EU enlargement and the process of 'europeanisation' in East-Central Europe as a symptom of Globalisation, and the EU the most significant Other of today for the Czech national identity. In this sense, I shall explore the influence of the EU in the Czech contemporary national identity based on the following sources: i) the presidential speeches of Havel and Klaus; ii) the electoral programmes of the main Czech political parties; and, iii) the Czech public.

### Globalisation, Territoriality and Nationalism
### Dr John Etherington
### Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB)

Globalisation is usually understood, however implicitly, to operate according to a deterritorialising logic that undermines the specific spatial configuration of power and identity proposed by nationalism. While at a general, abstract level, this position is probably correct, this paper argues that we must go beyond a crude opposition between globalisation and nationalism, and develop an approach capable of fully understanding the complex interrelationship between these phenomena. In this respect, the paper argues that, from an empirical point of view, historically states themselves have played an important role in the global expansion of capitalism, while, in the contemporary world nation-states continue to be both relevant actors and the focus of political mobilisation, suggesting that we should not overstate the scope and scale of current globalisation. From a theoretical perspective, although deterritorialisation is key to understanding globalisation, territory can never be completely overcome: deterritorialisation must necessarily be accompanied by the process of reterritorialisation. Consequently, rather than reifying globalisation and nationalism as somehow 'out there' phenomena that operate independently of each other and of society as a whole, we should stress that they are interrelated processes that come together in specific spatial and historical contexts.

### Ethnicity in Practice: On the Construction of "Ethnic Youth Gangs" in Germany
### Mr Tobias Eule
### University of Cambridge

Based on ethnographic research into the identities of ethnic youth gangs in Germany, this paper will point to the limitations of presupposing ethnic groups to be both homogeneous and stable. Group deviance and criminality have spurred heated debate and political campaigns in contemporary Germany. Often, these issues are framed as referring to certain ethnic groups rather than young people in general. By examining the composition and practice of youth gangs in a small German town supposedly dominated by ethnic conflict between Russian and Turkish youth gangs, my paper will argue that while the groups were organised around ethnic categories, theses labels did not relate to the actual nationality or ethnic background of the group members. Based on fieldwork carried out in the Summer of 2007, the stark discrepancy between group labels and individual ethnic background will be shown. This paper will argue that ethnicity is a structuring resource for both the group and external labelling authorities, but rather a cultural tool than based on a shared heritage. The paper will portray the construction of these groups through practices of "becoming" an ethnic Turk or Russian as well as the irrelevance of a shared national origin even when it existed.

### Non-formal Education and the Construction of Palestinian Identities in South Lebanon
### Ms Kathleen Fincham
### University of Sussex

The construction and regulation of 'the nation' is both a goal and an outcome of official state engineering. Through state institutions, such as the school, the nation is constructed through the invention and use of a 'national literature', a common national language, a common culture, a shared sense of history and destiny, and a common set of expectations and behaviours rooted in a sense of civic loyalty. However, in the absence of a state and its institutions, Palestinians, particularly those in exile, must work to construct national identity through other supranational and sub-national institutions. Through empirical data gleaned from an ethnographic case study among Palestinian refugees in south Lebanon, this presentation will examine how Palestinian youth are constructing their identities through non-state institutions in Palestinian society and through the processes of international labour migration. It will be argued that, despite some limited benefits, this has ultimately led to the construction of new Palestinian identities which are dangerously fragmented, exclusive, conflicting and unregulated. Moreover, these identities have had real social and material consequences for Palestinians in Lebanon.

### Backdoor nationalism: EU accession and the reinvention of nationalism in Hungary and Poland
**Dr Jon Fox, University of Bristol**
**Professor Peter Vermeersch, University of Leuven**

The recent accession of eight East European countries to the European Union in 2004 did not sound the death knoll of nationalism; rather, it signalled its reinvention and, in some respects, reinvigoration. In this paper, we consider three ways nationalism is accommodating itself in Hungary and Poland. First we examine the reconfiguration of the left-right political spectrum along an axis of national(ist) versus non-national(ist). Consensus on the desirability of European unification has diminished the importance of traditional left-right party identifications. In their place, the 'nation' has emerged as a convenient fulcrum for inter-party contestation. Second, we examine how EU integration has provided nationalists with a 'backdoor' for realising old nationalist ambitions - albeit in a postmodern way. This isn't national reunification through territorial revision, but rather symbolic reunification across the porous borders of the EU's newest member states. In the third part of our paper we turn to the emergence and strengthening of radical nationalist organisations outside of the political establishment. It is our contention that the taming of mainstream nationalism is related to the unleashing of these more virulent forms of nationalism. Together, these three developments signal important changes in the trajectory of nationalism in Hungary and Poland.

### Pan-aboriginal movements and identity: a multi-layered form of nationalism?
**Professor Nicole Gallant**
**INRS-Urbanisation Culture Société**

The 1960s have seen the rise of pan-Indian movements, which were shaped by local struggles for power. As globalization increases, more indigenous groups are circumventing national politics and using international pressures to attempt to obtain self-government powers.The foundations for unity (shared historical experience; being perceived as a single unit by outsiders; an ideology of indianness) are often strategically developed by native federations as part of a nation-building process (Norman 2006), but they can also apply at the individual level, when subjects are asked to define their aboriginal identities. Thus, pan-aboriginal movements foster ties of solidarity that are stronger than those towards human beings in general (Miller 1995; Smith 1991).However, pan-aboriginal movements do lack some of the major characteristics most often associated with nationalism, most importantly the quest for "self-determination" (Gellner 1983; Ignatieff 1993; etc.). Although most entities within pan-aboriginal movements do seek self-government for themselves, the political units that are sought are not congruent with the pan-aboriginal national entity. Drawing on discourse analysis of pan-aboriginal associations and on 41 qualitative interviews with aboriginal youth in Quebec, I argue that pan-aboriginal movements may be interpreted as a form of multi-level nationalism.

### Differentiating nationalisms in the pan-Arab context
**Ms Jasmine Gani**
**London School of Economics**

As with all such ideologies, nationalism is not static; it is prone to fluctuations, alterations and evolution, being contingent on varying socio-political circumstances – thus the division between what constitutes 'cultural' and 'political' nationalism can often be blurred.  However, notwithstanding this ongoing debate, I argue that nationalism at inter-state levels are political ventures.  Thus Arab nationalism is most potent and has had the most success (limited though that has been) via the political route.  Although it has spawned cultural romanticism and a positive self-standing identity in the intellectual field, its practical expression, particularly in relation to popular opinion, has been as a political project juxtaposed against an oppositional force.  I also propose that, while Arab nationalism falls within the basic rubric of nationalism, viewing it through a Eurocentric lens fails to take account of its particularities in terms of its core principles, its historical development and political manifestation.  By paying greater attention to the central notion of anti-colonialism in Arab nationalism, I argue that it has continued relevance in the current regional context of military intervention and globalisation, albeit having to negotiate its primacy with Islamism as a fellow anti-imperialist pan-movement on the one hand, and statist nationalism as a negating influence on the other.

### '[They] help perpetuate "they're taking our jobs" kinds of arguments': attitudes towards immigrants in a divided society
**Dr Chris Gilligan**
**University of the West of Scotland**

Since 2003 there has been a significant growth in immigration to Northern Ireland, a region of the United Kingdom previously characterised by net outward migration. This shift to net inward migration took place after the signing of a peace Agreement negotiated between representatives from Irish Nationalist and Ulster Unionist

parties and the British and Irish Governments. Despite the Agreement Northern Ireland has continued to be characterised by a major social cleavage between Catholics/Irish nationalists and Protestants/Ulster unionists. There are, for example, a range of issues on which public opinion is significantly divided along Nationalist/Unionist lines. Immigration is one such issue.'[They] help perpetuate "they're taking our jobs" kinds of arguments' (Sinn Féin local councillor, interviewed 3rd December 2007). The quote can be read as an anti-racist concern with the effects of the articulation of anti-immigration views by Unionist politicians in Northern Ireland. The quote can also be read as a sectarian articulation of the superiority of a cosmopolitan Irish nationalism against exclusivist Ulster Unionist nationalism. This paper explores the difference in attitudes between Irish Nationalists and Ulster Unionists and in the wider context of the 'divided society' that Northern Ireland continues to be.The paper draws on original empirical research that we have carried out. This research consisted of: a review of party manifestos; a survey of elected representatives, and; interviews with elected representatives. The paper also draws on surveys of the general public in Northern Ireland that we have been involved in conducting.

## Us Versus? Re-Imagining the Nation in Hungary and Brazil
### Mr Gabor Halmai
### Central European University

This paper uses a comparative framework to investigate how globalization has engendered new types of nationalist movements as well as on how these new imagined communities use and reflect on global events and networks. The Hungarian "civic circles" have challenged the "Socialist" government's neoliberal restructuring with nostalgia for state socialism's security alongside pre-war nationalist imageries. The "national side" often equates itself with the group of alleged "losers of transition". Overtly rightwing conservative agendas thus merge with statist protectionist economic policy initiatives to result in "rightwing populism" with national – yet deeply divisive – symbols remaining central to the movement. The Brazilian MST, conversely, has traditionally employed an explicitly socialist ideology dividing the nation along class distinctions. However, the latest phase of Brazilian dependence on global markets turned traditional class boundaries more blurred as racial and ethnic terms enter the vocabulary of movement activists: Brazilian "people" thus becomes a unifying national symbol to bring about the broadest coalition in an effort to protect the country and its sovereignty.

## Nationalism Reconsidered: the Local/Trans-local Nexus of Globalisation
### Professor Sandra Halperin
### Royal Holloway, University of London

This paper elaborates a number of inter-related arguments concerning the theoretical and historical relationship between globalisation and nationalism. Its overall argument is that the emergence and generalisation of the nation-state model was a product of an earlier phase of globalisation and, specifically, of a dualistic process of expansion that, throughout the world, worked to increase the cultural distance between cities and their surrounding hinterlands. Capitalist development was from the start essentially trans-national in nature and global in scope involving, not whole societies, but the advanced sectors of dualistic economies in Europe, Latin America, Asia, and elsewhere. The changes that unfolded with the emergence of capitalism proceeded, not across broad national fronts (not through the expansion and integration of national societies and economies) but along networks that linked export sectors to each other. This dualism had, from the start as today, a simultaneous globalising and localising dynamic. It linked together the upper strata of communities around the world in a trans-local system of trade and inter-cultural exchange; but, by restricting access to the material and cultural products generated by this system, it simultaneously reinforced a separate set of rules, processes, and conditions of life for the wider local population. It was in the context of both the mobilisation and greater mobility of mass labour forces, and the increasingly different systems for trans-local and local interests and actors that the national idea emerged as a means of providing a new cultural framework and basis for social cohesion and order.

## Global Crisis, National Blame
### Dr Jonathan Hearn
### University of Edinburgh

The current global financial-economic crisis offers a diagnostic opportunity to explore the process of legitimation in the modern nation-state. Below the globalisation of financial markets, at the heart of this crisis lies a specifically national dynamic of legitimation, particular to affluent capitalist liberal democracies. As Gellner noted in Thought and Change (1964), the legitimacy of modern nation-states rests not just on rulers and ruled being 'co-nationals', but also on their ability to deliver prosperity and economic growth to their people. Collective pursuit of the power of wealth has both shaped national identities, and helped drive the current crisis. Focusing on the UK and the US, the paper presents a general model of the dynamics of legitimation in such societies, involving patterns of interdependence and moral assessment, between the state, economic agents, and the citizenry. It

argues that this underlying structure of legitimation is reflected in patterns of 'social blaming' associated with the crisis. Amid politicians accusing bankers of incompetence and irresponsibility, bankers accusing politicians of incentivising unwise economic strategies, and more diffuse critiques of a culture of credit among consumer-citizens, the basic dynamics of national aspiration, now turned sour, are revealed.

## Cultural Nationalism, Transnational Citizenship, Colonialism. Geo-Political Visions and Social Mobilization of the Pan-German League, 1891-1939
### Mr Björn Hofmeister
### Georgetown University

It has been argued recently that the period between 1880 and 1914 counts as the high time of globalized communication and economic exchange that challenged the classical nation-state and to which Germany responded with exclusive nationalism. Taking the Pan-German League as the most influential nationalist extra-parliamentary association, this observation lays the foundation for analysis of the relationship between global migration, transnational citizenship, economic autarky, and ethnic nationalism in the strife of the Pan-Germans for an expanding Germany in Central Europe and as a colonial Empire. Growing out of a rising colonial movement of the 1880s, Pan-Germans were concerned with the limited territorial extent of the German Empire of 1871 which left some 20 million ethnic Germans outside of Germany and made the League itself a global movement with local chapters in several European countries, Syria, Brasil, the United States, South Africa, Paraguay, and the Ottoman E mpire. The loss of the First World War limited Pan-German politics to territorial revisionism in Central Europe. The seizure of power by the National Socialist in 1933 further radicalized Pan-German ideology and put the League in ideological and political competition to a new generation of radical nationalists.

## Khatami's Islamist-Iranian Discourse of National Identity: A Discourse of Resistance
### Dr Shabnam J. Holliday
### University of Plymouth

The paper provides an in-depth analysis of how Iran's former president Seyyed Mohammad Khatami constructed Iranian national identity during his presidency (1997-2005). Through a deconstruction of his speeches, it is contended that Khatami's discourse of national identity demonstrates a resistance to what is perceived as Western hegemony on the international level. This is reflected in three areas: the notion of Iranian-Islamic culture, 'dialogue among civilisations' and Islamic mardumsalari (democracy), which form the three pillars of Khatami's discourse of national identity. Iranian-Islamic culture demonstrates that Khatami's construction of political Islam is in fact Iranian as opposed to simply Islamic. The notion of 'dialogue among civilisations' demonstrates a resistance to what Khatami perceives to be Western hegemony by calling for Iran to be seen as an equal in the international system. Islamic mardumsalari represents resistance to perceived Western hegemony because embedded in it is anti-imperialism. By associating the idea of Islamic mardumsalari with the important figures involved in Iran's anti-imperialist struggle, Dr Mohammad Musaddiq and Seyyed Jamal ad-Din Afghani, Khatami established Islamic mardumsalari as the most appropriate means of maintaining Iran as an independent nation. The research shows that despite globalisation, the idea of the state, and more importantly an independent state, remains important.

## International NGOs and the Transformation of Solidarity in the Global Age: The Evolution of Community Sentiment in the United States
### Dr. Rachel Hutchins-Viroux
### Nancy-Université

Jürgen Habermas contends that, in this age of an increasingly global and inequitable economy, a sense of global solidarity is most likely to emerge from NGOs and social movements that extend beyond national borders. This paper evaluates the evolution of Americans' sense of community, identity, and solidarity in the age of globalisation through an examination of their involvement with NGOs and social movements active in the developing world. Notably, it examines whether Americans' social bond is being transformed from a primarily national sense of belonging to an increasing sense of belonging to a global community. It will thus present a brief statistical picture of individual Americans' charitable giving habits at home and abroad, as well as statistics on the evolution of Americans' volunteer activities related to the developing world over this same time period. The main focus of the paper is a case study of a recently created NGO which is active in Africa, examining in particular to what extent its members identify primarily with their compatriots, with a global community, or occupy an intermediary position.

## Defending national identity and interests: the asymmetrical model of globalisation of the Lega Nord
### Professor Michel Huysseune, Vesalius College

**Vrije Universiteit Brussel (Belgium)**

As a movement defending the interests of the richer northern regions of Italy, the Lega Nord's nation-building discourse emphasizes the successful insertion of Padania (i.e. northern Italy) in the global economy. For the party, globalization has weakened the nation-state and has hence given peoples opportunities to acquire more autonomy. While its rhetoric exalts the virtues of a liberal economic model, in recent years, the party has also defended the exclusive right of Padania to economic protection. The economic protectionism of the party finds a parallel in its defense of cultural identity. The party accepts cultural difference only as long as diversity does not threaten what it considers the core values of Padanian identity. The party translates (especially in recent years) this vision into hostility towards immigration, the explicit denial of the rights of immigrants in northern Italy, and policies that discriminate against them. The Lega Nord hence responds to the challenges of globalisation with a programme of asymmetric globalisation that envisions an internal and international political order based on unequal rights and obligations.

## Living in a trans-national social space: The case of Russian academic Diaspora
### Dr Irina Isaakyan
### University of Edinburgh

Through the method of narrative biography, this paper explores the extent to which Russian academic immigrants working in universities in the UK, the USA and Canada identify themselves and behave as diaspora. I use the diaspora theories by Clifford (1994) and Safran (1991), and also the concept of Faist's (2000) 'trans-national social space', which emerges as both the pre-condition for and an outcome of the diasporic life. In what ways do these academic migrants imagine themselves as diaspora? What specific diasporic networking activities are they involved in? How strong is their affiliation with Russia, and what are the parameters of this relationship? How is this gravitation reflected in their new trans-national social space. My findings prove that the informants build a specific case of Russian diaspora. I show the phenomenology of their trans-national social space, comprised of such elements as the Soviet academic values and the academic requirements of western Universities. I also analyse the extent to which my respondents are ready to negotiate their social re-positioning in their inhabitancy of the trans-national social space.

## Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (PRC) and the Interaction between the National and the Global
### Dr. Agnieszka Joniak-Lüthi
### University of Berne

Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region situated on China's borders with Central Asian states and involved for centuries in the regional networks linking it closer to the west than to Beijing in the east, poses a serious challenge to the nation- and state-making schemes, especially since the opening of boundaries under Deng Xiaoping. While open borders are necessary to improve the economic situation of the region and to secure the supply of raw materials from Central Asia to the booming Chinese economy, they at the same time allow much more cross-border mobility and a much more intensive flow of people, goods and ideas across them, which challenge the power and control of the Chinese state. Reintegrating into the regional and global network of interaction, Xinjiang and other non-Han dominated areas force the Chinese state to reconsider and rework its nation- and state-making projects.The present paper analyses recent policies towards Xinjiang against the background of the interaction between the Chinese nation- and state-making schemes, and the globalizing influences that make them evolve and revolve. In my analysis of the political discourse on Xinjiang I focus on articles published in People's Daily, governmental press organ, in the time span of 2007-2008.

## Elite strategies in a global world:  A Typology of Polish Patriots
### Dr. Joanna Kaftan
### University of Houston-Downtown

This study shall focus on how Polish elites reconcile the apparently conflicting goals of economic integration and geopolitical stability with the desire for cultural distinctiveness and territorial sovereignty.  One hundred and thirty Polish elites were interviewed ten years after the fall of communism.  In early 2009, follow-up interviews were conducted with one hundred and fifty elites.  Samples of priests, intellectuals and members of parliament were drawn during each period.  Based on this data, a typology of four ideal types of patriots is proposed: ideological nationals, pragmatic nationals, pragmatic transnationals and ideological transnationals.  Chi square tests and the elites' explanations illustrate that patriots differed in whether they prioritized the defense and maintenance of a unique Polish culture or whether they prioritized adaptation into global competition.  Nevertheless, while their position on adaptation or preservation was predictive of their position on issues such as membership in NATO or the European Union as well as questions of support for Catholic influence in Polish politics, these elites

emphasized or de-emphasized territorial, economic, cultural and political sovereignty depending on the specific geopolitical, historical or cultural question at hand.

### Reconfigurations of Turkish National Identity and Nationalism in the Europeanization Process: An Analysis of Primary Schoolbooks in Turkey
### Dr. Tuba Kancı
### Koç University (Istanbul, Turkey)

Over the last decades, globalisation, and, especially since the beginning of 2000s, Europeanization processes have been influential in Turkey, bringing various changes along with them. Turkey, on the one hand, has experienced the rise of Islamic identity, and the Kurdish identity demands, on the other hand, has been subject to reform measures directed at the democratization of its laws and polity. Concomitantly, there have been increasing reactions to such developments and measures, as well as to the European Union integration process, and a radical rise of a 'banal nationalism' in everyday-life has been witnessed. This paper will analyze the changes that have been brought by the Europeanization process to the configurations of Turkish national identity and nationalism through their reflections on schoolbooks. In countries such as Turkey, where state-centric curriculum development and textbook production/authorization is the practice, schoolbooks are one of the carriers of state's discourses. The analysis will focus on the schoolbooks of the last decade (2000-2008) that have been officially designed and authorized for primary education, which by virtue of being compulsory reflects mass education in Turkey, and reflect the changes as well as the continuities in the official formulations of national identity and nationalism in this era.

### Internationalizing Nationalism: How the Second International dealt with
### the Nationality Question
### Mr Michal Kasprzak
### University of Toronto

At the turn of the 20th century, nationalism had become a reality which no Marxist, however orthodox, could ignore. Many socialist intellectuals and party bureaucrats delved into the national question, digging trenches in the battleground over the workers' role within the nation-state. Overt nationalism of the revisionists battled with the anti-nationalism of the radicals. The turn to nationalism seemed threatening, not only because it reflected a more practical strategy aligned with Social Democratic realities, but also because it was an attempt to bring nationalism into the Marxist ideological constellation. A genuine socialist response to nationalism required some modernization of unquestionable Marxist tenets. But how far could the revision of a dated ideology advance before it irreversibly transformed into something else? Many within the Second International were not willing to test the theoretical flexibility of Marxism, even if their practice had been moving towards nationally oriented solutions. The battle between the radicals and the revisionists unwittingly drew attention to the inconsistencies within Marxism, especially Marx and Engels' inadequate treatment of the national question. These discussions foreshadowed nationalism's victory over socialism in 1914 and the eventual splintering of Social Democracy

### Kurdistan: Aspirational Territory of pan-Kurdish nationalism
### Ms Zeynep N. Kaya
### London School of Economics and Political Science

Occurrence of the plan of 'Kurdistan' as an aspirational politico-territory precedes Kurdish nationalism. This has led to a fixation with 'territory' rather than 'nation', and to the belated formation of Kurdish nationalism and its problems. This paper explains Kurdistan as an 'aspirational territory' and defines three ways of defining territories in the world history: Historical, Colonial and Aspirational. 'Historical territories' have either derived from drawing the borderlines of long existing historic political entities (Egypt, France, England), or out of post-imperial processes and wars (Balkans after WWI). 'Colonial territories' are result of post-war colonial definitions (many cases in the Middle East and Africa). 'Aspirational Territories', on the other hand, are initially defined through political, not necessarily national, aspirations for gaining authority on a claimed territory (Kurdistan, Italy, Yugoslavia, Khalistan). They are politically-socially constructed territories defined with the desire to form and claim a homeland or a state and appear as the least credible and most dynamic type of territorial definition. Although diasporal Kurdish nationalism promotes the notion of Greater (Pan) Kurdistan as the primordial national territory of Kurds, in regards to the future, the effect of such primordial claims remains limited compared to the role of chance historical circumstances and power-politics.

### Globalisation, Identity and 'Cosmopolitan Nationalism' within Kurdish Diasporic Spaces
### Dr Sarah Keeler
### University of Exeter

One result of globalisation from the point of view of studies in migration has been its impact on the diasporic consciousness of various migratory groups in Europe and beyond. This paper is an anthropological case study looking at young Kurds in diaspora and the ways in which they fashion identities which challenge ahistorical, fixed readings of both Kurdish national identity and political conflicts posited by scholars and dominant Kurdish political voices alike. Drawing on their migratory experience as 'global citizens', they position themselves vis a vis older generations which they see as fixed both geographically and ideologically in a space that denies diasporic migration and the potential benefits to identity formation which it entails. In so doing, they are active in fashioning novel forms of 'cosmopolitan nationalism' which draw on hybridity and the performance of identity in globalised urban landscapes.The transnationalisation of specific national(ist) identities through the mechanism of diaspora allows us to consider the processes whereby phenomena associated with globalisation, such as migration, function to fragment and reconfigure these national identities. Using an ethnographic approach which looks at the everyday social realities of diasporans also reframes discussion of national identities to consider their pluralistic, heterogeneous dimensions and the ways in which global mobility calls for a continual renegotiation of belongings and identity. Kurdish youth in diaspora simultaneously feel a loyalty toward and pride in their ethnic heritage, while challenging essentialist readings of their diasporic or national identities through tropes of cosmopolitanism and 'global citizenship', as the present case study demonstrates. Contextualised in terms of local responses to globalisation, the paper addresses the broad themes of the ASEN conference both theoretically and empirically, particularly those of Global Migration Patterns and National Identities, and Globalisation and New Forms of Nationalism.

## International Influences - Danger or Liberation?
## Internationalism and Nationalism in Early 20th century Art-criticism
### Dr Andrea Kollnitz
### Stockholm University

In the years around the first world-war art-critical reactions on modern art display a deeply split attitude towards international influences. My paper investigates interactivities between ideals of international openness and national autonomy in the cultural context of rising modernism. Two kinds of art-exhibitions are concerned. Firstly exhibitions proclaiming modernism by assembling artists from different countries, e.g. international "Post-Impressionists" exhibited in London 1910 – an exhibition famous for being strongly influential on the international development of modern art. Secondly multinational exhibitions as the great "Baltic exhibition" in Swedish Malmö, where several nations exposed their cultural production but in clear distinction from each other and consequently were interpreted by specific national characteristics and as closed identities. By analysing art-critical texts and exhibition-programmes, I want to show how the concepts of internationalism and nationalism interact in a cultural and artistic modernistic context, how they can be connected to the positive or negative reception of artworks and which various functions they have in progressive and conservative art criticism. The national-international problematic of this period can be seen as an important step towards globalisation in art and modern culture.

## Bosnia's 'octopus of crime':
## Transnational networks and post-conflict nationalism
### Dr Denisa Kostovicova and Dr Vesna Bojicic-Dzelilovic
### London School of Economics and Political Science

The paper challenges scholarly perspectives on globalisation and nationalism that posit a conceptual separation of the two. Instead, we propose that nationalism, and, in particular, post-conflict nationalism, is not a response but a part and parcel of globalisation. Its persistence can be explained by the operation of transnational networks that comprise the infrastructure of 'shadow' globalisation. Drawing on substantial original research in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the paper demonstrates that Bosnian Croat ethnic nationalism in the post-Dayton period can be attributed to transnational networks forged during the conflict. Using an example of networks centred on the Bosanskoherzegovacka Bank, the paper shows how ethnic nationalism is used as a source of legitimisation for the group's political, business and military elite connected by illicit profit and personal enrichment, while eroding the state capacity and undermining the rule of law of the Bosnian state. The paper first presents the existing approaches to explaining nationalism in the global age, and reflects on post-conflict nationalism. It goes on to discuss a 'dark side' of globalisation in the context of a weak state, and concludes with an empirical section explaining Bosnian Croat nationalism in post-Dayton Bosnia-Herzegovina.

## Imagining ourselves beyond the nation? Exploring cosmopolitanism in relation to mediated representations of distant suffering
### Ms Maria Kyriakidou
### London School of Economic and Political Science

The mediation of distant suffering has been at the centre of a broader debate about the role of media in fostering a global public, which supersedes the national imagination. The global media coverage of traumatic events, such

as 9/11 or the Southeast Asian Tsunami, it has been argued, has resulted in the fostering of relations of responsibility towards distant others and the emergence of post-national or cosmopolitan solidarities. This paper will address this broader discussion drawing upon a study of Greek audiences and their responses to media coverage of distant disasters. The focus will be on the ways people discursively construct their concepts of space and belonging, when talking about distant suffering. The paper will illustrate the continuities and disconnections of a mediated cosmopolitan public focusing on the interplay between cosmopolitan and national discourses. Cosmopolitanism as a form of global solidarity, it will be argued, is a rather elusive and vulnerable condition, heavily dependent on media representational practices and conditioned by national and cultural biases and interpretations. As such it is not an impartial world-perspective but rather a rooted, locally and nationally, openness to distant others.

### Diaspora politics in the 18th Century:
### The British Intervention in Favour of the Jews of Bohemia
### Mr Barak Levy-Shilat
### London School of Economics and Political Science

It is common to assume that the influence of diaspora communities on the foreign policy of the countries in which they reside is a new phenomenon, caused by the increase in migration, and the improvement in means of communication. However, we can find evidence of such influences on British Foreign Policy from a much earlier period. During the War of Austrian Succession, Queen Maria Theresa ordered the expulsion of Jews from Bohemia. The expelled Jews requested help from Jewish communities around Europe. The leaders of the Ashkenazi Jewish community in Britain petitioned King George II and asked for the British government's intervention in favour of the Jews in Bohemia. Britain, through its ambassador in Vienna acted to persuade Maria Theresa to revoke the expulsion.  I try to examine this episode through my theoretical framework, in order to understand why certain elements in the community appealed for help from the government, while others chose the route of financial support. I will also try to interpret the actions of the British government in intervening in this case. From this early example I wish to shed light on the ways in which Jews in Britain try to influence their Government's policy in support of Jewish objectives abroad.

### Globalizing the 'Principle of Nationality'
### Professor Andre Liebich
### Graduate Institute, Geneva

Like the concept of "globalization," the "principle of nationality" –understood, in modern terms, as the injunction that state and nation should coincide - emerged, in its time, as both a shorthand statement of underlying historical trends and a programmatic slogan justifying and promoting these trends. The paper suggests that the "principle of nationality," formulated in its original European liberal context as a straightforward moral and programmatic statement, turned out to be endowed with such inherent plasticity that it allowed itself to be played out in multiple and contradictory ways as the principle underwent its initial globalization.  "Nationality" emerged as an adaptable tool of state affirmation not only on a local but on a global level, serving to underpin imperial domination abroad and to justify an onslaught on minorities at home.

### Kenya's New Indigenes: Negotiating Local Nationalisms in a Global Context
### Dr Gabrielle Lynch
### Leeds University

It is often assumed that modern African ethnicities are clear, fixed and bounded. However, regional or ethnic identities are still subject to negotiation and renegotiation, as local actors make use of ethnicity and nationalism's conceptual vagueness, and local realities of complex and contested communal histories, to redefine themselves as a means of furthering local interests in a changing world. One noteworthy phenomenon is the impact that new global forums and discourses regarding the rights of indigenous and minority groups has had on debates and action at the local level. This paper examines the case of the Sengwer and Ogiek communities in western Kenya, and analyses their recent assertion of difference on the basis of 'indigeneity'. Particular attention is given to the choice of language employed. The paper argues that local leaders have consciously employed 'global discourses' of 'marginalisation', 'minority rights', 'indigeneity', and 'environmental protection' as a way to strengthen claims, and as a way to gain access to new domains of action and cultivate new channels of patronage. The paper provides a clear example of the tension between globalisation and factionalism; as developments at the global level provide new opportunities and incentives to re-negotiate local or regional 'nationalisms'.

### Persistence of identity in Japan
### Mr Julian Manning
### Nihon University College of Art

This paper will argue that the discourse of Japanese ethno-cultural homogeneity persists because it has served a variety of political objectives over time and continues to do so. Today we can read it partly as a nationalist response to global trends, including the perceived failure of both European and American multicultural models. However, it also provides structure to important diplomatic relationships, especially in East Asia, and serves as an answer to perceived social malaise at home symbolized by allegedly falling academic achievement levels by Japanese students and a falling population. However, there are limits to the power of this discourse which are increasingly evident at the local level. The local level is where practical problems associated with multiculturalism, such as the education of the children of ethnic minorities or the need for unskilled labor, have to be dealt with pragmatically. The influx of foreigners of Japanese descent since 1990, mainly from Brazil, has resulted in high concentrations of newcomers in several regional towns in Japan. Focusing on the case of the small town of Oizumi in Gunma-ken, this paper will argue the nationalist discourse of a homogeneous Japanese ethno-cultural identity is being fundamentally challenged at the local level.

### Transnational Nationalism: forms of nationalism in globalized sport arenas
### Professor Radim Marada
### Masaryk University

"Logically contradictory, psychologically real", Georg Simmel liked to say about phenomena like fashion or coquetry. The paper follows Simmel's pattern and it presents nationalism and globalization as perhaps logically contradictory, but often complementary phenomena, if pursued in the perspective of transnational experience. The argument is based on a historical-phenomenological analysis of transnationalism in professional sport. Concrete empirical examples are mainly taken from football sport migration and fandom cultures, but examples from other sports (ice hockey, basketball, tennis, etc.) will also be used as illustrations. While sport migration has been accounted for in the relevant literature, fandom transnationalism has barely been touched so far. It is therefore here that the paper claims to provide major empirical and theoretical contributions. Among others, the paper documents its central thesis by the examples of, e.g., big sport club strategies in their acquisitions of talents (from the 'third world' in particular), the role of the global media (TV and the Internet above all), the role of geo-political contexts in shaping sport transnationalism, etc. The historical perspective makes it clear that transnationalism is by no means just a contemporary phenomenon. To the contrary, transnationalism finds its stronger versions in the past rather than in the present.

### 'Cuisine Française' versus 'Mc World': The Politics of Gastronomy as a Banal Nationalism's
### Response to Globalisation in France
### Mr Vincent Martigny
### Sciences Po Paris

This paper argues that the politics of gastronomy illustrate in France a form of banal nationalism and a reaction towards globalisation. This hypothesis builds on the concept of banal nationalism defined by Michael Billig (1995) as an ideology in which national sentiments are widely diffused and in which "the private domain flourished within the cradle of the nation." The French conception of food relates to both the private and the public spheres. Within French culture, the national gastronomy conceived as a form of craftsmanship echoes the idea of a uniqueness of the nation versus the standardisation meant by globalisation and epitomised by American global brands such as Coca-Cola and Mc Donald's. By showing how for instance, Mc Donald's was opposed to Roquefort, the local cheese produced in a rural part of France, the French food debate has been revolving around the affirmation of a banal nationalism expressed in non political – i.e cultural terms. Indeed in this case, gastronomy refers not only to a specific art de vivre symbolic of the French civilisation, but also to a conception of French identity grounded into an attachment to a partly fantasised conception of the rural world. This form of banal nationalism has been a privileged path taken by French civil society – partly supported by the government – to come to terms with globalisation.

### Nationalism and the peacekeeping discourse. Political and military viewpoints
### Dr Asta Maskaliunaite
### Baltic Defence College

The changing nature of conflicts after the end of the Cold war demanded that the national armed forces shift their focus from the territorial defence to the deployment in far-away countries. While this idea of engagement in distant conflicts (particularly by the so-called great powers) was not novel, it underwent a significant transformation, the most important of which is new-found weight of humanitarian concerns.What is often overlooked, however, is that such seemingly idealistic reasons of the attempts to stop the conflicts around the world often get enmeshed with the more "practical" concerns voiced as "national interest." In many cases the participation in peace-support operations is explicitly coined in terms of enhancing own state's security or the international standing. In this presentation, therefore, I would like to explore expressions of nationalism (in the

peacekeeping discourse. Focusing mainly on the Baltic states, I will explore the political level justification for participating in the missions investigating the "cosmopolitan" vs. "nationalist" reasons presented there; secondly, I will look at the views of the officers and their understanding of the reasons of their deployment in the conflicts taking place far from their home countries.

**Does Europe Cause Nationalism? European Values and Identity Construction In Modern Armenia**
**Dr Tigran Matosyan**
**Yerevan State University**

The fact that Europe-related public discourse of modern Armenia has often been accompanied by vigorous rhetoric on the Armenian identity is indicative of a type of positive correlation between the spread of European values and rise of a new form of nationalist discourse in the country. Although the cause-and-effect relations between the two processes are apparent, important questions remain as to the nature of this determinism. My paper will try to demonstrate that the nationalist rhetoric of the Armenian public discourse-makers arouse not only as opposition to Europeanization but also as a convergent phenomenon inspired by it. I will argue that both divergent and convergent types of nationalism have been instrumental in their nature; while the first rose as a defense mechanism against the felt threats incoming European values posed to the security and existing power structures of modern Armenian society, the convergent nationalism has been used by pro-European discourse-makers as an ideological means to back up Europe-oriented policies of the Armenian government. Besides this, I will argue that determinism between Europeanization and nationalism was largely preconditioned by lack of objective information about Europe in Armenia.

**Globalization, a transformed political order and new forms of Afrikaner nationalism, 1994-2009**
**Dr Heinrich Matthee**
**Control Risks**

The paper will discuss and analyze the diverse spectrum of Afrikaner nationalist actors, discourses and strategic approaches during the past fifteen years. It will also explore the interaction between globalization, a transformed democracy, and novel forms of identity politics. The paper is based on field research as well as a study of documents, website debates, and speeches and actions by actors during meetings and campaigns. It will be located in political science and international relations. The paper's relevance is that it analyzes the phenomenon of ethnic nationalism within a context where nationalist actors encounter benefits and disadvantages, a recasting of identities, and new opportunities and pressures within the context of globalization. The paper also explores the consequences of Afrikaner nationalism's new context. Afrikaners as a group have experienced a significant change in domestic power, status and access to resources. They have gone from being the main power base of a ruling elite to being a politically subordinated minority in a new and transformed political system. In addition, almost 20% of them have left their main territory in Africa for Europe, the USA, Asia and the Middle East. These conditions have directly and indirectly influenced the aims, symbolic repertoire and organizational approaches of the nationalist actors among Afrikaners. The paper analyzes these developments and outlines several possible futures for Afrikaner nationalists.

**Voice and Participation in the European Union: Responding to the Italian Roma Crisis**
**Dr. Aidan McGarry**
**University of Brighton**

This paper examines Romani mobilisation and activism in the European Union. The paper argues that Brussels acts as a new space in which Romani activists and advocates articulate interests and demands based on expressions of ethno-nationalism. It is argued that the presence of supranational actors tends to change the criteria according to which actors define themselves, as well as their strategies. The debate on Romani nationalism in Europe is located in the context of the Italian Roma crisis which deepened throughout 2007 and 2008. The Romani community have increasingly become targets of discriminatory policies, such as forced evictions and ethnic profiling, by the Italian authorities who have deployed nationalist rhetoric to support these policies. The European Union and the Romani community based in Brussels have responded to these measures through a series of discursive interventions which strike at the heart of the debate about Romani nationalism and integration in Europe. Roma are a transnational nation without a kin state to advocate and lobby on their behalf therefore the EU acts as both a site and ally for expressions of ethno-nationalism through which Roma advance claims and articulate interests.

**No Surrender: Orange-Canadian Unionists and Northern Ireland, 1919-1925**
**Dr Robert McLaughlin**
**Pennsylvansian State University--Altoona College**

Just as they had done in 1912-1914, Ulster unionists turned to their Orange-Canadian unionist brethren for support in their time of crisis. Possessing an unquestioning devotion to their Ulster co-religionists and a belief that the integrity of the Empire depended on their steadfast resolve, Orange-Canadian unionists provided both moral and financial assistance to their Ulster brethren, in whatever amounts they could, in this most recent incarnation of the Battle of the Boyne. These expressions of transnational support extended by Orange-Canadian unionists to their Ulster brethren emanated from an overwhelming sense of ethno-religious identity and connection between peoples of British Protestant heritage, and from an Orange-Canadian unionist world-view of those possessing differing faiths and political views as being engaged in a worldwide conspiracy to defeat the upholder of liberty and Protestantism–the British Empire. This Orange-Canadian unionist vision of a world-wide conspiracy designed to bring down the British Empire incorporated such disparate co-conspirators as Muslims and Mormons, all the while insisting that the conspiracy was Vatican led and engineered by Irish republicans. When, in December 1921, the British Government actually negotiated a settlement with the southern Irish rebels and provided them with the legislative and military apparatus to possibly dismember the fledgling Northern Ireland state-let, Orange-Canadian unionists felt compelled to act. In this regard, Orange-Canadian unionists, of whom Canadian Orangemen formed the most significant portion, contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to provide for the armed defense of the Protestant portion of the north of Ireland. Through their words, deeds, and actions, Orange-Canadian unionist provide an example of the extent to which ethnic nationalism transcended national boundaries in the early twentieth century.

**Identity withdrawal within the "planetary village:" a comparison between the British National Party and French National Front in the face of "globalization"**
**Dr Djamel Mermat**
**University of Lille 2**

The term "multiculturalism" refers to the coexistence of different cultures within the same space, and the public policies linked to their establishment. Now, whether arguing for "differentialism" or a singular interpretation of the peoples'right to joy of their independacy, the radical right in the United Kingdom and in France has known how to profit from an acerbic critique of the official recognition of communities within/or in competition with the national community. Thus, by stimulating a self-protective reflex in the face of multiple insecurities associated with the phenomenon of "globalization", the British National Party and the National Front received an inequal echo in the population of their country. Subsequently, discursive transfers between the BNP and the NF reveal some neighboring lines of argumentation. The ultimate goal of our paper is to highlight this on three points: the eventual reclassification of elements defining what constitutes, respectively, "a British citizen", or a "French citizen" ; the question of accepting Muslim religious rites, places, and financing, and the institutionalisation of their representatives on national territory ; the issue of the rhetorical treatment of the flashover in the suburbs, the methods recommended by each party to solve the problem, and their instrumentalization in the debate on migratory shifts.

**Extroverted and introverted types of nationalism and their responses to European integration: evidence from Spanish and Polish right-wing political parties**
**Dr Madalena Meyer Resende**
**Universidade Nova de Lisboa**

The paper explores the re-elaboration of nationalism in the ideologies of right wing conservative parties in Poland and Spain from the time of democratization (1975 in Spain and 1989 in Poland) to 2005. Thepaper analyses the reformulation of conservatives' national conceptions in terms of their acceptance of internal pluralism and their support for supranational political communities. The reformulation of nationalism from a unitary vision of the nation characteristic of National Catholicism gave place to a pluralist and heterogeneous concept of the nation that accepts and eventually advances supranational integration. The continuity between a pluralist concept of nation and the support for political supranationalism derives from the acceptance of the compatibility between particularistic identities and a common sharing of cultural links that underpins the pooling of sovereign powers. Introverted nationalists see the unity of the nation, and its exclusivity regarding other national identities, as threatened both by internal ethnic cleavages and the participation in supranational political entities. While conservative political thought at the time of transition was in both countries dominated by an introverted conception of nation, the rise of sub-national parties in Spain has triggered the formulation of a pluralist view of Spain as a nation of nations which supports Spain's participation in the European Union by the Popular Party. In Poland the introverted conception of nation has remained the ideology underpinning successive nationalist and conservative right-wing parties.

**Bringing the Nation back in: Nationhood, Seriality, and Global Communication**
**Ms Sabina Mihelj**
**Loughborough University**

Modern information and communication technologies are often singled out as a key ingredient in globalization processes, providing the basis for the expansion and intensification of global connections and networks. At the same time, the modern media have also played a crucial role in the global spread of national imagination, and continue to be involved in the reproduction of nationalism despite the ongoing intensification of global media flows. It is impossible to understand this double-edged role of the modern media without acknowledging that nation formation and globalization are closely intertwined rather than simply antithetical. This paper conceptualizes the relationship between nation-formation, globalization and modern communication by drawing on Benedict Anderson's (1998) notions of 'seriality' or 'modularity' of national imagination. It argues that the rise of global forms and institutions of mass communication inevitably involves the adoption of standardized systems of managing difference, all of which take the national form as their basic unit. The paper demonstrates the utility of this conceptual framework by examining selected historical and contemporary cases, including the creation of international broadcasting organizations, the national reporting of global events, and the emergence of an international regime for governing the Internet.

## The End of Globalisation, The End of Nations
### Dr Steven Mock
### London School of Economics and Political Science

One of the great straw-men in nationalism studies is whether globalisation will spell the end of nations and nationalism. The answer, as always, is no.  If, as Ernest Gellner hypothesized, the modern nation is intrinsically linked to the industrial growth-economy, then while expansion and extension of the growth economy might cause shifts in the structure of nations, the basic relationship between culture and organisation posited as characteristic of the modern world of nations remains fundamentally unaltered.But will this always be so? Recent theorists have argued that exponential economic growth on a global scale cannot be sustained indefinitely. Some have pointed to indicators – such as environmental degradation and the decreasing availability of energy resources - that we may witness the decline of the global growth-economy within this generation. What would this mean for the nation? Can nations endure in a global "steady-state" economy? Or could it be that not globalisation, but rather the end of globalisation will spell the end of nations? And while some might praise this as progressive, nationalism theorists have also enlightened us to the many values and instrumentalities taken for granted in the modern world interdependent with the construct of the nation, from popular sovereignty and mass political participation, to human equality and social mobility, to literacy and mass public education.  This indicates what we could stand to lose should values necessary to the growth economy cease to serve a functional purpose, opening vital normative questions as to what values we wish to preserve in a post-modern world along with practical ones as to how this can be accomplished.

## CosmoPoles: The European Identity of Higher Educated Polish Youth in
### a Comparative Perspective
### Mr Jeroen Moes
### Radboud University Nijmegen

An identification with Europe has emerged – at least to some extent – while national identifications on the continent have not faltered as a result. The presented article investigates the 'width' and 'depth' of this phenomenon by first conducting a cross-national comparison, and then performing an in-depth analysis of what it actually 'means' to be both national and European. For the first part of this argument, citizens of European nations are compared cross-nationally. After this quantitative evaluation, a qualitative analysis follows, in which the conceptualization of 'Europe' and the nation among Polish higher educated youth is investigated. For them, being 'Polish' and being 'European' are not mutually exclusive. Instead, they distance themselves from certain aspects of the 'national past' which they see as problematic. An important concept by which this differentiation is performed, is the 'generation'. They see themselves as being highly patriotic, while ultimately belonging to the 'European generation'.This is a 'Mixed Methods' study, in the sense that the results of quantitative and qualitative analyses were used in a complementary fashion. The study also has a multidisciplinary theoretical foundation. Nevertheless, it is predominantly grounded in (quantitative) Sociology and (qualitative) Cultural Anthropology.

## Nationness in the Absence of a Nation: Narrating the Prehistory of
### the Greek National Movement
### Mr Vasilis Molos
### New York University

In February 1770, in the midst of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1768-1774, the Peloponnese erupted in violence, in what has since come to be known as the 'Orlov Revolt'.  This paper will broadly consider the extent to which this historical event can be conceived of as an uprising of a 'nation', but, more specifically, will gauge whether it is appropriate to narrate the prehistory of the Greek national movement with reference to a 'nation'.  The argument advanced is that the Orlov Revolt was a unique historical moment brought about by the temporary convergence

of disparate interests, which engendered the possibility of nationness and national imagining. By demonstrating that (i) the putative nation vanished at the moment when the uprising in the Peloponnese failed, and (ii) that this did not serve to inhibit nationness, I seek to highlight what seems to be a paradox: nationness remains a possibility in the absence of a putative nation, or a nationalism for that matter. In this way, the Orlov Revolt seems to suggest that our understanding of the manner in which nationness relates to nation and nationalism warrants reconsideration.

### Diasporic Hindu nationalist discourse over representation of Hinduism in school texts in America
### Dr Deepa Nair
### Appalachian State University

Westernization has always been seen as a threat to the 'pristine' Hindu identity by Hindu nationalists in India, yet in recent years the primary impetus to Hindu nationalism has come from diasporic Hindu communities living outside the territorial boundaries of South Asia. The rise of a 'patriotic' Hindu Indian community in the United States and its promotion of a militant Hindutva nationalism cannot be regarded merely as an immigrant attachment to the pithrabhoo. Various Hindu Indian communities within the United States are funding activities of Hindu nationalist groups in India. This support stems from the feeling of being a racial minority in the United States and a need to obtain recognition of their ethnic and cultural heritage. This paper focuses on the discourse in the United States over representation of Hinduism in school texts in America and India. By conducting ethnographic research in various Hindu organizations in North Carolina and an analysis of text books as well as other secondary sources ( internet, newspapers, magazines devoted to Hindu nationalism in America), it explains the reasons for the rise of a diasporic Hindu nationalism and its interest in the representation of an Indian i.e. a 'Hindu' past in school textbooks, leading to a revival of national and ethnic pride.

### Nationalism and the Globalisation of Multiculturalism
### Dr Ephraim Nimni
### Queen's University Belfast

In the last 25 years, multiculturalism has spread like a spread like wildfire across the four corners of the globe. Originating in Canada, multiculturalism rapidly moved to the US, Europe (west and east), India, Singapore Russia, Australia, Argentina and Japan among many. Like nationalism, Multiculturalism has a chameleon-like format as it takes many forms and characteristics. It is furthermore the other side of the coin of the process of globalization and spreads with it. As multiculturalism shares many common features with nationalism it has been nominated by key advocates of multiculturalism as the "post-nationalist" movement par excellence, destined to supersede nationalism. Contrary to this, the aim of this paper will be to argue with examples the precise opposite: that the globalisation of multiculturalism does not weaken nationalism but on the contrary reinvigorates it. It supersedes earlier blind spots such as the 20th century nationalism's uncompromising relation with nation-states and incorporates e demands of stateless nationalisms. In a 21st century globalised world, Nationalism and multiculturalism will remain the closely related twin forms of the politicisation of identities.

### The Globalization of Justice and the Transferability of Protest
### Professor Atalia Omer
### University of Notre Dame

The paper explores the global transferability of vocabularies of protest from one national context to another as a mode of empowerment and vindication of struggles against injustice and structural violence. The main argument is that global norms as enshrined in the conventions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and subsequent documents provide (a) a universal (global) language for the articulation of conditions of injustice by subaltern groups in specific national contexts and (b) recognition of common patterns of injustice and thus also of the necessary criteria for the just transformation of inter- and intra-national conflicts, (c) this recognition of the similar patterns of oppression also suggests the possibility of cross-national coalition building and the global aspects and implications of each local instance or perception of injustice and struggle for national reform, finally (d) appreciating the distinctness yet similar patterns of domination  against which subaltern groups need to articulate their counter narratives of nationhood and articulate their grievances through an appeal to universal norms.

### Illiberal Liberalism: Cultural Restrictions on Migration and Access to Citizenship in Europe
### Mr Liav Orgad
### Harvard University

This article addresses a simple but important and understudied question: Is culture a legitimate criterion for regulating migration and access to citizenship? While focusing on Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands

and the United Kingdom, I describe how these states embrace illiberal migration policies which violate the same values they seek to protect. I then suggest a two-stage set of immigration-regulation principles: In the first stage, immigrants would have to follow some structural liberal-democratic principles as a prerequisite for admission; in the European context, these principles can be based on the Copenhagen Political Criteria. In the second stage, as part of the naturalization process, immigrants would have to recognize and respect essential constitutional principles of a specific state. I call this concept 'National Constitutionalism'.

### 'Arab Banal Nationalism:
### Al-Jazeera and the flagging of Arab identity during the 2008 Beijing Olympics'
### Mr Chris Phillips
### London School of Economics and Political Science

One of the most visible signs of Globalisation in the Arab world has been the dramatic growth of new Pan-Arab television stations. Whilst Arab television used to be limited to a few government channels, Al-Jazeera and its competitors now offer audiences from Morocco to Oman hundreds of modern and highly popular programmes. For the first time, Arabs from different states are able to watch the same television shows at the same time. By connecting living rooms across the Arab world, is pan-Arab television creating a new imagined community? Is it reviving Arab national identity? In 1995 Michael Billig claimed that Western national identities are sustained on a day-to-day level by being 'flagged' constantly in a state's institutions, notably the print media. This paper seeks to expand upon and challenge his Banal Nationalism thesis by applying it to a case study of Al-Jazeera's coverage of the 2008 Beijing Olympics. This study will demonstrate that Billig's methodology can be successfully applied beyond the print media into a discourse analysis of television reporting – a more appropriate method in parts of the world with low literacy levels. It will also challenge Billig's assumption that media confined to state boundaries alone can flag identity, by illustrating Al-Jazeera's emphasis on its audience's supra-national pan-Arab ties. Though its reasons may be more commercial than political, this study suggests that Al-Jazeera speaks to its audience as if they belong to one single Arab nation.

### Everyday Nationalism as neo-Localism. The "Gypsy problem" in
### Italy between migration and national contexts
### Mr Giovanni Picker
### University of Milan-Bicocca

This paper examines the emerging Italian neo-localism (Stacul 2006) through an analysis of the construction of cultural boundaries set up by different definitions of the "Gypsy problems" in the public discourse of two Italian urban contexts, Florence and Pescara, in comparative perspective. Although these two cities present similar patterns of socio-spatial marginality of Roma/Gypsies, for the majority of Roma/Gypsies live in periphery semi-isolated areas, in Florence Roma/Gypsies are immigrants mainly escaping from the Yugoslav wars, whereas in Pescara they are national citizens. Based on ethnographic fieldwork carried out in 2007 and 2008, the paper provides empirical evidence on the fact that common sense racism and everyday nationalism assume heavier and more violent connotations in the case of discourses on local traditions and preservation of autochthony vis-à-vis national Roma/Gypsies in Pescara, rather than in the bureaucratically regulated context of immigrants in Florence. I discuss three main causal factors of this phenomenon: the higher de-politicization of the "Gypsy problem" in Pescara in comparison with the case of Florence; the lack of an influential Roma organizations in Pescara, contrary to Florence where there is a rather powerful Roma organization; and the absence in Pescara of a social rights discourse, in favor of a cultural(ist) one, contrary to Florence, where together with culture-based argumentations, there is a tradition of social citizenship-based claims. The conclusion is a discussion on the forms of nationalism such as neo-localism, which are gaining considerable attraction, being forces of social closure with scarce attention by the political power.

### Nationalism as a Weapon in Global Conflict:
### The Indo-Irish-German Conspiracy of World War I
### Professor Matthew E. Plowman
### Waldorf College

Indian and Irish nationalists were used as a global weapon by Germany against Britain during World War I. This was an attempt by Indian nationalists, Irish republicans, and German operatives to smuggle American arms to India for a revolt against the British Raj during the war. The conspiracy failed and an American investigation and trial followed with Ram Chandra, the leader of the Hindustani Gadar Party, shot dead in the courtroom. This paper counters established scholarship that the Germans created or even managed the Indo-Irish network by elevating Irish leadership such as Larry de Lacey and Father Peter Yorke. There were Irish attempts to get guns to India before the war. Yet, it was German wartime resources that converted the Indo-Irish machine into a truly global weapon with conspiracy leaders in San Francisco, New York, Berlin, and Constantinople, directing activities across the globe. American authorities and British intelligence services had to be overhauled in

structure and protocol to deal with the global extent of these activities. Globalisation of Indo-Irish nationalism within the context of a global war both helped and hindered the success of their organizations. There is also a lesson about the inclusivity and realpolitik of globalised nationalism that speaks to the 21st century.

### Promoting the Dragon:
### National Identity and the Construction of Wales as an International Actor
### Mr Brieg Powel
### University of Plymouth

The Welsh Assembly Government declares its intention to 'raise the profile of Wales and stamp [Wales'] unique identity on the world stage'. Currently, the Assembly Government supports sixteen different offices on four different continents, including offices in New York, Brussels, Dubai and Tokyo. Drawing on elite interviews and textual analysis, this paper explores the nature of the identity which the Assembly Government seeks to promote. Understanding this identity may prove instrumental in understanding Wales' future role in the world. As Kalevi Holsti (1983) argues, the manner in which an actor perceives its role in the world is a product of its own society's historical, cultural and societal development. Paradoxically, this very identity can in turn be shaped by the policies the actor chooses to follow. Elsewhere, William Wallace (1991: 65) argues that 'foreign policy is about national identity itself: about the core elements of sovereignty it seeks to defend [and] the values it stands for'. Therefore, foreign policies are not only reflections of the identity of the policy actor, but contribute to the construction of that very identity. Consequently, this paper also considers the extent to which the Assembly Government's foreign policy contributes to existing representations of Welsh national identity.

### The Internal Divisions and Global Visions of American Nationalism after the Civil War
### Mr David Prior
### University of South Carolina

Focusing on the decade (1865-1875) following the American Civil War, this paper will explore the ways in which 19th-century Americans contested their national identity by discussing international developments. In doing so, it will offer a targeted historical study that engages with broader scholarly interests in the persistence of nationalism, the relationship between civic and ethnic ideals, and the connections between nationalism and ideologies of "civilization." Finally, it will suggest that while we often take globalization to be a matrix of impersonal forces acting upon individuals, it also operates as a process of expressing and affirming one's nationality by describing and interpreting the world. In particular, concepts of "civilization" and "barbarism," while by no means unique to the United States, served as veritable mantras in debates over America's character and future. In the context of mid-19th-century American political culture, discussions of national identity therefore routinely entailed disagreements over what exactly "civilization" and "barbarism" were. This overlapping debate, however, compelled Americans to look beyond their own borders in search of an authoritative stance on the meaning of these abstractions. In this way, the wide ranging nature of American political discussions was integral to the quintessentially domestic process of contesting national character.

### Economic crisis and nationalism
### Dr Sam Pryke
### Liverpool Hope University

Whatever the possible outcomes it seems unlikely – although not impossible - that the present economic crisis will produce a resurgence of economic nationalism comparable to that of the 1930s. Then the figure who had above all been concerned with protecting the international market system from itself, John Maynard Keynes, spoke in 1933 of the need to 'bring producer and consumer within the ambit of the same national, economic and financial organisation' as an aim in itself. The subsequent period, politically influenced by Keynes, saw the entrenchment of economic interventionist government policies besides more direct ideological alternatives to laissez faire capitalism. The battery of controls established and consolidated in the mid twentieth century has been by no means abolished by the present wave of globalisation – roughly that over the last thirty years. However, a given political goal of greater or even continuing levels of national economic sufficiency has become untenable such has been the dominance of economic neoliberalism. In certain respects, governments the world over have abandoned key tenets of neoliberalism over the last six months through massive hand outs to financial and industrial capitalism. However, there is little indication of an ideological disavowal of trade, foreign direct investment or overseas outsourcing, the staples of economic globalisation. My paper examines the reasons why a full scale revival of economic nationalism is unlikely.

### Diaspora politics as globalized ethnic engineering. The case of former Yugoslavia.
### Mr Francesco Ragazzi
### Sciences Po Paris

Much of the 'transnantionalism' literature in the 1990s celebrated the discovery of a new sociological object : transnational communities. These communities, often conflated to 'diasporas', were described as the new social form of the XXth century, challenging nationalisms, holding a promise of cosmopolitanism and post-national belonging.  Much of this enthusiasm proved exaggerated and denied by sociological and anthropological empirical studies. While diasporic discourses and practices proved to indeed question and redefine the nationalist relationship between identity and territory, they were no less operating as a tool of bordering between an inside and an outside, between the included and the excluded. Through the empirical study of the post-Yugoslav states and Croatia in particular, this paper explores the way in which the diasporic discourse operates when it is harnessed by state as a relatively original modality of government. The paper explores how diasporic practices operate as a technology of securitisation of a particular (official) ethnicity, identified as 'transnational' at the expense of the unwanted ethnicities still residing in the territory; functioning therefore as a mechanism of deterritorialised nationalism and ethnic engineering.

### Another "Third Way". Could post-nationalism overcome the classical opposition between nationalism and supra-nationalism?
### Dr Muriel Rambour
### University Paris 1

Nations rely on shared traditions and a common culture usually built up through violent confrontations. Deep feelings generally sustain the national project, and the European integration process now seems to challenge this peculiar attachment. The combination between familiar national basis, and the European construct has frequently been perceived as a battle between rooted national identities, and the still vague features of a European identity. Dissociating civic and ethnic perceptions of nationhood is then pretty uneasy and could even lead to a revival of nationalism. Instead of classically opposing nationalism to the attempts of building any kind of supranational human community, post-national theory helps to shed a new light on the way to deal with multiple references and national histories in the general context of globalisation, but also in the European framework. Post-nationalism could create the conditions of a dialogue between the nations of Europe, appeasing their most aggressive parts while replacing these pieces of history in a broader scope, so that the opposition "nationalism" versus "supra-nationalism" would no more be the unique alternative.

### The Emergence of a New Form of Mexican Nationalism in San Antonio, Texas
### Dr Luis Xavier Rangel-Ortiz
### University of Texas at San Antonio

Globalization, defined as the flow of information, symbols, images, people, goods, ideas capital, and ideologies around the world and reactions to these flows, has existed since the 1400's.  Of the four major cycles of globalization, the last three emerged through migration flows and transnational migration. Transnational ties have long existed between San Antonio, Texas and México. This paper examines how faster and cheaper communication and transportation systems, political and economic agreements between the US and México and political, economic, and social conditions in México have strengthened the frequency and intensity of these flows in unprecedented ways. This empirical study focuses on owners of small and medium size businesses identified as Mexican transnational entrepreneurs (MTNE) in San Antonio who construct multiple identities between México and the US. Using a mixed methods approach, findings describe MTNE national identity as a collective cultural phenomenon. The study operationalizes MTNE nationalism using Bourdieu's rate of interconvertibility between capitals and suggests that MTNE networks engender a new form of Mexican nationalism in the US.

### From Ethnically based to Strategic Cosmopolitans:
### South Korean Citizenship Reforms since 1997
### Ms Young Ju Rhee
### University of Oxford

This research examines the struggles of South Korea's citizenship reforms in the era of globalization as it aims to move from an ethnically-based to a multiple belonging society by focusing on the citizenship legislative reforms since 1997 and specifically that which applies to the dual citizenship debate. This study finds that in the case of South Korea, 'segyehwa' (or globalization) is fueled by ethnic nationalism, resulting in difficulty of the legislative reforms translating into public norms in society. A significant gap exists between institutional democratic reforms and undemocratic (or ethnically-based) "habits of the heart" (Yang 1995:10). This is exemplified by the fact that Korean general public as well as its non-ethnic Korean residents (or 'denizens') still regard citizenship based on ethnic nationalistic notions, rather than as membership of a civic or democratic polity. This paper suggests that in order to successfully reform, people's changing conceptions of citizenship must be correlated with a sense of civic nationalism so that it can be used as a constructive measure to mitigate the harmful effects of nationalism and globalization. However, the increasingly instrumentalist views of citizenship by both the state and its citizens as found in the dual citizenship debate limits this necessary transformation.

**Between the National and the Global: Exploring Tensions in
Canadian Citizenship Education
Professor George H. Richardson, University of Alberta
Mr Laurence Abbott, University of Alberta**

Over the last 15 years most national public education systems have added some component of "global citizenship education" to their existing civic education curricula. This move to expand the confines of citizenship education has generally been applauded as a way in which schools might better prepare students to understand and address the challenges and possibilities of globalization. However, a close analysis of curriculum documents in Canada tends to highlight the fact that in terms of civic education, significant ideological tensions exists between global citizenship and national citizenship. Certainly the concept of global citizenship itself has, as yet, developed neither the political structures that typically ground citizenship in regularized and generally understood civic practices, nor has it provided a powerful emotive bond comparable to Benedict Anderson's "imagined community" upon which national citizenship is based. In our presentation, we will draw on Canadian civics and social studies curriculum from across the country to examine the tensions underlying the way in which global citizenship education has been represented and taught in Canadian curriculum. This tension is one that pits national self-interest and neo-liberal understandings of global interactions against the emergence of what Graham Pike and David Selby have termed "global perspectivity."

**The EU today: beyond pan-nationalism and globalization
Professor Alain Marc Rieu
University of Lyon-Jean Moulin & Institute of East-Asian Study (CNRS)**

Through its recent enlargement, Europe did not find its borders but it has reached its limits. These limits are not geographical because Europeans largely identified their historical role with a political values and a political norm, the Nation-State. Europeans never considered that this powerful norm could have borders, that its projection could have limits. Limits were reached when the unification process became ambiguous, difficult to organize and impossible to manage. Unification was basically understood as the extension and adaptation of the Nation-State model in the formation of a supra-national entity, the Union, which should have the same qualities, requirements and a similar institutional arrangement to the initial Nation-States. The unification was and is still based on two processes: "deepening" and "enlargement", and two methodologies, which are also goals to achieve, "harmonization" and "hybridization". The deepening of the Union was always associated with the idea of enlargement, the inclusion within the Union of countries whose history was closely associated with Western Europe and shared some cultural and institutional similarity. Europe developed since 1945 on presuppositions, which have now become highly questionable. These questions cannot be avoided anymore. My goal is to analyze the situation and explore some responses.

**Internationalism and the Invention of the 1ˢᵗ of December National Day in Portugal
Professor Ángel Rivero
Universidad Autónoma de Madrid**

Portuguese national identity was consciously re-created during the 1850'. The alleged reason was to preserve Portugal's independence against the global threat of internationalism. In order to cope with this goal, a full program of socialization in national identity was then devised and deployed in the following years. The core of this project was the proposal to celebrate the 1ˢᵗ of December as a National Day. Thus, by 1861 a prominent group of the Portuguese intellectual elite, the aristocracy and the Catholic Church, founded the National Association First of December 1640. The aim of it was to remember the sufferings of the nation under the yoke of Spain and the happiness delivered by the restoration of freedom. Their program was: a) To celebrate the 1st of December as a national day; b) To erect a monument dedicated to the heroes of 1640 in Lisbon; and c) To write a history of the events of 1640 to be delivered among the schools of Portugal in order to educate children in national feelings. In this paper I will provide a detailed account of this process of national identity re-creation, an also an assessment of the failure of internationalism and the success of nationalism.

**Extraordinary Rendition: Nationalism and Globalization as Complementary Forces in the U.S.
Sponsored "Global War on Terror"
Professor Yamuna Sangarasivam
Nazareth College, Rochester**

This paper examines nationalism and globalization as complementary forces united in the practice of extraordinary rendition. Extraordinary rendition involves the capture of citizens and legal residents that are perceived by nation-states as "unlawful enemy combatants" to promote the imperial powers of NATO's economic

and military supremacy, particularly in Europe, North Africa and the Middle East.  In forming military and diplomatic alliances with nation-states that permit the United States to transgress upon human rights and citizenship of peoples in their own sovereign countries, the U.S. has successfully recruited global partners in exercising the quintessential celebration of nationalism through a unified war against "terrorists" –a globalized enemy Other.  Through the analysis of ethnographic data in the form of testimonies and video documentaries, this paper examines the practice of extraordinary rendition that efficaciously commodifies nationalism through the globalization of terror.

### New Discourses On National Identity And Ethnic Minorities.
### The influence of global trends in Colombia
### Mr Jean-Paul Sarrazin
### University of Poitiers

Colombia has declared itself a "multicultural and pluri-ethnic" country. New discourses have "rediscovered" diversity and present it as a "treasure" to be preserved. Indigenous cultures are now within the category of "national patrimony". This implies a radical change compared to older national identity discourses in which "tribes" were to be "civilised" and ethnic differences were considered as an obstacle to the consolidation of the Nation-State. The new discourses, practices and political decisions related to ethnicity imply not only a new definition of national identity, but also a somewhat disregarded construction of social and cultural boundaries in which some forms of interethnic relations and cultural exchanges are considered a negative thing. Indeed, the logic of protection and preservation of a certain "ethnic" difference is based on what I would call "confined otherness".To understand this local transformations, however, one must consider the context of globalisation. The new pluralism in Colombia arises in the midst of similar ideological changes in almost all Latin-American countries and in the same historical moment as dominant discourses, particularly in the West, argue in favour of cultural diversity and protection of ethnic minorities. Globalised ideas have then shaped local definitions of national identity and of local ethnicity.

### Cosmopolitanism and the cultural reach of the White British
### Professor Mike Savage, University of Manchester.
### Dr. David Wright, University of Warwick
### Dr. Modesto Gayo-Cal, Universidad Diego Portales, Santiago, Chile

Since Benedict Anderson's evocation of nationalism as emerging from 'imagined communities', enabled by the printing press, sociologists have recognised the relationship between the ways in which symbolic forms are produced and distributed and the formation of national identities. In the contemporary context, strong claims have been made for the breakdown of national boundaries in an increasingly interconnected global world – driven in large part by the possibilities and limitations that emerge from an increasingly global media world. It has been argued that new post-national, cosmopolitan subjectivities, accompany, enable and feed-off globally oriented forms of cultural consumption. This paper examines these claims in the light of data on the tastes of the white British population collected in a large national sample survey, in-depth interviews, and focus groups. We argue that, if White British identities are being reformed by processes of globalisation it is, paradoxically, in an increasingly Anglophone direction.

### Transformation of an Old Conflict? The Interplay of Turkish Nationalism and Kurdish Sub-state
### Nationalism within European Integration Process
### Mr Ibrahim Saylan
### Bilkent University

Adopting the argument that European integration process has brought about transforming effects in terms of the conflict between host states (and their official nationalisms) and sub-state nationalisms, the aim of this paper is two-fold. First, it seeks to analyze the impacts of European integration process on the interplay between Turkish official nationalism and Kurdish sub-state nationalism in Turkey. Second, within the triadic framework of the conflict with the inclusion of the EU, it aims at evaluating whether European integration process has had a transforming effect on Kurdish sub-state nationalism. In doing this, first, it gives a brief account of the impact of European integration on Turkish nation-state by concentrating on the reforms for democratization since 1999 in order to comprehend how the reform process has changed perceptions and parameters of the conflict on both sides. Hence, it elaborates on the interplay of official Turkish nationalism and Kurdish sub-state nationalism as two competing forms of nationalism feeding on each other in new ways within the new context. Then, it focuses on Democratic Society Party (Demokratik Toplum Partisi, DTP) as the major pro-Kurdish political party in Turkey. Through content and discourse analysis of party documents and interviews with party representatives, it delves into the place and meaning of European integration in terms of goals and strategies of the DTP.

**"Do you realise you're a foreigner, and we're not used to them managing our national team?" Using national football reporting in England to analyse competing articulations of identity in an era of globalisation**
**Dr Michael Skey**
**University of Leicester**

Sport, and in particular football, has become a primary focus for those who wish to examine processes of globalisation at the economic, cultural and political level. It is also with reference to sport and fandom that scholars have attempted to ground some of the more theoretical debates around cosmopolitanism. Of particular interest is Cornel Sandvoss' (2003) idea that discussions around football contribute to the ongoing (re)production of a public sphere reflecting contemporary concerns about social identities and processes. Drawing on this approach, I want to explore the ways in which competing national and cosmopolitan discourses are articulated by and through the media's reporting of football. Analysing coverage of the appointment of the last three England football managers, two foreign, one English, I will show how previously taken-for-granted ideas about (national) self, other and place are becoming increasingly scrutinised and negotiated in the contemporary era. However, rather than rendering national modes of thinking obsolete, these debates indicate the extent to which more cosmopolitan outlooks are becoming routinised.

**Senegalese nationhood under global conditions: homogeneisation and pluralisation of the Senegalese national identity?**
**Mr Etienne Smith**
**Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI)**
**Sciences Po Paris**

Despite recurrent subnationalism in its southern region of Casamance, Senegal is often described as a fairly successful case of postcolonial nation-building. Social dynamics "from below" (wolofisation) and state efforts "from above" ("Republican integration") combined in forging a strong and routinized feeling of nationhood in Senegal, based on the idea of its exceptionality. However, recent trends of globalization are affecting this seemingly consensual and "banal" Senegalese nationalism in somewhat contradictory ways.
First, I shall focus on Senegalese emigrant communities in France and the way in which they refashion their subnational identities and politicize issues such as language representation on the national radio and TV broadcast now available to them through the Internet; how exile and long distance cultural subnationalism affect their relationships to the homeland, creating misunderstandings with Senegalese from the homelands for whom, in their vast majority, the language issue is precisely not an issue.Thus, I shall study the ways in which Senegalese ethnocultural communities tame globalization and whether communities in Senegal and in the diaspora stand on an equal footing in this respect. I ask whether these new mediums of globalization provide minority communities with new means and impetus to contest Wolof hegemony in the homeland, allowing for a pluralisation of Senegalese imaginations of the nation, or, to the contrary, benefit Wolof hegemony and homogeneisation. In this sense, globalization and Senegalese nationalism may well be both conflicting and complementary phenomena. This paper is based on extensive doctoral fieldwork in Senegal from 2004 to 2007, both qualitative (observation and interviews) and quantitative (comprehensive survey on the issue of national identity). It insists on the necessary combination of the two methods.

**Immigration and contemporary definitions of Portuguese National Identity**
**Dr José Manuel Sobral**
**Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa**

For centuries Portugal was a country of heavy emigration. Economic growth subsequent to Portuguese entry into the European Economic Community (1986) and the economic and social trends linked to globalisation created vast changes. Portugal became an attractive destination for immigrants from Eastern Europe, Brazil, and the former Portuguese colonies in Africa. Nowadays the latter represent the vast majority of immigrants in Portugal.In this paper, I intend to tackle several issues linked to migration and definitions of Portuguese national identity. Firstly, I intend to portray the attitudes of the Portuguese towards immigrants. Secondly, I look upon their statuses in terms of legal rights and to the possibilities they and their offspring have in acquiring Portuguese citizenship. Thirdly, I analyze the implications of the presence of migrants coming from countries where the official language is the Portuguese for present definitions of Portuguese national identity. I will examine this case in particular, because after decolonization in 1975 there has been a sustained effort to maintain a special relationship in a kind of transnational community of the Portuguese-speaking countries.

**Global media, nation-bound tastes? Audiovisual media flows and cultural identities in Central and Eastern Europe**
**Dr Václav Štětka**
**Masaryk University**

Conceptualisations of globalization are usually juxtaposed against the cultural apparatus of the nation-state, against national identity and national cultural representations - particularly their mediated forms which are supposed to be eroded or at least weakened by the omnipresent transnational cultural forces and communication flows. This paper aims to examine the validity of this concept within the empirical context of the selected Central and Eastern European countries and their audiovisual media. Despite of the internationalization of ownership and the heavy inflow of imported programming from the early 1990s on, some case studies from the region have reported a re-birth of domestic production and an increasing audience demand for nation-bound audiovisual contents, which is paradoxically in many cases being saturated by commercial media belonging to major transnational conglomerates. This paper attempts to systematize the so-far scattered empirical evidence about the geo-cultural orientation of audiovisual media production and consumption in the CEE region and, utilizing secondary data from the Eurobarometer and European Social Values surveys, to investigate whether there is an association between the popularity of nation-oriented programming, national identification and peoples' attitudes towards processes of globalization and Europeanization.

### National identity in the globalised city: Britishness and the use of Trafalgar Square
### Ms Shanti Sumartojo
### Australian National University

London's identity as a diverse, globalised city exists in the context of multiple spatial references to unique British institutions and historical events. Woven into its layout and built environment is a unique national story, expressed in street names, monuments, and patterns of development. This paper examines the process of national identity formation in the globalised city by looking at how urban place is used and by whom. I take Trafalgar Square as my case study, a place that acts as an imperial memorial, a protest site, a tourist magnet and a place of celebration and mourning. I argue that Trafalgar Square allows groups bidding for a stake in the nation's public life to become more visible and thereby press a more successful claim for inclusion in the nation. In addition, groups using the Square are able to claim legitimacy for their aims through association with its history of use by other groups. In this way, it acts as a stage upon which national membership is bid for, contested and developed. Drawing on the use of Trafalgar Square to in 2005 and 2008, I explore how groups using the Square engage with the notion of national identity and use it to legitimise their own positions.

### Globalization and the Nation-State:  The Future of a Failure
### Professor Ronald Grigor Suny
### Charles Tilly Collegiate Professor of Social and Political History The University of Michigan Emeritus
### Professor of Political Science and History The University of Chicago

Abstract:  In our new millennium, with the transnational shifts from old centers of power in Europe and North America to Central and East Asia, three great processes appear to be setting the agenda: the transformative spread of global capitalism, the political persistence of nation-states, and American military hegemony. This paper explores how economic globalization threatens the nationstate as well as how the two work together.  The roles that Russia, China, and Japan will play after the current crisis of capitalism and the potential retreat of American power are explored.  The argument of the paper is that globalization, a highly contested term, will continue to operate both discursively and as the process of transformative capitalism; the nation and nation-state will remain as affective communities; but American military and economic hegemony will be limited.

### The Politics of Language in Contemporary Europe:
### between Nationalism, European Integration and Globalisation
### Professor Roman Szul
### University of Warsaw

The paper focuses on glottolinguistic aspects of relationships between the European Union and its member states (including ethno-regionalist movements in the latter), against the background of globalisation. It tries to answer the question: to what extent the process of European integration resembles processes of nation-building?, what are obstacles to this process?, what are reactions of and in member states to this process: whether European integration is perceived as threat to or as a protection of national and ethno-regional identities?, to what extent European integration strengthens the impact of globalisation? – all of this from the sociolinguistic point of view. In particular, the paper examines language ideologies, policies and practices in the European Union, reactions to them in member states, the changing "linguistic landscape" and "language market", especially in the new EU members, being direct or indirect results of European integration and globalisation. It stresses some divergent and contradictory tendencies, such as the spread of English as a practical means of communication within the EU (including replacement of Russian and other languages as European linguae francae) enabling emergence of a kind of  European "supra-nation", the lack of specifically European  symbolic language (English is not such a language, because, i.a. it is a global language), resistance to English as the sole

language of international communication in the EU resulting in promotion of official multilingualism, growing linguistic nationalism (at least in some countries), and the reluctance to European integration by English-speaking countries iThe paper bases on official documents, statements of European politicians, literature, information in media (from several countries in several languages) and direct observation. It best fits to the subject "Nationalism versus supranationalism". n the EU (U.K. and Ireland).

## Rescaling Identity: Communicating Regional Identity
## Between National Identity and Global Competition
## Dr Kees Terlouw
## Utrecht University

Novel forms of regional identities emerge in response to global competitive pressures and challenges to the nation state. Regions have to react and position their identity in relation to the rescaling of statehood. The discussions on the rescaling of statehood tend to focus on economic and political aspects and neglect these social and cultural aspects. However, the growing autonomy of regional administrations makes support from local stakeholders, including the inhabitants more important. Communicating a specific regional identity is one of the instruments regional administrations use for mobilising support. However, at the same time old, traditional regional identities become more fluid. Regional identity traditionally focuses on shared past and specific social and cultural characteristics. Most traditional regional identities are institutionalised in relation to the national identity. Globalisation, migration and social change undermine traditional regional identity. Regional administrations now employ different types of regional identity politics. Some present an image of a future oriented region which can face the challenges of global competition. Other regions still use a traditional regional identity. This paper analyses different case studies from the Netherlands and Germany and discusses the effectiveness of the different communicated regional identities.

## National identity and immigration in Saudi Arabia:
## From exceptionalism to "banal nationalism"?
## Dr Helene Thiollet
## Sciences Po Paris

Since its foundation in 1932, the Saudi national identity has been elaborated by the state as a discourse on the exceptional identity of the Saudi people but the content of National identity has been narrowly defined by the ruling family, the Al-Sa'ud, based on 3 factors: the ethnic and cultural background of Nadj populations (the province where the royal family originated), the imposition of a puritan way of Islam and the exclusion of challenging identities and foremost its immigrant population.As the rise of oil economy has led to massive international migrations, immigrants make up for one third of the population but the Saudi state have implemented segregation politics and anti-integration policy. This paper wishes to analyse how the model of national exceptionalism based on ethnic nationalism is confronted by immigrants' communities in Saudi Arabia. Using Michael Billig's concept of "banal nationalism" (1995), I will argue that immigrants are informally integrated through social networks and consumers' practices. The classical acknowledgment of social integration processes "from below" remains a taboo in Saudi Arabia but in spite of radical anti-integration policies, immigrant communities tend to share features of Saudi national culture and recasts the boundaries of national belonging.

## Facebook: Flagging the Turkish Nation in the Face
## Ms Didem Turkoglu
## Bogazici University, Turkey

This paper discusses the impact of the internet, as a tool and symbol of globalization, on the discourses of nationalism, by focusing on a new yet popular networking site, Facebook, and Turkish nationalism. The nation as an imagined community is realized in the micro cosmos of Facebook with the possibility of showing off to the outside world what a nation means. My analysis covers the discourse analysis of popular Facebook groups started by Turkish users and image analysis of a flag campaign that took place towards the end of 2007 on Facebook. As members of Facebook, theoretically users are not bound by the borders of nation-state. However, these borders are redrawn voluntarily through a "mimicry" of "reality" by creating a sort of Internet citizenship which is the basis of a struggle to form the "face" of Turkey and Turkish nation. Based on this example, in this paper, I argue that globalization does not affect nationalism by simply being a threat to the structure of the nation-state but it affects the discourses of the "popular" as a symbol, by transforming the nationalist discourse.

## Holidays from history': the 2006 FIFA World Cup and new German patriotism?
## Mr Tilman Turpin
## Sciences Po Paris

The 2006 FIFA World Cup, held in Germany, was accompanied by astonished comments pointing at something considered 'normal' in other countries: flag-waving and patriotism. The German flag, for the first time since 1990, appeared to be everywhere – from the football stadiums to the faces of the German football fans, hanging in shop windows and covering the rear of cars. The Germans seemed to have – for the first time in their history – a rather relaxed relation to their nation and their national symbols. These events, bringing back to mind 1954 FIFA World Cup, can be interpreted as the consequence of the ongoing transformation of the German memory landscape, allowing for 'holidays from history'. A majority of commentators in the media underscored the positive aspects of this new patriotism – some labelling it a new 'partyotism' – stressing that 'normality' finally had been achieved. After a brief summary presentation of the comments in the written press, this paper will consider this event in a continuity with the development of German national identity after 1989/1990, presenting the changes in the German 'coming to terms with the past' after Unification.

### Survival of the Fitter: The Process of National Apperception
### Dr Gordana Uzelac
### Metropolitan University

In 1924 Otto Bauer in his essay entitled The Nation writes: 'The nineteenth century, indeed saw the most varied nations, even from distant parts of globe, increase our cultural wealth. And despite all of this, it is impossible to speak of disappearance of national specificity! The explanation of this is national apperception: no nation adopts foreign elements unaltered; each adapts them to its whole being, and subjects them to a change in the process of adoption'. Putting aside Bauer's implied anthropomorphic notion of nations, this paper aims to examine how, in times of increased globalisation of the 21st century, this process of adoption operates. The starting point of this analysis will be Randall Collins' (2004) theory of interaction ritual chains where the basic unit of analysis is a situation. More specifically, this paper will focus on public cultural ceremonies, such as the Last night of Proms, as situations of analysis, and will examine emotional dynamics of audiences within that situation. Public ceremonies are seen as performances that have manifest and latent rationales. While manifest rationales are often directed to a distanced global audience and proclaimed by producers of these ceremonies, the latent ones are often shaped by the audience that is directly engaged in face-to-face interaction. These interactions are ones that mobilise specific emotional energy and create cultural capitals that can be generalised as national. The paper will finally argue that through this process, that Bauer labelled 'national apperception', elements of 'global' culture become nationalised.

### Euroscepticism in radical right parties: same stance, different causality.
### A question of two different conceptions of national identity?
### Ms Sofia Vasilopoulou, London School of Economics and Political Science
### Ms Nathalie Brack, Free University of Brussels

This paper focuses on nationalist responses to supranationalism. It compares the political discourse of two radical right nationalist parties on the European Union (EU) : the French Front National (FN) and the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). Both parties are fundamentally against the EU, i.e. they reject the integration process and wish for their country's withdrawal. However, their Eurosceptic rhetoric is different. FN uses a "blaming discourse" against the EU, which is seen as responsible for the negative processes affecting the French nation while UKIP sees the EU as a constraint for Britain to be an economic power in a globalised world.This paper argues that these parties draw from two different conceptions of the nation and national identity, which explains their different Eurosceptic discourse. The French national identity has been historically state-centred and assimilationist (Brubaker 1992) and the nation has been the bearer of universal political values. Adopting these elements of national identity, FN finds it very hard to cope with different cultures and traditions in a non-national political framework. In contrast, the British conception of the nation draws largely from the British Empire and the feeling that it has made a distinctive contribution to the rest of the world (Kumar 2003). Therefore, for UKIP EU entry means the end of British national independence and distinctiveness that has been historically established.

### Young Elite Conceptions of British Identity and Immigrant Assimilation
### Dr. Natasha Kumar Warikoo
### Harvard University

How does immigration shape views on national identity?  Much has been made by the media and politicians regarding the need to foster British identity, to define "British values", and to outline cultural expectations of immigrants to Britain. These pleas have critiqued the British "multiculturalism" model of incorporation for ignoring the importance of British identity, in favour of ethnic identities.  On the other hand, new survey research suggests that Britons-especially young and educated Britons-have weak associations with British pride and identity (Tilley & Heath, 2007). Through 60 in-depth interviews with undergraduates at a prestigious British university, this paper will outline notions of British identity and "values" among young elites. The paper compares young elite

conceptions of British values and British identity with their expectations of adaptation among immigrant communities. The former are measured through responses to questions about British identity, and the later through responses to scenarios posed involving cultural difference in British society, such as arranged marriage and time off for non-Christian holidays. On the one hand, respondents identify British culture and values as simultaneously nonexistent and universal. On the other hand, they contrast British values with certain immigrant cultural practices seen as particularistic and unsuitable for life in Western society. The results show that national identity is used as a vehicle to explain dissatisfaction with immigrant cultures, but when taken out of the context of discussions of immigration and diversity, young elites express very weak affinity to national identity.

### "Asia for the Asians"? Japanese pan-Asianism between nationalist chauvinism and 'One World' utopia (1905-20)
### Mr Torsten Weber
### Leiden University

Hans Kohn once lamented that rather than advancing "true unity" between peoples, pan-ideologies constituted "threats to international society" and only deepened antagonistic national consciousness. In fact, throughout most of their histories, pan-nationalisms have displayed a closer affinity with nationalist chauvinism than transnational cooperation. In political discourse, however, pan-movements were frequently regarded as important intermediaries between rivalling nationalisms and as regionalist stepping stones to peace and harmony between all peoples in a global society. When the relatively new phenomenon of pan-nationalism entered political discourse in early 20th century Japan it was this regionalist-cooperative option that appealed to many liberal thinkers while others soon realized its employability as a fig-leaf for irredentist-hegemonic claims. Focussing on the bifurcated views of pan-Asianism held by Japanese thinkers during the 1910s my paper seeks to explore the complicated relationship between pan-nationalism, nationalist chauvinism, and utopian internationalism in an East Asian politico-intellectual context. How did antagonistic political agendas inform different interpretations of pan-ideologies? How realistic was a political fraternization of pan-nationalism and internationalism in general and in East Asia in particular? Can pan-nationalisms be useful in overcoming nationalist sentiments or are they more likely to reinforce them? By addressing these questions I will elaborate on the concept of pan-Asianism whose war-time legacy continues to fuel nationalistic sentiments today and to impede the creation of an East Asian community.

### American Nationalists Confront the Old World, 1909-19
### Dr Kenneth Weisbrode
### European University Institute

Despite a few diplomatic successes of the American Republic in its early years, the United States took almost a century to develop a professional diplomatic corps. That this group of diplomats, coming of age only at the turn of the twentieth century, derived much of its training and outlook from European counterparts goes without saying, although the contrast this poses with other prominent American internationalists--namely the US Navy and most leading merchants, whose formative experiences were largely in Asia and the Caribbean--is not well understood. What all such 'internationalists' have in common, however, was their underlying nationalism: keen to make a mark in the world and prove themselves up to the task, both to isolationist-minded compatriots back home and to superior-minded counterparts abroad. This paper follows the first group and traces the ways in which America's first generation of professional diplomats came to think and act globally through the prism of Europe while, at the same time, eager to refine their own, unique diplomatic tradition. Their nationalism, then, when situated in a global context, was an ambivalent one, as well as revolutionary for its time.

### Longing and Belonging: Armenians and Long Distance Nationalism in Southern Russia
### Dr Ulrike Ziemer
### University College London

In this paper, I explore the generational differences of long distance nationalism within the Armenian community in Krasnodar, Southern Russia. The Armenian diaspora is one of the 'oldest' and largest diasporas in Russia. Specifically, I focus on the transnational experiences and identities of young Armenians, who are the first generation of Russian citizens. I look at how a sense of Armenianness and 'long distance nationalism' is transmitted from generation to generation and how regional identity politics and historical diaspora narratives have given rise to at times a strong support for the national cause amongst young Armenians. In this paper, I argue that most young Armenians are inclined to see themselves as Armenian and retain a strong sense of their culture. Yet, the notion of Armenia as homeland and cultural focus of the diasporic imagination is no longer applicable for Armenian youth cultural identification.

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