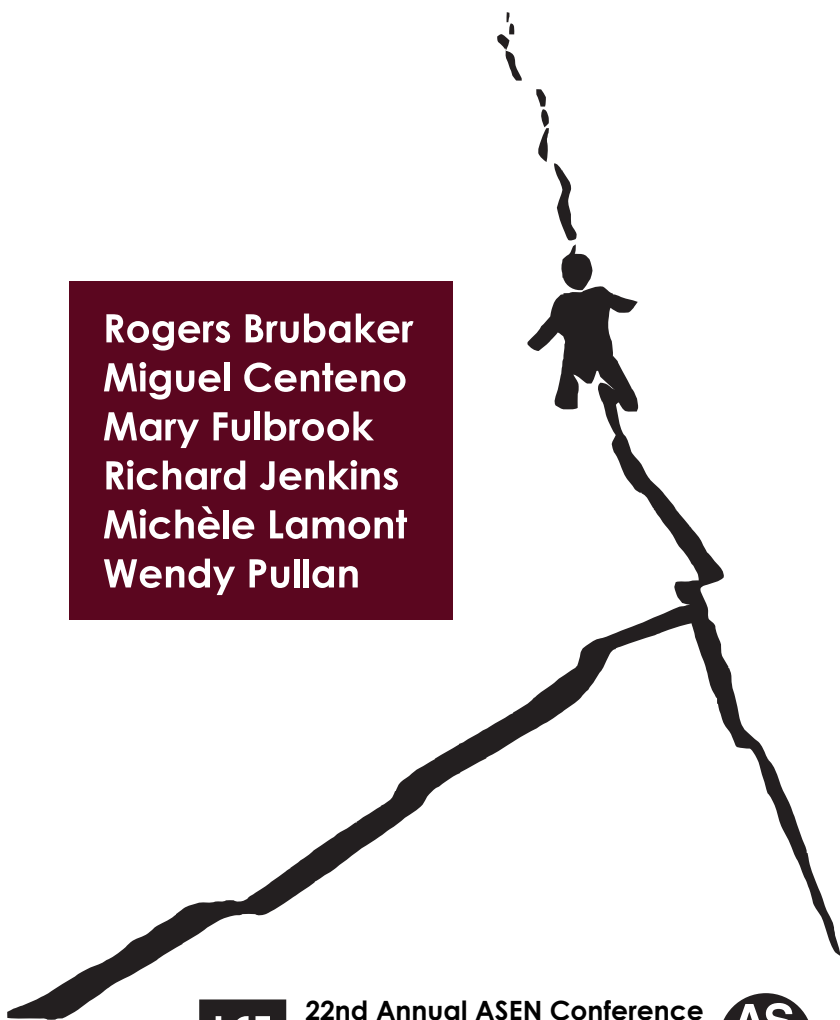


Nationalism, Ethnicity and Boundaries

Rogers Brubaker
Miguel Centeno
Mary Fulbrook
Richard Jenkins
Michèle Lamont
Wendy Pullan



22nd Annual ASEN Conference
27-29 March 2012
London School of Economics





The 18th Annual Ernest Gellner Nationalism Lecture
**LANGUAGE, RELIGION and
the POLITICS of DIFFERENCE**

Rogers Brubaker

Professor of Sociology and
UCLA Foundation Chair,
University of California, Los Angeles.

26 March 2012

17:30 at the Hong Kong Theatre,
London School of Economics.
Free and open to the public.
Info at: www.lse.ac.uk/asen



A WELCOME MESSAGE FROM THE ASEN CONFERENCE TEAM

We are delighted to welcome you to the 22nd Annual ASEN Conference! We are so pleased that you have decided to participate in this year's event and we would like to welcome you to London and the LSE.

Nationalism represents the nation as a special group within humankind. It demands recognition and autonomy for this group, a distinct place for the nation in the world. That place is, above all, a territory: the national homeland. One central focus of this conference is with the origins, formulation, pursuit, enforcement and conflicts concerning national boundaries.

The drawing of physical boundaries is but one aspect of a deeper sense of national boundary making. Identifying the national is simultaneously about identifying the non-national. Citizenship rules, symbolic representations of the national, practices of discrimination on such grounds as pigmentation, language, religion and alleged descent mark out and enforce many kinds of boundaries which often cut across the physical boundaries of nation states and national homelands. The second thrust of the conference is to consider the making and unmaking of these social and symbolic boundaries.

A third focus-point of the conference is the fluidity of boundaries. There are many non-national boundaries which may not align with those of nation and ethnicity. Boundaries are fluid and what at one time is a boundary which gives rise to fierce conflict, can at another time either be forgotten or transformed into a site of agreement and reconciliation.

The three-day conference will explore historical, contemporary and policy related aspects of these various interrelated issues while focusing on the dichotomy between physical and symbolic boundaries.

In this programme you will find information on the six exciting keynote speakers contributing to this year's event. You will also find information on the three workshops and 24 panel sessions that you may attend. This programme also includes information about other events associated with the conference including lunches, receptions and the conference dinner. You will also find included here some helpful general information including maps and directions around the LSE.

On behalf of the entire ASEN conference team, we would like to wish you a stimulating and enjoyable conference experience!

Our very best,

Jennifer Jackson and Lina Molokotos-Liederman
(ASEN Conference Co-Chairs, 2012)

ABOUT ASEN

The Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism (ASEN) is an interdisciplinary student-led research association founded by research students and academics in 1990 at the London School of Economics & Political Science. ASEN seeks to fulfill two broad objectives: 1) To facilitate and maintain an interdisciplinary, global network of researchers, academics and other scholars interested in ethnicity and nationalism; and 2) To stimulate, produce, and diffuse world-class research on ethnicity and nationalism.

These objectives are achieved via: a global membership; ASEN's two leading journals *Nations and Nationalism* and *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* (SEN); regular conferences, lectures, seminars, and publications; and *The Ruritanian*, ASEN's newsletter, which provides updates on key information in the field.

This conference is made possible through the kind support of the LSE Department of Government and the LSE Annual Fund.



CONFERENCE SCHEDULE OVERVIEW

MONDAY 26 MARCH 2012

17:30 - 18:30	GELLNER LECTURE
18:30 - 20:00	BOOK LAUNCH RECEPTION AND EARLY REGISTRATION

TUESDAY 27 MARCH 2012

8:30 - 9:30	REGISTRATION
9:30 - 11:15	PLENARY SESSION 1 / ASEN ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
11:15 - 11:45	COFFEE BREAK
11:45 - 13:00	PANEL SESSION 1
13:00 - 14:30	LUNCH BREAK
14:30 - 16:15	PANEL SESSION 2 WORKSHOP 1
16:15 - 16:45	COFFEE BREAK
16:45 - 18:30	PANEL SESSION 3
18:45 - 20:00	BOOK LAUNCH AT WATERSTONES, (LSE)

WEDNESDAY 28 MARCH 2012

9:30 - 11:00	PLENARY SESSION 2
11:00 - 11:30	COFFEE BREAK
11:30 - 13:15	PANEL SESSION 4
13:15 - 14:30	LUNCH SPONSORED BY STUDIES IN ETHNICITY & NATIONALISM (SEN)
14:30 - 16:15	PANEL SESSION 5
16:15 - 16:45	COFFEE BREAK
16:45 - 18:30	PANEL SESSION 6 WORKSHOP 2
19:00	DINNER AT THE STRAND PALACE HOTEL (<i>Registration Required</i>)

THURSDAY 29 MARCH 2012

9:30 - 11:00	PANEL SESSION 7
11:00 - 11:30	COFFEE BREAK
11:30 - 13:00	PANEL 8 WORKSHOP 3
13:00 - 14:30	LUNCH
14:30 - 16:00	PANEL SESSION 9
16:00 - 16:30	COFFEE BREAK
16:30 - 18:15	PLENARY SESSION 3

17:30 - 18:30 GELLNER LECTURE *Clement House - Hong Kong Theatre*

18:30 - 20:00

BOOK LAUNCH RECEPTION & EARLY REGISTRATION

Old Building - Senior Dining Room (5th floor)

Daphne Halikiopoulou and Sofia Vasilopoulou, *Nationalism and
Globalisation Conflicting or complementary?*

Vivian Ibrahim and Margit Wunsch, *Political Leadership, Nations and
Charisma*

Chair: Prof. John Breuilly

8:30 - 9:30 REGISTRATION *Old Building - Fourth Floor Restaurant*

9:30 - 11:15 PLENARY SESSION 1 / ASEN ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING (AGM)
*Opening Remarks by Prof. John Breuilly
Prof. Mary Fulbrook and Prof. Rogers Brubaker
ASEN AGM*

11:15 - 11:45 COFFEE BREAK

11:45- 13:00 PANEL SESSION 1

13:00 - 14:30 LUNCH BREAK

14:30 - 16:15 PANEL SESSION 2
WORKSHOP 1 (*Dr. Jon Fox and Prof. Michael Banton*)

16:15 - 16:45 COFFEE BREAK

16:45 - 18:30 PANEL SESSION 3

18:45 - 20:00 BOOK LAUNCH RECEPTION AT WATERSTONES, (LSE)
*Gabriella Elgenius, Symbols of Nations and Nationalism
Chair: Prof. Umut Özkirimli*

PLENARY SESSION 1*Clement House - Hong Kong Theatre*

9:30 - 11:15

Opening Remarks: Prof. John Breuilly**Prof. Rogers Brubaker:** "Nationalizing States and Ethnonational Boundaries: A Comparative Perspective on Soviet Successor States"**Prof. Mary Fulbrook:** "The Borders of Collective Memory: Holocaust Legacies in European Perspective"**Chair: Prof. John Breuilly****COFFEE BREAK***Old Building - Fourth Floor Restaurant*

11:15 - 11:45

PANEL SESSION 1

11:45 - 13:00

THEORIZING BOUNDARIES AND NATIONAL IDENTITY*Old Building - Room 3.23***Chair: Victor Roudometof****TERRIER**

Theorizing Boundary-Perspectives from the History of Social and Political Thought

CONVERSI

Modernity, Globalization and Nationalism: The Age of Frenzied Boundary-Building

SKEY

Boundaries and Belonging: Dominant Ethnicity and the Place of the Nation in An Uncertain World

BOUNDARY MAKING IN CHINA: MINORITY PERSPECTIVES*East Building - Room E.168***Chair: Jakob Lehne****LEE**

Imagined Identity: The Processes of Ethnic Naming Customs and Name Changes in Southern Manchuria, 1749-1909

WANG

What is Pure and True? Women's Religious Expression as a Mechanism of Ethnic Boundary Formation

ELAZAR

A Museum of Identity: Expressing Ethnicity and Faith in an official "minority village" in Yunnan

PANEL SESSION 1**CONTINUED****THE BORDER BETWEEN IRELAND AND NORTHERN IRELAND*****Old Building - Room 3.28******Chair: Daphne Halikiopoulou*****KISSANE**

The Irish Border as a Constitutional Presence

CAUVET

Reassessing Irish Nationalist Irredentism After 1998: Breaking the Historiographical Mould

MAY

How FIFA Rulings on Citizenship Have Affected the Notion of Northern Irish Territorial Integrity

LUNCH BREAK**13:00 - 14:30**

WORKSHOP 1*Old Building - Room 3.23***14:30 - 16:15****AVOIDING ETHNICITY THROUGH BOUNDARIES AND CATEGORIES****CONVENERS: DR. JON FOX AND PROF. MICHAEL BANTON*****Chair: Athena Leoussi***

PANEL SESSION 2**14:30 - 16:15****THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL BOUNDARIES*****Old Building - Room 3.28******Chair: Margit Wunsch*****FALINA**

Federalism in East-Central Europe: Autonomy, Independence or Cooperation of the Small Nations?

MANDELIC

Myth, History and Political Realism: Framing the Slovene-Croatian Border Dispute

SARDELIC

Symbolic Boundaries Between Majorities and Minorities in Post-Socialist Slovenia and Croatia: A Comparative Study of the Position of Roma Before and After the Disintegration of Yugoslavia

BUCK

Nazarbaev's Nationalisms: A Tale of Hostile Hosts?

PANEL SESSION 2**CONTINUED****BOUNDARIES IN THE BORDERLANDS OF AFRICA*****East Building - Room E.168******Chair: Karen Seegobin*****GOSZTONYI**

Free at Last? The Coming of Independence of South Sudan and the Return to Civil War in the Northern Bordering States

PATRICIO

Living in the Mugano: The Partitioned Ndau in the Mozambique-Zimbabwe Borderland

ASSRAF

'A New Israel': Debates Around the Partition of Algeria 1960-1962

STONEHOUSE

'All this is Buganda Kingdom': Secession, Conflict and Cultural Boundaries in Uganda

COFFEE BREAK*Old Building - Fourth Floor Restaurant***16:15 - 16:45**

PANEL SESSION 3**16:45 - 18:30****SYMBOLIC BOUNDARY-MAKING*****East Building - Room E.168******Chair: Margit Wunsch*****LOMAS**

Social/Symbolic Boundaries Among A Sample of Lebanese Youth

BOUNDARY-MAKING THROUGH NARRATIVE AND TEXT*Old Building - Room 3.23**Chair: Anastasia Voronkova***JASPAL**

Constructing Boundaries Between Iran and the 'Zionist Regime': An Analysis of the English-language Iranian Press

PFOSER

Between Russia and Estonia: Competing Narratives of Place in A New Borderland

REESKENS

For the Love of God and Love of the Country. Disentangling the Relation Between Religious and National Identities

HALIKIOPOULOU AND HUTCHINS

Varieties of 'Civicness': Class as a Symbolic Boundary in French and United States Textbooks

NATIONAL AND ETHNIC BOUNDARIES IN KOREA AND JAPAN*Old Building - Room 3.28**Chair: Martyn Smith***GROVE-WHITE**

Panmunjeom - The Story of Two Korean Nations

RHEE

The Politics of Multiple Belonging: Voting Rights for Denizens and Overseas Koreans in South Korea

BUKH

Territorial Disputes and Civil Society in Japan and Korea

YAMAMOTO

The 1861 Tsushima Incident: The Border Formation Around Japan and the Race Among the Western Powers

BOOK LAUNCH RECEPTION AT WATERSTONES, (LSE)

18:45 - 20:00

Gabriella Elgenius, *Symbols of Nations and Nationalism*

Chair: Prof. Umut Özkirimli

PLENARY SESSION 2

9:30 - 11:00

*Remarks in memory of Prof. J. Rex by Prof. Michael Banton
Prof. Richard Jenkins and Dr. Wendy Pullan*

11:00 - 11:30 COFFEE BREAK

11:30 - 13:15 PANEL SESSION 4

13:15 - 14:30 LUNCH SPONSORED BY STUDIES IN ETHNICITY & NATIONALISM (SEN) AT
THE FOURTH FLOOR RESTAURANT

14:30 - 16:15 PANEL SESSION 5

16:15 - 16:45 COFFEE BREAK

PANEL SESSION 6

16:45 - 18:30

WORKSHOP 2 (*Prof. Jennifer Todd, Dr. Andrew Finlay
and Dr. Duncan Morrow*)

19:00

CONFERENCE DINNER AT THE STRAND PALACE HOTEL
(*Registration Required*)

PLENARY SESSION 2

Clement House - Hong Kong Theatre

9:30 - 11:00

Remarks in memory of Prof. J. Rex by Prof. Michael Banton

Richard Jenkins: "What Are Boundaries"

Wendy Pullan: "National Rifts in Urban Conflicts: The Spatial Discontinuities of Frontiers, Walls and Buffer Zones"

Chair: Eric Kaufmann

COFFEE BREAK

Old Building - Fourth Floor Restaurant

11:00 - 11:30

PANEL SESSION 4

11:30 - 13:15

CHANGING BORDERS AND BOUNDARIES IN ASIA

Connaught House - Room 1.03

Chair: Zara Rabinovitch

YAO

Re-creating a Boundary between Taiwan and China

BALCAITE

Fluidity of the Thai-Burma Boundary: Pre-colonial to Post-colonial Imaginings and Border Practices

RELIGION AND NATIONALISM: IRELAND IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Chair: Durukan Kuzu

Old Building - Room 3.23

NAGLE

Religion and Confessional Identity as National Boundary in National Historical Narratives: Ireland and Germany Compared

DEMETRIOU

Nationalism, Partition, Closure, and Temporality: Comparing Ireland and Cyprus

HOEWER

Intersecting Boundary Processes in the Ethno-national Mobilisations and Conflict Settlement Processes in Chiapas and Northern Ireland

PANEL SESSION 4

CONTINUED

CONSTRUCTING BOUNDARIES AND CULTURAL PRACTICES*Old Building - Room 3.28**Chair: Caglayan Arslan***MANNING**

The Manifestation of a Symbolic Ethnic Boundary Through Festival Performance in a Japanese Town

HOYO

Graphic Nationalism: National Imaginaries in Postage Stamps

SUTHERLAND

Borders of Belonging: Migration Museums as Nation-Building Sites

ROSE-GREENLAND

The Parthenon Marbles in the British Cultural Nation: Imitation and Boundaries

LUNCH*Old Building - Fourth Floor Restaurant**13:15 - 14:30**Sponsored by Studies in Ethnicity & Nationalism (SEN)*

PANEL SESSION 5

14:30 - 16:15

EVERYDAY NATIONALISM AND BOUNDARY-MAKING IN BRITAIN*Old Building - Room 3.23**Chair: Daphne Halikiopoulou***ROSIE**

A' the Bairns o' Adam? The Ethnic Boundaries of Scottish National Identity

GANNON

'Ourselves alone'? The Irish in Great Britain and the Remapping of Revolutionary Boundaries

GIUDICI

Claiming the National in a Stateless Nation: Migrant Identities in Post-devolution Wales

SOTIRIU

Reacting to an Ideological Other: Why Secessionism in Scotland is Left-Wing and in Flanders, Right-Wing

ETHNICITY, BORDERS AND BOUNDARY-MAKING IN ISRAEL AND AMONG THE JEWISH**DIASPORA***Connaught House - Room 1.03***GRUWEIS-KOVALSKY**

The Story that Symbolic Maps Tell Us - the Israeli Case

CONFORTI

Searching for a Homeland: The Territorial Dimension in the Zionist Movement and the Boundaries of Jewish Nationalism

FURBERG-MOE

Peripheral Nationhood: Being and Becoming Israeli in a Border Town

REPECKAITE

Forced Multiculturalism in the Neighbourhood: Ethnic Privilege and Boundary-making in South Tel Aviv

ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

Old Building - Room 3.28

Chair: David Cole

POKARIER

The Mundane Boundaries of Economic Nationalism

AYKAC AND YANARDAG

Boundaries at Work and Making of Identity in the Labor Market: The Turkish Experience

REDI

Economic and Ethnic Boundaries According to Lega Nord Policies

COFFEE BREAK

Old Building - Fourth Floor Restaurant

16:15 - 16:45

WORKSHOP 2

Old Building - Room 3.23

16:45 - 18:30

'ETHNIC' BOUNDARIES IN COMPLEX CONFLICTS: ASSESSING CONCEPTS AND THEORIES IN PRACTICAL RESEARCH. NORTHERN IRELAND AND BEYOND

CONVENERS: PROF. JENNIFER TODD
DR. ANDREW FINLAY
DR. DUNCAN MORROW

Chair: Dr. Lee Smithey

ETHNICITY AND NATIONAL BOUNDARY-MAKING IN TURKEY

Old Building - Room 3.28

Chair: Zara Rabinovitch

ORAL

Conscientious Objection in Turkey: Questioning Symbolic Boundaries within the Nation State

GILBERT

Language of Imagination: The Turkish Language Reform's Delimiting of the National Community and Its Contemporary Consequences

COBAN

On the Migration Policy of Turkey

ARSLAN

Secession and Irredentism in the Russian Transcaucasus Towards the End of WWI: An Unorthodox Diplomacy between the Break-away Transcaucasian Parliament and the Young Turks

ETHNIC AND NATIONAL BOUNDARIES IN KENYA AND SOMALIA

Chair: Margit Wunsch

Connaught House - Room 1.03

SEGAL

Border and Space in Rendille Land- The Rendille Approach Toward Local and National Borders

JENKINS

Comes with the Territory: Space Identity and Conflict in Urban Kenya

LOCHERY

Embodying the Border: Somalis in Kenya

GEBRELUEL

Warfare and the Making and Unmaking of Identity Boundaries; Evidence from Somalia and Somaliland

CONFERENCE DINNER AT THE STRAND PALACE HOTEL

19:00

(Registration Required)

9:30 - 11:00 PANEL SESSION 7

11:00 - 11:30 COFFEE BREAK

11:30 - 13:00 PANEL 8
WORKSHOP 3 (*Prof. Liam O'Dowd and Prof. James Anderson*)

13:00 - 14:30 LUNCH BREAK

14:30 - 16:00 PANEL SESSION 9

16:00 - 16:30 COFFEE BREAK

16:30 - 18:15 PLENARY SESSION 3
Prof. Miguel Centeno and Prof. Michèle Lamont
Closing Remarks: Prof. John Breuilly

THE TERRITORIAL MANAGEMENT OF CONFLICT

Old Building - Room 3.23

Chair: Eric Kaufmann

WOLFF

Conflict Management in Divided Societies: The Many Uses of Territorial Self-governance

SHELEF

Territory, Partition, and Conflict

MARTIN

Sharing Power After Deadly Conflict: Territorial Decentralization and Segmental Autonomy

KENNEDY AND RIGA

Ernest Gellner and the Search for a Liberal Escape from Homogeneity: Drawing Bosnia's Borders in the Dayton Peace Accords

SUBNATIONAL MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE: SCOTLAND, FLANDERS, CATALONIA AND THE BASQUE REGION

Old Building - Room 3.28

Chair: David Cole

CETRA

Our Language, Our Rules? Assessing the Compatibility Between the Linguistic Regimes in Catalonia and Flanders and the Politico-moral Principles of Liberalism

ETHERINGTON

The Changing Boundaries of National Homelands: A Comparative Study of Catalan and Basque Nationalism

MURO

Sorry, We Are Closed. The End of ETA's Violent Campaign and Its Impact on Basque Secessionism

BERGSTROM

The Interplay Between Real and Symbolic Borders in Nation Formation

DIASPORA COMMUNITIES AND BOUNDARY-MAKING

Old Building - Room 3.21

Chair: Margit Wunsch

KMEC

Immigrant Communities, Transnational Connections and Intercultural Encounter - Preserving Ethnic and National Boundaries Abroad?

CAVOUKIAN

Discursive Power Ministries? The Emerging Phenomenon of Ministries of Diaspora

PANEL SESSION 7

CONTINUED

KATARIA

Role of Refugee 'Collective Memory' in the Rise of Ethno-National Conflict: The Case of the Sikhs of Punjab

CIESLAK

Between the Land and the Homeland: The Boundaries of the Nation, Nationalism and Class. Polish Peasants in the United States, 1880-1914

COFFEE BREAK

Old Building - Fourth Floor Restaurant

11:00 - 11:30

WORKSHOP 3

Old Building - Room 3.23

11:30 - 13:00

STATE BORDERS AND NATIONALISM - DIFFICULTIES ANALYZING NATIONAL BORDERS: THE IRISH BORDER AS A CASE STUDY

CONVENERS: PROF. LIAM O'DOWD
PROF. JAMES ANDERSON

Chair: Mark Lynch

PANEL SESSION 8

11:30 - 13:00

RECONSIDERING POST-COLONIAL BOUNDARIES IN AFRICA

Old Building - Room 3.21

Chair: Karen Seegobin

AMOAHA

The Ewe Belt of West Africa

TSURUTA

Examining Nationalism in South-Eastern Rwanda

HIRIBARREN

The Long Scramble for Borno

CITIZENSHIP AND BELONGING: RULES, POLITICS AND PERCEPTIONS*Chair: Philipp Decker**Old Building - Room 3.28***MCMAHON**

Symbolic Politics of Immigrant Identity: Identities, Values and Perceptions of Romanian Migrants in Italian and Spanish Parliamentary Debates

YETKIN

Migrants and Conceptualization of Citizenship: Case Studies of Turkish Migrants in Canada and Germany, Return Migrants in Turkey

HALIKIOPOULOU, MOCK AND VASILOPOULOU

The Civic Zeitgeist: Nationalism and Liberal Values in the European Radical Right

MICHLIC

Symbolic Categorization of Dedicated Christian Polish Rescuers as Outcasts, and its Everyday Practices in Polish Society During and After the Second World War

LUNCH BREAK

13:00 - 14:30

PANEL SESSION 9

14:30 - 16:00

WAR, CONFLICT AND NATIONAL BOUNDARIES: KURDISH NATIONALISM AND THE NAGORNY KARABAGH CONFLICT*Chair: Durukan Kuzu**Old Building - Room 3.21***BAJALAN**

Voices From the Ottoman Borderlands: Kurdish Nationalism as a Discourse of Resistance

HARUTYUNYAN

Imagining National Identity Through Territorial Politics: War in Nagorny Karabagh, Elites and Citizens

VORONKOVA

Polarisation As Ethnic Boundary (Re)drawing: The Transformation of Interethnic Relations in the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict (1988 -1991)

PALESTINIAN AND ISRAELI ENCOUNTERS AND BOUNDARIES*Old Building - Room 3.28***Chair: Sarah Correia****KAUFMAN**

Social Protest and Ideological-Political Rift: The 2011 Social Protest in the Eyes of the Palestinian Citizens of Israel

PASQUETTI

Morality Talks and National Encounters across the Green Line: Towards A Relational Approach to Palestinians under Israeli Rule

ATTWELL

Olive Branches and Bent Twigs: An Examination of the National Identity Discourses of Leftist Israeli- Jewish Dissidents

TECHNOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY: THE INTERNET AND COGNITIVE MAPPING**Chair: David Cole***Old Building - Room 3.23***SHARP**

Binaries of Nation: Minority Discourses and the Internet

THEODORELIS-RIGAS

From 'Imagined' to 'Virtual Communities': Greek-Turkish Encounters in Cyberspace

MOCK

Mapping the Emotional Boundaries of the Nation: the Application of Cognitive-affective Mapping (CAM) Methodology to the Study of National Identity

COFFEE BREAK*Old Building - Fourth Floor Restaurant*

16:00 - 16:30

PLENARY SESSION 3*Clement House - Hong Kong Theatre*

16:30 - 18:15

Miguel Centeno: "The Geography of American Nationalism"**Michèle Lamont:** "Responses to Discrimination and the Transformation of Group Boundaries in Brazil, Israel, and the United States"**Closing Remarks:** Prof. John Breuilly**Chair: Dr. John Hutchinson**

AMOA, Michael

“The Ewe Belt of West Africa”

The Ewe-speaking belt of West Africa spans four countries: the area south-east of the Volta river in Ghana; Togo; Benin, and; the area west of the Niger Delta in Nigeria. Ghana and Nigeria are now Anglophone whereas Togo and Benin are francophone. Colonial interventions in the Ewe belt prevented Ewe nationalism from achieving nationhood. By the partition of 1884, the Ewe portions of Ghana and Togo became governed by the German and British colonial powers. Germany later lost its protectorate to France and Britain who re-split the Ghanaian and Togolese Ewe sides. Results of the plebiscite organised by Kwame Nkrumah and the United Nations in 1956 finalised the official separation which truncated the aspirations of the Ewe Unification Movement. With Ghana's independence in 1957 and Togo's in 1960, Ewe irredentism (Chazan ed. 1991) became defunct in the light of postcolonial nation-state politics in the sub region. Ewe ethno-national identity has since evolved differently in each of the four West African nations in the post-independence period, and this paper discusses the case of Ghana in the course of the Ghanaian nation-state project.

ARSLAN Ozan

“Secession and Irredentism in the Russian Trans Caucasus towards the end of WW I: An Unorthodox Diplomacy between the break-away Trans Caucasian parliament and the Young Turks”

The Ottoman Young Turk government joined in October 1914 the list of the belligerents in WWI on the side of Central Powers with a highly controversial decision. For many, this last move of the "Sick Man of Europe" was an eventual manifestation of a new and PanTurkist foreign policy orientation of the Young Turk elite, which has increasingly been in control of successive Ottoman cabinets since 1908. This alleged war aim of the Young Turk administration was to unite all the Turkic speaking peoples of the Romanov's empire under an expansionist and ethnically more homogenous realm of the house of Osman. Those who argued that the Young Turk decision-makers pursued PanTurkist policies in WWI emphasized the rise of a nationalist discourse in some Young Turk circles on the eve of the Great War, following the Empire's crushing defeats at the hands of the Balkan Powers and the subsequent loss of most of the Sublime Porte's European domains. They also argued that an Ottoman "Drang nach Osten" targeting the Caucasian and even Trans Caspian provinces of the Russian Empire was a rational choice for the crumbling empire. However, a precise analysis - based on the archival material - of the Sublime Porte's open and secret negotiations with the Trans Caucasian Mensheviks following the Russian revolutions of 1917 displays a very different picture. In fact, the Ottoman "Ostpolitik" in 1918, favouring a Trans Caucasian buffer zone over annexationist policies, shows the signs of pragmatism and opportunism of a Realpolitik rather than idealism of an ambitious nationalism.

ASSRAF, Arthur

“ 'A New Israel': Debates Around the Partition of Algeria 1960-1962”

The paper will look at the ways in which French officials and intellectuals debated the possibility of partitioning Algeria between two states towards the end of the Algerian War, one for the French settlers and one for the Algerian Muslims. These debates were framed by references to previous partitions in Ireland, Palestine and India and other 'complex' situations of power-sharing between communities like the contemporary arrangements in Cyprus and Lebanon. Drawing on a variety of French government archival sources, private archives, and French, Algerian and international press, the paper will also look at how these debates moved transnationally as other people became involved in debates about the partition of Algeria. The existing scholarship has tended to study Algeria as a French problem, but we will look at how the issue of the settler minority in Algeria raised anxieties worldwide about the meaning of minority, ethnicity, sovereignty and territory. Crowds in Ireland, Cyprus and South Africa denounced French plans to partition Algeria in reaction to their own situations. Discussions reveal that Algeria was seen as a 'repetition' of previous events or an anticipation of ones to come. The paper will also examine the connections with the deteriorating situation on the ground between the European and Muslim communities in Algeria. Finally, it will examine why the partition of Algeria did not happen. Partition was dismissed as an impossible solution, an attempt by the French to avoid 'real' decolonisation, and how this may explain the circumstances of Algeria's decolonisation in 1962.

ATTWELL, Katie

“Olive Branches and Bent Twigs: An Examination of the National Identity Discourses of Leftist Israeli- Jewish Dissidents ”

This paper explores symbolic boundaries and identity-formation of the 'ethno-national Us', using a narrative analysis case study of eleven Israeli-Jewish dissidents. The hegemonic nationalist discourse constructs the dissidents' identities as the Virtuous Us, yet these individuals genuinely try to connect with the Demonised Palestinian Other. I suggest that the dissidents are attempting to use alternative national identity discourses to overcome symbolic boundaries. I highlight inconsistencies within individual dissidents' narratives and attribute them to individuals' employments of multiple discourses. Exploring how these discourses work in the Israeli context, I make the case that some discourses fail to coherently reconcile 'national' history with the well-being of the Other, whilst others repel dissidents by appearing to negate or destroy their identities. The dissidents, therefore, cannot use the available discourses to fully overcome symbolic boundaries and engage with their Other. Only the hegemonic nationalist discourse can offer a self-evident and compelling enunciation of the dissidents' political reality. Weaving together the individual, ethnic ideology, the State and the demonised Other, the hegemonic discourse problematises any attempts to detangle these components of identity. This leads one insightful dissident to conclude that there is 'no way out' of his dilemma. The paper is inspired by Rogers Brubaker who dissuades scholars from reifying 'group' identities. It investigates identity construction through discourse, rather than taking for granted the objective existence of ethnic groups. Attempts by individuals to challenge the symbolic boundary between Us and Other through articulations of national identity illuminate how boundaries are simultaneously constructed, traversed, and reinforced.

AYKAC, Aslihan and YANARDAG, Ozgur

“Boundaries at Work and Making of Identity in the Labor Market: The Turkish Experience”

While boundaries of the nation-state generate a sense of belonging and national identity within its territorial integrity, there are boundaries within the nation-state that result in a sense of otherness, alternative nationalisms and/or emphasis on ethnicity. The objective of this study is to analyze the economic boundaries as divisive lines within the nation-state context. More particularly, the urban labor market will be operationalized as a field of inquiry in which boundaries of inclusion or exclusion, the ethnic dimension of the division of labor, the relationship between class structure and ethnic stratification will demonstrate how economic relations function as symbolic boundaries within the national boundaries. The empirical data for this study will come from an ethnographic research based in Izmir, Turkey, the third largest city in the country holding a variety of national and ethnic groups in its economic context. The data reveals that nature of labor force participation and class positions are very much in parallel to the national and ethnic boundaries in society. Issues of nationalism and ethnicity are generally analyzed within the framework of the nation-state, in regards to dynamics of national citizenship, challenged by various forms of identity politics. However, within the nation-state, there are other invisible yet well-established boundaries that shape practices of the nation-state, discourses of nationalism or ethnicity. On a different level of abstraction, a comparative analysis of the nation-state versus the market, citizenship versus the overruling labor regime, and class based movements versus identity politics will reveal that boundaries need not be political only, they can very well be economic as well.

BAJALAN, Djene Rhys

“Voices From the Ottoman Borderlands: Kurdish Nationalism as a Discourse of Resistance”

The story of Kurdish "nationalism" in the late Ottoman period has often been written from the perspective of the Kurdish intelligentsia. Certainly, the last decades of the empire's existence saw the emergence an intellectual led Kurdish movement based primarily in Istanbul. However, as recent studies have shown, this movement did not seek the formation of a Kurdish nation-state until after 1918. This has led some scholars to posit the idea that Kurdish nationalism, as an ideology advocating the formation of a sovereign Kurdish political entity, did not exist until after the Great War. In this paper I argue that this perception is a product of historians' over emphasis on the role of intellectual elites in the process of 'nation formation'. Although intellectuals were central to the 'imagining' of the Kurds as a modern nation, as the principle of nationality gained currency, "traditional" Kurdish elites (tribal and religious leaders) also mobilised Kurdishness in novel ways. However, while the Istanbul based educated elite (at least prior to 1918) tended to see the salvation of the Kurds as tied to the successful modernisation of the Ottoman Empire as a whole, the traditional elites in the borderlands saw modernisation in a different light. Efforts at reforming the Ottoman state structures meant, in practice, administrative centralisation and increased state-supervision of the periphery which, in turn, undermined the position traditional Kurdish elites. (CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

BAJALAN, Diene Rhys (CONTINUED)

Through an examination of official documents and Kurdish poetry, I will argue that this gave rise, from the last quarter of the 19th century onwards, to a discourse of Kurdish separatism, which can be contrasted with the generally pro-Ottoman line of the Kurdish intelligentsia. I believe this paper will show the significance of traditional elites, and their reaction to administrative centralisation, in the formation of Kurdish nationalism.

BALCAITE, Indre

“Fluidity of the Thai-Burma boundary: Pre-colonial to Post-colonial Imaginings and Border Practices”

It is usually assumed that Southeast Asian borders were not regulated and blurred in the pre-colonial era, clear-cut and closed during the Cold War, but are currently opening up to regional cooperation. To dispute and qualify this, the paper will explore symbolic functions of the Thai-Burma boundary and border practices as experienced on the ground from around 1750 to 2000. It will review the developments along the boundary between the historic manifestations of Thai and Burmese polities: fluidity of warring pre-colonial kingdoms; demarcation of the border between Siam and British colonial Burma; Thailand's short-lived expansion into Burma, ceding the Shan state (WWII); reinstatement of the colonial border, nonetheless made porous by Thailand's Cold War 'buffer policy' supporting ethnic insurgencies on Burma's frontier; recent rapprochement between Thailand and Myanmar that intensified cross-border activities. The paper will analyse how these series of events contributed to a solidification of on-going fluidity of the Thai-Burma border over time, despite the official imaginings of the border as 'closed', especially during the Cold War.

BERGSTROM, Louise

“The Interplay Between Real and Symbolic Borders in Nation Formation ”

Sweden in 1900 had experienced unprecedented levels of emigration which had given rise to a belief that the Swedish nationality was no longer exclusively tied to a geographically bounded territory but was found in the Swedish language and culture. Borders had become more symbolic than real as it was no longer where you lived but how you lived that defined your Swedishness. Swedes in America, for example, were still considered Swedish as long as they spoke the Swedish language.¹ Simultaneously though, harsh discussions were waged on the need to close the Swedish borders to "foreigners" - more specifically Jews and east European labourers - and to enforce stricter border controls to "protect the national interest". The proposed paper wants to use these two discourses on Swedish emigrants and immigrants to point to how borders were perceived of as both real and symbolic and how the idea of nationhood could be both transnationally understood and geographically bounded. Using literature that stresses the global nature of nation formation the paper wants to emphasise that migration across borders can lead to a loss of a nation's spatial dimension and to stricter territorial border regimes - at the same time.²

¹ For a similar development, see: Naranch. 'Inventing the Auslandsdeutsche: Emigration, Colonial Fantasy, and German National Identity, 1848-1871' in Ames & Klotz & Wildenthal (eds.) *Germany's Colonial Pasts* (Lincoln, 2005). ² See for example: Stoler & McGranahan & Perdue (eds.). *Imperial Formations*. (Santa Fe, 2007); Conrad. *Globalisation and the nation in imperial Germany* (Cambridge, 2010).

BUCK, Katharina

“Nazarbaev's Nationalisms: A Tale of Hostile Hosts?”

The dualism in the Kazakhstani government's narratives of national identity means that two nations are 'built' in Kazakhstan: an ethnic Kazakh and a supra-ethnic Kazakhstani one. An officially sanctioned 'hospitality narrative' portrays Kazakhs as generous, responsible hosts, and non-Kazakh Kazakhstanis as respectful guests. There is some consensus that President Nazarbaev has thus successfully balanced claims of the (re-ethnicised) multi-ethnic citizenry. Little attention has been paid to small-scale, violent ethno-national clashes that erupted recently. They illustrate the shortcomings of Nazarbaev's tactics. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in 2010, I illuminate ramifications by taking the example of one little-known clash: 'Zheltoksan 86' vs. Vladimir Kozlov in 2010. I make two arguments. First, the government's narratives of harmonious coexistence thanks to the hospitality of the Kazakh hosts are exploitable by actors with 'hostile' and exclusivist intents. The narratives hammer home the notion that Kazakhstan's citizenry consists of immutable ethnic subgroups with different degrees of belonging to the state, which has been used by Kazakh ethno-nationalists to justify violence against non-Kazakhs. Second, because such actors have gone virtually unpunished, new symbols of interethnic hostility have emerged and an atmosphere of insecurity is created which benefits the 'stabiliser' Nazarbaev in the short term - with potentially disastrous long-term consequences for the country. My paper is relevant to the conference because I offer a novel analysis of a case in which a 'benevolent' regime, using the language of civic accord, actually drives wedges into its population using tactics allegedly designed to unite this populace by narrating harmony and hospitality.

BUKH, Alexander

“Territorial Disputes and Civil Society in Japan and Korea”

Drawing on theories of collective identity formation and social mobilization this paper engages in a comparative analysis of the territorial disputes related civil society organizations in Japan and Korea. Its main focus is on organizations engaged in advocating the return of the 'Northern Territories' in Japan and the 'protect the Dokdo' movement in Korea. Unlike the current scholarship that treats these organizations as simple manifestations of nationalism, this paper makes the case for a more nuanced understanding of their identities. Through analysing a wide range of primary material and interviews with activists it locates the identities of these organizations in the nexus of multiple sets of power relations. In the case of Japan, this paper traces the origins of the irredentist movement to the economic deprivation of the immediate post-war years, the broader civic activism in the 1950s and 1960s and the politics of Cold War. It argues that their identity was constructed in opposition to the state and was similar to numerous social movements that advocated a change in governmental policy. In the case of Korea, this paper connects the 'protect the Dokdo' movement with the domestic civic activism that originated in the democratization movement of the 1980s. It argues that the identity of the movement should be understood in the context of continuous mistrust of the government dominant in the Korean civil society. The paper concludes by pointing out the similarities and differences between the two cases and outlining the theoretical implications of this case study.

CAUVET, Philippe

“Reassessing Irish Nationalist Irredentism After 1998: Breaking the Historiographical Mould”

The 1998 Good Friday Agreement and the amendment of Articles 2 & 3 of the Irish Constitution represent an additional puzzle to what had already proved to be a most puzzling research subject: Irish nationalist anti-partitionist irredentism. What is the territorial project of Irish constitutional nationalism? How can one understand and interpret the reformulation of Articles 2 & 3 and the endorsement of the principle of dual consent by the Irish nationalist community? How does this fit into the history of the nationalist territorial project before 1998? Has Irish nationalism turned post-national? The aim of this paper is to bring answers to and sparkle debate around these questions. Even though most scholarship published before and after 1998, including the post-national interpretation of 1998, has relied on the myth of a monolithic and uninterrupted irredentist consensus within nationalism, this paper brings a contribution to discussions of this historiographical pattern (Regan, 2007, Todd et al (2006)). Using diverse nationalist sources at the time of partition and during the debates on the principle of consent, it argues that within Irish nationalism, territory historically was - and still is - a contested construct. Hence, 1998 does not mark the shift from a nationalist irredentist block to a post-national one. Rather, it should be seen as the result and continuation of internal debates within Irish nationalism about the territorial definition of the nation.

CAVOUKIAN, Kristin

“Discursive Power Ministries? The Emerging Phenomenon of Ministries of Diaspora”

Recent years have seen the creation, in a number of states (Armenia, 2008; Georgia, 2008; Serbia, 2008; Israel, 2009), of ministries whose sole purview has been relations with "the diaspora." Their purpose is puzzling. On the one hand, they claim some form of authority over, or responsibility for, individuals who live in, and are citizens of other states, and their status as ministries suggests that they are high government priorities. On the other hand, they are poorly funded and marginal to the regular functioning of government, and their activities range from tourism promotion to charity coordination, hardly the stuff of high politics. While elevating the diaspora to a concern worthy of its own ministry may be viewed as an exercise to counter claims that the state either neglects its diaspora, or sees it as an exploitable source of revenue (via remittances or philanthropy), such ministries are also endowed with a great deal of discursive power. Drawing on the existing literature and interviews conducted in Armenia's Ministry of Diaspora, I argue that the power of these ministries lies in their ability to redefine the category of diaspora, and frame state-diaspora relations in a way that benefits the state. While diaspora intellectuals may have definitions and frames of their own, state resources and legitimacy allow ministries to flood the discursive field. Assuming a relationship between discourse and the construction of national identity, I argue that these seemingly weak government bodies be viewed as discursive "power ministries," with nation-building and boundary-defining functions.

CETRA, Dani

“Our Language, Our Rules? Assessing the Compatibility Between the Linguistic Regimes in Catalonia and Flanders and the Politico-moral Principles of Liberalism”

Language is a central identity marker in both Catalonia and Flanders and, perhaps consequently, there is a degree of controversy regarding their linguistic policies. The debate in Catalonia is based on the predominance of Catalan in the education system, whereas in Flanders the conflict arises from the boundary language, particularly along the dividing line with Brussels. In the view of a few Catalans and many Spaniards, the present situation is a violation of their individual right to choose the language of education. Similarly, in the Brussels periphery the recently settled French-speaking majority claims that although they live now in Flemish soil, languages should not belong to territories but to individuals. These two cases are chosen because, in their central characteristics regarding language boundaries, they allow us to explore the liberal suitability of their linguistic policies and the coexistence between individual and territorial or collective rights. In addition, they capture the potentiality of language as a social and symbolic boundary between two groups that interact in the same territory. The salience of language in the socio-political debate in Catalonia and Flanders, as well as in other linguistically plural societies, is undisputable. My main argument is that the linguistic regimes in Catalonia and Flanders, far from being illiberal, are an acceptable way of preventing the extinction of a language with which a community's identity is linked. I draw on a documentary analysis of language laws in Catalonia and Flanders, and relate this to normative issues around the compatibility between liberalism and nationalism.

CIESLAK, Marta

“Between the Land and the Homeland: The Boundaries of the Nation, Nationalism and Class. Polish Peasants in the United States, 1880-1914”

When at the end of the eighteenth century the authorities of Russia, Prussia and Austria established their political rule over partitioned Poland, Polish nationalist leaders engaged in the debates on what constituted Poland as a state and as a nation. As they consistently dictated terms of the nationalist debates, they also announced their self-proclaimed mission to educate the allegedly ignorant "popular masses" about what it meant to be Polish. However, while they continued their zealous discussions, hundreds of thousands of Polish peasants refused to participate in this enlightening project and left partitioned Poland in search for a better life on the other side of the Atlantic. Investigating the historical case of Polish rural migrants in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century, this paper explores the boundaries between the nation, nationalism and class. While focusing on the meaning and significance of land in the lives of the Polish peasants, it traces the existence of national consciousness among those who were largely denied any sense of national self-recognition. This paper argues that, contrary to the common discourse of contemporary nationalism as well as recent scholarship, the rural population of partitioned Poland had a sense of identity defined in national terms, which in the end allowed them to expand Polishness across the Atlantic and participate in the formation of what would become the Polish diaspora. In more general terms, it insists on the presence and agency of historically underprivileged social classes in the processes of nation building.

COBAN, Aslihan

“On the Migration Policy of Turkey”

It seems logical to categorize Turkey in terms of migration, as a major sending country. However the Turkish republic has been a major receiving country as well. The EU wants Turkey to control its borders more effectively. Turkey's immigration policy including regulations on refugees and asylum is still strongly guided by the concept of national identity and its underlying principle of cultural unity. Despite the de facto multi-ethnic character of its society the Turkish concept of nation building has focused on the principle of cultural assimilation. This policy has been the target of reform process in recent years. In 1962 (Geneva) Turkey accepted the international obligations concerning asylum procedures but inserted a geographical limitation which restricted admission to refugees from Europe. On the other hand Turkey has a system dealing with non-European asylum applicants in response to refugee movements from the Middle East and Africa. Regulation 1994 cemented the system of differential treatment for European and non-European refugees. That means non-European refugees are not given the possibility to stay in Turkey permanently and integrate into Turkish society. On the other hand, there are 200 thousand transit migrants each year according to IOM. Three issues of migration need to be addressed by Turkish government in the light of EU-Turkey relations: developing asylum legislation; signing readmission agreements with third countries; lifting the geographical limitation. If Turkey implements these three requirements it will become safe third country for asylum seekers. That means Turkey will have to readmit migrants sent to Europe and this challenges the understanding of common culture and descent. This paper could be related to the theme titled, mechanisms of boundary formation, transgression and change.

CONFORTI, Yitzhak

“Searching for a Homeland: The Territorial Dimension in the Zionist Movement and the Boundaries of Jewish Nationalism”

The search for a homeland was the life's breath of the Jewish nationalist movement from its inception. Within the Zionist movement, the territorial question erupted at the Sixth Zionist Congress (1903), and continued to accompany Zionism until the establishment of the State of Israel. This lecture will focus on examining the edges of the concept of the Jewish national state. The "Zionist consensus" aspired to a Jewish national state in Palestine, despite differences of opinion regarding the borders of this state. The challenge to the concept of a Jewish national state came from the two political extremes of the Yishuv: 1) proponents of the concept of a bi-national state (Jewish and Arab), supported by Brit Shalom, Ha-Shomer Ha-Tzair, and Ha-Ichud; and 2) supporters of the concept of creating an "Israelite kingdom" that would rule a Land of Israel defined by biblical borders, or within the entire Fertile Crescent. The first stream pushed the boundaries of Zionism, and its radical element went so far as to negate political Zionism and the concept of the state. Interestingly, the radical branch of the right (Brit ha-Biryonim and the "Canaanites") also arrived at negation of the Zionist concept, but through the opposite motivation-the desire to implement the political principle to the extreme. Neither group succeeded in penetrating the actual activity of Yishuv politics, but they did have significant intellectual influence. They tested, and continue to test, the borders of the Jewish national state, particularly since the outbreak of the post-Zionist polemic in the 1980s.

CONVERSI, Daniele

“Modernity, Globalization and Nationalism: The Age of Frenzied Boundary-Building”

Nationalism and modernity were both indulging in practices of classification, definition and delimitation, leading to the simultaneous destruction of old boundaries and the rising of new ones --all at a historically unprecedented speed and intensity. Focusing on nationalism as a boundary-building practice, the paper argues that it belonged to a broader ideological discourse that began to prevail with the onset and expansion of modernity. The sum-totality of these ideologies and discourses is identified here as 'modernism'. After critically incorporating competing definitions of ideology, the paper reverses Liah Greenfeld's approach and conceptualizes nationalism as a variant of modernism. While modernism can be identified as a distinctive ideology, indeed as the all-encompassing ideology of modernity, nationalism can in turn be re-defined as the avenue through which modernity-seizing elites could mould and shape the contemporary political subject. Nationalism as the 'carrier' of Westernizing modernity can thus be re-conceptualized as the most popular and influential form of modernism. Through it, the ideology of modernity could assert itself at the mass level while emerging elites longed for internal legitimacy in a world of aspiring nation-states. Finally, contrary to the mainstream 'cosmopolitan globalization' thesis (Giddens, Beck, Held, Kaldor), the article concludes by speculating the extent to which globalization, as modernity's global extension, brings about simultaneous boundary-rising and boundary-deconstruction. In particular, neo-liberal globalism, as the ideology and practice of unbounded greed, is situated at the opposite spectrum of the cosmopolitan vision.

DEMETRIOU, Chares

“Nationalism, Partition, Closure, and Temporality: Comparing Ireland and Cyprus”

Nationalist projects in multi-ethnic societies are conducive to conflict. During conflict, state partition may offer a way out, and the institutionalization of the political process may ensue thereafter. The Irish Free State (and the Republic of Ireland later) offers an example of such case of state consolidation after partition - the open question in Northern Ireland notwithstanding. But when partition does not become acceptable to all ethnic groups in a conflict, its looming prospect becomes a source of further conflict, rather than a way of settling it. Cyprus is a fine example of such open-ended conflict existing in the shadow of partition. Partition was imposed by force, but brought no political closure. In comparing the Irish and Cypriot historical episodes, this paper traces dynamics of conflict not only between the main opposing sides (Republican versus Unionist in Ireland and Greek versus Turks in Cyprus) but also between groups within the majority side (Treatyites versus Anti-Treatyites among Ireland's Republicans and Enosists versus "Republicans" among Cyprus's Greek nationalists). In this sense, civil war (or, more accurately, intra-group war), which was intense and short in Ireland and milder but longer in Cyprus, played a distinct role in how the nationalist projects evolved in the respective historical setting. The paper's argument is this: the respective nationalist projects in Ireland and Cyprus feature similar logics and other structural characteristics which fuel similar dynamics, including 'civil war' and partition (actual or prospective); however, among the "ingredients" of the process of implementing these projects, elements pertaining to temporality are key: they include the timing, sequence, and longevity of events.

ELAZAR, Gideon

“A Museum of Identity: Expressing Ethnicity and Faith in an official ‘minority village’ in Yunnan”

The minority village in Kunming is a State run living museum representing Yunnan Province's 26 ethnic minorities. Not surprisingly, the representation is often stereotypic and artificial. In this context the image of Christianity as it is expressed in the church dominating the Miao "village" is of unique interest. The vibrant church interior, including a screen broadcasting a televangelist, ethnic style Christian souvenirs, pictures of pre-revolutionary missionaries and Christian tracts stands in clear contrast with official State rhetoric expressed in other parts of the village. In this paper I attempt to analyze the spacial arrangement of the village moving from the gate into the interior of the church. Careful examination of the church and its surroundings is used to demonstrate how the divisions within the village mark the boundaries of ethnic and religious identity and their delicate interaction with the Chinese State. By creating and marking a limited space of expression, the State expresses its acceptance of ethno-religious identity within certain limits. At the same time, the boundaries drawn serve to reinforce the centrality of the hegemonic Han-Chinese culture and the peripheral role of ethnic culture in Yunnan.

ETHERINGTON, John

“The Changing Boundaries of National Homelands: A Comparative Study of Catalan and Basque Nationalism”

For nationalists, nations and their respective homelands are inextricably bound together, to the point where each is defined in terms of the other. National boundaries play a key role in the construction of the nation, since not only do they mark the separation between the national 'We' and the 'Other', but also come to be infused with meaning that effectively shapes the way the nation understands itself. Yet nations, homelands and their boundaries are not givens, but rather social constructs, and as such conflicts almost inevitably arise over, for example, the territorial extent of the nation and the meaning of national boundaries. In this respect, this paper focuses on the different ways in which both Catalan and Basque nationalists have conceived their respective homelands and the boundaries that enclose it, since in both cases we see a clear duality between, on the one hand, the respective core national territories of Catalunya and Euskadi, and, on the other, an extended ones of Pasos Catalans and Euskal Herra. The objective of the paper is to identify the origins and development of this duality and to explain why, at any given moment in time, one of these conceptions is dominant within the nationalist movements studied. Through the use of comparative methodology, the paper seeks to identify and analyse causal regularities in order to generate hypotheses that can be tested in other cases and thus contribute to a more general understanding of the conditions under which national boundaries are formed and developed.

FALINA, Maria

“Federalism in East-Central Europe: Autonomy, Independence or Cooperation of the Small Nations?”

The paper presents a comparative view on the federalist thought in East-Central Europe before and after the Great War and argues that federalism of the first half of the 20th c. had at least three faces: it constituted a viable alternative to the liberal nation-building projects, served as a step towards national independence, and formed the basis for the geo-political regional cooperation. The three aspects are seen by many as phases of a transformation process, in which the demands for autonomy naturally turned into demands for national self-determination and independence. The change occurred in the last year of WWI. The paper argues that it is more appropriate to see different federalist projects not as consecutive phases of one process, but as intertwined streams that influenced each other. Most federalist projects that sought to create new supra-national structures based on the cooperation of small independent nation-states and had issues of international security in mind were indeed formulated after the regional imperial frameworks have collapsed, and did built upon previous projects that aimed at reforming multi-national imperial frameworks by giving cultural and/or political autonomy to the nationalities. However, there are counter-examples to this narrative: the Balkan social-democrats' federalist tradition demonstrates that the idea to by-pass the nation-state in favor of a (con) federation was popular already before the War; while Croatian demands for autonomy and federalization in interwar Yugoslavia had a strong secessionist element and destabilized the state.

FURBERG MOE, Catherine

“Peripheral Nationhood: Being and Becoming Israeli in A Border Town”

This paper explores the meanings, uses and salience of everyday nationalism and ethnicity among Mizrahim (Jews descending from Arab and Muslim countries) in the Israeli border town of Kiryat Shemona in the Upper Galilee. Their belonging has crystallized between Israeli-Ashkenazi-Jewish and Arab culture, between inclusion and exclusion, in the ambivalent space between "submission and defiance". Factors such as partial inclusion into the Ashkenazi-dominated Zionist nation, tensions between Jews and Arabs, secular and religious, the decline of the welfare state and a shared perception of common threats and dangers influenced Mizrahi self-identifications in town. The continuous impact of the dominant Euro-civilization discourse on self-perception was reflected in the concern many of my informants had with being 'strong' and 'civilized'. Individuals negotiated the boundaries of the nation, paradoxically through an orientalizing discourse confirming the prevailing Israeli ethnocracy. On the other hand, some of my informants actively distanced themselves from the core of the Israeli structure of cultural/political power by creating a unique regional, social and moral identity stressing the importance of religion and tradition. Mizrahim retained symbolic attachments to Arab homelands and dreamt of an American future, thus bypassing the rhetoric of rootedness in official state discourse. During ordinary times of existential insecurity, the deep divisions in Israeli society created competing claims over Israeliness.

GANNON, Darragh

“ 'Ourselves Alone'? The Irish in Great Britain and the Remapping of Revolutionary Boundaries”

The Irish revolution (1916-21) has largely been presented as a linear narrative, characterised by virulent historical nationalist traditions, self-referential expositions of ethnicity and an insular geographical conception of the boundaries of Irish nationalism. This paper escapes this claustrophobic approach by examining the Irish in Great Britain during the Irish revolution through three key areas. It postulates that the Irish revolution, as viewed through the prism of this diaspora community, could transcend social, ethnic and geographical boundaries during a period in which, paradoxically, the physical borders of the modern Irish state were entrenched. This paper explores the social boundaries between this community and British society in everyday practices and social norms. The idealisation of a unique Gaelic culture is juxtaposed with pragmatic modes of national expression, a comparative approach which highlights the elasticity of this ethnic group to presentations of nationalism and identity in normal social settings. This research investigates the rhetorical exclusivity of Irish nationalist aspirations with the practicality of co-operation with other ethnic groups such as Egyptian, Indian and Scottish nationalists, disentangling in the process interpretations of 'self' and the 'other' among Irish nationalists along the supranational frontier of British cities. This presentation maps the geographical and symbolic boundaries circumvented by Irish nationalists in Great Britain in their projection of a rural Irish utopia to an urban-centric community. This paper, in conclusion, will offer a fresh and multi-faceted perspective on the Irish revolution, stimulating discussion on social, ethnic and geographical representations of boundaries and nationalism.

GEBRELUEL, Goitom

“Warfare and the Making and Unmaking of Identity Boundaries; Evidence from Somalia and Somaliland”

George Simmel was amongst the first to point out that conflict may lead to increased in-group solidarity. Anthony Smith, who has built on this thesis, has argued that warfare in-fact has had a constitutive impact on the historical consciousness of ethnic communities. Yet world history is also filled with many examples of the fragmenting impact of warfare on societies and identities. The purpose of this paper is to examine the relationship between warfare and the making, maintaining, and un-making of ethnic and national identity boundaries, and the question of under what conditions processes of warfare may have an in-group solidarity generating impact, and the conditions under which it will lead to social disintegration. This will be done by conducting a case study of Somalia and Somaliland under the Somali Civil War (1988-1991). In this case one unit, Somaliland, emerges from the processes of warfare as a socially cohesive, self-proclaimed nation, which seeks to secede from its mother state, whereas the southern part of the country fragments into anarchy. I argue that these diverging nation-formation trajectories can be explained by examining the organizational structures of the agents behind warfare. These structures involve a guerrilla faction's recruitment methods, sources of financing, and its internal power structure and decision-making processes. These factors will impact the likelihood of a faction falling victim to internal fractionalization, its ability (or interest) to create unifying nationalistic discourses, and ability to provide an institutional framework that can make ordinary people come together, socialize, and internalize these discourses. As such, it is essential for a faction to be able to provide both discursive and institutional support to the masses, if a process of warfare is to end up as a nationalizing phenomenon.

GILBERT, Taryn

“Language of Imagination: The Turkish Language Reform's Delimiting of the National Community and Its Contemporary Consequences”

Through a series of reforms to the alphabet, vocabulary, and linguistic heritage that were aggressively designed and implemented under Ataturk's rule, Ottoman Turkish was transformed into a "new" language that had little intelligibility with its immediate predecessor. By breaking linguistic and cultural ties to the Ottoman past, and rendering its histories and literatures inaccessible to the younger generation of Turks, the language reform created a social and symbolic boundary around "Turks" as a national community, and distinguished the community from the region's imperial history. Through an examination of the policies used in education, law, and literature to reform the Turkish language, this paper will show how such policies cemented the fundamental role of language in the symbolic boundary formation inherent to nationalism. The influence of the extensive language reform of the early 20th century continues to be seen in contemporary policies, and this paper will draw out its analysis to address these present-day issues, focusing particularly on the government's policies toward the Kurdish language within the nation.

GIUDICI, Marco

“Claiming the National in a Stateless Nation: Migrant Identities in Post-Devolution Wales”

This paper looks at the different ways in which foreign migrants and people of foreign migrant heritage living in Wales have renegotiated their identities over the last fifteen years. Following the 1997 devolution, the Welsh political institutions have promoted an 'inclusive' and 'civic' notion of Welshness, one that aims to transcend the country's long-standing ethno-linguistic divisions. Yet, Wales remains a 'fragmented' and stateless nation within a larger state (the UK), being characterised by overlapping and sometimes contrasting forms of ethnic, national and linguistic identifications. How can this 'complex' framework 'make any sense' to a migrant person when it comes to claiming a Welsh national identity? This paper will try and answer this question. It will assess whether different forms of migrant belonging could influence the extent to which foreign migrant people and people of foreign descent identify with Wales and Welshness. In particular, the paper assesses the extent to which 'banal' and 'everyday life' forms of national and ethnic affiliation influence the migrants' inclination to claim a Welsh identity. Drawing on interviews, statistical data as well as media sources, this paper is part of a broader research project on Italian migrant people in Wales entitled 'Italians and Italicity in Britain: Wales as a case study, 1940-2010'. Although it primarily draws upon the Italian experience, this paper also looks at other foreign migrant groups living in Wales.

GOSZTONYI, Miklas

“Free At Last? The Coming of Independence of South Sudan and the Return to Civil War in the Northern Bordering States”

On 9th of July 2011, people throughout the new Republic of South Sudan celebrated the coming of independence after a war of liberation that, according to the dominant narrative, started in 1955. Following centuries of being enslaved by northern merchants and later politically marginalized and culturally oppressed by successive governments in Khartoum dominated by a minority "Arab" elite, the Southern Sudanese finally became, as they like to say, "free at last." A fundamental problem with this narrative resides in the fact that the Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement, which paved the way for the independence of South Sudan, established that the border between North and South would correspond to the internal border between both regions established by the British Colonial administration. As a result of the war of liberation of the South, therefore, the arbitrary colonial creation of the Sudan was simply replaced by a similarly arbitrary colonial demarcation between both regions. Thus a number of "black" peoples who had joined the rebels of the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement during the civil war in the northern bordering states of South Kordofan and Blue Nile became citizens of the rump state following Southern independence and, in the eyes of the regime in Khartoum, an "other" to be fought. Therefore, by problematizing the dominant narrative that emphasizes the liberation of "the Southern Sudanese" following the secession of the South, this paper brings light to the root causes of the return to civil war in the bordering states of the rump country.

GROVE-WHITE, Colum

“Panmunjeom - The Story of Two Korean Nations”

My presentation will argue how Panmunjeom, the Joint Security Area which lies along the border between North and South Korea, epitomizes and perpetuates the existential struggle between the two competing Korean nations. To demonstrate my argument, I will first provide my own anecdotal evidence by recalling and contrasting my experiences of going to Panmunjeom from both the North and South Korean sides. Second, I will provide the audience with the historical and theoretical explanation of Panmunjeom, and place it within the context of the Korean conflict. Third, I will identify the contrasting nationalist narratives both North and South Korea have created in Panmunjeom. These narratives not only justify each country's military spending, but they also impede peace and reconciliation on the Korean Peninsula. The presentation largely relies on constructivism to understand the ideational conflict between the two Korean nations, and how Panmunjeom came to be symbolic of the greater existential struggle between the two states. The presentation will conclude with some prospects for the future. The presentation is relevant to the APEN conference because it deals specifically with ethnicity, nationalism, and borders. The Korean conflict is very much a nationalist struggle between two groups whom are ethnically homogenous. Both sides are fighting to be the one true representation of the Korean nation. Panmunjeom is the focus of the paper, which lies along the border between the two nations.

GRUWEIS-KOVALSKY, Ofira

“The Story that Symbolic Maps Tell Us - the Israeli Case”

A close link exists between cartography and national identity. Maps are used not just as a tool for the advancement of knowledge, but also to form national identity. Symbols are a type of propaganda that plays a role in political life. Symbolism is vital to the coherence and continuation of all societies, their social organization and legitimacy. The map as a symbol has political functions that deal with geographical space perception, boundaries and identity. The question as to why political groups used maps as their symbol is relevant to this conference since it deals with symbolic boundaries and identity formation. The Land of Israel's boundaries were the subject of debate in the Zionist movement. For this reason their attitude towards maps and boundaries was vague. Three different Zionist organizations used the Land of Israel map as their official symbol. 1. The Jewish National Fund - on their donation box. 2. The 'Ha-Machanot Ha'olim' (the Up and Coming Camps) socialist youth movement - even today the map exists as part of their symbol. 3. The Revisionist Party and its underground 'IZL' movement later became known as Herut (Freedom Party) led by Menachem Begin after the establishment of Israel; today it is known as the Likud party. Its symbol was the only one that depicted the Land of Israel with clear boundaries. In the lecture, I will prove my case by presenting the history of these three unique symbols and why they were created.

HALIKIOPOULOU, Daphne and HUTCHINS, Rachel

“Varieties of 'Civicness': Class as a Symbolic Boundary in French and United States Textbooks”

Existing theories of nationalism distinguish between civic, ethnic, and plural nations, but do not account for variations of 'civicness' in terms of perceptions of class and left and right politics. Why do two 'civic' nations, such as France and the US, which both profess a commitment to equality, have different consensual conceptions and policies of what constitutes social justice, and thereby of the degree to which citizens of different socio-economic classes are fully integrated into the national community? This paper addresses this question by establishing a typology of nationalism of the left and right within civic nations. More specifically, it associates varieties of 'civicness' to the founding moment of revolution by examining the form of national imagery that this puts forward as an explanatory factor for this variation. We argue that a social revolution, i.e. one that fundamentally alters state and class structures, is more likely to lead to a conception of the nation based on class, solidarity and social justice. This paper employs the most similar systems research design by comparing the US and France. It carries out discourse and content analysis of US and French primary school textbooks as quasi-official accounts of national history that reflect consensus established by state and national governments. By doing so it provides a typology which systematizes the way in which the left-right dimension is incorporated into the national vision in the US and France.

HALIKIOPOULOU, Daphne, MOCK, Steven and VASILOPOULOU, Sofia

“The Civic Zeitgeist: Nationalism and Liberal Values in the European Radical Right”

This paper examines the relationship between nationalism and liberal values, and more specifically the redefinition of boundaries between national communities and others in the rhetoric of radical right parties in Europe. The aim is to examine the tension between radical right party discourse and the increasing need to shape this discourse in liberal terms. We argue that the radical right parties that successfully operate within the democratic system tend to be those best able to tailor their discourse to the liberal and civic characteristics of national identity so as to present themselves and their ideologies as the true authentic defenders of the nation's unique reputation for democracy, diversity and tolerance. Comparing the success of a number of European radical right parties ranging from the most electorally successful SVP to the more mixed BNP, FN and NPD, we show that the parties that effectively deploy the symbolic resources of national identity through a predominantly voluntaristic prism tend to be the ones that fare better within their respective political systems.

HARUTYUNYAN, Arus

“Imagining National Identity Through Territorial Politics: War in Nagorny Karabagh, Elites, and Citizens”

Using the case of Nagorny Karabagh, this paper raises two questions. First, it asks whether there can be contesting national identities in an ethnically homogeneous state. To explore this question, I employ qualitative and a quantitative analysis of texts and elected officials' policy positions on Karabagh issue from 1988 through 2006. Here, my main contention is that strikingly different discourses on this issue must be understood as contrasting portrayals of Armenian national identity. Second, using my original survey data from 2006, I explore whether identity contestation in an ethnically homogeneous state affects citizens' political trust, perceptions of social justice, and democratic attitudes. Findings suggest that identity contestation can be consequential. Yet, consistent with the scholars of liberal nationalism, I conclude that before celebrating the instrumental value and the ethical significance of a common national identity we ought to make sure that it is based on thin liberal nationalist conceptions. The proposed paper is relevant to the conference theme elaborating on interactions between physical boundaries and identity formation. The crisis created around Karabagh reveals contesting ways of imagining political boundaries by co-ethnics, suggesting that disputes arising from claims over physical boundaries may form without the presence of the "non-national other." Precisely because identity is a political phenomenon, political rivalry among co-ethnics over constitutive elements of national identity, such as territory, may be manifested as acutely as among rival ethnic groups and may be as consequential for liberal democratic projects in ethnically homogeneous states as it may be in ethnically heterogeneous ones.

HIRIBARREN, Vincent

“The Long Scramble for Borno”

This paper will analyse how British imperialism did not always destroy African polities but, as in the case of Borno, favoured the reconstruction of a nineteenth-century territory within the Nigerian colony. The quest for territorial legitimacy led the British to constantly adapt their colonial administration to the previous nineteenth-century space. The provincialisation of Borno was based on the utilisation of some of its nineteenth-century borders and its concept of territoriality. Indirect Rule thus preserved the territory of Borno within colonial Nigeria as European spatial tools of census and mapping particularly reinforced its territorialisation. This last argument means that the Bornuese space was re-used and reconstructed by the colonial officials. The first colonial officials in quest of legitimacy and personal glory analysed the ancient history of the "millenary kingdom of Borno". The independent kingdom was no more but it could survive within British administration and writings. The Scramble for Borno did not stop at the beginning of the twentieth century. As the Germans lost the First World War, the British desperately tried to acquire what was then known as German Borno to reinforce their own power and prestige in Nigeria. By arguing that ethnic identities should not be split by colonial boundaries, the British government recognised a legal right for Borno to be reunited in a subnational context. This territorial claim was expressed in ethnical, cultural and religious terms by the colonial administration and the press. Thus British colonial rule reinforced and even fossilised the nineteenth-century polity of Borno within Nigeria.

HOEWER, Melanie

“Intersecting Boundary Processes in the Ethno-National Mobilisations and Conflict Settlement Processes in Chiapas and Northern Ireland”

In order to trace the interrelation of boundaries in processes of identity transformation and social change, I examine the different directions of change and meanings of identity categories; those meanings become visible in individual perceptions of female activists from Chiapas and from Northern Ireland. Through a comparative analysis of boundary processes as presented in female activists' collective identity narratives, I hope to demonstrate how the way in which symbolic processes are translated into objectified social changes varies depending on the cultural, social and political structure they are embedded in. I will do so by a) looking at boundary processes at the macro (state), the meso (community) and at the micro level (family) of society during different episodes of mobilisation and demobilisation processes and b) examining the way in which within these processes independent spaces open and allow for the change of ethnic and gender boundaries. The dimensions of this analysis are determined by 'perceptions', which reveal processes at the inter subjective level of the symbolic boundaries, and 'positioning', which highlight the objectified forms of social differences, within those processes. By connecting inter subjective and social dimensions of change in the ethno-national mobilisation processes in Chiapas and in Northern Ireland and by looking at the directions of that change I am contributing new insights from original primary research data to the area of ethnicity and boundary studies.

HOYO, Henio

“Graphic Nationalism: National Imaginaries in Postage Stamps”

Postage stamps were a truly pervasive object in the life of most persons during most 19th and 20th centuries. And they are tiny official documents, reaching audiences not only within but also beyond the borders of the issuing state. In fact, despite being so small, they have been politically important: so much indeed, that the very first documents ever produced by any newborn state have been banknotes, passports and stamps -a pattern that continues even today. Why? In my paper I argue that stamps have been intensively used to promote an official imaginary, so setting the human and geographical differences between "us" and "them". This particularly regarding a) the core ethnic composition and b) the territorial extension of the nation. In some cases this is made in subtle or indirect ways, i.e. by presenting the members of the nation as having certain ethno-cultural features, or by making reference to places lying within the national territory. Yet in other cases, stamps openly show ideological/ propagandistic messages. They present "the other" (especially those labelled as enemies) in stereotypical terms; make references to co-ethnic populations abroad; or even advance territorial claims, for instance by means of maps, slogans or presenting geographical features as "national", even if they are located in another state's territory. In fact, the latter case has been very common. In this sense, stamps have been used to set official boundaries between "us" and "them". To prove this a random sample of stamps issued between 1910 and 2010 was analyzed.

JASPAL, Rusi

“Constructing Boundaries Between Iran and the 'Zionist Regime': An Analysis of the English-language Iranian Press”

Anti-Zionism constitutes an important ideological building block of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Although there is some social sciences work on this form of prejudice in Iran, it is largely theoretical; very little empirical research exists in this area. The present paper provides insight into the development of anti-Zionism in Iran, its strategic deployment in political discourse and the potential psychological functions of anti-Zionism at the level of the individual. The second half of the paper presents the results of an empirical discursive study of two state-sponsored English-language Iranian newspapers: The Tehran Times and Press TV. The English-language Iranian Press constitutes an important vehicle for disseminating social representations associated with the Islamic Republic. The corpus consisted of 200 articles selected using the keywords 'Israel', 'Zionist' and 'Zionism' on the websites of the two newspaper outlets. The study uses critical discourse analysis and draws upon tenets of social representations theory from social psychology. The following discourses are discussed: (i) "The Zionist regime as a terrorist entity"; (ii) "Anti-Zionism as a religious duty for the Muslim Ummah"; and (iii) "The Arab Spring marks the end of Israel". The study aims to understand how the Islamic Republic of Iran attempts to export its anti-Zionist ideology to the Western world, which is the primary intended audience of the English-language newspapers analysed. The paper elucidates the discursive mechanisms underlying the construction of social and symbolic boundaries between Iran and Israel and the discursive construction of Iranian identity vis-a-vis a 'threatening Other'.

JENKINS, Sarah

“Comes with the Territory: Space Identity and Conflict in Urban Kenya”

This paper addresses the themes of the conference by exploring the construction, maintenance, and potentially violent effect of intra-urban boundaries in Kenya which are simultaneously material and imagined. There is a growing body of literature which explores the resurgence of autochthony and the violent politics of belonging and exclusion spreading across the African continent since the 1990s. These territorialised identity narratives, embedded within social practices and discursive structures, underscore political struggles over land, power and resources and are most often explored at the macro-regional level. This paper, however, using Kenya as an illustrative case, argues that these discourses often extend into the urban arena in a distinct ruralisation of the city. Based on fieldwork conducted between October 2009 and August 2010, this paper examines the 2007 elections in Kenya and their violent aftermath. It begins by highlighting the ethnic segregation of informal settlements and the ethnicisation of space in urban Kenya. I suggest that these imagined geographies engender a construction of ethnic minorities as 'strangers' and 'guests' who are expected to conform to the political wishes of the 'host' community. The paper analyses the dynamics and nature of the election campaign and the violence which followed, arguing that the limited citizenship status imposed upon ethnic minorities served to legitimise violent exclusionary action. Thus, autochthonous discourses and territorialised identity narratives which persist at the macro-level are reproduced in the urban arena, and can be used as a framework for understanding ethnicised forms of violence in the city.

KATARIA, Shyamal

“Role of Refugee 'Collective Memory' in the Rise of Ethno-National Conflict: The Case of the Sikhs of Punjab”

Whilst appreciating that refugee groups are often the by-products or victims of aggressive forms of nationalism in their previous country of residence, this paper takes the rather provocative stance that 'the arrival of refugees into their host societies can contribute towards the subsequent rise of ethno-national conflict'. This is owed to refugees holding a collective memory of their departure which, when 'recalled' under apt contextual conditions, can act as both a stimuli for, and can be used to justify, territorialized expressions of their persecuted identity. In order to corroborate the above hypothesis a particular case study will be drawn upon. Situated within the context of South Asia, it will be contended that the arrival of Sikh partition refugees into truncated India in 1947, through their collective memory of their departure, served as a contributing factor towards the subsequent rise of the Sikh nationalist struggle for Khalistan which grew to fruition in the 1980s. A mixture of both qualitative (i.e. in the form of primary and secondary interview transcripts, party-political documents, pro-Khalistan paraphernalia etc.) and quantitative data (i.e. statistics on the demographic distribution of Sikh refugees across Punjab combined with datasets regarding militancy rates across the state etc.) will be deployed to help verify the argument put forward. This paper will be of relevance to the conference since it covers many of the themes listed, ranging from partition, secessionism, territorial claims, symbolic boundaries and identity formation etc.

KAUFMAN, Ilana

“Social Protest and Ideological-Political Rift: The 2011 Social Protest in the eyes of the Palestinian citizens of Israel”

The social protest which has erupted in Israel in Summer 2011, opens a new angle for examining the social and symbolic national boundaries that divides the Israeli citizenry. Palestinian citizens took part in the widespread grass root protest that emerged from the midst of the Jewish urban young middle class. The protesters were demanding, in the name of "the people", "social justice" and a reversal of the neo-liberal economic agenda, without specifying the national identity of "the people" and without awaiting the resolution of the national conflict or the end of the occupation of the Palestinians. This on-going research explores how Palestinian citizens who participated in the protest have dealt with a twofold dilemma: (a) the non-exclusion from "the people" of the Jewish Israeli settlers, who epitomize for them the obstacle to the solution of the national conflict; and (b) the avoidance of a direct reference to the socio-political border and unequal citizenship status which separates Jewish and Palestinian Israelis. The broad theoretical hypothesis is that the social struggle may signify a change in the conceptions of the Palestinian citizen's, with regard to the potential re-drawing of the internal boundaries along exclusively national lines. Questionnaires, composed of mainly open-ended questions are given to Arab participants asking for their view of the relationship between the protest and the hitherto main concerns for their collective claims for equality and social justice, and for resolving the Palestinian national quest.

KENNEDY, James and RIGA, Liliana

“Ernest Gellner and the search for a liberal escape from homogeneity: Drawing Bosnia's Borders in the Dayton Peace Accords”

This paper explores a defining tension at the core of Ernest Gellner's theorizing on nationalism. In his last works, Gellner prescriptively sought a liberal route from the nationalist homogeneity that his earlier work had so vividly analyzed. On the belief that 'cultural exuberance' does not necessarily require territory, he prescriptively sought to decouple culture from state; in conditions of modernity, Gellner thought, boundaries could become practically and symbolically less important, and territory could be 'defetishized.' We suggest that this hope is slightly wrong empirically-but it is wrong in a way that strengthens Gellner's analyses of the essentializing and territorializing logic of homogeneity. We explore this tension through the empirical lens of the post-ethnic cleansing border drawn in Bosnia. In 1995 US negotiators created Bosnia's Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL) dividing the Croat-Bosniak Federation from the Republika Srpska. Based on State Department documents released under the Freedom of Information Act, on interviews with policymakers who negotiated and drafted the Accords, and on housing/neighborhood damage and refugee displacement data, we examine how the new border was actually drawn, including the role of the Department of Defense's classified digital mapping technology. US policymakers had distinguished four types of territorial-neighborhood 'cleansing' that they believed were irreversible-'radical', 'selective', 'subtle', and 'soft'-and the IEBL was drawn around the logic of these dynamics. We argue that the creation of ethnically segregated neighborhoods, rooted in the very fetishization of territory that Gellner had hoped to escape, continues to be the distinguishing phenomenological feature of ethnic cleansing.

KISSANE, William

“The Irish Border As a Constitutional Presence”

The presence of identity claims in constitutions is much discussed in political theory. This paper extends that debate to the territorial claim in the 1937 constitution. Rather than adjudicating between rival nationalist and liberal positions it asks what presence really means and points to the 'presence' of the border in most constitutional documents since 1920, visible or not. It concludes with a methodological reflection on the issue of presence in the analysis of nationalist constitutions.

KMEC, Vladimir

“Immigrant Communities, Transnational Connections and Intercultural Encounter - Preserving Ethnic and National Boundaries Abroad?”

Upon the immigration into a new country, immigrants usually establish their own communities, mostly religious ones, based on their nationality and ethnicity. While immigrant communities are crucial for the preservation of cultural and linguistic traditions, they can also transport and nourish national and ethnic boundaries from their home countries. A typical consequence of this feature is the development of ethnic enclaves that transform ethno-national boundaries into socio-cultural ones in the host society. The paper investigates what factors can contribute to immigrants' community life moving from an ethnic enclave experience to one that is more open and engaged with local communities and the wider society. Whereas transnational links between immigrants' communities and their home countries have been viewed as the main reason for the perseverance of ethnic and national boundaries abroad, this research shows that the level of integration of immigrants as exemplified through various forms of intercultural interaction between immigrants and other groups in the host society is mainly responsible for breaking down ethno-national boundaries. The preservation of cultural and linguistic boundaries continues then alongside with affirmative interaction with the host society. The argument is grounded in a sociological and anthropological analysis, and supported through empirical ethnographic research that includes observations and in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted in migrant-based religious communities in Ireland and Germany. In the case of Ireland, German, Polish and Latvian communities as well as a multi-ethnic community have been observed. The German case study focuses on a Turkish community.

LEE, Byung-Ho

“Imagined Identity: The Processes of Ethnic Naming Customs and Name Changes in Southern Manchuria, 1749-1909”

This paper discusses the construction of ethnic self-identity underscoring its porous nature. While being largely affected by a genealogical mindset, it is not uncommon for Chinese to change their personal identity for their own benefits. Under the conquest dynasties, many Han people preferred to be registered as Khitans, Jurchens, Mongols, and Manchus to attain certain privileges and advantages reserved only for the ruling ethnicity. In opposition to the one-way sinicization thesis, historical reality shows a certain de-sinicization trend as well. In analyzing the data of the Eight Banner household registers during the Qing dynasty, I argue that individuals often lived in communities with multiple registered ethnicities and sometimes even switched identities at will. I demonstrate this process by investigating the naming patterns of more than 266,000 residents in southern Manchuria between 1749 and 1909, tracing changes in names from their 1.51 million individual registrations currently available. As banner people, on the one hand, these residents could legitimately claim to be Manchu. As descendants of migrants from North China, on the other hand, they could also claim to be Han. Under these circumstances, they could express their ethnic identity of preference, declaring themselves as a member of ruling minorities by de-sinicizing their original names and acculturating to their ruler's language and customs. The de-sinicizing trend continues into the present, as the PRC government began to institutionalize preferential treatments and subsidize non-Han minorities after the Cultural Revolution.

LOCHERY, Emma

“Embodying the Border: Somalis in Kenya”

This paper tells the story of the Kenya-Somali border, a site of decades-old conflict and in 2011, a full-scale invasion of Somali territory by Kenyan forces. The invasion follows immense refugee flows from Somalia into Kenya, contestation over refugee camps, kidnappings, raids from Somali territory into Kenya, and geopolitical concerns over Islamic militancy and the potential radicalization of Kenya's own Somali population. Varied sources report that there is a plan to create a buffer zone between Kenya and Somalia, a border area that can contain the consequences of war in Somalia. Despite this apparent focus on the territorial border, I argue that since the formation of the Kenyan state, conflict over the border between Kenya and Somalia has always been played out through the individual bodies of Somalis in Kenya. To understand the most recent wave of conflict over the border, we have to track the history not only of the physical border between Kenya and the former Somali state but also the conceptual borders institutionalized by Kenyan state bureaucrats, military personnel, and political elite. Using interviews carried out in Nairobi and northern Kenya, press articles, and a range of secondary literature linking border enforcement with identity politics, I trace how state actions have enforced and militarised this conceptual border, using techniques of screening, collective punishment, and identity documentation. In particular, I focus on violence in northern Kenya in the 1980s, a 1989 'citizenship verification' exercise, and raids on Somali areas of Nairobi in the last decade.

LOMAS, Matthias

“Social/ Symbolic Boundaries Among A Sample of Lebanese Youth”

How do social boundaries form, transgress and change? What is the interaction between physical and social boundaries? Social psychologists have argued that the mere naming of categories can create strong in-group and out-group perceptions among individuals' belief in their social identity (Tajfel, 1981). This can lead people to assume and even create character differences between differently labelled groups of people. This also applies to the national level. This paper argues that the elite acceptance of the finality of the physical borders of the Lebanese state has set in track the mechanisms for a strong association among Lebanese with the Lebanese nation and thus in effect the creation of a social boundary between them and other nations, which takes precedence over their sectarian identity (i.e. Sunni, Shia, Christian etc.). As a result of elite acceptance of Lebanon's final physical borders, politicians and the education system began and continue to reinforce the idea of a Lebanese nation, thus affecting the imaginings of ordinary Lebanese.

In order to substantiate this argument I carried out primary research and more specifically interviews of 42 Lebanese youth (through detailed questionnaires and focus groups) of a diverse ethnic, geographic and social-economic background. Having posed open-ended questions such as: 'Would you ever want Lebanon to split into more than one country?' or 'Would you ever want Lebanon or part of Lebanon to join another country?', I then operationalized the results identifying certain patterns among Lebanese youth in terms of boundary perceptions and national identity.

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LOMAS, Matthias (CONTINUED)

My sample, although small, points to a reasonable hypothesis worthy of further research. To test this hypothesis further it would be especially interesting to see if there is a difference in perceptions between interview groups that are ethnically heterogeneous with those that are homogenous as experiments have shown that ethnic groups tend to be more suspicious of other groups when interviewed separately.

MANDELIC, Damjan

“Myth, History and Political Realism: Framing the Slovene-Croatian Border Dispute”

The attainment of independent statehood for Slovenia and Croatia has led to the emergence of an unresolved border dispute, one which has produced some comic (even bizarre) outcomes (border folklore). This paper argues that focusing solely on the role of political elites and the ways they seek to exploit the conflict for their own political games provides only a partial explanation for the origins, causes and protraction of this dispute. Instead it proposes an alternative explanation that takes into account historical, geographical, cultural and multi-ethnic circumstances (of the ex Austro-Hungarian empire and the Northern Adriatic context) in order to isolate key elements beyond current (national-political but also national-historical) interpretations. More specifically this paper focuses on nationalistic discourse that accompanies the conflict and socio-historical circumstances that have made this discourse possible- this includes an attempt to provide understanding of complex interactions between symbolic representations of the border, dialectics between physical and psychological boundaries and popular memories through an ethno-symbolic prism. This paper adopts qualitative methodology. More specifically it carries out sophisticated discourse analysis of a single case study through the framing of political statements and other primary materials and examines secondary materials in order to identify socio-historical circumstances that have allowed this discourse to emerge. The aim is to provide systematic analysis of the ways nationalism is framed in this discourse. Although this is a single case study analysis, the findings are aimed at being generalizable, and the paper will conclude with their potential applicability in other similar cases.

MANNING, Julian

“The Manifestation of a Symbolic Ethnic Boundary Through Festival Performance in a Japanese Town”

The production of festival performances has not only helped to define the boundaries that separate the newcomers from the established community in the Japanese town of Oizumi, Gunma Prefecture, but also reflect and structure relationships within and between the different ethnic groups living there. The two communities, Brazilian and Japanese, have developed separate festival performances since 2002 that are performed concurrently, but employ very different symbols of cultural identity. However, from the early 1990s until 2001, the town's festival included performances by both communities. The contention is that through an analysis of the development of these festival activities the discourses underlying the social processes of identity construction and their relationships to the (re)production of the social space and the boundaries that define it in Oizumi are laid open. This account examines cultural activities among migrant and host communities to understand how they are (re) producing discourses of identity and belonging within the specific locations in which social life is conducted and how in the context of the festival, these cultural performances serve to physically manifest the discursive boundary that have come to separate the two ethnic communities living in the town. This analysis helps provide a more nuanced understanding of how and why certain groups become marginalized, and under what conditions the successful integration of newcomer groups might be achieved. The development of separate summer festival performances in Oizumi clearly illustrates how the distinct cultural groups in the town have come to relate to each other.

MARTIN, Philip

“Sharing Power After Deadly Conflict: Territorial Decentralization and Segmental Autonomy”

This essay investigates one key dimension of the settlement process - the way combatants agree to share and divide power within state institutions once the fighting stops. Using a new dataset of 104 recently concluded peace agreements from the last two decades, building on data from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program, power-sharing institutions are empirically evaluated in terms of five key dimensions - executive level coalitions, military pacts, territorial decentralization, minority veto powers, and legislative proportionality. The statistical models reveal that, contrary to the prevalent view that elite power-sharing pacts are key components to post-conflict stability, executive power-sharing has no positive effect on peace agreement durability, and may even have a negative impact. Instead, institutional options which separate belligerent parties and preserve their autonomy, such as territorial power-sharing and proportionality in the military forces, are the most significant predictors of settlement success. Case studies of peace processes in Indonesia, Cote D'Ivoire, and Liberia are used to substantiate the analysis and address possible counter-explanations. The paper is of relevance to the study of conflict resolution in divided societies, studies of partition and regional autonomy, and the resolution of secessionist insurgencies.

MAY, Anthony

“How FIFA Rulings on Citizenship Have Affected the Notion of Northern Irish Territorial Integrity”

Under the terms of the Good Friday agreement, any person born on the island of Ireland is entitled to Irish citizenship. This has had a powerful effect upon sport in Northern Ireland; footballers with a Nationalist background are claiming Irish citizenship and deserting the Northern Irish national team, preferring to play for the Republic of Ireland instead because they see the Republic as representative of their cultural heritage. The governing body for Northern Irish football challenged the right of Northern Irish footballers to choose their nationality, and lost. Football's governing body, FIFA, have confirmed that citizenship, rather than place of birth, is the criteria through which players qualify for a national team. Unionists in Northern Ireland are concerned that the ruling is a challenge to their nation, and that it represents a step towards reunification because territorial boundaries in Ireland have been deemed insignificant by a globally powerful body. My paper will argue that this has served to make the political border between Northern Ireland and the Republic less important, because Northern Irish men and women can now represent the Republic if they wish to without needing to move south. They can also support members of their own communities without compromising their preference for a united Ireland. Through football, Nationalists in the north of Ireland can feel culturally unified with the Republic. FIFA's ruling is that citizenship is the key factor in determining national identity; the Irish border has been deemed legally irrelevant.

McMAHON, Simon

“Symbolic Politics of Immigrant Identity: Identities, Values and Perceptions of Romanian Migrants in Italian and Spanish Parliamentary Debates”

The Romanian migrant population has grown rapidly in Italy and Spain over the last two decades. I ask how this population has been perceived in these distinct national contexts and how an identity of Romanian nationals has been negotiated and legitimated in politics. Through a framing analysis of parliamentary debates, situated in a contextual analysis of the developing socio-political setting, I illustrate very different debates in each country. This distinction in the symbolic politics that negotiate the boundaries defining Romanian nationality as a social identity is understood as the product of the respective political opportunity contexts and wider frameworks of identity, meaning and values which influence the immigration debate in these countries. Whereas in Italy this has encouraged the securitization of Romanian immigrants as invading 'Others', in Spain debate has served as a tool for underlining the democratic and tolerant values and norms of the nation in the post-fascist era.

MICHLIC, Joanna

“Symbolic Categorization of Dedicated Christian Polish Rescuers as Outcasts, and its Everyday Practices in Polish Society During and After the Second World War”

It is recognized that anti-Jewish prejudices played an important role in the formation of modern Polish national identity and nationalism. Starting in the late nineteenth century, anti-Semitic attitudes and practices were not only directed against members of the Polish Jewish minority, but also against those members of the ethnic Polish community who the ethno-nationalists symbolically categorized as "Jews," "Jewish uncles," and "Jewish saviors". This paper considers the history of symbolic categorization of dedicated Christian Polish rescuers as "Jews," during the Second World War and its aftermath, by members of their local communities who disapproved of their rescue activities, arguing that the rescuing of Jews "served against Polish interest." It focuses on the discussion of emotional communications and everyday practices that categorized ethnic Polish rescuers as "Jews" "Jewish uncles" and "Jewish aunts," and the impact of these categorizations on the rescuers' sense of national belonging. My main argument is that the dedicated rescuers constituted a rather atypical cohort within Polish society, and for that reason were marked as outcasts within their own communities, or in extreme cases, within their own families. By studying the everyday manifestations of the symbolic exclusion of the rescuers, we learn a great deal about the making of symbolic boundaries within society in which ethno-nationalists employ anti-minority prejudice in discourse about national belonging. We also learn a great deal how these symbolic boundaries impact destructively on humanitarian action in time of war and genocide.

MOCK, Steven

“Mapping the Emotional Boundaries of the Nation: the Application of Cognitive-Affective Mapping (CAM) Methodology to the Study of National identity”

Individuals would not be driven to sacrifice, kill or die for their nation if it did not arouse powerful feelings. Yet emotion is rarely examined directly in the study of nationalism, not because it is judged to be unimportant, but because it is generally presumed to be an abstract if not mystical aspect of the human condition that is therefore beyond the reach of empirical analysis. There is no reason why this should be so. Emotions are mental states, the products of brain functions. Their complexity is not a reason to neglect this pivotal aspect of national identity and by implication dismiss it to the realm of the irrational and unfathomable. The purpose of this paper is to introduce the methodology of cognitive-affective mapping (CAM), under development at the University of Waterloo for use in psychology and cognitive science, and explore its potential for addressing problems in the study of social identity constructs such as the nation. A rudimentary language for tracking mental representations and the connections between them, its uses include: 1) a means of operationalizing (and potentially even quantifying) the emotional valence associated with the kinds of myths, symbols, rituals, narratives and values that John Armstrong described as the "symbolic border guards" of national identity; 2) a tool for negotiation and resolution of ideational conflicts driven by mutual misunderstanding between ethnic groups; and, 3) an approach to modelling the crucial relationship between the ethnic or national group as an emergent construct and the individual minds that constitute it.

MURO, Diego

“Sorry, We Are Closed. The End of ETA's Violent Campaign and Its Impact on Basque Secessionism”

ETA declared the 'definitive cessation' of its activities on 20 October 2011. 50 years of political violence produced well over 800 killings, a scattered prison population and deep cleavages in Basque society. It has often been argued that violence was counter-productive and that the political goal of 'separatism' had been greatly de-legitimised. What is going to be the impact of the end of the terrorist campaign on secessionism? Does the cessation of hostilities create new costs and opportunities? Does it bring the political independence of the Basque homeland any closer? Or does it mean that the Spanish state has finally completed its nation-building process? The paper will be structured into three parts and will argue that the cessation of all armed activities has renewed the legitimacy and impetus of the secessionist agenda. First, the paper will identify the reasons for the weakening of radical Basque nationalism, from the Law of Political Parties (2003) to the bombing of Madrid's international airport (2006). The analysis of the counter-terrorist policy will focus on both the electoral decline of radical parties as well as the security policies pursued by Spain and France. Second, the study will examine the social and political support for secessionism and it will argue that, whereas public opinion about the secessionist 'ends' has been relatively stable, opposition to violent 'means' has surged in recent years. Indeed, there is evidence that successive ETA ceasefires have created clear electoral gains for radical Basque nationalism. Third, the paper will argue that the end of ETA has created a new political situation that has altered the repertoire of actions available to political actors. Secessionist parties will make electoral gains if they are able to sort out the difficult issues of disarmament, prisoners and reconciliation.

NAGLE, Shane

“Religion and Confessional Identity as National Boundary in National Historical Narratives: Ireland and Germany Compared”

This paper will explore the theme of "boundary formation, transgression, and change" by examining the significance of historical narratives for defining the nation and its boundaries. It will be based on a comparison of two particular cases: Ireland and Germany. Specifically, it will address the significance of the religious or confessional division for definitions of the nation in nineteenth and early twentieth century national historical narratives. The paper argues that historians in both contexts dealt with religion in the nation's history in a way that exerted a powerful effect, imbuing each national idea with a potentially exclusivist character. This particularity was closely tied to "ethnic" identity, and in each case was grounded in modern representations of ethno-religious conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, e.g. The Irish Confederate Wars of the 1640's and the Thirty Years' War. This paper will show that in the contexts of Ireland and Germany, it was the particular historical significance attributed to religious/confessional identity, rather than religious doctrine or specific beliefs in themselves; that made religion such a powerful boundary marker. The evidence for the argument will be drawn from a selection of especially representative and influential Irish and German narrative historical works of this period that dealt in detail with the importance of the religious/confessional division to the nation's history. The argument will in addition to demonstrating the specific importance of religion/confessional identity for boundary-making, also aim to illustrate more broadly the crucial importance of historical and historiographical controversies to boundary-formation within nations, and the benefits of a comparative historical approach.

ORAL, Didem

“Conscientious Objection in Turkey: Questioning Symbolic Boundaries within the Nation State”

Compulsory military service forms an intrinsic part of state-defined Turkish national identity. The boundary that is created between heterosexual, healthy men who are obliged to undertake this service and the rest of the population forms the core definition of a "proper" "secular" citizen. Conscientious objectors (something that is not defined in Turkish law) challenge these boundaries and thereby threaten the discursive formation of the nation. This paper will not only deal with the identities of the objectors and their reasons for refusing to undertake military service but also with the strategies the state employs against those who challenge it. In the course of this research I interviewed objectors who were homosexual, anarchist, Kurd, feminist or devoted Muslims, all of whom did not see themselves as part of a movement of objectors engaged in re-defining the state-drawn boundaries. But while the challenges to these boundaries are very heterogeneous, the state's response has been more or less uniform. Some are given anti-social behaviour disorder reports making it difficult for them to find a job whereas others become trapped in a vicious cycle that takes them from a military unit into a military trial and then a military jail. A fate the ECHR in a 2006 judgement called "civil death". For many years this issue has not been discussed publicly, but recent days have seen the start of a debate about whether some (religious) conscientious objection should be legalized which will produce in itself another social boundary in the "secular" Turkish nation state.

PASQUETTI, Silvia

“Morality Talks and National Encounters across the Green Line: Towards a Relational Approach to Palestinians under Israeli Rule”

Legal status is a powerful axis of social stratification among Palestinians under Israeli rule. Yet, the existing literature has inadequately addressed the symbolic and social relations between Palestinians across legal statuses. Based on a fourteen-month ethnography within and across a West Bank refugee camp and an Israeli "mixed" city, this article develops a relational approach to Palestinians of the West Bank and Palestinian citizens of Israel. Specifically, it explores how Palestinian women from the West Bank, who have moved to the Israeli town of Lod as a result of marriage, perceive and relate to other Palestinians in the town. Three themes emerge from my conversations with these women: 1) perceptions of moral and political superiority over other Palestinians in Lod; 2) disorientation in the face of individualism and the presence of drugs; 3) and disagreement with their husbands and in-laws about the management of the legal and spatial restrictions imposed by the state. The relevance of this paper for the study of boundaries is threefold. First, it shows how distinct regimes of legal rule affect ethno-national group formation among poor and stigmatized populations. Second, it gives theoretical relevance to everyday practices of adaptation to state legal and spatial restrictions in the production of symbolic and social relations among different segments of an ethno-national collectivity. Third, it draws attention to ethnography as a methodology well-suited to exploring the link between citizenship rules imposed from above and micro-processes of boundary-making on the ground.

PATRICIO, Marta

“Living in the Mugano - The Partitioned Ndau in the Mozambique-Zimbabwe Borderland”

The international border that separates Zimbabwe and Mozambique runs through the Ndau-speaking area. The Ndau belong to the Shona-Caranga language group, which have lived in the ancient Zimbabwe plateau. In today's Mozambique, Ndau are located in a horizontal central strip of the country, between the Save and Buzi rivers. When the Mozambique-Zimbabwe international border was established, did it have significant impact among Ndau borderland communities? And what is their current perception about it? Are their ethnic ties stronger than nationality? This paper is a case-study that contributes to prove the porosity of African borders by analyzing the 'partitioned' Ndau's cross-border daily practices and the meaning of the Mozambique-Zimbabwe border to them. Because it draws on original empirical research among the Ndau on the Mozambican side of the border, it will also shed light on representations from Ndau social actors on the Mozambican side of the border about Ndau 'on the other side', considering that these practices and representations are a fundamental part of their own identity process. It also relates the evolution of the Ndau identity with the historical and political development of Zimbabwe and Mozambique and includes some reflections on African borderland identities. This paper is completely based on the concepts of 'nationalism', 'ethnicity' and 'boundaries', combining the perspectives of political science with political anthropology. It contains some original data, gathered during fieldwork in Africa, and brings them to the discussion, which represents an important contribution to this conference' debate.

PFOSER, Alena

“Between Russia and Estonia: Competing Narratives of Place in a New Borderland”

The Russian-Estonian border has undergone radical changes in the past two decades - from an integrated borderland between two Soviet republics to a border between nation-states and the new EU external border. Up to the present day it is a discursive battlefield that reflects the difficult relations between Russia and Estonia after the restoration of Estonia's independence. While much research has concentrated on antagonistic projects of identity politics and state-building from a top-down perspective, this paper will ask how people living in the borderland make sense of the changes and of the place they live in. On the basis of life-story interviews conducted during several months of fieldwork in the border towns Narva and Ivangorod, I will show that rather than drawing upon exclusively national categories of Estonian-ness and Russian-ness, there are multiple forms of narrating place and drawing symbolic boundaries in the borderland. I will discuss, among others, competing versions of multiculturalism (Estonian and Soviet) which are founded in selective memories of pre-Soviet and Soviet pasts. These narratives of multiculturalism and heterogeneity can be seen as ways of engaging with (and countering) national discourses. Despite their differences they have in common that they are located literally and symbolically on the margins of the state as they don't fit into antagonistic projects of nation-building.

POKARIER, Christopher

“The Mundane Boundaries of Economic Nationalism”

Nationalism studies have provided us with good understandings of why boundaries matter as concept: their imagining is part of the conceptualization of national group particularity and its host territory. Inquiry is still needed into why national boundaries, in their modern technically complex and often virtual form, are taken seriously in practice. For the formulation and enforcement of such precise borders is costly. Why do valuable national resources get redirected from individual or other collective goods to the often technical and laborious tasks of comprehensive specification of national interests and consequent boundary design and enforcement? What makes some cross-border 'risks' politically salient and not others? Who gains? Who loses? The costs of national border regimes fall both upon the state, hence taxpayers, and upon all those private entities subject to the associated compliance and opportunity costs, or to co-option in border enforcement. The ideational fact of national boundaries does not automatically give rise to the material expense of border regimes. Over time there is often disconnect between narratives of national interest and variation in openness or practical boundary enforcement. Hence we need a political economy of the origins and change of national borders. This paper proposes an analytics of the political economy of apparently 'mundane boundaries', drawing on the author's extensive previous studies of the politics of foreign investment regulation in Australia, Japan and beyond. It tests the interrelationship between symbolic representations of national interest, private economic interests, and changing perceptions of risk, at work through the mechanisms of domestic politics.

REDI, Carlotta

“Economic and Ethnic Boundaries According to Lega Nord Policies”

The aim of this abstract is to deal with the issue of the Conference through the prism of perspectives and demands made by the Lega Nord party since 90's. The peculiarity of this party formation, representing a particularly lively stakeholder who has moved within the political spectrum as federalist, autonomist or separatist movement, is related to the particular category of nationalism that is referred to. In fact, this party is not based in an area that has historic claims to nationhood. Instead, the Lega has attempted to invent an ethnicity for the North of Italy (or 'Padania') in order to justify its political claims for the protection of the economic interests of the region. 'Padania' has never 'existed' as an administrative or political unit but the LN has attempted to construct a geography and a history in order to justify its territorial and political claims. In this paper I am going to trace the Lega Nord's evolution, from its demands for cultural autonomy, through the secessionist hypothesis, to exclusionist ethno regional populism. The creation of the Lega Nord coincided with a shift from the politics of dialect to that of ethnicity and especially economics: the idea of an hardening of boundaries is designed in a dual perspective, on one hand looking inside at the regional boundaries as frontiers of an economic nationalism, on the other hand looking outside at the European boundaries as borders of an ethnic nationalism.

REESKENS, Tim

“For the Love of God and Love of the Country. Disentangling the Relation between Religious and National Identities”

Contemporary Europe is characterized by religious pluralism, as certain nation-states are more secularized (France, Belgium) than others (Poland, Italy), and as religious traditions vary strongly (Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox belief). Despite a strong trend in declining religiosity, Europe is nevertheless characterized by both a religious and cultural veil. Due to an increasing immigrant influx, Europeans have the feeling that their national identity is threatened while simultaneously, expressions of a Christian tradition are often endorsed in politicized debates, for instance about the prominence of the Judo-Christian inspiration in an enlarged European Union. While research on the relation between religious and national identity is flourishing in the US (Jacobs & Theiss-Morse, 2011), questions about how religious identity and attachment to the nation-state are related are absent across the Atlantic. The aim of this manuscript is to unravel the link between religious and national identities in the face of varying societal contexts. In order to disentangle this complex relationship, various data sources will be analyzed to triangulate the results. First of all, the 1995 and 2003 National Identity waves of the International Survey Program are analyzed. Secondly, these results are confronted with the 2008 wave of the European Values Study. The use of these cross-national datasets enables us not only to identify the association between religious and national identities across a vast set of European nation-states and time-points, but also to assess whether the strength of this association depends upon the cultural and religious national context.

REPECKAITE, Daiva

“Forced Multiculturalism in the neighbourhood: Ethnic Privilege and Boundary-Making in South Tel Aviv”

Russian-speakers in Israel are often stereotyped as politically passive, extremely conservative and right-wing. Upon mass arrival in Israel, starting from early 90s, ethnic migrants from Former Soviet Union have faced downward social mobility and undervaluing of their qualifications. Due to their precarious situation, they often settled in disadvantaged areas, such as South Tel Aviv, where they compete with guest-workers and asylum-seekers for precarious jobs and accommodation. In the process of identity formation, these encounters are crucial, as they prompt more emphasis on ethnic privilege, right to the state and the city. The argument is based on my eight-months-long fieldwork in Israel, which consisted of 48 interviews and participant observation. In my PhD thesis, I show how the perceived pressure from everyday encounters in a multicultural space shape the informants' definitions of citizenship and belonging, and how this differs from those of Russian-speakers not living in multicultural neighbourhoods. On the other hand, Russian-speakers communicate with non-citizens as clients and neighbours, happily include non-Jewish Moldovan guest-workers in their circles, thus, boundaries prove to be porous. These processes are an excellent example of the creation and crossing of symbolic boundaries and the process of identity formation - one of the topics of this conference.

RHEE, Young Ju

“The Politics of Multiple Belonging: Voting Rights for Denizens and Overseas Koreans in South Korea ”

This paper examines how citizenship and belonging in South Korea are being re-shaped through the inclusion of denizens and dual citizens in its political process. To do this, this paper explores three major legislative reforms related to voting rights. The Public Official Election Act of 2005 allows foreigners meeting certain legal requirements to vote at local polls. Also, the 2008 revisions to citizenship legislation allow dual citizenship, and beginning in 2012, 2.5 million overseas Koreans will be eligible to vote in the parliamentary and presidential elections. This topic aptly addresses the conference question on legal boundaries and citizenship rules. Close exploration of the voting rights raises the central question as to whether such rights strengthen or undermine South Korea as a representative democracy. The inclusion of foreign residents in the local elections brings attention to the idea of 'stakeholdership', and this paper considers whether this challenges the ethnic conception of South Korean citizenship which has thus far predominated. The reasons for South Korean state's interest in enacting these laws are also closely examined, through discussing the economic potentials of including overseas Koreans into its ethnically-nation, as well as addresses the possible threat such a broadened electorate and the overseas Koreans' involvement in homeland politics can pose to South Korea's national security. This paper also discusses how the foreign residents and overseas Koreans perceive and the extent they practice such voting rights. These examinations will highlight the disjuncture between citizenship as an ideal conceived in law or status and how it is practiced by its state, citizens, and denizens in South Korea.

ROSE-GREENLAND, Fiona

“The Parthenon Marbles in the British Cultural Nation: Imitation and boundaries”

Studies of nationalism place difference, or nemesis, at the core of national self-fashioning (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983; Smith 1986). Early writers on nation-state groups recognized the complement to difference as mimesis, from the Greek word for imitation (Tarde 1903). These concepts underpin the dual nature of nationalism: a nation-state must both cultivate a singular identity that assures its members of the uniqueness of their national group, and ensure that its nationalistic symbols and practices are not so different from other nations' as to appear illegitimate or incomprehensible. Both aspects of the identity-formation process require boundary creation and maintenance (Lamont 1999). In this paper, the appropriation and contested meaning of the Parthenon marbles in the British Museum is understood as a key example of mimetic nationalism. The central question is this: How was it possible for an object produced by non-British artisans in a non-British locale to cross the foreign boundary and become an icon of the "British nation"? My data are drawn from 19th century government documents and public newspapers, as well as popular reproductions of the Parthenon marbles through postcards, cartoons, commemorative coins, and casts. I argue that political and cultural elites encouraged bonds between living Britons and the sculpted Greeks as part of a broader project of constructing a new cultural nation, one based on three chief principles: nature, culture, and nation. The first two were born of neo-classicism, the third of the political sphere.

ROSIE, Michael

“A' the Bairns o' Adam? The Ethnic Boundaries of Scottish National Identity”

There has been considerable academic attention in recent years to the social and political role national identities have in contemporary Scotland. The ubiquity of Scottish identity - as compared to a declining sense of Britishness - is a key social context for the continued salience of the 'Scottish Question' in UK constitutional politics. A now considerable body of research suggests that Scottishness primarily rests upon 'territorial' or 'civic' markers, in particular where people were born and where they live. Thus there is a very high likelihood that someone born, raised and currently living in Scotland will not only self-identify as Scottish, but be accepted as Scottish by others. But what limits are there to the apparently 'inclusive' nature of Scottishness? This paper will review the existing evidence relating to two potentially problematic minorities - those born in England, and those from 'visible' Black and Minority Ethnic backgrounds. To what extent can people from such backgrounds successfully claim to be Scottish? What qualifications or limits, if any, might be placed on such claims? The paper will explore, through the most recently available large scale social surveys, the extent to which persons are excluded from Scottishness on the grounds of their English birthplace/accents and through their 'visible' ethnicity. It concludes by exploring what kinds of people are more or less likely to adopt 'exclusionary' versions of Scottishness, and the likely consequences this might have for the future of multi-ethnic Scotland.

SARDELIC, Julija

“Symbolic Boundaries Between Majorities and Minorities in Post-Socialist Slovenia and Croatia: A Comparative Study of the Position of Roma Before and After the Disintegration of Yugoslavia”

With the proposed paper, I aim to show how the position of Roma communities living near the Croatian-Slovenian border was affected when this border became an international one. I would like to focus especially on the position of two Roma communities - Orehovica in Croatia and Kamenci in Slovenia - whose members I interviewed while conducting field research. On the basis of these interviews, I would firstly like to contest the widespread belief among many scholars that the position of Roma in the former Yugoslavia deteriorated after the collapse of socialism, and that the Yugoslav socialist system made the utmost efforts to integrate Roma as an ethnic group into the wider society in comparison with other socialist states. I would then like to argue that such conclusions cannot be drawn for socialist Yugoslavia as a whole, and that regional specifics have to be taken into account. To begin with, the position of Roma was insufficiently researched in the Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Slovenia, most probably because the percentage of Roma population was the lowest in these two republics according to the census. Furthermore, on the basis of my field research, I draw the conclusion that the revival of nationalist politics in Croatia and Slovenia did not mark the creation of symbolic boundaries between the majority populations and Roma communities, but rather introduced new features to pre-existing boundaries. Additionally, I discuss the specific features of the situation of Roma communities on both sides of the new international border.

SEGAL, Hilah

“Border and Space in Rendille Land- The Rendille Approach Toward Local and National Borders”

The Rendille are ethnic groups living in the savannah region of Northern Kenya. These pastoralist groups experienced the impact of British colonization and its rule, from the start of the nineteenth century, with far reaching political and cultural implications on local articulations of space, community and autonomy. The nation-state of Kenya established at the end of colonialism preserved colonial borders and consequently led to the preservation of British notions of borders, land ownership, and sovereignty in the postcolonial nation-state of Kenya. The imposed notion of borders conveyed a broad set of assumptions about political entities, communities and identities. My research aims to understand how the Rendille experienced these changes, and how local views of borders have either conflicted with or evolved to adapt the notion of borders represented by colonial and postcolonial state of Kenya. My paper will first examine local notions of borders and the way they are expressed in their daily life. I would examine the broadly local definition in order to understand political, cultural and social notions of divisions of space in the public and private spheres of these local communities and ultimately extending to an investigation of local conceptions of political borders of the Kenyan state. The ultimate goal is to use the notion of borders to investigate how these local groups in Kenya have identified with, resisted, or circumvented their sense of identification and belonging in the Kenya national identity.

SHARP, Thomas

“Binaries of Nation: Minority Discourses and the Internet”

In 1961 the population of British Southern Cameroon, then a U.N. Trust Territory, voted to achieve independence by uniting with the former French Cameroun. Since that time an aggressive policy of centralisation by subsequent Francophone-dominated governments has resulted in a feeling of marginalisation amongst many in the minority Anglophone community. The postcolonial history of Southern Cameroon has subsequently been presented by certain Anglophone political organisations as one of victimhood at the hands of a repressive and Jacobin Francophone state, a narrative that has in recent years been used to justify demands for secession. These claims emphasise the cultural and political uniqueness of the Anglophone community and have largely found voice on the internet, a medium that appears as an ideal space from which to expose and transcend the hegemonic and boundary-making practices of authoritarian nation-states. This paper, however, will question the assumption that sub-national minority claims made against such states on the internet are inherently counter-hegemonic and democratic. Such an assumption results from a normative concept of the nation-state that constructs over-simplistic analytical binaries, opposing a homogenising statist discourse to a minority discourse of alterity that ineluctably interrogates the political rationality of nation-building. As will be demonstrated, this risks overlooking the fact that minority claims often contain their own suppressions of difference and can actually reinforce boundary-making practices, a problem that is particularly acute when such claims are made on the internet, since a normative concept of the bounded and sovereign nation posits the internet as its liminal 'other'.

SHELEF, Nadav

“Territory, Partition, and Conflict”

A growing literature in international relations and comparative politics explores the role of territory in conflict and investigates the ability of territorial partitions to resolve international and ethnic civil wars. This recent literature is noteworthy for moving beyond the conventional case-study approaches to formulate (and test) generalizable propositions about the relationship between territorial partition and conflict. While the contribution of this comparative partitions literature is invaluable, it reaches contradictory conclusions. For example, studies using virtually the same data have reached diametrically opposed conclusions about the link between partitions and the resolution of civil wars (c.f., Sambanis 2000 and Chapman and Roeder 2007). This paper argues that the areas of empirical disagreement stem from relying on assumptions about the role of territory that stem from the international relations literature, but that are no longer accepted by scholars of ethnicity and nationalism. Specifically, updating the assumptions used by studies of partition and conflict to reflect the possibilities that territory may have value in its own right, that notions of homeland can vary over time, and that there may be important domestic variation in how the homeland is defined, can resolve disagreements that characterize research on partitions by identifying a theoretically coherent universe of cases and by directing us to include variables that capture the role of domestic politics in redefining homelands. The paper demonstrates the benefits in the analysis of a novel dataset of partitions that results from the proposed theoretical turn.

SKEY, Michael

“Boundaries and Belonging: Dominant Ethnicity and the Place of the Nation in an Uncertain World”

Established ways of theorising place and identity have been subject to increasing scrutiny as a result of intensifying global flows. In this paper, I look to (re)place the nation at the heart of these debates, by examining its on-going significance, as a bounded, familiar and 'homely' space, for those established national groups, who articulate a more secure sense of belonging and entitlement. In the first section, a number of key themes in the wider literature on place and identity are identified and applied to the nation. In the second, I draw on data from a series of interviews with members of the Anglo-white majority in England, relating to both their own and others mobility. Debates around immigration demonstrate the importance of territorial limits in being able to effectively identify and then manage potential threats to the nation. Conversely, when discussing their experiences of travel, the nation is often seen to represent a secure base from which to proceed from and, crucially, return to.

SOTIRIU, Sabrina

“Reacting to an Ideological Other: Why Secessionism in Scotland is Left-Wing and in Flanders, Right-Wing ”

Secessionist movements have been found historically on both sides of the political spectrum, and sometimes have tried to stay out of politics completely, but because of the rise of partisan politics, secessionism has become politicized. Variations in Western European secessionism have been noticed, and as such, found explanations I have deemed insufficient, incomplete or too narrow chronologically. In my paper I test the hypothesis that secessionism varies on the political spectrum because it has been consolidated politically against ideological Others or political enemies (in Belgium against the Wallonian Socialist, and in Scotland against Thatcher's Conservatives). I do this methodologically through process tracing and theoretically by looking at the consolidation of nationalist parties in Belgium and Scotland through reactive nationalism. Specifically I analyze the discourse that nationalist party members/leaders used in justifying their ideological positioning in the 1970s and 1980s in propaganda materials, speeches and archival documents, and how this choice of ideological positioning was reflected or interpreted in newspapers (for editorials and opinions on how these partisan consolidations were perceived by journalists and members of those communities, if at all). Belgium and Spain were chosen as case studies for this research because of the ideological variation between their secessionist movements (as illustrated by the far-right Vlaams Blok/Belang in the former and the social-democratic Scottish National Party in the latter) and by the fact that the politicization of their secessionist movements occurred in comparable time frames (both political parties broke electoral ground in the 1970s).

STONEHOUSE, Aidan

“All this is Buganda Kingdom': Secession, Conflict and Cultural Boundaries in Uganda”

In September 2009 widespread riots erupted in the Ugandan capital, Kampala, and elsewhere across the country's central region known as Buganda Kingdom. The underlying cause of the unrest, which claimed several lives and resulted in severe destruction, was the proposed shift of Buganda's symbolic cultural boundaries. This paper presents doctoral research which addresses the history of the extension and contraction of 'ethnic' boundaries within Buganda, often understood within Uganda as a "nation" within a nation (Jooga, 1993). While Buganda's borders with neighbouring areas embody no political divide, the tenacity with which the kingdom maintains its cultural or 'ethnic' frontiers belies their lack of physical distinction and emphasises their importance to Uganda's largest ethnic group. In particular, the paper focuses on communities of the areas of Bugerere and Buruli in north-east Buganda who are currently seeking a redrawing of the kingdom's 'ethnic' borders in order to enable them to secede from the kingdom's cultural sphere and formalise their own 'cultural community'. Utilising oral histories, indigenous language newspapers and archival material attained through fieldwork within Uganda the paper argues that the politicisation of Buganda's boundaries since the restoration of the kingdom in 1993 has encouraged competing historical narratives intended to add substance to symbolic representations of the legitimate dividing line between communities. By analysing the charged nature of cultural boundaries within Buganda the paper addresses the themes of the conference by considering secessionism and symbolic border construction.

SUTHERLAND, Claire

“Borders of Belonging: Migration Museums as Nation-Building Sites”

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, a series of museums of emigration and immigration have opened across Europe (notably in Germany, Spain, Italy and France), which can be taken as indicative of widening public engagement with questions of national identity and belonging. Museums have a key role to play in both shaping and reflecting public discourse in this eminently contested, but ultimately underrepresented area of national memory and public policy. The United Kingdom has also seen a range of privately and publicly funded initiatives across the museum sector, aimed at highlighting Britain's contemporary cultural diversity and, to a lesser extent, the history of immigration to the UK. There are also calls for a national museum of migration, spearheaded by former immigration minister Barbara Roche. Elsewhere, the UK Border Agency Museum at the National Maritime Museum in Liverpool has recently been tasked with integrating the theme of immigration control into its permanent exhibition. As the only UK museum - outside of regimental museums - to be fully funded by a government ministry, the way in which this exhibit engages with both the historical and public policy facets of migration offers valuable insights into how this topic is addressed and officially presented for public consumption. At the same time, the recently reorganised and renamed Borders Agency highlights the common theme its museum shares with continental European counterparts: all help construct borders of national belonging. The first section of the article provides a comparative overview of these museums in order to trace how they depict both legislative borders to belonging and physical border controls. In the second section, these narratives are situated within the immediate context of the museum sites themselves, leading on to a case study of the UK Border Agency exhibition in section three.

TERRIER, Jean

“Theorizing Boundaries-Perspectives from the History of Social and Political Thought”

In recent years, there has been a growing critique of some of the core concepts of the social sciences. For instance, political philosophers have built upon Arendt's skeptical reflections on "the social"; historians have declared social history to be a thing of the past (Joyce, Cabrera); cultural anthropologists have questioned the usefulness of the concept of culture (Clifford, Bensa); among sociologists, Bruno Latour has advocated a replacement of the "sociology of the social" with a "sociology of associations". Common to these criticisms is the suspicion that the social sciences typically make problematic assumptions, in particular concerning: 1) social homogeneity (all individuals in society behave and think in comparable ways); 2) social closure (societies possess tight boundaries); 3) social stability (social change occurs slowly and leaves the fundamental identity of the society untouched). Focusing on the second assumption, I will in this paper spell out the main elements of the critique and then seek to assess it historically. Is it true that the social sciences have on average tended to operate with the assumptions mentioned above? To answer this question, I will look at the work of some major social and political thinkers, including Tocqueville, Weber, Boas, and Mauss. On the basis of a distinction between "conservative" and "progressive" dialects within the language of the social sciences, I will demonstrate that the social sciences offer more complex theorizations than the criticisms suggest, emphasizing in particular the variety of answers given to the questions of national identity, boundary formation, and international exchange.

THEODORELIS-RIGAS, Haris

“From 'Imagined' to 'Virtual Communities': Greek-Turkish Encounters in Cyberspace”

For Greece and Turkey, the 21st century brought with it a new era of rapprochement. This unexpected development in International Politics and its repercussions on the "national conscience" in both countries has been well-documented and closely-observed from various angles, including foreign policy, business actors, tourism, the media as well as the literary and cultural spheres. Recent studies rightly focused on new, global processes and dynamics that have caused, fostered or sustained the Greek-Turkish reconciliation process. Less attention has been paid however to the dramatic increase in the use of Computer-mediated Communications (CMCs), such as electronic forums, chat-rooms, conferences, blogs, electronic mail-lists and institutional website postings, which have reached the fringes of the "global core", admittedly, with a certain "lag". Drawing on Ethnicity Studies (Barth, Anderson), Globalization scholarship (Scholte, Held, Giddens) and New Media Studies (Castells, Fernback, Rheingold) the paper approaches a specific group of CMCs as virtual communities, in other words, as supra-territorial arenas of demarcation, interaction, negotiation and transformation of symbolic boundaries of ethnicity. By means of participatory observation and in-depth interviews with participants, with respect to two case studies (the Foundation of the Lausanne Refugees and the Greek-Turkish Forum), the paper argues that virtual communities may pose a significant challenge to traditionally "imagined" nationalist orthodoxies. While the Turkish state has adopted a paternalistic stance of heavy-handed censoring of online interaction, Greek-Turkish virtual communities continue to proliferate and contribute significantly to narratives of reconciliation.

TSURUTA, Aya

“Examining Nationalism in South-Eastern Rwanda”

The territorial annexation and (re)drawing of boundaries is one of the important factors to forge nationalism which demands secession from, or more autonomy within, the existing national boundaries. Based on the fieldwork in Rwanda funded by ASEN PhD scholarship and the documents collected from several archives such as African Archives in Brussels, this paper argues that historically Gisaka region, the South-Eastern part of Rwanda, had a different nationalism. There was the kingdom of Gisaka in this region; the kingdom was annexed to Rwandan (Nyiginya) kingdom by the mid-19th century. The chiefs were sent from Central Rwanda to control over Gisaka and local resistance against these chiefs occasionally rose up even after the Europeans arrived. The boundaries between Rwanda and Tanganyika became the issue at the Paris Peace Conference and Belgium had to give rights over Gisaka to Britain in 1919. The British refused to accept the rule of Rwandan king over Gisaka; instead, the British set up an autonomous administration and they appointed own chiefs from Gisaka. Though Gisaka was returned to Belgium after several years, the resentment of Gisaka people against Rwanda had persisted. In the late 1950s when Rwandan king and politicians started to demand independence from Belgium, some groups in Gisaka demanded more autonomy from Rwanda. However, due to political turmoil and violence taken place during revolution and independence, a number of internal refugees from other regions escaped to Gisaka area and nationalism in Gisaka seemingly came to an end and was replaced by ethnicity.

“Polarisation as Ethnic Boundary (Re)Drawing: The Transformation of Interethnic Relations in the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict (1988 -1991)”

Based on ethnographic fieldwork in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh this paper aims to consider the changing dynamics of interethnic relations during the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Drawing primarily on the work of Andreas Wimmer, Daniele Conversi and Charles Tilly I argue that the emerging polarization in ethnic contestation is best understood as a process of intergroup boundary shifts. Such transformations can translate into individual action and behaviour insofar as they change the perception of how a 'good' member of 'group X' ought to behave. The paper further focuses on the hardening of boundaries between Armenian and Azeri communities paying particular attention to the generally underrepresented perspectives 'from below'. Challenging straightforward instrumentalist perspectives I stress the role of stories contained in sources of unverified orally transmitted information for the (re) drawing of boundaries between ordinary community members. I suggest that the transformation in the perceptions of 'the other' as 'alien' and the redefinition of relationships with 'the other' as dangerous and untrustworthy depended partly on the continuous redefinition and retelling of past and present situations through interaction with other members of the 'in-group'. The strengthening of symbolic boundaries at the micro-social level resulted in the hegemony of a particular form of self-representation of the nation as uncompromising, closed community. The confrontational strategies chosen by the main parties were effective in politicising ethnic constituencies but polarising tactics also set in motion broader processes beyond the control of political actors that intensified polarization, made other social boundaries dramatically recede in importance and brought the ethno-national cleavage to the fore.

WANG, Xiaoming

“What is Pure and True? Women’s Religious Expression as a Mechanism of Ethnic Boundary Formation”

The Hui are Chinese-speaking Muslims who claim ancestry from Persian- and Arabic-speaking regions. They are the largest Muslim group in the People's Republic of China and its third largest ethnic minority. The vast geographic distribution of the Hui and their use of the Chinese language, however, lead to the “veiling” of their ethnoreligious identity. Based on my fieldwork conducted in a rural Hui community in Yongkang County, west of Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region in early 2011, this paper employs a post-feminist perspective while focusing on Hui women’s religious expression. My main argument is that Hui women demonstrate stronger Islamic affiliation than men, and they use their understanding of the concept of ritual purity as a main way of distinguishing themselves from the Chinese majority. The present paper will concern itself with women’s understanding of *qingzhen* (literally pure and true) - the most applied Chinese equivalent of the Arabic term *halāl*, and the ways it is deployed by women to preserve Muslim identity. In examining this, I will pursue the question of how Muslim women maintain their ethnic boundaries *vis-à-vis* the Chinese non-Muslim majority. Additionally, I will explore gender differences in Islamic beliefs and practices, and the effects of these differences on Chinese Muslims’ social interaction with the non-Muslim majority. Last but not least, the paper will highlight the changing character of women’s religious expression, which is responding proactively to the shifting economic and social realities in China.

WOLFF, Stefan

“Conflict Management in Divided Societies: The Many Uses of Territorial Self-Governance”

Conflict over territorial control in divided societies is widespread, frequently violent and difficult to resolve, and thus merits systematic analytical and empirical engagement. Extending the discussion of territorial approaches to conflict management in divided societies beyond the usually narrower focus on federation and autonomy, this article develops the concept of territorial self-governance as a form of state construction and conflict management, arguing that it encompasses five distinct arrangements from confederation and federation to federacy, devolution and decentralisation and illustrates their manifestations with examples from 12 countries across three continents. The article establishes and tests a framework to explain their emergence, examines the conditions under which they are combined with other conflict management strategies, such as power sharing, and reflects on their track record of providing stability in divided societies, finding it more promising than its critics allow.

YAMAMOTO, Takashiro

“The 1861 Tsushima Incident: The border formation around Japan and the race among the Western powers”

This paper examines the incident in 1861 on the island of Tsushima, which sits on the water between Japan and Korea, where a Russian corvette *Posadnik* entered the port and attempted to carve out a permanent naval base on the island. Tsushima island was then ruled by the So family who had for long pledged allegiance to the Tokugawa shogunate in Edo, but also submitted itself to the tributary relations with the Korean Court which allowed them to trade with and be economically dependent on Korea. Unable to fend off the Russian intrusion, the Japanese turned to the British, only after whose intervention did the Russian ship retreat. The paper argues that the incident was a harbinger of the process of border formation around Japan, and indicated the context in which it would occur. The geographical nature of the region rendered that the borders were formulated not by drawing a line between adjacent political entities but by determining the hitherto ambiguous status of islands on the frontier. What drove this process was the push from the Western powers which tried to get ahead of each other in establishing commercial as well as military base, thereby achieving overall naval dominance. It was not about the political allegiance of the people in the border rather than the strategic calculation among the Western powers and local regimes. This paper thus makes a contribution to the theme of the conference by providing an unique example of border formation in the nineteenth century northeast Asia.

YAO, Ming-Li

“Re-creating a Boundary between Taiwan and China”

In 2008, when Taiwan's athletes paraded past the platform at the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympics, the MC remarked that the R.O.C. and P.R.C. were still arguing over who was the 'real China'. Taiwan's national subjectivity - whether it is a 'real' nation - continues to be debated within its society and puzzled over by the international community. This issue results, in part, from China's continual claims of its sovereignty over Taiwan, e.g. One China policy (since 1971) and Anti-Secession Law (2005). This study examines the development of a Taiwanese nation by investigating the symbolic transformation of the term 'Chinese' within high school textbooks and among secondary school teachers. The research questions ask (1) how is 'Chinese' represented in old and new editions of high school history textbooks (1950 to 2010)? (2) How do teachers explain 'Chinese' to their students? Content analysis was conducted to examine the degree to which there has been a conceptual transformation of 'Chinese' as expressed within the discourse of textbooks, while in-depth interviews were carried out amongst teachers, with a focus on their understanding of 'Chinese'. The analysis showed a transformation in the discourse in the textbooks, wherein Taiwan and China are conceptualized as two separate nations, cultures, states, and societies; this finding was supported by the data obtained from the teachers' interviews. Taiwan's national identity has been enforced and re-enforced, both top-down, by the Taiwanese government's curriculum, and bottom-up, by teachers' attitudes. Thus, a clear distinction has been created between 'Taiwan' and 'China'.

YETKIN, Deniz

“Migrants and Conceptualization of Citizenship: Case Studies of Turkish Migrants in Canada and Germany, Return Migrants in Turkey”

Despite substantial disagreement over the content and acquisition of citizenship policies, what unites many of the studies is their exclusive focus on the states' point of view on the theme of citizenship. There is a significant gap in the literature over what kind of meaning migrants attribute to citizenship. This proposed research will address precisely this gap and while accounting for the legal and political debates in the respective countries under study, it will focus on the meaning that migrants attribute to citizenship and their decision making processes concerning citizenship acquisition. In order to do so, it will examine the views of the Turkish 'high skilled and business migrants' living in Canada and Germany, and 'return migrants' in Turkey. The thesis aims to seek answers to the following question: What does citizenship mean in general, and for Turkish high skilled and business migrants in Canada and Germany, and for Turkish return migrants (coming from Canada and Germany) in Turkey in particular? Did these individuals decide to acquire the receiving countries' citizenship? If they did so, why; and if not, why not? Did they decide to hold dual citizenship? How did they make their decisions? Study sample of the research was drawn from the study population by snowballing method. 120 interviews were conducted in Canada and Germany (60 interviews from each country). Other data sources will be legal texts, and country statistics. Thesis proposal and preliminary results of two cases will be presented.

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Prof. John Rex (1925-2011)

John Rex was an original and socially committed sociologist who created the field of Ethnic Relations in Britain thus opening up a completely novel area of study. To that end, John successfully founded the Department of Sociology at the University of Warwick in 1970.

John was born in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, and, after going to Grey High school in the city, he served in the Royal Navy during the Second World War. I recall John describing his feelings of being away from home while being just a 'boy from Port Elizabeth' and also how he became shocked about the injustices of apartheid, visible in the treatment received by black Africans and whites while serving side by side during the war.

After the war, John's strong concern for social justice probably contributed to his decision to study to be a Presbyterian minister once back in South Africa. However, he progressively turned to sociology and philosophy where he always fought to find ways to alleviate class inequality, ethnic and racial discrimination; it was an aim that dominated his entire life. After completing his degree in South Africa he went to work in a mission school in the former Rhodesia.

He arrived in the UK from South Africa in 1949 to teach and carry out research in sociological theory and ethnic relations at the University of Leeds, where he obtained his PhD. His first position was at the University of Leeds. He also held positions at University of Birmingham and the University of Durham. Professor John Rex first came to the University of Warwick in 1970 until 1979, and then returned again to Warwick in 1984. He later went on to work in Cape Town and New York, but accepted an emeritus position with the University of Warwick on his retirement.

His academic work excelled in three main fields. First, the study of classical social theory including the work of Karl Marx, Émile Durkheim, Georg Simmel and Max Weber included in his book *Discovering Sociology* (1973) and followed by *Approaches to Sociology* (1974) and *Sociology and the Demystification of the Modern World* (1974), among other books and numerous articles.

Second, the study of conflict in modern societies in his most seminal book *Key Problems of Sociological Theory* (1961) which brought class into the study of 'race' and offered a more developed theory of conflict than those defended by functionalist theories of social order and system-stability.

(CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE)

Third, his seminal work on race and ethnic relations including ground-breaking books such as *Race Relations in Sociological Theory* (1970), *Race, Colonialism and the City* (1973), *Race and Ethnicity* (1986), *Race, Community and Conflict: A Study of Sparkbrook* (1967) with Robert Moore, *Colonial immigrants in a British city: a class analysis* (1979 with Sally Tomlinson), *Apartheid and Social Research* (1981), *Social Conflict: A Theoretical and Conceptual Analysis* (1981), *The Ghetto and the Underclass* (1987), *Ethnic Minorities and the Modern Nation State* (1996) and *The Ethnicity Reader: nationalism, multiculturalism and migration* (1997 and 2010 with Montserrat Guibernau).

John worked at the universities of Leeds, Birmingham, Durham, Warwick, Aston, Toronto, Cape Town and New York. He was also a member of the Unesco International Experts' Committee on Racism and Race Prejudice (1967) and President of the International Sociological Association's Research Committee on Racial and Ethnic Minorities (1974–82).

I met John when, after completing my PhD at Cambridge, I joined the Centre for Research and Ethnic Relations (CRER) at the University of Warwick in 1994. John had already retired as Director of CRER and he was emeritus professor. We had long discussions about social theory, Marx and Weber in particular, and often debated foreign affairs; John was fully engaged and very generous with his time. He introduced me to the study of ethnicity and race. John was supportive of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism (ASEN) from its inception and he was a longstanding member of the International Advisory Board of the journal *Nations and Nationalism*. He would always make an effort and come down to London to attend the Annual Conference, even when travelling had become quite hard for him. His energy, commitment and will to engage in debate impressed us all and his presence will be sadly missed by the friends and colleagues he left at ASEN.

NOTES

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