BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

POLITICS OF ENMITY – CAN NATION EVER BE EMANCIPATORY?

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Group for Social Engagement Studies
– Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade –
September 26-28 2016, Belgrade

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POLITICS OF ENMITY:
CAN NATION EVER BE EMANCIPATORY?

Nation and nationalism are in many ways peculiar and elusive concepts that could very easily be interpreted as being both "banal" and infinitely complex; primordial and modern; imagined and real. Since belonging to a specific national group can be seen as an important source of collective strength for many, solidarity of these collectives may serve as the basis for action to further strengthen these (imagined) bonds. The process itself, more often than not, assumes the existence of another, equally potent, equally solidary collective – most often irreducibly distinct from ours. This positioning which comes part and parcel with the idea of the nation – more so with nationalism – seems to centre around the idea of enmity: the antipode of solidarity among those who belong to "Us". Enmity, as well as solidarity, is thus one of the cornerstones of the "practicing of nation", something which shapes and perpetuates nation as a political identitary framework.

It is often argued that nationalism can be seen as the modern form of *Gemeinschaft* which answers ontological needs created by the uncertainties of modernity and its power structures. On the other hand, we witness a growth of a global society with an increasingly integrated system, primarily socio-economic, but also cultural and perhaps political. Globalisation creates opportunities, but also crises in which we have to remake our lives and identities (Giddens, 2000). At the same time, social relations continue to be governed and institutionalised in accordance with national temporalities and located within the spaces of the nation. The shift from national to post-national regime cannot be established. Rather, what we see is the emergence of trans-border nationalism as a perverted adaptation of the nation-state model (Brubaker, 2015). The powers of the nation-state are increasing in spite of the global challenges of migration, opening the new perspectives on solidarity but also on enmity.

Bearing those issues in mind, we seek contributions which will give a new turn to the discussion about the nation and its frequent attendant, nationalism. Is nation still able to bring about an ontological revival of faith in certainty? Can it be a sufficient supplement to the post-metaphysical self-reflexivity and 21st century disciplinary regimes? How does nation, within or without a nation-state, fit in a global and ever more globalised world scheme? Can it be a means for emancipation in today's world? If so, emancipatory for whom, when and how? How did the notions of nation and citizenship build on each other in a world which saw new divisions, new wars, new nation-states? In what sense have friendship and hostility (Schmitt 1927, Derrida 1994, Bojanić 1995; 2015) gained new meanings, and what are those meanings? Does nation-building always involve a common enemy one has to fight? Or does it meet its limits with being a mere remedy for contemporary forms of inequality, or a tranquilizer for those unsettled by the complexity and insecurity brought up by globalized capitalism? These questions become increasingly important as we witness the crisis of the collectivity-building process of the European Union. Does the contemporary politics of difference contest the notion of enmity or, quite to the contrary, reaffirm it?

We welcome both theoretical and empirical work on the role of nation in contemporary world and in historical perspective. We would also like to place specific focus on the conceptual aspects of studying ethnicity across disciplines. Which conceptual apparatus is most adequate for approaching the notion of nation in social sciences and humanities? How do we study the social practices revolving around the nation? Should we envisage the nation as identity or ideology, does it involve belonging to social groups, communities etc.? We particularly encourage contributions which challenge the nation as an actual constitutive framework of our thought.

The conference is organized in the framework of the international project „Figuring out the Enemy: Re-imagining Serbian-Albanian Relations". The project aims to reinvestigate events and discourses from the past and recent times, seeking to give explanation and identify common views, ideas and traditions that undermine the present enmity and promote Serbian-Albanian cooperation. The project is supported through the Regional Research Promotion Programme (RRPP) by the Swiss Development Cooperation.

The conference and side events are organized in the cooperation with the Center for Advanced Studies – South East Europe, the University of Rijeka and the Centre for Southeast European Studies, the University of Graz, with the support of the Serbian Ministry of Education, Scientific and Technological Development, Fund for Open Society and Heinrich Böll Foundation.

Conference Program

Sep 25, Prep Day

Venue: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Kraljice Natalije 45

17.00-20.00   **Seminar with Rogers Brubaker
on the book "Grounds for Difference"**
Moderation: **Jelena Vasiljević**
Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade

Dino Abazović (Faculty of Political Sciences, Sarajevo), **Ivan Đorđević** (Institute
of Ethnography, SASA), **Jovana Mihajlović Trbovc** (Institute for Culture and
Memory Studies, Ljubljana), **Jovo Bakić** (Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade), **Ljubica
Spaskovska** (University of Exeter), **Marko Kovačević** (Faculty of Political Sciences,
Belgrade), **Tamara Petrović Trifunović** (Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory,
Belgrade), **Viktor Koska** (Faculty of Political Sciences, Zagreb)

Sep 26, Day 1

Venue: Ilija M. Kolarac Foundation, Studentski trg 5

09.00-09.15   Registration

09.15-09.30   Welcome address – PLENARY ROOM
Petar Bojanić
Director of the Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade
**Coordinators of the project
"Figuring out the enemy: re-imagining Serbian-Albanian relations"
Aleksandar Pavlović**
Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade
Rigels Halili
Center for Eastern European Studies, Warsaw

09.30-10.30   Keynote lecture – PLENARY ROOM
Rogers Brubaker
University of California
Modalities and mechanism of violent conflict: is religion special?
Chair: **Jelena Vasiljević**
Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade

11.30-12.00   Coffee break

12.00-13.30   Session I

Panel 1: Revisiting the theories of the nation
Chair: **Aleksandar Matković (**Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)

Vladimir Gvozden and **Alpar Lošonc** (University of Novi Sad)
How to think nation as a community?

Robert Gallagher (American University of Science & Technology, Beirut)
εὖ ζῆν and nationalism

Daniel Rosenberg (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
Ernest Renan's *What is a Nation?* reconsidered

G. M. Tamás (Central European University, Budapest)
Nation, race, ethnie and class: the problem revisited

Panel 2: (Inter)national vs. (inter)state: is nation-state going to history?
Chair: **Srđan Prodanović** (Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)

Zeynep Selen Artan-Bayhan (City University of New York)
Boundaries of Turkish ethno-national identity: immigrant imaginations in the United States

Elli Ponomareva (European University at St. Petersburg)
Armenia's trans-border nationalism: diaspora identity construction and the Karabakh conflict

Stefan Aleksić (University of Belgrade)
Nation of refugees: inventing a nation or reinventing belonging

Panel 3: Gendering Serbian-Albanian relations
Chair: **Jelena Ćeriman** (Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)

Elife Krasniqi (Karl Franzens University of Graz)
Gender and Nation: competing loyalties in socialism and post-war period in Kosovo

Adriana Zaharijević (Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)
Sisterhood in dispossession: the case of Serbia and Kosovo

Armanda Hysa (Institute of Cultural Anthropology and Art Studies, Tirana)
**Theorizing ethnically mixed intimate relations in the Balkans:
the case of Albanian–Serbian mixed marriages**

12.30-13.30   Lunch break

13.30-14.30   Plenary presentation – PLENARY ROOM
                    Florian Bieber
                    Centre for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz
                    **After ethnicity? Persistence of and challenges to the
                    ethnicity paradigm in the Balkans**
                    Chair: **Aleksandar Pavlović**
                    Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade

14.30-16.00   Session II

Panel 4: Nations and international relations
Chair: **Olga Nikolić** (Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)

Luca Lattanzi (University of Padova)
**The crisis of national states and the deterritorialization of enmity in Carl
Schmitt's international thought**

H. Hande Orhon Özdağ (Beykent University, İstanbul)
**Conflicting effects of globalization on nation states of the core and the
periphery**

Marko Kovačević (University of Belgrade)
**Bringing in Bibó: understanding identities and reality of small post-
Yugoslav states**

Mariusz Węgrzyn (University of Gdansk)
**Indispensable nation – respect for the rights of nations as an indispensable
prerequisite for respect of human rights, the world order and international
security**

Panel 5: Europe, nations and symbolic geography
Chair: **Rigels Halili** (Center for Eastern European Studies, Warsaw)

Tamara Pavasovic Trost (University of Ljubljana)
Belonging to Europe: understanding the complex symbolic geographies of Europe in everyday Serbian discourse

Sanja Lazarević-Radak (Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade) and
Andrej Mitić (University of Niš)
Symbolic geography and anthropomorphization of a nation: the Ottoman Empire and Turkey in English and American travelogues (1840-1921)

Madlen Nikolova (Central European University, Budapest)
"Europe" and its constitutive Other: a case study of a trial against "foreign" Islam in Bulgaria

17.00-19.30   PANEL DISCUSSION **"Future without enmity: Serbian-Albanian relations in perspective" with presentation of trailer for documentary film**
Venue: Dorćol Platz, Dobračina 59b
Moderation: **Gazela Pudar Draško**
Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade

Tanja Miščević
Chief Negotiator for Negotiations on Accession of the
Republic of Serbia to the European Union
Odeta Barbullushi
Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, Albania
Florian Bieber
Director of the Centre for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz
Agron Bajrami
Chief Editor of Koha Ditore, Prishtina
Borko Stefanović
Former Chief Negotiator of the Serbia and Kosovo* negotiation process

19.30   Reception

Sep 27, Day 2

Conference Venue: Ilija M. Kolarac Foundation, Studentski trg 5

09.30-10.30   Plenary presentation – PLENARY ROOM
               Reinhard Mehring
               The College of Education in Heidelberg
               Carl Schmitts Freund-Feind-Unterscheidung heute?
               Chair: **Željko Radinković**
               Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade

10.30-11.00   Coffee break

11.00-13.00   Session III

Panel 6: Nationalism and risks
Chair: **Vedran Džihić** (CAS SEE, Rijeka)

Aleksandar Fatić (Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)
Is Jihadi terrorism a longing for organic identity?

Robert Pichler (University of Graz)
Macedonian Muslims between national emancipation and the rise of religious fundamentalism

Andrej Pezelj (University of Nova Gorica)
Violence and emancipatory role of the state

Marjan Gjurovski (Faculty of Security, Skopje) and
Dragan Djukanovic (Institute of International Politics and Economics, Belgrade)
Risks of social identity – the case of the Republic of Macedonia

Stefan Milutinović (University of Belgrade) and
Ana Veljković (University of Glasgow)
The European crisis through the lenses of the refugee crisis: are migrations from the Middle East strengthening nationalism in Europe?

Panel 7: Nationalism and the urban space
Chair: **Igor Cvejić** (Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)

Natasha Sardzoska (Schiller International University, Heidelberg)
Struggle for nation-state recognition: spatial nation-building, urban mapping and porous memory in the reinvention of the Macedonian capital city

Denis S. Ermolin (Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Saint-Petersburg)
Komšiluk in Pristina: between memory and locality

Ana Ljubojevic and **Mia Jerman** (University of Zagreb)
"Town monument", then and now: memories of the 1990s and social production of identities in Dubrovnik

Srđan Atanasovski (Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade)
Sonic ecologies of urban segregation: Serbian-Albanian relations and producing "the Other" on the street rallies

Aneta Strzemżalska (European University at Saint Petersburg)
Formal and informal nationalism: jazz performances in Azerbaijan

12.30-13.00   Coffee break

13.00-14.00   Plenary presentation – PLENARY ROOM
               Nuria Sánchez Madrid
               Complutense University of Madrid
               Politics of peoplehood: the birth of a new nation
               Chair: **Adriana Zaharijević**
               Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade

14.00-15.00   Lunch Break

15.00-16.00   Plenary presentation – PLENARY ROOM
               Montserrat Guibernau
               Department of Sociology, University of Cambridge
               Identity, belonging and nationalism
               Chair: **Gazela Pudar Draško**
               Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade

16.00-17.30   Session IV

Panel 8: (Post-)YU states and nationalisms
Chair: **Milan Miljković** (Institute for Literature and Arts, Belgrade)

Adin Crnkić (University of Ljubljana)
Constructing Bosniak nationalism: historical institutionalist perspective

Ivan Ejub Kostić (University of Belgrade)
From a religious to a national movement: a case study of the Young Muslims

Dario Brentin (Centre for Southeast European Studies, Graz)
"The sporting men have no country!": sport as a channel for inter-ethnic understanding in the post-Yugoslav space?

Ozan Erözden (MEF University, Istanbul)
Civic nationalism, universalism and war crimes: the case of Croatian Social Democrat Party (SDP)

Panel 9: (Real) Socialism and national question(s)
Chair: **Ana Sivački** (University of Belgrade)

Ercan Gündoğan (Cyprus International University)
A Critical re-evaluation of Lenin's and Stalin's conceptions of national question and self-determination right of nations and people

Rastislav Dinić (University of Niš)
New, yet unapproachable states: Cavell on America, Makavejev on Yugoslavia

Marjan Ivković (Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)
Tamara Petrović Trifinović (Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade) and
Srđan Prodanović (Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)
From social justice to identity: systemic legitimation of Yugoslav socialism in Kosovo protests

Ana Petrov (Singidunum University, Belgrade)
"Whoever doesn't listen to the song will listen to the storm": politics of nationalism and Yugoslav popular music

Panel 10: Ethnographies of a Nation
Chair: **Aleksandar Pavlović** (Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)

Krisztina Rácz (University of Ljubljana)
Constructing and destructing the national: discourses and practices of ethnicity among Hungarian youth in Vojvodina

John William Day (Bilkent University, Ankara)
Living Turkish nationalism: theoretical and ethnographic reflections from Kurdish Turkey

Andrej Kubiček (University of Belgrade)
Roma nation: escaping pariah people's stigma?

Inis Shkreli (European University of Tirana)
Exploring collective identity and everyday life of Serbian-Montenegrin minority in Shkodra

18.30 – 20.30   PANEL DISCUSSION: **"The return of the national borders and the rise of extremism in Europe"**
Venue: The Cultural Centre of Belgrade, Movie Theatre, 6 Kolarčeva Street
Moderator: **Adriana Zaharijević**
Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade

Rigels Halili
Center for Eastern European Studies, University of Warsaw
G. M. Tamás
Central European University, Budapest
Jovo Bakić
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade
Ljubica Spasovska
University of Exeter
Nebojša Vladisavljević
Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade
Monserrat Guibernau
University of Cambridge

Sep 28, Day 3

Venue: Ilija M. Kolarac Foundation, Studentski trg 5

09.30-10.30   Plenary presentation – PLENARY ROOM
Gazela Pudar Draško
Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade
Enmity in the intellectual world: what do they stand for?
Chair: **Marjan Ivković**
Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade

10.30-12.00   Session VI

Panel 11: National identity formation: Us and Them
Chair: TBC

Mark Hau (Aarhus University)
"Catalan is whoever wants to feel Catalan": narrative cultivations of self among Catalan nationalists

Lucas Álvarez Canga (University of Oviedo)
Enmity in nationalism: Spain as a key element of Catalan identity and nationalism

Roland Gjoni (University College Dublin)
A different kind of us: national identity dynamics between Albania and Kosovo

Vedran Džihić (University of Vienna, CAS SEE, Rijeka)
Persistence of ethno-politics in Bosnia&Herzegovina: adaptability and performativity of ethno-nationalism

Panel 12: Nation and politics in education and academia
Chair: **Srđan Atanasovski** (Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade)

Çağatay Çoker (Istanbul University)
Gonca Nebioğlu (Istanbul University)
Ogeday Çoker (Istanbul University) and
Yakup Azak (Istanbul University)
Nationalist and gender discourse in textbooks of highschool education in Turkey

Aleksandra Ilić Rajković and Jovan Miljković (University of Belgrade)
Replacing pencil by the rifle: the discourse of the nation and textbooks in Serbia before the Balkan wars

Agustín Cosovschi (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales)
Doing science in the times of the nation: politics and authorship in Croatian and Serbian ethnology and anthropology during the 1990s

Ana Dević (Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena)
Ottomanism and neo-Ottomanism in the building of the "Serbian national corpus": Turkey as the recurrent focus of Serbian and Bosnian academia

12.00-12.30   Coffee break

12.30-14.00   Session V

Panel 13: Memory studies and memory politics
Chair: **Mark Lošonc** (Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)

Jovana Mihajlović Trbovc (Institute for Culture and Memory Studies, Ljubljana)
Public memory from ethno-national marker to subversive political activism

Jelena Đureinović (Justus Liebig University Giessen)
Does studying national memory still matter? the transcultural turn in memory studies and the post-Yugoslav space

Naum Trajanovski (Central European University, Budapest)
"Closely observed narrative": The Museum of the Macedonian Struggle and the shift of the historical paradigms in post-socialist Republic of Macedonia

Olof Bortz (Stockholm University)
Raul Hilberg, the Holocaust and German national identity

Panel 14: Postsocialism: competing discourses and narrative regimes
Chair: **Tamara Petrović Trifunović** (Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)

Diana T. Kudaibergenova (University of Cambridge)
Nationalising regimes and the study of power fields as nationalisms post-1989

Dana Dolghin (University of Amsterdam)
Cosmopolitanism and the "nation": liberal constructions of collective memory

Alena Minchenia (Lund University)
Nation as an affective object: the nationalist opposition constructing "Belarus"

Vlad Bujdei-Tebeica (National University of Political Science and Public Administration, Bucharest)
Nationalism and neoliberalism: the Romanian economic crisis of 2008

14.00-15.00   Lunch Break

15.00-16.30   Session VII

Panel 15: Cyber-nations: Media and the Internet
Chair: **Marjan Ivković** (Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)

Rene Mäe (Tallinn University)
Globalization, postsocialism and nation branding: a discourse-theoretical reading of e-Estonia

Lada Stevanović (Institute of Ethnography, Belgrade)
Cyber Yugoslavia: the state of Cyborg citizens

Valentin Nicolescu (Nicolae Titulescu University, Bucharest)
Contested origins and national identity (re)construction: how the Dacians are conquering the cyberspace

Irina Dushakova (Institute of Cultural Heritage, Chisinau)
Nation and symbolic geography: a case of Moldovan Media

Panel 16: A (too) long nineteenth century in the Balkans
Chair: **Vladan Jovanović** (Institute for Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade)

Darin Stephanov (Aarhus Institute of Advanced Studies)
Images of the own group and the "Other" in Bulgarian popular songs from the mid-nineteenth century to the Balkan Wars (1912-13)

Stefan Detchev (South-West University of Blagoeavgrad)
Borders between Serbs and Bulgarians - five "laboratories" of national identity

Miloš Vojinović (Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade)
Nationalism of Young Bosnia

Aleksandar Pavlović (Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade)
From national emancipation to imperialism: the Balkan Wars in the writings of the Serbian left

16.30-17.00   Closing session and the presentation of certificates

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Keynote lectures

Rogers Brubaker | University of California, Los Angeles

Religious dimensions of political conflict and violence

How should we understand the religious dimensions of political conflict and political violence? One view sees religiously grounded conflict and violence as *sui generis*, with a distinctive logic or causal texture. The alternative view subsumes them under political conflict and violence in general, or under the rubric of politicized ethnicity. I seek to highlight both the distinctiveness of religiously informed political conflict and the ways in which many conflicts involving religiously identified claimants are fundamentally similar in structure and dynamics to conflicts involving other culturally or ethnically defined claimants. I identify the distinctively religious stakes of certain political conflicts, informed by distinctively religious understandings of right order. And I specify six violence-enabling modalities and mechanisms (though all can also enable nonviolent solidaristic or humanitarian social action): (1) the social production of hyper-committed selves; (2) the cognitive and affective construction of extreme otherhood and urgent threat; (3) the mobilization of rewards, sanctions, justifications, and obligations; (4) the experience of profanation; (5) the translocal expandability of conflict; and (6) the incentives generated by decentralized and hyper-competitive religious fields. None of these violence-enabling modalities and mechanisms is uniquely religious; yet religious beliefs, practices, structures, and processes provide an important and distinctively rich matrix of such modalities and mechanisms.

Florian Bieber | Centre for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz

After Ethnicity? Persistence of and challenges to the ethnicity paradigm in the Balkans

Since the wars of the 1990s, the ethnicity paradigm has been dominant explanation for politics and social relations in the Balkans. The prevalence of ethnicity is enshrined in political and legal structures, as well as reproduced by political actors and in public

discourse. On the other hand, social movements have emerged that have rejected or disregarded ethnic labels. However, just looking at ethnicity as a top-down imposition and its bottom-up rejection would downplay its salience in social relations. The talk will reflect on the persistence of ethnicity and the conditions for a post-ethnic Balkans.

Reinhard Mehring | The College of Education, Heidelberg

Carl Schmitts Freund-Feind-Unterscheidung heute?

Carl Schmitt hat seine nationalistischen Positionen der Zwischenkriegszeit nach 1945 stark zurückgenommen und sich kaum noch zur Bundesrepublik und zur Entwicklung der Europäischen Union öffentlich geäußert. Sein komplexes Kategoriensystem bietet deshalb nur vielfältige und vieldeutige Anknüpfungsmöglichkeiten für eine selbständige Adaption bzw. Aktualisierung. Mein Vortrag skizziert die Weiterentwicklung von Schmitts Freund-Feind-Theorie in der *Theorie des Partisanen,* aktualisiert diese Schrift für die Gegenwart und versucht dann die heutige Lage der Europäischen Union aus bundesdeutscher Sicht mit Kategorien Carl Schmitts thesen- und skizzenhaft zu erhellen.

English: After 1945, Carl Schmitt has largely revoked his nationalist stances from before World War II, and has rarely if at all openly expressed his opinions on the new Federal Republic of Germany and the development of the European Union. We thus rely on his complex system of categories, which offers manifold and ambiguous points of approach for an adaptation, or rather actualisation. My paper attempts to outline how Schmitt's friend-enemy theory developed further in his *Theory of the Partisan*, to adapt this treatise to the issues of today, as well as to, using Schmitt's categories, shed some light on the present state of the European Union, from the viewpoint of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Nuria Sánchez Madrid | Complutense University of Madrid

Politics of peoplehood: the birth of a new nation?

Political legitimation of national states traditionally tended to claim homogeneity requirements that often condemn to exclusion large sections of population. Taking as backdrop the aftermath of this account of the traditional correspondence between nationality and state, I shall attempt to sketch a new conception of peoplehood not

based on class, race or religious membership, but on the acceptance of manifold social differences and on the construction of new belonging models. Basically I will suggest to explore new avenues of political research about the future of nation with the following main goals: a) to argue for the persistence of differences among the members of a society at a global scale as a positive feature able to remove deep prejudices and biased views about the others, b) to highlight the benefits to claim small states as an obstruction against the phantom of imperial power and c) to criticize the ideological resistance stemming from the idea of national state that usually turns down the birth of new nations along the history as result of wrongly solved conflicts. My claim for a politics of peoplehood as regular source of conflicts and demands, which shouldn't be viewed as a civil failure or breakdown, will be especially inspired by some texts from Seyla Benhabib, Slavoj Zizek and Lea Ypi focusing on the necessary update that conditions of membership and political participation ought to go through in our current times.

Montserrat Guibernau | Department of Sociology, University of Cambridge

Identity, belonging and nationalism

Nationalism functions as both an ideology of inclusion and of exclusion. It seeks to increase social cohesion within a given society with the aim of fostering a sense of belonging and solidarity among its citizens thus strengthening their consciousness of forming a group. All members of the nation regardless of their social class, age or gender are included in this collective project. Of course, one can disagree with this and argue that the elites or the bourgeoisie in order to legitimize and secure their privileged position creates nationalism. It is true that Karl Marx wrote that 'the working men have no country' (Marx-Engels 1976: 49), however, while it is possible to defend this argument intellectually, it does not seem to work when applied to specific situations. Nationalism is today a potent ideology because it has an enormous capacity to mobilize large sectors of the population, cutting across class, age and gender boundaries.

Gazela Pudar Draško | Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade

Enmity in the intellectual world: what do they stand for?

Intellectuals are understood as the loose elite network of specific social actors who possess advanced *knowledge* or *creativity* recognized in the cultural field of academia

and/or art, who have certain *authority* or power to be listened to, and are *publicly engaged*. Here I will focus on "global intellectuals", those that publish in renowned English-speaking newpapers and magazines (or, to be precise, those proclaimed "world thinkers" by British Prospect magazine). How do "world thinkers" operationalize otherness in their discourse?

What is the main enmity relation and wether we could claim that it personifies ideological clashes in globalized world? Could we claim that intellectuals became so embedded into neoliberal discourse and ideology, that they cannot identify any alternative? The article seeks to answer if intellectuals gave up on elaborating social change and its possible directions, falling into 'activists' depression' instead. Without enemy, there is no struggle. Without struggle, there is no change.

Panels 1 – 16

Panel 1: Revisiting the theories of the nation

Vladimir Gvozden | Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad
Alpar Lošonc | Faculty of Technical Sciences, University of Novi Sad

How to think nation as a community?

In the postwar period, the concept of community, due to war disaster and a stronger role of the state, has been in the background of political reality in the West. In recent times, a huge and somewhat unexpected change had happened: as the state has become distant and abstract and ceased to meet the political and other needs of citizens, the community had returned in the discussion. This article is an attempt to critically discuss the concept of community through the analysis of insights of older and newer authors (H. Plessner, B. Andreson, J. Derrida, A. Touraine, F. Furedi, R. Esposito). The community can be determined only on the basis of lack of which it is characterized, and this uncertainty is the result of its insufficient power. Therefore, to think the community today is to seek a way of overcoming the current forms of political, military and economic immunization that perhaps best signifies the term *gated communities,* originated from the sphere of cognitive mapping of metropolitan housing. Is then still possible to think of a nation as a kind of community that can have emancipatory role in contemporary world?

Robert Gallagher | American University of Science and Technology, Beirut

εὖ ζῆν and nationalism

Aristotle argues, a state "exists for the sake of living well (εὖ ζῆν)."[1] Living well means a life of culture and participation in the affairs of one's state, including military service.[2] εὖ ζῆν defined Greek identity.[3] That all fully enjoy εὖ ζῆν, the better-off assist the less-advantaged through the reciprocity, redistribution and civic friendship that sustain community.[4] Were a state too large, citizens couldn't fully participate, nor leaders ensure all enjoy εὖ ζῆν.[5] This defines a friend-foe antithesis:[6] States sustaining εὖ ζῆν are friends, others foes. So, Persian 'globalism' attacked tiny Greece (5th cent. B.C.), whose superior culture triumphed, for denizens of Persia had no identity from which to fight.[7] Today, εὖ

ζῆν is threatened by a second global free market utopia (1981-present), following the first experiment with a self-regulating global market (1850-1929) which produced two World Wars.8 Then, as now, globalism demands austerity9: Today, continental Europeans experience εὖ ζῆν more than Anglo-Americans through practices of reciprocity and redistribution that Anglo-American globalism seeks to eradicate because they contradict a free market: *that* suggests friend-foe antagonism.10 But contemporary nationalisms resisting supranational power may bear promise of restoring balance and humanness to a world where everything's for sale.

Daniel Rosenberg | Department of Political Science, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Ernest Renan's *What is a Nation?* reconsidered

Ernest Renan's essay *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* is widely considered to be one of the most important and seminal documents of the modern national idea. Published in 1882, the text is often seen as a major cornerstone of what is commonly defined as "civic" nationalism as opposed to "ethnic" nationalism; briefly put, while the former is concerned with participation in political institutions (mainly citizenship), the latter is concerned with culture, heredity and identity. In the talk I will reconstruct Renan's idea of the nation through consultation with his different writings on the topic. By doing so, I will pursue an interpretative tradition which attempts to consider Renan's idea not as a simple vindication of "civic nationalism". Renan's idea, in this view, represents a different understanding of nationalism which cannot be safely inserted into either of the categories, as it is at once political and cultural; Renan views the nation as the result of a cumulative process of selection and adaptation, which is directed or at least facilitated by political and epistemic elites, which themselves are selected by history. As such, Renan's discussion prefigures and responds to many of the themes which preoccupy contemporary debates on the nation.

G. M. Tamás | Central European University, Budapest

Nation, race, *ethnie* and class: the problem revisited

The present crisis – regarded by some as an incipient dissolution of what has been traditionally held to be 'the Western civilisation' – should urge scholars and theorists to rethink the swiftly aging twentieth-century consensus on ethnic problems. The nineteenth century has, on the whole, considered the idea of national independence and national self-determination and self-government as an emancipatory principle, an enlargement – as it were – of individual freedom to include human groups. Nationalism was sometimes associated as the adversary of imperialism and of great-power politics, of expansionism and conquest, a

resistance to the equation of right and might. This idea has influenced communist internationalism which, far from proposing the amalgamation of all nations into a cosmopolitan whole, affirmed the right of *all* ethnic groups to their own polity. This was the extension of the emancipatory principle of equality to human groups, the recognition of the natural right of all *ethnies* to shape their own political existence as they wish. The inferences drawn from the history of fascism (incl. National Socialism) by liberals who thought that the Holocaust and the extermination of Slavic populations in the East by the Third Reich was a continuation of nationalism, differed sharply from the conclusions of the post-1945 left which (albeit opposed to nationalism as such) supported national liberation movements against Western imperialism.

But as the emancipatory capabilities of democratic nationalism are exhausted and ethnicism *(q. v.)* results in the decomposition of statehood and of politics as known hitherto, and as the reconfiguration of class identities is in a flux, there is a regression in the public mind to regard 'culture' as an immovable, natural characteristic in precisely that essentialist way as race was regarded before. Politics is explained by a non-political abstraction reducing social motivations to custom and habit in a rigid manner not seen since the days of the Bourbon restoration. Hence the identification of political philosophy to a narrowly defined local practice whose universalist pretentions are propping up élite privileges of the North Atlantic world and not doing much more. Cultural determinism is trying to replace historical materialism.

Panel 2: (Inter)national vs. (inter)state: is nation-state going to history?

Z. Selen Artan-Bayhan | City University of New York

Boundaries of Turkish ethno-national identity: immigrant imaginations in the United States

The constant debate on whether Turks are European or Middle Eastern, not only manifests itself in daily politics, but also in various aspects of life, from music to culinary tastes, from outfits to dining habits, from cinema to sports. Therefore, when I first started my research four years ago, I asked questions about Turkish immigrants' experiences of September 11, their relations with and perceptions of other Muslims and Americans. I was expecting to see non-religious Turks deny any resemblance to non-Turkish Muslim groups as they do not define their identity on religious terms, while I thought religious Turks would identify with the Muslim population in New York, and distance themselves from mainstream Americans, for their identity, I assumed, puts religion before everything else. I could not have been more wrong. While non-religious interviewees denied any resemblance to non-Turkish Muslims, as I expected, they also draw boundaries with mainstream Americans. My religious respondents, to my surprise, while distinguished themselves from non-Turkish Muslim groups, also found grounds where they identified with mainstream Americans. This was unexpected and surprising and also a demonstration of the fact that categories of secular and religious that we often take for granted are more complicated than they appeared. Based on 52 in-depth interviews that I conducted during my dissertation fieldwork, in this paper I am exploring the processes of ethno-national identity formation among Turkish immigrants in New York and New Jersey. In other words, I am seeking to understand how these people, after migrating to the United States, start to imagine, negotiate and reconstruct their ethno-national identity vis-à-vis other Muslim groups as well as mainstream Americans.

Elli Ponomareva | European University at St. Petersburg

Armenia's trans-border nationalism: diaspora identity construction and the Karabakh conflict

Through a qualitative anthropological study conducted in Tbilisi in 2015-2016 I address Armenia's trans-border nationalism and attempts at construction of diaspora identity among Armenians in Post-Soviet countries. I focus on the role of the Armenian Apostolic Church which promotes the state-sanctioned understanding of Armenianness rooted in the Armenian brand of Christianity and the Armenian language. Tbilisi is of particular interest with regard to this

issue since most individuals who identify themselves as Armenians there rarely perceive themselves as members of diaspora and demonstrate great linguistic and confessional plurality. Promotion of the "official" understanding of Armenianness among the Armenians in the Post-Soviet states is closely linked to the goal of strengthening loyalties towards Armenia and extracting economic, political and other obligations from Armenian communities. I examine the effort of the Armenian Apostolic Church and Church-adjacent institutions aimed at disseminating Armenia's contemporary nationalist discourse which increasingly frames the Karabakh conflict as a national cause, religious in nature and historically linked to the Armenian genocide, and portraits "the Turkic world" as an eternal enemy of the nation. Additionally, I will address the spectrum of reactions Armenians in Tbilisi demonstrated with regard to the recent crisis which took place in Karabakh in April 2016.

Stefan Aleksić | University of Belgrade

Nation of refugees:
inventing a nation or reinventing belonging

Though difference between what is considered "spontaneous" and what is considered "administrative" is crucial in strategies of imagining and analysing the phenomenon of "nation", it only reflects a foundational difference between "natural" and "artificial". Conflict between those two notions has never been solved: In the case of a "nation" this conflict reflects as a question "what makes a nation?" - institutions of nation state or some imaginative pre-political "togetherness". It seems that the example of a "refugee nation" questions this difference: we can see the "shadows" of a nation (feeling of togetherness) but without institutions (i.e.: the state). It seems that creating an Olympic team this year to compete under the UN flag is indicating the creation of a totally new class of people: neither nation, nor less-than-nation. Reasons for this "manoeuvre" are hard to define: especially when considering that successful athletes are among those who should least worry about citizenship. If we are to think of "refugeeness" as a basis for some new form of belonging, it seems that it has to transcend some - if not all - things we consider to be signifiers of nation. Can a "refugeeness" be the sign of some new form of belonging? And it also seems that athletes question the concept of belonging - as they did till now, having the ability to transcend administrative obstacles regarding civic status and citizenship. They now, although having the possibility to "choose" a nation, have decided to compete for something less than a nation, something that, apparently, will not benefit them (at least not directly). If so, then there are some other forms of belonging that are parallel to this one: As if this new forms of belonging can be seen in global protests? And resistances? And grassroots movements? And are there some other forms of belonging that have a capacity to question belonging? Can we imagine "class solidarity" as a basis for the new forms of belonging?

Panel 3: Gendering Serbian-Albanian relations

Elife Krasniqi | Karl Franzens University of Graz

Gender and Nation: competing loyalties in socialism and post-war period in Kosovo

After the abolition of Kosovo's autonomy by Serbia in 1989, during 1990s (so called the 'parallel system'), Kosovo Albanian women activists on women's rights could have worked, as Julie Mertus says, by serving the nation, but at the same time on behalf of national cause women challenged the inherited gender identity and roles (Mertus, 1999). What has permeated women's activism from period of socialism to present days is a plurality of belongings or identities that each was stratified in relation to power, oppression and loyalties. This paper attempts to bring to the surface the dynamics of these components through which women's activism in Kosovo have been developed. While not elaborating certain theoretical frames, the paper does provide an empirical account from a micro-level perspective of women's activism in three periods:
1. Women activists part of the underground resistance nationalist movement in Kosovo, known as *Ilegalja* (Ilegality) - years of 1960s and 1980s.
2. The women's activism during 1990s in the time of so called 'parallel system'
3. The proliferation of feminist activism in post-war Kosovo.

Adriana Zaharijević | Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade

Sisterhood in dispossession: the case of Serbia and Kosovo

The paper considers the possibility of establishing and maintaining alternative communities, taking as an example the Women's Peace Coalition between Kosovo Women Network and the Serbian Women in Black network. The principal question put forward is whether communities that surpass identitarian belonging are possible, and how these communities relate to "communities" determined territorially, nationally (by a nation state), as well as how they relate to artificial and symbolic supranational bodies. The main aim is the examination of the political potential of a community that wishes to be grounded on the logic of peace and the rejection of the logic of possession (following the slogan "people, not territories"). A community of women activists in the shape of the Women's Peace Coalition is defined as a community of the dispossessed, a term developed following the work of Judith Butler and Athena Athanasiou. This pregnant philosophical concept is introduced in order to offer a new approach to the context of an ambivalent, divided, inoperative state, with long-festering wounds of war.

Armanda Hysa | Institute of Cultural Anthropology and Art Studies
Center of Albanian Studies, Tirana

Theorizing ethnically mixed intimate relations in the Balkans: The case of Albanian–Serbian mixed marriages

Focusing on intimate relations among Albanian men with Macedonian women, Vasiliki Neofotistos argues that it is important to understand the relation between masculinist and ethno-nationalist ideologies (Neofotistos 2010: 291). A similar approach towards the same phenomenon is held by Catherine Verdery (1994), Gutmann (1996), Nagel (1998) Rozita Dimova (2006) and Sase Lambeski (1998). According to the abovementioned authors the ethno-national nation-state is viewed symbolically as a family, where male patriarchs make the decisions, and own the sexuality and fertility of their women. The aim of this paper is to provide empirical arguments that this theoretical framework, although valid, is not enough to understand the complexity of ethnically mixed intimate relations. Through the case study of Albanian women marrying in Serbia, I aim to show that patriarchal practices and relations related to the creation of new families can lead to the weakening of ethnic boundaries that otherwise are solid, as in the case of Albanians and Serbs.

Panel 4: Nations and international relations

Luca Lattanzi | University of Padova

The crisis of national States and the deterritorialization of enmity in Carl Schmitt's international thought

In the essay *Der Begriff des Politischen* from 1927, Schmitt points out a surplus of the political concept compared to that of the State. The growing interest Schmitt dedicates to international law since the 1930s is explained from that discovery. The modern day state-nation is in crisis because it is no longer able to neutralize internal conflicts. On the one hand, in fact, the consolidation of mass parties gives rise to a dissolution of the unified political group, on the other the subsequent dispoliticisation in which modernity was organized have led to the primacy of technique over politics, thus giving way to a clear distinction between friends and enemies. In highlighting how the balance between European states would rule on spatial freedom (nonnormative) of unexplored lands, Schmitt in *Der Nomos der Erde* then conveys another element that marks the crisis of the modern state: the deterritorialization of the enemy. If the European inter-state balance was based in fact on anomie of a virgin space, which joined the European powers in the name of "civilization", failed the availability of such a space, the war will not be fought according to a clear friend-enemy distinction but it will take on the appearance of an asymmetric war in which even the boundary between legal and illegal will fail to exist.

Hatice Hande Orhon Özdağ | Beykent University, İstanbul

Conflicting effects of globalization on nation states of the core and the periphery

Though globalization reflects upon the nation states of the core and the periphery in various ways, my aim in this paper is to isolate one of them and to demonstrate that, namely the abrasive effects, of globalization on the nation states of both the core and the periphery. As a historical process, globalization, through its means broadening technological and communicational opportunities and creating trans-border networks, tends to undermine national discrepancies. However, as a political project, globalization tends to widen the gaps between the states located on the core and periphery. Social scientists, as Wallerstein, Cox, Amin and Arrighi, point out the polarizing effects of the globalization which lead to capital accumulation in the core, empowering the core against the periphery, enhancing the core's ability in using international means over the periphery. Moreover, through spreading neoliberal and postmodern ideas and norms, and supporting conflicting identities in the periphery, globalization as a political project incites

ethnic, pre-modern identities which in return negatively affect both the core and the periphery. Therefore while, nation states in the periphery weaken because of the problems created or supported by globalization mechanisms, nation states in the core possessing new means to empower their domination both internally and externally.

Marko Kovačević | University of Belgrade, Faculty of Political Sciences

Bringing in Bibó: understanding identities and reality of small post-Yugoslav states

Twenty-five years after the beginning of the wars in the former Yugoslavia underlined by the nationalisms across its republics, the narratives and discourses of nationalism in its various forms have become a formative part of their respective national and state identities. This yields a specific configuration of discourses and practices of the post-Yugoslav small states that can be grasped based on the variations of their respective self-understandings connected to ethnic nationalism. Departing from a social constructivist and critical reading of the foreign policy discourses in the post-Yugoslav space, the author argues for the importance of understanding the links between small state identity and its "reality" by pointing to the relevance of, and engaging with the concepts and themes covered in the work of István Bibó (1911-1979), a Hungarian political theorist. Some of Bibó's ideas such as political hysteria, balance of power, and leadership are explored and employed as a background for the discussion about the common and specific themes in and the meanings of the post-Yugoslav foreign policies in the context of nationalism, and whether those can have any "emancipatory" potential.

Mariusz Węgrzyn | Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Gdansk

Indispensable nation - respect for the rights of nations as an indispensable prerequisite for respect of human rights, the world order and international security

"*Cosmopolitanism disregarded the importance of nations and nationality, and of other groups or cultures, in the creation of world order. It was the global manifestation of the social atomism. Cosmopolitanism understands each person as an isolated individual apart from their allegiances and background*".[1] Postmodern popliberal cosmopolitanism - postulate ideological infinitism: "no limits at any aspect of social life", has following assumptions and components: ontological nominalism and methodological individualism, sociological atomism, psychological solipsism, ethical progressive permissivism and political cosmopolitan imperialism. Ontological nominalism and methodological individualism: there are no social beings, no social entities outside or over individuals. In social, political and economic level popliberal infinitism mean: "no nations, no national states, no national economics".

Furthermore, popliberalism promotes – axiological disqualification of nationalism (nazification of nationalism) and glorification of – progressively understood - human rights, as the basis for the annihilation of the rights of nations. Nations are essential to the world international order. Nations are a factor of differentiation of the global social sphere. Differentiation is the basis for categorization, knowledge, purposeful action and order. The national culture at the collective level is correlated with psychic personality level of the individual. Statics of collective culture (the narrative structure of a religion and specific concepts of a culture) is a source of the social dynamics in both levels of social actions - collective and individual. Therefore "law of nations" that are "human rights" conceived at the level of community life[2] and respect for the rights of nations is an indispensable prerequisite for respect of human rights. Borders are necessary property of being. Borders are a political equivalent of metaphysical transcendentals of being: res, unum, aliquid. That is why the liberal demand for the abolition of all borders in turn results in the annihilation of all religions, cultures, morals and states. The ultimate result of liberal cosmopolitanism would be a state without boundaries; the whole Earth itself, would be totalitarian one world-state, and there would be no escape or asylum from it. Political borders are equivalent to the limitations of the human condition: limitations of the knowledge, freedom, actions and goodwill. Global state is unlimited (indivisible territorially and substantively) totalitarian power; it is a global disorder (case of Soviet Union and U.S. policy in the Middle East). Therefore global state results in global tyranny, global anarchy and probably rapid global revolution.

[1] Long, David, Towards a new liberal internationalism: the international theory of J. A. Hobson, p.52
[2] John Paul II Address to the UN General Assembly, New York, October 5, 1995

Panel 5: Europe, nations and symbolic geography

Tamara Pavasovic Trost | University of Ljubljana

Belonging to Europe: understanding the complex symbolic geographies of Europe in everyday Serbian discourse

While much research has examined political, economic, and institutional obstacles to and effects of Europeanization, very little empirical work has tackled the on-the-ground understandings of Europe as a geographic, symbolic, and cultural space, vis-à-vis the nation state. This paper focuses on the local understandings of what it means to 'belong' to Europe: How is Europe understood, and what are the meanings attached to it by ordinary people? What are the ideational landscapes within which European concepts/values are interacting with on the ground? It does so by analyzing over 100,000 user comments to articles in three of the most popular Serbian media (*Blic*, *Kurir* and *B92*), on topics triggering discussions of Europe and Serbia's place in it: Hague extraditions, annual holdings of the pride parades, and general EU accession news, between 2009 and 2016. The richness of the data provides new insights into the varied and complex meanings attached to Europe at a local level, disentangling the differing internalizations of Europe as a geographic, political, symbolic, and cultural concept. I find variegated and frequently contradictory notions of Europe and the West: backwards (in terms of accepting LGBT rights, for instance) but modern, distant ("we don't want it anyway") versus local ("we always were a part of Europe"), etc. I argue that it is precisely these local uses and understandings of Europe that can act as obstacles to expected norm-socialization, and can shed deeper insights into contemporary understandings of the nation and belonging to the nation vis-à-vis Europe.

Sanja Lazarević-Radak | Institute for Balkan Studies SASA, Belgrade
Andrej Mitić | University of Niš

Symbolic geography and anthropomorphization of a Nation: the Ottoman Empire and Turkey in English and American travelogues (1840-1921)

Like other symbolic geographies, the Ottoman Empire went through a long process of zoomorphization at the level of representation. It was equalled with a „lion", „dog"; „wolf", „animal-like monster", until ninetieth century, when travellers began to explain it in the terms of humanity. Since the nineteenth century, the zoomorphization and mythologization ("God's punishment", "Satan") were abandoned and replaced with anthropomophization: "Bastard of the Occident"; "Sick Man from Bosporus"; "Filthy barbarian": „Its hands are in Hungary, its heart is in Austria..." (Menzies, 1880). After the Young Turk revolution and Ataturk's reforms,

a new phase in its symbolization began. During the 1920s it was represented as a new, young, but a fragile country with democratic potential. Starting from the assumption that identification and attribution of symbolic geography are political processes that include discourse and power/knowledge, the anthropomorphization of Ottoman Empire and Turkey can reflect imagi-nation of identity (similarities and differences) which are attributed to these countries in English and American travel accounts. Therefore the aim is to examine: 1. The meaning of the representations that shape symbolic geographies, accenting the shift from zoomophization and mythologization to anthropomorphization; 2. To point out the role of political factors in their occurrence and to 3. Explain the importance of the effect which symbolic geographies have on international relations.

Madlen Nikolova | Central European University, Budapest

"Europe" and its constitutive Other: a case study of a trial against "foreign" Islam in Bulgaria

The figure of Europe is usually posed as internationalist and contrasted with autarkic and populist politics of enmity. In this paper I will look into a case of the opposite articulation in Bulgaria, namely the mobilisation of the figure of Europe as a resource for radical and exclusionary antagonism. I will study a recent trial against thirteen Muslims accused and convicted of propagating "foreign and political-ideological" Islam aimed against the "European democratic liberal order." Two conflictual types of Islam were constructed by expert witnesses within the trial an "European (due to its Bulgarianness)" Islam versus a "foreign" one. Expert witnesses (most of whom public intellectuals), the prosecution and the court shared similar understanding of Europe, liberalism, secularism, Islam, and risks to security. I will rely on my close reading of the court protocols from the trial at the first instance, and will supplement it with an analysis of relevant public statements by the expert witnesses. The paper will address the following questions: What imaginaries of Europe allow for the sanctioning of some Muslim practices in Bulgaria and the normalisation of others? Can "foreign and political" Islam be thought of as one of the new constitutive Others of proEuropean Bulgarian liberalism?

Panel 6: Nationalism and risks

Aleksandar Fatić | Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade

Is Jihadi terrorism a longing for organic identity?

The explosion of Jihadi terror across the world has proven both immune to the standard repressive policing and highly contagious in some of the most advanced western democracies. This development challenges the accepted "wisdom" which was introduced as uniform anti-terror policy after the initial attacks on New York and Washington in 2001. One of these wisdoms has been the principle of "no negotiations with terrorists". In this paper I seek to explore the limits of the effectiveness of the principle of no negotiations, and argue that, to the contrary, there must in fact exist comprehensive negotiations with terrorists which, in addition, must be pursued in earnest. I suggest in the paper that the phenomenology of Jihadi recruitment and dynamics of its violence in Europe and North Americe suggest that modern Jihadism is more than an illegitimate religious war waged by (some) Muslims against the "Crusaders" of the West; rather I argue that modern Jihadism is to a predominant extent the result of a massive longing for the disappearing organic communities and of pervasive alienation in industrial societies which have proven capable of radicalizing even the most unlikely young men and women in the western "ghettos".

Andrej Pezelj | University of Nova Gorica

Violence and Emancipatory Role of the State

 If we analyse the Nation through its genealogy within the political form of State, the question: "Can Nation ever be emancipatory?" seems as rhetorical one. Without the State, in fact, there would not be possibility of emancipation at all. As it is well known, the law in *Ancient régime*, is mostly not the law that applies equally on all people. It is not the common law, but the system of privileges and statuses unequally distributed among the people. An individual can't be thought outside the particular domain of privileges or statuses that he belongs to. The State will break archaic social formations as villages, fraternities, orders, and will establish the platform from which it will be possible to think the individuals. It is only from this platform that will become possible, much later, to speak and think about the emancipation. Or, as Etienne Thuau said, the liberty of the individual could not be obtained without the tyranny of the State. Paradoxically, it seems that there was needed some kind of political violence as a prelude for emancipation of subjects. In my paper, I would like to analyse through some concrete examples, the violent yet emancipatory role of the State in 17th century France.

Marjan Gjurovski | Faculty of Security, Skopje
Dragan Djukanovic | Institute of International Politics and Economics, Belgrade

Risks of social identity – the case of the Republic of Macedonia

The identity in the Republic of Macedonia after its independence from Yugoslavia is built between the groups with different historical genesis. These groups are dimensioned through the ethnicity they belong to. The integration thus is not performed by the individuals but by the group itself. This might affect the perceptions between the groups because the individual in such cases often have a limited right to choose what the group has already chosen. Regarding the fear of change of the identity, the treat is reflected in the need for Euro-Atlantic integration (vertical competition). This is not a result from the fear of migration as it is in Western Europe. This fear is due to the change of the name of the country which currently causes sense of threat among the ethnic Macedonians. The fear by depopulation is not evident because there is not practice from the past that points to this. There is not security threat with religious characteristics in Macedonia. Although there is a breakthrough of different directions in the area of major religions, there is no danger yet that would exacerbate the level of threat. We can't define the status of the identity in advance. Identity is not the cause of security problems but is likely their effect. The very existence of people with separate identities is not a security problem, but we could rather say that they have separate identities as a result of the security problems. According to one opinion, society has an identity by definition. People do not choose it, but they rather recognize and belong to it. We are who we think we are and nobody else can judge or evaluate us. Nobody can deny that certain feeling of common identity is a result of living together in same institutions or that the ethnic/national identity can become a security problem. Objective definitions of threats to social security are equally problematic as those that apply to the state. Considering the fluid nature of the collective identities, it is not necessary all of their changes to be taken as a threat. Some changes will be considered as a natural process through which groups react to the changes of the historical conditions. Some processes however, carry without doubt a potential damage to social security. Threats to social security exists when society thinks his "we" identity is questioned, no matter whether it is a fair assessment or not. Assets that could threaten social identity lie in the range from bans on its expression to obstruction of his ability to play through the generations. According to Buzan, this might involve "ban on the use of language, names, manner of dress, by terminating the services of education till deporting or killing of members of the community." Threats to the reproduction of society can be found in the composition of the application of repressive measures against the expression of identity. If the institutions that reproduce the language and culture, such as schools, newspapers, museums, etc., are closed, identity cannot simply be transferred from generation to generation. In addition, if the balance of the population in certain areas is changed, it can also disrupt social reproduction. This paper will present the results of empirical research which used direct and indirect techniques of application of the method of examination of citizens and experts.

Stefan Milutinović | Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade
Ana Veljković | University of Glasgow and Corvinus University of Budapest

The European Crisis through the Lenses of the Refugee Crisis: Are Migrations from the Middle East Strengthening Nationalism in Europe?

Migrations of thousands of hundreds of people from the Middle East and Central Asia, which have been taking place in the last two years at the territory of Europe, have started numerous discussions about media's writing about this complex phenomenon as the final blow to the unity of the EU that has been struggling with many problems, above all – economy and security. In this paper we have focused on the analysis of the most significant reports published by the big European media, which were selected based on their popularity and reputation. The results have shown that the arrival of refugees from the Middle East and Central Asia has different interpretations by the governments of various countries, and therefore, different measures taken on the territory of the European Union. Some perceive this phenomenon as threat to the unity of the EU, while others see it as a new argument for the idea of multiculturalism in Europe, which is ready to take refugees and protect them. On the basis of the empirical results of this research, an analysis of the "realistic danger" of weakening the united Europe was conducted, as well as of the discourse of raising nationalism in certain countries.

Panel 7: Nationalism and the urban space

Natasa Sardzoska | Karls Eberhard University of Tübingen, University of Bergamo and New Sorbonne Paris 3 University

Struggle for nation-state recognition: spatial nation-building, urban mapping and porous memory in the reinvention of the Macedonian capital city

The paper draws on the political consequences of spatial demarcation of territory through reinvention of the past (Hobsbawm). In the turbulent fervid proliferation of shifting post-Yugoslav borders, the case of Macedonia has undergone retrograde dialogue with the past: the reconstruction of monuments with national density and emblematic meaning has re - appropriated and reconfigured destroyed monuments (1963 earthquake), on one hand, and, on the other hand, built monuments that proclaim nationalistic identification, challenging the Albanian minority to perform the same. The erasure and dissolution of the former borders, have introduced politically unstable spaces: the urge of belonging to a strong statehood-frame has implemented derived toponyms drifting off geostrategic memory. Contextually, the establishment emancipatory politics has shown to what extent the struggle for a recognition of a 'small' nation can be devastating, and dangerous. Thus, the notion (Hobbes) that man is inherently dangerous to man in political anthropology is transcended (Schmitt): diverse social re-organization can imply such behaviour of man, who, although by nature is dangerous, performs a political authority with a contingent impact of enmity. This analogically refers to self-preservation practices and existence of ambiguous communities which are substantially not enemies but they do deploy a cultural or ethnical enmity when constructing and struggling for the space they dwell in. In this, the designation of enemy is not a mere reaction to a threat to forms of existence of Macedonian collective identities but rather intrinsic irrational symbolic struggle for recognition.

Denis S. Ermolin | Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), Russian Academy of Sciences Saint-Petersburg

Komšiluk in Pristina: between Memory and Locality

In my paper I shall try to support the idea that the phenomenon of neighbourhood in a Balkan city (Serb. *komšiluk*, Alb. *komshill*ëk) has been the primary setting and source of the interaction, inter acquaintance and cooperation that has helped to establish and foster a sense of cultural, ethnic, religious tolerance and even partnership between different ethnic groups both at peace and war. Moreover, in current anthropological research komšiluk is regarded as a notion that is capable to function as an efficient barrier against the nationalist projects of ethnic cleansing

(Žunić 1998; Maček 2000; Sorabji 2008 etc.). Secondly, in order to contribute to the analysis of the Balkan neighbourhoods I will negotiate the phenomenon of komšiluk in Pristina (Kosovo/Serbia) as having both social and spatial dimensions that comprises two notions – *memory* and *locality*, i.e. this is the box where certain people limited by certain physical borders and social relations could keep their memoirs, joys and sorrows, outstanding moments of common life, as well as perform their everyday duties. Finally, I will show that in current Serbian-Albanian relations the phenomenon of komšiluk operates as a *lieu de mémoire* par excellence for its ex-dwellers – both Serbs and Albanians. The memories of their common past (though sometimes idealized) become a tool that helps to cope with their personal traumas of war, loss of social links and property, and forced resettlement.

Ana Ljubojevic | CEDIM, Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb, Croatia
Mia Jerman | CEDIM, Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb, Croatia

"Town monument", then and now: Memories of the 1990s and social production of identities in Dubrovnik

Based on an ethnographic study carried out in the wider area of Dubrovnik, Croatia, this paper explores social production of memory, related to personal pre-war, war and post-war experience. Dubrovnik has been heavily damaged in 1991, under the attacks of the former Yugoslav People's Army during the 1991-1995 Croatian war for independence. The main focus of our research is the dynamics of regional identity, i.e. perceptions of Dubrovnik as semi-periphery in Croatian context, with the national and supranational one. In addition, we explore metaphors and symbols linked to the notions of cultural heritage, monuments and aesthetic values of the town of Dubrovnik. Following the methodology of discourse analysis, we have conducted semi-structured interviews with around twenty of the most important actors and witnesses of war events about their emotional attachments to the public space and landscape of Dubrovnik. Our aim is to connect and question the symbolical meaning of the town with the notion of national identity. Finally, this paper tries to establish if and how war-time symbols are changing their meanings and whether new post-war metaphors are being introduced.

Srđan Atanasovski | Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade

Sonic ecologies of urban segregation: Serbian-Albanian relations and producing 'the Other' on the street rallies

In this paper I will discuss of Albanian-Serbian relations by focusing on the materiality of the social relations *in situ*, produced in the immanent 'lived

space', rather than constructed solely through discursive means. Among other examples, I will particularly analyse street rally which took place in December 2012 in Belgrade, to protest the establishment of the border checks between Serbia proper and northern Kosovo. I present this case study as a paradigmatic example of Serbian religious nationalism, a form of contemporary nationalism in a post-secular state, where the religious and nationalistic affects are being hybridized on the level of lived experience, but also where 'the Other' – 'the Enemy' – has to be constructed (and materially represented) in order to render the nationalistic affect real. I will particularly investigate sonic and performative 'technologies of segregation' – namely, the use of sound/music, performative and gestural acts, behavioural patterns, etc., aiming to create a symbolic border between the participants of the rally and 'the Other', understood both as a distant and an immediate adversary. I will show how these practices can produce parallel, virtually segregated communities and how they articulate and ingrain the idea of 'the Other' – 'the enemy' – in the urban fabric itself.

Aneta Strzemżalska | Department of Anthropology, European University, Saint Petersburg

Formal and informal nationalism. Jazz performances in Azerbaijan

There are two types of jazz prevalent in the cultural space of Azerbaijan. One is classical government-supported jazz, similar to Western jazz but with a local *mugham* flavour. The other is a stylization of jazz, in which jazz is reminiscent of pop songs, played in the trendy restaurants of Baku with the use of jazz harmonies. From the beginning, Azerbaijani jazz was created and popularized by official authority, and was and is included in the national ideology of the independent republic. This fact, along with the differentiation of Azerbaijani jazz, prompts a discussion on the interconnection between government and citizens, and the penetration of daily life into national ideology. In my speech, I will raise the question of the interrelationship between official cultural politics and everyday practices on the basis of these theoretical works. Taking into account the specific contradiction between political establishment and the perception of jazz as a "form of oppositional art", I describe the process of the nationalization of this musical genre, and discuss how jazz performances fit into Azerbaijani national ideology. Moreover, I analyze how Azerbaijani jazz is interpreted and used by average city dwellers to meet personal goals, including strengthening their social or economic position. In this way, I touch upon the subject of the interrelation between quasi-jazz performances and national ideology.

Panel 8: (Post-)YU states and nationalisms

Adin Crnkić | University of Ljubljana

Constructing Bosniak nationalism: historical institutionalist perspective

My presentation will primarily focus on the emergence of Bosniak nation. Through a historical analysis of the development of Bosniaks, I focus on contemporary Bosniak history. My core desideratum is to present and critically evaluate the ways and means by which the new Bosniak (formerly known as Bosnian Muslim) nationalism emerged after the fall of The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, predominantly to Alija Izetbegović's credit. I also propose to evaluate the role of the new elite, either religious or secular. As a theoretical backbone, my research is set against the background of the modernist interpretation of nationalism, as argued for in Hobsbawm (1983), *int. al*. While such theories have their merits, they can neither capture nor explain some aspects of nationalism which I propose to investigate: in broad terms, why does time not play a major factor for the maturation and rise of nationalism? Proposed research aims to follow André Lecours in the assumption that nationalism can be explained through the institutional analysis. In doing so, the theory of new institutionalism, or more precisely historical institutionalism [HI] (Pierson in Skocpol 2002, *int. al*.) has great explanatory power for understaning the rise of nationalism, in our case the Bosniak nationalism. For HI, »history matters« (Steinmo 2008) and we have to take »time seriously« (Pierson in Skocpol 2002: 695). An important feature of HI is the so-called `law of unintended consequences': the core of this often cited but rarely defined concept is that actions of people—and especially government—always have effects that are unanticipated or unintended. Additionally, the two main ideas of HI are critical junctures and path dependency. Critical junctures of the Bosniak nation are the following: (1) Yugoslav Federal Constitution Amendments of the 1971/1974 Yugoslav Constitution; (2) the breaking up of Yugoslavia and the establishment of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) in 1990; and (3) the establishment of the Dayton peace agreement. Such interpretations should be distinguished from primordialist and »orthodox« modernist/constructivist approaches, or in other words, this is an upgrade within the latter. I believe I will successfully show that institutions were a crucial factor in constructing the Bosniak nation and affirmation of their own distinctive nationalism.

Ivan Ejub Kostić | Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade

From a religious to a national movement:
a case study of the Young Muslims

The Young Muslim organization, founded at the dawn of the Second World War in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is perhaps one of the least researched movements in the former Yugoslavia. Apart from Armina Omerika's recently published doctoral dissertation there is no other academic study that seriously considers this movement, which has grown in importance to many Bosniaks. The reason behind the growing popularity of this movement with Bosniaks can perhaps be found in the fact that the "father" of the Bosniak nation, Alija Izetbegovic, was one of the organization's founders and most important activist, as well as the fact that its members comprised the backbone of the future Party of Democratic Action. To demonstrate the evolution of the Young Muslims from a purely religious to a national movement this paper will utilize Mark Juergensmeyer's theoretical framework of three types of religious national movements: ethno-religious, ethno-ideological and ideologically religious nationalist movements. The paper will demonstrate that the Young Muslim movement has gone through all three categories of Juergensmeyer's religious nationalism. The paper will also explain the crucial factors which influenced the movement in replacing its universal pan-Islamic ideology with a particularistic-national Bosniak idea, and the potential influences that the organization has made on identity changes in Bosniak society.

Dario Brentin | Centre for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz

"The sporting men have no country!"
Sport as a channel for inter-ethnic understanding in the post-Yugoslav space?

Modern sport is a major field of popular culture in which the idea of the nation is predominately perpetuated as one of an 'imagined community' cementing national particularity. In the post-Yugoslav context, scholarly interest has thus far focused on analysing sport in the context of national homogenisation processes and as a field of nationalist euphoria and conflict. However, at the same time there is a vast literature dealing with "Sport for Development and Peace" (SDP) highlighting the piece-building aspects of sport, particularly on local levels. The SDP scholarship draws its empirical experiences mainly from post-conflict societies outside Southeast Europe, such as South Africa or Northern Ireland. This paper thus aims to analyse the potential progressive aspects of sport in the post-Yugoslav context looking for a more nuanced and complex representation of the social roles of sport in the region. By looking at local initiatives, regional sporting leagues and particularly the case study of Bosnian-Herzegovinian football, it will examine their potential for the creation of inter-ethnic understanding, but also point out their limitations and potentially even repudiate such a prospective.

Ozan Erözden | Law Faculty, MEF University, Istanbul-Turkey

Civic Nationalism, Universalism and War Crimes: The Case of Croatian Social Democrat Party (SDP)

During the first phase of Croatia's transition to democracy, which started with the death of Franjo Tudjman in the end of 1999, the prosecution of war crimes and crimes against humanity allegedly committed by the members of Croatian armed forces and paramilitary during the conflict between 1991 and 1995 was one of the most important issues on the political agenda. During this period SDP, which was the biggest partner of a coalition government, assumed a universalist approach to the issue, advocating impartial criminal prosecution regardless of ethnic background of perpetrators. While in line with the party's civic nationalist stance, this policy encountered serious challenges as the United Nations War Crimes Tribunal (the ICTY) issued indictments for officials that were considered as heroes of Croatian Homeland War. By examining the case of SDP, this paper aims to discuss whether civic nationalism's universalist theoretical premises are politically applicable during and/or in the aftermath of violent conflicts generated with extensive reference to ethnic identities.

Panel 9: Real socialism and national question(s)

Ercan Gündoğan | Cyprus International University

A Critical Re-evaluation of Lenin's and Stalin's Conceptions of National Question and Self-determination Right of Nations and People

This paper briefly and critically summarizes Lenin and Stalin's conception of national question and the self-determination right in the first half of the twentieth century and rises some questions about whether their conceptions (and related policies implemented) led into the collapse of the federal, multi-national socialist systems such as the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and the meaning of the self-determination right for socialist struggle in the twentieth first century and onwards.

Rastislav Dinić | Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš

New, yet unapproachable states: Cavell on America, Makavejev on Yugoslavia

In a seminal article, 'On Makavejev On Bergman', Stanley Cavell famously pronounces Makavejev to be 'a patriot of the still invisible fatherland'. This phrase clearly echoes the famous Emerson's phrase about the 'the new, yet unapproachable America', which Cavell will later use a title of his book on Wittgenstein and Emerson. Emerson used the phrase in speaking about being ready 'to die out from Nature, and into this new yet unapproachable America', and Cavell interprets his words to mean that the America he speaks about is: "Unapproachable by a process of continuity, if to find it is indeed (to be ready) to be born again, that is to say, suffer conversion; conversion is to be turned around, reversed, and that seems to be a matter for *discontinuity*." As I will try to show, what Cavell recognizes in Makavejev is a vision of community similar to his own – one based not on any kind of natural, or supernatural guarantees, but on the diurnal preparedness to continue together. Both America and Yugoslavia, as nations "of no settled tribe or *Stamm*, of no national religion, not even of any national language" (Eldridge) pose the question of nationality without a transcendental guarantee, and as I intend to show, both Cavell and Makavejev find their answers in a specific kind of romanticism, which puts them at odds with Schmittian decisionism, as well as with Gellnerian rationalism.

Marjan Ivković | Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade
Tamara Petrović Trifinović | Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade
Srđan Prodanović | Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade

From Social Justice to Identity:
Systemic Legitimation of Yugoslav Socialism in Kosovo Protests

The paper examines why the potential for rearticulating Serbian-Albanian relations through the egalitarian language of Yugoslav socialism was never fully realized. As we argue, the experimental character of self-management socialism produced instability and challenges to its own legitimation, giving rise to the political elite's strategy of the discursive reduction of protest movements. We aim to show how this elite, whose rule was ideologically challenged by demonstrations in Kosovo in 1968, 1981 and 1988, systematically negated through media discourse the social aspects of the complex revolts, reducing them to a mere expression of nationalism. Discourse analysis of the contemporaneous press provides numerous examples of delegitimizing the 1968 and 1981 protests as purely nationalist, while the analysis of the events of 1988 introduces the concept of "hybrid discourse", showing how it was used to also legitimize Serbian nationalist protests of "solidarity". Based on the above analysis, we propose a tentative theoretical model which explains how the strategy of discursive reduction induced various social groups to gradually renounce even the possibility of articulating their own experience of injustice in the social key, and opened up space for them to interpret their demands as incompatible with socialist Yugoslavia.

Ana Petrov | Faculty of Media and Communications, Singidunum University, Belgrade

"Whoever doesn't listen to the song will listen to the storm": Politics of nationalism and Yugoslav popular music

In this paper I deal with the interconnections between the politics of popular music and the politics of nationalism in socialist Yugoslavia during the 1980s. I analyze the ways in which the music was engaged in a tendency to save Yugoslav integralism (at least on the level of popular culture), but also, I show how the music was used to point to the inevitable end of Yugoslav unity and the country itself. Having in mind the official state politics of promoting popular music, according to which rock and roll was 'the music of the young' that would 'keep us together', I deal with the songs that were meant to be presented as socially engaged or as commentaries on current political situation. I specifically focus on the production and reception of the group *Bijelo dugme*, which had one of the most representative songs for the mentioned tendency: *Kosovska* (Kosovo song, 1983), recorded in Albanian. Since popular music was one of the most important Yugoslav cultural products, I discuss official political and popular discourses on it, but, also, I point to the ways the discourses on nationalism and Yugoslavism were incorporated in the musicians' discourses. Additionally, I address the issue of post-Yugoslav reception of that kind of Yugoslav music production.

Panel 10: Ethnographies of a Nation

Krisztina Rácz | University of Ljubljana

Constructing and Destructing the National: Discourses and Practices of Ethnicity among Hungarian Youth in Vojvodina

The presentation is based on a case of study of young people of Hungarian nationality in a predominantly Hungarian village in Vojvodina, Serbia. It explores the discursive strategies and means of realization by which they construct their ethnic identities vis-à-vis members of the same national group and ethnic others in an environment that is both multiethnic and a closed "Hungarian world"[1]. Through an adapted Critical Discourse Analysis approach I have identified the ideological cores in the interviews and observations that are often related to not only linguistic but more general social thematic nuclei, and then explored the strategies and means by which the main topics of national identity and interethnic relations are realized among my interlocutors. By embedding the linguistic data into the social context of the institutions of school, the family and the peer group, the structure the everyday interethnic encounters of the young people under study, their values, norms, attitudes and views of their own ethnic group are interpreted, and conclusions are drawn on the nature of national identification of sub-state minorities in the region.

[1] Rogers Brubaker et al. 2006. *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Andrej Kubiček | Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

Roma Nation: Escaping Pariah People's Stigma?

In this praper, I will explore the emancipatory potential of European Roma people's national identity. For almost a millennia, different nomadic groups - possibly diverse in origin - were labeled as "Gypsies" by settled peoples. During this long process, they had status of the pariah people: "guest people that is ritually separated from host society" (Weber, 1997: 10-11). Complex overlapping of segregation from host peoples and of Roma people's self-separation and protection of monopolies in some trades had many social consequences, but the most important one is that nomads suffered both deep economic deprivation and all sorts of prejudices, which tended to become even more severe as they settled down during the 19th and 20th century. Apart from two main survival practices of Roma, which include acceptance of pariah status and uneasy attempts to assimilate in host people's nations, during the 1970' emerged one new strategy: affirmation of unity and solidarity among different stigmatized communities

through project of Roma nation. Possible potential for emancipation, as well as latent risks of this very peculiar nation-building project will be explored using two methods: interviews with members of Roma elite in Serbia and discourse analysis of important texts which aim to construct nation which is emerging in this very moment.

John William Day | Bilkent University, Ankara

Living Turkish Nationalism: Theoretical and Ethnographic Reflections from Kurdish Turkey

The word people, as Agamben (2000) shows, contains in so many languages a profound tension. There is the People, the celebrated identity of a political community ("the British People vote leave!"). And there are the people: the rural, the poor, often implying those whose membership is subject to question. And Agamben sees this tension as central to the conditions for the possibility and reproduction of contemporary forms of political community and its constitutive exclusions. This paper draws on two years of fieldwork in Diyarbakir, the informal capital of Kurdish Turkey, to explore how this tension has played out in wider national discourse, but more importantly to my concerns, how the practical implications or consequences of this tension have led to very different readings of the Turkish nation-making project in this human geography. Drawing on an understanding of ethnography that attends to how people, in specific political-historical, symbolic, and geographical milieus, navigate lives and pursue desires and dreams, I move between Agamben's framework and human stories of the lived effects of enmity. I end with some reflections on the possibility of the emergence of potentially non-national forms of political identity from a place so often unmade and remade by nationalism.

Inis Shkreli | Faculty of Social Sciences and Education
European University of Tirana

Exploring collective identity and everyday life of Serbian-Montenegrin minority in Shkodra

The paper will present the historical and present situation of the Serbian and Montenegrin minority in the district of Shkodra in Albania. The paper will focus on components that form the collective identity: (1) language that is a strong reference to ethnic identity; (2) religion and self-stereotypes that play an important role in defining the boundaries of the group and also create the categories (sub-groups) inside the Slav speaking community in Shkodra. The second part of the paper focuses on the chaotic transition from communism to a democratic Albania, which influenced the one flow migratory movements of Serbians-Montenegrins towards the origin country, Yugoslavia.

Panel 11: National identity formation: Us and Them

Mark Hau | Aarhus University

'Catalan is whoever wants to feel Catalan': narrative cultivations of self among Catalan nationalists

To what extent can national identity be termed an individual act of will? Activists of the Catalan nationalist party ERC practice an explicitly open ethnic self-categorization based on will and choice. They construct their Catalan identity through conscious choices, technologies of the self, and daily acts of cultivation. Rather seeing Catalan ethnicity as a pre-determined, passively assigned category, I argue that contemporary Catalan identity construction is performed and embodied through daily communicative practice and shared narratives. This favours a dialectical view of the individual and collective where individuals autonomously subject themselves to a higher purpose; in this case, their national identity. The terminology of ethical self-transformation, until now primarily used in the study of religious behaviour, helps to unpack these narrative constructions of identity as performed by nationalist Catalan actors. Political constructions of 'the good life' increasingly take Catalan independence as a starting point, linking the political and the moral. Catalan nationalist activists attempt to align personal and communal narratives by discursively equating a Catalan 'ideal-self' with morally correct behaviour. A further analysis of the link between the moral and the political in Catalan nationalist narratives illuminate new facets of contemporary Catalan identity formation.

Lucas Álvarez Canga | University of Oviedo

Enmity in nationalism: Spain as a key element of Catalan identity and nationalism

Catalan nationalism began in the 19th century, and usually considers the conquest of Barcelona in 1714 –during the War of Spanish Succession- as the first grievance suffered from Spain. Catalan nationalism is currently focused on identity threats that foster the independence. These are also caused by Spain. Thus, Spain is considered an enemy to Catalan identity and its nationalism. The aim of this paper is to find out how has evolved Catalan identity and its nationalism by using the concept of enemy. To this end, firstly I take 1714 as example of the evolution of this consideration of Spain. Secondly, I show how this concept of enmity has evolved through the ideologists of Catalan nationalism from the 19th century until its current heyday. In order to do so, I handle literature of the History of Catalonia –and Spain-, many of the main thinkers of Catalan nationalism as Prat de la Riba or Jordi Pujol, and finally newspapers as *La Renaixença* and *La Vanguardia*. In *La Vanguardia* I

have examined the news from 2010 to 2014 that considers Spain as an enemy. From there I extracted the role different events and organizations have recently played regarding this view of Spain and the current rise of Catalan nationalism.

Roland Gjoni | University College Dublin

A different kind of "Us":
national identity dynamics in Albania and Kosovo

Does the long term partition create identity differences between residents and political elites of partitioned states from perceived co-ethnics outside state borders? How are differences framed and expressed amongst partitioned populations when shifts in political circumstances enable free interactions? The idea that nation-states are instrumental to achieve cultural homogeneity and assimilate identity differences amongst large communities through mass schooling, state sanctioned standardization of language; welfare systems, military conscription and other institutions is well established in the theories of nationalism (Breuilly 1993; Malesevic 2013: Mann 2012). However, partitions of nation- states after the achievement of statehood create new dynamics between the state possessing part of a national community and the kin group outside the state borders (Brubaker 1996: King and Melvin 1999b). In such situations, ethnic communities straddling state borders are exposed to the homogenizing effects and institutionalization processes of two or more states which raises interesting questions about the change and continuity of national identities. These questions touching upon the durability of national identities, state's impact on identity shifts and identity differences amongst perceived co-ethnics has been previously researched (Todd 2015; King 2000; Boreman 1992). This paper explores the dynamics of national identity in the Republic of Albania and the Republic of Kosovo as a long term and large scale process which is interactively affected by external geopolitical constrains in which elites of nation-states operate, elite interests and identity dynamics at the everyday level. The Albanian case is a *key case* because the assumed partition of Albania and integration of Kosovo in the Kingdom of Serbia took place immediately after the Declaration of Independence by Albania in 1912. Furthermore, while in previous cases partitions has been preceded with a history of a shared statehood (Germany before FDR and GDR), intermittent phases of political unification (Hungary before Trianon) or an un-interrupted cross-border interaction between partitioned Irish, Albanians of Republic of Albania and Kosovo could not freely move across borders until the collapse of communism in Albania in 1991 and particularly after the NATO-led international intervention in 1999 and have never lived under the same national state. Unpacking the strength and consequences of shared identity in cases of partitions is a complex endeavour and contemporary research on the "partitioned identities" has not generated sufficient agreement on the effects of state institutionalization on the assumed singularity of national identity of ethnic communities separated by state borders. This study combines original data from semistructured interviews conducted by the author, publicly availably survey results on nationhood and national identity conducted in Albania and Kosovo and secondary materials. The interviews with

83 current and former state officials, politicians, writers and civil society members from Albania and Kosovo were conducted during the year 2014 and 2015.

Vedran Džihić | University of Vienna, CAS SEE, University of Rijeka

Persistance of ethno-politics in Bosnia&Herzegovina: adaptability and performativity of ethno-nationalism

21 years have passed since the end of war in Bosnia, yet the country seems to be haunted by the ghosts of the past. Dysfunctional state institutions and constitution together with a pattern of confrontation instead of consensus are still prominent features of Bosnian politics and society. Above all Bosnia today is still a country ruled by ethno-politics, which is endlessly perpetuated by political elites, nurtured by divergent narratives about the past and kept high on the agenda for the sake of personal and group interests. Ethno-nationalism in Bosnia as the Post-Dayton modus vivendi and operandi of Bosnian society and politics has over almost decades proved its enormous adaptability and performative potential. The article explores the persistence of ethno-politics and ethno-nationalism in Bosnia based on theoretical explorations of modes and patterns of nationalism and ethno-politics after Dayton. Few empirical illustrations are provided, however the paper does not aim at offering a comprehensive empirical account of ethno-politics and its practice in Bosnia. Finally, by relaying on the relational theory of nationalism by Rogers Brubaker the paper cautiously explores paths to portray a *longue durée* of ethno-politics and ethno-nationalism in Bosnia.

Panel 12: Nation and politics in education and academia

Çağatay Çoker, Gonca Nebioğlu | Department of Psychology, Istanbul University
Ogeday Çoker, Yakup Azak | Department of Psychology, Istanbul University

Nationalist and gender discourse in textbooks of highschool education in Turkey

Nationalist states' discourse of 'unifying' also gathers and distributes power from a unitary centre. The power is distributed amongst the subjects who can be easily identified with the states' political subject characterized by the correct gender, ethnicity, religion. Also the state has the power and mechanisms to construct the subjects according to the so called correct policies. These mechanisms involve making people remember and forget (Connerton, 1992). By these rememberings not only the people construct themselves and the objects in the periphery they connect with but also they construct their relations with the authority figures according to the presented relationship in the rememberance (for example subject vs. the state, female vs. male, non Muslim vs. the Muslim, etc.). Therefore rememberance is a very key tool for nation states constructing the justification of the state itself as well as the position of its subjects to the state and to each other. Textbooks are the discourse transmitting tools for the nation state. Our research involves studying high school textbooks in Turkey in every branch. We analysed 24 textbooks including history, biology, geography, religion, literature, art history, contemporary history of Turkey, sociology, psychology, citizenship. We searched for dualities in these textbooks (for example male vs. female, old vs. new, nation vs. religion, Turk vs. other Ethnicities, Sunni Muslim vs. non Sunni and non Muslim, human vs. nature, etc.) These dualities constantly have a relation with a tension and what we did was to look how the textbooks resolve this tension. The textbooks' way of solving the tension is not in a peaceful or, to put it in a different manner, is not in a democratic way that permits any other way of relating to each other and the state. The mildest version of resolving the tension is using verbs such as "toleration" which involves justifying hierarchical relations as well as the violent versions involving "killing the traitors". Also with the more latent dualisms such as human vs. nature, mind vs. body and male vs. other sexes, the same types of discourses of relations are applied. With the transmission of these discourses of relations, people construct a rememberance about relating to objects as well as themselves. While they forget about the violence and terrifying aspects of wars and civil wars, they do remember heroes and enemies such as women or Armenian's in Turkey. They remember a construct of a honourable, male, Muslim, Sunni, self-sacrificing citizen who has duties for the father (state). As long as we do not deconstruct and liberate these ways of relations, which are constructed with discourses we will live the nation state policy in our daily routine even we politically feel ourselves against it.

Aleksandra Ilić Rajković | Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade
Jovan Miljković | Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

Replacing pencil by the rifle: the discourse of the nation and textbooks in Serbia before Balkan wars

The First Balkan War was for Serbian students of that time the event which they expected with a joy. Many of them wanted to replace their school desks with war trench. In this paper we analyze the discourse of the nation in the textbooks that were in use at the time of schooling of these young soldiers. Considering the textbooks as instruments of discourse reproduction, we perceive them in framework of the production, transmission and reception processes. The sample for textbooks' analysis is taken from the so-called national group of subjects' textbooks (Serbian language, geography and Serbian history) for primary and secondary schools in the late 19th and early 20th century. These textbooks were approved by the Serbian Main Education Council and some of them were published in dozens editions. The first main question in our analysis is how the concept of nation was defined. The second question is: how are presented some of the nation's key issues such as: language as the basis of national unity; a glorious Serbian history; Serbian territory. Creating a relationship to these issues young people have created the relationship to the nation as well as the understanding of their own role in achieving national objectives that are presented through messages given in textbooks.

Agustín Cosovschi | École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales - Universidad Nacional de San Martín

Doing Science in the Times of the Nation. Politics and Authorship in Croatian and Serbian Ethnology and Anthropology during the 1990s

During the 1990s the transformations that occurred in the post-Yugoslav space had deep consequences on the production of scientific knowledge and the way intellectuals attempted to conceptualize the crisis of the region. Due to the hardships of war and the steep rise of nationalism, ethnology and anthropology in particular were forced to deal with new phenomena drawing from new theoretical sources. Developments in Serbia and Croatia took clearly different paths, triggering debates about the role of the scientist *vis-à-vis* national identity and the new national politics of the time. By drawing from the works of authors such as Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin, Ivan Čolović, Ines Prica and Slobodan Naumović, we will attempt to review some of these debates. On the one hand, we will analyze how the different positions of some of the authors concerning nationalism were related to the dynamics of societies which had clearly dissimilar experiences of the Yugoslav breakup. On the other hand, we will examine these discussions from the wider perspective of the *reperipherialisation* of the region and of post-Yugoslav science

during the 1990s, thus interpreting these disagreements around nationalism as the result of different responses to the question of how to approach political identities from the peripheries of Europe.

Ana Devic | Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena

Ottomanism and Neo-Ottomanism in the Building of the 'Serbian National Corpus': Turkey as the Recurrent Focus of Serbian and Bosnian Academia

This study addresses the revival of the notion of 'Ottomanism' among the academic elites in Serbia since the late 1980s, defined as a threat of 'return' to the cultural and political norms of the Ottoman empire, operationalized via the links between Turkey and the local Muslim population. The making of Ottomanism a relevant segment of the nation-building process in post-Yugoslav Serbia has served two goals: 1) the amnesia of the history of the Yugoslav federation; and 2) the affirmation of the 'irreconcilable differences' between the Yugoslav Muslims and Christians, and the subsequent legitimation of the violent redrawing of state boundaries. The Neo-Ottomanist 'dangers' are presented as stemming from :1) the apparent continuity between the expansionism of the Ottoman Empire and the current policies of Turkey in the Balkans; 2) the failure of the modernization reforms of 'Ataturkism, ' which is attributed to the fact that they were alien to the cultural-religious 'essence' of Turkish mentality; 3) the link between the modernization failure and the resurgence of 'Islamization,' which is perceived as either not been recognized by Turkey's Western allies, or as being used by U.S. policy-makers as a leverage against other Middle Eastern states.

Panel 13: Memory studies and memory politics

Jovana Mihajlović Trbovc | Institute of Culture and Memory Studies, Slovenian
Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana

Public Memory from Ethno-National Marker to Subversive Political Activism

Taking examples Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) as particularly complex case, this paper discusses two trends in public memory-making which are taking place across former Yugoslavia. First, paper describes how official public memorialisation took form of ethno-national marking of the citizens and territories of post-Yugoslav states. When organised and conducted by political elites, commemorative events tend to become a stage for nation building and exercise of nationalism. This process of nationalisation of public memory also took over and transformed originally a-national commemorations of partisan and anti-fascist struggle (of Second World War), which originate during Yugoslav times. Paper demonstrates how in particular setting of BiH each of three ethno-national elites employs the hegemonic power within its reach to promote its interpretation of the 1992-95 war and build legitimacy of own state-building project. By employing historical narratives as ethnic markers, political elites aim at tying perception of the past with the sense of national identity, thus rendering rejection of the narrative equal to excommunication from the national group. Another opposing trend is the grass-roots and civic-society based 'memory activism' which is intentionally anti-nationalistic. Usually conducted as subversive political activism, these events of memorialisation are by the rule bringing up topics and narratives which political establishments want to forget or ignore. Calling for genuine 'dealing with the past', these marginalised memory agents are often rejecting nation as legitimate frame for reproduction of memory. Invoking concepts like 'right to memory' and 'duty to remember', such activism is political by giving agency to citizens. Therefor the paper examines both nationalistic (exclusivist and discriminatory) as well as emancipatory potentials of public reproductions of memory.

Jelena Đureinović | Justus Liebig University Giessen

Does Studying National Memory Still Matter? The Transcultural Turn in Memory Studies and the post-Yugoslav Space

The transcultural turn in cultural studies has had a significant impact on the field of memory studies. The general trend emerging in the past decade has been the separation from nations and states as frameworks of remembrance and the "natural containers of memory" (Erll, 2017) and going beyond national and

cultural boundaries. This paper examines the significance of transcultural memory studies in the context of the post-Yugoslav space, taking the remembrance of the Second World War and socialist Yugoslavia as the case study, representing the common historical experience for all countries in the region. Taking the cutting-edge theoretical contributions and concepts from memory studies into consideration, the paper argues that the transcultural approach to memory is still understudied and can be valuable and open new research perspectives in the study of memory in former Yugoslavia. On the other hand, in the context of the national fragmentation of memory in the post-Yugoslav space, the paper raises the issue of the relevance of studying national memory and argues that this perspective is equally relevant and should not be abandoned as memory still predominantly operates within the framework of nation and state.

Naum Trajanovski | Central European University, Budapest

"Closely Observed Narrative": Museum of the Macedonian Struggle and the shift of the historical paradigms in post-socialist Republic of Macedonia

One can clearly argue that a particular shift regarding the treatment of the national past is taking place in the last decade of modern-day Republic of Macedonia. The critical juncture in this context can be traced back to the victory of a coalition led by VMRO-DPMNE at the 2006 parliamentary elections. DPMNE, as suggested in the party's name, claims legacy over the historical VMRO, a national-liberation organization from the late 19th century. Thus, the very approach towards the history of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization is to be isolated as distinctive feature of the newly imposed national-historical narrative. The main objective of the paper is twofold. Firstly, a model of interpretation of the historical discourse imposed by DPMNE over the Revolutionary Organization will be provided, as a particularly self-evaluatory tool for political promotion. In this manner, the narrative will be contextualized within the domestic memory politics turmoil on one hand (the strictly arranged narrative structure of VMRO as compared to the "amalgamation" and "confusity" of "Skopje 2014" historical discourse), as well as in the regional context on the other (the Bulgarian and Serbian historiography discourse on VMRO, and the process of rehabilitation of certain historical figures, such as Ivan Vančo Mihajlov and Todor Aleksandrov in the Macedonian case). Secondly, the paper will discuss the institutional materialization of the narrative as such, with the recently built Museum of the Macedonian Struggle as the main paradigm in this case. It will be argued that the Museum brings a particularly univocal, top-down version of one particular historical narrative, as a discursive feature with legitimizing political function. Moreover, the question why a museum as an institution and particular form of institutionalized memory is propounded as a solution in the contemporary Macedonian socio-political context will be further discussed.

Olof Bortz | Stockholm University

Raul Hilberg, the Holocaust and German National Identity

Raul Hilberg was one of the most famous Holocaust historians. He is mostly associated with his analysis of the "destruction process," carried out by anonymous bureaucrats operating the "destruction machinery." There was a universal thrust to his research in the sense that a bureaucratically powered genocide could potentially occur in any modern state. Yet, what is not so well-known is that Hilberg had a keen interest in national character, and that German national identity played an instrumental role in his thinking about the Holocaust. It was, as he put it, a "German deed." Moreover, Hilberg contrasted the actions of German perpetrators with that of other European nations, which in different ways became involved with, or refused to go along with, the persecution and deportation of Jews. This was a way for Hilberg to balance the universal implications of the Holocaust, with the particular fact that it had been conceived and carried out by Germans. In this sense, Hilberg perceived the Holocaust as the culmination of German cultural developments, and as the product of a specific German mindset. This paper deals with the role of national character and national identity for Raul Hilberg's analysis of the Holocaust.

Panel 14: Postsocialism – competing discourses and narrative regimes

Diana T. Kudaibergenova | University of Cambridge

Nationalising Regimes and the study of power fields as nationalisms post-1989

More than two decades after the fall of communism nationalistic discourses and ideologies continue to serve as the main substitution for the communist ideology dominant at the time of the previous regime. These very powerful nationalist discourses and ideologies have formed into the cultural hegemony of the ruling elites who manipulate them for their own interest. The article proposes to study power relations and dominant nationalising discourses through the prism of the nationalising regimes. It is argued that nationalising regimes are fields of power where the main decision-making about nation-building and cultural hegemony of a particular political or ethnic group is located and where elites' power struggles define the outcome of the state-led policies. Through this discussion the article focuses on how elites in non-democratic nationalising regimes deal with the instability and contestation within the regime itself. First I explain how power can be studied through the prism of ideational networks and elitist regimes in defining discursive power of the cultural hegemony. Then I use the example of Kazakhstan to demonstrate how this mechanism works and how in reality it becomes a constantly contested field of the discursive production.

Dana Dolghin | University of Amsterdam

Cosmopolitanism and the "nation": liberal constructions of collective memory

In the last two decades, the focus on politics of memory as an arena for national expressions of state biographies has received a renewed interest due to an interplay between political justice, reconciliation and long term social effects of reformulations of history triggered after 1989. With the rising interest in coming to terms with problematic national pasts (Olick 2007), mobilization around memory is also attached to the expectation that cosmopolitanism plays an emancipatory role in the political underlyings of a state and collective (transnational) memory negotiations answer tensions caused by globalization. Our concern in this paper is the interplay between a collective memory of political violence, transnational (in particular European) identifications and new reformulations of nationalism, by looking at the anti-communist discourses on the past and liberal discourses of nation building in Romania. Specifically, I will discuss the 2014 ban of communist symbols, proposed most recently in the aftermath of the Ukrainian crisis and

the new pressure concerning judicial persecutions of former perpetrators (the Visinescu trial in 2015) in order to demonstrate how human rights narratives contribute to new exemplary histories and "negative remembrance" where the "nation" as discursive category and national states are construed through an abstract and internal historical genealogy.

Alena Minchenia | Lund University

Nation as an Affective Object:
the Nationalist Opposition Constructing 'Belarus'.

This presentation is based on my anthropological research in Minsk (Belarus) in 2015-2016 devoted to the study of Belarusian political protests from the perspective of the anthropology of emotion. Belarus, its history, symbols and future is one of the most salient emotional objects in the field. The context I work with can be briefly described as 22-year history of Lukashenka's presidency, whose legitimacy has been questioned and unrecognized both inside and outside the country. Drawing on Sara Ahmed's approach to emotions, I am interested to explicate how the Belarusian nation as object of emotional investments is constructed and with what meanings it is saturated. There are two main interrelated lines of how Belarus is imagined by the people that call themselves "patriots" - the civic and political activists I do my study with. The one relates to the anti-Belarusian power of Lukashenka. In this discourse Belarus is still a nation to come. It is a narrative of deficiency and of belatedness. Sometimes it is framed as an internal colonialization. The other line is connected to positioning of Russia as a direct threat to the Belarusian national independence. Here references to the war in Eastern Ukraine that feeds anti-Russia sentiments become salient. 'Russia' functions as the dangerous other, so the emancipation from it is a prerequisite for the Belarusian nation to exist.

Vlad Bujdei-Tebeica | National University of Political Science and Public Administration, Bucharest

Nationalism and neoliberalism:
The Romanian economic crisis of 2008

In this paper I wish to explore the relationship between contemporary nationalism and neoliberalism, by looking at the particular case of the Romanian society in the context of the economic crisis of 2008. At first glance there is an apparent tension between the two, since the first likes to draw very specific and clear lines of division between people, while the second blurs and eventually takes down borders in the name of the free market. Can the two coexist in harmony despite their apparent differences? What is the specific form which this relationship takes in the case

of Romania? I want to demonstrate that, despite this tension, nationalism and neoliberalism have found a way to coexist in the Romanian society largely because of the way neoliberalism has been introduced as part of the efforts made by the political elite to distance themselves from the communist past, where it finds its roots. I shall do this by comparing the two main governments (the Democratic Liberal government – 2008-2012), and the Social Democratic government – 2012-2015) that were in power during the economic crisis handled this relationship by analyzing the policies that they implemented during the time they were in office.

Panel 15: Cyber-nations: Media and the Internet

Rene Mäe | School of Governance, Law and Society, Tallinn University

Globalization, postsocialism and nation branding: a discourse-theoretical reading of e-Estonia

Focusing on the 'e-Estonia' project that has emerged in the last 10-15 years in Estonia, this paper explores new articulations of the (postsocialist) state, nation and the market. The official website of e-Estonia uses the term 'e-Estonia' to denote "Estonia's emergence as one of the most advanced e-societies in the world" and poses a challenging question: "How did a small, post-soviet nation transform itself into a global leader in e-solutions". This question is answered by a success story that begins with the gloomy post-soviet situation in the 1990s, reaches a turning point with the introduction of paperless government meetings (the e-Cabinet) and continues throughout the 2000s with the invention of various technological devices and infrastuctures (the id-card, internet voting, eresidency etc.). This paper connects the idea of postsocialist transition with the concept of selfcolonization and nation branding and asks, how the conceptions of the 'nation as a commodity' and 'the nation as brand' have reconfigured and triggered new national subjectivities in contemporary (2000-2010s) Estonia? And more particularly, whether and how the e-Estonia project could be seen as an example of nation branding?

Lada Stevanović | Institute of Ethnography SASA, Belgrade

Cyber Yugoslavia: The state of Cyborg citizens

This presentation is researching Cyber Yugoslavia, a state created in a virtual sphere after the fall of SFRY. I will argue that this Yugoslavia is in accordance with the historical circumstances in which it appeared, just like all other Yugoslavias in the past. Focusing on the issue of the way in which Cyborg Yugoslavs construct their citizenship through overcoming the physical limits of humanity, I will approach this phenomenon starting from Donna Haraway's feminist concept of *Cyborg,* "a hybrid of machine and organism", existing both within social reality and in fiction, and bearing oppressive, but also liberating potential. The *Cyborg* citizenship of Cyber Yugoslavs appears to be subversive, operating through the acts of creative, political and critical response and functioning often through the mechanisms of humor challenging thus the main symbols and mechanisms of the national identity construction in the world of nations.

Valentin Nicolescu | Nicolae Titulescu University, Bucharest

Contested origins and national identity (re)construction: how the Dacians are conquering the cyberspace

My paper is focused on the (re)construction and the (re)production of the national identitary discourse in an environment lacking state control, the internet. Therefore, I am planning to contest a particular assumption regarding national identity construction, which asserts the hegemonic position of the modern nation state in relation to the production and reproduction of the national(ist) discourse. In this particular case, I will try to explore the way in which the Latinist roots of the Romanian national identitary discourse are contested in the online environment by a different understanding of Romanianness, based on the Dacian primacy. Therefore, I will try to answer the following research questions: 1) how is the national identitary discourse produced in a state-less environment and 2) how is the material existence of the state affects this process. I plan to answer the abovementioned research questions by investigating particular topics discussed online (either in social media groups, or on various forums and sites) and analyzing the discursive dynamics involved in the performative everyday reproduction of national identity. The material used in the chapter is part of an ongoing, wider research project regarding national identity and the nationalist discourse in the Romanian case.

Irina Dushakova | Institute of Cultural Heritage, Academy of Sciences of Moldova

Nation and Symbolic Geography: a Case of Moldovan Media

Being a nation-in-the-making (Berg, Meurs) and a "delayed nation" (King) Moldova can be an interesting case for the analysis of formation of borders that create new geography for Moldovan society. Accepting that media can be a significant source that links space and temporality (Filippov 2008, Yanow 2003, Luman 2000), I have analyzed the content of four Moldovan media agencies (two leading central state news agencies pan.md and enews.md and two leading Gagauz news agencies gagauzlar.md and gagauzinfo.md) for the last five years. The analysis shows that new geography is created in media in connection to new state borders (independent Moldova) and in connection to geopolitical processes as the USSR collapse and integration into the EU. At the same time these geographical bonds are rooted in temporality. Thus, the former USSR and Moldova as a part of it are connected to past, the victory in World War II, Russian language and culture, economic welfare of the country. In this case Moldova is included in the Eastern region. New borders, independence, western values, EU and progress symbolize the future. In this case Moldova is associated with the Western region.

Panel 16: A (too) long nineteenth century in the Balkans

Darin Stephanov | Aarhus Institute of Advanced Studies

Images of the Own Group and the 'Other' in Bulgarian Popular Songs from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Balkan Wars (1912-13)

This paper compares early images of the own group and its perceived counterpoints contained in popular Bulgarian songs of praise and prayer for the Ottoman sultan from the mid-nineteenth century with their most virulent respective equivalents found in soldier and (pseudo) folk songs from the period of the Balkan Wars and World War I. By applying new methods of close textual analysis to these untapped primary sources, it establishes a typology of constituent motifs of this binary constellation, and analyzes their context, interrelation, and patterns of conceptual change over time. Contrary to established historical and historiographical narratives, this paper reveals a striking number of hitherto unknown continuities between the traits of vertical Ottoman patriotism and those of horizontal Bulgarian nationalism at the popular level. For example, one can clearly observe a transition from 'enemies to the ruler' to 'enemies to the community' an on to 'enemies to the nation.' Ultimately, this paper employs the concept of enmity as a window to an alternative framework, both theoretically and empirically, in the study of the origins, nature, and dynamics of ethnonationalism as a mode of belonging.

Stefan Detchev | South-West University of Blagoeavgrad
        University of Sofia

Borders between Serbs and Bulgarians - five "laboratories" of national identity

Whilst in the last years there were challenges in Western Europe to some assumptions of the prevailing modernist historical scholarship according to which early nation-making inevitably took place within the developing structures of the institutional state, in the Bulgarian case some scholars have stressed just lately that the pre-modern Bulgarian nation was an invention of the 19th century historiography. The chronological frames of the paper will be situated in a longue durée with special emphasis on the years 1870s and 1918. In this regard the crucial event is the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 and the significant changes that occurred after it. Whilst in the last two decades of the Ottoman power (1860s-1870s) we have available important data about the lack of Serbian or Bulgarian identities in the eastern parts of present-day Serbia or western parts of present-day Bulgaria, because of certain cultural settings and the long-term activities of state institutions, the Serbian and

Bulgarian identities were built in the modern period (basically 1880s-1890s). These newly built identities strictly followed the political border between Serbia and Bulgaria established at Berlin congress 1878 that survived in the three decades formative period until the Balkan wars and the First World War.

Milos Vojinovic | Institute for Balkan Studies – SASA, Belgrade

Nationalism of Young Bosnia

In 1916, Austrian physician Martin Pappenheim visited Gavrilo Princip in Thereienstadt prison and asked Princip to write down what were ideals of students in Bosnia. Princip wrote: "Ideals of youth: unity of South Slavs, Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, not under Austrian rule". Young Bosnians wanted freedom, which for them was embedded in national state. Without a doubt, nationalism was one of the major ideological characteristics of Young Bosnia. With this paper I would like to argue: 1 – studying European history, especially that of the French revolution, made crucial influence on Young Bosnians understanding of nationalism; 2 – Young Bosnian nationalism is best understood if put in context of political and social reality of Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austrian rule; 3 – Young Bosnians wanted to `nationalize` general population in Bosnia, to promote `nationalism` as a policy; 4 – Nationalism of Young Bosnia should be understood as a anti-colonial one.

Aleksandar Pavlović | Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade

From national emancipation to imperialism: the Balkan Wars in the writings of the Serbian left

This paper focuses on the writings of three Serbian writers who took part in the so called Albanian campaign of the Balkan Wars in 1912, 1913 and after – Dimitrije Tucović's 1913 *Albanska pisma* (*The Albanian Letters*), Kosta Novaković's 1914 war diary *Četiri meseca u srednjoj Albaniji* (*Four Months in Central Albania*) and Dragiša Vasić's 1921 *Dva meseca u jugoslovenskom Sibiru* (*Two months in the Yugoslav Siberia*). While all three writers readily joined the troops in 1912 for what they believed to be the just emancipatory war and the final demise of the Ottoman rule in the Balkans, their view of the Albanian campaigns was profoundly different. In distinction to Serbian officials and mainstream press of the time, or their patriotically loyal compatriots who praised the Balkans War and its achievements *in toto*, these three writers heavily criticized Serbian government for its waste of human lives and accused the army for corruption and negligence. Furthermore, they stigmatized what they saw as Serbian imperialism and its devastating consequences on Serbian-Albanian relations, and advocated for a Balkan confederation based on full equality and solidarity. In addition to being telling testimonies of pillage, atrocities, diseases, hunger and death that followed this (as probably any other) war, these writings pose important questions about the (im)possibility to reconcile patriotism and nationalism, as well as war with morality, emancipation, and imperialism in the Balkan context.