

THE MIAMI-FLORIDA EUROPEAN UNION CENTER OF EXCELLENCE

Nationalism in a Globalized Europe

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Conference Participants: Abstracts

ACADEMIC PANELISTS

Dr. David Abraham

*Professor of Law
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TITLE: Immigration and Social Solidarity in a Time of Crisis - Europe and the US in the New Century

ABSTRACT

Very suddenly a cloud has settled over the immigration regimes of the European welfare states as well as the United States. Confidence in the ability to integrate and the value of integrating newcomers into a system of legal and social solidarity has waned. The weakening of both liberal civic nationalism and secular constitutional patriotism has unsettled national identities and undermined legal reforms intended to facilitate the inclusion of immigrants, especially Muslims. The road ahead will be very difficult for both the welfare state and immigrants. More forceful integration policies might be better for sustaining the welfare state, but individual liberties and group recognition make this more difficult. Ironically perhaps, immigrants may now fare better in the more unjust neo-liberal societies such as the US than in the advanced welfare states. This essay looks at Germany and the US in particular to assess recent developments and the current situation. I call into question the adequacy of current legal arrangements, but wonder, in fact, if law can ease this crisis of integration and solidarity.

Dr. Diego Acosta Arcarazo
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Co-authored with Dr. Andrew Geddes
Professor in Political Science, University of Sheffield

TITLE: From *vincolo esterno* to *capra espiatorio*? The EU as an anti-populist constraint on Italian immigration policy and politics.

ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on Italy because it is a key immigration destination where there has been an intense politicisation of migration (particularly irregular migration) with a growth in populist and xenophobic discourse led by the Lega Nord (LN) (which was in government 2001-6 and 2008-11). This article describes the period since 2008 and we will divide our analysis in three stages:

First, we will discuss how the LN ruthlessly exploited growing fears over the links between irregular immigration, organised crime, and personal security in northern Italy during the 2008 electoral campaign. In fact, the LN maintained a hard-line anti-immigration stance using the slogan: 'Let us close our borders'.

Second, we will assess how that strong rhetoric was rapidly put into practice. Indeed, on 21 May 2008, a few days after the new government took office, the Council of Ministers approved the adoption of a '*pacchetto sicurezza*' (security package) with various new measures of a restrictive tone on migration matters. We will explore some of those measures, especially the non implementation of the EU's Returns Directive on expulsion of irregular migrants.

Finally, we will see how the role of the EU institutions, in particular the extended post-Lisbon competencies of the Court of justice (CJEU), contribute to the emergence of gaps between hard-line anti-immigration rhetoric and more liberal policy outcomes. We thus analyze the Court's case in *El Dridi*, and the obligation it imposes on Italy, in order to assess the extent to which these new powers of the CJEU contribute to a distinct EU dynamic that inhibits the restrictive capacities of Member State governments - in this case the Italian Government including the Lega Nord.

Murat Altuglu, MA mult, ABD
PhD Student of Political Science
Florida International University
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TITLE: Which Nationalism? A meta-level Analysis of European rightist parties

ABSTRACT

Research on European nationalism is generally myopic in nature and is not conducive for providing generalizations for an increasingly unified Europe. Yet anti status-quo political movements have established themselves in the European party spectrum. Therein, three different regions can be distinguished. The party structure of southern Europe, of the former East, and anti-establishment parties of the north and west. While the discourse on nationalism usually does not distinguish between them, the differences between these are parties are stark. A categorization is therefore indicated and beneficial. The proposed categorization breaks down rightist parties in Europe into populist, hybrid, rightist, and typical-traditional ones. The factual aspects of the respective parties denote and substantiate such categorization. Additionally, the normative aspect to perceived nationalist parties in Europe necessitates scrutiny of the depiction and perception of said parties in media, academia, and politics.

Dr. David Art

*Associate Professor, Comparative Politics, European Politics
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TITLE: The End of Europe? The Great Recession in Historical Perspective

ABSTRACT

It is a difficult time to be optimistic about Europe. The seemingly unending sovereign debt crisis has further eroded what was already a thin reserve of trust in European leaders. Not only are many analysts predicting the end of the EURO---something that was unmanageable a mere year or so before—but some are even warning that democracy could unravel as it did across the continent in the 1930s. The electoral success of radical right parties and the obstinate refusal of Northern European countries (and Germany in particular) to “bail out” their struggling members are frequently mentioned in the same breath, and would seem to indicate that the nationalist resurgence is real. Yet this view is mistaken on several counts, and my talk will make three specific counter-arguments against the conventional pessimistic predictions. First, the similarities between contemporary far right parties and the fascist movements of the 1930s that destroyed European democracy are overblown. Second, there is nothing new about the success of radical right parties—they have been part of the European party landscape for several decades and are not a spontaneous reaction to the current economic crisis. Third, Germany is not behaving fundamentally differently in terms of EU economic policy than it has since at least the 1970s---the last period in which the European project seemed doomed to fail. In taking a historical perspective I do not mean to downplay the challenges to both representative democracy at the national level and to the European project. But since we have been here before, it is helpful to use reflect on key moments in European political development with an eye to understanding how they were, or were not, overcome.

Dr. Anja Hennig

*Lecturer and Researcher, Chair of Comparative Politics
European University Adriana, Frankfurt (Visitor: University of Texas, Austin)*

TITLE: Religion and Right-Wing Homophobia – Poland and the US in Comparison

ABSTRACT

Departing from the assumption that religion matters in politics and influences the output of morally sensitive policy fields, this paper discusses the intersection of religion, homophobia, and right wing nationalism. It does so by comparing two socio-political realities in two decisively different democracies: in post-communist Catholic Poland and in the United States as multi-ethnic but protestant dominated liberal democracy. Despite these differences, homophobic attitudes and anti-gay-rights politics are still or again part of the mainstream. What have Poland and the US in common that foster such, although temporary marginal, tendencies? Religious fundamentalism and right-wing nationalism, as I will argue, share similar ideological standpoints towards homosexuality and, thus, about what is right or wrong, and about whom belongs to “us”. However, right-wing nationalism does not necessarily imply homophobic attitudes. So the overarching aim of the paper is to discuss conditions under which the interplay of right-wing nationalism and religion can provoke homophobia in politics and society.

Ovunc Kutlu

*PhD Graduate Student, Politics & International Relations
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TITLE: Constructing the “other” on the outside, excluding the one “within”**ABSTRACT**

European identity politics is a dynamic process which is redefined and reconstructed with political and social developments such as border policies, immigration, and religious impediments, that are under the consideration here. This paper is an attempt to claim that certain countries, that are representatives of their own spatial regions, perceive the identity of a common Europeanness differently with respect to each other, raising questions of collective identity formation and exclusionary practices. In this respect, I will be focusing on the time period between 1991 and 2011 where Germany had faced reunification, Poland experienced democratization, and Turkey had been through an accession period as an outsider state for the attempt to gain full membership. All three states have their own national identities, a unique way of perceiving what the European Union, and respectively represent Western Europe, former-communist states, and a Muslim country with significant diaspora communities within the EU.

I argue that the historical dynamics of all three countries have provided them with distinct type of lenses to perceive each other and the perceptions of constructing and defining what the European Union stands for. When Poland looks to Turkey, it considers itself as a member state because of their religious differences. However when it looks to Germany it perceives itself as an outsider since its level of democratization and political participation are relatively lower. In this respect, I claim that the politics of identity within the European Union are a construction of various layers of historical, political, cultural, and social differences which are hard to be brought together under a singular definition of being Europeanness, yet leading to exclusionary tendencies. This will be an obstacle in the near future, for the consolidation of defining Europeanness under one norm and one identity, especially among former-socialist states and non-Christian communities inside the Union.

Dr. Marco Martiniello

*Director, Center for Ethnic and Migration Studies (CEDEM)
University of Liege, Belgium*

TITLE: We are all anti-multiculturalists now! The Europeanization of Immigration Integration Debates and the Rise of Neo-Assimilationism**ABSTRACT**

Europe is de facto a multicultural continent of immigration. The presentation will provide an overview of the public European debates about immigration and integration in a context characterized by a severe economic, financial and social crisis and the rise of nationalist political movements. It will explain why today multiculturalism is increasingly rejected, while at the same time diversity is often celebrated.

Dr. James Mitchell

*Professor and Head of Government and Public Politics School
Humanities and Social Sciences College, University of Strathclyde, United Kingdom*

TITLE: State and sub-state nationalisms in the UK compared with reference to the 'Other'

ABSTRACT

Nationalism has been described as thin-centred with a restricted core of ideas. Freedden (2002) argues, however, that while nationalisms appear thin centred, they are better understood as 'embellishments of, and sustainers of, the features of their host ideology'. While the 'nation' lies at the core of all nationalisms, the definition of the nation and what being at the core of nationalist ideology means varies from one nationalist movement to the next. Understanding this requires an understanding of the 'Other' against which the nation is defined (Triandafyllidou 1988). Sub-state (or regionalist) nationalisms are in large measure defined in contradistinction to state nationalism. We might expect that sub-state nationalisms might also shape the definition of state nationalism.

Four nationalisms operating within the same state, the United Kingdom, are examined: state nationalism; Irish nationalism in Northern Ireland; Scottish nationalism and Welsh nationalism. It is argued that while the three substate nationalisms have been defined in large measure in contradistinction to its dominant Other, state nationalism in the UK has been defined more often by extra-state Others. Indeed, sub-state nationalism in the UK has on occasion adopted an ideological equivalent of the 'enemy of my enemy is my friend' attitude to Others.

Freedden, Michael (2002), 'Is Nationalism a Distinct Ideology?', *Political Studies*, vol.46, pp.748-765.

Triandafyllidou, A. (1988), 'National Identity and the 'Other'', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol.21, pp.593-612.

Dr. Aurora Morcillo

Professor of History, Florida International University

TITLE: National-Catholicism and the International Re-habilitation of the Franco's Dictatorship.

ABSTRACT

This paper will address the ideological turn of the dictatorship of Francisco Franco during the Cold War period by focusing in the National-Catholic formula introduced by the regime in the early 1950s. National Catholicism allowed for the Rehabilitation of the Francoist regime internationally with the signature of two key treaties: the Pact of Madrid with the United States and the Concordat with the Vatican both in the summer of 1953. What Spain offered to the Cold War geopolitical scenario was a promise of being "the sentinel of the West" against Communism because of the Historically Catholic heritage.