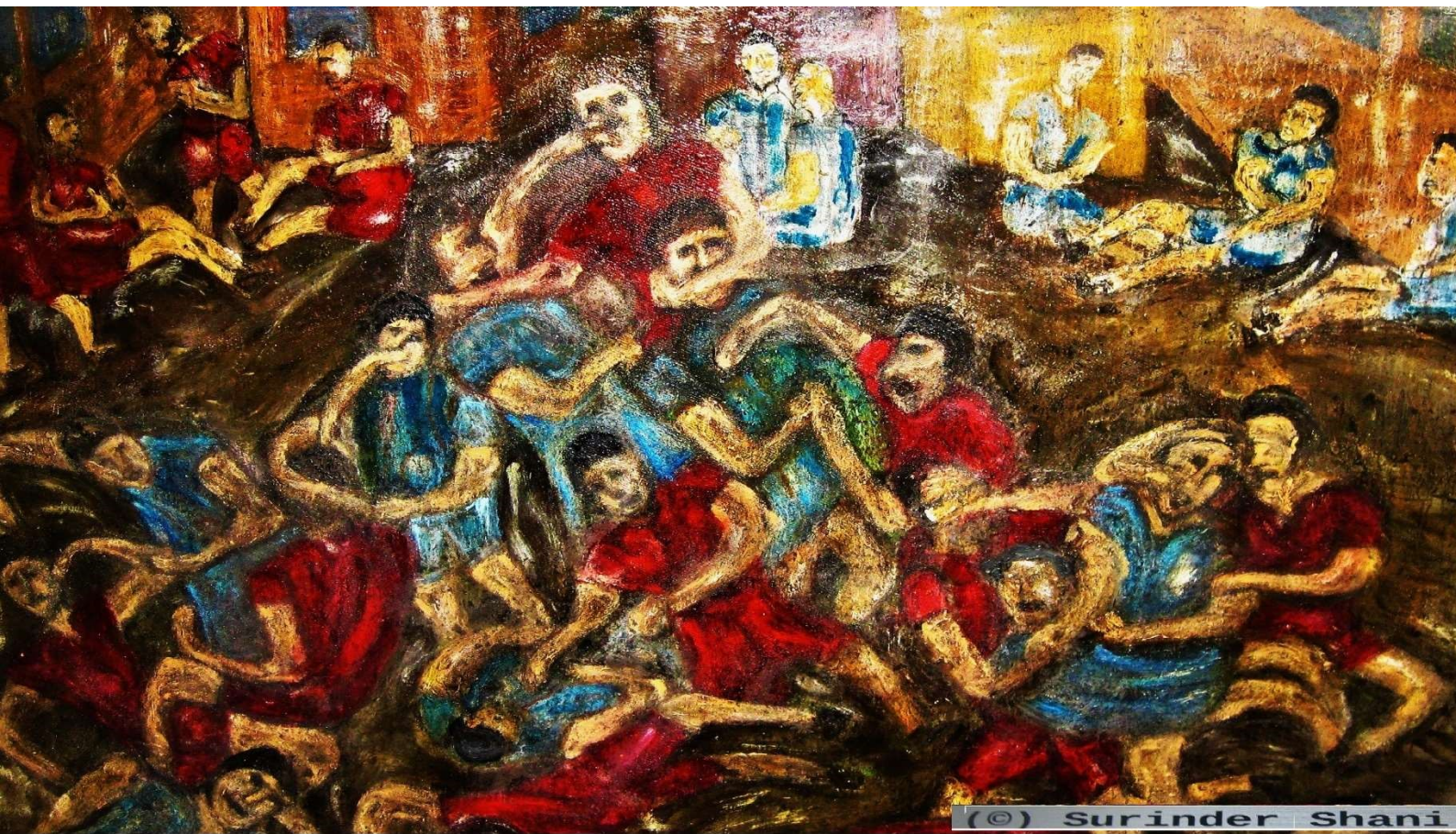# THE NATION AS A SACRED COMMUNION?
RELIGION, LEGACIES AND CONFLICT

(©) Surinder Shani

IPSA RC43 AND RC14 JOINT WORKSHOP

May 31st – June 2nd, 2023
Hybrid Workshop at Queen's University Belfast

Co-Convenors: Prof. Giorgio Shani and Dr. Timofey Agarin

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY BELFAST

Contents

ORGANISING AND PROGRAMME COMMITTEE:

Timofey Agarin, Queen's University, Belfast, UK

Giorgio Shani, London School of Economics, UK /International Christian University, Japan

SUPPORTING COMMITTEE

Aoife Maguire, Queen's University Belfast, UK

Alice Franchini, Queen's University Belfast, UK

Patrizia John, Queen's University Belfast, UK

Welcome Notes

WELCOME TO THE IPSA COLLOQUIUM

The ongoing conflict in the Ukraine has once again focused the world's attention on the continued salience of ethnicity and religion for global politics. The late Anthony D. Smith (2003) once suggested that the 'nation' was a 'sacred communion of the people' that is 'devoted to the cult of authenticity and the ideals of national autonomy, unity and identity in a historic homeland'. This colloquium hosted by the Centre of Ethnic Conflict, Queen's University Belfast, UK and by IPSA Research Committees [RC 14 Politics and Ethnicity](#) and [RC43 Religion and Politics](#), examines the role played by the reference to political community with shared religious heritage and beliefs in preparing the grounds for intergroup conflict on a global scale in the aftermath of the centenary of the establishment of the Irish Free State and the 75th anniversary of the Partition of South Asia. It critically interrogates the reference to religious symbolism, heritage and legacies as mechanisms for political mobilization.

Our Call for Papers yielded many more high quality submissions than anticipated and we look forward to three days of discussion on the relationship between religion, ethnicity and politics in a post-conflict setting. Our colloquium hosts 27 panels, including 4 book panels, and 2 panels organised and run by the early career scholars; our onsite and online participants represent scholarship from all continents – Asia, Africa, Australia, both Americas and Europe – and we are excited to welcome a number of established as well as early career scholars, both onsite and online.

We are delighted to welcome you all to this IPSA Colloquium, the second time it is hosted by Queen's University Belfast, this time both online and in-person. Our host, the School of History, Anthropology, Philosophy and Politics represents a community of scholars providing interdisciplinary insights in to understanding politics, with more than 100 scholars reflecting on and participating in societal transformation and engaging with the legacies of past conflict that divided the island. We hope that the experience of our fragile social context will allow all (onsite) participants to gain a more nuanced, and perhaps unique, perspective, based on their interactions with local communities.

We are looking forward to what should prove to be a fascinating exchange of ideas on the continued importance of, and relationship between, religion, ethnicity and nationalism to contemporary global politics.

Timofey Agarin (RC14) & Giorgio Shani (RC 43)

Hosts

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

The department of Politics and International Relations, a constituent part of the School of History, Anthropology, Philosophy and Politics, at Queen's University Belfast is by far the largest institutional centre for the study of political science on the island of Ireland and amongst the larger in the UK. With over 30 full time members of academic staff, the department is active in international research networks and teaching across the breadth of the discipline. Politics and International Relations is organised along four core areas of expertise: International Relations; Governance and Public Policy; Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict; Political Theory; and Irish and Northern Irish politics. The department also hosts four centres that act as conduits of research collaboration: Centre for Gender in Politics; Centre for the Study of Ethnic Conflict; Centre for Sustainability, Equality and Climate Action; and The Democracy Unit. In addition, the department collaborates closely with the Faculty's Senator George J. Mitchell Institute for Global Peace, Security and Justice. Our location in Northern Ireland's capital city Belfast situates us in a place with a rich and colourful political history at the intersection of complex questions about sovereignty and identity and is an exhilarating place to study politics and collaborate on research.

IPSA RC14 POLITICS AND ETHNICITY

Recognised as research committee in 1976, [Research Committee 14](#) focuses on the politics of ethnicity construed broadly, both in terms of methodology and orientation, ranging from historical and deeply descriptive to more theoretical and empirically rigorous approaches. The work of our members touches upon such related themes as nationalism and nation-building; the formation and mobilisation of collective identities; cultural pluralism; irredentism; separatism; and the search for autonomy. It also covers questions of race, religion, language, immigration and citizenship, concerns that are reflected in the titles of committee colloquia which deal with specific topics but may include both country-specific case studies as well as comparative analyses.

IPSA RC43 RELIGION AND POLITICS

The background to the founding of the [RC43 Religion and Politics](#) was that many philosophers, political scientists and international relations experts agreed that many religious leaders and organisations are also significant political actors, operating in domestic and/or international contexts. In this context, the Research Committee exists to encourage development of a network of interested researchers. The key aim is to try to answer questions about the political impact of religious actors and to disseminate research findings. A crucial way to achieve these objectives is to submit regular proposals for relevant Sections, Panels and Workshops during the IPSA World Congress.
The aims of the IPSA Research Committee on Religion and Politics are: to circulate information among the Committee 's members about ongoing research projects and academic activities in the given field; to develop rigorous analyses - in various domestic, transnational and international contexts - on the relations between political and religious actors and institutions; to initiate new research agendas according to the interest of the Research Committee members ; to provide regular relevant information to interested members; to contribute to the activities of the IPSA through workshop initiatives and other academic activities.

Programme Overview

Tuesday, 30th of May: Pre-Conference Drinks at

SUNFLOWER PUBLIC HOUSE - 65 Union St., Belfast BT1 2JG

Wednesday, 31st of May: Day 1 – ALL PANELS **ONLINE** ON THIS DAY

Belfast Times	Panel A Location: 11UQ/01/010	Panel B Location: 22UQ/01/005	Panel C Location 26UQ/01/011
9:00 -	Check-in & Info Desk: **24 University Square, Ground Floor (24UQ/OG/001)** Coffee breaks for onsite participants at this location		
9:30 – 11:00 Session 1	Book Panel: Religion and Nationalism in Asia	Ethnonational mobilisation	Religious pillars of state nationalism
10:45-11:30	Break Coffee available for onsite participants at this time (24UQ/OG.001)		
11:15-12:45 Session 2	Religious Routes of National(ist) Ideologies	Traditions that tie and divide	Kin-states and their minorities (Panel in Russian)
12:30-13:30	Lunch Break Lunch will be available for onsite participants at this time (24UQ/OG/001)		
13:00-14:30 Session 3	Consequences of Ethnoreligious State Building	Gender and Refugees in Afghanistan	Mechanisms of State Building & Political Consolidation
14:15-15:00	Break Coffee will be available for onsite participants at this time (24UQ/OG/011)		
14:45 – 16:15 Session 4	Sikh Nationalism CANCELLED	Turkiye: From Ottoman Empire to Neo-Ottoman State	Sectarianisms & Governance
16:30 - 18:00 Session 5	Plenary: The Nation as a Sacred Communion: Religion, Legacies and Conflict If you are onsite, you are welcome to join in room 27UQ/01/003		
18:30	DINNER Himalayan Restaurant Belfast 62A Botanic Avenue, BT7 1JR		

Thursday, 1st June: Day 2 – PANEL STREAMS A & B: ONSITE & PANELS C: ONLINE

Belfast Times	Panel A Location: 11UQ/01/010	Panel B Location: 22UQ/01/005	Panel C Location: 26UQ/01/011
8:45	Coffee will be available at this time (24UQ/0G/001)		
9:00-10:30 Session 6	State Sponsorship of Ethnopolitical Mobilisiation	Representation in Divided Societies	Book Panel: Nations and Capital. The Missing Link in Global Expansion
10:30-11:00	Break Coffee will be available at this time (24UQ/0G/011)		
11:00-12:30 Session 7	Intersection of Ethnicity & Religion	Institutional guarantees of equality in divided societies	Post-Socialist "National" After Ukraine
12:30-13:30	Lunch Break Lunch will be available at this time (24UQ/0G/001)		
13:30-15:00 Session 8	Religion and Nation in South Asia	The Politics of Memory and Memorialisation	Book Panel: Armed Forces in Divided Societies
15:00-15:45	Break Coffee will be available at this time (24UQ/0G/001)		
15:30-17:00 Session 9	Panel: Researching Ethnic conflict: Sharing the best practices from peers and professionals Panel location: 25UQ/01/011	Religion, Conflict and Minority Rights	Regional Conflict, Global Consequences of Conflict in Ukraine
17:15-19:30	Pub Crawl & Eat Out		

Friday, 2nd June: Day 3 - ONSITE

Belfast Times	Panel A Location: 11UQ/01/010	Panel B Location: 22UQ/01/005	Panel C Location: 26UQ/01/011
9:00	Coffee will be available at this time (24UQ/0G/001)		
9:30-11:00 Session 10	Religion and State-Society Relations ONLINE	Exporting Nationalism	Islam and Human In/Security ONLINE
10:45-11:15	Break Coffee will be available at this time (24UQ/0G/011)		
11:30-13:00 Session 11		Testing Research Ideas	Book Panel: We God's People: Christianism, Islam and Hinduism in the World of Nations ONLINE
12:30-13:30	Lunch Break Lunch will be available at this time (24UQ/0G/001)		
13:15	Bus Departs for Stormont visit		
13:45	On Foot Departure for Belfast city Hall Visit		
17:00	Option Meeting in Kelly's Cellar		

Zoom links to all Streams

Stream A, Day 1 -   Colloquium
Time: May 31, 2023 09:00 Dublin
https://icu.zoom.us/j/92378841471
   Meeting ID: 923 7884 1471
   Password: 654737

 Stream B, Day 1 -   Colloquium
Time: May 31, 2023 09:00 Dublin
https://us02web.zoom.us/j/82749671840?pwd=T2
Mxb2ZmanRvRHZhb3hIeUhtS3Uwdz09
Meeting ID: 827 4967 1840
Passcode: 942993

 Stream C, Day 1 -   Colloquium
Time: May 31, 2023 09:00 Dublin
https://us02web.zoom.us/j/85615314552?pwd=Zk
hFZUNlUmZxVE5RbWtvazd6WWoxdz09
Meeting ID: 856 1531 4552
Passcode: 915991

 Online Plenary, Day 1 -   Colloquium
Time: May 31, 2023 16:00 Dublin
https://us02web.zoom.us/j/82527023772?pwd=W
kNHUnlOMXNhLzV5WVdvcDF2QnVBZz09
Meeting ID: 825 2702 3772
Passcode: 478537

Stream C, Day 2 -   Colloquium
Time: Jun 1, 2023 09:00 Dublin
https://us02web.zoom.us/j/81938746725?pwd=V
StmTC9qeXhGTllzOHA3dzRnVnk1QT09
Meeting ID: 819 3874 6725
Passcode: 642435

 Stream A, Day 3 -   Colloquium
Time: Jun 2, 2023 09:00 Dublin
https://us02web.zoom.us/j/84845314829?pwd=U
ERCNjlUYTU3VjVqeFNTa1N1cXlYQT09
Meeting ID: 848 4531 4829
Passcode: 322819

 Stream C, Day 3 -   Colloquium
Time: Jun 2, 2023 09:00 Dublin
https://us02web.zoom.us/j/81207481521?pwd=d0
1YbGVKUmIIRmtoZEg2VGcwdk8wQT09
Meeting ID: 812 0748 1521
Passcode: 605323

Detailed Programme
Day One – <u>ALL PANELS ONLINE</u>

Wednesday 31st May

Check-In & Info Desk opens at 24 University Square, Ground Floor (24UQ/0G/001)

Session 1A: Wednesday, 9:30-11:00
Book Panel: Religion and Nationalism in Asia

[Religion and Nationalism in Asia](#) (Routledge 2019) re-examines the relationship between religion and nationalism in a contemporary Asian context, with a focus on East, South and South East Asia. Addressing empirical, analytical, and normative questions, it analyses selected case studies from across Asia, including China, India, Japan, Pakistan, the Philippines and Sri Lanka and compares the differences and commonalities between the diverse configurations of nationalism and religion across the continent. This panel will focus on the development of religiously infused nationalist and imperialist discourses before and during the Second World War with a focus on East and South Asia. The editors, Prof. Giorgio Shani and Takashi Kibe (International Christian University, Japan) will be joined by contributors Profs. Jun-Hyeok Kwak (Sun-Yat Sen University, PRC), Atsuko Ichijo (Kingston University, UK) and Kosuke Shimizu (Ryukoku University, Japan)
Chair:
Prof. Giorgio Shani, LSE/ICU
Discussants:
Prof. Takashi KIBE ICU, Japan
Prof. Jun-Hyeok KWAK, *Sun Yat-sen University*
Dr Atsuko Ichijo, *Kingston University, UK*
Prof. Kosuke SHIMIZU, *Ryukoku University, Japan*

Session 1B: Wednesday, 9:30-11:00
Ethnonational mobilisation
The instrumentalization of indigenous ethnic discourse as a political strategy to win elections
Ms Alvaro Deuer, *Nagoya University*
Ethnicity in Polish-Lithuanian Relations after Accession to the EU
Ms Katažyna Berštanska, *University of Warsaw*
Nationalism and Vaccine Hesitancy in Japan
Ms Lena Pontes, International Christian University
Chair:
Katažyna Berštanska
Discussant:
Samer Alnasir

Session 1C: Wednesday, 9:30-11:00
Religious pillars of state nationalism
Sacred territories and constructed identities: Locating religion in nation-building
Ms Astha Chadha, *Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, Pacific Forum Hawaii*
"Not to defend the articles of faith:" the secular religion of the nation in Hungary
Mr Tamás Nyirkos, *University of Public Service, Budapest*
Poland: a democratic or theocratic state?
Tomasz Litwin, *Jesuit University Krakow*
Straining individualism to release the inner self: philosophy of religion and the law
Mr Domenico Bilotti, *Magna Graecia University*
Chair:
Astha Chadha
Discussant:
Adelaide Madera

Session 2A: Wednesday, 11:15-12:45
Religious Routes of National(ist) Ideologies
"God, fatherland, and family". Identity politics and right-wing political parties in Italy
Ms Arianna Piacentini, *University of Bologna* & Ms Simona Guglielmi, *University of Milano*
Reasonable accommodation of Christian symbols: preliminary remarks on Italian secularism
Ms Adelaide Madera, *University of Messina Kingston University, London*
Chair & Discussant:
Giorgio Shani

Session 2B: Wednesday, 11:15-12:45
Traditions that tie and divide
Religion and insecurity in the Sahel: Old Problems with a New Face
Mr. Tope Akinyetun, Lagos University of Education
Between a shared religious heritage and ethno political tensions: Understanding Political Mobilisation in Cameroon
Mr. Etame Ekombo Franklin, University of Buea
The Role of Intergovernmental Organizations in Philippine Peace Process: The Organization of Islamic Cooperation involvement in Government of the Philippines and Bangsamoro Negotiations
Patricia Reinares, *Independent scholar*
"We are the Arctic": Indigenous peoples and the Arctic nation-states – indigenism versus pragmatism
Ms Galina Gribanova, Saint Petersburg State University

Chair & Discussant:
Sheetal Sheena Sookrajowa

Session 2C: Wednesday, 11:15-12:45
Kin-states and their minorities (Panel in Russian)
Social Integration Strategies for Kazakh Ethnic Repatriates (Kandases) of the South of Kazakhstan
Mr Mukhtarbek Shaikemelev, *Institute for Philosophy, Kazakhstan*
The Problem of Post-Soviet Nation Building: the Case of Kyrgyz and Uzbek Parts of the Ferghana Valley
Zhandos Karinbayev, *University of Warsaw*
Political development tendencies in autonomy in the context of the evolution of the Gagauz identity system
Elena Cuijuclu, *Comrat State University*
Chair:
Fabio De Leonardis
Discussant:
Timofey Agarin

Session 3A: Wednesday, 13:00-14:30
Consequences of Ethnoreligious State Building
Religion, everyday nationalism, and political mobilisation in Indian classrooms
Ms Kusha Anand & Ms Marie Lall, *UCL Institute of Education*
Sacralisation of the State: Political Obligation at the intersection of State and Ummah in Pakistan
Mr MUJEEB KANTH, *South Asian University, Delhi*
The Love Jihad Law: A silent catalyst for perpetrating honour crimes in India
Mr Ritabrata Roy, *University of Sussex*
Decolonising concepts: Sovereignty, Nation-state and Indigenous Peoples
Pfokrelo Kapesa, University of Allahabad

Chair:
Mujeeb Kanth
Discussant:
Ishmael Maxwell

Session 3B: Wednesday, 13:00-14:30
Gender and Refugees in Afghanistan
Between Presence and Absence: Afghan Refugees in Iran and Pakistan
Mr Ferhat Cagri Aras, *Karadeniz Technical University*
Analyzing the correlation between religion, women's empowerment, and peacebuilding in post-9/11 Afghanistan

Ms Tokoyo Okubo, *International Christian University,*
Gender identity: A tale of the Afghan transgender and LGBT communities
Ms Farah Naz, *National University of Sciences and Technology*
Chair & Discussant:
Keiko Sakai

Session 3C: Wednesday, 13:00-14:30
Mechanisms of State Building & Political Consolidation
Is secularism a necessary condition for federalism? The role of religion in federalisation in Asia
Mr Michael Breen, *University of Melbourne*
Power Sharing and Peace: Unpacking the Causal Mechanisms
Mr Mahmoud Farag, *Goethe University Frankfurt*
Agreeing to Divide: Governance and Clientelism in Post-Conflict Lebanon
Ms Natalia Calfat, *Universidade de São Paulo, GTOMMM*
State Management of Unpopular Religious Public Policies in Israel: A Comparative Outlook
Ms Niva Golan-Nadir, *Institute for Liberty and Responsibility, Reichman University*
Chair:
Roberto Belloni
Discussant:
Laurence Cooley

Session 4A: Wednesday, 14:45 – 16:15
Book Panel: Sikh Nationalism (CANCELLED)
Chair:
Giorgio Shani, *LSE/ICU*
Presenters:
Prof. Gurharpal Singh *SOAS*
Prof. Giorgio Shani, *LSE/ICU*
Discussants:
Prof. John Hutchinson, *LSE*
Dr. Atsuko Ichijo, *Kingston University, UK*

Session 4B: Wednesday, 14:45-16:15
Turkiye: From Ottoman Empire to Neo-Ottoman State
An example of Failed Jihat Call: WWI Ottoman Empire's Holy War Disappointment (1914-1918)
Mr Yücel Bulut, *Karadeniz Technical University*
The Contradictions of Turkish Conservatism: The Case of Samiha Ayverdi
Selda Paydak, *Middle East Technical University*

Old Wine in New Bottles: From Ancient Rome's Catonism to AKP's Islamist Populism
Mr Caglar Ezikoglu, *Cankiri Karatekin University*
Chair:
Selda Paydak
Discussant:
Farah Naz (TBC)

Session 4C: Wednesday, 14:45-16:15
Sectarianisms & Governance
The Link between Religious Organisations and Electoral Politics: A Case Study of Mauritius
Ms Sheetal Sheena Sookrajowa, *University of Mauritius*
Measuring Variables Pertaining to Islam in Individual-Level Studies
Mr Mark Tessler, *University of Michigan*
The Logic of Multi-Ethnic Coalitions: Consociational, Centripetal, and Associational Power-Sharing
Mr Alexandre Raffoul, *Uppsala University*
Power Sharing: A Bad Concept?
Mr Matthijs Bogaards, *Central European University*
Chair:
Timofey Agarin
Discussant:
Stephen Deets

Session 5: Wednesday, 16:30-18:00
Plenary: The Nation as a Sacred Communion: Religion, Legacies and Conflict
Chairs:
Dr Timofey Agarin *Queen's University Belfast*
Discussant:
Prof. Giorgio Shani, *LSE/ICU*
Dr John Hutchinson, *LSE*
Dr Atsuko Ichijo, *Kingston*

Day Two
Thursday, 1st June
PANEL STREAMS A & B: ONSITE & PANELS C: ONLINE

Session 6A: Thursday, 9:00 – 10:30
State Sponsorship of Ethnopolitical Mobilisation
Civil Society and Agonistic Peace in Northern Ireland
Mr Roberto Belloni, *University of Trento*
How views on religion, economics and national pride affect ideological orientations in multi-racial Malaysia
Mr Willy Jou, *Waseda University* & Ms Jiaxin Li, *Peking University*
Extraterritorial nation-building by Turkey and Russian Federation
Ms Yana Volkova, *Queen's University Belfast*
Chair:
Ryo Nakai
Discussant:
Stephen Deets

Session 6B: Thursday, 9:00-10:30
Representation in Divided Societies
Against All Odds? Reconciliatory Ethnic Party Communication in Polarized Societies
Ms Lea Haiges, *University of Konstanz*
The How of Political Representation:
The Impact of the Consociational System on Claim-Makers for Marginalized Groups
Ms Patrizia John, *Queen's University Belfast*
Little Fish in Big Ponds: Micro-Minorities in Pathways to Inclusion in Power-Sharing Societies
Drew Mikhael, *Queen's University Belfast* & Aleksandra Zdeb *Krakow Pedagogical*
Chair:
Henry Jarrett
Discussant:
Rupert Taylor

Session 6C: Thursday, 9:00 – 10:30
Book Panel: Nations and Capital. The Missing Link in Global Expansion
Nations and Capital: The Missing Link in Global Expansion is a groundbreaking analysis that delves into the fundamental factors underlying the emergence of nations and nationalism, and their profound role as socio-political and geopolitical instruments in the global expansion of capitalism. This book elucidates the symbiosis between nationalism and capitalism, offering a

comprehensive critique of classical theories of nationalism through compelling historical illustrations. By developing an original theory of nations and nationalism, the author puts forth the notion that the ever-widening gap between capitalist elites and the labouring masses inevitably renders the relentless accumulation of capital socially unsustainable. Recognizing the imperative of bridging this gap without altering the existing social structure, the capitalist system is compelled to introduce nationalism as a social adhesive, strategically tailored to both conceal and solidify the underlying polarization within society. Thus, nationalism serves as one of key mechanisms to safeguard the process of capital accumulation.

Chair:
Mr Zlatko Hadžidedić *Center for Nationalism Studies, Director*
Discussants:
Daniele Conversi, *University of the Basque Country*
Atsuko Ichijo, *Kingston University, UK*
Karolis Dambrauskas, *Lithuanian Centre of Social Sciences*

Session 7A: Thursday, 11:00 – 12:30
Intersection of Ethnicity & Religion
Dissecting Ethnonational Undertones in Minority Religious Movements in Iran
Prof. Yasuyuki Matsunaga, *Tokyo University of Foreign Studies*
Searching for Watan: protest movements in Iraq in 2019 as an attempt to post-conflict nation-building
Prof. Keiko Sakai, *University of Chiba*
Ethnonational Invention for Statehood: A Comparative
Mr Rolin Mainuddin, *Independent scholar*
Chair:
Keiko Sakai
Discussant:
Giorgio Shani

Session 7B: Thursday, 11:00 – 12:30
Institutional Guarantees of Equality in Divided Societies
From Parallel Governance to de facto Ethnic Autonomies in the Post-Communist Space
Ms Aleksandra Zdeb, *Pedagogical University in Krakow*
Executive decision-making in consociational societies

Mr Henry Jarrett, *University of Exeter* & Timofey Agarin, *Queen's University Belfast*
Youth and the imagined nation: young activists' ideas around multiple affiliations in the aftermath of the 2019 uprising in Iraq and Lebanon
Alice Franchini, *Queen's University Belfast*
Chair:
Patrizia John
Discussant:
Adrian Guelke

Session 7C: Thursday, 11:00 -12:30
Post-Socialist "National" After Ukraine
Old or New? The Russian War on Ukraine
Philipp Casula, *Uni Fribourg*
From Vladimir to Vladimir: past and public history in Putin's Russia
Giovanni Savino, *Università di Napoli Federico II*
Gogol's hybrid identity after the war
Ms Anna Cavazzoni, *Università La Sapienza di Roma*
Chair:
Fabio De Leonardis
Discussant:
Andrea Carteny

Session 8A: Thursday, 13:30 - 15:00
Religion and Nation in South Asia
From the Old City to All of India: An Ideological Analysis of the All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen
Mr Ishmael Maxwell, *University of Oxford*
Religious Majoritarianism in South Asia: origins, dynamics and its impact on the functioning of South Asian democracy
Ms Katharine Adeney, *University of Nottingham* & Mr Wilfried Swenden, *University of Edinburgh*
Baloch Radicalization and Insurgency
Mr Tufail Baloch, *Queen's University Belfast*
How Hindu Guided State Making Practices Excluded to The Magar Ethnic Group in Nepal
Mr Bhoj Bikram Budha Magar & Mr Jhakendra Gharti Magar, *Tribhuvan University, Nepal*
Chair:
Giorgio Shani
Discussant:
Rolin Mainuddin

Session 8B: Thursday, 13:30 – 15:00
The Politics of Memory and Memorialisation
Remembering in Adversity: Inclusive Activist Commemorations and the Creation of New Heritage after Mass Atrocity in the Post-Yugoslav Space
Mr Peter Vermeersch & Ms Ana Devic, *KU Leuven*
Sacred Legacy or Othering Identity: Hijacking Memory on Behalf of National Identity – The Case of Spain
Mr Samer Alnasir, *UNED, Spain*
Nationalism and Nature: An Empirical Survey Analysis of Environmental Nationalism
Mr Ryo NAKAI, *The University of Kitakyushu*
Chair:
Zlatko Hadžidedić
Discussant:
Elizabeth Craig

Session 8C: Thursday, 13:30 – 15:00
Book Panel: Armed Forces in Divided Societies

The aim of the book is to look at post-conflict reconfiguration of armed forces in divided societies. The book looks at differences in restructuring armed forces in full and semi-consociational systems. The author detects salient differences between civil-military relations in Lebanon and Bosnia-Herzegovina as cases of full consociationalism as opposed to that of semi-consociationalism represented in Iraq and Burundi.
Chair:
Eduardo Wassim Aboulatif, *Holy Spirit University of Kaslik*
Discussants:
Alexander Raffoul, *University of Uppsala*
Matthijs Boogards, *Central European University*
Adrian Guelke, *Queen's University Belfast*

Session 9A: Thursday, 15:30 – 17:00
Panel: Researching ethnic conflict: Sharing the best practice from peers and professionals
QUB Early Career Researchers Workshop
Moderators:
Aoife Maguire and Alice Franchini, *Queen's University Belfast*
Mentors:
Giorgio Shani TBC

Session 9B: Thursday, 15:30-17:00
Religion, Conflict and Minority Rights
Ethnic Partition Along Religious Lines: The Case of Bosnia
Mr Zlatko Hadžidedić, *Center for Nationalism Studies, Bosnia*
Religion and language as the sources of duality in Montenegrin identity
Ms Olivera Komar & Mr Nemanja Batrićević, *University of Montenegro, Faculty of Political Science*
Neoliberalism, Nationalism and Lithuania's Professional Managerial Class at Home and Abroad
Mr Karolis Dambrauskas, *Lithuanian Centre of Social Sciences*
Chair:
Peter Vermeersch
Discussant:
Aleksandra Zdeb

Session 9C: Thursday, 15:30-17:00
Regional Conflict, Global Consequences of conflict in Ukraine
Kin-states' policies in Ukraine: Assessment of cohesion of a nation in conflict
Ms Iryna Zhyrun, *Higher School of Economics Moscow*
Women and Muslims in the war in Ukraine
Ms Saida Sirazhudinova, *INALCO*
Turkey's Strategic Calculations in the NATO Accession of Finland and Sweden: 'Kurdish Question' in the Context of the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict
Mr Gabriele Leone, *University of Lapland*
Chair:
Yana Volkova
Discussant:
Andrea Carteny

Day Three
Friday, 2ⁿᵈ June

Session 10A: Friday, 9:30 – 11:00 ONLINE
Religion and State-Society Relations
Politics of identity and space in the state-building process in Kosovo: the case of cultural heritage and the Dečani Monastery
Mr Stefan Surlic, *University of Belgrade*
The role of the Bosnian Islamic Community and Indigenous Islam in Countering Salafist Radicalisation
Ms Laura Welty, *University of Sydney*
Multi-track EU enlargement on first year of war: the Bosnian and Georgian cases
Pedro Silva, *NOVA*
Chair:
Stefan Surlic
Discussant:
Zlatko Hadžidedić TBC

Session 10B: Friday, 9:30 – 11:00 ONSITE
Exporting Nationalism
Ethno-nationalism in Donbas as a factor influencing the Russian invasion of Ukraine 2022
Mr Jack Cathcart, *University of Bristol*
Exploring the Presence-Polarization Dilemma of Minority Political Representation: Evidence from Parliamentary elections in Latvia (2022) and Estonia (2023)
Mr Ryo NAKAI, *The University of Kitakyushu* & Timofey Agarin, *QUB*
Minority Rights, Conflict and Religion: Insights from Two Decades of Monitoring under the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities
Ms Elizabeth Craig, *University of Sussex*
Chair:
Timofey Agarin
Discussant:
TBC

Session 10C: Friday, 9:30 – 11:00
Islam and Human In/Security
The Islamic tradition and critique in Jawdat Said's method of nonviolence
Mr Mohammed Moussa, *Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University*
Banning the Hijab in 'Secular Spaces': the crisis of Religious Identity and Human

Security in the era of Ethno-Religious Nationalism in India
Ms Surbhi Khyati, *Jadavpur University, India*
Supreme Court's Articulation of the Idea of Secularism in the post-colonial India and the question of Human Security of Minorities in India: A Critical Appraisal Using Prism of Hermeneutics of Suspicion
Mr VIJAY KISHOR TIWARI, *The West Bengal National University of Juridical Sciences*
Indian Security State: Religion, Nationalism and Majoritarianism
Mr Abhishek Choudhary, *University of Delhi*
Chair:
Giorgio Shani
Discussant:
Ishmael Maxwell TBC

Session 11B: Friday, 11:30 – 13:00 ONSITE
Testing Research Ideas
The insignificant Other? Comparing perceptions of exclusion and inclusion among Others in deeply divided societies Ann-Mireille Sautter*, UC Louvain & KU Leuven*
Labour market participation and social citizenship: Integrating resettled Syrian refugees in Northern Ireland into a divided society
Natasha Black, *University of Ulster*
Systems of Ethno-Political Designation and the Creation of Political Space for Civic Politics in Northern Ireland
Rowan Fitton, *Independent Scholar*
We Deserve Better: A case study of citizens' democratic perceptions and mobilisation in Northern Ireland
Aoife Maguire, *Queen's University Belfast*
Mentors:
Henry Jarrett, *Exeter*
Elizabeth Craig, *Sussex*
Timofey Agarin, *QUB*

Session 11C: Friday, 11:30 – 13:00 ONLINE
Book Panel: We God's People: Christianism, Islam and Hinduism in the World of Nations
(Prof. Jocelyne Cesari, *Georgetown/Harvard University*)
Discussants:
Prof. Timothy Byrnes, *Colgate University*
Prof. Giorgio Shani, *LSE*
Prof. George Soroka, *Harvard University*
Prof. Sultan Tepe, *University of Illinois*

Paper Abstracts

SESSION 1

The instrumentalization of indigenous ethnic discourse as a political strategy to win elecctions
Ms Alvaro Deuer, *Nagoya University,* deueral@hotmail.com
This research studies how indigenous people's self-government demand is used by political elites to consolidate their hegemony and as a strategy to obtain electoral success. It argues that this results in societal polarization based on ethnic identification traits (us against the others). While indigenous discourse allows ethnic parties to succeed in the electoral arena, it leads to the appearance (or deepening) of populist leadership traits, which represents a hazard to democratic institutions' consolidation. All in all, it aims to identify the mechanisms that enable the turn of ethnic parties to the populist side of the ethno-populism pendulum, thus contributing to ethnic politics and populism literature.

The Role of Ethnicity in Polish-Lithuanian Relations after Accession to the EU
Ms Katažyna Berštanska, *University of Warsaw,* katazyna.berstanska@uw.edu.pl
Polish and Lithuanian countries have a long history from just neighbours in the middle ages, to one country union in the renaissance and baroque epoch analogous to the nowadays European Union. The new ethnic epoch of the XIX century causes new hostile relations between both countries, which survived until these days. Why did ethnicity become the worst enemy of Polish-Lithuanian relations after joining the European Union? How do Poland and Lithuania handle this inconvenient situation? How do Poland and Lithuania deal with the Polish minority population in Lithuania to stop the identical disagreement between countries? In this article, I attempt to find answers to these questions and follow the changes in the public narrative regarding Polish-Lithuanian relations. I have analyzed the public discourse in both countries related to their relations and identity between 2004 and 2022 (the Russian war on Ukraine). In the newspapers, I searched for references to the "ethnicity" and its impact on Polish-Lithuanian relations. This article also provides new insights into differences in the narratives of both countries about ethnicity and its influence on the relations between them. Second, the article provides a new analysis related to the role of 'Others' on ethnic policies of both countries.

Nationalism and Vaccine Hesitancy in Japan
Ms Lena Pontes, *International Christian University***,** g235704n@icu.ac.jp
This study explores the potential for vaccine hesitancy to play a role in national identity construction in Japan. Japan is uniquely situated between actual vaccination rates that are often comparable to international counterparts and vaccine confidence rates that are significantly lower than those same international counterparts. Responses to the coronavirus have demonstrated conflicting understandings of the subject of protection, creating conflict between an imagined ethnicized national subject and the population. This research uses discourse analysis and a biopolitical framework alongside modernist theories of nationalism in order to understand the extent to which vaccine hesitancy constructs nationalism in Japan. It demonstrates that vaccine hesitancy may be an act of rebellion against vaccines as a form of violent political intervention while also providing a pathway for ethnicized national construction. This is made possible by the separation between seitai (the body politic) and kokutai (the Japanese body) within broader nation-building initiatives and the enforcement of a narrow understanding of when and how the 'foreignness' can be incorporated. Vaccines are an intersection of the body politic and one's own body that challenges the dichotomous understanding of the nation in terms of the functional body (which may incorporate the foreign) and the Japanese body.

Sacred territories and constructed identities: Locating religion in nation-building
Ms Astha Chadha, *Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University***,** astha2602@gmail.com
South Asia has experienced over 70 years of independence from colonialism however persistent violence and extremism in the Indian subcontinent in the name of nationalism, religion and history has become a characteristic of the region. After the 1947 division of the British India into an Islamic nation Pakistan and secular nation India, more wars followed towards independence of newer territories. While some are still

contested, like Kashmir and Ladakh, others have gained independence- one of which was East Pakistan or Bangladesh. The region constantly weighs under the threat of political destabilization and border conflicts due to presence of two neighboring nuclear powers- India and Pakistan, besides constant disputes over national identity, religion and history. The paper seeks to examine the factors that contribute to the endless conflict in the region. The paper analyzes the role of religion in nation-building in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh pre- and post-independence. An examination of the role of religion, paper argues that religion hindered truth-seeking and made way for imagined communities and constructed religious identities, culminating in lack of trust and absence of reconciliation and peace among these nations even today.

"Not to defend the articles of faith:" the secular religion of the nation in Hungary
Mr Tamás Nyirkos, *University of Public Service, Budapest,* nyirkos.tamas@uni-nke.hu
The nation as a sacred community is a multiply ambiguous (part religious/part secular, part conservative/part revolutionary, part particularistic/part universalistic) idea whose aim has always been to unite historically divided communities. The case of Hungary is especially apt to demonstrate how narratives of a national God (invented in 1788 and popularized by revolutionary poets in 1848) or Hungary as a chosen nation (still present in the national anthem) tried to forge unity in a country where no less than five religious denominations had at least one million followers. After the First World War, when many Hungarians became citizens of other countries, the same narratives served to unite members of the nation within and beyond the borders. After the regime change of 1989-90, similar narratives were used to unite the secular majority of the nation with its still religious minority, culminating in the claim that the government's aim was not to defend any "articles of faith" but to preserve religiously grounded "life forms." In 2020, a touch of millennialism was added to the narrative to unite the conservative and progressive parts of society; but this already reflected the "bricolage" character of the ideology and not anything truly – or even metaphorically – religious.

Poland: a democratic or theocratic state?
Mr Tomasz Litwin, *Jesuit University Ignatianum in Krakow,* tomasz.litwin@gmail.com
The impact of Roman-Catholic Church is very obvious when observing the social-political situation in Poland. There are very clear connections between the catholic church and the Polish governing party PiS (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość – Law and Justice). Many catholic priests, especially in the rural areas, clearly support PiS, what is very useful especially during electoral campaigns. The catholic church is "rewarded" by PiS by the financial support from the public finances to its organizations, associations or foundations. There are also legal regulations that protect the position of the catholic religion. For example, prohibition of abortion because of severe damage to the fetus introduced in 2020 was enacted to satisfy fundamental catholic supporters of PiS. There could also be found many verdicts of the Constitutional Tribunal of Poland supporting the position of catholic religion. Poland is also a state where religion is taught in schools, both primary and high schools. It is rather obvious that Poland is not an exemplary theocratic state but the catholic religion has become a part of the political agenda of the governing party and its influence on the political-social situation is much bigger than it should be.

Straining individualism to release the inner self: philosophy of religion and the law
Mr Domenico Bilotti, *Magna Graecia University,* domenico_bilotti@yahoo.it
As noticed by a wide range of historians of philosophy, law and religion (among others: Legendre, Le Goff, Sandel) secularism has unsurprisingly affected the religions. It has implied changes in communication strategies, in the common conception of organized cultus, in the attempt to influence the general regulation of liberties and duties.

An unexpected consequence consisted in the increasing importance of the religious identity declined like a national stance of belonging and conquering: the nationalism in Hinduism, the so-called white pride in the fundamentalist elements of the Northern and Southern American right, the alliance of established powers and the army graduates in the Middle East, the Russian pretension to represent all the Slavic countries using the Orthodox Church as a political-theological doctrine.

These times we are living are absolutely checked for a provisional idea of individual safety not considering the hypotheses of a long-term personal release, by giving ourselves a deeper sense of gratification, and not including in the current construction of happiness the idea of the others.

Assumed like a reserve of meaningfulness, religions can capture a not theistic and directly humanist issue of life: to realize the existence of the common goods by refreshing our personal minds as individuals.

SESSION 2

The Politicology of Totalitarian Ideology: Mythical 'State of Exception' and Populist 'Constructive Violence'

Mr Mohsen Abbaszadeh Marzbali, *University of Mazandaran*, m.abbaszadeh@umz.ac.ir

Of the many specters that have haunted western civilization perhaps none is so perplexing strange as the resurgence of radical ideologies. This perplexity has reached its zeniths with the anti-mainstream rises in global politics such as Islamic fundamentalism, far-right populism, and ethnic-national expansionism.

What connection does politics of collective violence have with the conceptualization of the political in radical ideologies? This is the principal question that guides the narrative in the present survey.

The paper hypothesizes that the story of 'politics of collective violence' in radical ideologies can be narrated as the unfolding of constant triangular interaction among community dislocation, mythical conceptual apparatus, and populist framing, which act on the politics of 'the state of exception'. Considering the significant tie, the present study is an attempt to set forth a new explanation of the rise and dynamics of radical ideologies in terms of the relation between the notion of 'constructive collective violence' and 'mythical – populist polarization'.

To explain the hypothesis, the paper takes advantage of a combinative framework. Inspired by Hannah Arendt's critical insights on totalitarianism, the paper combines Ernst Cassirer`s phenomenological analysis of mythical thinking, Ernesto Laclau's conception of populism, and Giorgio Agamben's reflection on the 'state of exception'.

"God, fatherland, and family". Identity politics and right-wing political parties in Italy

Ms Arianna Piacentini *University of Bologna* & Ms Simona Guglielmi, *University of Milano*

Nowadays' Italy sees the Italian population coexisting alongside an increasing number of ethno-national as well as linguistic and religious groups. The main responsible for this heterogeneity is the last 20 years' migratory flows - which have consistently alarmed and concerned especially the most extreme and conservative wing of the Italian right. Exploiting, amplifying and generating ex-novo feelings of fear, insecurity and instability in order to emphasise and rimarcate the imaginary boundaries of the Italian nation and identity alike, nationalist and right-wing populist parties have gained an exceptional electoral support - to the point of becoming governing parties. 'God, fatherland and family' has become the slogan of the new-born right-wing government (Oct 2022) headed by Giorgia Meloni - already famous for her phrase 'I am Giorgia, I am a woman, I am a mother, and I am a Christian'. In light of the ethno-cultural diversity characterising the Italian social fabric, and the growing electoral support obtained by nationalist and right-wing parties, the paper explores the identity politics promoted by the governing parties. Paying particular attention to political communication, the words' peculiar employment, and the references to the religious element, the paper tries to understand what characterise the 'true Italian' and define 'Italianness'.

Reasonable accommodation of christian symbols: preliminary remarks on Italian secularism

Ms Adelaide Madera, *University of Messina*, amadera@unime.it

Since the 1990s, the issue of the display of the crucifix in Italian classrooms has been at the center of a polarized public debate on the role of Christianity in the public space. The Lautsi v. Italy case reached the ECtHR, giving rise to a controversial decision. A recent decision of the Italian Court of Cassation provided a new controversial response to the issue of the display of christian symbols in the educational setting. According to the Court, the religious display concerned does not result in religious discrimination of minorities, and the educational community, incorporating all the stakeholders concerned should take a decision on the display of the crucifix, with a view to searching a reasonable accommodation between all the parties involved. The paper aims to analyze the complex interplay between the notion of reasonable accommodation and Italian model of secularism. The aim of the paper is to show that the genuine idea of reasonable

accommodation has been misrepresented in Italian judicial discourse, to justify   the display of majoritarian symbols in public institutions identifies. This is due to the high level of policization of the issue of the crucifix, to the detriment of minorities whose marginalization risks being emphasized.

RELIGION AND INSECURITY IN THE SAHEL OF AFRICA: OLD PROBLEMS WITH NEW A FACE

Mr Tope Akinyetun, *Lagos State University of Education,* akinyetuntope@gmail.com
The Sahel has recently become the hotbed of insecurity in Africa where religious armed conflicts have increased exponentially; threatening the peace of the region and creating a devastating humanitarian crisis. The Sahelian countries with multi-religious groups are being overrun by religious-based violent non-state actors who promote violent conflicts. This is evidenced in the rise of Jihadist and Islamist rebel groups such as the Islamic State in the Greater Sahara (ISGS), Al Qaeda-affiliated Jama'at Nusrat Al Islam Wal Muslimin (JNIM), Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad (Boko Haram) and the Islamic State of West African Province (ISWAP) in Nigeria, Mali, Burkina Faso and Chad. Meanwhile Boko Haram continues its onslaught in Niger, Cameroon, Chad and Nigeria; claiming the lives of thousands since its onset in 2009. This paper adopts a qualitative approach to examine the role of religion in increasing the incidence of insecurity in the Sahel. Secondary data sourced from peer-reviewed articles, policy briefs, government reports, newspaper articles and internet sources are relied on for information and reference. The paper finds that the phenomena are necessitated by an upsurge in interreligious tensions, [religious] discrimination and a weak state presence. Thus, practical policy recommendations are hereby proffered.

Between a shared religious heritage and ethno political tensions: understanding political mobilisations in Cameroon

Mr Etame Ekombo Franklin, *University of Buea,* ekombo.fr@gmail.com
During voter registration, the political elites of Cameroon seek to mobilise the population for massive support and turn out on election day. In line with the 2O18 presidential election, it can be observed that religious heritage and ethno political tensions stand out as key determinant in discouraging political mobilisation in the ruling and opposition parties even during protests and civil disobedience. By reason of its negative effect on the political and socioeconomic stability of the country, this paper looks at the basis of political mobilisations in Cameroon in line with its religious heritage between imported and indigenous material and immaterial values, and the background of ethno political tensions past 2018 presidential election in Cameroon. On the basis of press review and official statements of political parties, the paper looks at the instrumentalisation of religious heritage and tribal margins to dismantle the political adversaries. It also examines the nexus between shared religious heritage and the ethno political tensions in the 2018 post-election protests in Cameroon so as to identify ways by which religion can serve to avoid escalation and a return to peaceful living together.

The Role of Intergovernmental Organizations in Philippine Peace Process: The Organization of Islamic Cooperation involvement in Government of the Philippines and Bangsamoro Negotiations

Patricia Reinares, *Independent scholar*
This study looked into the role of Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) in conflict resolution. It specifically focused on the role of Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) in the Government of the Philippines (GPH) and Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) peace process and the Government of the Philippines and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) peace process. The study provides an account of the history and root cause of the Moro struggle which dates back from the Spanish and United States colonial rule. This plight, struggle, and conflict with GPH continues as the Moros or the Muslims in Mindanao fights for the preservation of their custom, religion, and reclaiming what they consider as originally their land and territory. The OIC, with its goal of fostering peace in Islamic communities, entered into a mediator position on the peace talks between GPH-MNLF and GPH-MILF. This study, therefore, illustrates how a third party contributes in conflict escalation or in fostering non-violent conflict resolution. The research utilized descriptive design in explaining the role of OIC in the Bangsamoro peace process. The researcher analyzed the role of OIC from 1974, where OIC's role formally began, up until the present. The role of OIC is established in helping in the resumption of negotiations when it has reached a stalemate or deadlock. It has helped in producing a much needed political will to bring conflicting parties to peacefully negotiate. It provided a venue for meetings and

peace talks conducive to both parties. Moreover, the OIC ensures the continuation of the talks and that the conflicting parties remain committed to the peaceful settlement of disputes. The OIC is able to foster non violent conflict resolution to the GPH-MNLF and GPH-MILF conflict by ensuring the persistence of the peace talks and by building confidence and trust between the GPH-MNLF and GPH-MILF.

"We are the Arctic": Indigenous peoples and the Arctic nation-states – indigenism versus pragmatism

Ms Galina Gribanova, *Saint Petersburg State University,* GGribanova@yandex.ru

Despite colonization, assimilation, and discrimination, indigenous peoples had largely managed to preserve their distinct societies, cultures, and ways of life, which are deeply rooted in their ancestral lands. This serves as a foundation for an indigenous nationalism (indigenism) that reflects the desire of indigenous peoples to reclaim their nations as separate and distinct from neighbouring peoples. Through political activism indigenous peoples have managed to guarantee their rights in the international law but these legal documents are not binding for the nation-states.

Though the indigenous peoples of the Arctic are better protected in many aspects than indigenous peoples in other regions of the globe, they still are constantly fighting to preserve their endangered culture, language, and lands. Their world based on the collective spiritual connection with their land is often inaccessible to the modern rational mind and the dominant idea of progress.

A comparative analysis of the Arctic states legislature and practices shows us that nowhere fundamental rights of indigenous peoples fixed in the international law are fully provided. The main problem is the existence of an objective contradiction between the interests of the nation-state majority and those of indigenous minorities. Hence the constant search for a political compromise that could effectively resolve or prevent relevant conflicts of interest is needed.

Social Integration Strategies for Kazakh Ethnic Repatriates (Kandases) of the South of Kazakhstan

Mr Mukhtarbek Shaikemelev, *Institute for Philosophy, Kazakhstan,* mukash2424@gmail.com

A new sub-ethnic stratum of Kazakh ethnic repatriates in Kazakh rural communities – Kandases (Oralmans) began to take shape everywhere. In the course of field research it turned out that a significant part of the Kandases in their life strategies is oriented towards primordial ideas about the formation of a nation. On their basis the Kandases build group ideas about the social hierarchy, which the Kazakhs are at the top of the pyramid as the real owners of the land claiming preferences. As a result of the growth of the Kazakh population, the process of Kazakhization of linguistic, socio-political and socio-cultural spaces is gradually intensifying, the intercultural distance between the Kazakh-speaking and Russian-speaking communities is deepening. Small and large inter-ethnic conflicts are triggered by contradictions in relation to everyday social, linguistic, religious, ritual patterns and norms of behavior. There are Kandases at the forefront of these conflicts as a rule. The study of the processes of Kazakhization, institutionalization and the interaction of Russian-speaking and Kazakh-speaking identities requires further study of intercultural and interethnic distances and boundaries, introspective principles of social inclusion / exclusion of ethnic groups in the social space of the titular majority, whose life strategies require further more detailed study.

The Problem of Post-Soviet Nation Building: the Case of Kyrgyz and Uzbek Parts of the Ferghana Valley

Zhandos Karinbayev, *University of Warsaw*

Ферганская долина – самая густонаселенная часть Центральной Азии, расположенная в ее восточной окраине. В долине пересекаются границы Узбекистана, Кыргызстана и Таджикистана, которые были определены в ходе национально – территориального размежевания в 20 – е гг. XX в. С конца 80-х годов прошлого века Ферганская долина (как субрегион) много раз, и определенно чаще, чем другие районы региона становилась местом кровавых столкновений на этнической почве. «Ферганские погромы», конфликт между узбеками и турками – месхетинцами в мае – июне 1989 года в узбекской части долины, и «Ошский конфликт» разразившейся между кыргызами и узбеками, имевшее место в мае – июне 1990 года в в ее кыргызской части могут служить примером. Если вышеперечисленные конфликты происходили в советском периоде и в силу политической изоляции не стали широко известны за рубежом, то о конфликте в г. Ош и его окрестностях (также между кыргызами и узбеками) узнал весь мир. По мнению ряда ученых и специалистов, занимающихся Центральной Азией,

Ферганская долина считается своеобразной «пороховой бочкой» региона. В связи с этнизацией политики на каждой суверенной части Ферганы (субрегионе) ситуация более усугубляется, набирая больше конфликтного потенциала. Автор в своей статье системно рассматривает проблемы постсоветского нациостроительства на примере кыргызской и узбекской частей Ферганской долины, в этнополитике которых доминируют титульные нации.

SESSION 3

Religion, everyday nationalism, and political mobilisation in Indian classrooms
Ms Kusha Anand & Ms Marie Lall, *UCL Institute of Education*
Ideas of nationalism are (re)produced, materially and discursively, in the lives of children through schools' actual and hidden curriculums that often exclude minorities and construct them as 'the other' (Amatullah, April 2022). This paper discusses the impact of the neoliberal agenda on teacher agency in government and private schools to critically counter textbooks and government rituals to serve the Hindutva agenda in the classroom. It draws on semi-structured interviews with government and private school teachers in six research sites in India. In order to examine the role of religion in different types of schools, the authors use the contrast of context approach (a variant of the comparative approach) and draw on the conceptual lens of 'everyday nationalism' which refers to an ongoing (re)production of nationalism in the everyday lives of teachers through a number of routine activities (such as eating, dressing, celebrations). When these routine practices mirror the practices of the majoritarian group, they exclude minorities, therefore creating 'the other' (Amatullah, April 2022). The data show the neoliberal agenda has diluted the identity and agency of the teacher in government schools. Government schoolteachers conform to prescribed performance criteria. The narrowing of the curriculum and constraints on their pedagogical choices limit their autonomy in the classroom. This in turn has supported the wider unquestioning acceptance of the Hindutva inspired curriculum and textbook content. Though the private school teachers recognised the dangers of the new textbooks, but the school system leaves teachers with no options. Teachers expressed their fear of "losing their job", "being summoned by their principal and the government", and thus choosing to bow to the directives of headteachers and the state. The data imply that teachers in different types of schools practise the dissemination of 'common-sense ideas' on par with important mainstream political messages. Those who disagree are likely to supress their opinions in public for fear of being labelled as anti-national. This is akin to Gramsci's (1971) notion of the new normal, thereby the abstract notions become factual for the teacher's consciousness later becoming a part of their 'common sense'.

Sacralisation of the State: Political Obligation at the intersection of State and Ummah in Pakistan
Mr MUJEEB KANTH, *South Asian University, New Delhi,* checka661@gmail.com
The paper aims at understanding sacralisation of the nation-state in the Muslim world. It is argued that sacralisation of nation-state is to be understood as appropriation of religious symbols and texts in the service of raison de state, based on the argument that Islam and the nation-state represent separate authority structures. The paper looks at the case of 'Islamisation' in Pakistan wherein it was the stated aim of the ruling elite in Pakistan to create an Islamic state for the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent. The demand for Pakistan, it is argued, rested on the theopolitical concept of Ummah (universal community of believers) which the founders of the movement equated with Qaum (Nation). The discursive architecture of Khilafat movement (1919-1924) provided the theopolitical impetus, subsequently appropriated by the Pakistan movement. The territorialisation of the Ummah represented a challenge to the state of Pakistan wherein the locus of political obligation was rooted in the authority structure of Islam as opposed to the cartographic image of Pakistan. Accordingly, the paper links 'Islamisation', understood as sacralisation, to the concept of political obligation in Islam. The paper argues that the project of Pakistan was a concrete attempt at spatializing the 'political' on the basis of Islam.

The Love Jihad Law: A silent catalyst for perpetrating honour crimes in India
Mr Ritabrata Roy, *University of Sussex,* rr339@sussex.ac.uk
Since its introduction, the Uttar Pradesh Prohibition of Unlawful Religious Conversion Ordinance 2020, popularly known as the "Love Jihad Law" has been surrounded with several controversies. Critics argue that the law unfairly targets Muslim men by deterrently preventing them from having any romantic or marital

relationships with women from other religions (especially with Hindu women). These concerns are not unfounded as several incidents of violence against Muslim men have been reported across India which are perpetrated in name of prevention of Love Jihad by right wing radical groups. Interestingly, despite several probes into the alleged Love Jihad conspiracy to transform India into an Islamic state, no credible evidence of the conspiracy has been found yet. However, the legislation itself has transformed into a catalyst behind perpetration of several heinous crimes on Muslim men. In this paper I will investigate, to what extent has Love Jihad legislation has contributed to instigating perpetration of honour crimes on Indian Muslim men? With the help of empirical data from my recently concluded fieldwork in Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, I will argue that the overall Love Jihad narrative is often used as an excuse to commit various kinds of honour crimes on Muslim men across the country. I will conduct an inductive analysis of the empirical data to answer this question and establish my hypothesis thereof.

Decolonising concepts: Sovereignty, Nation-state and Indigenous Peoples
Pfokrelo Kapesa, *University of Allahabad*
Nation-state sovereignty, the mainstay of international politics has been a tool of oppression and subjugation for peoples and groups that does not fit neatly into its definition. The most direct victims of nation-state sovereignty are indigenous peoples whose worldview and conception of politics are not limited by notions of territoriality of political units/communities. Sovereignty which is revered as a guide to legal and political problems to maintain social order has obscured alternative and diverging constructions of sovereignty and mask the essentially violent, layered, and unstable nature of the practices of sovereignty. However the concepts of nation-state and sovereignty are so entrenched that even peoples and groups challenging the subjugation and oppressive nature of nation-state sovereignty use the language and tools of nation-state sovereignty. Gerald Taiaiake Alfred of the Kahnawake community and Irene Watson of the Tanganekald and Meintangk nation have questioned the appropriateness of the use of sovereignty as a political tool for indigenous peoples and whether the lived experiences of indigenous peoples before the colonial era are fully captured by the concept of sovereignty respectively. Taking the works of Gerald Taiaiake Alfred and Irene Watson as starting points, this paper will analyse the Naga Peoples movement for self-determination, one of the longest running movements in the world. It will probe if the use of the language and tools of nation-state sovereignty have become their undoing.

Between Presence and Absence: Afghan Refugees in Iran and Pakistan
Mr Ferhat Cagri Aras, *Lecturer,* ferhatcagriaras@ktu.edu.tr
In recent years, Afghanistan has returned to one of the darkest periods in its history. Afghans, the world's third-largest refugee population, make up a registered population of nearly 3 million worldwide. In addition, more than 2 million registered Afghan refugees live in Pakistan and Iran. The most important reason for the increase in these numbers in the last period is the return of the Taliban to power.

The Taliban rulers have so far failed to rebuild Afghanistan. This made bureaucratic management difficult. In addition, the failure to develop an inclusive policy to ensure the right to education and work for girls and women and efforts to restrict people's movements led to a new Afghan refugee crisis. As this situation combined with drought and brought about famine, the humanitarian crisis grew even more. This has increased the number of people who want to flee to neighboring countries. On top of this, when the disagreements between the Taliban administration and Iranian and Pakistani authorities were added, border conflicts and the struggles of Afghan refugees seeking asylum began to increase. Currently, Pakistan and Iran are seriously concerned about the further influx of refugees from this region. When these concerns are added to the instability and indifference of the Taliban administration to these concerns, these crises also prepare the environment to spread from micro-scale to macro-area.

Analyzing the correlation between religion, women's empowerment, and peacebuilding in post-9/11 Afghanistan
Ms Tokoyo Okubo, *International Christian University, PhD,* g229006r@icu.ac.jp
The overall aim of this paper is to contribute to the argument of the correlation between religion, gender, and peacebuilding in the context of post-9/11 peacebuilding. In this regard, this paper discusses the following research questions: in what way the religion of Islam was used, especially in the context of women's

empowerment, in the War on Terror and subsequent post-9/11 peacebuilding? This paper looks at the following points: (1) the brief history of women's situation in Afghanistan; (2) characteristics of women's rights issues' strategies in the War on Terror and post-9/11 peacebuilding; (3) overviewing the Islamic faith and issues of human rights, especially women's rights as described in the Qur'an and Hadith; additionally analyzing misconceptions about the Islamic faith in the West. Based on the above points and analyzing feminist perspectives, this paper insists that the religion of Islam was used as a 'tool' by international aid actors to reinforce and justify the War on Terror and post-9/11 peacebuilding processes. Misconceptions about the Islamic faith regarding women's rights in the West had influenced post-9/11 peacebuilding; therefore, the Afghan women symbolized in the post-9/11 context, and the international aid actors emphasized the rhetoric of 'Islam oppresses women' to justify their actions.

Gender identity: A tale of the Afghan transgender and LGBT communities

Ms Farah Naz, *National University of Sciences and Technology,* farahkhan36@hotmail.com

Gender identity means a person's innermost and individual sense of self as male, female or a blend of both or neither: that can correspond or not to the sex assigned at birth. In the case of Afghan refugees and migrants, the issue of gender identity is highly sensitive for a couple of reasons: 1) the society follows religious and ideological constraints when it comes to the LGBT community; 2) the social pressure on the transgender community is quite intense that limit the scope of a transgender seeking empowerment, education and availing their due share in society. This is like writing on the walls that transgender has no rights to claim when it comes to a transgender due share of rights. They have been targeted with sexual assault on a day-to-day basis. Their right to identity is stripped off as they cannot identify their gender category (male or female) when it comes to filling out the basic application form to register in these specific countries. However, the LGBT communities are still a no-point for discussion in any form or format. This paper aims to discuss all these sensitive subjects and suggest policy recommendations

Is secularism a necessary condition for federalism? The role of religion in federalisation in Asia

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Secular federalism is so commonly accepted that it has become a standardised normative principle. This perception, however, faces an ongoing tension between political secularism and the accommodation of religion and has prevented us from understanding forms of religious federalism in Asia. Religion remains an important part of ethnic identity and is influential in the political sphere. Asia deviates from the normal pattern of political secularism in that it has modified and compromised secularism. The domination of majority religions in federal constitutions leads to the question of how to protect minority religions, and how to defend secularism to provide equal treatment in legal systems. This paper demonstrates that federalisation in Asia starts with a prioritisation of secular values but encounters an ongoing negotiation. Whilst political secularism is often supported and even implemented at the early stages of federal statehood, it is often revised soon after to meet the demands of religion and religious diversity. This paper examines the assumption that secularism is a necessary condition for federalism by identifying causal mechanisms and processes that support, confirm, or disprove the assumption, and elaborate the relationship. In doing so, it identifies the ways in which religion is accommodated via federal institutions.

Power Sharing and Peace: Unpacking the Causal Mechanisms

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There is a burgeoning literature on how power sharing facilitates peace in divided societies. Studies have proposed several causal mechanisms of how power sharing institutions lead to peace. Nonetheless, the literature has a critical gap. Studies attempting to identify the causal mechanisms have mainly focused on one power sharing institution such as grand coalition or proportional representation. We lack, therefore, a framework that theorizes the causal mechanisms linking the different power sharing institutions and peace. The paper contributes to the literature in two ways. First, the paper develops a framework that identifies the causal mechanisms linking the various power sharing institutions and peace by distinguishing between inclusive and dispersive institutions. Second, the paper probes the plausibility of the causal mechanisms using comparative evidence from 82 cases. In so doing, the paper highlights how power sharing institutions moderate inter-group and intra-group behavior, thus paving the way for peace.

Measuring Variables Pertaining to Islam in Individual-Level Studies

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This paper considers conceptual and operational issues associated with the measurement of individual-level variables pertaining to religion and religiosity in Muslim societies. Drawing upon cross-country and over-time data collected by the Arab Barometer survey research project, the paper considers the way that individual-level variables pertaining to Islam have been measured in previous studies and might be measured in future studies. The potential advantages and limitations of various measurement strategies in the study of ordinary Muslim men and women are considered as well.

State Management of Unpopular Religious Public Policies in Israel: A Comparative Outlook

Ms Niva Golan-Nadir, *Institute for Liberty and Responsibility, Reichman University*, ivanadir@gmail.com

What strategies do state institutions use to maintain their existing unpopular policies? To what extent are citizens content with these strategies? This study presents a model classifying the various methods that state institutions use to manage unpopular policies while keeping their core policies intact. It demonstrates that such institutions manage unpopular policies using three strategies that indicate different levels of adjustment to societal discontent with them: (1) disregard, (2) accommodation of under the threshold alternatives and (3) partial institutional modification. In order to test this model, we compare three religion-based policies in Israel: marriage, public transportation on Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, and kosher food inspection in public institutions. Each policy exemplifies different measures taken by state institutions to mitigate societal discontent with it.

Methodology wise, the study uses a mixed method approach of qualitative and quantitative measures: official documentation by state institutions, existing statistics and a representative public opinion survey.

SESSION 4

An example of Failed Jihat Call: WWI Ottoman Empire's Holy War Disappointment (1914-1918)

Mr Yücel Bulut, *Karadeniz Technical University*

Before the first world war began, the Ottoman Empire sought solutions to its old problems, such as long-lasting economic burden capitulations and security against its traditional enemy Russia in the East. When the possibility of a big war appeared, Ottomans wanted to be a part of the Allied Powers but did not find any positive reciprocation. Under the leadership of the Young Turks, Ottoman Bureaucracy believed that they would be a part of the war anyhow. At the time, Germany was influential on the Young Turk's leadership cadre, and especially Enver Pasha believed in the supremacy of Germans in war. They propagandized for Turkey to take place in the war with the Germans to reach the abovementioned goals. On the other hand, Germany was thinking of using the Ottomans' power of Khilafet to declare Holy war and mobilize over 260 million Muslims to work for Ottoman and its friend Germany and start big riots in especially British colonies where there was a considerable number of Muslims. Holy war was one of the most substantial reasons Germany Wanted to take the Ottoman to its side. Eventually, the holly war did not get the expected answers and failed.

The Contradictions of Turkish Conservatism: The Case of Samiha Ayverdi

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Turkish conservatism is represented by multiple identities with diverse backgrounds. This study will explore Samiha Ayverdi (1905–1993), who is a controversial figure, a significant conservative elite writer, and a leading "follower" of the Rıfai order (an unconventional branch of Islam Sufism) in Turkey. Ayverdi stands at the crossroads of Turkey's social, political, and cultural history. As a threshold figure, she has been both an Ottoman Empire subject and a Republic of Turkey citizen, giving her a multi-layered identity that is open to multiple interpretations. To begin, I will argue that Samiha Ayverdi personifies the contradictory nature of Turkish conservatism, which swings between self-enchantment, or self-glorification, and other-worldly religious modesty like a pendulum. On the one hand, Ayverdi, based on nationalism, praises the positive characteristics of how just and egalitarian the Muslim-Turks have been since ancient times, while contradicting her Sufi tradition by making a clear distinction between friend and enemy. She categorizes

some of the social classes by ennobling them in the friend category or stigmatizing them in the enemy category. Among these categories, she lists internal enemies, westernizers, communists, "Sabbateans", Jews, and non-Muslims. We can argue that the concepts of nationalism and religion appear in Ayverdi's texts as nurturing elements of self-glorification. On the other hand, in the context of Ottoman modernization with the Tanzimat period, a sense of victimhood manifests itself in Ottoman statesmen and especially in the conservative world, including Ayverdi. Ayverdi strongly voices the Muslim Turks she claims to be victimized by the negative implications of modernization process. In Ayverdi's texts, I will particularly look into Ayverdi's narrative of the enemy in the context of everyday life practices in Ottoman mansions in Istanbul. I will argue that the representations of the enemy in Ayverdi's writings are related to her reading of history, which represents one of the contradictions of Ayverdi's conservatism. My purpose is to try to show how these interrelated concepts reflect the ambiguities of conservative understanding. The study will also explore if Ayverdi's ideas represent a rupture or a continuation in the history of conservative discourse in Turkey. The methodology will be based upon an in-depth analysis of primary resources, i.e., her books, novels, and other non-literary writings. Relevant data will be gathered from her memoirs as well. The study will also use secondary resources, books, articles, relevant news, and interviews.

Old Wine in New Bottles: From Ancient Rome's Catonism to AKP's Islamist Populism
Mr Caglar Ezikoglu, *Cankiri Karatekin University,* caglarezikoglu@gmail.com
Barrington Moore focuses to explore the origins of dictatorship and democracy with some cases like Germany or Japan in his well-known book, 'Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy'. Indeed, Turkey's early Republican period under the Mustafa Kemal's regime may become a case for Moore's thesis. Kemalist modernisation process may become Moore's one of the cases such as Germany and Japan in terms of the capitalist reactionary and authoritarian routes in modernisation process. However, Moore's approach can be expanded as AKP's and Erdogan's history with regards to the last part of Moore's book and his point of Catonism. Moore rejects the assumption that the behavior of a class in any particular situation is determined by the 'economic factor' rather than the 'religious factor' or the 'diplomatic factor'. In the last part of his book, he mentions the conservative or radical imagery for understanding the origins of dictatorship. According to Moore, radical and conservative rhetoric help to control the whole country within the authoritarian regimes. Moore gives a very good example from the Ancient Rome's political figure, 'Cato the Elder' to explain this phenomenon and this paper tries to engage Catonism with AKP's policy under the Erdogan's Islamist and populist leadership.

The Link between Religious Organisations and Electoral Politics: A Case Study of Mauritius
Ms Sheetal Sheena Sookrajowa, *University of Mauritius*, s.sookrajowa@uom.ac.mu
Over the past years, there has been a remarkable upsurge of religious organisations in Mauritius and their influence on public policy and on the electoral process is indeed powerful. In fact, in 1959 after intense discussions the State agreed to subsidise to all religious organisations such as churches (Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian), Hindu federations (Tamil, Telegu, Marathi and Sanathan), and the Muslim was funded through the Waqf Commissioner. Thus, this paper aims at examining the relationship between religious organisations and political parties in Mauritius and to assess their influence on public policies. This paper uses documentary analysis of government reports and press articles to understand the enduring influence of religious organisations on electoral politics in Mauritius. The findings of this research show that the intervention of the religious organisations on electoral politics and public policies is boundless because the State indirectly encourages such ethnic practices by providing subsidies and by maintaining a clientelist network.

The Logic of Multi-Ethnic Coalitions: Consociational, Centripetal, and Associational Power-Sharing
Mr Alexandre Raffoul, *Uppsala University,* alexandre.raffoul@pcr.uu.se
While power-sharing's ability to deliver peace after conflicts has been the object of a long academic debates, scholars are now increasingly turning their attention towards variations in the performance of power-sharing. One important source of variation is the logic of coalition formation, which is captured by the dichotomy between "consociationalism" and "centripetalism." While this categorization is predominant in the qualitative literature on power-sharing, it has not been used in the quantitative literature on the performance of power-sharing. This article argues that this absence might be due to conceptual issues that limit the ability of the framework to serve as a basis for data collection and research design. To address this issue, this study reconstructs a typology of ethnic, electoral, and executive power-sharing (E3PS), which encompasses three

types: consociational, centripetal, and – a newcomer – associational power-sharing. Using original data and multiple causal inference techniques, the study investigates the relative effects of the three type of E3PS on peace. The findings will contribute to our understanding of the pathways between power-sharing and peace.

Agreeing to Divide: Governance and Clientelism in Post-Conflict Lebanon
Ms Natalia Calfat, *Universidade de São Paulo, GTOMMM,* nnahascalfat@alumni.usp.br
Multi-ethnic and deeply divided societies that share power through consensus tend to produce strong stimulus for decision-making paralysis and to encourage polarized behavior. Not very extensive discussion has been done, nevertheless, on how and when cooperation and compromise can be obtained in unity cabinets with mutually vetoing minorities. Put differently, how veto impacts decision-making in relation to stability and clientelism in post-conflict societies. To address that gap, we select the Lebanese post-2005 confessional system, a broad sectarian governing coalition in a densely plural Middle East. By examining the laws sanctioned between 2005-2018, narrowed by major infra-structural projects approved by the Council for Development and Reconstruction (CDR), and supported by 40 elite interviews, we argue in a mechanistic fashion that the approval of clientelist propositions – resulting from the non-enforcement of veto - is made possible through informal governance instruments and executive horizontalized bargain. Our results support the argument that veto-players' literature could benefit from analyzing such communal veto capacities not only as instruments of minority representation and identity leverage, but also as devices for tuning political balance and controlling state rents allocation. By circumventing strong institutional constraints, informal governance and elite collusion ultimately enable some decision-making capacity and long-term post-conflict stability.

Power Sharing: A Bad Concept?
Mr Matthijs Bogaards, *Central European University,* BogaardsM@ceu.edu
The literature on power sharing keeps expanding. Recent interest probably started with the proliferation of power-sharing arrangements in post-conflict societies in the 1990s. Since then, power sharing has become equated with both centripetalism and consociationalism, power-sharing data bases have been constructed, and there is even talk of authoritarian power sharing. The result is increasing confusion about the concept to the point where it is worth asking: Is power sharing a bad concept? My paper intends to answer that question with Giovanni Sartori's guidelines for concept formation. My paper will show that power sharing and related concepts are not at the same level of the ladder of generality because at closer look, their defining features and empirical referents are different. As a consequence, we risk what Sartori calls the "boomerang effect" of conceptual stretching. In a previous paper (in print) I showed it to be a real problem for two particular cases. In this paper, I broaden the investigation, clarifying the concept of power sharing and ordering its semantic field. One aim is to convince all colleagues never to use consociationalism and power sharing as synonyms ever again.

SESSION 6

How views on religion, economics and national pride affect ideological orientations in multi-racial Malaysia
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While Malaysia has a long history of racial tensions, in recent years ethnic polarization is reported to be rising, partly attributable to and reflected in the shifting party and coalition configurations. This trend has been accompanied by reports of increasing Islamization and a consequent erosion of religious pluralism. Does political contestation revolve around issues of religion and national identity? And do the majority Malays and ethnic minorities perceive the political space differently? Using data from two waves of the World Values Survey in the 2010s, the present study attempts to address these questions by analyzing four sets of factors hypothesized to impact citizens' positions on the left-right spectrum: economic; religious/moral; evaluation of democracy and alternative regime types; and national pride. Results show that while religious and moral issues do play a role, other dimensions are also important, with national pride in particular consistently exerting a substantive influence. Furthermore, where economic attitudes emerge as significant, the findings are contrary to conventional understandings of left and right, and can only be explained in the context of

communal relations. Overall, results suggest that ethno-nationalism remains a key factor underlying citizens' ideological orientations.

Extraterritorial nation-building by Turkey and Russian Federation

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Among different types of nationalisms that at this time are surging all over the globe, kin-state nationalism despite its relevancy for global security receives scarce academic attention. Unlike traditional nationalism that shapes national community within the borders of nation-states, kin-state nationalism (or transsovereign nationalism) targets external populations and aims at reproducing the nation across existing state borders. While the interests of state actors remain territorial in terms that they are associated with the geographical area of a state, the strategies to pursue these interests become extraterritorial, meaning states' capacity to reach out to and affect the populations residing outside their geographical boundaries. Pursuing different interests, political entrepreneurs in Turkey and Russian Federation deploy a wide range of instruments to engage with a wide variety of external populations. While acknowledging important differences, the similarities between Russian extraterritorial identity-building project and the Turkish one allow us to view them comparatively. The aim of the study is to analyse the mechanisms of such engagement at rhetorical, institutional and legislative levels, and its effects through identity-building perspective

Against All Odds? Reconciliatory Ethnic Party Communication in Polarized Societies

Ms Lea Haiges, *Lea Haiges,* lea.haiges@uni-konstanz.de

Ethnic parties are expected to rely on ethnic communication (e.g., ethnic appeals and emphasizing historical grievances) to mobilize their constituencies. However, recent research showed that parties make cross-ethnic appeals and speak to other societal groups. Even more surprisingly, some ethnic parties use reconciliatory and future-oriented communication asking to leave past hostilities behind. It is puzzling why some ethnic parties rely on ethnic language, often tied to negative outcomes, while other ethnic parties focus on reconciliation. This paper aims to examine and explain why ethnic parties choose the latter strategy, despite contrasting expectations. In doing so, I conduct a case study of Trinidad and Tobago. The country can be considered a least-likely case since it experienced indentured labor under colonial rule, which led to an extreme change in demographic composition, while simultaneously establishing status hierarchies and hostilities between the two major ethnic groups (Afro-Trinidadians and descendants of Indian indentured laborers). I use qualitative content analysis and process tracing to analyze communication strategies over time and explain them. Analyzing reconciliatory communication helps to gain further insights into strategies ethnic parties have beyond making ethnic appeals. Moreover, the paper contributes to a better understanding of elite communication's importance in multi-ethnic societies

The How of Political Representation: The Impact of the Consociational System on Claim-Makers for Marginalized Groups

Ms Patrizia John, *Queen's University Belfast,* pjohn02@qub.ac.uk

Political Representation appears to be more and more characterized by power disparities between the representatives and the represented – especially so, for marginalized groups in post-conflict consociations. Despite the increasing knowledge about marginalized groups in consociations and their descriptive and substantive representation, addressing *how* their representation works lacks academic attention so far. This paper takes the first step into this direction by presenting the first application of Michael Saward's Representative Claim Theory to marginalized groups in consociations. It will offer first empirical evidence on claim-makers for LGBT* communities in Northern Ireland and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Notable attention will hereby be drawn to the importance of the consociational system as a cultural frame for claim-making in these case studies. Based on these first data, it allows to conclude that especially ethnic claim-makers are using the consociational system to justify their political stances. The presentation will finally foreshadow the proceeding steps of the PhD dissertation this paper is part of.

Little Fish in Big Ponds: Micro-Minorities in Pathways to Inclusion in Power-Sharing Societies

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An emergent critique of consociations concentrates on groups who were excluded from power-sharing mechanisms. These so-called 'others' are frequently not only excluded from the opportunities provided by

the system to the dominant groups, but also face co-optation by included groups. A key question thus emerges: under these conditions how do excluded 'others', especially their political elites, navigate this situation and what tools, formal or informal, do they employ to achieve inclusion? Based on semi-structured interviews and using comparative analysis, the paper looks at the way in which micro minorities operate in consociational systems in four power-sharing case studies which differ in regard to the system's formality and position on the corporate-liberal axis: Bosnia and Herzegovina, North Macedonia, Lebanon and Northern Ireland. Following our analysis we argue that in consociations, minority elites behave in accordance with the logic of consequentiality and resultingly try to navigate the structures from which they are excluded and resort to informal mechanisms to gain inclusion (e.g. informal networks). Moreover, we acknowledge that while liberal set of rules puts micro minorities in a formally better position, the liberal/corporate distinction is not enough to explain the position of micro minorities in those countries. The pictures becomes more nuanced if we add another variable to the equation – formality/informality of the consociational model.

SESSION 7

Dissecting Ethnonational Undertones in Overtly Religio-Sectarian Movements: Sunni-Minority Insurgent and Reformist Groups in the Shiʻi-Theocratic State of Iran
Mr Yasuyuki Matsunaga, *Tokyo University of Foreign Studies,* matsunaga@tufs.ac.jp
Drawing on the case of Sunni-Muslim ethnic-minorities of Iran (e.g., Kurds, Baluch, and Talysh), this paper seeks to address the question of why sometimes religio-sectarian, rather than ethnonational, identities are chosen as the "common property" (Charles Taylor 1971, 27) that is tasked with helping to mobilize and unite groups of politically marginalized community members. The paper also seeks to address a second question of why they seem unable to effectively compete with more straightforward, 'secular' ethnonationalist movements in the same communities (as seems to be the case in Iranian Kurdistan)? Drawing in part on the author's political ethnographic research and through comparative-historical analysis of the available documentary and secondary resources, this paper seeks to make the case that even though the current Iranian central state is overtly religio-sectarian (i.e. Shiʻi-theocratic), the masked nature of the political conflicts between the central state and minority communities in modern Iran has always been ethnonational (i.e. the minority ethnonational communities have faced off against the successive Persian-centered Iranian states); and also that this is why, although some (or one-third of the total 8 million) Kurds in Iran are Shiʻis, even they sometimes join their co-ethnonationals in their fights against the central state.

Searching for Watan: protest movements in Iraq in 2019 as an attempt to post-conflict nation-building
Ms Keiko Sakai, *University of Chiba,* keikosak@chiba-u.jp
We find standard features among the recent protest movements in the Arab regions, such as in Sudan, Algeria, Lebanon, and Iraq since 2018: search for a nation (watan), participation of the marginalized (such as women) in the movements, regaining the space from the hand of the ruling elites, and role of symbols such as hashtags, slogans, and wall art. We can understand it as a movement where those neglected and marginalized in nation-building raise their voices.

These features are especially noticeable in the Tishreen Revolution in Iraq occurred on October 2019. Streets and squares became a space for autonomy and self-empowerment of the youth, who challenged the dominance of the post-2003 ruling political elite circle. Slogans with "We want watan," i.e., bringing the nation back from the state monopoly to the hands of the people, were seen on placards at the demonstrations and in graffiti on the walls. This study analyzes the symbols used in the "Tishreen Revolution," arguing that it was an attempt at nation-building. It reflects the failure of the post-conflict state-building and social restoration, i.e., state mismanagement in coordination among communal/ ethnic interests, distorted democracy introduced as a post-conflict solution, and intervention of regional and global powers in domestic politics.

Ethnonational Invention for Statehood: A Comparative Study of Pakistan and Israel in Religious Mobilization
Mr ROLIN MAINUDDIN, *Independent scholar,* mainuddinr@aol.com
In propagating a geographical minority religious group as a nation, Pakistan was created for the subcontinental Muslims. Likewise, in claiming a diasporic religious group to be a nation, Israel was

established for the Jewish people. Instead of language (and culture) of European nationalism, both Islam and Judaism were religious instruments for identity formation. Grounded in Sanskrit while borrowing Arabic alphabets and Persian culture, Urdu emerged as the vernacular in Pakistan; Hebrew played a unifying tongue in Israel.

Political consciousness converts a group into a community. In turn, political aspirations transform a political community into a nation. Despite dismissal by Anthony Smith and Ted Robert Gurr, Michael Brown found religion significant as a combined variable. Jonathan Fox has continued to emphasize and direct attention to religious explanations.

What explains the mechanism for creating, disseminating, and embracing a new identity? Also, what is the nature of interaction between the centripetal forces of aggrieved revivalist majority and the centrifugal forces of disadvantaged separatist minority? Through a comparative study of the two aforementioned historical cases, this paper will address the above questions within a framework of constructivism. In particular, the work will examine five components: Scripture, state power, violence, symbol manipulation, and leadership usurpation.

From Parallel Governance to de facto Ethnic Autonomies in the Post-Communist Space
Ms Aleksandra Zdeb, *Pedagogical University in Krakow,* aleksandra.zdeb@up.krakow.pl
Despite the fact that there is no agreement in the literature in regard to the effectiveness of territorial solutions as viable conflict resolution strategies, territorial autonomy and self-government have been recognized as tools of ethnic conflict management in the post-communist space. While federalism has become the criticized "f" word (e.g., Bosnia and Herzegovina), formal territorial autonomies e.g., Vojvodina (Serbia) or Ajaria (Georgia) show that it can bring stability to tense ethnic relations. Yet, there are also informal arrangements in the region – the de facto ethnic autonomies - developed in two prevalent forms: municipal self-governments (e.g., Croatian in Bosnia, Albanian in North Macedonia, and Serbian in Kosovo), and the so-called quasi-states (e.g., Abkhazia and South Ossetia or Transnistria). Both show that territorialized, ethnicity-based conflicts require to be managed through some sort of autonomy while groups tend to explore informal solutions to achieve their aims. Seeing those autonomies as structures of parallel governance (Hartley 2003), the article aims at comparing the above-mentioned cases and focuses on the question why and with what result different elite groups made strategic use of parallel institutions.

Executive decision-making in consociational societies
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Much research has been carried out into politics in divided societies with consociational systems of government. A key component of Lijphart's theory of consociationalism is 'government by grand coalition', which requires parties and members representing different ethnic groups to share power with one another, otherwise government is unable to function. However, the specifics of decision-making in executives have been largely overlooked. This oversight is significant, as recent crises have demonstrated that there are times when governments need to take swift and decisive action for the benefit of their publics. It is particularly relevant in divided societies, as whilst executive members are usually from one particular ethnic group, there are some crises that affect all within a society and thus necessitate cooperation between political elites that is often lacking in consociations. By focusing on the COVID-19 pandemic in cases such as Northern Ireland and South Tyrol, this paper seeks to determine how executive decisions are taken and communicated to publics. It not only intends to shed light on this largely overlooked area but also hopes to inform on how government can be more effective at times of crisis in consociational societies.

Youth and the imagined nation: young activists' ideas around multiple affiliations in the aftermath of the 2019 uprising in Iraq and Lebanon
Alice Franchini, *Queen's University Belfast*, afranchini01@qub.ac.uk
The project explores the political experiences represented by the Tishreen movement (Iraq, 2019-2020), and the 17 October revolution (Lebanon, 2019-2020). In particular, I look at how young activists who participated in the uprisings make sense of their multiple affiliations (national and ethno-sectarian) in light of that political experience. While the strong rejection of consociational governance arrangements voiced in the uprisings

may have been the symptom of widespread dissatisfaction with current ethnic elites' inability to deliver on their mandate, it is significant that the movements also voiced expressions of nationalism (as in opposition to ethno-sectarian politics) which appear to resonate with many young people in the two countries. Whereas nationalism in Iraq and Lebanon has historically been mobilised to entrench the supremacy of more powerful ethnic groups, it is possible that the nationalist sentiment voiced by protesters could constitute the expression of a shift in the configuration of politically-activated sectarian identities with respect to national identity, and that such shift may have further developed in the antagonist arena of the uprisings.

Old or New? The Russian War on Ukraine

Philipp Casula, *Uni Fribourg*

The New wars paradigm has been an important heuristic tool to make sense of organized violence in much of Eastern Europe after the collapse of "socialism". In particular, this approach has been used to shed light on new rationales of war, new participants in violence at the sub- and non-state level, and on the place of wars in a globalized world. While the notion fits neatly into the globalization paradigm, it was met also with critique that focused on the alleged uniqueness of the elements of the New wars. While the violence unleashed to annex Crimea and to separate Luhansk and Donetsk from Ukraine after 2014, widely seemed to correspond to the New wars, the Russian February 2022 attack on Ukraine appears to be a "relapse" into the modalities of "old wars". The aim of the present paper is to analyze the current conflict from the perspective of the New war paradigm and to highlight to which extent it can be useful to make sense of the Russian war on Ukraine. The article will thus be both an analysis of the war Russia unleashed on Ukraine, and a reflection on the currency of the New wars concept. The paper will be divided into two section: the first one will deal with the key elements of the New wars paradigm, augmented by reflections on biopolitics and globalization, extracting key variables to be analyzed. The second part uses insights from the first section to discuss the war on Ukraine along the lines of the theoretical concepts. The paper will show the kind of identity politics that is at stake in the conflict, the role of irregular troops and the peculiarities of financing this conflict by all parties involved.

From Vladimir to Vladimir: past and public history in Putin's Russia

Giovanni Savino, *Università di Napoli Federico II*

L'uso del passato nella definizione e nella legittimazione delle posizioni politiche non rappresenta una novità nella storia contemporanea. Nel caso della Russia di Vladimir Putin ci troviamo di fronte a una particolare variazione sul tema, dove la nostalgia, già individuata da Svetlana Boym come emozione storica consustanziale alla modernità, assume l'aspetto ricostruttivo in cui avvenimenti, figure e dottrine del passato si assommano in una reinterpretazione post-moderna volta a fornire una identità alla società e allo Stato. La celebrazione della Giornata della Vittoria il 9 maggio è solo il momento più noto di questo processo, punto più alto della storia della gloria delle armi russe, iniziata con i principi di Kiev e arrivata all'attuale guerra in Ucraina attraversando le fasi imperiale e sovietica senza soluzione di continuità. La propaganda monumentale sviluppata nell'ultimo quindicennio dalle autorità e da enti come la Società russa di storia militare ha avuto come obiettivo fissare dei punti fermi nella narrazione della storia. Scopo del paper è l'analisi del processo di costruzione del passato da parte dei vari attori (Cremlino, Società russa di storia militare, Chiesa ortodossa russa e altri) come elemento di formazione di una visione nazionale e imperiale da parte del potere nella Russia contemporanea.

Gogol's hybrid identity after the war

Ms Anna Cavazzoni, *Università La Sapienza di Roma*

L'intervento si propone di analizzare il discorso sull'identità ucraina di Gogol' nella pubblicistica ucraina a partire dall'inizio dell'invasione su larga scala dell'Ucraina. Gogol' è una figura chiave nello studio del rapporto coloniale tra i due paesi. Scrittore ucraino di lingua russa, è considerato un esponente di una visione ancora prenazionale di identità, fedele al concetto di Rus' come unione dei tre paesi slavi orientali e ortodossi. La sua identità è fortemente ibrida, e studiata spesso in chiave postcoloniale. La sua identità ucraina ha ricevuto attenzioni sia a livello accademico (Bojanowska, Ilnytzkyj, Ilchuk) sia all'interno del discorso pubblico. A livello pubblico, se da un lato troviamo la sua riappropriazione come scrittore ucraino, dall'altro questo viene spesso ritenuto uno scrittore "traditore" della sua patria, messo spesso in contrapposizione con il poeta e patriota Taras Ševčenko. Con il fine di comprendere in che modo questa

figura è stata interpretata negli ultimi mesi verranno analizzati articoli presi da riviste letterarie ucraine, come ï magazine, Zbruč, LitAkcent, Potyah 76. Lo scopo di questo intervento è di comprendere in che modo l'opinione pubblica si sta confrontando con un'identità ibrida come quella di Gogol', in un periodo di grande polarizzazione della società e di decolonizzazione.

SESSION 8

From the Old City to All of India: An Ideological Analysis of the All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen
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The All-India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen (AIMIM), a Muslim party based in Hyderabad, has been gaining traction across India. Previously, AIMIM was understood as little more than an elite-driven party practicing patronage politics with deep roots in the old city of Hyderabad. However, since 2014, the party has gained popularity nationally, even winning a seat in Maharashtra. Its leaders, especially AIMIM President Asaduddin Owaisi, have sought to present the party as the national party for the country's Muslim minority.
In contrast to the growing scrutiny of BJP ideology, the impact of political ideology on Muslim electoral politics in India is significantly underrepresented in the literature. Therefore, this research will pursue the following questions using the case of AIMIM. First, how does AIMIM construct and define the Muslim political community in India it seeks to represent? Second, how does AIMIM engage with and interpret on its own terms pre-existing legitimating vocabularies in India such as secularism, liberalism, and nationalism? Finally, how does AIMIM position itself as a practitioner within national ideological debates while maintaining and growing its local support? A deeper understanding of AIMIM's discursive strategies will shed light on the agency of India's Muslim minority, rather than its victimization alone.

Religious Majoritarianism in South Asia: origins, dynamics and its impact on the functioning of South Asian democracy
Ms Katherine Adeney, *University of Nottingham* & Mr Wilfried Swenden, *University of Edinburgh,* w.swenden@ed.ac.uk
In this paper we reflect on the origins and dynamics of majoritarianism in South Asia in three formerly British colonies: India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. We explore longitudinal and comparative dimensions of religious majoritarianism and especially explore why religious majoritarianism appears to be on the rise in the subcontinent. Finally we assess the interactions of religious majoritarianism with different dimensions of majoritarianism linked to language and territory and evaluate how the assertion of (religious) majoritarianism affects the substance and operation of democracy in the subcontinent.

Baloch Radicalization towards Insurgency
Mr Tufail Baloch, *Queen's University Belfast,* tbaloch01@qub.ac.uk
Some authors and policymakers have explored the structural conditions conducive to insurgency in Balochistan, Pakistan. Much of this research has been undertaken primarily with secondary sources. Few studies have explored the micro-dynamics that fuel the 5th wave of the Balochi insurgency and why people join insurgent groups and/or participate in violence. Much less has provided in-depth contextual analysis based on field work with those that have previously engaged in insurgency in Balochistan. My dissertation will address some of these gaps in knowledge and research.

Aims / Objectives
1) To explore Balochi radicalization and the reasons why individuals join the insurgency.
2) To identify the micro-level causes of Baloch radicalization.
Research Questions

What are the causes of Baloch radicalization towards insurgency? Why do individuals join the insurgency in Balochistan?

In this thesis, I aim to explain Balochi radicalization and, most importantly, why some Balochis join the insurgency and/or participate in violence and terrorism. The existing literature does not adequately account for the Baloch fifth insurgency or its mechanism of mass, group, and individual radicalization. Therefore,

primary and first-hand data are needed to investigate and explore the dynamic of Baloch radicalization, the mechanism of individual participation, and evidence-based findings for conflict resolution. Conducting in-depth interviews will aid in the production of raw data for analysis.I will use existing frameworks of radicalization to theorize and frame the "push", "pull" and "personal" factors that lead to participation in insurgency.I will use a thematic analysis approach incorporating aspects of interpretative phenomenological analysis to analyze and examine the data gathered from semi-structured interviews

How Hindu Guided State Making Practices Excluded to The Magar Ethnic Group in Nepal
Mr Bhoj Bikram Budha Magar, *Tribhuvan University, Nepal,* budha.bhoj@gmail.com
This paper attempts to explore how the Hindu guided state making process has been responsible to social exclusion of Magar ethnic group in Nepal. As multi-ethnic country, Nepal experience the mono-religion Hindu hegemony in the state structure since its formation. For instance, the structure of the modern Nepali state classified to Nepali society into Hindu caste groups. The Hindu religion guided Nepali state not only imposed Hindu religion to majoritiy non-hindu groups but also establised so call national identity based on Hindu symbols: Khas Nepali language, Hindu religion and Hindu King. Similarly, the Civil Act 1854 Nepal was stratified into unequal social status and legally classified into lower and upper castes. These kind of Hindu guided state making practices excluded to majority non-hindu ethnic groups of the country from the state power. Therefore, the paper argues that the state making process historically excluded to the Magars, the third largest ethnic group in the country. This paper is a part of my PhD thesis, therefore required data is collected during my PhD field work

Remembering in Adversity: Inclusive Activist Commemorations and the Creation of New Heritage after Mass Atrocity in the Post-Yugoslav Space
Mr Peter Vermeersch & Ms Ana Devic, *KU Leuven*
What role do commemorations play in the construction of collective memory in places afflicted by extreme war violence? To what extent can non-official, grassroots commemorations stimulate inclusive forms of remembrance? These questions are explored zooming in on several sites of extreme war atrocity in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Kosovo and Croatia: Srebrenica (Potočari), Prijedor, Vukovar, Knin, Glina, Jasenovac, Batajnica, and Suharekë. At these critical post-war sites nationalist elites regularly evoke competitive victimhoods to inflame the "enemy" images, mixing the memories of WWII, socialism, and the atrocities of the 1990s. These nationalist mobilizations form an obstacle to inclusive citizenship and durable peace. Based on our fieldwork, we are creating a map of alternative and oppositional commemorations emerging in these contexts, and explore their possibilities to form more inclusive heritage sites, in opposition to the formal institutionalized (state) commemorations. Grassroots commemorative practices will be examined as social movement activities: studying their mobilizational capacity and significance that seek recognition for victims of the "enemy" side, thereby questioning the selectivity, oblivion, scorn and denial that official commemorations reserve for particular war crimes and their sites. In this way, they are transgressing ethnonational divides of the communities that were forged during the wars of the 1990s, and the reconfiguration of pre-conflict everyday life which was imposed through violence. We pay particular attention to the activism of local artists and their specific lens - multi-media installations, photographic collages, cinematic/ video projects, and virtual monuments. We thereby examine visual and virtual interactive approaches to memory, where activists redefine the spaces where war atrocities took place in innovative and striking ways, reclaiming them as inclusive places of memory. The study's unique micro-level participatory approach unravels the tangible, as well as virtual efforts at seeking active forms of memory, involving artists and audiences in their relationship to the recent violent past, interacting with polarizing political forces. The project relies on conceptual frames and methods from sociological and political research (social movements analysis), while drawing on the recent studies of "memory activism" and engaged artistic practices.

Sacred Legacy or Othering Identity: Hijacking Memory on Behalf of National Identity – The Case of Spain
Mr Samer Alnasir, *UNED, Spain*
Many postcolonial identities have been built around the idea of sovereignty, but a distinction between postcolonialism in the Global North and the Global South must be clearly established. Most European postcolonial entities have been ritualistically, sacredly forged by reconstructing the history surrounding the ideas of othering and demonisation: Spain, Greece and Poland are the most representative examples. Many religious imaginaries created through religious beliefs have been converted into a collective postcolonial

imaginary and an identitarian referral and have taken place in the public space as an institutional transliminal traumatic symbolism. This paper presents an interdisciplinary discussion of religious symbolism as a postcolonial, cognitive, and identitarian iconography when it occupies the public space, not only as a commemorative collective imaginary but also through heraldic elements as a form of collective hijacked memory. This creates a sublimation of other historical calamities and involves institutional symbolism within historical or metaphysical illusions that convert this symbolism into a dehumanising enterprise of postcolonial perpetrators and ex-colonial victims that is harmful to intergroup dynamics, where religious mourning plays a role in defining the ethos, domus and Templars' society.

Nationalism and Nature: An Empirical Survey Analysis of Environmental Nationalism
Mr Ryo NAKAI, *The University of Kitakyushu,* stebuklas@toki.waseda.jp
The GAL-TAN axis is generally used as an example of the opposition between left and right (conservative or liberal) in the socio-cultural dimension. In this context, the environmental movement has been conceived as the opposite of nationalism. However, recent political phenomena are showing that this is not the case. Eco-nationalism or Green nationalism is a movement and political consciousness in which the environmental movement and nationalism are linked by reframing pro-environmental ideas as the discourse of the country's traditional culture.

Where these themes have been accumulating theoretically and on case-study bases, quantitative empirical research results have also been accumulating in recent years. According to the applicant's survey using the World Values Survey, eco-nationalism is particularly prominent in the Eastern bloc. This study analyses what might explain these differences in the correlation between nationalism and environmentalism in different countries and regions. The present study attempts to provide a more systematic account of these themes.

SESSION 9

Panel Researching ethnic conflict: Sharing the best practice from peers and professionals
Aoife Maguire & Alice Franchini, Queen's University Belfast
An opportunity for Queen's students to reflect on best practices for researching ethnic conflict, with a focus on designing dissertation projects which can lay the foundations for pursuing a PhD in the future. The panel discussion invites PhD & MA students with conference participants from different academic contexts to reflect on challenges commonly faced in researching ethnic conflict -at different academic levels, from MA dissertation to doctoral and post-doctoral research. We aim at overviewing what is essential to success of respective piece of research, what happens in the thematic field of studies, and what insights on difficulties and best practices to resolve these are out there in conflict research. After a brief presentation by panelists, participants will be divided into small groups to address issues specific to their interest and will be later collected in the form of a plenary discussion on shared perceptions of challenges.

Ethnic Partition Along Religious Lines: The Case of Bosnia
Mr Zlatko Hadžidedić, *Center for Nationalism Studies, Director,* zhadzidedic@gmail.com
The so-called „ethnic conflict", which physically destroyed Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995 and continues to destroy the Bosnian society in the political and economic sphere, has never been performed as an interface between the three ethno-religious communities. Since the very beginning, it has been a process of distribution and redistribution of private possessions between the three ethnic oligarchies. As such, it has always been a product of the premeditated political strategies. These strategies have been promoted and performed by the local political oligarchies, but have also been sponsored by some of the global players, whose agenda - from the Lisbon Conference to the present day - has been the partition of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This also means that the so-called „ethnic conflict" is not to be regarded as an inherent part of the collective identity of the country's existing ethno-religious groups, but rather as an artificially generated project designed by the aforementioned local oligarchies and their global sponsors, in accordance with their immediate political goals

Religion and language as the sources of duality in Montenegrin identity
Ms Olivera Komar and Nemanja Batrićević, *University of Montenegro, Faculty of Political Science,* oliverak@ucg.ac.me
The question of Montenegrin identity was thought to be put to bed after 2006 independence referendum. As it massively reemerged after 2018 protest litanies organized by Serbian Orthodox Church, political pragmatists were proved to be wrong in their belief that the identity does not matter and that the economy and the 'matters of the real life' would prevail. The authors in the past have already declared Montenegrin identity as "mallable", however, without clearly specifying the bases for delineation among ethnic boundaries. This paper is trying to be more specific and by using longitudinal data collections provide empirical evidence in favor of classifying identities of Orthodox population in Montenegro into three groups – unambiguous Serbian, unambiguous Montenegrin and nationally ambiguous - dual identity, based on the religion and language. Once the three groups are distinguished, the paper is looking into values and political behavior as the consequences of specific identity.

Minority Rights, Conflict and Religion: Insights from Two Decades of Monitoring under the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities
Ms Elizabeth Craig, *University of Sussex,* elizabeth.craig@sussex.ac.uk
This paper forms part of a bigger project considering the extent to which the role of symbols, myths, values and traditions has been neglected in the work of the Advisory Committee established under the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. It links also to a paper considering the role of the Advisory Committee both before and after 2014 in relation to the Russian occupation of Ukraine. In line with the workshop's emphasis on religious heritage and beliefs, the paper will interrogate and critique the narrative on religion, conflict and ethnicity that emerges from the relevant monitoring documents. To provide a comparative element, the paper will also consider whether similar insights emerge when the focus is on situations often identified as post-conflict based on previous research on Northern Ireland, Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia

Kin-states' policies in Ukraine: Assessment of cohesion of a nation in conflict
Ms Iryna Zhyrun, *Higher School of Economics (HSE),* iryna.zhyrun@gmail.com
Due to ethnic, linguistic and religious heterogeneity, the lines dividing ethnic groups in Ukraine have been blurred. Recently, a number of policies adopted by the Ukrainian government together with the armed conflict with Russia have contributed to the politicization and securitization of ethnicity. Consequently, an alteration in attitudes to ethnic groups within the Ukrainian state trigged a more active involvement of the kin-states in minority-related issues. This paper examines the interlinked nature of domestic and foreign policies of kin-states in regard to minorities and assesses their impact on national cohesion of a target state. A comparative approach is used to evaluate the policies of neighboring states towards ethnic minorities in Ukraine. First, the paper discusses the issue of ethnicity in Ukraine and provides an overview of Ukrainian state policies. Second, focusing on the most recent developments, it compares the strategies of the kin-states, which were adopted in order to interact with their correspondent minorities residing in Ukrainian territory. Finally, it concludes with the discussion of the complex interplay between state policies and kin-states involvement in ethnic politics. It analyses possible consequences of such involvement for the national cohesion of Ukrainian society, which had already been undermined by the armed conflict.

Women and Muslims in the war in Ukraine
Ms Saida Sirazhudinova, *INALCO,* sirazhudinova@gmail.com
Russia's attack on Ukraine was preceded by the strengthening of ideological factors within the country of the aggressor. In recent years, the influence of the state on religion has increased. This period showed the instrumentalisation of the Russian Orthodox Church and official Muslim structures. In parallel with the strengthening of patriarchal and religious structures, there was an attack on the rights and freedoms of women initiated by the state.

This presentation shows the dynamics of religious-political and ideological transformations. The emergence of inside religious borders between Russia and Ukraine has intensified recently. State propaganda attracts religious structures subject to the authorities to justify the war.

We analyzed the activation against the war of Muslim and women's groups. The attack on Ukraine showed a split within the Muslim community. It was among the Muslims that the most protest internal movement appeared.

This study, based on a qualitative study (interviews with Muslims and women activists), shows the specifics of the religious factor of this war, the attitude of Muslims, the activation of their religious demands, the strengthening of divisions into intra-religious groups.

Turkey's Strategic Calculations in the NATO Accession of Finland and Sweden: 'Kurdish Question' in the Context of the Russian-Ukranian Conflict
Mr Gabriele Leone, *University of Lapland,* gleone@ulapland.fi
In my paper, I aim to analyse how the hostilities between Russia and Ukraine have not only strongly shaken the European geopolitical balances, but how they have affected the interests of nation-states geographically distant from the epicentre of the casus belli but politically and economically involved in the circumstance. I will focus my attention on Turkish actorhood and the instrumental use Turkey has made of its ability to mediate between the belligerents. Turkey, taking advantage of its privileged position as a strategically indispensable NATO member in the Middle Eastern and Mediterranean landscape, leveraging the EU's status as a curb on the Syrian migratory wave, has offered mediation on various economic-political aspects, assuming a leading role in the peace talks. The dreaded entry of Finland and Sweden into NATO was used by Turkey for the 'solution' of regional issues. The pact that Turkish mediation has managed to obtain requires these two Nordic countries to abandon their support for Kurdish migrants with the attendant consequences. The questions I will ask in my research are: How will the 'Kurdish question' evolve? What role will diasporic Kurdistan play in this situation? What advantages will Turkey gain in the Turkish-Syrian borderline and in the fight against the 'Kurds'?

SESSION 10

The role of the Bosnian Islamic Community and Indigenous Islam in Countering Salafist Radicalisation
Ms Laura Welty, *University of Sydney,* laura.welty@sydney.edu.au
According to radicalisation theory, Bosniaks were expected to accept and proliferate Salafism, after the introduction of the ideology during the Bosnian War. In the mid-2010s, Bosnian-born foreign fighters travelled to Syria and Iraq, to support and fight for terrorist groups. By 2016, the flow of Bosnian-born foreign fighters had halted, as has the domestic presence of Salafist radicals willing to break the threshold of violence. This paper proposes reasons why a vast majority Bosnian Muslims did not radicalise as expected by exploring the actions taken by the Bosnian Islamic Community and the role of Bosnian Islam. It evaluates how actions and policies were perceived and critiqued by those with localised knowledge and lived experience.
This paper explains outlines Bosnian Islam as an enduring indigenous religious tradition and inoculating factor against Salafism, analyses the role of external actors in promoting Salafist radicalisation through investment before examining policies enacted by the BIC to combat parajamaats. Interview data shows how the BIC's action and inaction reflect relevant challenges and criticisms. As the most prominent civil society actor involved in counter-radicalisation in Bosnia, it is essential to understand the integral role played by the BIC and how experts on the ground perceived their policies.

Multi-track EU enlargement on first year of war: the Bosnian and Georgian cases
Pedro Silva, NOVA
This paper purports to analyse the European Union's accession candidacies from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Georgia. The first framework will observe, in a brief overview, the events regarding the enlargement during the first year of the Russian invasion of Ukraine (or its intensification). Afterwards, the accession process' stages will be described, as well as where each potential candidate and candidate lies. The main section will refer to several official EU documents, and an illustration that displays the European Commission's assessments on the compromises related to the acquis communautaire. The Conclusions on the December European Council meeting will then feed into the final remarks, and the achievable objectives for both Bosnia and Georgia.

Ethno-nationalism in Donbas as a factor influencing the Russian invasion of Ukraine 2022
Mr Jack Cathcart, *University of Bristol*
The case of ethno-nationalism in Donbas as an opportunity used by the Kremlin to justify its actions in starting the 'special military operation', as a means to protect ethnic Russians and Russophone speakers in the near abroad. The study will look at the relationship between some prominent nationalist elites within Russia and leading figures in Donbas and the relationship between Donetsk and Luhansk republics and the Russian Federation. It will consider whether a distinct Donbas identity could be in conflict with the Russian identity, and whether ethnic identity is necessarily even the biggest driving force for people in the Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics.

Exploring the Presence-Polarization Dilemma of Minority Political Representation: Evidence from Parliamentary elections in Latvia (2022) and Estonia (2023)
Mr Timofey Agarin, *Queen's University Belfast,* t.agarin@qub.ac.uk, Ryo NAKAI (中井　遼) University of Kitakyushu
Securing political representation of ethnic minorities is pivotal for stability of multiethnic societies, preventing ethnicity-based conflict, and minimising the effects of minorities' kin-states intervention in domestic politics. While presence of minority representatives and their parties in the legislature help amplifying their group interests, it can also lead to the backlash from majroty representatives. Cianetti refers to this outcome as "presence polarisation dilemma" (2019): visibility of ethnic minority parties polarizes inter-ethnic political spectrum and encourages majority parties to sideline non-majority their interests in policy making and during government formation.

Latvia and Estonia two ethnically divided societies with considerable numbers of Russian-speaking voters will have /recently held parliamentary elections (October 2022 & March 2023 respectively). In the past, majority political parties in both countries performed well when they promised to 'rescue the nation from the grasp of an alien, imposed, and illegitimate communist [and Russian] regime" (Darden and Grzymala-Busse 2006, 89). This rhetoric has become more pertinent since the beginning of war in Ukraine. Additionally, minorities use of languages other than state language has been instrumental in channleing public debates and political agendas on access to education and media, as well as loyalty of minorities to their state of residence and democracy at large.

In our paper we explore the usefulness of "presence polarisation dilemma" in explaining the marginalisation of minority-friendly parties in the run up and after the partliamentary election in these two ethnically divided societies in the context of the military agreession waged by a neighbouring, putative kin state of minorities on Ukraine. Reviewing party manifestos, statements by parties leaders and policy proposals on minority relevant concerns, we identify the 2022/23 elections as new turning point for states to exort greater nationalising societal cohesion over their ethnic minrotiy populations.

Neoliberalism, Nationalism and Lithuania's Professional Managerial Class at Home and Abroad
Mr Karolis Dambrauskas, *Institute of Sociology at the Lithuanian Centre of Social Sciences,* dambrauskas@ces.lt
This paper argues that the post-socialist transformation in Lithuania paradoxically combined economic reforms driven by neoliberal ideas and the processes of nation-state building driven by nationalism. After the end of the Cold War, a new ruling professional-managerial class (PMC) emerged in Lithuania. The radical neoliberal reforms undertaken by the new ruling elite had the dual aim of creating a nation state and market reforms. While in Western Europe neoliberal reforms were associated with the dismantling of the state, in post-socialist Lithuania, these reforms were associated with the creation of a nation state. This paper provides a discourse analysis of the neoliberal reforms advocated and implemented by the PMC, focusing on how neoliberal and nation/state ideas may have been reconciled in the context of economic institutional reforms. It also discusses the export of Lithuanian neoliberal know-how, accumulated during the post-socialist transformation, to Ukraine after the Russian-led aggression against the country in 2014. At the time Lithuanian technocrats took up various positions in the Ukrainian government in order to help the embattled country to reform itself in line with Western standards and to achieve closer integration with the West.

The Islamic tradition and critique in Jawdat Said's method of nonviolence

Mr Mohammed Moussa, *Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University,* mohamed.moussa@izu.edu.tr

In the Arab world, Islamic repertoires both augment and challenge the affiliation of religious narratives to the state. In the case of Jawdat Said (1931–2022), a Syrian Islamic thinker, the past is appealed to in the formulation of a competing narrative of a people united by a common religious ideal. Both statist trends, fusion of state-religion and nationalist, in the Arab world are rejected in favour of a repertoire that is centred on monotheism associated with justice and freedom. Drawing on the Islamic tradition, Said puts forward an alternative conception of authority, norms and identity to the dominant scripts of Islamism and nationalism. For Said, a distant past not only provides a critique of the present but also offers an uslüb or method of nonviolence for the future. Primordialist claims of a community, either religious or secular, in a particular land stretching back into time are replaced with the notion of a community of individuals dedicated to a religious commitment defined by nonviolence. A claim for universality made through an Islamic vocabulary in Said's writings can be construed as a critique of the dominant narrative of statist-Arabism during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Banning the Hijab in 'Secular Spaces': the crisis of Religious Identity and Human Security in the era of Ethno-Religious Nationalism in India

Ms Surbhi Khyati, *Jadavpur University, India,* khyatisurbhi@gmail.com

In the past year, the Hijab has been banned in several state-run educational institutes in the state of Karnataka in India The Hijab ban is one amongst the series of what seems to be the state-sanctioned brand of exclusionary policies, which have created major human insecurities for a particular targeted religious minority group in India.

The debate around the Hijab ban, however, raises some peculiar epistemological misappropriations of the liberal-secular ethos. In building this narrative of majority/minority religious dichotomy that legitimizes, not only in legal but also socio-cultural spaces, the actions against what is now popularly understood to be inappropriate or unwanted practices of the minorities, the courts and government orders have used the language of 'secular spaces' that need sanitizing of religious symbolism for equality and harmony, much like the French model of Laïcité. However, in a deeply religious, not to mention, a multicultural nation like India, religious symbols proliferate the public/secular spaces in abundance. The misappropriated logic of privatization of religion, which is right now being used to enable a particular majoritarian narrative, can very well form the basis of action against all types of religious/cultural expressions in public spaces, not just of minorities but also of the majority identities in the future. This paper will aim at digging deeper into the narratives that are being created to legitimize a certain kind of religious and ethnonationalism in India which lays the groundwork for deeper fissures in society and more conflict based on religio-political identities in India.

Supreme Court's Articulation of the Idea of Secularism in the post-colonial India and the question of Human Security of Minorities in India: A Critical Appraisal Using Prism of Hermeneutics of Suspicion

Mr VIJAY KISHOR TIWARI, *The West Bengal National University of Juridical Sciences,* vijaykt@nujs.edu

The Indian Supreme Court's tryst with secularism provides us with a unique arena of critical engagement in Indian constitutional history. India, a post-colonial multicultural state, has this intriguing political and constitutional experience with the idea of secularism which germinated in the Treaty of Westphalia and then got articulated differently in different nations and cultures. The Indian variant of secularism was envisioned during Indian National Movement, and then it got crystallized in the Constitution of India. However, its current oeuvre and articulation are being crafted by the Supreme Court, which has taken a very unlikely role of being a ' social reformer' in post-colonial India. Using the hermeneutics of suspicion, I argue that Indian Supreme Court has taken it upon itself to reform religion using the Indian Constitution as a 'reform charter'. In doing so, it has entered certain territories that do not come within its domain and expertise. Such adventures of the Supreme Court have also resulted in the erasure of 'social reformers' whose job is to engage with the masses and challenge their belief system. A judicial fiat is a top-down approach where people and their beliefs are tabooed as inherently regressive while the 'minuscule minority' of SC judges monopolize 'enlightened values'. Such elitist militant secular approach of SC had created resentment in the majority community. To assuage this 'majority resentment' Supreme Court started 'reforming' minority communities especially Muslims. Recent judgments of SC have created sense of alienation, insecurity and exclusion among India's Muslims.

This 'creeping hue of Weimar judiciary' in Supreme Court coupled with legislations such as notorious CAA put human security of India's Muslims in peril.

In this paper, I shall attempt to trace the genealogy of the Indian variant of secularism in the Indian national movement, constituent assembly debates, and different judgments of the Supreme Court. After doing so, I shall deploy the epistemological gaze of the hermeneutics of suspicion to see how the zeal of the Supreme Court to adopt reformist agenda resulted in reactionary politics, fractured jurisprudence concerning secularism, and alienation of India's minorities in post-colonial India. I shall also critically examine how reformist zeal of the court is an enabler of putting human security of Minorities in peril.

Indian Security State: Religion, Nationalism and Majoritarianism

Mr Abhishek Choudhary, *Department of Politcial Science, University of Delhi,* abhishek.chy23@gmail.com

The paper seeks to engage with the rise of exclusionary Hindu nationalism after the Hindu nationalist party, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) received a historic mandate in the 2019 general elections in India. It analyses two specific cases that enforce the rise of the Indian security state based on politics of majoritarianism and move toward a homogenous State. The first case is the abrogation of Article 370 from the Indian Constitution which had special provisions for the erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir. The second case relates to the passage of the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) which defines citizenship on the basis of religion. The paper argues that both of these moves align with the two most prominent ideologues of Hindutva - Golwalkar, and Savarkar. An examination of their writing is done to substantiate the claim that an exclusive nationalism with a disregard for sub-nationalist assertions is promoted with a tendency to homogenize diversity. The paper borrows from the writings of Agamben to assert that the process of othering inherent in an exclusive idea of citizenship echoes the assertion of an Indian security state that forces its masculinist image through a strong executive based on exclusive unification of nationalities.

SESSION 11

The insignificant Other? Comparing perceptions of exclusion and inclusion among Others in deeply divided societies

Ann-Mireille Sautter*, UC Louvain & KU Leuven*

Consociational regimes have often been proposed as a solution to ethnic conflict in deeply divided societies. Through purposeful design, inter-group competition and minority protection are institutionalised. As the conflict between "salient" ethnic groups is pushed into the institutional realm, consociationalism is often thought to have the potential for democratic stability. However, a growing number of scholars have pointed out that consociations may come with a high price that may, in fact, threaten the stability of the system in the long run. It is argued that the closure of the political space to ethnic Others – that it those who are not members of the recognised, salient social segments - may lead to (1) a lack of inclusion in public decision-making and (2) a lack of responsiveness to the needs of non-dominant groups, and thus more generally speaking to an underrepresentation of interests and needs. Consequently, the democratic legitimacy of public decision-making may be undermined. Yet, despite the growing scholarly and theoretical attention allocated to the exclusion of ethnic Others and its impact on democracy in consociational regimes, little do we know about whether and how ethnic Others make sense of exclusion and inclusion within the realm of the consociational representative democratic system. How do they problematise ethnicity-based representative democracy through their own status as 'Others'? Which democratic solutions do they imagine?

Investigating the cases of Belfast, Brussels and Mostar as typical 'places' where consociationalism is experienced in everyday life, this paper takes on an exploratory bottom-up approach to understanding issues of democratic exclusion and inclusion in consociational regimes. Using biographic interviews, group talks and observations, the paper analyses the framing of citizens' (Others) experience with consociational democracy through their understanding of politics, the state and political representation. It then seeks to understand how these perceptions of exclusion shape political behaviour and attitudes in the consociational democracy.

Labour market participation and social citizenship: integrating resettled Syrian refugees in Northern Ireland into a divided society

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Northern Ireland participated in the first refugee resettlement programme with dispersal of refugees across most council areas in Northern Ireland in 2015. Northern Ireland welcomed 1815 refugees by February 2020 under the Syrian Vulnerable Person's Relocation Scheme which ran over a five-year period from 2015-2020. Resettled Syrian refugees in Northern Ireland are granted leave to remain for five years which is a temporal status. The temporality associated with refugee status has been argued to be a precarious position. Paid work has been viewed to be a primary citizenship obligation. The Home Office recognises employment as a marker and means of integration. However, initial employment rates of refugees tend to be lower than that of other immigrant groups. Social citizenship encompasses concepts of inclusion and exclusion and draws attention to questions of membership and belonging, rights and reciprocated responsibilities. Access to social rights is an important issue both within the study of migration and debates about the welfare state. Refugee status does allow access to the labour market. Access to welfare resources has become more conditional has heightened controversies around deservingness. There have been public concerns about the dependency of migrant workers or refugees without work on social welfare. Labour market participation for refugees can be fraught with complexities because each layer of policy can exercise reciprocal influence at the macro, meso and micro levels of policy execution. This paper will draw on a narrative thematic literature review and will be presented through a macro, meso and micro lens. The macro level relates to the reserved nature of immigration and asylum policy. The meso level relates to devolved powers and policy approaches to integration. The micro level relates to how refuges access the labour market. Themes emerging from the literature review drawing on local, national and international scholarship will highlight the challenges and positive outcomes for refugees. The intended impact of the research will help to inform the roll out of the refugee integration strategy in Northern Ireland and devolved policy relating to employment pathways for refugees.

Systems of Ethno-Political Designation and the Creation of Political Space for Civic Politics in Northern Ireland.

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Over recent years, support for non-ethnic and cross-segmental political actors has increased significantly within different post-conflict divided societies in Europe. Leading to varying levels of success for this type of civic politics at the ballot box. However, the way in which this increased presence is perceived appears to diverge across examples of consociational power-sharing. This proposed research seeks to explore why such disparities exist, by exploring how different consociational institutions shape political space in divided societies. Research would focus primarily on Northern Ireland's novel approach to mandatory designation and the use of the 'Other' designation, potentially drawing comparisons with other systems of consociational power-sharing. This project would analyse formal and informal systems of designation through a post-structural framework which incorporates the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, and others. A framework such as this would position institutions of power-sharing as a means to demarcate and legitimise political space, in order to discuss whether this creates opportunities and obstacles for civic politics within divided societies.

We Deserve Better: A case study of citizens' democratic perceptions and mobilisation in Northern Ireland

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This dissertation focuses on the perceptions of democratic deficit and incentives to mobilise in Northern Ireland using the case study of the We Deserve Better protests. On the 28th August 2018, We Deserve Better protests occurred all over Northern Ireland calling for the Northern Irish executive to reconvene following over five hundred days of government collapse. This research seeks to understand what aspects of democracy the participants perceived to be missing during government collapse, and what aspects they perceived to be most important in the functioning of government in Northern Ireland. Additionally, this research seeks to understanding the motivations of participants of the We Deserve Better protests in 2018. In doing this, this research seeks to contribute to wider knowledge on non-electoral democratic participation in deeply divided contexts, particularly in times of government collapse.