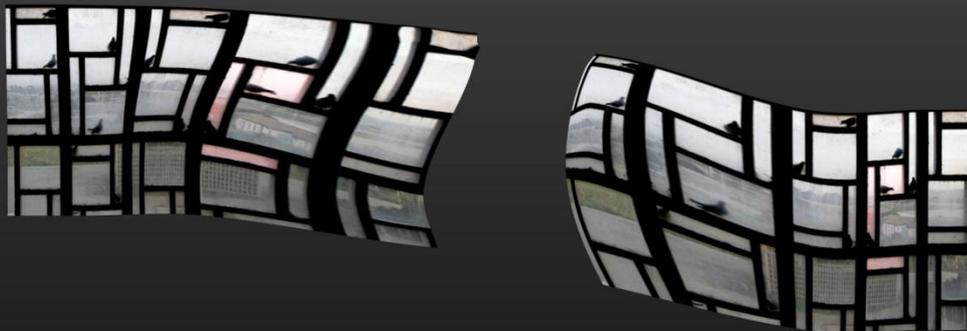




Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Dividing and Uniting Communities Beyond Multiculturalism

An International Academic Conference
July 5th through July 8th, 2011



Middle East Technical University
Northern Cyprus Campus

www.differenceandsolidarity.org



Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Conference Programme

1st International Conference of a New International Research Network:
**Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity:
Dividing and Uniting Communities Beyond Multiculturalism**

July 5 - 8, 2011

on the campus of

Middle East Technical University

Northern Cyprus Campus

Organisers and Co-Convenors:

**Scott H. Boyd (Middle East Technical University, Northern Cyprus Campus)
Paul Reynolds (Edge Hill University, UK)**

Conference Committee:

**Scott H. Boyd (Middle East Technical University, Northern Cyprus Campus)
Paul Reynolds (Edge Hill University, UK)
Mary Ann Walter (Middle East Technical University, Northern Cyprus Campus)
John McSweeney (independent Scholar)**



Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

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Welcome!

A warm welcome to the 1st international conference on Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity!

This pack provides the academic rationale for the conference, the conference programme and abstracts and outlines of the conference outputs in respect of publications. It should provide you with all the details you need to navigate the conference, but Scott and Paul and other members of the conference team will be available to clarify any issues with you during the conference.

We hope you enjoy the conference, which has a pleasurable balance of intellectual and social sessions, and gain from the papers you will listen to and comment on and comments made on your paper. As you'll read, we hope this conference leads to a longer association than this week, which bears fruit in more lasting ways.

Scott and Paul

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Academic Rationale to the Conference

Welcome to the first International Conference of the Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity network and project!

Perhaps it is best to clarify why we best describe this as the first meeting of a network and project rather than a conference. Whilst a conference has value in itself and can produce organic links and partnerships from delegates discussions, this conference was launched with a clear sense of wanting to do more than provide a single opportunity for high quality academic discussion and debate (though we are committed to that as an immediate aim!).

It is styled a network because we wish to develop a trans-disciplinary network of intellectuals with a global reach, across a range of disciplines and spanning theoretical, empirical, cultural and aesthetic and law/policy/politics spans (for us this is not other exclusion for creative intellectual work). The purpose of the network, facilitated by our website (<http://differenceandsolidarity.org/>) will be as follows:

- To exchange information, notification of events, new thinking and proposals for cooperation in the broad areas of solidarity and difference.**
- To encourage constructive communication between different intellectuals from different disciplines, global spaces, perspectives and approaches to questions of solidarity and difference and encourage a synergy of thinking.**
- To encourage collective endeavours in the production of full funded research bids for projects, publications, seminars, workshops and debates and other collaborative endeavours that enrich understandings of solidarity and difference.**
- To promote what is planned as an annual conference on themes closely related to the core interests of those studying difference and solidarity, and such other activities as will promote the network and project.**

It is also regarded as a project because there is a definite and specific sense in which this initiative developed – which was a sense of three responses to current scholarship on difference and solidarity:

- A concern at relative critical absences or impasses in conceptual and theoretical scholarship that explore the often contradictory or conflictual relationship between solidarity and difference in exploring communities and societies**
- A desire to explore new thinking and new initiatives on solidarity and difference within contemporary societies that both critically engage with and move beyond the conventional vocabularies of multi-culturalism, cultural conformity and cosmopolitanism**
- A desire to encourage the exploration of comparative and contrasting examples of solidarity and difference drawn from across the globe, both beyond the hegemonic assumptions of ‘core-periphery’ global models and equally not prone to moralising assumptions about post-modern and post-colonial alternatives.**

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We therefore seek to develop a network of intellectuals interested in unpicking issues and problems that arise from the juxtaposition of solidarity and difference in human societies. In doing so we welcome trans-disciplinary contributions (and also disciplinary contributions); theoretical and conceptual critiques and empirical studies, cases and comparative studies; and contributions from diverse ideological, theoretical and political positions where there is a desire for critical debate and engagement. If your aim for this conference – and of course your aims and desires for the conference are important! – is to deliver your paper, listen to others and seek a publication at the end, then we hope we'll provide a conference setting where you can do that. However, what we seek are:

- People interested in staying connected, passing on information and networking for the best possible impacts in terms of research and contributions to public argument**
- People who may see some benefit from regularly convening and discussing key themes and issues in the broad area of solidarity and difference – by conference, seminar or online forum.**
- People who see the benefit of collaborative projects, whether for funded conceptual or empirical research projects, writing projects, comparative projects or other such initiatives.**

The conference rationale has been shaped with a desire to maximise the opportunity for this discussion, notably in the following ways:

- The conference has a programme of evening events that will allow discussion and debate in enjoyable settings**
- The conference has a free Wednesday afternoon devoted to a social excursion that will allow relaxed discussion time for delegates.**
- The conference structure promotes discussion. Most papers will be presented in pairs (hopefully with some common ground) in sessions of 90 minutes, where papers presentation should not last more than 45 minutes, allowing for 45 minutes discussion. Since the conference will be around 40 delegates, the audiences should be small enough to encourage discussion and move away from the CV filling '20 minute paper, 10 minute question or short speech' format that so dominates conferences today to the detriment of real debate.**
- On the final day there will be a roundtable and a development session that will allow summative discussion, and we are hoping to facilitate online dialogue by some form of web-group after the conference (this is still a matter of discussion).**

We hope you find this a sympathetic environment to share ideas, debate points, explore arguments and generally enjoy academic nourishment.

Paul Reynolds for the Conference Team

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Guidance for Delegates

- (1) The structure of the conference comprises 11 sessions – 3 plenaries and 8 parallel panel sessions.
- (2) Each parallel session has 2 papers in a space of 90 minutes. **Papers should be no longer than 20 minutes in presentation length. Chairs will be strict in keeping to this time frame.** This will allow 50 minutes for questions and discussions. This is to encourage discussion and debate around papers and encourage sessions to develop as intellectual enquiries that benefit paper-giver and delegate rather than ‘cv-fillers’ with no discussion.
- (3) Sessions are likely to always have relatively small audiences given the total number of delegates. This allows for more in-depth debate and discussion, whilst plenary sessions will bring the whole conference together.
- (4) It might be useful for you to circulate handouts or paper summaries to facilitate keeping your talk to time. Please bring 40 copies with you and ensure Scott has a copy of the handout – preferably electronic - to ensure that we keep a complete record of the event
- (5) Papers have been organized into panels according to greater or less affinities between them– it has not always resulted in a strong match in interests, but each panel has sufficient common ground for discussion across as well as to individual papers.
- (6) All participants are anticipated **to be attending the entire conference** – we have avoided accepting papers from those who wished to ‘parachute’ into the conference and just give their paper before leaving.
- (7) The final roundtable is anticipated as being a **group discussion** with no lengthy speakers, but three people at the conference will be **approached to provide a couple of minutes ‘reflections’** to kick off that discussion.
- (8) Anyone interested in developing a vibrant network to develop the solidarity/difference project is invited to attend the **network development meeting** after lunch – it is entirely optional but we hope as many of you as possible will.
- (9) This programme has accommodated requested changes and we would expect it to proceed as published here. Please note however that **some changes may occur before the final programme is published.**

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Conference Programme – Outline

Tuesday, July 5th, 2011

9.30 to 10.30	9.30am – 10.45am Registration (Tea and Coffee) Culture and Convention Center (CCC) Foyer	
10.30 to 11.30	Introductory Plenary Amfi 1 (ground floor, Culture and Convention Center) Formal Institutional Welcome: Turgut Tümer, President of METU NCC Welcome to the Conference: Scott H. Boyd Academic Programme for the week and Possible Outputs: Paul Reynolds Conference Activities and Housekeeping: Scott H. Boyd	
11.30 to 13.00	<u>Session 1a: Seminar 2 (upstairs in CCC)</u> Multiculturalism, Law and Policy Chair: Scott Boyd Aoife Pádraigín Foley: The Criminal Trespass Legislation: Forced Assimilation? Cultural Annihilation? Martin Cyr Hicks: The Québécois Conundrum: Understanding Interculturalism, Identity, and the Bouchard-Taylor Commission	<u>Session 1b: Seminar 4 (upstairs in CCC)</u> Multiculturalism and Faith Chair: Paul Reynolds David Christopher Stoop: "We or Sharia" – Anti-Muslim Racism and Mosque Debates in Germany Mary Ann Walter: Babel in Church and Mosque: Community Construction in the Gulf States
13.00 to 14.30	Lunch	
14.30 to 16.00	<u>Session 2a: Seminar 2</u> Strategies for Solidarity I Chair: John McSweeney Swee Heng Chan and Ain Nadzimah Abdullah Reconciling Diverse Communities through Language Practices in Malaysia Rajen Suntoo What makes social life possible in multicultural societies? – The case of Mauritius	<u>Session 2b: Seminar 4</u> The Politics of Multiculturalism 1 Chair: Paul Reynolds Roman Sukholutsky After Multiculturalism? The Cosmopolitan Prospects of Liberal Democracy Azam Golam Application of Liberal Multicultural Theory in non Western Countries
16.00 to 16.30	Tea/Coffee Break	
16.30 to 18.00	<u>Session 3a: Seminar 2</u> Multicultural Politics and Turkey Chair Mary Ann Walter Latife Akyuz The Economic, Socio-Cultural and Political Analyses of Borderlands: The Case of Turkey-Georgia Border Mahiye Secil Dagtas Tolerated Identities: Secularism and Religious Pluralism in the City of Antakya	<u>Session 3b: Seminar 4</u> Solidarity Difference and Theory I Chair: Paul Reynolds Scott H. Boyd Distinction as the Origin of Solidarity in the Theory of Autopoietic Culture Irina Mitina 'I' and 'Other(s)': Ways of Ethical Comprehension
18.00 to 19.30	Free Discussions: Anywhere!	
19.30	Opening Reception and Dinner, Outdoor pool at Sports Center	

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Wednesday, July 6th, 2011

9.30 to 11.00	<p><u>Session 4a: Seminar 2</u> Multiculturalism and Diaspora Chair: Scott Boyd</p> <p>Glenda Ballantyne The Alevi Diaspora in Australia</p> <p>Agnieszka Bielewska – Mensah From Diversity to Uniformity – The Different Forms of Polish Community in Manchester</p>	<p><u>Session 4b: Seminar 4</u> Multiculturalism – Psychological Perspectives Chair: John McSweeney</p> <p>Eri Park Psychological Contributions to the Global Justice Debate and The Notion of Moral Emotions</p> <p>Javid Ghanbari Chahanjiri, Mojtaba Ansari, Mohammad Yousefi The Psychological Role of Architecture in Social Integration of Immigrants in Multi-Cultural Cities: Introducing a New Typology of Residential High-Rise within Dense Urban Fabric</p>
11.00 to 11.30	Tea/Coffee Break	
11.30 to 13.00	<p><u>Session 5: Plenary – Amfi 1</u> Zafer Şenocak Chair: Scott Boyd</p> <p>Born in Ankara in 1961, Zafer Şenocak has lived in Germany since 1970. Over the years, he has become a leading voice in the German discussions on multiculturalism and national identity. His volume of essays <i>Atlas of the Tropical Germany</i> is currently included on the American Association of University Professors list of books to further our understanding of issues surrounding 9/11. Şenocak has been Writer-in-Residence at several American Universities, among them M.I.T., Dartmouth College, Oberlin College, University of California at Berkeley, and Lafayette College. He writes books in German and Turkish as well as essays for German newspapers and radio stations. His first novel written in Turkish, <i>Alman Terbiyesi</i>, was published in 2007 in Istanbul.</p>	
13.00 to 14.30	Lunch	
14.30 to 19.30	<p>Cultural Tour:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Pickup in front of the Guest House at 14:30 -Visit Bellapais Abbey -Visit Girne/Kyrenia Harbour and Castle 	
19.30 to 22:30	Dinner at Archway Restaurant Girne/Kyrenia	

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Thursday, July 7th, 2011

9.30 to 11.00	<p><u>Session 6a: Seminar 2</u> Loss, Reconciliation and Division in Turkey Chair: John McSweeney</p> <p>Burcu Şentürk Invisibility of the Common Sorrow: People Who Lost Family Members in the Conflict in the Southeastern and Eastern Parts of Turkey Between the Years 1993 and 2006</p> <p>Çağla Gül Yesevi Reconciliation and Diversion in Turkish Politics: The Parameters of Democracy, Kemalism and Islamism</p>	<p><u>Session 6b: Seminar 4</u> Multiculturalism and Culture I Chair: Mary Ann Walter</p> <p>Misha Nedeljkovich Socially Responsible Filmmaking in the Balkans: Cheap Propaganda or Lack of Creativity</p> <p>Hanène Kooli Reconciling Fragmented Communities in Morrison's <i>Paradise</i></p>
11.00 to 11.30	Tea/Coffee Break	
11.30 to 13.00	<p><u>Session 8a: Seminar 2</u> The Politics of Multiculturalism II Chair: Mary Ann Walter</p> <p>Elie Al Hindy Human Rights as a Tool for Reconciliation and Social Solidarity in Multicultural Societies</p> <p>Nandita Dogra 'Difference' and 'Oneness': Dualistic Connectivity in International NGOs' Public Communications</p>	<p><u>Session 8b: Seminar 4</u> Multi-Culturalism and Culture II Chair John McSweeney</p> <p>Zuzana Klímová "Solidarity with the Community or its Degradation? – V.S. Naipaul's <i>The Middle Passage: The Caribbean Revisited</i> and his Use of Victorian Authors"</p> <p>Luma Ibrahim Al-barzenji The Threatened Identity in Post-colonialism and The Struggle Against Change in Chinua Achebe's <i>Things Fall Apart</i></p>
13.00 to 14.30	Lunch	
14.30 to 16.00	<p><u>Session 9a: Seminar 2</u> Cultural Diversity and Community Chair: Mary Ann Walter</p> <p>Alexia Bloch Multi-culturalism, Place-making and Ethnographic Perspectives from Russian-speaking Vancouver</p> <p>Eylem Ozdemir The transformation of cultural diversity into divided urban communities in the case of Mersin</p>	<p><u>Session 9b: Seminar 4</u> Solidarity Difference and Theory II Chair: Scott Boyd</p> <p>John McSweeney Politics as Solidarity-in-Difference: Revisiting Sartre's <i>Critique</i></p> <p>Paul Reynolds Marxism, Difference, Solidarity: Some reflections on a materialist and historical rethinking</p>
16.00 to 16.30	Tea/Coffee Break	
16.30 to 18.00	<p><u>Session 7: Amfi 1</u> Plenary Panel: Difference in Cyprus Today: Beyond the Cyprus Problem Chair: Rebecca Bryant</p> <p>Maria Hadjipavlou Department of Social and Political Sciences University of Cyprus Gender and Difference</p>	

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	Nicos Trimikliniotis and Mete Hatay University of Nicosia and PRIO Cyprus Migration
18.00 to 19.30	Free Discussions: Anywhere!
19.30	Closing Reception and Dinner, Outdoor pool at Sports Center

Friday, July 8th, 2011

9.30 to 11.00	Session 10: Seminar 2 Session left free for discussion (and possible second presentations).	
11.00 to 11.30	Tea/Coffee Break	
11.30 to 13.00	Session 11: Seminar 4 Roundtable Plenary: Solidarity and Difference: Thinking Divided Communities TBA TBA TBA Chair: Paul Reynolds And Closing Remarks: Scott Boyd and Paul Reynolds	
13.00 to 14.30	Lunch (Conference Ends)	
14.30 to 15.30	Network Development Meeting (optional attendance) Chairs: Scott Boyd and Paul Reynolds	
19.30	Convenors' Dinner (optional attendance)	

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Sessional Details

Session 1a: Seminar 2

Tuesday 5th July 11.30 – 13.00

Multiculturalism, Law and Policy

Aoife Padraigín Foley, University College Dublin

aoifepfoley@gmail.com

The Criminal Trespass Legislation: Forced Assimilation? Cultural Annihilation?

For almost forty years after the founding of the State in 1922 Irish Travellers were largely ignored by the Government. However in 1960 a committee was set up to examine the 'itinerant problem' and come up with a 'final solution'. The central mandate of the Commission was to encourage Travellers to renounce their nomadic practices and to move their families into houses to assimilate them with the settled community. In the fifty years since the publication of the Report, Government policy has changed dramatically though outcomes remain the same, the assimilation of Travellers into settled culture.

Introduced without consultation of the Task Force, set up to advise the government on the issue, the Criminal Trespass Legislation (S.24 Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 2002) became law and essentially made nomadism illegal in Ireland. Nomadism is a central element of Traveller culture and is a part of who travellers are as a people and the practice is valued highly by Travellers themselves. The legislation has fundamentally criminalised Traveller culture and has compounded the injustice of the failure of our society to give effect to the legal entitlements of Travellers. By criminalising nomadism the Irish Government are attempting to force Travellers to assimilate to the 'norm', to abandon their own culture and assimilate to the cultural 'norm' of the settled community, a policy which has failed in the Netherlands in the early 20th century.

Irish Travellers have a long and proud tradition and culture that can be traced throughout Irish history. Travellers have also always had a contentious relationship with the settled community. The tensions between the Travelling Community and the settled community are undeniable as a news paper archive search will confirm, and the legislation was greeted warmly by the settled community. The settled community openly welcome the assimilation of the Traveller and the eradication of Traveller culture as it clashes violently with the cultural norm in Ireland. The Criminal Trespass legislation is the murder weapon of Traveller culture and the legislature the murderer.

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Martin Cyr Hicks

Department of Translation and Interpreting Studies, Boğaziçi University (Istanbul, Turkey)

cyrhicks@yahoo.com

The Québécois Conundrum: Understanding Interculturalism, Identity, and the Bouchard-Taylor Commission

Due to rising cultural tensions between neo-Canadian communities and the dominant French Canadian community of Québec in 2006 and 2007, the Québécois government commissioned two of its leading scholars, Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, to write a report analysing the problems connected to cultural pluralism, integration, and accommodation--the report, titled *Building the Future: a Time for Reconciliation*, was published in 2008. The Bouchard-Taylor Commission's report reveals the paradox that Québécois society today is, in a sense, comprised entirely of minorities. In other words, every community in Québec, including the French Canadian community, perceives itself as threatened and at least partially alienated. Taylor and Bouchard posit that this paradox is the source of Québec's *interculturalist* approach to pluralism and identity; it is also the reason behind the Québécois's distrust of Canada's *multiculturalist* policy. To further complicate things, Québécois interculturalism, despite its inherent paradox, has managed to produce a much stronger identity than Canadian multiculturalism ever has; when compared to the rest of Canada, the (self-perceived) lack of centre in Québec has actually lead to an increase in social cohesion. This paper will attempt to further explore both the paradox, or conundrum, of Québécois society and the ramifications interculturalism has on the concept of identity in pluralist societies in general. Through its analysis of Québécois interculturalism, this paper will also demonstrate how resistance and identity are intertwined, and how that interconnection, or lack thereof, contributes to identitarian harmony and/or dissonance.

Chair: Scott Boyd

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Session 1b: Seminar 4

Tuesday 5th July 11.30 – 13.00

Multiculturalism and Faith

David Christopher Stoop, Political Science, University Cologne

stoopd@uni-koeln.de

"We or Sharia" – Anti-Muslim Racism and Mosque Debates in Germany

Since several years, Germany witnesses a growing hostility against Muslims that is strongly influenced by (media-) images of a violent and backward Islam and heated debates in German public about the "failed integration" of Muslim immigrants. As the examples of Cologne, Berlin Munich and Frankfurt have shown, these anti-islamic attitudes often manifest on a local level in campaigns against mosques. The debate about Thilo Sarrazin (a former banker and Social Democrat) best-selling book "Germany abolishes itself" in which he proclaimed that the Turkish-Muslim minority in Germany is "impossible to integrate" because of its "lack of intelligence" marked in this sense only the peak of a general hostility against Muslims. The anti-Muslim racism of mainstream opinion-leaders thereby provides a suitable breeding-ground for right-wing extremists such as the neo-fascist "National-Democratic Party of Germany" (NPD) or the populist "Republicans" and "Pro Germany", who increasingly concentrate their propaganda on the supposedly imminent peril of "islamisation", interpreting mosques as "visual signs of power" in a "clash of civilisations". Although "the (violent) Muslim" partly substituted former narratives about "poor and lazy" (and mostly Turkish) immigrants, there is still a close connection between both images because "Muslims" are in public perception often identified with "Turks". Accusations of lacking religious freedom in Turkey and the violence of young (often not at all religious) Turkish immigrants therefore play an important role in anti-islamic discourses and they are taken as a proof for the "violent character of Islam". Despite the apparent uniformity of anti-Muslim racism in Germany and although far right groups quite unequivocally engage in propaganda against Muslims, there are nevertheless important differences between ethno-nationalist and populist groups, whereby the former one explain the supposed backwardness and violence of Islam in explicitly biological terms while the latter ones present themselves as defenders of democracy and human-rights against "radical Islam". In this paper, recent developments of right-wing extremism in Germany will be investigated in relation to their anti-Muslim racism. It will be shown how public images of Islam and anti-islamic attitudes in German public support certain kinds of racist campaigns and how Mosque-debates serve as a unifying vehicle for right-wing extremists from different ideological streamings, leading to an "ethno-pluralist consensus" between far right parties in Germany.

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Mary Ann Walter, Middle East Technical University – Northern Cyprus Campus

walter.maryann1@gmail.com

Babel in Church and Mosque: Community Construction in the Gulf States

The smaller Arab Gulf states – Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Kuwait – are uniquely diverse societies, with the highest percentages of migrant residents in the world (exceeding 80% by some reports). This study examines ethnolinguistic communities there, thus serving the dual purpose of helping to delineate both the complex linguistic landscape of the Gulf, and also what kind of formal or semi-formal institutions arise out of the social pressures on such communities, as spaces created for and with the use of their languages.

Religious groups are not income-dependent and visits to religious institutions are often the only outings permitted to domestic workers in these countries. As such, they are the primary vehicles of association for Gulf migrants. Official immigration policies tend to favor Muslims. In spite of this, ties between mosques and migrants appear relatively weak. Rather than accommodating to migrant languages, most mosques offer lessons in Arabic. However, Qur'anic Arabic is of little use in day-to-day contexts in the Gulf.

The situation is drastically different for Christian groups, which exist “out of sight” of the native Muslim population. Services are offered primarily in English, but also in many additional languages. The numbers and timing of these services reveal the numbers and relative social status of the languages' speakers in the Gulf. Language-based prayer groups and choirs are widespread and even more diverse.

Linguistic practices differ significantly between church and mosque in the Gulf, due to the special position of Arabic as both sacred and national language. However, in a form of cultural protectionism, Arabic expertise is rarely extended to migrants. Native and non-native Gulf residents prefer to reserve their own languages for their own communities, and use English in common spaces. This choice acknowledges and maintains communal differences, while simultaneously reducing friction due to them.

Chair: Paul Reynolds

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Session 2a: Seminar 2

Tuesday 5th July 14.30 – 16.00

Strategies for Solidarity I

Swee Heng Chan and Ain Nadzimah Abdullah, Department of English, Universiti Putra Malaysia

shchan@fbmk.upm.edu.my

Reconciling Diverse Communities through Language Practices in Malaysia

Malaysia is an example of a diverse nation with communities facing multiplicities in religions, languages and cultural beliefs. These multiplicities and polarities need to be understood and managed in order to maintain harmony. Malaysia has to strategize and build up paths that would lead to a solid foundation of trust and cohesiveness among its citizens. This paper seeks to achieve a better understanding of the relationships in language practices that are seen to contribute to the reconciliation among diverse communities. Specifically, the issue at hand is language maintenance and use which is linked to language ideology as well as language policy. Language ideology and the practicing language policy capture and guide the principled language practices that lead to good governance in a community. The harmony of Malaysia rests fundamentally on the peaceful co-existence of three major ethnic communities: Malay, Chinese and Indian. These communities are characterized by the use of ethnically distinct languages: *Bahasa Malaysia*, Chinese and Indian languages. In addition, there is the pervasive use of the English language across these communities. The paper investigates the language phenomenon through a survey questionnaire that would give information about the relative emphases given to the use of the various languages, and perceptions about issues pertaining to language maintenance. Data would reveal diversities in language use in relation to ethnicity and the reconciliations that emerge from these diversities. The reconciliation is an adopted move towards a more united and inclusive community creating “oneness” within multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-cultural Malaysia. The results are also linked to the current program for transformation of Malaysian society under the context of 1Malaysia - a mission for unity.

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Rajen Suntoo, University of Mauritius

r.suntoo@uom.ac.mu

What makes social life possible in multicultural societies? – The case of Mauritius

All countries in the world are multicultural in one way or the other. People of different culture, religion and ethnicity have, most of the time, no choice than to live together in the same territory. Consequently, tensions and sometimes conflicts among different groups become common issues that have to be properly managed by the state. Some countries have been successful while many are still struggling to make social life possible for their population.

This study deals with the case of Mauritius which has a population of 1.3 million people representing approximately 50 % of Hindus, 30 % of Christians, 17% of Muslims, and the remaining 3% including Chinese and others. Since its independence in 1968, Mauritius, a former British colony, has made much progress in nation building. The inhabitants are proud when they are found in foreign countries where they boast of the success made by the society and claim themselves to be 'mauritians'. The reality is different once they are back in the country. Lot of tensions exist among the different cultural, ethnic and religious groups. Not all people claim the Mauritian identity. Many prefer to be recognized by their ethnic identity first and then the national one. Twice, in 1969 and 1999, tensions degenerated into conflicts and large scale riots which nearly paralysed the island. The state has taken several measures and introduced policies to manage the society. Although there are a high level of tolerance and social solidarity among the different and diverse groups which contribute largely to make social life possible yet the population is aware that it is walking on an ethnic bomb which might explode at any time causing damage to all development made.

In this paper, use of secondary data has been made for the sake of reflection and critical analysis. The principle observations show that the factors which make social life possible should be regularly reviewed and state stakeholders should adhere to the principles of good governance so that socio-economic justice prevails in the society.

Chair: John McSweeney

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Session 2b: Seminar 4

Tuesday 5th July 14.30 – 16.00

The Politics of Multiculturalism 1

Roman Sukholutsky, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

romans01@gmail.com

After Multiculturalism? The Cosmopolitan Prospects of Liberal Democracy

Cosmopolitanism can be understood in terms of presenting an alternative to multiculturalism way of achieving social solidarity and stable peaceful coexistence of different communities. If this is true, then how can the cosmopolitan conditions be achieved? The broad agreement existing today among political philosophers and scientists is that the best way to promote Cosmopolitanism is liberal democratic ideology. My purpose in this paper is to question this almost uncontested link. The basic claim is that neither liberal ideology, nor democracy actually promote, at least purposely, cosmopolitan values and ideas, but are based on several clearly anti-cosmopolitan assumptions.

The paper will be divided into two main parts. The first one will analyze the anti-cosmopolitan foundations of liberal ideology and will show that both its goal and the ways of its promotion include some features that clearly oppose Cosmopolitanism. The second part will present an analysis of liberal democratic form of government and will show a number of inconsistencies between democracy and Cosmopolitanism.

The paper will show that liberal democracy does not necessarily contradict Cosmopolitanism. Yet, the advancement of Cosmopolitan conditions is not the purpose of that ideology, which is clearly Internationalist and not Cosmopolitan, meaning that its goals can be achieved within the framework of the existing international order. The analysis of liberal ideology's goal shows that it is the promotion of liberal rights, freedoms and equality or, in cases they must be restricted, the justification of such restrictions. Neither of them presupposes any Cosmopolitan changes of the international order and they can be secured by promotion of liberalization, law, organization, exchange, communication and democratization and without any radical changes of international order presupposed by Cosmopolitanism. Therefore it is possible to conclude that the cosmopolitan conditions can develop only as a by-product of liberal democracy's spread. In conclusion, I claim that Cosmopolitan conditions can and must be developed on the basis of liberal democracy, but in process the proponents of Cosmopolitanism should try to resolve numerous inconsistencies between liberal democracy and Cosmopolitanism.

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Azam Golam, La Trobe University, Australia

agolam@students.latrobe.edu.au/ golam4azam@gmail.com

Application of Liberal Multicultural Theory in non Western Countries

Multiculturalism is an influential but controversial political topic for resolving cultural differences in a diverse society. Nowadays, coexistence of different cultures is a common scenario both in western and non western countries. According to common ideas about multiculturalism, every culture has an equal and distinct value and it is the responsibility of the majority group as well as the state concerned to show due respect to minority cultures. The objective of the paper is of twofold. Firstly, to show that William A Galston's approach to multiculturalism is superior to the theories of Kymlicka and Brian Barry to accommodate diversity in a multicultural society and secondly to show that Galston's theory can be applied in non western countries more fruitfully. Will Kymlicka in his *Multicultural Citizenship: A liberal theory of minority rights* emphasizes group differentiated right for the minorities and states categorically that liberalism can accommodate special rights for the minorities. Brian Barry, on the other hand, emphasizes that giving such types of special rights to the minorities offends against the freedom and equality of a liberal society. It allows unequal treatment to the citizens as well as violating individual liberty to choose way of life within a cultural group. In place of differentiated treatment he focuses and suggests for equal treatment of all citizens in a liberal state. More recently, William A Galston in his *Liberal Pluralism (2002) and The Practice of Liberal Pluralism (2005)* presents a theory to accommodate diversity in a liberal country based on the philosophical idea of value-pluralism and are perceived as one of the most potentially workable solutions to the problem of diversity. I endorse his view for resolving the conflicts among the rival groups having distinct values. I think his view better fits in a society that is not entirely liberal and it has a greater potential to be applied globally. My special interest is to apply Galston's theory in non western countries. I think a theory based on his idea and focusing three concepts- tolerance, compromise and recognition can better be applied in non-western countries to ensure harmonious/ peaceful coexistence among different heterogeneous cultures.

Chair: Paul Reynolds

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Session 3a: Seminar 2

Tuesday 5th July 16.30 – 18.00

Multicultural Politics and Turkey

Latife Akyuz, Middle East Technical University, Department of Sociology, Ankara/TURKEY

latife@metu.edu.tr

The Economic, Socio-Cultural and Political Analyses of Borderlands: The Case of Turkey-Georgia Border

This paper focuses on the economic, social, and cultural transformation process in the Hopa border region with the existence of the Sarp border gate and the changes in its status. In this study, 'changes in status' signifies the rigid closing down of the Sarp border gate in 1937 and the re-opening of this border in 1988. Changes in status of Sarp border gate and its effects on economic, social and cultural life of Hopa border region analyzed in the lights of theories on border, border relations and the theories of nationalism and identities. Hopa which constitutes our research area is a border town having strategic importance by virtue of its being located at Turkey-Georgia border on the point which both land and sea and also airway connections intersect with the airport put into service in Batumi. Hopa is located in the eastern part of Black Sea Region. We have taken Hopa as a case because it represents and carries the social change and transformation dynamics like all border cities. Hopa's multiethnic structure allow us to discuss how national identity, local identity and citizenship have been perceived and performed in such border cities by different ethnic identities, ages and gender. This work is planned as a qualitative work that contains sociological and anthropological approaches with social, cultural and economic dimensions. Since the field study depend on the opinions and experiences of regional people who participate in research, qualitative research techniques are appropriate for our work. Oral history (with the people whose age are both above 80 and between 40 and 50 years old), and open-ended interviews (with small-scale retailers) have comprised the methodological structure of the study. We have selected the people, whose age is above 80, as one part of the universe of the study because we plan to learn how the process of the closing down of the border is experienced and what kind of impact this process had. And we have selected the people, whose age is between 40 and 50, as the other part of the universe of the study because we plan to understand how the events are experienced by the local people before and after 1988.

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Mahiye Secil Dagtas, Department of Anthropology, Graduate Collaborative Program in Women and Gender Studies, University of Toronto

s.dagtas@utoronto.ca

Tolerated Identities: Secularism and Religious Pluralism in the City of Antakya

How can one address the secular/religious divide as new modes of engagements take place between different religious communities who inhabit the same familial and national spaces? Guided by this general question, this paper examines the everyday manifestations of religious pluralism and the 'tolerance' talk in Antakya. As a city near Turkey's border with Syria, Antakya has historically been at the crossroads of diverse ethnic, religious and political communities. In the context of the tension between contemporary attempts at national homogenization and neo-liberal forms of multiculturalism, its cultural plurality has been addressed primarily in religious terms referring to the visible coexistence of the Sunni, Alevi, Orthodox, Catholic and Jewish communities in the city. Being the last national territory that was annexed to the modern Turkish Republic fifteen years after its foundation, these communities' encounters with the already instituted secularist reforms of the modern Turkish state incite further questions regarding how secularism takes shape in relation to different processes of nation-building. During the summer of 2010, I conducted preliminary field research in Antakya examining people's daily relationships with their neighbors, the perception and experience of inter-religious marriages, the religious and national ceremonies and family rituals of Alevi, Sunni and Orthodox families living in the city. Based on my findings, I will argue that we need to develop new conceptual frameworks that decouple pluralism from liberal and secularist politics so that we can fully grasp the potentials and contradictions embedded in the mutual living of religiously diverse communities.

Chair Mary Ann Walter

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Session 3b: Seminar 4

Tuesday 5th July 16.30 – 18.00

Solidarity Difference and Theory I

Scott H. Boyd, Middle East Technical University – Northern Cyprus Campus

sboyd@metu.edu.tr

Distinction as the Origin of Solidarity in the Theory of Autopoietic Culture

The theory of autopoietic culture presumes that culture, something originating with humanity and reflected upon by the same, is an autonomic unity that is a network of processes and production of components that are continuously generated and participate through their interactions in the realization of the network of process of production which produced them. In this theory, a human being is both participant in the unity and observer of its processes. Observations are the result of distinctions communicated to other observers within a linguistic domain. Given the description of autopoietic culture and its reliance on distinctions, indications, and descriptions by observers, this paper will argue that observers are united through the self-implication of their distinctions in both the processes and observations of autopoietic culture. In short, the act of making distinctions is a universal act of solidarity for observers regardless of the level of compatibility of the observations in the linguistic domain. This solidarity precedes the attempt to manufacture unity through multiculturalism which manipulates the observer's perception of their distinctions in the linguistic domain.

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Irina Mitina, Department of Philosophy, Culturology and Philosophy of Science,
Southern Federal University, Rostov-on-Don, Russian Federation

Mitinalrina@yandex.ru

'I' and 'Other(s)': Ways of Ethical Comprehension

Question on ethical attitude towards 'Other(s)' was discussed by ethical thought since antiquity. But, up to the 20th century 'Other' did not consider by ethics as a something that was able to influence upon 'Me' determined its structure. An ethical need of co-existence and interaction 'Me' and 'Other' did not display and possible variants of the co-existence did not analyze. The relation 'You' and 'I' have mostly realized from the standpoint how 'I' relate to or ought to relate to 'You'. Ethical interpretations of the relation 'You' to 'I' have understood as a version of 'vertical' interrelationship perhaps due to prevalence of religious and class outlook. 'You' was usually interpreted as a higher person.

In ethics of the 20th century such relations have become to comprehend as the 'horizontal' ones. 'Other' has appeared in diversity of its appearances as a someone determining ethical structure of 'Me'. 'Other' entered in 'my own human perspective' (J. Ortega). To realize what I am J. Ortega, M. Bachtin, E. Lévinas and partly E. Mounier have elaborated a set of questions concerning interrelations of 'Me' to 'Other(s)'. These are which variants of relations of 'Me' to 'Other' might be; in which appearances 'Other' might exist for 'Me'; what we call 'Stranger'; how 'Other' might become as 'Intimate'; what difference between 'Other' as 'He' and 'Other' as 'You' is; what functions might fulfill 'Other' to 'Me' and 'Me' to 'Other'; what essence of ethical relation of 'Me' to 'You' is; what difference between 'My-relation' to 'You' and to 'Darling' is; what mean 'You-forebears' to 'Me'.

In my paper I intend to present theoretical analysis of pointed questions in their systematic unity. The theories were created almost in one and the same time. Elaborated problems and proposed solutions have often had something in common. 'I' and 'Other' were presented as 'initial ethic concepts' (M. Bachtin) which might be characterized by relations of reversibility and new ethical structure of 'Me' was proposed.

Ethical investigations of meaning and role of 'Other(s)' made by J. Ortega, M. Bachtin, E. Lévinas and E. Mounier are able to clarify some practical possibilities to decrease tensions and conflicts of our life.

Chair: Paul Reynolds

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Session 4a: Seminar 2

Wednesday 6th July 09.30 – 11.00

Multiculturalism and Diaspora

Glenda Ballantyne, Swinburne University of Technology, Melbourne, Australia

gballantyne@swin.edu.au

The Alevi Diaspora in Australia

The Alevi community in Australia comes primarily from Turkey, and encompasses both Turks and Kurds. A number of its distinctive features make it a particularly illuminating case of the revival of ethnic identification in the contemporary era. Firstly, the community has for some years been undergoing an unusually explicit and self-conscious process of reconstruction, in Turkey and across the diaspora. Since the 1980s, Alevi communities in Turkey and across the diaspora have been engaged in a reflexive project of revival and a transnational quest for recognition. Secondly, while there is debate among the community as to whether Alevism is a religion or a culture, Alevism has a historical connection to Islam which opens up a number of broader questions of public and academic import. Among those who consider it a religion, some see it as a heterodox form of Islam, some see its origins outside of Islam and some stress multiple formative traditions. In the contemporary context, its heterodoxy vis a vis the Islamic tradition is of considerable public and intellectual significance.

This paper uses a 'multiple modernities' approach associated with SN Eisenstadt and Johann Arnason to examine processes of collective identity formation and transformation among the second generation of the Turkish Alevi diaspora in Melbourne, Australia. The emerging paradigm of multiple modernities offers important new insights for the analysis of the experience of diasporas by stressing the dynamism of cultural traditions, their openness to ongoing reinterpretation in new historical circumstances, and the multiple and partially contradictory strands internal to a culture. As its application to the case of Alevis in the research reported here demonstrates, it also provides a productive conceptual framework for the analysis of that experience.

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Agnieszka Bielewska – Mensah, Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Poland

abielewska@hotmail.com

From Diversity to Uniformity – The Different Forms of Polish Community in Manchester.

The purpose of this paper is an analysis of changes in the national identity formation over the last 50 years and the impact they had on the shape of ethnic communities. It shows how the processes of globalisation and individualisation lead to the different understanding of ethnic community functions.

The paper is based on a study carried out in Manchester between 2005- 2009 on two groups of Polish immigrants: Poles who settled in the United Kingdom after the Second World War and immigrants who arrived to England after Poland joined the European Union in May 2004.

The post-war migrant have built their identity on the difference between them and the English society. They possess the strong modern identity and they perceive the national belonging as a base to their identification. This paper shows how such attitude results in formation of strong ethnic community. The modern identity is experienced as a group identity and the ethnic institutions are used as means of its preservation.

The postmodern identity is formed in the time of new communication technologies, network society and globalisation process. It is a multidimensional phenomenon and the national identity is just one of its elements. The post-accession migrants investigated during the research refer to themselves in many different categories apart from the national one. They arrive to the United Kingdom as the European Union citizens and their white European identity make them the part of the mainstream society while the Polish identity pushes them into direction of ethnic minorities. As much as they see themselves capable of the self-realisation within the mainstream society they do not need the space offered by the ethnic community. They treat its institutions as a part of urban folklore they may frequent as consumers.

Chair: Scott Boyd

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Session 4b: Seminar 4

Wednesday 6th July 09.30 – 11.00

Multiculturalism – Psychological Perspectives

Eri Park, Psychology Department, Roosevelt Academy, Utrecht University

e.park@roac.nl

Psychological Contributions to the Global Justice Debate and The Notion of Moral Emotions

In the past, little attention has been paid to the socio-psychological dimension of the phenomenon of severe poverty in Europe's former colonies. Despite the institutional nature of the global economic order, including policies of the WTO, IMF, EU, it is people who design, support, and maintain this system, and individual constructions of the world and structural inequalities reinforce one another; just as global poverty and discourses of dominance intersect historically and geopolitically, they also intersect within the psyche of people living in rich countries. Conceptually, this paper draws upon Postcolonial Theory (Said, 1978; Hall, 1996) and contributions from a Social Representations perspective regarding identity and positioning. One of the major insights of Postcolonial Theory is that Africa represents 'Europe's fundamental other'. To explore what this means from a social-psychological perspective, semi-structured interviews were conducted in London, Berlin and Cape Town with 'laypersons', volunteers and professionals working for charities or poverty-related issues/structural change. The interviews are analysed according to the principles of Discourse Analysis.

This paper investigates how we, members of the European middle class, construct ourselves as ethical beings in the context of severe poverty in Africa. What are the relations of specific discursive strategies in one's world-view construction, one's identity construction and one's (in)action? My results support Charles Taylor's (1989) ideas, claiming that although most people's moral ontologies remain largely implicit unless there is some challenge which forces them to the fore, people construct their identities around an abstract notion of the good. And included in this abstract notion of the good are not only questions of our own dignity, the respect for other people's lives, and well-being, but equally personal answers to questions, for example, what makes our lives worth living, which may include ideas regarding questions of justice. And concepts of justice are not only politicized but from a social-psychological perspective always ambivalent concepts. Hence, the more an ethical self has at stake in this discourse, the more challenging it becomes to bear the idea that oneself as an individual contributes to, and benefits from a global institutional order which avoidably produces severe poverty.

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Mojtaba Ansari, Department of Architecture, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran.

m_ansari@modares.ac.ir

Javid Ghanbari Chahanjiri, Department of Architecture, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran.

J.Ghanbaree@yahoo.com

Mohammad Yousefi, Urban Design, Islamic Azad University, Science and Research Branch, Tehran, Iran.

Mohamad_Yusefi63@yahoo.com

The Psychological Role of Architecture in Social Integration of Immigrants in Multi-Cultural Cities: Introducing a New Typology of Residential High-Rise within Dense Urban Fabric

International migration in the recent decades has led to the formation of multicultural societies. It seems that in these multicultural societies, two main approaches have been taken in designing residential sections; the first is to design neighborhoods related to isolated nationalities and the second is to design for mixed nationalities. The article focuses on the second approach and will show how architecture may psychologically contribute to integrative acculturation in different aspects; it also approaches new typologies of urban grains and finally comes to the conclusion that these new building typologies with mixed functions may in different ways, that is by their function or form, contribute to the integration of the immigrants. The authors have pursued their goals through a course of architectural design given by bachelor students of architecture in Eyvanakey higher education institute.

Chair: John McSweeney

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Session 5: Amfi 1

Wednesday 6th July 11.30 – 13.00

Plenary

Zafer Şenocak

Zafer will be reflecting on the themes arising from his extensive work on European multiculturalism and identity

Born in Ankara in 1961, Zafer Şenocak has lived in Germany since 1970. Over the years, he has become a leading voice in the German discussions on multiculturalism and national identity. His volume of essays *Atlas of the Tropical Germany* is currently included on the American Association of University Professors list of books to further our understanding of issues surrounding 9/11. Şenocak has been Writer-in-Residence at several American Universities, among them M.I.T., Dartmouth College, Oberlin College, University of California at Berkeley, and Lafayette College. He writes books in German and Turkish as well as essays for German newspapers and radio stations. His first novel written in Turkish, *Alman Terbiyesi*, was published in 2007 in Istanbul.

"As a critical commentator on the political and cultural significance of Germany's largest minority population, Senocak is without equal. His provocative essays, expertly presented by Leslie Adelson, speak to issues of profound importance: Germany's relationship to its fascist past, the history of the West's encounter with Islam, and the future definition of Europe."-- Arlene A. Teraoka, author of *East, West, and Others: The Third World in Postwar German Literature*.

Chair: Scott Boyd

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Session 6a: Seminar 2

Thursday 7th July 09.30 – 11.00

Loss, Reconciliation and Division in Turkey

Burcu Şentürk, Department of Politics, University of York, (UK)

bs588@york.ac.uk

Invisibility of the Common Sorrow: People Who Lost Family Members in the Conflict in the Southeastern and Eastern Parts of Turkey Between the Years 1993 and 2006

Turkey has suffered from the conflict between TSK (Turkish Armed Forces) and PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) in Southeastern and Eastern parts for more than 30 years. This conflict has brought in death of thousands of people, forced migration and polarization between Kurdish and Turkish people as well as between the people who suffered from the results of the same conflict. In this sense, it is mainly aimed to understand the dynamics behind the way in which people who lost family members in the conflict in the Southeastern and Eastern parts of Turkey between the years 1993 and 2006 are positioned as oppositional to each other mostly by the mainstream media and the official discourse. It inquires whether their common grief of losing someone in the family might enable them to act collectively and to ask for peace in Turkey. Basing on a field research held in 2009 with 15 family members of PKK guerillas and 15 family members of TSK soldiers, the following questions will be answered: How are they represented as oppositional groups despite their common grief within the official discourse? Why do they consider each other as belonging to the "otherside"? How does this kind of representation prevent them from coming together and asking for a peaceful termination of conflict in Turkey? In discussing these questions, the concepts of peace, violence, security, inequalities, terrorism, religion, martyrdom, ideology, and hegemony are drawn upon. Galtung's approach to peace is taken as the general framework. Moreover, martyrdom is considered as the key concept that interlinks the other concepts as interviewees conceptualize them. In the sense of understanding polarization among the family members of PKK guerillas and TSK soldiers, Gramsci's concept of hegemony, cultural hegemony and Galtung's conceptualizations about types of violence such as structural, cultural and direct violence will be used. Finally, some possible methods in order to eliminate the social barriers between these families will be introduced and opened to discussion.

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Çağla Gül Yesevi, Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences, Department of International Relations, Istanbul Kultur University Ataköy Campus

c.yesevi@iku.edu.tr

Reconciliation and Diversion in Turkish Politics: The Parameters of Democracy, Kemalism and Islamism

Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923, it based on Kemalism which was developed by the leader of Turkish national movement and the founder of Republic of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Turks and Kurds have been living together for centuries side by side. Kemalism was identified with the symbol of six arrows, and these six principles of Kemalism have been still supported by founding party of Turkey, Atatürk's party, the Republican People's Party (RPP). The JDP changed the main political discourse on Kurdish issue. The JDP introduced National Unity and Brotherhood Project, the Process of Democratic Initiative. This Democratic Initiative challenged the main priorities of Kemalism, the founding ideology of Turkey. One of the changes in Turkish politics was seen among the supporters of these two parties. The policies of the JDP was also presented as convenient with candidacy of membership to the European Union. The policies of the JDP began a new era. New terminology was begun to be used. Kurdish people gained more freedom of speech. Kurdish nationalism has supported harshly. National education system was seen unsuccessful. Common national identity couldn't be established. Terrorism was used to reveal the problems of Kurds. Kurdish identity was identified. Turkish identity, on other hand, became questionable and ambiguous phenomenon. Tariqats have been using as a tool to unite people under the flag of Islam. Tariqats have had both economic and religious benefits for the people of Southeastern and Eastern parts of Turkey. This article will explain the main features of Turkish politics, there have been three important solutions to reconcile Turks and Kurds and ensure peaceful society. In this article these solutions as democracy, Kemalism and Islamism will be argued.

Chair: John McSweeney

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Session 6b: Seminar 4

Thursday 7th July 09.30 – 11.00

Multiculturalism and Culture I

Misha Nedeljkovich, College of Arts and Sciences, The University of Oklahoma

mihajlo@ou.edu

Socially Responsible Filmmaking in the Balkans: Cheap Propaganda or Lack of Creativity

Most recently in the territory of West Balkans (what was known as Yugoslavia) we are witnessing the emergence of "socially responsible filmmaking." Number of filmmakers have used EU funds specifically designed for films with peace-making topics to produce their films. In addition, the newly established governments of these countries compete in giving support to these productions. Obviously everyone is trying to do their best to replace war inciting rhetoric of the 90s with conciliatory topics hoping to ease tensions in the Balkan peninsula. Unfortunately, none of these films ever succeeded artistically and in the box office. As a matter of fact they were either ignored or became an object of public ridicule. The authors of these films were recognized filmmakers that received artistic praise and international awards for their past work, but failed miserably with topics that were supposed to enlighten Balkan nations. This paper will attempt to find an answer to this question. The most prominent of these "failed cinematic attempts" will be analyzed carefully and hopefully conclusion will help illuminate this problem.

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Hanène Kooli, English Department , University of Kairouan, Tunisia

hanenekooli@yahoo.com

Reconciling Fragmented Communities in Morrison's *Paradise*.

The issue of fragmented communities remains one of the most central and most contested concepts in the humanities today. No individual or group can escape the question of identity in a range of categories be it gender, class, nationality or race. In fact, struggling to overcome cultural differences, communities are continually plagued by an irresolvable sense of loss and anxiety. In this paper, I will show that for African American communities, this anxiety is more acute and often overrides all considerations. Social identities of people are rooted in their culture while at individual level it is determined by personal achievements. In order to achieve "completeness" it is necessary to fuse individual and social consciousness. To this end, I will first go through the main theories of self in the postmodern and psychoanalytic thought to argue for the myth of the "unified" self. I will use Lacan and Kristeva to show that division is always incorporated within a structure of unity. Then, I offer an insight into Morrison's *Paradise* where nearly all characters are left with deep psychic injuries that prevent them from trusting or from being tolerant. Indeed the women of the Convent and men of Ruby are more alike than any of them would willingly admit. Their stories are ones of rejection, running away, and isolation. They are surviving only by keeping other people out. Yet, this has led them to the worst, to killing "the white girl first" (*Paradise*, 1). The book considers the way in which a fantasy of black nationhood, arising from mythology and history devolves into a dystopia. Thus, the main purpose of this paper is to argue, through Morrison's *Paradise*, that intolerance breeds intolerance. The article begs the question: why must talk of any paradise necessitate exclusion? Given this fact, I aim at concluding that the reconstruction project is patterned in Morrison's *Paradise*. People must celebrate differences and listen to others's (hi)stories to grow collectively.

Chair: Mary Ann Walter

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Session 7: Amfi 1

Thursday 7th July 11.30 – 13.00

Plenary

Difference in Cyprus Today: Beyond the Cyprus Problem

Presentations on:

Gender and Difference

Maria Hadjipavlou,
Associate Professor
Department of Social and Political Sciences
University of Cyprus

and

Migration

Nicos Trimikliniotis
Assistant Professor of Law and Sociology
University of Nicosia
and
Meté Hatay
PRIO Cyprus
Project Leader: Settlers and Immigrants in Cyprus

Chair: Rebecca Bryant

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Session 8a: Seminar 2

Thursday 7th July 14.30 – 16.00

The Politics of Multiculturalism II

Elie Al Hindy, Political Science and International Relations, Notre Dame University, Loueizeh – Lebanon

eelhindy@ndu.edu.lb

Human Rights as a Tool for Reconciliation and Social Solidarity in Multicultural Societies

This paper is an attempt to present human rights as a tool for reconciliation and social solidarity in multicultural societies. In multicultural societies, especially where the presence of different groups was not by choice but due to specific internal or external situations and where these groups have conflicting claims over land or power, diversity always tends to become a fertile ground for division and conflict. When conflict occurs the groups tend to enter into a centrifugal motion and to develop separate and may be even opposing social structures, political stands and relational networks. Thus, the centrifugal motion calls for actions and collegialities that have overarching membership and that can join people from the different opponent groups together. Among these overarching believes, this paper present Human Rights as an issue that can be developed to become a common interest for the different groups. Consequently the paper calls for the spread of human rights education and building a common value of the human being regardless of which group he belongs to, which makes the human suffering (that exists on different levels in all societies) a common cause and a common fight that brings people closer in social solidarity.

As a practical case study, the paper analyses the case of Lebanon as a multicultural society that is suffering from significant social cleavages. Attempts to use human rights as a tool for reconciliation and social solidarity have been present in Lebanon for almost two decades after the end of the civil war. The paper will review the strength and limitations, achievements and challenges of this theory, concluding with recommendations on how to make it work better.

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Nandita Dogra, ESRC Postdoctoral Fellow, Centre for Cultural Studies, Goldsmiths, University of London

nanditadogra@hotmail.com

‘Difference’ and ‘Oneness’: Dualistic Connectivity in International NGOs’ Public Communications

In a highly unequal and fragmented world, international NGOs play a significant role in fostering global connections through their public messages. As highly trusted ‘institutions of representation’ they influence how we connect the global poor in the majority world with our own lives in the rich ‘West’. The paper is a part of a large study on this media role of UK-based international development NGOs (INGOs) such as Oxfam, Save the Children, ActionAid, Christian Aid, Plan, Concern and World Vision. The research reviews a recent annual cycle of fundraising and advocacy communications of these NGOs publicised in UK’s national newspapers, direct mails and websites.

The study demonstrates that INGOs’ public messages construct and connect the developed and developing worlds through a dualism of ‘difference’ and ‘oneness’. This projects the global poor as different from the West while still being like us through our shared humanity. Theorised in particular ways, it is projected and reconciled across varied axes and a range of representations of people and issues. In this paper, I illustrate this duality through the portrayals of the most important set of characters in INGOs’ public messages- children. Drawing theoretically on postcolonialism, humanism and human rights, I unpack the associations, meanings and ideologies that emerge from the depictions of children both empirically and discursively. Children, mostly from the ‘third world’ but also the ‘first world’, simultaneously project universality and particularity through their varied instrumental and symbolic uses. Images of children work inter-textually in complex ways as factual indicators and metaphors and resonate across discourses of charity, justice, infantilism, humanism and cosmopolitanism to connect people of the developed world with the majority world in very distinctive ways.

Chair: Mary Ann Walter

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Session 8b: Seminar 4

Thursday 7th July 14.30 – 16.00

Multiculturalism and Culture II

Zuzana Klímová, Department of English and American Studies, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Czech Republic

145169@mail.muni.cz or kepler@seznam.cz

“Solidarity with the Community or its Degradation? – V.S. Naipaul’s *The Middle Passage: The Caribbean Revisited* and his Use of Victorian Authors”

V.S. Naipaul, the Trinidadian Nobel Prize winner, is a controversial author within the multicultural society of contemporary literary world. In his works he often criticizes his own community as well as the colonial system. *The Middle Passage* (1962) belongs among his most criticized works for his alleged pro-colonial views. One of the most problematic and provoking characteristics of *The Middle Passage* is in this respect his use of passages from the works of other writers – especially the Victorian icons Froude, Trollope and Kingsley. Part of the ambivalence of this work is the impulse for its creation which came from the Trinidadian Premier Dr Williams. Although its creation was suggested by the government of the country striving for independence it does not represent a type of post-colonial text expected in the 1960s. By not taking the nationalistic point of view Naipaul had to face the criticism of the Caribbean public and his attitude was criticized by postcolonial scholars such as Edward Said or Derek Walcott. Under the pressure of social and political circumstances, Naipaul was reproached for his attitudes towards the former British Empire and his alleged denial of his own community. However; it is necessary to consider what role the writer plays within the wider multicultural community and what (if any) are his or her obligations to the social group which claims him/her as their own representative. Naipaul avoids the escape into the evanescent stability of nationalism. Instead, he sticks to his personal view of the situation no matter how pessimistic or controversial it is. His highly emotional and daring account of the world is first and foremost a personal perception ignoring social expectations of either side of the postcolonial world. Looking more thoroughly and in wider context on his choice of quotations in *The Middle Passage* we can see this work as a valuable contribution to the postcolonial literature which goes beyond the restricted point of view of either the formerly colonized or the colonizing.

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Luma Ibrahim Al-barzenji, English Language Department / College of Basic Education, Diala University, Iraq.

luma702002@yahoo.com

The Threatened Identity in Postcolonialism and The Struggle Against Change in Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*

In the last half of the twentieth century many postcolonial cultures recognized that their people lived a kind of non-existence, in void of stolen identities. One of the consequences of colonization is fading away the colonized identity under the shadow of colonizer's rule making this identity empty of meaning and value, not acknowledged as a unique individual in the colonizer's eyes. Such impression left an effect on many colonized educated writers who considered this emptiness as a denial of identity and existence of being.

Actually, tackling the notion of threatened identity and struggle against change in postcolonized nations leads to head the attention to African writers who have an enduring propensity for social, cultural, and political issues as their texts mostly reflect those three trends in their societies. Their works are directed to celebrate the heroic grandeur of the African strong-rooted traditions, and to waken African people to resurrect their identity as a challenge to Whiteman's purposes. Writers' tasks are to function literature to describe and heal the void and thereafter in imbalance which have been created in postcolonial period.

Postcolonial literature seems to label literature written by people living in countries formerly colonized by other colonial powers Britain, France, and Spain. A term refers also to " a post-modern intellectual discourse that holds together a set of theories found among the texts and sub-texts of philosophy, film, political science and literature". It is the writing came after empire and critically explores the colonial effects upon colonized people , resists colonial perspective , and proclaims against division under empire. Postcolonial literature is important on grounds of the African colonized texts in which the texts were moving spirits in the national struggle. In addition, postcolonial texts reflect the mixing of languages, borrowing foreign names, and the converted philosophies.

The research paper tackles the concept of struggle against the idea of change in the Nigerian society depicted in Chinua Achebe's novel *Things Fall Apart*. The novel shows the conflict to keep the loyalty to clan, tribe, and nation which all colonized by the white man. It searches for values in a world that is subject to be changed by others. Moreover, it is the writer's attempt to preserve and resurrect African culture, Igbo tribal life, from the consequences of European invasion upon the traditional values and practices of the colonized and postcolonized societies.

Chair John McSweeney

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Session 9a: Seminar 2

Thursday 7th July 16.30 – 18.00

Cultural Diversity and Community

Alexia Bloch, Department of Anthropology, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, Canada

abloch@interchange.ubc.ca

Multi-culturalism, Place-making and Ethnographic Perspectives from Russian-speaking Vancouver

The growing body of research exploring how people in diaspora envision a future grounded in a “transnational circuit” of tightly knit community spanning a range of locations tends to portray these circuits of connection in unproblematic terms. The case of Russian-speaking diasporas appears to complicate this picture. Like many diasporic populations, Russian-speaking immigrants are linked to a homeland through a circulation of money, goods, information, and services. Despite these commonalities, Russian-speaking diasporas are also very fractured with fissures running along ethnic, religious, political, and class lines. Based on ethnographic research conducted among Russian-speaking immigrants who arrived in Canada in the last 20 years, this paper examines the ways in which former Russian citizens seek to connect with, and as frequently disconnect from, a homeland. While Canadian social policy has tended to portray “multi-culturalism” as a good to be pursued, these accounts attest to the challenges immigrants face when they encounter policies aimed at fostering multi-culturalism. My ethnographic data suggests a wide range of meanings immigrants may attach to their migration experiences, including nostalgia for bygone eras, antipathy toward former government structures, aspirations of return to homelands, and discomfort with multi-cultural frameworks lumping former Soviet citizens together as “Russian-speakers”.

Drawing on Russian-speaking immigrants’ accounts I consider how theoretical frameworks of multi-culturalism may be expanded through an analysis of place-making as it is shaped by post/former Soviet social experience.

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Eylem Ozdemir, Faculty of Political Sciences, Istanbul University

ozdemireylem@yahoo.com

The transformation of cultural diversity into divided urban communities in the case of Mersin

This article aims to examine the process of different cultural identities gathered in Mersin becoming a center of urban tension based on some of the data obtained by a case study conducted in Mersin, in 2008. The field research was conducted for the doctoral thesis entitled “Reflections of Cultural Diversity in Urban Politics: The Case of Mersin” to examine the interaction of identities with the local political life by means of both qualitative and quantitative techniques in the city of Mersin. This article looks at the transformation of the ethnic and sectarian differences into divided communities based on data on the perceptions of and the attitudes towards identities and cosmopolitan urban life.

Three district municipalities of the Metropolitan Municipality were selected as the sample area to conduct both face-to-face interviews and questionnaires. Including the historical city center, this area is located within the boundaries of Toroslar, Akdeniz and Yenişehir district municipalities. This is also the social, economic, and cultural heart of the city.

A questionnaire to measure identity perception and voting behavior was conducted quantitatively with 386 participants selected by simple random sampling technique. This article covers only the data related to identity perception, and not voting behavior. The qualitative data gathering was done to by using archive documents for descriptive information about the city and by open-ended, face-to-face unstructured interviews with 41 participants composed of local administrators, representatives of political parties and non-governmental organizations and *mukhtars* (neighborhood administrators).

The first part of the article briefly introduces the city of Mersin and describes the historical, social, economic and demographic characteristics that lead to the cosmopolitan feature of the city in the Ottoman and Republic era. The following section discusses the processes in which cultural differences in the city lead to social tension, based on the research data.

Chair Mary Ann Walter

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Session 9b: Seminar 4

Thursday 7th July 16.30 – 18.00

Solidarity Difference and Theory II

John McSweeney, Independent Scholar

john.mcsweeney@yahoo.ie

Politics as Solidarity-in-Difference: Revisiting Sartre's *Critique*

The focus of post-Marxist conceptions of political act (e.g. Badiou, Žižek) upon the universal exception to the hegemony of globalised capital tends to leave much unexamined about the significance for politics of social and cultural difference. Indeed, there is a danger that the concern in these projects, to establish the universal significance of the particular (exception), subtly erodes the heterogeneity proper to a consistent notion of the “not All” of capital that grounds this conception of political act. Such elision of difference can be discerned, for instance, in Badiou's elimination of anything individual (that is, merely “animal”) from true political subjectivity (which is constituted by a being “seized” by the event), or in Žižek's idea that the only successful act is the one that radically alters the socio-political Symbolic order (different responses to a given act are significant only insofar as they mediate its universality).

This paper aims to extend the debate by attending to the dimension of an evental politics hinted at by Foucault's dictum, proposed in his final rethinking of the Iranian revolution, that in political acts “contact is not identity”: that a multiplicity of individual (negative) wills to freedom find common expression in traditions, concepts, symbols and objects, which to varying and (necessarily) limited degrees realise them. Taken together with the insights of Badiou on the event, in particular, this conception points to the possibility of a politics of solidarity-in-difference – difference both in the sense the differences between heterogeneous actors in collective political activity, and the becoming-other demanded by the event.

To develop these possibilities, the paper revisits Sartre's two-volume *Critique of Dialectical Reason*. Sartre's blending of existentialism and Marxism risks repeating the worst elements of Hegel's *Phenomenology* (e.g. a certain pre-structuralist ‘expressionism’, a retrospective construction of the historically particular as dialectically necessary). Nevertheless, it will be argued that his subtle analysis of self-constitution via alienation in what in the historical Other of the “practico-inert” together his attention to the dialectical inversions operative within such processes, provides a sophisticated framework within which to think such a politics of solidarity-in-difference.

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Paul Reynolds, Department of Social and Psychological Sciences, Edge Hill University

reynoldp@edgehill.ac.uk

Marxism, Difference, Solidarity: Some reflections on a materialist and historical rethinking

This paper presents some first reflections on a critical appraisal of the concepts of difference and solidarity in Marxist thought. Marxists have been much criticized in contemporary social and political theory for an apparent inability to theorise the significance and impact of difference – particularly difference in identity and difference in the constitution and constitutive agency of the political subject. Hence, notwithstanding importance work done on gender, ethnicity, sexuality and disability, for example, Marxists are generally held to either assert a class determination ‘in the last instance’ to the phenomena of identity politics and political movements and struggles, or to theorise difference as an epiphenomenon of processes, struggles and changes that are determined by class struggle and capitalist (imperial) development. On solidarity, critics have labeled Marxists preoccupied with class solidarity and its political articulations, and having difficulty in recognizing and incorporating solidarities on the basis of identity and difference in more than epiphenomenal form.

In this paper, I want to clear some of the conceptual group by making two sets of counter-claims. First, that Marxism is ontologically open to an appreciation of difference and of a more sophisticated understanding of solidarity – though there are critical questions as to how that is achieved. Second, that the beginnings of a Marxist theory of difference and solidarity involves a recognition of the importance of the materialist conception of history and class relations not as a socio-cultural but as an analytical construct as categorises by which we can begin to develop that sophistication and appreciation.

Chair: Scott Boyd

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Session 10: Seminar 2

Session left free for discussion (and possible second presentations).

This session is designed as a free space for delegates to meet and chat about papers that have been debated, or ideas that have emerged, or initiatives they are interested in thinking through with others. During the conference we will identify which rooms are available for delegates to use for this purpose.

Sometimes, at conferences, delegates give papers and find themselves with small audiences. We do not think this is a bad thing – sometimes small is more constructive than large. Nevertheless, this space might also be used on request by delegates who want to give a second presentation of their papers (only a maximum of four papers would be possible and they may not blend together in their pairings). If this occurs, again we will post notices and make announcements as to which presentations will be repeated on the day before

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Session 11: Seminar 4

Roundtable Plenary: Solidarity and Difference: Thinking Divided Communities

This session will be a concluding roundtable that will seek to draw out relevant themes and ideas from the conference papers and discussions. Three speakers chosen during the conference will be asked to 'lead off' this session with no more than 3 minutes of sharing one or two observations, before the floor is opened for group discussion. We hope that this will allow some reflection and drawing together of themes, strands and arguments from the conference (and perhaps set the agenda for next year)

Chair: Paul Reynolds

And **Closing Remarks:**

Scott Boyd and Paul Reynolds

Network Development Meeting

In the afternoon on Friday 8th, after lunch, there will be a network development meeting to explore how we can move this project and network forward. All delegates are welcome to attend. Scott and Paul will have a broad agenda, but the meeting is open for all and any contributions and ideas

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

Conference Outputs:

We anticipate two concrete outputs from this conference in addition to any initiatives or projects that arise from the conference:

1. It is anticipated that a proceedings volume with introduction will be produced shortly after the conference. This volume will be published under our own imprint or by **Cambridge Scholars Publishing**, if they approve our post-conference proposal. In either case the book will have an ISBN and be available to global booksellers via the expanded distribution channel for books. It will also be available through the largest online booksellers, such as Amazon. The following details should be considered:
 - a. All papers for inclusion in the proceedings should be submitted to the editors by **Monday 1st August 2011**.
 - b. There is no requirement for authors to submit their papers for the conference proceedings, but it is hoped that many will submit their papers. The appendix to the proceedings will give the conference programme.
 - c. The intention of the proceedings is to capture the intellectual debate at the conference, so papers should not be substantially redrafted but rather amended on the basis of reflection on the discussions at the conference (hence the short deadline).
 - d. Papers included in the conference proceedings can be submitted for publication elsewhere, but we would expect a credit for the conference and proceedings.
 - e. Papers should be submitted proofed and ready for editing into the larger manuscript. **The editors will not edit your paper for substantial corrections, language and other editorial weaknesses.** They will mainly give the papers a brief check, ensure all information required (such a biographies and revised [where necessary] abstracts are appended, and organise the volume. **Papers that are clearly of poor editorial standards may be excluded from the proceedings on those grounds.**
 - f. Papers should be delivered in rich text or word files, double spaced and referenced using the Harvard referencing system (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parentetical_referencing). There is no length restriction on papers but please bear in mind that a 20 minute conference paper is rarely more than 12-14 pages long, and there is no premium in longer protracted discussions in this volume.
 - g. The editorial team – and we suggest it should be a team – will have **vacancies for those interested in being involved. We welcome expressions of interest**, and will privilege in choosing the team younger researchers shoes positions might be enhanced by the experience and credit for editing the proceedings. The team will be led by a member of the conference organising team.
 - h. If the proceedings publication is published under our own imprint, it will be available from online booksellers near the end of **October 2011**. If it is published by Cambridge Scholars Publishing, it will be published 6 months after submission of the full manuscript (Spring 2012).

Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity

2. We are currently in negotiation with **Zed Books** for a thematic volume based on papers from the conference. Scott and Paul will take the lead in developing this book. **This is not a conference proceedings.** It will take its shape and content not from the highest quality papers but the best thematic 'fit of papers' to make a coherent book. If it is difficult to identify a coherent project, the proposal may not be submitted to Zed Books. It may include commissioned papers from outside the conference to enhance the thematic content, and we may ask authors to contribute variants of their papers that pick up on the relevant theme(s) of the volume.

We will not know what this text looks like until the end of the conference, when we will be able to have a sense of what themes and currents have emerged and how different papers have made different links. The timetable for production of the book is extremely tight, because we wish to have the book published in time for next year's conference! Therefore the timetable and details for this text are as follows:

1. All those who are selected for this collection will be contacted by **Wednesday 27th July**. If you have not received an e-mail from us by the 28th we regret we will not be including your paper in the collection (please remember that it is a question of the coherence of the collection that will determine inclusion)
2. Final drafts of papers must be with the editors by **Tuesday 30th August**. Authors will be asked to confirm that this is possible in the mail inviting participation, and there is little room for leeway on this date if we are to meet production schedules.
3. Final drafts of should be no more than 6000 words, be submitted in rich text or word files, double spaced and referenced using the Harvard referencing system (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parentetical_referencing).
4. Papers should be fully proofed. There may be a brief period in September when editors may be able to return to authors with any clarifying questions, but we intend to submit the manuscript before the end of September so such communication will be limited. We will reserve the right to make editorial amendments to papers or to remove papers from the collection if they do not meet appropriate editorial standards. These quality assurance caveats are necessary to ensure we have good standing with the publishers and the collection is submitted for publication in a timely manner.
5. The volume should be published in the **summer of 2012**.