Conference
Dynamics and Policies of Prejudice
from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-First Century
Sapienza University of Rome
Rome, June 23-24, 2016

Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia
Dipartimento di Scienze documentarie,
linguistico-filologiche e geografiche
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The conference venue
The conference venue is Sapienza University of Rome, Piazzale Aldo Moro 5, 00185 Rome, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, ground floor: AULA I, AULA II, AULA IV, AULA V. The information and registration desk (in front of Aula I) will be open on Thursday starting from 12:30 and Friday starting from 9:00.

The dinner will be held near the university at Casa dell’Aviatore, Viale dell’Università 20, 00185 Rome, on June 23, at 20:00. The coffee break (11:00-11:30), lunch (13:30-15:00) and a closing aperitivo (17:00-18:00) will be held on June 24, 2016, at the Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia.
Opening of the conference

June 23, 2016
15:00-16:30
Aula 1

**Eugenio Gaudio**, Rector of Sapienza University of Rome
**Giovanni Solimine**, Head of the Department of Documentary, Linguistic-Philological and Geographical Sciences
**Stefano Asperti**, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities
**Antonello Biagini**, President of Fondazione Sapienza

Key-note speakers:
**Charles A. Small**, Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy
**Ghebremariam Fikadu Mana**, Italian Red Cross
S. Worley  
The Politics of Love and Racism in the Romantic Colonial Novels Germaine de Staël, Lucien Bonaparte and Chateaubriand

M. Chkhartishvili  
Prejudice and Nationalistic Discourse: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Georgia

E. Tsertsvadze  
The State Against Itself: The Confessional Changes in the Upper House of the Hungarian Parliament Following the Reform of 1885

O. E. Iudean  
The Spread of European Racial Ideas to Greece in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century

F. Assimakopoulou  
Romanians and Hungarians in the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the End of the Nineteenth Century and the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: Alternative Political Projects

Sharon Worley (sharonworleyprofessor@gmail.com) teaches Humanities, Art History and English at area colleges in Houston, Texas. She is the author of numerous publications on art history, literature and culture, including Louise Stolberg’s Florentine Salon and Germaine de Staël’s Coppet Circle: Neoclassicism, Patronage and the Code of Freedom in Napoleonic Italy (Edwin Mellen Press 2014).

The Politics of Love and Racism in the Romantic Colonial Novels Germaine de Staël, Lucien Bonaparte and Chateaubriand

The romances among westerners and natives inspired the romantic imagination, but at the same time explored the reality of warring factions among tribes and colonists. The love-hate relationship responded directly to the social reality, on the one hand, and the fantasy of love and reconciliation, on the other. The inequities between colonial interloper and native subject were cast according to Enlightenment values which imposed reason and order on society. In their novellas about non-Western lovers, the authors of the Empire period in Europe projected their feelings of isolation and persecution onto their Indian and African characters. Hunted by the Napoleonic regime which refused to recognize the Enlightenment achievement of democracy, the authors Germaine de Staël, Chateaubriand and Lucien Bonaparte wrote stories about the colonial domains which vacillated between abolition and colonial empire. They contemplate the future of racial equality demanded by the French Revolution and the reality of exploitation in French domains.
Prejudice and Nationalistic Discourse: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Georgia

The aim of the presentation is to analyze prejudices in nation-building processes through the Georgian case study. The study takes into consideration the nineteenth century, the time when the Georgian modern nation had been formed. We use Georgian literary fiction as sources. This thematic focus as well as the choice of sources is relatively rare in Georgian scholarship. It is considered that literary fiction can provide little help to historical representation. However, for the present study the sources of this type are irreplaceable: fictional characters fully reflect the aspirations of real people for which they were created; authors’ attitudes also give us important evidence. Only a few nations are direct products of the modernization process. Most of them emerged on the ground of nationalisms that aim to build nations and maintain them. This purpose demands from nationalists to undertake certain intellectual preparations: to fuel discourses in which a very important place should belong to the elaboration of the topic concerning the others. National self-determination is accomplished against the others. The perception of others very often (if not always) is connected with prejudice. We study class prejudices and their conceptualization by Georgian nationalists leaders. The analysis of the dynamics of prejudices and nationalist policies can be used for revealing similarities as well as dissimilarities of the processes of nation-building in different historical environments.

The State Against Itself: The Confessional Changes in the Upper House of the Hungarian Parliament Following the Reform of 1885

The period of Dualism (1867–1918) witnessed the emergence of a concerted effort to modernize the national Hungarian state. The institutional relationship between the Budapest governments and the parliament, tasked with the accomplishment of this goal, did not always flow. One such instance of crisis – with repercussions not only on the political but also on the overlapping ethnical and confessional scale – was the reformation of the Upper Chamber of Parliament (Főrendiház), also known as the House of Magnates, undertaken in 1885. Previous studies concerned with the Hungarian Parliament have generally focused on the House of Representatives (Képviselőház), while those that have approached the reform of the House of Magnates have almost exclusively viewed it through the lens of the changes in the representation of the Hungarian aristocracy in the Upper House. The present study discusses the reform of the House of Magnates from the
perspective of its impact on the confessional landscape of this institution, within the context of the sinuous relationship between State and Church in the late nineteenth century. We will assess the effects of this reform upon the “privileged” position of the Catholic Church and on the representation of the Protestant churches viewed as “faithful to the government’s interests”, as well as on the inter-ethnical relationship between the monarchy’s Slavic, German, and Hungarian subjects. The reform law VII/1885 drastically reduced the number of rightful representatives of the Catholic Church in the Upper House and, for the first time since the Ausgleich, allowed for the representation of the Reformed, Evangelical and Unitarian churches. These changes, which would mark the parliamentary life in Budapest for the following three decades, gave rise to vehement reactions and secretive dealings between the high clergy and the Hungarian government, both of which will form the object of our study.

Fotini Assimakopoulou (fasimakop@ecd.uoa.gr) is a historian, specialized in nineteenth-century European history, associate professor of history at the University of Athens (Faculty of Education) and associated researcher at the Center of Neohellenic Studies of the Academy of Athens. She is a member of the team of the University of Athens for the authoring of school textbooks of history for the Muslim minority in Greek Thrace. Among her publications (in collaboration with S. Lionaraki) The Muslim minority of Thrace and the Greek-Turkish relations (Athens: Livanis, 2002).

The Spread of European Racial Ideas to Greece in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century

Gobineau’s Essai sur l’inégalité des races humaines (1853–55, 4 volumes), which develops the Arian myth and inaugurates nineteenth century literature about the inequality and hierarchy of the races, influenced and even inspired Greek scholars and thinkers of the nineteenth and twentieth century. Especially, the main idea of Gobineau’s racial theory about the degeneration and final decadence of European civilization due to continuous and inevitable racial mixtures preoccupied those scholars who, at a period when the borders of the new Greek state were being expanded, set the question “which is the future of Hellenism?” As early as in the nineteenth century, various publications addressed opinions about the racial origin of Greeks, positions about the “Arian” roots of the Greek nation and quests about the purity of the Greek race and the effects of miscegenation with other “barbarian” or “semibarbarian” races. Origins and creation myths, ancient history, and especially the study of language and history of Oriental nations, popular in the European intellectual world of the period, constituted the main sources of such problematic issues and debates. In this paper, we will present the spread of the European racial ideas in the Greek intellectual milieu of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century and the development of a local racial discourse.

Cornel Sigmirean (cezar_sigmirean@yahoo.com) is a professor at the “Petru Maior” University of Tîrgu Mureș, director of the “Gheorghe Șincai” Institute for Social and Humanistic Research, specialist in the history of Transylvanian Romanian elite formation.

Corneliu Cezar Sigmirean (cezarsigmirean@gmail.com) is a university lecturer at the “Petru Maior” University of Tîrgu Mureș.
Romanians and Hungarians in the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the End of the Nineteenth Century and the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: Alternative Political Projects

By the end of the nineteenth century, due to the radicalization of the national issue, every nation of the empire had constructed its own national project. The Hungarians, a privileged nation through the act of 1867, desired a state created on the political structures of Medieval Hungary with only one political nation: the Hungarian one. The Romanians, a part of them living in Transylvania and another part in Bucovina, wanted the federalization of the empire based on cultural and ethnic autonomous administrative structures. Both nations had as a common ground the desire of maintaining the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The idea of its dissolution appeared only in 1918 as a consequence of the defeats suffered during the war.

PANEL A2
Colonialism, Neocolonialism and Different Ways of Colonization
Room 4
Chair: Fabio L. Grassi

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Justine K. Collins (collins@rg.mpg.de), Bachelor of Law with Hons. (LLB) (2005) from Manchester Metropolitan University, and a Postgraduate Certificate in Commercial Law at Bristol University. She holds a Master degree (LLM) in International Financial Law at the University of Manchester in 2008 and a MA Dual degree between Sheffield University (Global Politics & Law) and Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan (Comparative International Private Law & East Asian Politics) (2013-2015). She completed a six-month orientation scholarship at the Max Planck Institute Of European Legal History Frankfurt and is now a doctoral student.

The Issue of Common Law’s Transference in the British West Indies 1700-1900
The peoples of the Commonwealth Caribbean (British West Indies) are inheritors of laws and legal systems fashioned by the British in the political and economic context of empire; illustrated by the unequivocal identity shared with English law and extant laws within those territories in the field of constitutional and public law. Firstly, this research endeavours to
examine the legal history of common law’s transplantation to the British West Indies through a comparative frame as well as the politico-economic conditions and legal environment which preceded and facilitated such legal transfers. Secondly, this research aims to determine how the legal transfer has promulgated constitutional models and laws prejudicial to the black majoritarian population even post slavery. The presentation will focus on how the British shaped the legal systems of the West Indian territories firstly in terms of slavery, then within the context of post emancipation society which ultimately became further complicated due to schisms in race, ethnicity, class and colour; exacerbated by the influx of South and East Asian indentured servants after emancipation, whom received less prejudicial and discriminatory treatment than their predecessors, the black populace. Notably the enactment of the Amelioration Act of 1798 had quite the impact on the legal make-up of the plantation societies and on constitutional arrangements. The extent of this impact and its diverse reverberations throughout the various British West Indian islands will be depicted and examined; ultimately revealing why Amelioration as an avenue to emancipation failed to live up to the purpose for which it was instituted.

Manuchar Guntsadze (m.guntsadze@gmail.com) is a senior scientific employee at the K. Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi, Georgia and a PhD student at the Faculty of Humanities, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. He holds a BA and MA from the Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University.

Prejudice as the Control Method of the Soviet Union (Example from the Modern History of Georgia)

The period of the first Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918-1921) is one of the most significant parts of Georgian history, but critical studies in Georgian scientific discourse about the First Georgian Democratic Republic took place from the 1990s of the twentieth century. In scientific research, one of the most important issues are the Georgian-Ossetian relations and conflicts. The conflict became rather complicated in 1920 that was suppressed by the Georgian army. According to the widely accepted opinion from the Soviet historiography, Valiko Jugheli (distinguished member for the leader party) was considered the head of the Georgian military operation. Based on various historical sources my research reveals new facts about the conflict. It became clear that Giorgi Kvinitadze (not Valiko Jugheli) was the figure who made decisions and led the army throughout the conflict. Twisting facts was quite usual for the Soviet regime. Prejudice against Menshevik Valiko Jugheli was a consequence of the Bolshevik politics that aimed to show the Menshevik leaders of the Democratic Republic of Georgia as enemies of the people who were raising conflicts between “brothers” (Georgians and Ossetians). In my presentation I intend to focus on the reasons and results of prejudices that were created and influenced by the Soviet regime.

Stefano Pelaggi (stefano.pelaggi@uniroma1.it) is aggregate professor of Development and Processes of Colonization and Decolonization at Sapienza University of Rome. He holds a PhD in History of Europe and his research activities concern post-colonial and migration studies, in particular the intersections between the dynamics of colonial expansion and migration flows. He has published several books, including Il colonialismo popolare. L'emigrazione e la tentazione espansionistica italiana in America Latina and L'altra Italia. Emigrazione storica e mobilità giovani a confronto, numerous articles in scientific journals and
contributions in edited volumes. He has been a visiting professor in many countries including Argentina and Myanmar and taught courses at various Italian universities.

“Lion of the Desert”. The Censored Film of Italian Colonialism between Revisionism and Denial

The film “Lion of the Desert” realized in 1980 by the American Syrian filmmaker Moustapha Al Akkad and funded by Gaddafi’s Libya is one of the most significant examples of the construction of national identity through a film made in the Middle East. The film has been strongly criticized in Italy, based mostly on alleged historical inaccuracies. The Italian censorship prevented the screening of the film until 2009, based on a lack of respect towards the Italian army’s actions. The research is based on the analysis of the criticisms of the film, in a debate aimed at finding a new interpretation of the Italian colonial period emerged in recent decades. The title of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak’s essay “Can the Subaltern Speak?” well describes the focal point that lies behind the Italian censorship. The possibility that a country like Libya has been able to produce a film made according to the canons of Hollywood, appears to violate that sacred space of production of intangible content that has always been a privileged territory of the colonizers.

Michał Wawrzonek (kmwawrzonek@gmail.com) is assistant professor at the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Poland. Author of the books, among which, Religion and Politics in Ukraine. The Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches as Elements of Ukraine’s Political System, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne 2014. He published articles in the East European Politics, Societies and Cultures, Journal of Ukrainian Studies. Area of interests: religion in the Ukrainian post-Soviet space, politics in Ukraine, Ukrainian political thought, Polish-Ukrainian and Russian-Ukrainian relationships from historical, social and cultural perspectives.

The Concept of “Russkiy Mir” as an Official Agenda for the Policies of Prejudice

The conception of the “russkiy mir” became an element of the agenda of Russian foreign policy – especially towards the so-called near abroad. The “russkiy mir” would be an independent separate space with its own, unique identity. In the frames of the concept of the “russkiy mir” an image of a community founded on national, ethnic and religious tolerance was created and promoted. Due to its “Orthodox” background a social practice in this community would be deprived of any kind of xenophobia and chauvinism. However, at the same time the whole system of prejudices and stereotypes concerning the “West” was deeply embedded into the structure of the message connected with the idea of the “russkiy mir”. The “West” appeared not only worse than the “russkiy mir” in general civilizational meaning. It is also presented as a source of danger for the “Orthodox communities” in the situation when they enter in too close relationships with each other. They would destroy an internal harmony of the “Orthodox community” and Ukraine would be an example of such „toxic“ interactions. According to the point of view imposed by the concept of the “russkiy mir”, the attempts to implement the West-European patterns into the practice of the “inherently” Orthodox Ukrainian society led to chaos and internal military conflict. The number of anti-Western prejudices has increased during the last years in the rhetoric of the promoters of the “Russkiy Mir”. The language used to promote the idea of the “orthodox community” became more and more aggressive. The concept of the “russkiy mir” is an excellent example of using the policies of prejudice in the attempts to gain charisma and authority in a post-Soviet society.
Ruhi Can Alkin (ruhicanalkin@gmail.com) is a research assistant at the Konya Necmettin Erbakan University, Sociology Department. He graduated from Selcuk University at the Sociology Department. After his MA education in Turkey, he completed his MSc education at the University of Southampton, Sociology and Social Policy Department as a government scholarship student. He entered the Selcuk University Sociology PhD programme in 2014. His main interest areas are Modernity and Postmodernity, colonialism and postcolonialism, sociology of religion, social policy in the EU region.

The Discourse of the “Syrian Crisis”: A Multi-Dimensional Discrimination of the Western World towards “Humanity”

“Evolution” in major social scientific literature is generally attributed to the development of humanity in a positive and straight way. In this long way, which is illustrated by the Western way of thinking, people do not only focus on their materialistic needs, but they reach to the top point in terms of idealistic and moral values by the effort of forerunners behind this progression. Such a naïve and epistemologically disproven picture cannot really illustrate the current situation in the world in terms of the recent developments in both material and ideal areas. If we focus on the case of the Syrian crisis, we may find many proofs that refute this glorified reality. Today, especially the Western World has been paradoxically ignoring the tragic situation that the Syrian people experience. Besides congratulating some of the countries that opened the gates for Syrian refugees/asylum-seekers or promising these countries to give some financial support, major Western countries, where the “sacred values” regarding humanity had been formed, are afraid of seeing even a couple of hundred Syrians inside their borders. That is why the leaders of the major countries of Europe frequently visit Turkey nowadays asking the Turkish leaders not to allow Syrian refugees to pass the Greek border. Such a “dangerous” situation, in fact, forms the discourse of the “Syrian crisis.” In my presentation, I will try to discuss paradoxical and insincere behaviours of the Western leaders and governments, which illustrate perhaps the most discriminative and exclusionist implementations in the twenty-first century.
M. Crapez | Literature, Racism and Anti-Semitism
M. Pellegrino | Jews in Russia between the end of the Empire and the Soviet Era. The Jewish Humor in Response to Discrimination
G. Motta | 10,000 Ways of Discriminating: Anti-Jewish Laws in Central-Eastern Europe in the Early Twentieth Century
P. A. Cavaliere | Italian Fascism and the Racial Laws of 1938: The Politics and Birth of Doctrinal Tragedy
F. Clara | Constrained Anti-Semitism? Nuances of Nazi Racist Discourse in Portugal

Marc Crapez ([contact@marccrapez.net](mailto:contact@marccrapez.net)) is a political scientist at Sophiapol (Paris-X). His ongoing studies are dealing with totalitarianism and the intellectuals on one hand and with argumentation and reasoning on the other. He published seven books, including Défense du bon sens ou la controverse du sens commun, L'antisémitisme de gauche au XIXe siècle, and La gauche réactionnaire. Mythes de la plèbe et de la race dans le sillage des Lumières. He also took part in the Dictionnaire du racisme (P.-A. Taguieff éd.) with a contribution entitled Literature, racism and anti-Semitism.

**Literature, Racism and Anti-Semitism**

It is a broad subject which can be addressed in two different ways. First, are literature and racism liable to co-exist? Second, is literature able to fight racism? Nowadays, Voltaire’s racism and anti-Semitism raise scandal. In the nineteenth century, some novelists showed signs of negrophobia. Alexandre Dumas fell victim of it. But it is mainly the Jews who bore the plight of hostility (Dostoyevsky in Russia, Dickens in England, Balzac and even Jules Verne in France). But not all the novelists were anti-Semitic. Those who spoke slightingly of Jews did so knowingly. They did not merely play the tune in the air, they took part. Anti-Semitism is seen in popular literature (Georges Darien’s pamphlets or poems by socialist deputy Clovis Hugues). Anti-Jewish fanatics (Maurice Barres, Louis-Ferdinand Celine, Knut Hamsun) are rarely expressing such an obsession in the Romanesque literary genre. By definition, anti-Semitism is not fair while literature cherishes the lights and shades. Literature portrays more complex characters than caricatures. In the US, segregation went on until the mid-twenties. The novelist Richard Wright tells about his experience as a black young man born in Mississippi. He had to face the lack of minimum courtesy, wanton bullying as well as the absurdity of “being hated for no reason”. America then refused to grant him the status of “real human being.” Two recent books invite reflection on the shoah: The Lost by Daniel Mendelsohn and Les Bienveillantes by Jonathan Littell. In fact, both approaches are quite complementary: if the angle may seem contradictory, the narration strength allows the reader to better know the reasons of the unspeakable. Thus, those stories are models of “comparative perspectives, innovative and original analyses as well as a multi-disciplinary approach.”
Manuela Pellegrino (manuela.pellegrino@unisalento.it) is associate professor of “Eastern Europe History” at University of Salento, since 2015. Researcher in “Eastern Europe History” at University of Salento, Lecce, Italy since 2001. Teaches “History of Russian culture and civilization”. Fields of interest: Russian and Russian-Soviet culture and History, Russia-Holy Seed relationships between the end of the Empire and the Soviet Era.

Jews in Russia between the end of the Empire and the Soviet Era. The Jewish Humor in Response to Discrimination

Christianized and “Lord’s Anointed” Russian tsars firmly believed that the whole tsarist system, Russian autocracy, Orthodoxy and Russian ethnicity were all one. In tsarist Russia, therefore, ethnicity and the profession of the Orthodox faith coincided. Hatred of the stranger, of someone different and of the one who does not embrace the Orthodox faith accompanied that concept and revealed itself once again in the Russian Empire during the reign of Nicholas II. This time it coincided with the Russian atavic hatred of the Jews, which derived from the autocratic and Orthodox vision that Nicholas inherits and shares. In Soviet Russia, religion was banned in the name of a secular state. Thus, the persecution of “the enemies of the people” was equally violent towards everything related to faith. Particularly violent were pogroms against Jews practiced with ferocity – during the years of the civil war – both by the Reds and the Whites, even if not only for religious reasons. These pogroms, in the wake of the persecutions to which the Jews had been periodically subjected in imperial Russia, confirm the intolerance of the new Soviet state towards an ethnic group that had placed so much hope in the advent of the proletarian revolution, that would finally guarantee equal rights to all. With the advent of the revolution, Jews thought, they would eventually become citizens like everyone else. Hence the adherence to the revolutionary movement of a large number of liberal Jews. The events of the next few years would have shown that those hopes were all in vain: anti-Semitism of tsarist era would find new life. To outline the relations between Jews and Soviet-Russian power in this context of racial hatred particularly interesting is the phenomenon of “Jewish funny stories” that fits into the tradition of Russian anekdot and finds fertile ground even in dramatic Soviet times. In the case of the Jews who live in Soviet Russia, in fact, it serves to reveal the brutality, the contradictions, the vices, the authoritarian drift of an egalitarian ideal towards a totalitarian regime that eliminates everything that is considered opposition or hindrance. Many Jews of Russia have responded very subtly to ethnic persecution, revealing, through a very special way – the Jewish joke – even amongst the sufferings and horrors to which they were once again subject, the utopia of the Soviet myth.

Giuseppe Motta (giuseppe.motta@uniroma1.it) is assistant professor of Eastern European History at Sapienza University of Roma. He is the author of many articles and books, including Central-Eastern European Minorities after WW1, 2 vols, Newcastle 2013.

10.000 Ways of Discriminating: Anti-Jewish Laws in Central-Eastern Europe in the Early Twentieth Century

The paper is focused on the different legal measures that were carried out in the first decades of the twentieth century in Eastern Europe in countries such as Russia and Romania. The analysis of these dispositions shows the great variety of laws that were directly or indirectly aimed to discriminate the Jews in many different countries, especially in the context of the new nation-states that were created by the Versailles peace treaties. Anti-Jewish legislation, thus, became quite common in many Eastern European countries,
where anti-Semitic agitations marked the years around the First World War and paved the way for the Nazi persecution of German Jews, culminating in the massacres of World War II.

Patrick Anthony Cavaliere (pcavaliere@laurentian.ca) holds a D.Phil. from the University of Oxford where he completed his studies as a Commonwealth Doctoral Fellow in Modern European History and Law at Oriel College under the direction of Denis Mack Smith of All Souls College. He has held positions at the University of Bologna, Yale University, the University of Toronto, Osgoode Hall Law School, the University of New Brunswick, and has worked for several years as both special assistant to the President of the Italian Constitutional Court and political attaché to the Italian Minister of European Affairs in Rome, Italy. In addition to teaching undergraduate and graduate courses in Modern European History and Historical Methodology at Laurentian University, where he is professor of History, Dr. Cavaliere also teaches at the University of Rome Sapienza, where he is adjunct professor of History with the Department of Languages for Public Policy in the Faculty of Political Sciences. He has published extensively in the field of Italian Fascist criminal justice, and has received numerous awards and fellowships for his contributions.

**Italian Fascism and the Racial Laws of 1938: The Politics and Birth of Doctrinal Tragedy**

The principal object of this paper is to present a political and intellectual history of anti-Semitism in Fascist Italy in the period surrounding the drafting and application of the Racial Laws of 1938. Central to the work is the thesis that Fascist anti-Semitism was a unique functional synthesis of neo-Hegelian idealism and an organic national constitutionalism that had matured in Italy during the first decades of the twentieth century, and, certainly, long before the racism of Nazi Germany made its appearance on the Italian political scene in the late 1930s by way of the Rome-Berlin Axis. The work argues specifically that Fascist anti-Semitism was a complex ideological mix that can be best understood by coming to terms with Fascism’s philosophical doctrines on the nation-state, and, perhaps more importantly, by coming to terms with the concerted political effort the Fascist state itself made in placing constitutional strategies in defense of the race at the very heart of Fascism’s domestic political agenda. The study claims that it is essential to transcend the generally accepted view of “imported cuttings of a mystical and biological racism”. Instead, greater emphasis must be placed on the political pressures Italian Fascism imposed on its doctrinal rationale to fulfill its functional and organizational vision of Italy as a kind of “national race cradle”, where the “integral, organic State”, as the “sovereign personality and conscious will of the Nation”, could act as the vehicle of race formation, as the manager of its constituent elements, and, ultimately, as the guardian of its long-term survival. With few exceptions, contemporary historians have inadequately assessed the political and intellectual history of Fascist anti-Semitism, and, as a consequence, it remains almost entirely misunderstood. For many writers, Fascist anti-Semitism, like many other aspects of the twenty-year dictatorship, represented a unique parenthesis in the development of the modern Italian state, a product of individual and collective perversity and moral disability, and, in the extreme, a historic anomaly which was the illegitimate offspring of one man’s crude political ambition. At times, Fascist anti-Semitism is also cited by these same writers as evidence that Fascism itself held no firm doctrinal commitments, and that its postures, at any specific juncture, were almost always a function of its immediate political interests and objectives. Fascist anti-Semitism, this thesis maintains, was a foreign importation, an ideological encumbrance, and a catastrophic misadventure that stemmed almost exclusively from Mussolini’s
primitive instincts as both plagiarist and political opportunist. Neo-Fascist apologists, ironically enough, have also used many of these same arguments to dispel what they now conveniently term the “doctrinal myths” of Fascist anti-Semitism. When forced to explain the racial theories and policies of the regime, neo-Fascists have invariably argued that it represented nothing more than a theoretical degeneracy, a philosophical excrescence for which Hitler and the “biological determinism” of German National Socialism were uniquely responsible. Clearly, scholarship in the field has addressed itself only peripherally to the intellectual history of Fascist anti-Semitism, and it has been conducted under the burden of preliminary assumptions that have led to a serious neglect of its explicit ideology. To be sure, several eminent scholars have treated the general phenomenon of Fascist racism with intellectual vigor and moral detachment, and there have been numerous important studies chronicling the persecution, rescue, and survival of Italian Jews during the Holocaust. Nevertheless, almost all of these have broadly focused attention on “Mussolini and the Jewish Question” or “Italians and Final Solution” and neglected the much more specific issue of Fascist anti-Semitism as a complex and systematic intellectual product that held significant “prescriptive value” for the Italian State and its constitutional order in the period between the two World Wars. There is in contemporary Italian historiography, in other words, no substantive treatment of Fascist anti-Semitism as a reasoned belief system, and, as a consequence, no adequate exposition of its political and constitutional significance to the relations between Italian Jews and non-Jews during the regime’s final years of tension and crisis. The proposed paper, therefore, which relies heavily on hitherto unexplored archives only recently declassified by Italian authorities, hopes to serve as both an important corrective and supplement to that already available in the literature.

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Constrained Anti-Semitism? Nuances of Nazi Racist Discourse in Portugal

The ideological core of the Nazi regime rests upon a racist pseudo-scientific theory. In an international political and diplomatic framework that theory was to become potentially problematic since it asserted the uniqueness and superiority of the German “Aryan” population to all other peoples and nations. Several institutions of the Nazi regime, especially those working in the field of international relations (the Foreign Office, Cultural Institutes etc.), soon realized the problems brought forth by such an ideology and adopted differentiated views of it, adapting these views to the nations, populations and governments they dealt with. The paper attempts to analyze the specific constraints of German racial discourse in Portugal, a Southern European and colonial country, which was by that time ruled by a neutral and yet German friendly regime. Nazi racial discourse had therefore to be adapted to a local complex setting, consisting of white (southern) Europeans, black and other colored peoples of mixed ethnic origins, and where the Jewish community played a not at all neglectable role in the financial, political and educational milieus.
Discrimination and Mistrust: Hungarian-Romanian Mutual Reprisals in Transylvania during WWII

The Second Vienna Award, signed on 30 August 1940, was the second of the two territorial disputes arbitrated by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. It reassigned the territory of Northern Transylvania to Hungary, leaving more than one million Romanians within the new Hungarian borders. The Magyar population welcomed the Hungarian administration and regarded the separation from Romania as liberation, while the large ethnic Romanian community that found themselves under Hungarian occupation had nothing to celebrate. Entering the awarded territory, the Hungarian Army committed acts of violence against the Romanian population. The retreat of the Romanian army was also not free from incidents, mostly consisting of damaging the infrastructure and destroying public documents. In the following period, both sides were engaged in a series of mutual reprisals, which involved civilians and that in some cases led to armed clashes between military units of the two countries becoming a serious problem for the governments in Rome and Berlin. These incidents are accurately recorded in the documentation of the German-Italian Officers
Commissions to Transylvania, based in Cluj and Brașov, which according to the articles of the Second Vienna Award had the task of supervising the application of the treaty and the respect for minority rights.

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Little is known of the relationship between the anti-colonial movement in Cyprus and the role of the Greek-Cypriot press. The lack of prior work is a major obstacle and a challenge for communication, media and/or social movements’ researchers who have no empirical knowledge-base on which to found contemporary studies. The archival material is vast, while at the same time the researcher is confronted with various problems, such as the choice of methodology and testimonials. In a bid to address this absence, this paper presents the preliminary findings of a study dealing with the Liberation Movement of Cyprus (EOKA) and how this was depicted through the Greek-Cypriot newspaper O Phileleftheros.

The period under study is 1957 to 1960, which is when the EOKA movement was active. Based on a content analysis, this study investigates the position of O Phileleftheros newspaper at that time and aims to present the level of policy towards the liberation movement. The study finds that O Phileleftheros newspaper had its own political approach (agenda – settings), framework (framing) and mediation. Preliminary findings suggest that the Greek-Cypriot press under the colonial regime presented the liberation and the “enosis” movement more in its news-articles-reports and less in opinion articles and commentaries. The study further reveals that journalists’ articles were mostly unsigned. These observations illustrate that one consequence of the politically explosive situation in Cyprus was that journalists were reluctant to take sides for or against the leaders of the liberation movement.

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**Political Prejudices and Ethnic Conflicts: The Case of Georgia**

Modern Georgian society is characterized by ethnic diversity. In certain cases the interaction of ethnic minorities with the titular nation created an obstacle for Georgia’s peaceful development as an independent state. Despite the measures undertaken permanently and insistently by the Georgian political leadership, the conflicts are very far from settling. The involvement of international organizations in these conflicts has not given any concrete success. This situation finds its reflection in the narrative according to which the sides of these conflicts are not able to solve problems connected with important geopolitical challenges. The perceptions about the negative role of Russia are fueled by the actual historical experience of Georgians from the times of the tsars’ and Soviet Russia’s rules in Georgia and the last years’ Russian military aggressions against independent Georgia. In our paper we provide an analysis of Georgian sources, in particular, of the historiographical work by Georgian historian Vakhushti Bagration (eighteenth century) *The Description of
Georgian Kingdom and conclude that the abovementioned view on Russia as an only negative factor in these conflict is misleading and actually represent political prejudice. The interrelations between Georgians and ethnic minorities resided in Georgia are more complicated and should be analyzed in a wider context of identity development through the lens of the we/others dichotomy.

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Pride and Prejudice in the Southern Caucasus. The Cultural Basis of the Clash over Nagorno Karabakh

The war between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno Karabakh was fought in 1992-1994 and resulted in the protracted military occupation of the Azerbaijani region by the Armenian military force of the self-proclaimed secessionist republic. Ever since, the conflict did never really ceased as the two sides confronted on the so-called contact line where clashes ensued. The conflict continued either military or politically by the irreconcilable positions of the two contestants. Armenia and the Armenian government of the self-proclaimed NKAO republic did not renounce the idea of independence while Azerbaijan was ready to negotiate forms of autonomy excluding independence. The conflict then politically stalemated for two decades. The two states suffered extensively during the war and the conflict shaped the political and social development of the two post Soviet republics. The purpose of this research is the analysis of the cultural roots of the ethnic war, dating back to the mid-80s. Those years the perestroika and the collapse of the Soviet Union influenced nationalist claims in the Caucasian republics. As the crisis of the Soviet system became more vivid, nationalistic tensions escalated in the Soviet republics. Intellectuals and academics sided with the nationalistic demands coming from the public opinion and were embedded in the cultural and political conflict. Historians from the both sides tried to use historiography to demonstrate that Nagorno Karabakh “belonged” to one side or another, with historical reasons to claim sovereignty. Both sides denied that the opponent had any right to claim the possession of Nagorno Karabakh and was historically insignificant. An historical chasm occurred between historians and the political agenda prevailed over scientific research. The political and military conflict was anticipated by a cultural clash. Prejudice and the deceptive use of sources became guidelines of this “cultural” debate.
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The End of the “Long Romance”. The Image of Greece in Italy between the Two World Wars

Once the time of great ideals and mutual solidarity of the Italian unification came to an end, the Italian-Greek relationship deteriorated as a result of the different international political-diplomatic scene and because of the mutual strategic interest, e.g. the issue of the Dodecanese. The issues related to the different order in Central and East-Central Europe after World War II intensified the conflict between the two countries (e.g. the presence of the Italian Army in Anatolia). In August 1923, during Fascism, these strained relations resulted in the murder of the members of the Italian delegation led by General Enrico Tellini and appointed by the League of Nations to mark the boundaries between Greece and Albania. Italian government reacted to it by bombing Corfu and stationing its army divisions in the island. The gradual improvement of the relations between Italy and Greece defined by the Treaty of Friendship in 1928 was followed by the cultural and economic expansionism under the Mussolini regime, as a token of the aggression against Greece in October 1940, in an area considered to be crucial for foreign policy together with the Danubian area. The present essay aims at analyzing the decline of the firm and enduring image of the “sister nations” in the eyes of the countries of the two Mediterranean shores, to outline the change in the perception of the image of Greece, which was gradually deteriorating, by the Italian political journalism and historiography during the period between the two world wars.
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**Youth and Prejudices in the Twenty-First Century: A Field Research on Symbolic Areas that Effect the Perceptions of Youth Towards “Other” — The Case of Turkey**

Even though identity, which could be defined as something that makes people who they are and appears as indications, properties and features that belong to humans, is based on common language, geography, and history; it is also a special form of connection with the “other”. By this relationship, identity makes someone or a nation dissimilar to other ones, so it makes individuals or societies unique by means of identifying the “other”. From this point forth, although “othering” is an important point in forming our identity, it is also a remarkable process in feeding our prejudices. Especially, when the discussions on living together in the twenty-first century occupy the social scientific agenda, at the same time, prejudices that are affected by many symbolic factors become much more invisible. These symbols that are differentiated among societies can be observed in some areas such as dressing formats and bodily images, ethnic background and religious beliefs and rituals, etc.

In this current presentation, by considering the theoretical background above, the prejudices on the view of “other” among Turkish youth will be explored by referring to the notions that keep symbolic expressions. The findings of a qualitative study, which is based on in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted among twenty-four young people aged between eighteen and twenty-five, who belong to different ethnic, religious, cultural and social background, will be discussed. Especially, the interview questions asked to participants about the “others” (who are not similar to them) are expected to reflect the prejudices of participants in terms of the symbols and symbolic expressions such as flag, scarf, ethnicity, tattoo, etc. By bringing this research up for discussion in this international conference, it is expected both “illustrating the prejudices of today’s youth in specific to Turkish society” and “providing academics from different countries a chance to make comparison among different cases about prejudices and youth in the twenty-first century”.

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Media Bias toward Women in Politics and Gender Discrimination

Media coverage tends to disadvantage female politicians and perpetuate gender discrimination in substantial ways. My research is based on a comprehensive content analysis of the two most relevant Italian political weekly magazines *L’Espresso* and *Panorama*, during the fourth center-right Berlusconi government (2008-2011) and the current center-left Renzi government (in office since February 2014). Even if the female proportion among ministers has reached 50 percent in the current center-left government led by Matteo Renzi, the findings from empirical research confirm that the Italian press still reinforces the implicit link between political power and male leadership. Coverage of female ministers is focused more on personal traits, less on issues. While male politicians’ private sphere is scarcely scrutinized and often represented as an extension of their power (properties, family business, influential relationships, etc.), the media tend to overemphasize female ministers’ looks and private life at the expense of more substantial aspects of their political actions. The celebritization of politics allows younger female politicians to be popular, but they are often represented as being uninfluential or like a decorative accessory, as subtly suggests *L’Espresso*, that makes extensive use of younger women ministers’ photographs without mentioning them in the articles they are associated with. Indeed, photographs of male politicians are usually strictly related to their statements or political actions as mentioned in the articles. The media are actually perpetuating some key stereotypes regarding women’s appearance and female subordinate roles. Also when women politicians succeed, it is viewed more as a fortuitous event (such as having some special male mentor) than something earned in recognition of specific merits or competences. During the Renzi government, female ministers’ power and influence appear not to be so different from that in Berlusconi’s era. Media still use gendered metaphors as maidservants, master’s chicks, fairies, maids sultan to the detriment of female politicians to implicitly reaffirm that power and leadership historically have been almost the exclusive domain of men.

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The “Other” in the Far-Right Political Discourse and the Migrant Crisis in Central and South-Eastern Europe

The aim of the paper is to analyze the evolution and the shifting of the image of the menace of the “Other” in the far-right political discourse in three countries in Central and South-Eastern Europe: Bulgaria, Hungary, and Slovakia. Based on a comparative analysis of the policy of three political parties – *Jobbik* in Hungary, *Ataka* in Bulgaria and *Kotleba – Ľudová Strana Naše Slovensko* in Slovakia – the paper focuses on the recurring images and clichés in the discourse of these political parties from a historical perspective and connect it with the current migration crisis. The paper will define various images of the “Other” in political discourse, minorities, Jews, Roma, immigrants, Muslim and find analogues and stereotypes between them. Within this perspective, the aim is to analyze the strategy of scapegoating, economic welfare chauvinism, that emphasizes competition with immigrants for jobs and state assistance, and the argument of cultural incompatibility, which defines immigrant population incompatible with Western values, and prone to crime and terrorism.
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**Russia and Italy Today (2016): Fantasies and Prejudices Compared**

This paper is focused on the mutual cultural prejudices between Russia and Italy, from a standpoint of today’s social custom. Negative and positive biases, that exist for historical reasons or have emerged in recent times will be presented, providing a snapshot on the current situation. A new increase in contacts between Italy and Russia has grown since the early 2000s, thanks to trade agreements, intensified diplomatic relations and the development of tourism (especially Russian) at both mass and elite proportions. A greater presence of citizens of the Federation on the territory of the peninsula is granting a wider knowledge of Russia by the population. It appeared in the Italian collective consciousness a gradual layering of generalizations, phobias and prejudices of different value, against the Muscovite people, its social classes and its best-known exponents. Stereotypes that preceded the fall of the Iron Curtain, although still not extinct, gave way to new impressions. To give just one example, Russians are no longer seen only as distant and dire chauvinists of the Soviet ideology, poor people and drinkers of vodka. By the Italian point of view now they are often expected to be rich managers, interested in luxury and in all sorts of fun, with an attitude to exaggeration and ostentation. After registering the changes in the Italian public opinion on Russian individuals, this speech will give prevalence to the image of Italy and Italians in Russia, a concept that is still relatively unknown to Italians themselves, being sometimes a source of wonder. That, because Russians know Italy much better than how Italians know Russia, although it is a fantasized and imaginative Italy, filtered by what has been received and perceived at home, through art, film and music, even more than literature and politics, especially since the 80s and with the Gorbacëvian glasnost’.

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Identity without Prejudice Versus Identity Interwoven with Prejudices

There is only one kind of identity without prejudices that, consequently, does not generate them. This is the univocal identity. It includes everything unknowingly and, in this condition, it releases only itself in the outside, with no possibility to be listened, understood or translated. But also another kind of identity exists: it comes from the individual, collective and historical identity and from all the prejudices, that grow inside everyone of those experiences. This identity acts at a social level, in support or in contrast to the background of believes, knowledge, social practices, which are free identities’ founding structures. The difference between these two types of identity imposes an ethic stance on their different values. Prejudice, as a social life dimension, is the space where this stance can be produced. Prejudice can not only precede the judgement, but it can also constitute the starting point for a free creation of an identity adequate to reality. If we are able to assess them, to overcome or abandon them as illusions, prejudices can become an exercise for a meaning’s grammar, that can bring to “in-flux images” of private and public experiences.

The Connotations of Prejudice and its Systematization

Prejudice can be defined as the horizon of meaning containing the cognitive schemes of the individual and is culturally connotated in it. As such, prejudice does not have a unique format and, therefore, cannot be delimited exhaustively. This, primarily, because it is made from two types of features. The first consists of neutral elements that are required to operate in a sphere of shared sense and makes accessible the interaction. The second type is characterized by stereotypical elements, belonging to a standardized collective perception. These elements, while allowing humans to work more quickly, attenuate the acuteness of the experience and limit the discovery of the new, as they imply a reductive action negating the progress. On this perspective, Francis Bacon theorized the Idols, the deceptive specters, that is mistakes that can confuse the mind in search of the truth (Novum Organum, 1620). Starting from this approach, modern sciences focused on the relationship between prejudice and the sense of identity. Specifically, on a liminal plan between sociology and social psychology we find the systematization of social identity made by the European psychologist Henri Tajfel. The role that the social exerts on cognitive processes becomes a central theme of the European social psychology from the late 1960s: in contrast to the reductionism of the American schools, it is concentrated on the individual and on the intrapersonal processes that reach and are affected by the social dimension. In this sense the
contribution of Tajfel is considered as the first specific systematization and formalization of
social identity and its relationship with preconception.

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Mann (Mimesis, 2010) and Il rischio dell’identità. Etica e comunicazione nella web society
(Mimesis, 2015).

Media, Prejudice, Identity: The Role of Narrative Practices from an Ethical Perspective

The paper deals with the dynamics of construction and communication of collective
identities in the media, particularly on the Web, and stresses two different aspects of the
narrative practices within this context: 1) the pseudo-narrations, that is, the production of
imagined communities, the radicalization of the differences and the reproduction of false
prejudices; 2) the communicative narration promoting the relation and communication of
the otherness through the cognitive and relational experience. Medial experience influences
our social perception, and therefore interferes with the perception of an individual and
collective identity. In the global context, people and social groups construct their identity
with mediated symbolic materials (Thompson, 1995). Identity is not just represented, but is
rather constructed in the media, and then it results unanchored to traditional social bonds
and situated contexts (Marramao, 2009). The construction of identity incurs to a medial
reduction that, on the one hand, simplifies its characterization and, on the other hand,
simplifies even the boundaries of its differentiation, which are actually reinforced. This
process can produce a radicalization of the differentiations and conflicts and facilitates the
formation of prejudices, because the differentiation is more relevant than the relationship
and communication. Medial and extra-medial narrative practices of identity can therefore
successfully intervene in these dynamics. Starting from different perspectives within the
contemporary debate of moral philosophy (Ricoeur, 1990, 1983-85; Diamond, 1988;
Nussbaum, 1995), the paper will focus on how the narrative practice allows the transition
from identitary construction, which is unrelated to the complex social context, to the
relational openness. Narrative communication can thus express the genesis and rootedness of
identity in a specific social and cultural context. The narrative communication of identity
and experience can therefore overcome false beliefs and prejudices. In conclusion, the main
aim of the paper is to show how the narrative capability is a fundamental competence
(Nussbaum, 2010) in the global structured media context.

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**Bullying at Work: An Organizational Virus. A Comparative Study of its Prevalence in two Southern-European Countries: Italy and Spain**

According to the definition of Einarsen and Raines (1997) mobbing is defined as a situation where one or more persons persistently over a period of time, perceive themselves to be on the receiving end of negative actions from one or several others in a situation where the victim has difficulties defending himself against these actions. The purpose of this study is to examine the prevalence rate of workplace bullying in a sample of Italian and Spanish employees, and its differential consequences on employees’ job satisfaction and psychological well-being. The effects of workplace bullying on job satisfaction and psychological well-being were explored taking into account a contextualized approach. A cross-sectional study was adopted, in which a sample of 1,151 employees in Italy and 705 in Spain completed a questionnaire. We hypothesized that the relationship between exposure to bullying behaviors and psychological well-being is mediated by job satisfaction, and that this simple mediation model is moderated by the country (moderated mediation). Results suggest that no particular differences exist in bullying prevalence among Spanish and Italian employees. However, we found scientific confirmation of our hypothesized moderated mediation model. Despite the limitations of the sample studied, findings capture contextual differences in the bullying phenomenon, which may have several implications for further research in this domain, as well as for designing interventions to deal with workplace bullying. Although this study explores bullying in different cultural contexts without investigating specific cultural values, it establishes the roots to assess workplace bullying from a contextualized perspective.

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**The Offence of the Group’s Dignity Through the Denial of Genocide and Crimes against Humanity**

The author deals with the legal conditions requested by the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) to criminalize and punish, in a democratic society, the denials of genocide and crimes against humanity, as expressions that offend a group’s dignity. Human group dignity, according to the ECHR, is protected also preventing offences to the reputations of a human group’s ancestors and safeguarding the group memory. Particularly, if the group has
suffered atrocities, genocide and crimes against humanity, perpetrated by an enemy group, denying these facts causes an offence because the group feels them as part of its identity. The paper will explain the rule of Article 10 of the European Convention of Human Rights (Freedom of Expression), as interpreted by the ECHR and the conditions that permit an interference with freedom of expression, when the discourse consists in denying a genocide or other atrocities. The court accepts that the group dignity is protected by Article 8 of the convention (Right to respect for private and family life) and that an interference in the freedom of expression is permitted to defend, inter alia, the “rights of the others”, individuals or human groups. Nevertheless, the interference in the freedom of expression is permitted, in a democratic society, only if the discourse is a form of “hate speech”, that constitutes a direct incitement to commit violence against the group and its members. The paper will analyze, above all, the Leading Case Perinçek v. Switzerland, Application n. 27510/08, 15 October 2015, about Armenian genocide’s denial.

11:30-13:30
SESSION C

PANEL C1
The Impact of Prejudice in Geopolitical Strategies
Room 2
Chair: Daniel Pommier

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Evanthia Balla (evanthia.balla@gmail.com) is a university professor and a scientific researcher at Observare - Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa and the Instituto Jurídico Portucalense - Universidade Portucalense (Porto) and a regular columnist at the Portuguese newspaper O Jornal Económico (OJE). She has taught various courses at university level (European Union Law, Theory of International Relations and International Responsibility) and has been publishing thoroughly at national and international journals. She is the author of the book (2015) The transatlantic security dilemma after 9/11: lessons from Britain: the role of Tony Blair, Paris, Nota de Rodapé. She has been a consultant and researcher on EU
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first degree in Political Science and Public Administrations from the University of Athens.

Europe’s Prejudices and Security Threats

Today, Europe faces a plethora of security threats, different in nature, cause and treatment,
such as its economic downturn, the rise of the Islamic State and its terrorist operations on
European soil, the spread of European jihadists, Europe’s refugee crisis, Russia’s aggressive
policy, the war in neighbouring Ukraine, and the rise of nationalistic and xenophobic forces
inside Europe itself. This dangerous situation has not only put at risk the key European
values of solidarity, trust and unity among member states, but also the European project
itself. But, what was the European project in the twentieth century and what is different
today and why? How are race, ethnicity, and xenophobia related in Europe? The study of
these problematic issues that have represented a constant factor in European and world
history, the evaluation of unity, solidarity and integration and the links between the past
and the present contribute to a better understanding of Europe’s current challenges and
better solutions to its impasses. The current work argues that Europe, still under
construction and in search of a new path and identity, needs to rethink itself and accept a
new notion of power. Europe lost its relative relevance, and the processes that used to be
controlled and led by it during recent centuries are now subject to different rules and
models. The European Union has the potential to make a major contribution, both in dealing
with the dangers and in helping realise new opportunities. An active and capable European
Union would make an impact on a global scale. In doing so, it would contribute to an
effective multilateral system leading to a fairer, safer and more united world.

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reference UID/CPO/04155/2013”.

Revaz Gvelesiani (revaz.gvelesiani@tsu.ge) is an acting member of Ivane Javakhishvili
Tbilisi State University since 1986. He is the head of the Economic Policy Division and the
director of the Georgian German Institute for Economic Education and Economic Policy
Research. He has greatly contributed to the development of economic sciences in Georgia.
He has published hundred and twenty five research papers on the topics of overcoming the
resistance in the economic hierarchical structure of societies, on the conduct of the effective
and rational economic policies and on establishing and developing a new cultural mode of
entrepreneurship.

Economic Ways for the Solution of the Territorial Conflicts in Georgia (Abkhazia, South
Ossetia)

The crisis in Abkhazia and South Ossetia might be considered as the rightful consequence of
economic and political tensions between Russia and Georgia. The current status quo on the
one hand does not enable Georgia to extend the constitutional order into the breakaway
territories, but on the other hand Russia did not achieve until now the worldwide
recognition of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, because the international community detains
strongly the territorial integrity of Georgia and demands a peaceful solution of the conflict
within the internationally recognized state borders of Georgia. Such reality had brought the
conflict solution to an impasse. We consider the following economic measures as potential
outcomes for this situation: the participation of the international community including Russia and the EU should contribute to restore the credibility between all parts of the conflict with the precondition of territorial unity and sovereignty of Georgia. Under the umbrella of the international community the start of a direct dialogue between the Georgian central government and the regions about the return of refugees might be considered as a significant contribution to the human capital which is needed for the recovery of regional economies. The economic mechanisms discussed in this article play a key role in the peaceful solution of the territorial conflicts in Georgia (Abkhazia, South Ossetia) and might be intensified by all participants.

Merab Khokhobaia (merabi@yahoo.com) is assistant professor at Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Faculty of Economics and Business, Tourism and Hospitality Management Department. His main research interests are economics, tourism, management, human resource management in the tourism and hospitality industry. He is the author of scientific papers published in international journals.

The Role of Economic Cooperation in Conflict Transformation (The Case of the South Caucasus Region)
The South Caucasus region can become a competitive region on the world market, which is determined on one hand by the geographical location, given the relevance of the South Caucasus as a transit corridor between Asia and Europe and on the other hand by the rich cultural heritage of the region. Economic cooperation is especially sensitive towards conflicts and political instability. There are a number of challenges in the region from this perspective. Unfortunately conflict zones prevent a stable development of countries. The conflicts in the South Caucasus have remained unresolved for many years. In this paper, we discuss the role of economic cooperation in conflict transformation which can play a significant role in peaceful cohabitation, development and changes. In our opinion, to achieve close cooperation, collaboration is required, which will give opportunities to formulate the visions for conflict transformation, an important task through the prism of economic cooperation between conflict parties. Within the framework of the research we summarize our findings and develop recommendations.

Alexander Tsurtsumia (a.tsurtsumia@hotmail.com) Phd thesis in Political Science (2003). In 2007-2008 he took part in the Lane Kirkland Scholarship Programme (Poland, Marie Curie-Sklodowska University, Lublin). From 2008 he is an assistant professor at the Political Science Department of the Tbilisi State University, lecturing courses in world politics and geopolitics. Research interests: international relations, geopolitics, globalization, regional politics, international organizations.

The Main Phases of Geopolitical Changes in the Arab-Israeli Confrontation
One of the most politically active regions in the world was and still remains the Middle East, due to geopolitical and economic interests. In the Cold War period, the Arab-Israeli confrontation had three main phases, which are connected with the three main conflicts. Rich energy resources of the Middle East (oil and natural gas) are the main factor of importance of this region. In the Arab-Israeli conflict, besides the main ethnic factor, not less important factor is water resource. The first phase of geopolitical changes was the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, the resistance of the League of Arab States to the decision of the UN on the division of the territory of Palestine and the creation of the Israeli state became one of the main causes of conflict. Due to war more than 800 000 thousand of Jews living in the Arab
countries became refugees and about 600,000 thousand Arabs left the Arab territories occupied by Israel. As a result of war Israel occupied western Jerusalem and the most part of the Arab territories, except the Gaza Strip, the west bank of the Jordan river. The second phase of geopolitical changes (6 Day War, 1967) was very important for Israel from the strategic point of view. The Arab coalition lost: Sinai Peninsula, Gaza Strip (Egypt), Golan Heights (Syria), West Bank and Jerusalem (Jordan). In 1973 Israel lost control over the Sinai Peninsula and Gaza Strip, but saved control over the Golan Heights. Later, there were several conflicts without important geopolitical changes. After the Camp David Accords and the signed agreement Egypt remained the only country among Arab ones which has established diplomatic relations with Israel. Until our days stays the political situation in the Middle East is critical and several super powers, such as the USA, Russia and the EU, have their interests in the region.

__Ana-Maria Gajdo (agajdo@yahoo.com) holds a BA in Psychosociology (1996) at the Faculty of Psychosociology - National Academy of Informations “Mihai Viteazul” (Bucharest) and a MA in Elites, Culture and European Construction (2013), at Faculty of Sciences and Letters, University “Petru Maior” (Târgu-Mureș). She is a PhD student at Sapienza University of Rome (Italy) with a thesis related to the Arab Spring.

**Copts and Power in Egypt, Before and After the Arab Spring**

Copts in Egypt constitute the largest Christian community in the Middle East and the largest religious minority in the region, representing according to some authors, about 10 percent of the Egyptian population. Other studies show that the Christian population is 5.3 percent (4.3 million out of 80 million). Being a minority, the Copts have often been victims of discrimination in the modern history of Egypt and have been attacked by Islamic extremist groups. The Arab Spring in Egypt did not have religious slogans. During the Revolution of 2011 boundaries between Muslims and Copts have been deleted: Muslims guarded churches, while Copts formed safety human chains around Muslims praying at the Tahrir Square. But the Arab Spring meant an “Islamic awakening”: Islamist forces, such as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, have polarized most of the votes in the first elections held in post-Mubarak Egypt. During the Muslim Brotherhood rule, the Copts and their churches have been subjected to attacks. As a result of the Second Revolution of 2013, or the coup—as Islamists called it—the Muslim Brotherhood and President Morsi were ousted by the military. General Sisi then became the president of Egypt. He owes his political success also to the Christian population, that supported him, because of measures taken against the Muslim Brotherhood—currently outlawed—as a terrorist movement. Sisi was the first Egyptian president who attended the Coptic Christmas Mass, in order to send a clear message: Copts are part of the history, present and future of Egypt. However, the Copts continue to be targets of extremist Islamic groups: in February 2015, in Libya, the rebel and terrorist group Islamic State aired a video with the execution of twenty-one Egyptians Copts. This paper aims to examine the relationship between the Coptic population in Egypt and power, before and after the Arab Spring.
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Mihaela Mehedinţi-Beiean ([mihaela.mehedinti@yahoo.com](mailto:mihaela.mehedinti@yahoo.com)) young researcher in the field of history at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania and a member of the team of a research grant that tackles the complex process of building modern identities in Transylvania during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Ph.D. thesis Romansians between northern Europe and northern Asia. Nordic and Russian travellers’ notes on the Romanian people (17th-19th centuries).

**The Role of Stereotypes in the Consolidation of National Unity. Queen Marie as “The Most Excellent Ambassador of the Just Romanian Cause”**

The First World War completely reshaped the map of the European continent. For Romanians the end of the conflagration brought about the possibility of uniting within the borders of a single state, although they had previously lived as part of three different political entities, namely the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Romanian Kingdom and Russia. Thus, after December 1918 Transylvanians, Wallachians, Moldavians and Bessarabians could speak with one voice: “Long live Greater Romania!” Within this context, the shift in Transylvanians’ allegiance was based on a few relevant elements, some of which had fully manifested themselves in the course of the world conflict that had just ended. As this study will demonstrate, Queen Marie and particularly her image in the press represented such factors that strengthened loyalty towards the Romanian dynasty. Her devotion to looking after the wounded soldiers throughout the war, as well as her part in the recognition of the Great Union by the Paris Peace Conference ensured the gratitude and respect of all Romanians, irrespective of the province they inhabited. Using as sources a series of Romanian periodicals published in Transylvania in 1918 and 1919, the present study’s aim is to depict the manner in which the Romanian sovereign was perceived by her newly acquired subjects immediately after the world war ended, with a specific focus on the stereotypes and clichés through which she was characterised. Hence, references to Queen
Marie as the “mother of the wounded” (and, by extension, of the entire nation) and as an ambassador of the Romanian national ideals are analysed within a framework that allows for the estimation of the role played by the Transylvanian press in engendering national unity after 1918 and in conveying certain images of the Romanian monarchs to the general public.

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Emilia Sheudzhen, Sheudzhen Aemilia Ayubovna PHd, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor at the Adyg State University, Russian Federation, Maykop.

The North Caucasus: “Native – Alien” (Metamorphoses and Transformation of Consciousness)

For historical reasons and specific geopolitical circumstances, Russia has been evolving into a multinational type of power and the southern frontiers represent areas of particular concern in this respect. Both voluntary and coercive territory acquisition methods used to be integrally woven into the overall geopolitical stabilization process, taking place within Eurasia over many centuries and causing inevitable inter-ethnic tensions and clashes, which have been echoing back at us until this very day. Even though the Russian historiography sticks to the point of view that the state system was found not on suppression but rather on a political compromise, any attempts to create a “homogeneous empire” would invariably come in conflict with the established tradition of coexistence of the peoples in multi-ethnic enclaves, to which, in particular, the North Caucasus used to belong, thus resulting in subsequent arising of tensions of ethnic and political nature. Changes in the external situation and social conditions led to the emergence of new values, beliefs, or to the modification of old ones, which could not but manifest themselves in the field of ethnic relations. The ongoing metamorphosis stems from the complex process of struggle between consciousness (awareness) and traditional views plus dominant feelings. The “special identity” of contact-prone areas could not but be influenced by the environment’s natural and geographical aspects: whereas the coastal territories of the North-Western Caucasus have since ancient times materialized into “rendezvous points” of the Greeks with the so-called barbarian world, the mountain areas went on to actually remain inaccessible to outer influence up until the nineteenth century, being enclaves of “natives” rejecting any contacts with “aliens”. The development of navigation and the exploration of the Black Sea led to the increase in the number of contacts of mainly one-sided interest only: while local tribes presented interest from the ethnographic point of view only, their lands were associated solely with a kind of raw material base designed for the improvement of trade. The surviving sources (records of travelers and missionaries, verbal traditions of the Circassians) are illustrative of the type of mutual interest at question. Both indigenous peoples and strangers were perceived as “different” based on criteria of different appearance, manners, and behavior. Along with the aggravation of confrontation the “different” would turn into hostile “aliens”, posing a threat to the traditional frame of life. It should be added that it was true not only about the Russian soldiers, officers, and Cossacks, but also about mountaineers that would come in contact with “aliens”: ethnic affiliation to “natives” would only further promote alienation of this group of population. When trying to challenge ethnic tensions and conflicts, special significance is taken on by addressing the problems of historical
memory, which testifies to the stability of ethnic communities and preservation of latent types of contradictions in the “native - alien construct.”

Jovana Šaljić (jovanasaljic@yahoo.co.uk) graduated from the Department of Turkish language and literature at the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade in 2004. Works at the Institute of History in Belgrade since 2005. From 2007 until 2012 worked as a part-time assistant at the Faculty of Philology (teaching Introduction to Ottoman Turkish language I and II). Published numerous papers on subject of Muslim societies, their history, tradition and customs on the Balkan peninsula in the 19. and the beginning of the 20th century.

From the Turkish Religion to the Muslim Nation: The Case of Bosnian Muslims, Serbo-Croatian Literary Influences and the Austro-Hungarian Government
In addition to the European and non-European societies with their own cultural, social and religious patterns and historical traditions, there are also societies who found themselves in the middle. That is, among others, the case with the Muslim societies of the European area, torn between their own European origin and values and deeply rooted Islamic tradition. One of those societies are also Muslims of the South Slavic area, especially those of the Slavic origin, language and customs, who, with the withdrawal of the Ottoman-Turkish administration from the Balkan peninsula in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, found themselves in a dilemma – the West or the East, the nation or the religion. While trying to lead them to the decision, Serbian and Croatian intellectual elites began with the general cultural, political and social project known as “the nationalization of Muslims”, considering this population to be a part of their own national being connected to it by a common language and ethnical background. Since Muslims of the Slavic origin lived mostly in Bosnia and Herzegovina which from 1878 was under the Austro-Hungarian authorities that tried to create, by their own means, an integrated nation named “Bosniaks”, and since political activities from any other side but Austro-Hungarian were forbidden at that time in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Serbian and the Croatian sides carried out their breakthrough towards Muslims primarily through culture, especially literature and literary magazines. Although Serbo-Croatian literature in the second half of the nineteenth century played a significant role in national efforts among Bosnian Muslims, at the end, religion prevailed as a crucial factor in shaping the national identity of the majority of the South Slavic Muslims.

Giulia Capacci (giulia.capacci@gmail.com) is a PhD candidate in sociology at the University of Bologna, Department of Sociology and Business Law. Her thesis’ main focus is the influence of the Catholic Church on the discursive construction of reproductive rights in the Polish press, as well as on the laws concerning them. Her other research interests are the discursive construction of identity, both national and otherwise, especially in connection to migration, stereotyping and/or genderization. She has a Laurea Magistrale in International and Diplomatic Sciences at the University of Bologna, Campus of Forlì, and a Master of Arts in Identity, Culture and Power in Eastern Europe at the School of Slavonic and Easter European Studies, University College of London.

The Discursive Construction of Reproductive Rights in Poland: Anti-Abortionism, “True Polishness” and State legitimation
The peculiarity of Polish history led to religion, Church, and national identity being closely intertwined and mutually reinforcing. In the eighteenth century, during the partitions, when Poland disappeared from the map of Europe, this led to a connection in the public discourse between nation and family, linking reproduction to national survival and turning maternity
into a political action. The iconic figure of the “Matka Polka” (Polish Mother) was born. This in turn led to a strong genderization of roles, relegating women to the private arena and minimizing their participation in the public sphere. A pro-natalist attitude equating pro-life position to true “Polishness” thus characterized the country also after this period, during the (re)construction of the state and the definition of its core values, in what scholars have termed a “benign patriarchy”. After the collapse of Communism, the narrative regained its validity and it somewhat still stands. According to international NGOs’ reports, women are underrepresented in the public sphere, both in politics and in the media, and this subordinate position is supported and perpetuated by textbooks and education. The depiction of women as belonging to a domestic sphere goes hand in hand with their consideration as first and foremost mothers – or potentially so. Abortion is said to threaten national survival and pro-choice groups, feminist movements, and minority voices on the topic are variously excluded from the public discourse. This is particularly clear when considering press representation on the issue: the main narrative is of “heroic motherhood” and the language used is imbalanced towards pro-life semantics, whose terminology has now spread outside the specific issue to define more general concepts. This constitutes a language “blockade” impeding the participation of minority voices to the public discourse.

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Heritage of Fear: The Sèvres Syndrome, Turkishness and Othering
Identity-building processes require exclusiveness, besides the categories of belonging, which paint the profile of the self-Turkishness and Islam in the case of Turkey, an equally important role is reserved to the categories of alterity, respectively to the non-Muslim and non-Turkish elements. Othering is a necessary precondition for asserting exclusive Turkishness, while the fear of division and the traumatic memory of the Treaty of Sèvres ensure the exclusion of minorities from the identity sphere and nurture paranoia. In this climate of distrust those who express or display their belonging to other groups than the Turkish-Muslim or stand for minority rights and tolerance are labelled as bölücü (separatists), whether we talk about groups that resort to violence like the PKK, or non-violent human rights activists. When discussing both about the effects and historical roots of the Sèvres syndrome, foreign politics, and subjects like Turkey’s euroscepticism, in close relation with minority rights and policies are primarily considered. Without neglecting this issues, the paper focuses on the identity dimension of the Sèvres syndrome, highlighting the way it has contributed to defining and building Turkishness by distinguishing it from the doubtful Otherness, arguing, in the meantime, that even though the so-called disease has exceeded its historical boundaries and threats, it is still alive in the collective consciousness triggering fear and suspicion in relation with the others and preserving the exclusive definition of Turkish identity.
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Biljana Vučetić (biljana.vucetic@yahoo.com) is a research associate at the Institute of History, Belgrade. She obtained her doctorate in history with the thesis American Progressivism and Serbia at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. She is engaged on a project Europe and the Serbs (1804 – 1918): Impetuses and Temptations of the European Modernism at the Institute of History. Her research focuses on the history of Balkan peoples, Macedonian question, history of the Serbs in the Ottoman Empire, modern US political and social history, as well as on Serbian – American relations in the Progressive Era.

**Serbian Policy in the Macedonian Question**

The intellectual history of the Macedonian question was tightly intertwined with political issues. Serbian relations with the Slavs from Macedonia date since the Serbian Revolution (1804–1815) and working on the liberation from the Ottoman rule. Serbia showed political interest in Macedonia at the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, i.e. in the year 1844 with the publication of Načertanije, the first state’s program of foreign policy. At the very end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, the main feature of Serbian policy towards Macedonia was to claim Serbia’s rights to the territories between Belgrade and Thessaloniki. The evidence was performed in historicism, geography, ethnography, linguistics, philology and economy. The main ideological justification of Serbian request was based on the historical right, because it was a territory which comprised the medieval Serbian state, with monasteries and endowments. In these efforts, the Serbian and the Bulgarian propaganda entered into conflict, with the latter having been in the lead for a long time thanks to the existence of Bulgarian Exarchate and the support of Russia. The first success of the Serbian national propaganda in Macedonia was when teachers from Serbia were allowed to teach in the Ottoman Empire. After the Ilinden Uprising in 1903, the Kingdom of Serbia’s policy changed its course from the work on propaganda issues to the revolutionary methods. Therefore, the Macedonian question came into the very focus of Serbian daily politics and culminated during the Balkan Wars 1912–1913.
Petra Hamerli (hamerli.petra@gmail.com) is a PhD student at the University of Pécs (Hungary) and at the Sapienza University of Rome (Italy). Her main research area is the history of the Italian–Hungarian relations in the interwar period, but she is also familiar with the Vatican’s Diplomacy during these decades. An important chapter of this topic is the support given to the Macedonian and Croatian separatists by Hungary and Italy.

Ethnic Separatism in Yugoslavia: The Activity of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) in the Interwar Period

During the late 1800s the Macedonian territory belonged to the weakening Ottoman Empire. As it was a strategically important land, four states – Bulgaria, Greece, Romania and Serbia – claimed it. This led to the foundation of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) in 1893, which aimed at the independence of Macedonia, with a Bulgarian seat. After the First World War the Macedonian territory remained between the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (from 1929 named Yugoslavia), Greece and Bulgaria, so the separatist aspirations of the IMRO continued until 1934, when the Bulgarian government officially dissolved the organization. The separatist activity of the IMRO became radical in the mid 1920s, when terror acts were committed by the Macedonians, which were executed mainly in the Yugoslavian state’s territory. That is why the leaders of the IMRO were welcomed by the politicians of those states which had been interested in the dissolution of Yugoslavia. These states, namely Hungary and Italy, considered the IMRO as a possible instrument for weakening Yugoslavia, which was an obstacle to the realization of their political ambitions, so they both got in touch with the IMRO in 1927, and supported the Macedonian propaganda for separatism. Nevertheless it could not be forgotten that the IMRO was a terrorist group with inner conflicts. The Macedonians were trying to gain the independence of Macedonia in two different ways which led to political assassinations within the organization.

Blerina Sadik (s.blerina@ymail.com) graduated at the University of New York in Tirana majoring International Relations and Political Science. She is following her doctoral studies in International Law with a dissertation on the Chameria Issue. She also lectured International Relations at the University of Aleksander Moisiu, Durres, Albania.

Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey: The role of Chams

A convention on population exchange between Greece and Turkey was signed after the Treaty of Lausanne. Despite a few exemptions, it implied the exchange of the respective inhabitants on religious basis, i.e. Orthodox Turkish nationals had to be displaced to Greece and Muslim Greek nationals to Turkey. After the Greek annexation of a vast part of Chameria’s region, the Chams became an Albanian minority within the Greek state. Most of the Chams were Muslims, therefore they were directly included in the implementation of this agreement. The Greek government used Chams’ properties to accommodate the arriving population from Turkey. Despite their efforts for exclusion from this process, not only because of their Albanian ethnic identity, but also because of their status of autochthony, many Chams were forced to leave their land and be transferred to Turkey, also as a result of other assimilation policies of the newly formed Greek nation-state. The right of being compensated for the abandoned properties was not fulfilled due to the agrarian reform of Greece. By the other side, Albanian government’s representatives sought to protect Chams’ rights not only at the League of Nations, but also at the Greek government. The latter’s representatives expressed their support to Chams’ rights several times, but the situation on the ground was the opposite, apart from short periods of time as occurred in
1926 were Chams’ rights were recognized for the first time internationally, by the Greek representative Dendramis, at the League of Nations. At the end of the exchange process, the Cham Muslim population was considerably reduced, while the agreement between Greece and Turkey was accomplished.

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Vladan Jovanović (vladanjovanovic@gmail.com) is a senior research fellow at the Institute for the Recent History of Serbia in Belgrade. He graduated history (1995) from the Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade University, and obtained his MA (2000) and PhD (2010) degrees from the same university. His main research interests focus on the integration of the formerly Ottoman territories of Macedonia and Kosovo into the Yugoslav state. He has published numerous articles, books and book chapters.

Tailed Savages Attack from Behind: Anthropological Stereotypes about Albanians in Serbian/Yugoslav Public Discourse

In the years of struggle for the Ottoman territorial heritage in the Balkans, there was an overproduction of Serbian pseudo-scientific publications, intended to deny civilizational maturity of Albanians, and thus their right to have their own state. Pointing out the anthropological “defects” of Albanians was envisaged primarily for the international public and the Great Powers. In fact, it was a kind of intellectual support for the six-month Serbian military operation in northern Albania 1912/13, aimed at occupation of the Albanian seacoast. The most striking work of this kind was the book of a Serbian doctor and politician Vladan Djordjevic in which he revived the mythical patterns of Albanian “savagery” and backwardness, created by several Germanic anthropologists in the mid-nineteenth century. The legend of people with long tails, living in caves, was a cultural construct easily acceptable among the racists and chauvinists for a long time. Malicious remarks on the “evolution flaws” of the Albanian people concern their physiological characteristics, customary laws (vendetta), propensity for robbery and murder, as well as their common traits (treachery, mendacity, brutality, etc.). Such a crude stereotype creation was supported by Serbian traditional allies (Russian consuls in Kosovo, for instance) who used to present Albanians as “animals with human faces“. The prejudice survived as an indispensable part of the Yugoslav public discourse, both in the monarchist and socialist period, amplifying the levels of ethnic and social segregation. It was a solid basis for abusing the stereotypes in the years of disintegration of Yugoslavia and the (re)establishment of nationalist regimes in Serbia, when the idea of collective uniqueness, racial superiority and supremacy of the Serbian nation over Albanian has been restored. The persistent image of the “Albanian barbarism” still remains a favorite motif of ruling political ideologies, but is also a part of the collective notion on the hated archenemy.

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Aleksandra Kolaković (kolakovicaleksandra@gmail.com), PhD, is a historian, research assistant at the Institute for Political Studies, Belgrade, Serbia. Main areas of academic interest: intellectual history, history of ideas, cultural institutions and the press. She was a scholarship holder of the Fund for Young Talents of Republic of Serbia (2005) and the Government of the Republic of France (2010). She is the author of several scholarly works.

Petar Matić is a PhD candidate, politicologist, research assistant at the Institute for Political Studies, Belgrade, Serbia. Petar’s main areas of academic interest are international politics, public management and administration, institutionalism, conflict studies etc. He is also an assistant and a member of the Council of the Center for International Policy, Faculty of Political Science. He is the author of several scholarly works.
Between the East and West: Perceptions of Otherness in Serbian Society

During the history of its statehood, Serbia was faced, on several occasions, with the challenges concerning the preservation of its independence, search for foreign policy support, the nation’s path toward integration and further economic, social and cultural development. A significant issue that emerged in this context is that of perceptions about its orientation – Eastern (Orthodox–Russian) and Western (Anglo-Saxon, European). Foreign policy reorientation, border changes, wars, migrations, ethnic strife, transition processes and supranational integrations that have been ongoing since 1804 until today, all exerted their influence on the creation of Serbian perceptions of the great powers (Russia, United States of America, Great Britain, France China). This paper, based on the notion of the other, which lies at the heart of intercultural communication and is linked to identity, sheds light onto attitudes to the East and the West in the Serbian society. The objective is to examine how social constructs arise and persist, based on the case of Serbian society’s attitude toward the Eastern and the Western cultural models manifested in images created about their states and the understanding of the context of their policies in the Balkans. The primary method to be used in this paper in order to illuminate the Serbian society’s views of the East and the West will be a historical one. Social conflicts and divisions arising from perceptions of others within the Serbian society will be studied through a structural method. Serbian public’s expectations are viewed through the lens of confrontation and cooperation among great powers and the perception of the position of Serbia and Serbs in international relations. Through historical examples and an analysis of Serbia’s contemporary position regarding the West, personified in the European Union, on the one hand and the East, on the other, embodied by Russia, or, more recently, also by China, the authors aim to elucidate the construction of stereotyped notions and attitudes (clichés, platitudes and generalisations in everyday discourse) in the Serbian society about the “others”. The specific goal is to capture the elements that influence attitude-building and change.
15:00-17:00
SESSION D

PANEL D1
Responses to Discrimination
Room 2
Chair: Francesca R. Lenzi

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<td>Issues Regarding Solutions to the Communist Experiment in the Context of Transformational Economic Policy (with Reference to Georgia)</td>
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<td>C. Montefusco</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Political and Media Discourse over the Verdicts of Karadžić and Šešelj</td>
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Alessandro Pistecchia (alessandro.pistecchia@gmail.com) is an expert of the National Office against Racial Discrimination: Presidency of the Council of Ministers. He holds a Ph.D. in History of Europe and is a teaching assistant at the Chair of History of Eastern Europe, at Sapienza University of Rome. He has taught and made research studies at the University of Cluj Napoca and is the author of monographs and essays in the field of anthropology and the history of the Roma population. He coordinates social inclusion projects, with a focus on educational training.

**Strategies and Tools for Fighting Discrimination and Hate Speech toward “Ethnic” Minorities in Italy**

The aim of the paper is to give an overview of the recent history of antidiscrimination measures and strategies in Italy, including the recent development and increase of hate speech towards vulnerable people and minority groups. By analyzing tools and methods to improve the situation of victims of prejudice and discrimination it will be possible to investigate the contradictions and links between the migration/refugee crisis, political debates/propaganda and hate speech tendencies.
Tijana Morača (tijana.moraca@uniroma1.it) a second-year doctoral student at the Faculty of Political Science, Sociology and Communication at Sapienza University of Rome working on a topic of post-socialist civil society in present day Serbia. She had worked in civil society organisations for ten years, managing national and international projects in domains of youth policy, social inclusion, civil society capacity building, etc.

**Discrimination and Social Exclusion through the Civil Society Project Framework: A Case of a Civil Society Project for Roma Inclusion in Serbia**

Few notions have been used more often when referring to the postconflict societies of former Yugoslavia than those of prejudice, xenophobia and discrimination. They form part of the dominant “register”, alongside with totalitarianism, nationalism, populism, for thinking and talking about past ethnic conflicts and present social relations. As such, they are entangled with specific policy prescriptions about what transitional societies should strive to fight prejudice and discrimination by means of democratization, good governance, civil society and with political choices through which this vision is to be accomplished Euro Atlantic integration. Starting from this critical perspective, I look at the specific case of one international civil society project in present day Serbia addressing discrimination and social exclusion of the Roma community. Drawing on the findings from the first several months of fieldwork, I analyse how the expertise about the present disadvantageous situation of Roma and possible solutions is created. Specifically, I look at how policy models are translated into everyday life of the project, how success of the project is produced and how some of the contradictions inherent in the system of international aid are reconciled. Understanding expertise as a constructed assemblage of knowledge, I observe the interaction and negotiation of project partners Roma community leaders, project managers from Belgrade, partners from “local communities”, consultants, foreign donor, etc. I contend that a focus on the civil society project framework can provide valuable insight into the currently dominant ways in which notions of discrimination and prejudice are conceptualized and circulated through their translation into the world of policies and project solutions. Further, this may help us better understand whether and to what extent the social injustice can be remedied through “depolitisized” framework of international aid and professional civil society.


**Issues Regarding Solutions to the Communist Experiment in the Context of Transformational Economic Policy (with Reference to Georgia)**

In 1989-91 as a result of the dramatic collapse of the Soviet Union, new independent states arose, in the majority of which the economic policy is still being transformed. At the time, the revitalization of Georgia’s sovereignty and admission of its state system necessitated the replacement of the old economic system with a new one, in particular, the replacement of the imperious and administrative system with a society oriented market economy. The research aims at studying the consequences of the seventy-year-long communist experiment that, due to positive economic policy, affected the development of independent Georgia’s economy; to detect problems and systematize them in order to find solutions and make suggestions for a normative economic policy. Research goals: analysis and critical
assessment of the framework conditions of the economic order in the communist experiment; identification of problematic areas in dealing with the consequences of the communist experiment in the context of transformational economic policy in independent Georgia; recommendations for the rationalization of the economic policy. The theoretical and methodological fundaments include communist and post-communist science fiction economics, documents, reports and statistics and experimental evaluation provided by the government, international organizations and non-governmental bodies. For instance, to analyze the transformation processes, we will, on the one hand, be using the Bertelsmann Transformation Index (BTI) which assesses the quality of democracy within a legal state and socially responsible market economy; also, consequences of carrying out reform related political ideas, and on the other hand, the Freedom House Democracy Index, the Human Development Index (HDI) and the Global Competitiveness Index (GCI). Throughout the research we will be using logic, analysis and synthesis, inductive and deductive, grouping, statistical and chronological methods. The results of the research reflect the effects of the communist experiment on basic social values (liberty, equality and safety), which contempararily hinder successful development of transformational economy policy in Georgia.

Cristina Montefusco (cpm@hotmail.com) is a migration policy specialist, PhD candidate in Juridical Sciences at the Università di Roma Tre.

Discrimination, Racism and Social Exclusion of the Roma Minority in Our Societies: How the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) is Contributing to Their Protection in Europe

The work intends to focus on the situation of Roma in Europe highlighting how the biggest minority of our continent is victim of severe discrimination. More specifically, it intends to examine the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) case law, and its significant contribution to the improvement of Roma’s treatment.

Anida Sokol (anida.sokol@uniroma1.it) is a research fellow at the Sapienza University of Rome. She holds a PhD in History of Europe and her main research interests are language and memory politics in the Yugoslav successor states.

Political and Media Discourse over the Verdicts of Karadžić and Šešelj

On March 24—more than two decades after the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia—the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) found Radovan Karadžić, the former president of the Republika Srpska, guilty of war crimes and sentenced him to forty years of imprisonment. The following week, on March 31, the ICTY acquitted on all accounts Vojislav Šešelj, the founder and president of the far-right Serbian Radical Party. These two events had a huge impact on the whole formed Yugoslav region arousing harsh reactions and debates and demonstrating that national issues and ethnic tensions in the Balkans are far from being resolved. The aim of this paper is to analyze the public discourse in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other Yugoslav successor states over the verdicts of Karadžić and Šešelj in the period of March 24-31, 2016.
M. Turkot  
*Why Historian Deals with Prejudice?: Contribution to the Annales School and its Critics*

G. Pastori  
*Prejudice and Stereotypes. Forms in the Narrative of Western and Non-Western Violence*

F. P. Duarte  
*Cybercommunication as a Jihadi Strategic Tool*

Z. Petrović  
*Born To Learn, Taught To Hate – Children As The Most Vulnerable Victims Of Prejudice*

R. Lajmi  
*The Evolution of Discriminatory Language from the Twentieth to the Twenty-first Century as a Manifestation of Prejudice: The Case of the Tunisian Woman*

Marta Joanna Turkot ([martaturkot@gmail.com](mailto:martaturkot@gmail.com)) holds a MA in history (2011 University of Warsaw) and a MA in philosophy (2010 UAM). In June 2016 she plans to obtain the title of Doctor of Humanities in the field of political philosophy at the Institute of Philosophy of the University of Warsaw. In 2014, she was on the research exchange, having the status of a Visiting Professor at the Catholic University of America in Washington DC.  

**Why Historian Deals with Prejudice?: Contribution to the Annales School and its Critics**

In the speech I wonder about the circumstances of making the category of prejudice a subject of historical research. Prejudice as a category of the study of history belongs to the history of mentality. I consider how in the last century, the approach of historians to study the history have changed towards the study of history of mentality and in this case, prejudice. I base my considerations on the phenomenon of the Annales School and its critics. They provide a forum for the exchange of ideas and vision of historical researches. As a result, I answer the question of whether prejudice is the historical category that enables us for brighter and deeper recognition of the twentieth century history, in particular the causes of the Second World War? Or is it a category which obscures the research on history, blurry, complicating rather than explanatory, non-scientific, contrary to what historical research aspires to. Finally, I try to defend the hypothesis that the recognition of prejudice as a category of history has brought a unique, positive effects for the study and understanding of modern history, especially political history, history of wars causes, as well as the history of customs and mentality changes affecting the courses of history. In the study I compare the proposals put forward by historians working in the second half of the twentieth century, belonging to the Annales School, and postmodernists, as well as supporters of the “microstoria” and “Alltagsgesichte” approaches. In the speech I use the method of comparative analysis, comparing these concepts in order to extract the value of the category of prejudice for a deeper understanding of modern history.

Gianluca Pastori ([gianluca.pastori@unicatt.it](mailto:gianluca.pastori@unicatt.it)) PhD, is adjunct professor of the history of political relations between North America and Europe, Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan. Among his publications: *Steel and

Prejudice and Stereotypes. Forms in the Narrative of Western and Non-Western Violence

Weapons and their usage play an essential role in shaping the image of friends and foes. In the late nineteenth/early twentieth century, in Europe, the “cold steel” of the bayonet steadily grew to epitomize both the “cold blood” of Western soldiers and the élan allowing them to gain the upper hand in battle by the sheer strength of their spirit. On the other hand, in colonial discourse (but not only there), knives and daggers, in their different forms and declinations, emerged as key elements to represent and symbolize the savagery and inherent treacherousness of enemies and opponents. This myth proved long lasting. At the beginning of the First World War, the “grammar of the bayonet” was one of the main military narratives, often used to legitimize the adoption of close rank formations responding to far more “prosaic” needs; first of all, to compensate the poor quality of troops and/or of their training. Conversely, stabbing, beheading and other similar ways of killing through the use of hedged or cutting weapons even today remain one of the main traits of a “barbarous” and “un-human” behaviour; the “trademark” of an equally “barbarous” and “un-human” foe. The aim of the paper is putting this process into context, shedding light onto some of its aspects. More specifically, the paper focuses on the emergence of the long lasting “myth of the bayonet” and on the cultural bifurcation that led to the symbolic differentiation from its non-Western homologues. In this perspective, it is worth noting that the equation “cold steel=cold blood’ imposes in an age of pre-eminently long-distance engagements, becoming, in many tactical manuals, a sort of moral antidote to what is perceived as a too much mechanized and “dehumanized” way of waging war.

Felipe Pathé Duarte (felipepatheduarte@gmail.com) is assistant professor at the Higher Institute of Police Sciences and Internal Security (Lisbon), and consultant/researcher at VisionWare (for SOCMINT and Geopolitical analysis). He holds a PhD and a MA in Political Science and International Relations (Security and Defence) by the Institute of Political Studies of the Catholic University of Portugal, and he graduated in Philosophy at the University of Coimbra. Felipe was a research fellow at the Oxford University (St. Antony’s College) and at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington DC. Felipe is a researcher in the OBSERVARE, of the Autonomous University of Lisbon. He has published in national and international scientific journals. In 2007, he published his first book, on post-Cold War Terrorism (“No Crepúsculo da Razão – Considerações Sobre o Terrorismo Pós-Guerra Fria”; Ed. Prefácio). In September 2015 he published the second, “Global Jihadism: from Words to Deeds” (Ed. Marcador), on jihadi strategic thinking.

Cybercommunication as a Jihadi Strategic Tool

The “Islamic State” (IS) took communication and the spread of information as essential to its strategy. Cyber platforms appear as a tool for both external and internal communication. The IS has in its structure a sophisticated content production unit, critical to internal and external communication. In parallel to the concept of jihad, which involves the use of violence, is the dawah, which literally means proselytizing. For jihadis this is equivalent to the
information spectrum used to propagate the message and convince Muslims to reject Western values and “apostate” regimes, that can range from traditional predications by imams in mosques to multimedia formats distributed on-line. Cyber communication, more than a component, also becomes a basis for new jihadi self-assembled emerging structures. Note that communication is here understood as kinetic operations, rather than information operations. For jihadis there is no separation between words and actions. The spread of information is integrated into the operational dimension, in a mutual dependence game, crucial for propaganda, operations planning, and the recruitment of new members. This research has been partially funded by Portuguese national funds through FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia - as part of the project OBSERVARE with the reference UID/CPO/04155/2013”.

__Zorica Petrović (sirbalai@gmail.com)__ is an independent history researcher and a kindergardener teacher. She holds a Bachelor Degree in kindergarten education and a Master’s degree in history. She has served professionally in the Slovenian Armed Forces for almost eight years at home as well as abroad within the peacekeeping operations in the Balkans.

**Born to Learn, Taught to Hate: Children as the Most Vulnerable Victims of Prejudice**

When spreading hate, it often comes in its purest form through the youngest mouth. Therefore, this paper focuses primarily on children and the importance of their role in spreading various kinds of prejudice, and at especially deals with the question of how and why children were a valuable asset to any organized form of prejudice. The paper introduces the subject with a brief overview of the role of children in history, and discusses how they were viewed and treated in society. In further discussion, it pays special attention to institutionalized racism, xenophobia and prejudice in some totalitarian systems, preferably those in the twentieth century. The paper widely presents how these systems used and altered the philosophies and rules of state educational institutions. A more detailed comparison between some examples offers an insight into how children were taught, trained and organized to expand the extreme hatred towards targeted social groups. The paper portrays children in most of their possible social roles: being active corresponders, or passive victims, exposed to constant abuse. In conclusion, examples of children opposing the elements of prejudice are given, raising questions of possible alternatives when it comes to fighting any form of prejudice.

__Rym Lajmi (r.lajmi@hotmail.fr)__ is currently a second-year Ph.D. candidate at Sapienza University of Rome. Her research is a comparative study between the history of women’s militancy in Tunisia and Italy between the 1930s and the 1960s. She holds a Master’s degree in Modern and Contemporary Italian sudies from the Faculté des Lettres et des Arts et des Humanités de la Manouba in Tunisia and a B.A. in Italian Language and Literature from Institut Supérieur des Langues de Tunis. Her interests include colonial studies, modern and contemporary history, ethno-anthropology and socio-political studies.

**The Evolution of Discriminatory Language from the Twentieth to the Twenty-first Century as a Manifestation of Prejudice: The Case of the Tunisian Woman**

The condition of the Tunisian women has always been associated with their social context. This condition was often influenced by the conservative spirit that characterises the Islamic mentality. Women used to be ignorant and illiterate and were considered inferior beings as they were submissive to men (father, brothers, husband and sons). This situation was due to several forms of discrimination bearing exclusively on masculine interests, *a prioris* of religious origin. Moreover, within that society, the colonial system was perceived as a threat,
due to the belief that colonialism would introduce new and “modern” norms into a primarily traditional society. The population had to develop protective measures against those norms. This fact permanently implied depreciating the status of “woman” by entrenching her within an identity essentially based on religion and family. Consequently, women were considered the source and the custodians of the sacred familial values. Any attempt of emancipation was therefore considered as “desertion and betrayal”. The patriarchal society was globally united against women; it blamed and rejected females who dared to transgress religious taboos.

### PANEL D3

**Invisible Frontiers**

**Room 5**

**Chair: Biljana Vučetić**

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<td>A. Carteny</td>
<td><em>Between Nationalism and Modernism: Jewish Intelligentsia in Hungary, from the End of the Nineteenth Century until the End of the Great War</em></td>
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<td>N. Ahmad</td>
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<td><em>Invisible Scapegoats: The Turkish dönmes</em></td>
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**Francesco Dall’Aglio** ([fra.dallaglio@gmail.com](mailto:fra.dallaglio@gmail.com)) PhD graduate in History of Europe, Sapienza University of Rome. He deals with the history of Eastern and Southeastern Europe (9-14 century), its diplomatic, religious and cultural interactions with Western Europe.

**With Pride and Prejudice: Paisij Hilendarski and the Perception of Bulgaria’s Neighbours in the Late Eighteenth Century**

The *Istorija Slavjanobolgarskaja*, written in 1762 by the Bulgarian athonite monk Paisij, is one of the first works dealing with the medieval history of Bulgaria, and without doubt the most famous one. Its fame is not due to its scientific merits (the *Istorija* abounds in mistakes, simplifications and fabrications) but rather to the emotive style of the book. Intended as a defence of the Bulgarian *narod*, oppressed by centuries of foreign domination, the *Istorija* continuously reminds the reader of the antiquity of Bulgaria and of its past glory. However, using a distinguishable sarcastic and polemic tone, Paisij seems at times more concerned in belittling the achievements of Bulgaria’s neighbors then in glorifying his homeland, while his attitude towards the nations surrounding Bulgaria is usually hostile. This hostility was, perhaps surprisingly, not directed against the Turkish political control of the country, but rather against the Greek cultural hegemony and the Serbian preponderance in the monastic communities of Mount Athos. Paisij investigated medieval and contemporary issues with the purpose of presenting Bulgaria as a nation robbed of its past and of its triumphs by
unscrupulous nations willing to collaborate with the common enemy, the Ottoman Empire, in order to advance their status. The Istorija became an important influence for the establishment of the Bulgarian revivalist discourse in the second half of the nineteenth century; the continuous comparison between Bulgaria and its allegedly scheming neighbors allowed some of the “awakeners” to identify Bulgaria as an innocent victim deprived of its many primogenitures and left to its misery. Gradually and of course reinforced by other circumstances, this prejudice contributed to the emergence of a general “passive-aggressive” feeling of encroachment, which led to important political consequences in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Andrea Carteny (andrea.carteny@uniroma1.it) is a university researcher of Modern History and assistant professor of History of Eurasia at Sapienza University of Rome. His topics are nationalisms, national minorities, nationalities in Central-Eastern Europe, mostly in the nineteenth and the twentieth century. He edited many publications and took part in international conferences on the abovementioned topics.

Between Nationalism and Modernism: Jewish Intelligentsia in Hungary, from the End of the Nineteenth Century until the End of the Great War
From the last decade of the nineteenth century, until the explosion of WWI, the period of fin de siècle opened even in Central Europe the age of peace, development and modernity, rich with modern elements and factors in technology, arts, literature and culture. The capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Vienna, developed “Modernism” in which new approaches were included, meanwhile Budapest, the capital of the Hungarian Kingdom, tried to conciliate the costumes and values of the Old Hungary with the “modern” style of “Secession”. Mostly in literature and culture, writers and poets, mainly Jews were engaged in the “modern” field, representing the avant-garde in content and style, and promoting a modern approach to the concept of the Hungarian nation. Among the biggest and well integrated Jewish community in Europe, these Hungarian Jews represented the paradox of national integration: assimilated with the Hungarian language and culture (originally German speakers) during the Dualism, Jewish intellectuals were at the opposition of the Turanist and nationalist aristocratic environments. The world war and the fall of the empire gave space to a more powerful and openly anti-Semitic post-war period.

Nasim Ahmad (nasim@uog.edu.pk) a lecturer in sociology, the author is currently teaching courses of theory and research in one of the largest universities in Pakistan. He has previously developed the construct of Religious Risk Perception (RRP) which seems to be an important predictor of religious prejudice. His current research and future plans revolve around youth culture and institutional analysis.

From Folk to the Pop Culture of Hate: Intergenerational and Value-Based Gap in Religious Prejudice in (a Rapidly Changing) Pakistan
During the past two decades Pakistani society has witnessed a rapid transformation of its social structure. Pakistan has become a frontline state in the global war on terrorism. There has been a phenomenal growth of higher education institutions, liberalization of mass media coupled with heavy foreign direct investment in telecommunication and ICTs. However, as expected this rapid social transformation may have contributed towards the attenuation of religious prejudice for which Pakistani society has been hitherto known. Due to the wide spread stigmatization of religious prejudice there exist sporadic research on its dynamics in Pakistan. The present research involves a mixed method study of
intergenerational gap in religious prejudice using in-depth interviews, focus group discussion and survey research design. Narratives of victims and those of actors reflect a kind of attenuation in the intensity of religious prejudice on its explicit facet. Nonetheless, the commodification of culture at large has reproduced a superficial and ritualistic contemplation of implicit hate and hate discourses among young and educated Pakistani citizens. These observations and narratives were confirmed in the consequent survey research whereby the age of the respondents and their cultural values as measured through Hofstede Cultural dimensions were used as predictors of implicit and explicit religious prejudice.

Fabio L. Grassi (fabio.grassi@uniroma1.it) is assistant professor at the Department of History, Cultures, Religions of Sapienza University. He has been giving courses in History of Eurasia, Turkish language and Contemporary History. He has published three large monographies and some sixty essays and articles mainly devoted to late Ottoman and Republican Turkish history.

Invisible Scapegoats: The Turkish Dönmes

The so-called Dönmes were (are?) Jews who followed (follow?) the messianic call of Sebbatai (or Shabbatai) Zevi, formally following Sunni Islam; in Turkey they, even more than “normal” Jews, have been classical objects of conspiracy theories nurtured by ultranationalist and fundamentalist circles. In 1942, in the implementation of the Capital Tax Law, they were for the first and – so far as I know – the last time officially classified as a separate group with a special status. In the Ottoman period their main center was Salonica, where they had a great impact on social and economic life, so much so that they were called also Selanikli (Salonians). In the context of the aforementioned hostile theories, Mustafa Kemal himself (who was born in Salonica) happened to be “accused” of having Jewish origins and/or to be a Dönme. Indeed, in the late Ottoman age they generally shared progressive views, many were freemason and many (often these same individuals) joined the movement of the “Young Turks”. They were compact towards the “others” and maintained strict secrecy about their religious practices. Therefore the problems scholars generally face in retracing the history of Turkish Jews are far greater with regard to the Dönmes.

Federico Giulio Sicurella (federico.sicurella@uniroma2.it) holds a PhD in critical discourse studies from Lancaster University (UK). He currently teaches discourse analysis at Tor Vergata University in Rome and methodology of the social sciences in the European Regional Master’s Programme in Democracy and Human Rights in South-East Europe (University of Bologna and University of Sarajevo).

The Language of Walls along the “Balkan Route”

Over the past two years, hundreds of thousands refugees and migrants fleeing conflict in Syria, Afghanistan and other war-torn areas have passed through South-Eastern Europe, along the so-called Balkan route, in order to seek refuge in the European Union. In an attempt to “deflect” this unprecedented influx, the countries of the region have increased border controls and tightened their migratory regimes. In 2015, Hungary’s decision to erect a barbed wire fence to prevent migrants from entering illegally, and thus shift the burden of action to neighbouring Serbia and Croatia, provoked international disputes between the three countries involved, but also prompted domestic debate over building barriers as a legitimate and practicable way of dealing with the refugee crisis. The aim of this paper is to
map out the debate in Serbia and Croatia by exposing the arguments that public intellectuals and commentators have used to justify, criticise or condemn the construction of border barriers, whether planned or accomplished, as a possible solution to the refugee crisis. To this end, I examine a sample of opinion pieces published in prominent online magazines and in the national press (in both countries) in two periods of heightened debate: a) the second half of September 2015, when the completion of the Hungarian barrier led to a deterioration of the relations between Serbia and Croatia, and b) the first half of November 2015, when the refugee crisis in Croatia was further precipitated by Slovenia’s decision to also erect a barbed wire fence. Drawing on the discourse-historical approach to critical discourse studies (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009; Wodak, 2011), the analysis seeks to identify salient argumentative strategies and recurrent *topoi* (Reisigl, 2014), focusing on how these draw upon and intersect with discourses of inclusion vs. exclusion, prejudice and discrimination (Wodak & Reisigl, 2001), as well as with broader historical and political narratives of borders and migration.