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The Return of the National in a Mobile World

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1. Introduction

Nations are faced today with a new set of social and economic challenges: economic globalisation has intensified bringing with it a more intense phase of cultural interconnectedness and political interdependence. Globalisation has also further driven and multiplied international flows not only of capitals, goods and services but also of people. National[1] states have seen their capacity to govern undermined by these processes. However, in Europe, the nation continues to be a powerful (rivalled only occasionally by religious allegiance) source of identity and legitimacy. This chapter offers a reflection on the centrifugal and centripetal forces that challenge the nation today and the kind of analytical tools that we need to connect wider socio-economic transformations with nationalism theories.

On one hand, we seem to be witnessing a comeback of nationalism as public and political debates on the Eurozone and current refugee crisis seem to suggest. Governments and many citizens appear to think that re-nationalising control, erecting borders, separating from fellow EU member states will make them more capable of addressing the global challenges of migration, asylum, or economic globalisation.

On the other hand, we also seem to witness opposed trends. Through the power of information and communication technology we feel now much more related (and are actually more informed) about what is happening in other regions of the world (e.g. the Middle East but not only) and on how this affects our own lives (whether through a refugee surge or through a decrease in oil prices). International terrorism and foreign fighters from European countries joining the ISIS in the last two years are one side of this coin, showing how cultural and political globalisation can transfer local integration problems and grievances to link up with international geopolitics breeding transnational extremism. At the same time, the various Indignados and Occupy movements across Europe, youth mobilisation in support of the Arab spring and Ghezi park movements, transnational commemorations of the victims of international terrorism in Paris testify to how globalisation can also reinforce transnational solidarity and mobilisation for common transnational causes like peace, equality or democracy.

Taking into account these contrasted tendencies and phenomena, this chapter offers an empirical and analytical reflection on how the nation and national identity are challenged by the forces of globalisation and related intensified mobility across national borders and increasing cultural diversity within national borders. I use the term mobility here to speak of the new reality of international migration flows which defy old pathways of post-colonial or periphery-to-the-centre movements and emerge now in multiple directions, including (as I shall outline in section 3) not only migration from developing to developed countries but also migration between developing countries and migration from developed to developing regions. Mobility is a term that encompasses both labour related migration but also asylum seeking flows as today it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish between people moving in search of better jobs and those who flee persecution – usually people have mixed motivations that are mobilised by the global interconnectedness that globalisation brings. Mobility may be seen as a fluid term and may encompass not only geographical flows but also social

or economic flows (e.g. upwards class mobility or de-skilling as downwards professional mobility) (Urry 2002, 2007). I contend that today socio economic mobility can hardly be independent from territorial movement and hence the term mobility may be more useful than international migration in signalling the fluidity of the flows (which may no longer satisfy the classical international migration definition of crossing an international border and staying at destination for at least 12 months). Indeed mobility is a term that can express better circular migration patterns of different types (see also Triandafyllidou 2013, Marchetti 2014) as well as transnational mobility for instance (Bartolini et al. 2015).

This chapter starts by discussing how globalisation creates both heterogeneity and homogeneity, challenges the nation and the national state and leads to a state of constant mobility and uprootedness. Following the arguments of Appadurai and Bauman among others I am considering the fundamental 'lightness of being' that liquid modernity creates. Indeed this lightness of being however concerns mainly those that Bauman called the 'tourists' notably the global elites that can take advantage of the physical and virtual mobility that contemporary society offers. However this lightness of being of the 'tourists' is challenged by the cultural and economic threat of the 'vagabonds', of the losers of globalisation who challenge national borders in search of a better life for themselves and their offspring. My argument here is that increased and diversified international migration and its particularly fluid form of constant mobility through legal or undocumented means, plays a pivotal role between globalisation and the nation. In other words, globalisation and its socio-economic transformational forces generated intensified and diversified mobility flows. These flows undermine the importance of the national state as a political unit and of the nation as a form of collective identification because of their global and fluid character. However it is precisely these same flows that create a sense of threat to the nation – both at the political or economic level – a threat of 'invasion' – and at the identity and cultural level – a threat of losing one's 'authenticity' or majority culture. These flows thus reinforce a sense of national belonging among citizens. Such forms of

national belonging that emerge out of real or perceived interaction with migration, mobility and increased diversity can be better understood in terms of plural vs monist nationalism rather than in terms of ethnic vs civic forms of nationhood, as traditionally has been the case in the nationalism and ethnic studies literature.

The chapter is organised as follows. I first briefly review globalisation as a socio-economic phenomenon and the changes it brings at the identity level, leading to what Bauman has termed liquid modernity or what Beck (1992) has called risk society. In section 3 of the chapter I am arguing however that the increased and diversified types of international migration and mobility that globalisation brings lead to the re-emergence of the nation as a relevant point of reference for identification as well as a relevant political community that can protect people and tame the forces of globalisation. Last I turn to the developments of the last couple of decades in Europe with regard to the challenges that migrant communities raise to national majorities. I am surveying developments in several European countries showing how both increasing cultural and religious diversity resulting from past and more recent international migrations, and intensified intra EU mobility are framed as challenges to both the national state and the nation. Answers are not sought to a clash of civilisations type of approach as was perhaps the case in the early 2000s (after 9/11) but rather on a return to the national, both at the political and the identity level. Citizens seek refuge from the social and economic challenges of globalisation and international mobility in the warm embrace of the nation that offers both the promise of political sovereignty and legitimacy and that of a feeling of shared destiny – something that for instance regional formations like the European Union cannot offer.

2. **Globalisation and social and political challenges to the nation**

Globalisation is essentially about interconnectedness. More specifically, it "refers to the widening, deepening and speeding up of global interconnectedness", and can be described and understood in terms of four socio-spatial dimensions (Held et al 2003: 67-68): density, referring to the stretching of social, political and economic activities across borders; intensity, the intensification of interconnectedness and of patterns of interaction and flows; velocity, the speeding up of global interactions and processes; and impact, deepening enmeshment of the local and global in ways that local events may affect distant lands.[2]

Partly at least, interconnectedness is fuelled by the technological advances of the past few decades. Following Castles (2000: 271), we could agree that if transnational flows (of capital, goods, services, people, media images, ideas or pollution) are the key-indicators of globalisation, and transnational networks (of corporations, markets, governments, NGOs, crime syndicates, cultural communities) are its key-organising structure, then information and communication technologies are its key-tools.

Globalisation entails numerous political implications, for it brings a series of challenges to the national state as a politico-territorial form of social organisation. The national state appears to surrender to supranational institutions or private actors while its borders are transcended by multiple flows and networks. Sassen (1996) identified a partial de-nationalisation of national territories and a partial shift of some dimensions of sovereignty, while others remain intact. Especially when it comes to immigration, argues Sassen (ibid.: 59) "the national state claims all its old splendour in asserting its sovereign right to control its borders". While early accounts overstressed the powerful tendency of globalisation to undermine state sovereignty and erode national borders, more recent approaches underlined the (re-)bordering processes advancing hand-in-hand with globalisation forces (Andrijasevic and Walters 2010). Indeed today in Europe, with the refugee crisis in full swing, we are witnessing a very strong re-bordering process which is putting into question the very European integration process and one of its main achievements notably the Schengen no-internal-border zone.

Despite political decisions shaping globalisation, the de-facto transfer of the control of national economic policy instruments (monetary policy, interest rates, fiscal policy, etc.) to supranational institutions and the domination of market forces over politics have severe implications for democracy and the legitimacy of governments by popular mandate. At the same time, policies at the national level and beyond are being challenged by transnational social movements such as indeed the recent protest movements of Indignados and Occupy that have swept several European countries in 2012-2013 (Hard and Negri 2000; Castells 2010b, other REF). Indeed exposure to global forces at a time of generalised cuts in public spending deprive states from their earlier function of providing social protection for their citizens, thus further undermining their legitimacy and the appeal of the nation as a main community of belonging.

The cultural dimensions of globalisation are complex and multidimensional. The proliferation of electronic digital media and communication tools not only raises a planetary consciousness (Robertson 1992) but also radically transforms the patterns of human interaction and experience of time, space and place (Appadurai 1996; Castells 2010a). It crucially contributes to the instant spread of media images and information across the globe, which not simply brings closer distant places or cultures, but irreversibly distorts distinct cultural forms and conduces to increasing homogenisation under the prevalence and worldwide diffusion of "western" lifestyles and a global culture of consumerism.

Globalisation involves contrasted dynamics in the sphere of culture however. On one hand it creates cultural homogenisation through the increased flows of cultural goods, capitals, media images, technological applications rendering culture a fluid, fragmented, de-nationalised and de-territorialised category (Bauman 2011, Appadurai 1996). On the other hand, globalisation provokes increased flows

of people and hence diversity within societies which then may stimulate identity related conflicts related to racism, nationalism and religious fundamentalism (Appadurai 1996, Castells 2010b).

It has been nearly 20 years since Zygmunt Bauman first theorised on the increased freedom and mobility that characterises late modern and post-industrial, post-Fordist societies, together with pointing to the accelerated anxiety, the existential uncertainty and angst that globalisation brings to citizens (Bauman 1998, 2000, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2011). Bauman argued that the present time of 'liquid modernity' has melted "the bonds which interlock individual choices in collective projects and actions – the patterns of communication and co-ordination between individually conducted life policies on the one hand and political actions of human collectivities on the other" (2000: 6).

The very emancipation of the individual from the forces of nature or religious belief achieved in modernity, has gone into a new phase, a stage B of modernity argued Bauman. Thus while free individuals in modernity were to use their freedom to find the appropriate niche where to settle and adopt the rules and modes of conduct identified as appropriate for that location, free individuals today have lost their stable orientation points. We have moved from a national to a post-national or a-national mode of being. While individuals are still dependent effectively on both their subjective freedom (their own imagination and their setting of their own limits) and their objective freedom (their actual capacity to act), they no longer have pre-allocated reference groups (such as those provided by class, kinship, ethnicity, religion, locality). Their point of reference is universal comparison, argues Bauman, generating too many patterns and configurations available to the individual. The responsibility of the pattern-weaving is left entirely on the individual's shoulders, while patterns of dependency, interaction, cooperation or solidarity have become too volatile for one to rely on them.

Indeed globalisation and its socio-economic consequences leave individuals free of communal ties albeit with an 'unbearable lightness of being' – to use Milan Kundera's words. This lightness influences all, but in different ways. There are those that Bauman called the 'tourists' notably the global elites that can take advantage of the physical and virtual mobility that globalisation offers. But there are also those who Bauman called the 'vagabonds' notably the under-privileged groups, that are forced to move because "they find the world within their reach unbearably inhospitable" (Bauman 1998: 93). Indeed as Bauman argues (1998: 87) there is a global elite of travellers that move '*sans papiers*' in the sense that border controls and travel restrictions are reduced for them and all they need is their passports, the 'right' passports. While there is a growing number of '*sans papiers*' who actually hold the 'wrong' passports and are expected to stay put, not taking part in this great new world of mobility. According to Bauman's argument, global mobility and access to it becomes today a major stratifying factor while other sources of community, identity as well as other forms of inclusion/exclusion and equality/inequality lose their significance.

The more systemic perspectives on globalisation and late modernity that point to its cultural and political consequences for the national state and the closer focus of Bauman on the consequences of globalisation for the individual that becomes uprooted and disengaged seem to suggest an overall retreat of both the national community and religious affiliation – forces that traditionally tied down individuals to their communities in symbolic affective and ultimately also political and economic ways. It is my contention however that if we look closer we shall see that this intensified and diversified mobility (and liquidity) situation that globalisation creates, bears with it the seeds of new solidities, the revival of rootedness. Intensified and diversified international migration actually raises important challenges for national states as well as individuals leading the latter to seek protection and anchoring anew in the former rather than becoming either tourists (if elites) or vagabonds (if non-elites).

In the next section I am taking a closer look at the links between globalisation and international migration to highlight how international migration actually modifies social and economic realities contributing less to a world of vagabonds and tourists and rather more to a world divided in national communities. The beholders of 'right' and 'wrong' passports do share a set of opportunities as well as challenges and perhaps a common fate (of cosmopolitans travelling light, or of marginalised vagabonds) but they are also divided among themselves by precisely their very 'passports,' which testify to their citizenship and national belonging.

3. Globalisation, International Migration and the Nation

There is today a differentiation of migration as there is a multiplicity of types and forms of migration and a diversity of migratory channels and routes, partly resulting from evolving and fragmented migratory policies implemented by national states. In addition, the *migration transition* – i.e. the process by which a country shifts from being a country of origin to a country of destination of international migrants – no more follows explicit linear patterns as in the past, and several countries or entire regions emerge at the same time as sending, receiving and transit ones. Moreover, in all major regions one may observe an *acceleration* of migratory flows. In the past half century, the numbers of international migrants have surged: from about 77 million in 1960 to 155.5 in 2000, 195.2 in 2005 to nearly 214 in 2010 and 232 million in 2013 (UN DESA 2013).

While, in abstract terms, the root causes of migration remain essentially the same as ever, i.e. economic need, security and better quality of life prospects (including a future for one's offspring), there has been diversification, blurring and overlap of the specific factors fuelling migration on a global scale. The integration of the world economy, the rapid growth of international trade, the progress of digitalised technology are important levers of socio economic globalisation which

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intensify interconnectedness and facilitate the flow of information, goods, services, capitals, raw materials. Such developments are drivers of increased international migration. They intensify grievances and opportunities that lead people to seek better living and working opportunities in distant lands while also facilitating transport and communication.

In addition today we speak of mixed motivations of migrants and asylum seekers rather than mixed flows. We have difficulty in clearly distinguishing whether people escape persecution or violence, or whether they search for better work, income and a future for their children or indeed a varied combination of both. This mixity of motivations is particularly acute in the recent refugee crisis in Europe where people flee war in Syria but they also flee continuing unrest and insecurity in Afghanistan although in theory Afghanistan has in the last few years stabilised both economically and politically. This fluidity of the causes of migration is also evident in intensified population flows from sub Saharan African countries such as Nigeria that suffer both from poverty and Boko Haram terrorism.

The rise of international migration in the last decades is linked to growing inequalities, but also to the growing interdependence and interconnectedness, economic or otherwise, that forces of globalisation propel (King 1995; Stalker 2000; Koser 2007; Castles and Miller 2009; Solimano 2010). Indeed the dramatic rise in global inequalities takes place at a time of deepening long-distance ties and of improved infrastructure for mobility and information. Even if information may reach prospective migrants in an often-distorted way, people are increasingly *aware* of potentially better prospects elsewhere through images transmitted by global media and the internet, but also by those already departed, their stories and visible benefits to relatives left behind e.g. from remittances and western-style consumption.

Homogenising lifestyles and consumer habits, diffuse more than ever a sense of *relative deprivation* in comparison to "Western" living standards and the possibilities for personal development in the North (Koser 2007; Castles and Miller 2009), thus rendering spatial mobility a generalised means for social mobility (Bommes and Sciortino 2011b: 214). Cheap payphone cards, Skype and other ICT tools help them keep in touch while abroad, essentially transforming the figure of the migrant from an uprooted person to a connected one (Diminescu 2008). Established transnational social networks and diaspora communities abroad not only affect migration decisions, but may also assist with movement itself and provide support or employment in destination (Cohen 2008; Vertovec 2009).

In addition, advances in transportation have made travel more affordable bringing distant lands in the reach of more and more people. Indeed we witness today interesting niche phenomena of migrant transnational mobility – people who travel back and forth between the country of origin and that of destination in pursuit of economic or civic projects (Bartolini et al. 2015). Circular migration is also an interesting phenomenon that may emerge out of choice – for a more flexible lifestyle that allows one to 'live' in the home country but 'work' at destination (Marchetti 2013), or out of necessity – because people cannot make ends meet either at destination or at origin and hence engage into circular movements being temporarily employed or pursuing some economic activity project (including trade or transport, and different types of work) in one or the other (for more see Triandafyllidou 2013).

In this context of increased and increasingly multidirectional mobility, increased inequality but also increased awareness of opportunities and lifestyles elsewhere, the nation comes under pressure as mobility affects not only migrants themselves but also those who are sedentary, those at destination who receive the newcomers, and those at origin who are left behind. Mobility thus becomes part of the reality of all people, both mobile and sedentary, through what Abdelmalek Sayad (1992) called 25 years ago the paradox of alterity: migrants are missing from where they should be (their country

of origin) and are present where they should not be (at destination). They thus defy the fundamental principle of the national order notably that territorial and ethnic/cultural boundaries should coincide.

It is precisely this challenge to the national order that globalisation and intensified and diversified international mobility create that however has the potential of bringing the nation back in as an important political actor (in the form of the national state) and as a primary source of belonging for individuals. The national state appears as a Deus ex macchina or a last resort to tame the forces of economic globalisation through its national policies regarding labour market regulation, welfare provision but also trade regulation and migration management. Recent debates on the refugee crisis and the need to close national borders, or protests against the signature of broad trade agreements (like TTIP) between North America and other world regions are but two expressions of this return to the national as a way of protecting oneself from the forces of globalisation. Similarly protest movements like Indignados, Occupy and similar that have emerged during the global financial crisis and particularly the Eurozone crisis in southern European countries for instance show that ultimately at times of recession and high unemployment the citizens ask for the national government to protect them from decisions taken elsewhere – in the case of the Eurozone crisis from decisions perceived to be taken in Brussels with the connivance of international (IMF) and European institutions and elites, at the expense of the national citizens. While actually these movements and protests have also a transnational element in that they are oftentimes connected through social media and may organise simultaneous demonstrations at different places for instance, they remain focused on the national level – seeing the national governments as both the legitimate and capable units to act in their interest/for their protection.

The nation is called upon in relation to existential and identity concerns that arise from increased and ever diversified mobility. European countries are particularly challenged by new migration that adds new layers of cultural and religious diversity: migrant second generations and their quests for

recognition and accommodation, new labour migrations from very different parts of the world, increased intra-European mobility and on top of this, in the last 20 years international terrorism along religious lines. The difficulty of ensuring social and cultural cohesion, in a deeply liquid economic and employment context, creates important challenges for national identity. On one hand national identity discourses cannot hold to static representations of the nation whether as an ethnic or as a civic albeit fixed entity. However, the nation still provides for an important response to the increased diversity and mobility of current times, by offering a social psychological and cultural anchor. The nation responds to the need for a sense of continuity that goes beyond the individual and her family and replies to the question where do we come from and what is our destiny by providing a narrative of both common origin and shared fate. This narrative whether ethnic or civic has to be a dynamic one that reacts to challenges and incorporates new members responding to the need for a lively and relevant identity under conditions of increased diversity and mobility.

In the section that follows I am reviewing the challenges that increased mobility and diversity has posed to Europe and how different European countries have responded to it.

4. Challenges of Migration and Diversity and the Return to the National

The societal transformation that Bauman (1998, 2000) and Sennett (1998) have been describing and analysing already in the late 1990s has acquired a particular configuration and intensity in Europe in the post-1989 period. The defeat of Communism as a political and economic system has brought with it the reconnection of Europe but has also led to the dominance (if not outright hegemony) of the consumer culture and of the free market economy that Bauman and Sennett among others have critically analysed. Differences between left wing and right wing ideologies have thus become rather vague and the citizen has been left to wonder what the alternative is. The European Union has offered

the institutional framework for the reconnection of Europe overcoming the World War II legacy and Cold War divisions. A notion of European identity and European culture has brought together the different nations of Europe and their minorities even if this has not happened in a level playing field nor have been cultural hierarchies and closures towards specific minority identities been avoided (Triandafyllidou and Gropas 2015).

It is in this context of enthusiasm for a social, economic and political reconnection of the continent, and a promotion of the European Union as a platform that would strengthen European national states economically and geopolitically, and would provide for an additional layer of identity for European nations and their members, that Europe has been faced, during the last 15 years, with important tensions between national majorities and ethnic or religious minorities. Such conflicts have included violence in northern England between native British and Asian Muslim youth (2001); civil unrest amongst France's Muslim Maghreb communities (2005); the Danish cartoon crisis in 2006 following the publication of pictures of the prophet Muhammad. After 9/11 international terrorism has also entered the picture. Arab and Asian communities have come under intense scrutiny in the wake of the terrorist events in the United States (2001), but also after the Madrid bombings in 2004 and London bombings in the summer of 2005. After a period of relative calm, a new wave of terrorist events has overtaken Europe in 2015-2016 (Paris in January and November 2015, Brussels in March 2016, Nice in June 2016 and yet again Berlin in December 2016) making citizens feel completely unprotected in front of what is termed as a 'liquid threat'. There is indeed growing concern amongst European citizens as to whether migrant integration has overall failed (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010, Triandafyllidou, Modood and Meer 2012) or whether these events and the rise of international terrorism are rather the outcome of wider geopolitical transformations and conflicts happening elsewhere and particularly in the Middle East (but also in southeast Asia and sub Saharan Africa).

The debate on diversity and migration has been further complicated by the intensification of intra EU mobility after the 2004 enlargement and also after the 2007 accession of Bulgaria and Romania and the progressive lifting of restrictions in terms of the new member state citizens' access to the labour markets of the old member states (Trenz and Triandafyllidou 2016). There has been a rising concern that intra EU migration includes welfare tourism and while it was Nicolas Sarkozy's government in France in 2009 to cause wide condemnation in relation to their (Romanian) Roma expulsion practices, in recent years such debates have been the favourite topic of the UKIP's (United Kingdom Independence Party) leader Nigel Farage (Marangozov 2016, Preston 2015). Thus, what was initially seen as mainly an issue of second generation migrant youth and of Muslim communities became a wider anxiety that national governments and national majority groups are losing control over their territory, labour market and national identity. Paradoxically in this context the European integration process was seen as one expression of globalisation pressures and of lack of national and hence popular control over important social and economic issues .

The debate has been intensive in the media, in political forums as well as in scholarly circles as to what was the way to go for the different European countries. In policy terms, the main conclusion drawn from such debates was that multicultural policies have failed and that a return to a civic assimilation approach (emphasising national culture and values) is desirable. The Netherlands for instance that was a forerunner in multicultural policies since the 1980s has shifted towards such a view establishing integration courses for newcomers to the Netherlands and even a civic integration test to be undertaken by prospective migrants before departure from their country of origin (Ter Wal, 2007; Vasta 2007). Indeed this pre-departure 'integration' test has been used rather as a cultural profiling of the 'right' type of immigrants (applied even to spouses of Dutch nationals) that should come to the Netherlands only if they have the appropriate values or at least can accept the values of the Dutch national majority (Groenendijk 2011).

In the face of mounting civil unrest and social exclusion of second-generation immigrant youth, the French government has reasserted its Republican civic integration model banning religious symbols from schools already in 2004 (Kastoryano, 2006; Guiraudon, 2006) but also today in the face of terrorist attacks during 2015. The *Déchéance de Nationalité* bill – notably the possibility of stripping terrorism suspects of their nationality if they have another nationality (because they or their parents originate from a different country) – brought for discussion in the National Assembly in February 2016 and eventually rejected, testifies to the crisis of French Republicanism but also its re-assertion of the importance of the nation, national solidarity and national cohesion (Beauchamps 2016). In a similar vein the far right party Front National has engaged in a patriotic turn in recent years under its new leader, Marine Le Pen, emphasising the importance of love of country and of French habits and values, blending together civic and ethnic elements of French nationhood and excluding both intra EU mobile citizens and non EU migrants.

Germany, home to one of the largest Turkish (and hence Muslim) immigrant communities in Europe, is a somewhat ambivalent case. On the one hand, politicians officially acknowledged that Germany is an immigration country and a multicultural society making integration the new buzzword; on the other, the restrictive implementation of the liberal citizenship law of 2000 led to a decrease in naturalisations (Schiffauer, 2006; Green, 2004; 2005). After Angela Merkel's famous declaration that multiculturalism has utterly failed in October 2010, Germany is seeking to find a 'third way' to integration that follows neither the civic assimilation tradition with no religion in public life model of France nor the multiculturalism model of the Netherlands which is perceived to have led in 'parallel societies'. And while Germans of Turkish origin are increasingly integrated in public and political life as prominent figures, thus testifying to the civic turn of the German concept of the nation, Germany has re-discovered a sense of an ethnic national pride after having elaborated the Holocaust legacy. These contrasting tendencies are best epitomised in the fault line that divides 'western' and 'eastern' Laender not only as regards unemployment or productivity levels but also in relation to

voting preferences and the resurgence in the eastern Laender of strong radical right wing nationalism movements such as Pegida (Sorg 2015). Here too while the 'problem' of diversity is oftentimes defined as one of religious faith, notably Islam, rather than ethnicity or nationality (see Yurdakul 2009), the answer to the problem emerges at a nationalist rather than religious level. The emphasis is on German origin rather than Christian faith.

Britain is perhaps the only European country (along with Sweden) that has maintained in practice (even if it changed the terminology used) a political multiculturalism approach (O'Toole et al. 2013). Concerns for cohesion, however, and an underlying need to retrieve an inclusive understanding of Britishness - particularly in the aftermath of the July 2005 London bombings – have led recent governments to introduce a 'Life in the United Kingdom test' (a civic integration test) and civic ceremonies (Meer and Modood, 2008). Interestingly when David Cameron spoke of muscular liberalism as an antidote to state multiculturalism that has eroded social cohesion and British values (in February 2011), Labour party opposition leader, Ed Milliband, responded with his speech in fall 2012 on 'One Nation'. Indeed while tensions were here again portrayed as mostly religious rather than ethnic (see also Modood 2013) the emphasis has been on Britain as a multi national state, a civic container of cultural and religious diversity that should provide the answer to these diversity challenges while also guaranteeing for the security of the citizens. At the same time intra EU mobility has provided for a convenient vehicle on which to channel public discontent about increasing inequality, austerity and 'liquid' livelihoods. 'Taking back control' at the national level – the main slogan and actually main motivation for voting for Brexit – exemplifies precisely this return to the national as a source of economic and identity security.

Within this tense context, the rise of international terrorism and particularly the Paris (January and November 2015), Nice (June 2016), Brussels (March 2016) and Berlin (December 2016) events have sent shock waves across Europe. Debates on social integration of migrants and accommodation of

cultural and religious diversity have been tainted with a strong element of (in)security. While the broad media and political debate has distinguished between European Muslims that are peaceful and law abiding and jihadist terrorism, the already strong turn away from multicultural citizenship to civic integration (registered already since the early 2000s in several European countries including the Netherlands, and Denmark but also France, Italy and Germany) has further intensified. Greater emphasis has been given to the fact that migrants and ethnic minorities should subscribe to an 'integration contract' where they agree and commit to abide by the civic and political values of the host society while keeping their religious and cultural specificities for their private lives and/or to the extent that they are not conflicting with the dominant civic culture of the host country.

Such approaches have actually argued that previous multicultural citizenship (Modood 2013) concepts were too flexible, too open to the cultural and religious claims of the newcomers to the point of eroding national identity, cohesion and ultimately also security. The strategy for returning to safety and security – both actual and identity-related – has been to return to the national (state) framework and re-emphasise that need for national controls at borders, even in the economy (as the scepticism towards the Euro and the overall EU integration project testifies) and the need to clarify what national identity is about and who can and cannot fit within it.

The multiculturalism and international terrorism crisis has of course affected also southern Europe, the so called 'new' hosts of immigration notably Spain, Italy, Portugal and Greece. The multiculturalism crisis came at a time when these countries just started acknowledging their de facto multicultural and multi-ethnic composition. The perceived failure however of the cultural diversity approach adopted by the 'old hosts' discouraged multicultural integration policies in southern Europe, reinforcing the view that immigration may be economically a good thing provided that immigrants become assimilated into the dominant national culture (Zapata-Barrero, 2006; Triandafyllidou, 2002; Calavita 2005). In addition these countries have been faced with a severe economic crisis that has

further reinforced a quest of citizens for national state protection in terms of cuts in welfare, steeply rising unemployment and poverty that was perceived as being imposed from abroad, from the European institutions and the IMF (Triandafyllidou, Gropas and Kouki 2013).

The case of Greece is of particular interest here as an example as the country has found itself in the eye of the storm both as regards the Eurozone crisis and the recent refugee crisis even though Greece has not suffered any international terrorism events of a religious matrix. Greece, until the 1990s a largely ethnically homogenous country that in addition professed a strong ethnic nationalism narrative (Triandafyllidou and Veikou 2002), has experienced an increasing immigrant and particularly Asian asylum seeking and irregular migrant population, which was, however, largely invisible until the last few years. The vast majority of Muslim immigrants in Greece were in fact of Albanian origin during the 1990s and early 2000s, and hence not practicing Muslims, raising no claims for mosques, headscarves or religious education. The south-east Asian immigrants who had arrived in Greece during the last two decades were also mainly male workers who had left their families back home in Pakistan or Bangladesh. Hence there were no challenges of integration of Muslim children in schools, nor any women wearing the veil in public places (Lazarescu and Broersma 2010). The situation however changed in the early 2010s as Islamophobia gave a good moral and political argument – notably that these new migrants are incompatible with Greek/Western culture and religion – for excluding Asian and Sub Saharan African migrants. Thus what was fundamentally a socio-economic or humanitarian issue into a question of culture and religion and favouring the emergence of a nationalist intolerance towards cultural and religious diversity (Triandafyllidou and Kouki 2013).

The experience of Central Eastern European countries with regard to immigration has been however different from that of both northern and southern Europe. These countries have joined the EU in 2004 and 2007 and have had to adopt, among other measures, specific policies protecting native minority rights in order to fulfil the Copenhagen criteria for accession. At the same time, they have had to

adopt migration policies that are geared towards securing the external EU borders disregarding regional specificities of cross-border trade and labour mobility. The 2004 member states do not face a serious challenge of incoming migration; hence migrant integration is not a prominent issue in their agendas. Rather, their concern is with emigration of their nationals towards other member states. However, the EU migration policy emphasis on border control contributes to making these countries reluctant to address cultural diversity issues. Thus, while the rights of native minorities are guaranteed, there are no provisions for integrating newcomers under similar conditions of tolerance and/or respect (Fox et al. 2010; Buchowski et al. 2010). There is a clear division thus between cultural diversity that is considered to belong to these countries in historic terms and 'alien'/foreign cultural diversity. The absence indeed of any reflection on immigration and the imposed adoption of EU migration and asylum legislation has left Central Eastern Europe completely unprepared to face cultural or religious diversity challenges and/or to rethink of themselves as immigrant hosts rather than origin countries. This has become all the more prominent in the current refugee crisis where the predominant Hungarian response has been that 'Hungary is an ethnically homogenous country' it is not 'accustomed to migrants and cultural diversity' and therefore it should stay that way.

Concluding Remarks

UN data (2016) suggest that today people migrate more than before and most importantly in hitherto unexplored trajectories. Post-colonial relations and previously existing migration systems are less influential in shaping people's mobility projects. The development of information and communication technologies and faster and cheaper transport have brought the different world regions closer to one another, even though socio-economic inequalities both within and among countries and world regions have increased. This landscape of increased and multi-directional mobility affects not only migrants themselves but also those who are sedentary, those at destination

who receive the newcomers, and those at origin who are left behind. Mobility thus becomes part of the reality of all people, both mobile and sedentary, through what Abdelmalek Sayad called 25 years ago the paradox of alterity: migrants are missing from where they should be (their country of origin) and are present where they should not be (at destination). They thus defy the fundamental principle of the national order notably that territorial and ethnic/cultural boundaries should coincide.

It may seem paradoxical that within this context of intensified communication, higher mobility and increased interdependence, national identity remains the most pertinent form of political affiliation, a primary identity that indeed, if necessary, overrides all others. This chapter has delved into this paradox arguing that it is precisely because the word is more mobile, more uncertain and more interconnected, it is because we live in a world of liquid modernity (Bauman 2000), of liquid jobs and liquid threatas, that we are witnessing a return to the national. Even at the face of religiously inspired terrorism, answers are not sought in transnational frameworks nor by reference to religion. It is the national state that has to 'take back control' and protect the citizens.

Indeed the feeling of threat has culminated in Europe in the last couple of years both in relation to the refugee emergency and to the rise of international terrorism. By contrast to 1990s' discourses about the clash of civilisations between West/Christianity and East/Islam (Huntington 1993), or the 2000s'confidence that the EU integration (including free mobility and a common currency) would provide the necessary buffer to transnational challenges, today responses emerge at the national level, with the rise of populist parties that evoke a sense of patriotism and of national sovereignty. As this chapter illustrates, the nation re-emerges with increased emphasis as the last bastion for national protection from an uncertain and insecure world where immigration is too intensive, cultural diversity challenges impossible to manage and decisions are taken behind closed doors with the simple citizen unable to have a say. At these times of crisis in Europe citizens rediscover the 'old solidity' of the national state and the nation as their main point of political and cultural reference even if they

recognise that cultural and religious diversity is by now an inherent feature of European societies, they ask for governments to provide for national solutions to transnational challenges.

Notes

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[1] The term national states is used instead of nation states to denote that most states are usually characterised by a dominant (numerically and politically) national community that thinks of itself as the owner of the state and several minority or migrant groups.

[2] The discussion on globalisation builds on Hatziprokopiou and Triandafyllidou (2013), Governing Irregular Migration at the Age of Globalisation. States, Actors and Intermediaries, IRMA Research Project, Concept Paper, available at http://irma.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/IRMA-Concept-Paper-EN.pdf last accessed on 24 Jul. 15.

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