

IP39920 Nationalism in Theory and Practice

[View Online](#)

[1]

U. Ozkirimli, *Theories of nationalism: a critical introduction*, Third edition. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2017.

[2]

U. Ozkirimli, 'Chapter 2 - Discourses and debates on nationalism', in *Theories of nationalism: a critical introduction*, Third edition., Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2017, pp. 11-50.

[3]

W. Connor, 'Chapter 7. A Nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group, is a...', in *Nationalism*, vol. Oxford readers, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 36-46.

[4]

'The Nationalism Project: What is Nationalism?' [Online]. Available: <http://www.nationalismproject.org/what.htm>

[5]

S. Walt, 'Nationalism Rules | Foreign Policy'. [Online]. Available: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/07/15/nationalism-rules/>

[6]

Y. Tamir, 'Chapter 3. Theoretical difficulties in the study of nationalism', in *Theorizing*

nationalism, vol. SUNY series in political theory. Contemporary issues, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1999, pp. 67–90.

[7]

U. Ozkirimli, 'Chapter 3. Primordialism/Perennialism', in *Theories of nationalism: a critical introduction*, Third edition., Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2017, pp. 51–80.

[8]

J. A. Armstrong, *Nations before nationalism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982.

[9]

J. D. Eller and R. M. Coughlan, 'The poverty of primordialism: The demystification of ethnic attachments', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 183–202, Apr. 1993.

[10]

J. Llobera, 'Recent theories of nationalism'. [Online]. Available:
http://www.icps.cat/archivos/WorkingPapers/WP_I_164.pdf?noga=1

[11]

A. Hastings, *The construction of nationhood: ethnicity, religion, and nationalism*, vol. The 1996 Wiles lectures given at the Queen's University of Belfast. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

[12]

A. Smith, 'Chapter 7. Primordialism and perennialism', in *Nationalism and Modernism*, Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2003, pp. 145–169. [Electronic resource]. Available:
http://eu.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=3039364820002418&institutionId=2418&customerId=2415

[13]

R. G. Suny, 'Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 73, no. 4, pp. 862–896, Dec. 2001, doi: 10.1086/340148.

[14]

P. L. van den Berghe, 'Race and ethnicity: A sociobiological perspective', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 401–411, Oct. 1978, doi: 10.1080/01419870.1978.9993241.

[15]

U. Ozkirimli, 'Chapter 4. Modernism', in *Theories of nationalism: a critical introduction*, Third edition., Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2017, pp. 81–147.

[16]

A. Smith, 'Nations and their pasts'. [Online]. Available: <http://gellnerpage.tripod.com/Warwick.html>

[17]

E. Gellner, 'Do nations have navels?' [Online]. Available: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/47367979_Do_nations_have_navels'_Gellner_and_Smith_on_the_emergence_of_nations

[18]

E. Gellner, *Nationalism*. London: Phoenix, 1998.

[19]

E. Gellner, *Nations and nationalism*, 2nd ed., vol. *New perspectives on the past*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2006.

[20]

B. O'Leary, 'Ernest Gellner's diagnoses of nationalism: A critical overview, or what is living and what is dead in Ernest Gellner's philosophy of nationalism?', in *The state of the nation: Ernest Gellner and the theory of nationalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

1998, pp. 40–88.

[21]

A. Smith, 'Chapter 2. The culture of industrialism', in *Nationalism and Modernism*, Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2003. [Electronic resource]. Available: http://eu.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=3039831180002418&institutionId=2418&customerId=2415

[22]

B. O'Leary, 'On the nature of nationalism: An appraisal of Ernest Gellner's writings on nationalism', *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 191–222, 1997, doi: 10.1017/S0007123497000112.

[23]

T. Nairn, *The break-up of Britain: crisis and neo-nationalism*. London: NLB, 1977.

[24]

M. Hechter, *Internal colonialism: the Celtic fringe in British national development, 1536-1966*, vol. *International library of sociology*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.

[25]

A. Smith, 'Chapter 3. Capitalism and Nationalism', in *Nationalism and Modernism*, Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2003. [Electronic resource]. Available: http://eu.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=3039355670002418&institutionId=2418&customerId=2415

[26]

J. Breuilly, *Nationalism and the state*, 2nd ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.

[27]

J. Breuilly, 'Chapter 5. Approaches to Nationalism', in *Mapping the nation*, vol. Mapping, London: Verso, 1996, pp. 146–174.

[28]

E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1780: programme, myth, reality*, vol. Wiles lectures. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

[29]

A. Smith, 'Chapter 4. State and Nation', in *Nationalism and Modernism*, Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2003, pp. 70–96. [Electronic resource]. Available: http://eu.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=3039355660002418&institutionId=2418&customerId=2415

[30]

U. Ozkirimli, 'Chapter 5. Ethnosymbolism', in *Theories of nationalism: a critical introduction*, Third edition., Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2017, pp. 154–181.

[31]

A. Smith, 'Chapter 8. Ethno-symbolism', in *Nationalism and Modernism*, Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2003, pp. 170–198. [Electronic resource]. Available: http://eu.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=3039355630002418&institutionId=2418&customerId=2415

[32]

U. Ozkirimli, 'The nation as an artichoke? A critique of ethnosymbolist interpretations of nationalism*', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 339–355, Jul. 2003, doi: 10.1111/1469-8219.00100.

[33]

A. D. Smith, *The ethnic origins of nations*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986.

[34]

A. D. Smith, *Ethno-symbolism and nationalism: a cultural approach*. London: Routledge, 2009.

[35]

A. D. Smith, 'When is a Nation', *Geopolitics*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 5–32, Autumn 2002, doi: 10.1080/714000928.

[36]

W. Connor, 'The timelessness of nations', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 10, no. 1–2, pp. 35–47, Jan. 2004, doi: 10.1111/j.1354-5078.2004.00153.x.

[37]

M. Guibernau, 'Anthony D. Smith on nations and national identity: a critical assessment', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 10, no. 1–2, pp. 125–141, Jan. 2004, doi: 10.1111/j.1354-5078.2004.00159.x.

[38]

J. Hutchinson, 'Myth against myth: the nation as ethnic overlay', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 10, no. 1–2, pp. 109–123, Jan. 2004, doi: 10.1111/j.1354-5078.2004.00158.x.

[39]

S. Zubaida, 'Nations: Old and new Comments on Anthony D. Smith's 'The myth of the "Modern Nation" and the myths of nations'', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 329–339, Jul. 1989.

[40]

H. Kohn, 'Western and eastern nationalism', in *Nationalism*, vol. Oxford readers, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 162–165.

[41]

R. Brubaker, '"Civic" and "ethnic" nationalism', in *Ethnicity without groups*, Cambridge,

Mass: Harvard University Press, 2004, pp. 132–146. [Online]. Available: https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=2934109&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_132

[42]

M. Ignatieff, 'A Central Conflict of 21st-Century Politics: Who Belongs? - The New York Times'. [Online]. Available: <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/09/world/europe/a-central-conflict-of-21st-century-politics-who-belongs.html>

[43]

E. Harris, 'What is New about "Eastern Nationalism" and What are the Implications for Studies of Ethnicity Today?', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 337–357, Jul. 2012, doi: 10.1080/13537113.2012.707500.

[44]

M. Ignatieff, *Blood and belonging: journeys into the new nationalism*, 1st Farrar, Straus and Giroux ed. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1995.

[45]

D. Brown, 'Are there two nationalisms: The good civic and bad ethnocultural?', in *Contemporary nationalism: civic, ethnocultural, and multicultural politics*, London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 50–69.

[46]

C. J. Calhoun, *Nations matter: culture, history, and the cosmopolitan dream*. London: Routledge, 2007. [Electronic resource]. Available: https://eu.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=4958787920002418&institutionId=2418&customerId=2415

[47]

D. Brown, 'Are there Good and Bad Nationalisms?', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 281–302, Apr. 1999, doi: 10.1111/j.1354-5078.1999.00281.x.

[48]

L. Greenfeld, 'Etymology, definitions, types', in *Encyclopedia of nationalism*, vol. 1, San Diego, Calif: Academic Press, 2001, pp. 251–265.

[49]

M. Billig, 'Chapter 1. Introduction', in *Banal nationalism*, London: SAGE, 1995, pp. 1–12. [Electronic resource]. Available:
http://eu.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=3039364810002418&institutionId=2418&customerId=2415

[50]

B. Anderson, 'Imagined communities', in *Nationalism*, vol. Oxford readers, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 89–96.

[51]

E. Renan, 'What is a nation?', in *Nation and narration*, London: Routledge, 1990, pp. 8–22.

[52]

M. Billig, *Banal nationalism*. London: SAGE, 1995. [Electronic resource]. Available:
<http://www.vlebooks.com/vleweb/product/openreader?id=AberystUni&isbn=9781446264577>

[53]

E. Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: The invention of tradition', in *The Invention of tradition*, E. Hobsbawm and T. O. Ranger, Eds, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016, pp. 1–14.

[54]

J. Coakley, 'Mobilizing the past: Nationalist images of history', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 531–560, Jan. 2004, doi: 10.1080/13537110490900340.

[55]

T. Baycroft, *France, vol. Inventing the nation*. London: Hodder Education, 2008.

[56]

B. R. O. Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, Revised edition. London: Verso, 2016. [Online]. Available: <http://www.vlebooks.com/vleweb/product/openreader?id=AberystUni&isbn=9781781683590>

[57]

R. Brubaker, 'Chapter 1. Rethinking nationhood: nation as institutionalised form, practical category, contingent event', in *Nationalism reframed: nationhood and the national question in the New Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 13–22.

[58]

A. Gol, 'Imagining the Turkish nation through "othering" Armenians*', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 121–139, Jan. 2005, doi: 10.1111/j.1354-5078.2005.00195.x.

[59]

J. Prideaux, 'Consuming icons: nationalism and advertising in Australia', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 15, no. 4, pp. 616–635, Oct. 2009, doi: 10.1111/j.1469-8129.2009.00411.x.

[60]

C. Calhoun, 'Chapter 2. Nationalism matters', in *Nations matter: culture, history, and the cosmopolitan dream*, London: Routledge, 2007, pp. 27–49. [Online]. Available: <https://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=https://shibboleth.aber.ac.uk/shibboleth&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9780203960899>

[61]

A. King, 'Chapter 21. Nationalism and sport', in *The SAGE handbook of nations and nationalism*, London: SAGE, 2006, pp. 249–259.

[62]

R. Jones and L. Desforges, 'Localities and the reproduction of Welsh nationalism', *Political Geography*, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 271–292, Mar. 2003, doi: 10.1016/S0962-6298(02)00096-3.

[63]

B. Goodwin, 'Beyond ideology: Nationalism', in *Using political ideas*, Sixth edition., Chichester: Wiley, 2014, pp. 281–303.

[64]

M. Freeden, 'Is Nationalism a Distinct Ideology?', *Political Studies*, vol. 46, no. 4, pp. 748–765, Sep. 1998, doi: 10.1111/1467-9248.00165.

[65]

S. Malesevic, 'Chapter 26. Nationalism and the power of ideology', in *The SAGE handbook of nations and nationalism*, London: SAGE, 2006, pp. 307–319.

[66]

A. Finlayson, 'Ideology, discourse and nationalism', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 99–118, Feb. 1998, doi: 10.1080/13569319808420771.

[67]

R. Ma'iz, 'Framing the nation: three rival versions of contemporary nationalist ideology', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 251–267, Oct. 2003, doi: 10.1080/1356931032000131165.

[68]

A. Heywood, 'Chapter 6. Nationalism', in *Political ideologies: an introduction*, Sixth edition.,

Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp. 163–193.

[69]

A. Finlayson, 'Chapter 5. Nationalism', in *Political ideologies: an introduction*, 3rd ed., New York: Routledge, 2003, pp. 97–118. [Online]. Available: http://eu.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=3039355610002418&institutionId=2418&customerId=2415

[70]

E. Benner, 'Is there a core national doctrine?', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 155–174, Apr. 2001, doi: 10.1111/1469-8219.00010.

[71]

D. McCrone, 'Unmasking Britannia: The Rise and Fall of British National Identity', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 579–596, Dec. 1997, doi: 10.1111/j.1354-5078.1997.00579.x.

[72]

L. Colley, 'Does Britishness still matter in the twentyfirst century - and how much and how well do the politicians care?', pp. 21–31, 2009, [Online]. Available: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-923X.2007.02016.x/epdf>

[73]

D. Marquand, 'How can Britain exit the EU? As a nation state Britain doesn't really exist | David Marquand | Opinion | The Guardian'. [Online]. Available: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jan/13/britain-doesnt-really-exist-exit-eu>

[74]

M. Phillips, 'Britain is the authentic nation in this battle'. [Online]. Available: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A484334173/STND?u=uniaber&sid=STND&xid=fd a3082e>

[75]

L. Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837*, 3rd ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987. [Online]. Available: https://eu.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=4805380750002418&institutionId=2418&customerId=2415

[76]

R. Langlands, 'Britishness or Englishness? The Historical Problem of National Identity in Britain', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 53-69, Jan. 1999, doi: 10.1111/j.1354-5078.1999.00053.x.

[77]

J. Mitchell, 'Chapter 1. Constituting the UK', in *Devolution in the United Kingdom*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009, pp. 1-15. [Electronic resource]. Available: http://eu.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=3039364770002418&institutionId=2418&customerId=2415

[78]

R. Wyn Jones et al., 'England and its two unions'. 2013. [Online]. Available: <https://www.research.ed.ac.uk/en/publications/england-and-its-two-unions-the-anatomy-of-a-nation-and-its-discon>

[79]

A. Aughey, 'National identity, allegiance and constitutional change in the United Kingdom', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 335-353, Apr. 2010, doi: 10.1111/j.1469-8129.2010.00425.x.

[80]

M. Rosie and R. Bond, 'National identities and politics after devolution', pp. 47-65, 2008, [Online]. Available: <http://www.radstats.org.uk/no097/RosieBond97.pdf>

[81]

C. Calhoun, 'Chapter 5. Populism, nationalism and Brexit', in *Brexit: sociological responses*, 1st edn, W. Outhwaite, Ed., London: Anthem Press, 2017. [Online]. Available: <http://www.vlebooks.com/vleweb/product/openreader?id=AberystUni&isbn=9781783086474>

[82]

K. Kumar, 'Negotiating English identity: Englishness, Britishness and the future of the United Kingdom', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 16, no. 3, pp. 469–487, Jun. 2010, doi: 10.1111/j.1469-8129.2010.00442.x.

[83]

A. Mycock, 'SNP, identity and citizenship: Re-imagining state and nation', *National Identities*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 53–69, Mar. 2012, doi: 10.1080/14608944.2012.657078.

[84]

D. Torrence, 'Curious case of SNP's shift from ethnic nationalism (From HeraldScotland)'. [Online]. Available: http://www.heraldscotland.com/opinion/13155444.Curious_case_of_SNPs_shift_from_ethnic_nationalism/

[85]

B. Jackson, 'The Political Thought of Scottish Nationalism', *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 85, no. 1, pp. 50–56, Jan. 2014, doi: 10.1111/j.1467-923X.2014.12058.x.

[86]

A. T. T. Smith, 'Relocating the British subject: Ethnographic encounters with identity politics and nationalism during the 2014 Scottish independence referendum', *The Sociological Review Monographs*, vol. 65, no. 1, pp. 54–70, Mar. 2017, doi: 10.1177/0081176917693538.

[87]

C. A. Davies, 'Chapter 6. Nationalism and the Welsh language - OpenLearn - Open University - D172_1'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.open.edu/openlearn/people-politics-law/politics-policy-people/sociology/contem>

porary-wales/content-section-6

[88]

'It is unusual. Why Wales is different from Scotland', *The Economist*, 19 AD, [Online].

Available:

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A405967771/AONE?u=uniaber&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=bac64c50>

[89]

J. W. McAuley, J. Tonge, and A. Mycock, *Loyal to the Core?: Orangeism and Britishness in Northern Ireland*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2011.

[90]

J. Tonge, M. Braniff, T. Hennessey, J. McAuley, and S. A. Whiting, *The Democratic Unionist Party: from protest to power*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2014.

[91]

J. Garry and K. McNicholl, 'Understanding the "Northern irish" identity'. 2014. [Online].

Available:

http://www.niassembly.gov.uk/globalassets/documents/raise/knowledge_exchange/briefing_papers/series4/northern_ireland_identity_garry_mcnicholl_policy_document.pdf

[92]

J. Evans and J. Tonge, 'Catholic, Irish and Nationalist: evaluating the importance of ethno-national and ethno-religious variables in determining nationalist political allegiance in Northern Ireland', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 357–375, Apr. 2013, doi: 10.1111/nana.12005.

[93]

T. Clayton, 'Politics and nationalism in Scotland: a Clydeside case study of identity construction', *Political Geography*, vol. 21, no. 6, pp. 813–843, Aug. 2002, doi: 10.1016/S0962-6298(02)00028-8.

[94]

E. Hepburn, 'Introduction: Re-conceptualizing sub-state mobilization', *Regional & Federal Studies*, vol. 19, no. 4-5, pp. 477-499, Dec. 2009, doi: 10.1080/13597560903310204.

[95]

M. Keating, 'Chapter 3. The new territorial politics', in *Nations against the state: the new politics of nationalism in Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland*, 2nd ed., Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001, pp. 49-76.

[96]

E. Hepburn, 'What next for independence movements in Europe? | openDemocracy'. [Online]. Available: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/eve-hepburn/what-next-for-independence-movements-in-europe>

[97]

Anwen Elias, 'Between accommodation and secession: Explaining the shifting territorial goals of nationalist parties in the Basque Country and Catalonia', *Revista d'estudis autonòmics i federals*, no. 25, 2017, [Online]. Available: <http://www.raco.cat/index.php/REAF/article/view/321752/412386>

[98]

M. M. Guibernau i Berdu

n, *Nations without states: political communities in a global age*. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1999.

[99]

L. de Winter and H. Türsan, *Regionalist parties in Western Europe*, vol. Routledge/ECPR studies in European political science Regionalist parties in Western Europe. [Place of publication not identified]: Routledge, 1998. [Online]. Available: http://eu.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=2474851990002418&institutionId=2418&customerId=2415

[100]

M. Gomez-Reino Cachafeiro, L. de Winter, and P. Lynch, *Autonomist parties in Europe: identity politics and the revival of the territorial cleavage*. Barcelona: ICPS, 2006.

[101]

A. Elias and F. Tronconi, Eds, *From protest to power: autonomist parties and the challenges of representation*, vol. *Studien zur politischen Wirklichkeit*. Wien: Braumu

ller, 2011.

[102]

E. Massetti and A. H. Schakel, 'Between autonomy and secession', *Party Politics*, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 59–79, Jan. 2016, doi: 10.1177/1354068813511380.

[103]

M. Keating, 'European integration and the nationalities question', *Politics & Society*, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 1–22, [Online]. Available: http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/2366/Keating_2004_EurIntegration.pdf;sequence=1

[104]

A. Elias, *Minority nationalist parties and European integration: a comparative study*, vol. *Routledge/UACES contemporary European studies*. London: Routledge, 2009.

[105]

S. Alonso, L. Cabeza, and B. Gómez, 'Disentangling peripheral parties' issue packages in subnational elections', *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 240–263, Mar. 2017, doi: 10.1057/cep.2015.15.

[106]

J. Sorens, 'Globalization, secessionism, and autonomy', *Electoral Studies*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 727–752, Dec. 2004, doi: 10.1016/j.electstud.2003.10.003.

[107]

E. Harris, 'Chapter 4. The fall and rise: Post-communism and nationalism', in *Nationalism: Theories and Cases*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009, pp. 98–127. [Electronic resource]. Available:
http://eu.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=3039381010002418&institutionId=2418&customerId=2415

[108]

P. M. Kitromilides, '"Imagined Communities" and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans', *European History Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 149–192, Apr. 1989.

[109]

A. Pavković, 'Anticipating the disintegration: Nationalisms in former Yugoslavia, 1980–1990', *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 427–440, Sep. 1997.

[110]

A. Pavkovic, 'Nations into states: National liberations in former Yugoslavia'. 2001. [Online]. Available:
<https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/41654/3/pavkovic.pdf>

[111]

A. Pavković, *The fragmentation of Yugoslavia: nationalism and war in the Balkans*, 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000.

[112]

A. Oberschall, 'The manipulation of ethnicity: from ethnic cooperation to violence and war in Yugoslavia', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 23, no. 6, pp. 982–1001, Jan. 2000, doi: 10.1080/014198700750018388.

[113]

Mary Kaldor, 'Yugoslavia and the New Nationalism', *New Left Review*, vol. 197, 1993, [Online]. Available: <https://newleftreview.org/l/197/mary-kaldor-yugoslavia-and-the-new-nationalism>

[114]

V. Pesic, 'Serbian nationalism and the origins of the Yugoslav crisis'. 1996. [Online]. Available: https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/30963/1996_april_pwks8.pdf

[115]

M. Glenny, *The Balkans: nationalism, war, and the Great Powers, 1804-2012*. London: Granta, 2012.

[116]

D. Conversi, 'Central secession: Towards a new analytical concept? The case of former Yugoslavia', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 333–355, Apr. 2000, doi: 10.1080/13691830050022839.

[117]

R. Brubaker, 'Chapter 3. National minorities, nationalizing states, and external national homelands in the new Europe', in *Nationalism reframed: nationhood and the national question in the New Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 55–78.

[118]

B. Neuberger, 'National self-determination: Dilemmas of a concept', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 297–325, Nov. 1995.

[119]

M. Moore, 'Chapter 1. The self-determination principle and the ethics of secession', in *National self-determination and secession*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 1–13.

[120]

J. Mayall, 'Sovereignty, national self-determination and secession', in *Secessionism and separatism in Europe and Asia: to have a state of one's own*, vol. Politics in Asia series, J.-P. Cabestan and A. Pavkoviâc, Eds, London: Routledge, 2013, pp. 20–33. [Electronic resource]. Available:
http://eu.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=3039364760002418&institutionId=2418&customerId=2415

[121]

U. Abulof, 'We the peoples? The strange demise of self-determination', *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 536–565, Sep. 2016, doi: 10.1177/1354066115595096.

[122]

D. Thurer and T. Burri, 'Self-determination', in *Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law*. [Online]. Available:
<http://opil.ouplaw.com/view/10.1093/law:epil/9780199231690/law-9780199231690-e873>

[123]

M. Guibernau, 'Self-determination in the Twenty-First Century', *Ethnopolitics*, vol. 14, no. 5, pp. 540–546, Oct. 2015, doi: 10.1080/17449057.2015.1051814.

[124]

N. Walker, 'Internal enlargement in the European Union: Beyond legalism and political expediency'. 2015. [Online]. Available:
<https://poseidon01.ssrn.com/delivery.php?ID=635090098026019006093108097026030113035055008027063057097125087071105126123025123023103053058028021063113099019001123089003123118025036001009114119067066123087075003052071021107126025097064097011122064125107065078074117092119088093085019107105069107&EXT=pdf>

[125]

A. Buchanan, 'Theories of secession', pp. 31–61, 1997, [Online]. Available:
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1088-4963.1997.tb00049.x/epdf>

[126]

S. Richter and U. Halbach, 'A dangerous precedent? The political implications of Kosovo's independence on ethnic conflicts in South-Eastern Europe and the CIS', *Security and Human Rights*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 223–237, Sep. 2009, doi: 10.1163/187502309789192496.

[127]

M. Weller, *Contested statehood: Kosovo's struggle for independence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

[128]

A. Pavkovic and P. Radan, Eds, *On the way to statehood: secession and globalisation*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008.

[129]

J. Baer, 'Who, why and how: Assessing the legitimacy of secession', 2000, [Online]. Available: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/j.1662-6370.2000.tb00297.x/epdf>

[130]

A.
Pavkovic

and P. Radan, *Creating new states: theory and practice of secession*. Aldershot, Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2007. [Electronic resource]. Available: https://eu.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=5195539150002418&institutionId=2418&customerId=2415

[131]

A. Pavković, 'Recursive secessions in Former Yugoslavia: Too hard a case for theories of secession?', *Political Studies*, vol. 48, no. 3, pp. 485–502, Jun. 2000, doi: 10.1111/1467-9248.00271.

[132]

M. Minkenberg, 'The renewal of the radical right: Between modernity and anti-modernity', *Government and Opposition*, vol. 35, no. 02, pp. 170–188, Apr. 2000.

[133]

C. Crouch, 'Chapter 8. Globalization, nationalism, and the changing axes of political identity', in *Brexit: Sociological Responses (Key Issues in Modern Sociology)*, Anthem Press, 1 AD. [Online]. Available:
<http://www.vlebooks.com/vleweb/product/openreader?id=AberystUni&isbn=9781783086474>

[134]

M. Hirsh, 'Why the New Nationalists Are Taking Over - POLITICO Magazine'. [Online]. Available:
<http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/06/nationalism-donald-trump-boris-johnson-brexit-foreign-policy-xenophobia-isolationism-213995>

[135]

D. Halikiopoulou, 'What is new and what is nationalist about Europe's "new nationalism"?' [Online]. Available:
<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/what-is-new-and-what-is-nationalist-about-europes-new-nationalism/>

[136]

M. Golder, 'Far Right Parties in Europe', *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 477–497, May 2016, doi: 10.1146/annurev-polisci-042814-012441.

[137]

E. Kaufmann, 'Trump and Brexit: why it's again NOT the economy, stupid | British Politics and Policy at LSE'. [Online]. Available:
<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/trump-and-brexit-why-its-again-not-the-economy-stupid/>

[138]

C. Mudde, Ed., *The populist radical right: a reader*, vol. Routledge studies in extremism and democracy. London: Routledge, 2017.

[139]

C. Mudde, *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. [Electronic resource]. Available:
http://eu.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=2469787660002418&institutionId=2418&customerId=2415

[140]

A. L. P. Pirro, *The populist radical right in Central and Eastern Europe: ideology, impact, and electoral performance*, vol. Routledge studies in extremism and democracy. London: Routledge, 2015.

[141]

C. Mudde, 'The populist zeitgeist', *Government and Opposition*, vol. 39, no. 4, pp. 542–563, Sep. 2004, doi: 10.1111/j.1477-7053.2004.00135.x.

[142]

M. Goodwin, 'Right Response: Understanding and Countering Populist Extremism in Europe | Chatham House'. [Online]. Available:
https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/r0911_goodwin.pdf

[143]

M. Rooduijn, 'The rise of the populist radical right in Western Europe', *European View*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 3–11, Jun. 2015, doi: 10.1007/s12290-015-0347-5.

[144]

A. Chakelian, 'Rise of the nationalists: a guide to Europe's far-right parties'. [Online]. Available:
<http://www.newstatesman.com/world/europe/2017/03/rise-nationalists-guide-europe-s-far-right-parties>

[145]

U. Ozkirimli, 'Chapter 6. Nationalism and globalization', in *Contemporary debates on nationalism: a critical engagement*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 126–161.

[146]

Natalie Sabanadze, 'Chapter 2. Nationalism resurgent: Central paradox of the global era?', in *Globalization and Nationalism: The Cases of Georgia and the Basque Country*, Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010, pp. 15–34. [Online]. Available: <http://books.openedition.org/ceup/571?lang=en>

[147]

Natalie Sabanadze, 'Chapter 6. Globalization and nationalism. The relationship revisited.', in *Globalization and Nationalism: The Cases of Georgia and the Basque Country*, Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010, pp. 169–186. [Online]. Available: <https://books.openedition.org/ceup/575>

[148]

C. Calhoun, 'Chapter 1. Is it time to be postnational?', in *Nations matter: culture, history, and the cosmopolitan dream*, London: Routledge, 2007, pp. 11–26. [Online]. Available: <https://www.dawsonera.com/guard/protected/dawson.jsp?name=https://shibboleth.aber.ac.uk/shibboleth&dest=http://www.dawsonera.com/depp/reader/protected/external/AbstractView/S9780203960899>

[149]

M. Kaldor, 'Nationalism and globalisation', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 10, no. 1–2, pp. 161–177, Jan. 2004, doi: 10.1111/j.1354-5078.2004.00161.x.

[150]

G. Ariely, 'Globalisation and the decline of national identity? An exploration across sixty-three countries', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 461–482, Jul. 2012, doi: 10.1111/j.1469-8129.2011.00532.x.

[151]

E. Harris, 'Why has nationalism not run its course?', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 243–247, Apr. 2016, doi: 10.1111/nana.12185.

[152]

Peter Bloom, 'As anti-globalisation politics fail, nationalism sweeps the world', *The Conversation*, [Online]. Available: <https://theconversation.com/as-anti-globalisation-politics-fail-nationalism-sweeps-the-world-33102>

[153]

D. Held, 'Cultural and political community: national, global and cosmopolitan', in *Nations and nationalism: a reader*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006, pp. 317–327.

[154]

M. Keating, 'Chapter 1. So many nations, so few states: Territory and nationalism in the global era', in *Multinational democracies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 39–64.

[155]

C. Calhoun, 'Cosmopolitanism and nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 427–448, Jul. 2008, doi: 10.1111/j.1469-8129.2008.00359.x.

[156]

L. Cram, 'Identity and European integration: diversity as a source of integration', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 109–128, Jan. 2009, doi: 10.1111/j.1469-8129.2009.00367.x.

[157]

J. Weiler, 'Does Europe need a constitution? Reflections on demos, telos and ethnos in the German Maastricht Decision', in *The question of Europe*, London: Verso, 1997, pp. 265–294.

[158]

A. D. Smith, 'National identity and the idea of European unity', *International Affairs*, vol. 68, no. 1, pp. 55–76, Jan. 1992, doi: 10.2307/2620461.

[159]

M. Mycielski, 'The crisis of European identity and awakening of civil society', *European View*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 223–232, Dec. 2016, doi: 10.1007/s12290-016-0409-3.

[160]

B. Wellings and B. Power, 'Euro-myth: nationalism, war and the legitimacy of the European Union', *National Identities*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 157–177, Apr. 2016, doi: 10.1080/14608944.2015.1011110.

[161]

A. Polyakova and N. Fligstein, 'Is European integration causing Europe to become more nationalist? Evidence from the 2007–9 financial crisis', *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 60–83, Jan. 2016, doi: 10.1080/13501763.2015.1080286.

[162]

J. Citrin and J. Sides, 'More than nationals: how identity choice matters in the new Europe', in *Transnational identities: becoming European in the EU*, vol. Governance in Europe, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004, pp. 161–185.

[163]

N. Fligstein, *Euroclash: The EU, European Identity, and the Future of Europe*. Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2008. [Electronic resource]. Available: http://eu.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=2474860810002418&institutionId=2418&customerId=2415

[164]

L. CRAM, 'Does the EU Need a Navel? Implicit and Explicit Identification with the European Union.', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 50, no. 1, pp. 71–86, Jan. 2012, doi: 10.1111/j.1468-5965.2011.02207.x.

[165]

C. Closa and C. D. Vintila, 'European citizenship in a time of crisis', in *How European citizens deal with these times of crisis*, 2014, pp. 19–30.