71. The State of the State in Europe

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A major issue facing Europeanist anthropology today is the changing character of the state in light of European Union (EU) expansion and globalisation more broadly. In an attempt to open new perspectives on this issue, this workshop examines the various techniques through which state authority is effected and contested, the quality of peace and social regulation that these techniques sustain, and the transformations in anthropological method and theory necessary to study contemporary state authority. These issues directly inform our understanding of how political elites deploy state authority, how individuals construct their own identities vis-à-vis the state, and how people strive to manipulate state authority in their own favour. Notions of culture, security, territory, and governmentality are inherent in the study of the state. As such, this workshop sets out to elucidate the power effects of these notions in relation to the separation of the state from the nation, the presence of state culture in everyday life, and to a variety of ethnographic settings that include the Balkans, Estonia, Hungary, Italy, and Northern Ireland. The papers are united by a concern – direct or indirect – with methodological and theoretical innovations that allow us to better examine how the state is securing or relinquishing its authority in contemporary Europe. Perhaps most significant is the dilemma of how to analyse the state as it no longer constitutes the premier framework for organising societal relations and the economy, even if it plays a fundamental role in the EU's largely intergovernmentalist composition.

The Separation of the State from the Nation: the Global Parameters and Cultural Logics of an Emergent Absolutism
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This paper deals with the relation between a number of European and North American phenomena that are, it is argued, structurally related; class polarisation not least between an emergent political class for itself and the remnants of the nation, the development of multiculturalist/hybridist ideology and identities as opposed to increasing indigenisation of working and ex-working class nationals. It is suggested that real globalisation and elite cosmopolitanism identity are connected logically to an opposed localism that has potentially explosive characteristics just as ethnic and cultural fragmentation appear to be rampant in the lower reaches of certain sectors of the global social order. The reconfiguration of power in an imperial direction is one of the most salient aspects of this process one that can be observed in the transformation of contemporary Europe.

The Supervised State
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Although pronouncements of the demise of the modern state in contemporary economic and political conditions are misguided, the meanings and powers of statehood within Europe are being reformulated. If all European states are being asked to accede some degree of sovereignty to European institutions, this is heightened for new applicant states standing at the European periphery. Among other requirements, applicant states have to demonstrate commitment to democratisation, the development of civil society and respect for human and minority rights. These requirements need to be seen in the broader context of the aftermath of the Yugoslav crisis (including Bosnia, Kosovo, and Macedonia), and the emergence of arguments for a potentially long-term, quasi-imperial supervision of parts of the region, by NATO, the UN or some other supranational entity of 'stable' states. In light of this move, I will explore intriguing parallels between contemporary approaches by 'the international community' to eastern and southeastern European states, and those evident in the immediate post-war period of the 1920's, through the figure of the 'supervised' state. Interestingly, in both cases minority rights and the governance of 'difference' have been the rationale and focus of supranational supervision of such states. This enquiry will thus open up questions about how statehood, sovereignty and the relations of some European states to supranational and/or international communities are reconceived and negotiated in post-imperial moments.

Neoliberal Nationalism and European Security: The Case of Ethnic Integration Policy in Estonia
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This paper demonstrates how the construction of a secure European interstate system is inherently linked to the construction of Russian-speaking minorities in Estonia's ethnic integration policy. The guiding questions are how the 'nation-state' functions as a category of practice in a diplomatic context to 'secure' a European political order, and how does it foster a certain construction of minorities as policy subjects. These are addressed through an examination of discourses of the nation, state, security, and the neo-liberal self, which inform the ways 'elites of statecraft' frame the integration of roughly 500,000 Russian-speakers into Estonian society as a particular kind of problem requiring a particular policy solution. The paper argues that Estonia's accession to the European Union helps to establish the linguistic and cultural hegemony of the ethnic Estonian majority because this move is seen as a necessary condition of a broader European security. Rather than achieve this security negatively, or by sanctioning the Russian-speaker, it is to be realised positively, or productively, by attempting to have Russian-speakers become active reproducers of Estonian hegemony in public space. In this vein, Estonia's main ethnic integration document, *State Programme: Integration in Estonian Society 2000-2007*, should be not interpreted as a reactionary east European attempt to protect the nation but rather as a logical expression of pan-European assumptions of national security and neoliberalism.

States by Choice? Transformations of the Hungarian State
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Ernest Gellner makes a profound statement when he proposes that social institutions and cultures are seldom chosen, 'they are our fate, not our choice' (1996). What about states? Since the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy after the First World War, the Hungarian state experienced six major transformations: an inchoate monarchic republic between 1920-1944, in 1944-1945 a brief fascist totalitarianism, a short-lived but pluralistic democracy in 1945-1948, Stalinist dictatorship in 1948-1956, between 1957-1989 state socialist democracy, and since 1990 a multi-party democratic nation-state. While the nature and number of these transformations is not characteristic to Hungary alone, there are some important questions that need to be answered: what choices did the ruling elites make in order to create their ideal state? Was there a popular consensus in the legitimating process? How did scholars study the social contexts that tell us about the nature of the creation of these states? What can anthropologists say about these state formations and transformations from the local perspectives? And how and in what ways can we understand transition of power from one state to another by looking at the diverse meaning attached to their classificatory models. In this presentation I will describe and analyse the characteristics of these state formations by looking at the controversial theories supplied for them.

Contesting 'Space': Constructions of The State in Northern Italy
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The last few years have witnessed an increasing interest among anthropologists in how states represent themselves as spatialised entities encompassing locality. Yet while encompassment has been understood by adopting a 'top-down' approach, the issue of how the state is constructed 'from below', when it ceases to be the dominant framework defining society, remains largely unexplored. Contemporary Italy lends itself to the exploration of this issue, because of the rise of centre-right movements that contest political sovereignty. Drawing upon research conducted in Trentino, in northern Italy, the paper examines some of the techniques whereby grassroots politicians contest the state's encompassing height. It highlights a paradox: while in state-sponsored ceremonies their rhetoric draws upon the imagery of the fatherland, when the enforcement of state laws conflicts with their own private goals they construct instead the Italian state as an intrusive element, alien to the local community and civil society. The paper argues that although the state remains defined as an entity over and above civil society, family and locality, it is precisely in spatial terms, by denying the idea of 'verticality', that its legitimacy may be contested. In showing that the state is not constructed as an entity 'above' civil society and locality, but 'outside' them, the paper also makes the point that resistance to the state remains a matter of spatiality and territoriality.

The Europeanization of Culture, Capital, and the State: A Case Study from Northern Ireland
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This paper seeks to sidestep a discussion of the relative loss of power by the state in a supranational European Union by addressing some means whereby political power and economic capital can be accumulated, diluted or diverted through the Europeanisation of regional and national programmes and policies. Through a focus

on the recent failed bid by Belfast, Northern Ireland, to be nominated as the United Kingdom's European capital of culture, this paper examines various ways in which culture functions as policy capital: on the one hand the EU and its member states seek to legitimise the European project through the support of cultural programmes which enhance the affective dimensions of European identity building, while on the other hand various groups in localities utilise diverse definitions and practices of culture to acquire development funds and other financial subsidies, in order to make culture a capital investment itself which will pay off through future tourism, business and infrastructural development. In the mist of all of these policies and posturings over culture, political and other interest groups seek to defend the values of their particular national and regional cultures, in ways which appeal to local constituents, the representatives of the state, and the agents of the EU.

Contact Zones: Rethinking the Senses of State
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As anthropology has moved into the new millennium, its theoretical apparatus remains remarkably unprepared to deal with one of the major developments of the late twentieth century: the pervasive presence of state culture in everyday life. With the analytic turn toward the nation as an 'imagined political community' and the corresponding concern with how conceptions of peoplehood are forged under the impact of capitalism, media technologies, and scientific ideology, the theoretical tools for engaging the operation of modern state systems remain unsynthesized in the anthropological canon. Understandings of 'catastrophic nationalism' and the potential for mass violence by bureaucratic rationality are staged against the myth, magic, and 'nervous system' of the state, and the ways in which its history or memory is performed and embodied. Building on these insights, and with an eye to the 'structure of feelings' with which the modern state apparatus flows through the domains of daily life, my paper attempts to reexamine those 'contact zones', where the political field asserts its presence through bodily experience and engrafts itself through the senses. My focus on political subjectivities aims to contribute to a new cultural analytics of the state.