

# **CPO4721 / EUS 4930:**

## **The Politics of Ethnic Conflict / The Politics of Ethnicity in Europe**

**Instructor: Sarah Snowmann**

**Office Hours: TBD**

**Location: MAT 0118**

**Meeting Times: Tuesdays 10:40 AM-11:30, Thursdays 10:40-12:35**

### **Course Description**

In this course, students will be introduced to interdisciplinary approaches to studying ethnicity and nationalism, grounded in the context of Europe. We will examine various manifestations of ethnicity: violence, partisanship, secession, and more. We will delve into the histories of specific ethnic groups in the region, ways in which national institutions have been used to manage ethnic divisions, and how the EU has dealt with issues of ethnicity and nationalism. This course will give students the ability to more clearly grasp both ethnic politics and European politics, allowing them to engage in discourse surrounding one of the most divisive issues in European life. Through the weekly readings and their independent research projects, students will ultimately be able to better answer questions about ethnic political parties, secessionism, the rise of nationalism, and how these topics can help to explain the broader political environment of Europe.

### **Course Policies:**

#### ***Grades and Deadlines:***

- Participation: 10%
- Attendance: 5%
  - You may miss two classes with no penalty or excuse, but any unexcused absences beyond those two results in a zero for the attendance grade.
- Two Response Papers: 15%
  - These papers are short (500-750) words on the readings for any given week. At least one must be submitted on or before February 29.
- Discussion Leadership: 10%
  - Twice throughout the semester, students must attend class with 2-3 prepared, discussion-provoking questions on the course reading of the day to discuss with their classmates.
- Capstone Research Proposal: 10%
  - Due January 25
  - This is a short (300-500) word proposal on a case study for your capstone research paper. Topics could include support for secessionism in Catalonia, policy towards ethnic Russian non-citizens in Latvia, ethnic cleansing during the Yugoslav Wars, or any other topic you could imagine on the intersection of

Europe and ethnicity. If you are using this class for the EU Studies minor or certificate, the paper must focus on the EU and EU policy.

- Capstone Annotated Bibliography / Outline: 10%
  - Due March 7
  - You may submit either an outline with references or an annotated bibliography for your final paper for this assignment.
- Capstone Workshop and Presentation: 10%
  - In-class Weeks 14 & 16
  - This includes your formal final presentation along with peer reviewing your peer's papers.
- Capstone Research Project: 30%
  - Due May 1 at 11:59 PM Eastern Time
  - This paper will be 3,000-5,000 words on your topic.

### ***Grading Scale:***

A =93-100; A- = 90-92; B+ =87-89; B =83-86; B- =80-82; C+ =77-79;  
C =73-76; C- =70-72; D =60-69; F =0-59

### ***Late Assignments and Attendance***

Without prior approval, late assignments will be subject to a penalty of 10% per day. You may incur two unexcused absences without penalty, but any unexcused absences beyond that will result in a forfeiture of the attendance credit. In accordance with university policy, acceptable reasons for absence from class include illness, serious family emergencies, special curricular requirements (e.g., judging trips, field trips, professional conferences), military obligation, severe weather conditions, religious holidays, and participation in official university activities such as music performances, athletic competition or debate. Absences from class for court-imposed legal obligations (e.g., jury duty or subpoena) must be excused. Other reasons also may be approved.

## **Course Schedule**

*Note: Readings are to be completed before class. If a reading is listed under "Tuesday", it is to be completed before the start of Tuesday's class. The syllabus is subject to change, and students will be notified electronically if that is the case.*

### **Week 1: Introductions**

#### ***Tuesday, January 09***

- No Reading

#### ***Thursday, January 11***

- No class; Southern Political Science Association Meeting

## Week 2: Ethnicity & European Nation-Building

### Tuesday, January 16

- Henry Hale, “Explaining Ethnicity,” *Comparative Political Studies* 37, 4 (May 2004): 458-85.
- Brubaker, R. (2009). Ethnicity, race, and nationalism. *Annual review of sociology*, 35, 21-42.

### Thursday, January 18

- Kraus, P. A. (2012). The politics of complex diversity: A European perspective. *Ethnicities*, 12(1), 3–25. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796811426952>
- BJÖRKLUND, F. (2006), The East European ‘ethnic nation’– Myth or reality?. *European Journal of Political Research*, 45: 93-121. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2005.00292.x>

## Week 3: Institutional Problem-Solving and National Diversity

### Tuesday, January 23

- Roeder, Philip & and Donald Rothchild, Chapter 2 from *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*
- Rudy B. Andeweg. 2000. Consociational Democracy. *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 509- 536

### Thursday, January 25 - Research proposal due

- Donald Horowitz. 1993. “Democracy in Divided Societies,” *Journal of Democracy* 4, 4 (October): 18-38.
- Caluwaerts, D. and M. Reuchamps. 2015. “Combining Federalism with Consociationalism: Is Belgian Consociational Federalism Digging its Own Grave?” *Ethnopolitics* 14(3): 277-295.

## Week 4: Not That Kind of Party: Ethnic Political Parties

### Tuesday, January 30

- Chapter 7, Horowitz D. L. (1985). *Ethnic groups in conflict*. University of California Press.
- Coakley, J. (2008), Ethnic competition and the logic of party system transformation. *European Journal of Political Research*, 47: 766-793. doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2008.00824.x

***Thursday, February 01***

- Chandra, K. (2005). Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability. *Perspectives on Politics*, 3(2), 235-252. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3688028>
- Flesken, A. (2018), Ethnic Parties, Ethnic Tensions? Results of an Original Election Panel Study. *American Journal of Political Science*, 62: 967-981. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12385>

**Week 5: Library Guest Speaker & Secessionism, Regionalism, and Irredentism*****Tuesday, February 06***

- Patricia Takacs, Political Science Librarian will be speaking with the class about how to utilize the library's resources to conduct academic literature reviews.

***Thursday, February 08***

- Anderson, P. & Keil, S. (2016). Minority Nationalism and the European Union: The Cases of Scotland and Catalonia. *L'Europe en Formation*, 379, 40-57. <https://doi.org/10.3917/eufor.379.0040>
- Myra A. Waterbury (2008) Uncertain Norms, Unintended Consequences: The Effects of European Union Integration on Kin-state Politics in Eastern Europe, *Ethnopolitics*, 7:2-3, 217-238, DOI: 10.1080/17449050701413427
- Sorens, J. (2005). The Cross-Sectional Determinants of Secessionism in Advanced Democracies. *Comparative Political Studies*, 38(3), 304–326. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414004272538>

**Week 6: Ethnic Violence: Reasons and Ramifications*****Tuesday, February 13***

- Varshney, A. (2003). Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Rationality. *Perspectives on Politics*, 1(1), 85-99. doi:10.1017/S1537592703000069
- Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival* 35:1 (1993), pp. 27-47.

***Thursday, February 15***

- Maney, G.M. (2005), "VARIATIONS IN THE CAUSES OF ETHNONATIONALIST VIOLENCE: NORTHERN IRELAND, 1969–72", *International Journal of Conflict Management*, Vol. 16 No. 1, pp. 70-96. <https://doi.org/10.1108/eb022924>

- Anthony Oberschall (2000) The manipulation of ethnicity: from ethnic cooperation to violence and war in Yugoslavia, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23:6, 982-1001, DOI: 10.1080/014198700750018388

### **Week 7: Colonialism, Migration, and the New Europe**

#### ***Tuesday, February 20***

- Blanton, R., Mason, T. D., & Athow, B. (2001). Colonial Style and Post-Colonial Ethnic Conflict in Africa. *Journal of Peace Research*, 38(4), 473–491.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343301038004005>
- Lange M, Jeong T, Amasyali E. The colonial origins of ethnic warfare: Re-examining the impact of communalizing colonial policies in the British and French Empires. *Int J Comp Sociol.* 2021 Apr;62(2):141-165. doi: 10.1177/00207152211023793. Epub 2021 Jun 16. PMID: 35228760; PMCID: PMC8874078.

#### ***Thursday, February 22***

- Goodman, S. (2012). Fortifying Citizenship: Policy Strategies for Civic Integration in Western Europe. *World Politics*, 64(4), 659-698. doi:10.1017/S0043887112000184
- Van Mol, C., de Valk, H. (2016). Migration and Immigrants in Europe: A Historical and Demographic Perspective. In: Garcés-Mascareñas, B., Penninx, R. (eds) *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*. IMISCOE Research Series. Springer, Cham.  
[https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-21674-4\\_3](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-21674-4_3)

### **Week 8: The EU and the Nation**

#### ***Tuesday, February 27***

- Risse, Thomas, “A European Identity: Europeanization and the evolution of nation state identities” Chapter 11 in Green-Cowles, Maria, James Caporaso and Thomas Risse (Eds.) (2001) *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change*

#### ***Thursday, February 29*** – One response paper must be turned in on or before this date

- Anderson, P. & Keil, S. (2016). Minority Nationalism and the European Union: The Cases of Scotland and Catalonia. *L'Europe en Formation*, 379, 40-57. <https://doi.org/10.3917/eufor.379.0040>
- Zmiyenka, Oleksandra. (2018). The EU: Power(less) in Statelessness? The Case of the Baltic States. *The Journal of Social Policy Studies*. 16. 677-690. 10.17323/727-0634-2018-16-4-677-690.

### **Week 9: The Post-Soviet Space**

***Tuesday, March 05***

- Benjamin Smith, “Separatist Conflict in the Former Soviet Union and Beyond: How Different Was Communism?” *World Politics* April 2013.
- Ivan Kalmar (2023) Race, racialisation, and the East of the European Union: an introduction, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 49:6, 1465-1480, DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2022.2154909

***Thursday, March 07*** – Annotated bibliography or outline due

- Gwendolyn Sasse (2008) The politics of EU conditionality: the norm of minority protection during and beyond EU accession, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15:6, 842-860, DOI: 10.1080/13501760802196580
- Political and Electoral Rights of Noncitizen Residents in Latvia and Estonia: Current Situation and Perspectives-  
[https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2018/604953/IPOL\\_BRI\(2018\)604953\\_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2018/604953/IPOL_BRI(2018)604953_EN.pdf)

**Week 10: Spring Break!****Week 11: Other Identities: The Impact of Class and Gender on Ethnic Identities*****Tuesday, March 19***

- Lorenz, Chris (2008). Representations of identity : Ethnicity, race, class, gender and religion : An introduction into conceptual history. In Stefan Berger & Chris Lorenz (eds.), *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*. Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Anthias, F. (2001). The Concept of ‘Social Division’ and Theorising Social Stratification: Looking at Ethnicity and Class. *Sociology*, 35(4), 835-854.  
doi:10.1017/S0038038501008355

***Thursday, March 21***

- Verloo, M. (2006). Multiple Inequalities, Intersectionality and the European Union. *European Journal of Women’s Studies*, 13(3), 211–228.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506806065753>
- Emanuela Lombardo & Mieke Verloo (2009) Institutionalizing Intersectionality in the European Union?, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 11:4, 478-495, DOI: 10.1080/14616740903237442

**Week 12: The Recent Rise of Nationalism and Illiberalism*****Tuesday, March 26***

- Halikiopoulou, D., and Vlandas, T. (2019) What is new and what is nationalist about Europe's new nationalism? Explaining the rise of the far right in Europe, *Nations and Nationalism*, 25: 409–434. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12515>.
- Milačić, Filip & Ivan Vuković (2018) The Rise of the Politics of National Identity: New Evidence from Western Europe, *Ethnopolitics*, 17:5, 443-460, DOI: 10.1080/17449057.2017.1333313

***Thursday, March 28***

- Postelnicescu C. Europe's New Identity: The Refugee Crisis and the Rise of Nationalism. *Eur J Psychol.* 2016 May 31;12(2):203-9. doi: 10.5964/ejop.v12i2.1191. PMID: 27298631; PMCID: PMC4894286.

**Week 13: Brexit, Donemark, Quitaly?: Disintegration and Nationalism**

***Tuesday, April 02***

- Wellings, B. (2022). Nationalism and European disintegration. *Nations and Nationalism*, 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12884>
- Peter Wahl (2017) Between Eurotopia and Nationalism: A Third Way for the Future of the EU, *Globalizations*, 14:1, 157-163, DOI: 10.1080/14747731.2016.1228787

***Thursday, April 04***

- Snowmann, Sarah (forthcoming) Independence in Europe: Regionalist Party Rhetoric and the EU in a Post-Brexit United Kingdom. Under review.
- Neema Begum (2023) “The European family? Wouldn’t that be the white people?”: Brexit and British ethnic minority attitudes towards Europe, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 46:15, 3293-3315, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2023.2205499

**Week 14: Research Paper Workshop**

***Tuesday, April 09***

- No Reading

***Thursday, April 11***

- No Reading

**Week 15: The Future of European Identity / Final Presentations**

***Tuesday, April 16***

- Guibernau, M. Prospects for a European Identity. *Int J Polit Cult Soc* 24, 31–43 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10767-010-9104-6>

- Capello, R. (2018) Cohesion Policies and the Creation of a European Identity: The Role of Territorial Identity. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56: 489–503. doi: 10.1111/jcms.12611.

### ***Thursday, April 18***

- Final presentations

## **Week 16: Final Presentations**

### ***Tuesday, April 23***

- No Reading

## **UF Policies:**

### ***Controversial Material in Classrooms***

People learn best when they are encouraged to ask questions and express their diverse opinions on course content, which may include images, texts, data, and theories from across the disciplines. This is especially true in courses that deal with provocative or contemporary issues. UF offers many such courses, in which students encounter concepts of race, color, sex, and/or national origin. We teach these important issues because understanding them is essential for anyone who seeks to make economic, cultural, and societal contributions to today's complex world. With this in mind, we do not limit access to, or classroom discussion of, facts, ideas, and opinions—including those that some may find uncomfortable, unwelcome, disagreeable, or even offensive. In response to challenging material, students and instructors are encouraged to ask honest questions and thoughtfully engage one another's ideas. But hostility, disruptive and disrespectful behavior, and provocation for provocation's sake have no place in a classroom; reasonable people disagree reasonably. These guidelines can help instructors and students as they work together to fulfill the mission of the University of Florida, which includes the exploration of intellectual boundaries, the creation of new knowledge and the pursuit of new ideas.

### ***Registration of Student Complaints***

If students have concerns about classroom issues, disagreements or grades, their first point of contact is the classroom instructor whose contact information appears on the syllabus. If the problem cannot be resolved, the student should email the next departmental contact: in classes with TAs, this is the instructor of record, in classes without TAs, this may be the departmental course coordinator or the department chair. Their contact information can be found on the syllabus or on the program's website at <https://polisci.ufl.edu/>. That email should include a clear description of the student's concern, and any supporting documents. Most concerns are resolved at this level. If a resolution cannot be reached at the departmental level, the student will be referred to the Office of the UF Ombuds <https://www.ombuds.ufl.edu>.



### ***Students Requiring Accommodations***

Students requesting accommodation for disabilities must first register with the Dean of Students Office. Information about accommodation letters and testing accommodations can be found at <https://disability.ufl.edu/> (look for the “Accommodation Letters” and “Accommodated Testing Request” buttons). The Dean of Students Office will provide documentation to the student, who must then provide this documentation to the instructor when requesting accommodations. You must submit this documentation prior to submitting assignments or taking the exams if you wish receive accommodations for those assignments and exams. Accommodations are not retroactive, so students should contact the office as soon as possible in the term for which they are seeking accommodations.

### ***University Honesty Policy***

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, “We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: “On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment.” The Honor Code (<https://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/process/student-conduct-honor-code/>) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor or TAs in this class.

### ***Class Recordings***

Students are allowed to record audio/video of class lectures for: personal educational use, a complaint to the university, or as evidence in a civil or criminal proceeding. All other purposes are prohibited. Publication or transmission without written permission of the instructor is prohibited, which includes sharing with other students or online uploads to third party sites. The permission to record class lectures does not extend to activities that involve student presentations or discussions.

### ***Software Use***

All faculty, staff, and students of the University are required and expected to obey the laws and legal agreements governing software use. Failure to do so can lead to monetary damages and/or criminal penalties for the individual violator. Because such violations are also against University policies and rules, disciplinary action will be taken as appropriate. We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to uphold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honesty and integrity.

### ***Student Privacy***

There are federal laws protecting your privacy with regards to grades earned in courses and on individual assignments. For more information, please see:

<http://registrar.ufl.edu/catalog0910/policies/regulationferpa.html>

## **Campus Resources:**

### ***Health and Wellness***

#### **U Matter, We Care:**

If you or a friend is in distress, please contact [umatter@ufl.edu](mailto:umatter@ufl.edu) or 352 392-1575 so that a team member can reach out to the student.

**Counseling and Wellness Center:** <http://www.counseling.ufl.edu/cwc>, and 392-1575; and the University Police Department: 392-1111 or 9-1-1 for emergencies.

#### **Sexual Assault Recovery Services (SARS)**

Student Health Care Center, 392-1161.

**University Police Department** at 392-1111 (or 9-1-1 for emergencies), [or http://www.police.ufl.edu/](http://www.police.ufl.edu/).

### ***Academic Resources***

**E-learning technical support**, 352-392-4357 (select option 2) or e-mail to Learning-support@ufl.edu. <https://lss.at.ufl.edu/help.shtml>.

**Career Resource Center**, Reitz Union, 392-1601. Career assistance and counseling. <https://www.crc.ufl.edu/>.

**Library Support**, <http://cms.uflib.ufl.edu/ask>. Various ways to receive assistance with respect to using the libraries or finding resources.

**Teaching Center**, Broward Hall, 392-2010 or 392-6420. General study skills and tutoring. <https://teachingcenter.ufl.edu/>.

**Writing Studio, 302 Tigert Hall**, 846-1138. Help brainstorming, formatting, and writing papers. <https://writing.ufl.edu/writing-studio/>.

#### **Student Complaints Campus:**

[https://www.dso.ufl.edu/documents/UF\\_Complaints\\_policy.pdf](https://www.dso.ufl.edu/documents/UF_Complaints_policy.pdf).

