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| **COURSE SYLLABUS****Ethnic Conflicts in Central and Eastern Europe**Lecturer: Ondřej Klípa, Ph.D.Lecturer contact: ondrej.klipa@gmail.com |   |

1. **Course Description**

The aim of the course is to understand a phenomenon of ethnic conflict, and to look at specific features of particular ethnic tensions and conflicts in the region of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), including the Czech Republic. Theoriesexplaining the **roots and mechanisms** of ethnic conflicts with regard to causes specific for conflicts in CEE will be studied. We will focus also on a conflict **prevention and long-term management**. In this respect, contemporary academic theories (mainly multiculturalism) will be discussed. In order to explain clearly the theoretical part of the course, different conflicts in the region (e.g. Baltic States, Crimea, Caucasian wars, new immigrants, and Roma issue) will be presented as **cases**. The cases were not selected according to the scope of violence but according to their political relevance. We will approach the topic from both political science and sociology perspectives.

1. **Reading Materials**
* Lake, D. A., Rothchild, D.: Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict, International Security, vol. 21, no. 2 (Fall 1996).
* Cordell, K., Wolff, S. (2010): Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict, Routledge (hereafter Cordell, Wolff)
* Donald L. Horowitz: Ethnic Groups in Conflict, California University Press, 2000 (hereafter Horowitz)
* Zürcher, C.: The Post-Soviet Wars. Rebellion, Ethnic Conflict, and Nationhood in the Caucasus. NYU Press, 2007 (hereafter Zürcher)
* Cordell, K.; Agarin, T.; Osipov, A. (eds.): Institutional legacies of communism: change and continuities in minority protection. Oxford: Routledge, 2013 (hereafter Cordell, Agarin, Osipov)
* Kymlicka, W., Opalski, M. (eds.): Can Liberal Pluralism be Exported? Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002 (hereafter Kymlicka, Opalski)
1. **Teaching methodology**

The main teaching methods of this course will be lectures (and micro-lectures) and seminars (students presentations, group discussion). We will also watch documentary films. Within the seminary part, students will present selected readings upon which we will start discussion. There will be one or two presentations at every class session, depending on number of students enrolled.

1. **Course Schedule**

**Class 1 (Feb 22)**

**Class Information, Discussion on Class Expectations, Introduction to the issue**

(Description, Readings, Assignments/Deadlines)

**Class 2 (Mar 1)**

**Topic: Ethnicity**

Required reading

Eriksen, T. H.: Ethnicity and nationalism: anthropological perspectives. Second edition. London: Pluto Press, 2002 (chapter: What is ethnicity?).

Reading for presentation

Brubaker, R.: Ethnicity without groups, Arch. europ. sociol., XLIII, 2 (2002), pp. 163-189.

Kaufman, S.J.: Ethnicity as a generator of conflict, in Cordell, Wolff

Brubaker, R.; Loveman, M.; Stamatov, P.: Ethnicity as cognition. Theory and Society 33: 31-64, 2004

Horowitz: Part 1, pp. 55-91

Malšević, S.: Do national identities exist?, socialspacejournal.eu

Eriksen, T. H.: The Meaning of ‘We’, in Peter A Kraus and Peter Kivisto, eds.: The Challenge of Minority Integration. De Gruyter Open 2015

**Class 3 (Mar 8)**

**Topic: Ethnic conflict – theory**

Required reading

Horowitz, D. L.: Structure and Strategy in Ethnic Conflict. Paper prepared for Annual World Bank Conference on Development Economics, Washington D. C., April 1998.

Readinwg for presentation

Brubaker, R., Laitin, D. D.: Ethnic and Nationalist Violence, Annual Review of Sociology 1998. 24: 423-452 (selection: pp. 437-447).

Lake, D. A., Rothchild, D.: Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict, International Security, vol. 21, no. 2 (Fall 1996), pp. 41-56.

Horowitz: Part 2 (chapters 3, 4, 5), pp. 95-229

**Class 4 (Mar 15)**

**Topic: Nationalism in post-communist Europe**

Required reading:

Brubaker, R.: Nationhood and the national question in the Soviet Union and post-Soviet Euroasia: An institutionalist account, *Theory and Society* 23: 47-78, 1994.

Reading for presentation

Kamusella, T.: Civic and Ethnic Nationalism: A Dichotomy?

Zürcher: Setting the Stage: The Past, the Nation, and the State

Mungiu-Pippidi, A.; Krastev, I. (eds.): Nationalism after Communism. Lessons Learned. Budapest, New York: CEU Press, 2004

Milosevic´s Voters: Explaining Grassroots Nationalism in Postcommunist Europe, pp. 43-83.

Brubaker, R.: The Manichean Myth: Rethinking the Distinction between “Civic” and “Ethnic” Nationalism, In: Kriesi, H. (ed.): Nation and national identity: the European experience in perspective. Zürich: Rüegger, 1999.

Kuzio, T.: The Myth of the Civic State: a critical survey of Hans Kohn´s framework for understanding nationalism. *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, Jan. 2002, Vol. 25, Issue 1, pp. 20-39.

Opalski, M.: Can Will Kymlicka Be Exported to Russia? in Kymlicka, Opalski

Pal Kolsto: Faulted for the wrong reasons. Soviet institutionalization of ethnic diversity and Western (mis)interpretations in Cordell, Agarin, Osipov

Valery Tishkov. 1997. Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict in and after the Soviet Union. The Mind Aflame. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 207-227

Holy, Ladislav. 1996. The Little Czech and his Great Nation, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Str. 138 149, 180 -204.

**Class 5 (Mar 22)**

**Topic: Role of the communist federations in ethnic conflicts in CEE**

Required reading

Hale, H. E.: The Makeup and Breakup of Ethnofederal States: Why Russia Survives Where the USSR Fell, *Perspectives on oPolitics*, v.3, no.1, March 2005, pp. 55-70.

Reading for presentation

Bowring, B.: The Russian Constitutional System: Complexity and Asymmetry, in Weller, M.; Nobbs, K. (eds.): Asymmetric Autonomy and the Settlement of Ethnic Conflicts, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010

Brubaker, R.: National Minorities, Nationalizing States, and External National Homelands in the New Europe, *Daedalus* 124 (2) (Spring 1995), pp. 107-132.

Smooha, S.: The Model of Ethnic Democracy, *ECMI Working Paper* No. 13, European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), 2001 (chapters: Slovakia, Estonia, pp. 64-79).

Khopyorskaya, L.: Lessons Learned from Addressing Tensions Caused by Ethnic Migration in Rostov. In: Tishkov, V.; Filippova, E.: Local Governance and Minority Empowerment in the CIS.

Hann, Ch.: Does ethnic cleansing work? The case of twentieth century Poland. *Cambridge Anthropology*, 29: 1, 2009

Wheatley, J.: Defusing Conflict in Tsalka District of Georgia: Migration, International Intervention and the Role of the State. ECMI Working Paper #36, October 2006

Horowitz: Part 2 (chapter 6), pp. 229-291

**Class 6** **(Apr 5)**

**Topic: Role of religion in ethnic conflicts in CEE**

Required reading

Marsh, C.: The Religious Dimension of Post-Communist "Ethnic" Conflict, *Nationalities Papers*, 35:5, 2007, pp. 811 – 830.

Reading for presentation

Porter, B.: Why Do Polish Catholics Hate the Jews? Making Sense of a Bad Question, in François Guesnet and Gwen Jones, eds., *Antisemitism in an Era of Transition: Genealogies and Impact in Post-Communist Poland and Hungary* (New York: Peter Lang, 2014)

Horowitz, S.: Islam and Ethnic Conflict: Hypotheses and Post-Communist Illustrations, *Nationalities Papers*, 35:5, 2007, pp. 913 – 932.

Fox, J.: Clash of civilizations or clash of religions. Which is a more important determinant of ethnic conflict? *Ethnicities*, Vol 1(3): 295–320, 2001

Ruane, J.; Todd, J.: Ethnicity and Religion in Cordell, Wolff

Zürcher: Wars over Chechnya

**Class 7 (Apr 12)**

**Topic: Types of ethnic conflicts in CEE: territorial I.**

Crimean Tatars struggle back home - 1/2 - Qırım Tatarlar Röportaj - 03.02.2009

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-rLiHAAonIU

Reading for presentation

Sasse, G.; Hughes, J.: Power ideas and conflict: ideology, linkage and leverage in Crimea and Chechnya, in Crimea and Chechnya, East European Politics, 32:3, 314-334

Pędziwiatr: Silesian autonomy movement in Poland and one of its activists

Crimean Tatars: Repatriation and Conflict Prevention

Protsyk, O.: Majority-Minority Relations in the Ukraine

Trier, T.: Interethnic relations in Transcarpathian Ukraine, *ECMI Report* No. 4, 1999.

Protsyk, O.: Democratization as a Means of Conflict Resolution in Moldova

Synak, B.: The Kashubes during the post-Communist transformation in Poland, *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 25, No. 4, 1997.

Donald L. Horowitz: Ethnic Groups in Conflict, California University Press, 2000

Part 5 (selection TBA)

Wolff, S.; Van Houten, P.: The Dynamics of Ethnopolitical Conflict Management by International and Regional Organizations in Europe. JEMIE 7 (2008) 1

Wöber, S.: Making or Breaking the Republic of Moldova? The Autonomy of Gagauzia.

European Diversity and Autonomy Papers. EDAP 02/2013

Zürcher: Wars that did not happen: Dagestan and Ajaria

**Class 8 (Apr 19)**

**Topic: Types of ethnic conflicts in CEE: territorial II.**

Required reading

Tongue-tied: National minorities banned from using their language in Lithuania

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rnOwfyrBUHk

Russia reviving free warrior Cossack culture to fight Islamic terrorism

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=efsuthnMKVk

Reading for presentation

Pettai, V., Hallik, K.: Understanding processes of ethnic control: segmentation, dependency and co-optation in post-communist Estonia, Nations and Nationalism, 8 (4), Oct. 2002, pp. 505-529.

Malloy, T. H.: National Minority ‘Regions’ in the Enlarged European Union: Mobilizing for Third Level Politics?, ECMI Working Paper No. 24, 2005

Chapters: Estonia, Latvia, pp. 28-30.

Pickles, J.: “There are no Turks in Bulgaria”: Violence, Ethnicity, and Economic Practice in the Border Regions and Muslim Communities of Post-Socialist Bulgaria. Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Working Papers. No.25.

Lake, D. A., Rothchild, D.: Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict, International Security, vol. 21, no. 2 (Fall 1996), pp. 57-75.

Cornell, S. (2002): Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflicts in Theoretical Perspective, World Politics, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 245-276.

Emil Souleimanov: An Endless War: The Russian-Chechen Conflict in Perspective*.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007

Emil Souleimanov: The Caucasus Emirate: Genealogy of an Islamist Insurgency, *Middle East Policy*

McGrattan, C.: Working Through the Past in Bosnia and Northern Ireland: Truth, Reconciliation and the Constraints of Consociationalism. Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe, Vol 11, No 4, 2012, 103-126

Zürcher: Making Sense: Conflict Theory and the Caucasus; Conclusion: Post-Soviet Wars and Theories of Internal Wars

Wooden, A. E.; Stefes,C. H. (eds.): The Politics of Transition in Central Asia and the Caucasus: George, J. A.: Expecting ethnic conflict. The Soviet legacy and ethnic policies in the Caucasus and Central Asia, pp. 75-102

Mungiu-Pippidi, A.; Krastev, I. (eds.): Nationalism after Communism. Lessons Learned. Budapest, New York: CEU Press, 2004

Is Ethnofederalism the Solution or the Problem?, pp. 179-198

Mungiu-Pippidi, A.; Krastev, I. (eds.): Nationalism after Communism. Lessons Learned. Budapest, New York: CEU Press, 2004

Power Sharing as Ethnic Representation in Postconflict Societies: The Cases of Bosnia, Macedonia, and Kosovo, pp. 231-248

Siniver, A.: Managing and settling ethnic conflict in Cordell, Wolff

**Class 9 (Apr 26)**

*Preliminary results of student assessment based on knowledge of the required readings, class participation, and presentation will be released. Test will take place at the beginning of 9th class session.*

**Topic: Types of ethnic conflicts in CEE: non-territorial**

Required reading

Roma minority struggle to find place. Al Jazeera, The Stream, 26 Sep 2011, 31:30

watch it here: <http://www.romea.cz/romeatv/index.php?id=detail&source=t&vid=jnf1pTB-DGk&detail=jnf1pTB-DGk>

or the whole program here: <http://stream.aljazeera.com/story/roma-minority-struggle-find-place>

Szenassy, E.: Living in disrespect: discrimination against Roma and anti-Gypsy sentiments in contemporary Europe, in Pietarinen, K. (ed.): Roma and Traveller Inclusion in Europe. Green questions and answers, The Green European Foundation, 2011

Reading for presentation

Yildiz, A. A.; Verkuyten, M.: Conceptualising Euro-Islam: managing the societal demand for religious reform, Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, 19:3, 2012, 360-376

Kropáček, L.: Muslims in Central and Eastern Europe. In: Social and Cultural Diversity in Central and Eastern Europe: Old Factors and New, Prague: Multicultural Centre Prague, 2005, pp. 27-29.

Marushiakova, E.; Popov, V.: The Roma between the Skylla of Marginalization and the Charybdis of Exotization. In: Social and Cultural Diversity in Central and Eastern Europe: Old Factors and New, Prague: Multicultural Centre Prague, 2005, pp. 6-10.

Violent Attacks Against Roma in Hungary. Time to Investigate Racial Motivation. Amnesty International, 2010.

Monshipouri, M.: Muslims in Global Politics. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009

Construction of Muslims in Europe: The Politics of Immigration, pp. 217-242.

**Class 10 (May 3)**

**Topic: Ethnic conflict prevention: problems of multiculturalism**

Barry, B.: Culture and Equality. An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001 (chapters: The Curious Political Success of Multiculturalism, Multiculturalism versus Democracy, pp. 292-305).

Doroszewska, U.: Rethinking the State, Minorities, and National Security, pp. 126-134 in Kymlicka, Opalski

Reading for presentation

Kymlicka, W.: Western Political Theory and Ethnic Relations in Eastern Europe (selection: pp. 21-39) in Kymlicka, Opalski

Grill, J.: The Limits of Multiculturalism: What Can We Learn from Fadime Sahindal´s Killing? In: Uherek, Z., Grill, J. (eds.): Fieldwork and Local Communities. Prague Occasional Papers in Ethnology, No. 7, 2005, pp. 174-192.

Kuzu, D.: A Self-Governing Group or Equal Citizens? Kurds, Turkey and the European Union. Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe, Vol 9, No 1, 2010, 32—65.

Wimmer, A.: The left-Herderian ontology of multiculturalism, *Ethnicities* 8, 2 (2008) 254-260.

Kemp, W.: Applying the Nationality Principle: Handle with Care, *JEMIE*, 4/2004.

Vermeersch, P.: Exhibiting Multiculturalism. Politicised Representations of the Roma in Poland, *Third Text*, Vol. 22, Issue 3, May 2008, 359-371.

Barry, B.: Culture and Equality. An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001 (chapters: If Multiculturalism Is the Answer, What Was the Question?, The Concept of a Group Right, pp. 112-118, 305-317).

Wieviorka, M.: Is multiculturalism the solution?, *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* Vol. 21, No. 5, September 1998, pp. 881-910 (select pp. 900-910)

Smith, D.J.: National cultural autonomy in Cordell and Wolff

Cordell, K.: The ideology of minority protection during the post-communist transition in Europe in Cordell, Agarin, Osipov

Klípa, O.: Protection of the rights of national minorities in the Czech Republic as a prevention of ethnic conflicts? The case of Vietnamese, Wschodnioznawstwo 2015/1, 209-219.

Klípa, O.: Old Orders Behind the New Façade: Minority Protection in the Czech Republic, in Keck-Szajbel, Simmeth, Klípa (eds.): Cultures in Times of Transition. East Central Europe after 1989, Frankfurt Oder, Slubice: Piktogram Polska, 2018 (forthcoming)

**Class 11 (May 10)**

**Topic: Ethnic conflict prevention in CEE - the way forward**

Required reading

Ossipov, A.: Some Doubts about “Ethnocultural Justice”, pp. 171-185 in Kymlicka, Opalski

Yoav Peled and Jose Brunner: Culture is not Enough: A Democratic Critique of Liberal Multiculturalism, in Shlomo Ben-Ami, Yoav Peled and Alberto Spektorowski, eds., *Ethnic Challenges to the Modern Nation-State*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000, pp. 65-92

Reading for presentation

Philips, A.: Multiculturalism without Culture, Princeton, 2007, chapters: Multiculturalism without Culture, Multiculturalism without Groups?

Sniderman, P. M.; Hagendoorn, L.: When Ways of Life *Collide*. Multiculturalism and its discontents in the Netherlands, Princeton University Press, 2007, chapter: Tolerance

European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, Explanatory Report.

available at:

<http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/reports/html/148.htm>

Hate Crime Laws. A Practical Guide. Warsaw: OSCE. ODIHR, 2009.

Miah, R.; Hoekstra, E.: Building local solidarity, in: Citizenship, cohesion and solidarity, ed. Nick Johnson (The Smith Institute, 2008), pp. 72-81.

Nicu Popescu: ‘Outsourcing’ de facto Statehood. Russia and the Secessionist Entities in Georgia and Moldova

Heupel, M.: Post-conflict reconstruction in ethnically divided societies in Cordell, Wolff

**Class 12 (May 17)**

*Presentation and discussion on topics chosen by students for their final papers*

1. **Course Requirements and Assessment**

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| **Assignment** | **Weight in Final Grade** | **Evaluated Student Learning Outcomes**  |
| Test | 10% | Ability to define mechanisms and roots of ethnic conflicts; explain the role of ethnicity and religion in ethnic conflicts; identify specific features of ethnic conflicts in CEE. |
| Active Class Participation | 30% | Ability to engage in class discussion, with using knowledge based on weekly course reading assignments; comment on the topic; ask and answer questions.  |
| Presentation | 30% | Ability to comprehend academic texts and to identify most important elements; present in a well-structured and clear way; present in a written form (power-point style).  |
| Final Paper | 30% | Ability to understand the main ideas, concepts and case studies covered; define a problem and look for answers; write in a clear, academic style; use cohesive argument. |
| TOTAL | 100% |  |

1. **Detailed description of the assignments**
	* Test

Test will take place at the beginning of 9th class session. It will be both quiz and multiple choice type of test. It will consist of 10 questions. It will be based on the topics studied in previous classes (week 2-8)

* Active Class Participation

Students should participate actively in the course. Mere attendance is not active participation. To take active part in the class means, for instance, to present findings from compulsory readings, to comment on the topic, to discuss with other students, to answer questions raised by the teacher, and to ask own questions.

* + Presentation

Presentation should be based on one of the additional readings which are indicated to every class session. Selection is up to students. Presentation should take at least 20 minutes.

* + Final Paper

Final paper should be based on a chosen topic approved by the teacher beforehand. It must be related to some of the topics presented in the course. At least some of the literature listed in the syllabus should be used. The length of the paper should be 2 500 – 3 000 words. **The final paper is due to 1 June 2018.**