University of Colorado Denver
Department of Political Science

PSC 4995/5995 (Travel Study)

Ethnic Conflict and Coexistence in Bosnia

Summer 2011 (July 5-29, 2011)
MTWR 9:00-11:00 P.M., University of Sarajevo, BiH
Instructor: Thorsten Spehn thorsten.spehn@ucdenver.edu
Office Hours: After class, MTWR

Course Overview

Yugoslavia began to break apart in 1991 when Croatia and Slovenia seceded. At the core of Marshall Tito’s multinational state was the ethnic mosaic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It would witness interethnic violence of a scale unknown in Europe after World War II. The peace settlement of Dayton ended the civil war in 1995. Since then, local and international actors have constructed new structures of governance in an attempt to recreate a civil society marred by innumerable scars.

This is a course about states and nations. It is about the relationship between political governance and national identity in the modern world. This relationship has been particularly tense in recently created states in which nation-building processes remain incomplete. Genocide and ethnic war have been consequences with failing states imposing horrendous costs on their citizens and international society. What causes states to fail and how is failure related to ethnic mobilization? What is ethnic identity and what are the dynamics of ethnic war? What institutional solutions allow ethnic groups to reconcile differences and learn to coexist? How can the scars of genocidal war be overcome and civil society (re)created? How can outside intervention be conducive to stopping violence and contribute to effective state and nation-building processes? These are the questions that we will engage in this intensive summer session in Sarajevo, BiH.

Teaching Objectives

• To provide an overview of the main approaches and issues in the study of nationalism, ethnic conflict, national reconciliation and state-building.
• To combine theoretical knowledge with experiential learning within the immersed setting of Bosnia-Herzegovina.
• To help develop or strengthen skills in analytical analysis.
Course Requirements and Grading Policy

Participation and Attendance

Students are expected to attend regularly (no more than 2 unexcused absences), arrive on time, and be prepared to make contributions to class discussions. Frequent and insightful participation that indicates knowledge of and critical engagement with the readings earns an A; frequent participation that shows only a superficial knowledge of the readings a B or C+; infrequent participation that shows little to no knowledge of the readings a D. No points will be granted for physical presence without participation.

Essays

The final grade consists of four essays (one per week/6-8 pages) that have to be written and uploaded to humyo.com. They are due every Monday. Students are also expected to provide feedback for another student’s paper (one per week, 1-2 pages). They are due at the end of each week.

Slash Course Information

This class is a slash course for undergraduate and graduate students. While the readings are the same for both groups of students, graduate students are expected to show a deeper appreciation of the theoretical literature and rely more extensively on primary and secondary sources that are not assigned in this class.

Assessment Weightings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assessment</th>
<th>Weighting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class Participation / Attendance:</td>
<td>20 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Essays:</td>
<td>40 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Feedback Essays</td>
<td>20 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100 percent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grading Scale

A = 93-100%; A- = 90-92.9%; B+ = 87-89.9%; B = 83-86.9%; B- = 80-82.9%; C+ = 77-79.9%; C = 73-76.9%; C- = 70-72.9%; D+ = 67-69.9%; D = 63-66.9%; F < 63%

Late Assignment and Incomplete Policy

Late assignments are accepted up to 1 day (24 hours) after the official due date. In fairness to the other students, the recorded grade will automatically be lowered by 5 percentage points.

Incomplete grades are granted for special circumstances beyond a student’s control. Incomplete grades are not granted for low academic performance. To be eligible for an Incomplete grade, students must:
• successfully complete a minimum of 75% of the course (3 essays and 3 review essays)
• have special circumstances beyond their control that preclude them from attending class and completing graded assignments, and make timely arrangements to complete missing assignments.

**Required Readings**

There is no text book. All required readings have been uploaded to humyo.com. Access to the account is through the use of thorsten.spehn@ucdenver.edu with password Bosnia2010. [http://www.humyo.com/pages/en/online-file-storage](http://www.humyo.com/pages/en/online-file-storage)

**Academic Honesty**

Acts of plagiarism or fabrication are very serious offenses that could lead to the end of your academic career. Plagiarism involves the use of someone else’s ideas without clear acknowledgment. Fabrication involves the intentional falsification or invention of information. Either academic offense will automatically result in a failing grade for both the assignment and the course.

Unintentional and intentional plagiarism often occurs during time crunches. During these times, papers are jammed together from chunks of literature and ideas that are directly taken from available sources. Watch yourself during those situations and be extra careful as you pull sentences and ideas from your sources. **When in doubt, reference it.**

**Classroom Conduct**

Politics is a process that determines the destinies of billions of people. It is a contentious process because it involves clashes over values. It can and probably should provoke profound disagreements. Please treat each other with respect and engage arguments rather than persons. Every participant in a class discussion has the right to express his/her opinion free from harassment, ridicule or intimidation. Please note that feeling uncomfortable because a belief is being challenged argumentatively does not constitute harassment.

Political science, like all science, is engaged in a process of uncovering knowledge. The process of science (inquisitive questioning) and the outcome (knowledge, perhaps even truth) that is revealed may be painful to some. Issues that involve human identity are particularly sensitive. Let’s keep this in mind as we seek answers and hope to contribute to solutions.
Class Schedule and Reading Assignments

Week 1  The Origins of National Communities

M/July 5  Orientation/Introduction
- the importance of Yugoslavia and Bosnia for the study of nationalism
- the role of the scientist as impartial observer
- cultural sensitivity
- discussion: defining nations, ethnicity and identity

T/July 6  National Identity as Modern Phenomenon
Gellner. Nationalism. Chapters 1 and 3
Anderson. Imagined Communities (excerpt)
Hobsbawm. The Nation as Invented Tradition (excerpt)
Eller. Bosnia

W/July 7  Primordialism: Nationalism as Enduring Human Characteristic
Connor. The Timelessness of Nations
Van Den Berghe. A Socio-Biological Perspective (excerpt)
Harvey. Primordialism, Evolutionary Theory and Violence in the Balkans
Bayar. Reconsidering Primordialism

R/July 8  Understanding Cultural Identity in the Context of Group Processes
Alford. In the Beginning was the Group
Volkan. Ethnicity, Nationality and Related Concepts
Volkan. Ethnic Tents: Descriptions of Large-Group Identities
Volkan. We-ness. Identifications and Shared Reservoirs

Week 2  The Dynamics of Ethnic Conflict

M/July 19  Hatred, Violence and Group Dynamics
Forsyth. Conflict Between Groups
Volkan. Enemy Images: Minor Differences and Dehumanization
Volkan. Ancient Fuel For a Modern Inferno: Time Collapse in Bosnia-Herzegovina
Gilligan. Shame and the Death of Self

The 1986 SANU Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences:

T/July 20  The Institutions of Ethnic Conflict
Milgram. Behavioral Study of Obedience
Browning. Initiation to Mass Murder. The Józefów Massacre (abridged)
Humphrey. Politics of Atrocity, 1-12
Oberschall. The Manipulation of Ethnicity: From Ethnic Cooperation to Violence and War in Yugoslavia

The Prijedor report of the UNSC:  http://www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/comexpert/V.htm

W/July 21  The Role of Leadership
Kaufman. A Symbolic Theory of Ethnic War
Stoessinger. From Sarajevo to Kosovo: The War over the Remains of Yugoslavia
Morus. Slobo the Redeemer

R/July 22  **Symbolic Violence: Women, Monuments and Religion**  
Weitsman. *The Politics of Identity and Sexual Violence*  
Sells. *Crosses of Blood: Sacred Space, Religion and Violence in Bosnia-Hercegovina*  
Bax. *Mass Graves, Stagnating Identification and Violence*

**Week 3  Explaining the Failure of Nation-Building in Yugoslavia**

M/July 12  **Attempted Nation-Building under Socialism**  
Hoepkin. *War, Memory, and Education in a Fragmented Society: The Case of Yugoslavia*  
Vujacic. *Institutional Origins of Contemporary Serbian Nationalism*  
Denich. *Dismembering Yugoslavia: Nationalist Ideologies and Symbolic Revival of Genocide*

T/July 13  **Democratization and the Rise of Cultural Nationalism**  
Snyder. *Nationalist Myth-Making and the Yugoslav Breakup, 204-220*  
Leff. *Democratization and Disintegration in Multinational States*  
Cohen. *Pluralism in the Southeast: Nationalism Triumphant, 139-162*

W/July 14  **The Role of Outside Forces and Actors**  
Woodward. *Western Intervention*  
Andreatta. *The Bosnian War and the New World Order: Failure and Success of International Intervention*  
Campbell. *National Deconstruction*

R/July 15  **State-Building after Dayton**  
Mansfield. *Ethnic but Equal. The Quest for a New Democratic Order in Bosnia and Herzegovina*  

The General Framework Agreement:  [http://www.nato.int/ifor/gfa/gfa-home.htm](http://www.nato.int/ifor/gfa/gfa-home.htm)

**Week 4  Managing Ethnic Differences: Reconciliation and Coexistence**

M/July 26  **Managing Ethnic Conflict: International Intervention and Engagement**  
Payne/Nassar. *Ethnicity, Ethnic Conflict and Conflict Resolution*  
Totten. *The Intervention and Prevention of Genocide*  
Jackson. *International Engagement in War-Torn Countries*  
Ramet. *Debates about Intervention*

T/July 27  **Group Reconciliation and Healing**  
Torpey. *Politics and the Past: On Repairing Historical Injustices*  
Hayner. *Unspeakable Truths: Facing the Challenge of Truth Commissions*  
Amstutz. *Confronting Human Rights Abuses: Approaches to Transitional Justice, 17-40*  
Kerr. *Peace through Justice?*
W/July 28  **Ethnic Coexistence: Cultural and Institutional Solutions**  
Varshney. *Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society*  
Caspersen. *Good Fences Make Good Neighbours?*  
Amstutz. *Towards a Theory of Political Forgiveness*

R/July 29  **Meta-Community: Europeanization as Solution?**  
Dimitrova/Pridham. *International Actors and Democracy Promotion in Central Europe*  
Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier. *Governance by conditionality*