

Syllabus

National Identity at a Crossroads in Europe and in Russia

Course Directors:

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Louk Hagendoorn, General Social Sciences, University of Utrecht, Netherlands

Andras Jakab, Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, Heidelberg, Germany

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Statement of purpose:

The course provides an opportunity to reflect on the recent political upheavals in Russia and in Ukraine. The aim of this course, however, is to explore national identity and nationalism in Europe and Russia disentangled from the news and to reveal hidden historically embedded patterns. The course will be built on texts and data of recent research materials. Interdisciplinary, comparative and empirical, its overall objective is to raise participants' awareness of the synergy resulting from interdisciplinary, comparative and empirical approaches. Course faculty has been selected based on the balance of academic excellence and disciplinary competence.

The course pursues the following objectives:

- (i) Reflect on the recent political upheavals in Russia and in Ukraine in a more complex interdisciplinary context.
- (ii) Enable participants to understand patterns of national identity in the countries of the EU and in Russia from a comparative perspective provided by empirical sociological research.
- (iii) Establish necessary parameters of constitutional solutions in the individual nation states resulting in the legitimacy of the newly established capitalist systems.
- (iv) Outline standards of distributive justice, minority rights and citizenship in the European Union.
- (v) Discuss how the dissolution of the Soviet Union has influenced the status of the Russians minorities.
- (vi) Delineate the anthropological aspects of identity formation and the creation of the borders between groups in Europe and in Russia.
- (vii) Discuss social conflicts distorted and disguised as ethnic, national and ideological conflicts.

Basic questions

1. Similarities and differences of the Russian and Western/European national identities. What are the factors which have continuously brought about destruction and conflict that from time to time have the tendency to resurface (as it is happening now) resulting in a crisis?

2. What is the role of the law in the relationship between the Russian and Western/European national identities? What is the function of the constitution, citizenship, and human rights in the formation of national identity in Russia and in Europe?

3. The relationship between minorities and the majority in the society. Are the minorities considered as part of the nation or not? What is the nature of the relationship between the category of “Russian” and the category of “a citizen of Russia”?

4. What is the historical background of the formation of the Russian and the Western/European national identities? Can we say that the theory of Jenő Szűcs on the three historical regions is still valid?

Reviews of current trends in the literature on the area between Russia and Germany have demonstrated that the lands in this zone were stages of murderous regimes. Perpetrators, victims, bystanders have coexisted and survived without examining the impact of the past on the national identity of the people living in the area, whose name “bloodlands” was coined by Timothy Snyder. Consequently, the conflict potential of the region has not diminished. One of the key aspects of the overall transformation of the societies in the region is the realization that the building of an open society requires mentally sane social and legal infrastructure including the rule of law, tolerance, and ability to cope with the collective traumas of the past inflicted by the people/s upon each other. Improving the mental and legal infrastructure would ensure cognitive stability, but, at the same time, it increases political extremism fuelled by ill-conceived constructs of national, ethnic and religious identities.

Course design

This course takes an interdisciplinary approach starting with a distance learning component, which will comprise a number of readings and datasets. Participants will be asked to identify a collective identity case from their own country.

The two-week residential component of the course will make use of a dynamic mix of lecture-based and interactive methods, customized to satisfy the needs of an interdisciplinary program. Participants will focus on understanding the various facets of national identity in the area under study and will be instructed to understand and apply conflict resolution methods. Lectures, group discussions, individual presentations will serve to develop competencies in designing, implementing and monitoring public communication, social media and education projects related to a tolerant and open society that is much needed in each country of the area.

The list of the main didactic elements of the course is as follows

- Distance learning
- Lectures by course faculty
- Reading of assigned texts
- Use of the datasets at a basic level
- Seminar style discussion of key topics and assigned readings
- Case studies from the individual countries
- Participants’ presentations of the key conflicts
- Discussion of future scenarios
- Small group work focused on key problems
- Group presentation, discussion and evaluation.

In addition to lectures and discussions, each day of the second week students will present connected to the topic of the day. They have to select one discussion point to be presented. They will be advised to include into the presentation a research outcome or public policy proposal. The proposals of short presentations will be discussed

by the group and evaluated by the instructor. The best presentations will be considered for publication in the framework of the EuinDepth project.

The course's basic idea stems from the FP7 Project EUinDepth started in 2014. The aim of this project is to bridge the cultural, political, and social psychological gap between Russia and the countries of the EU. The summer course will take up these issues and explore them further by inclusion of experts both from within and outside of the FP7 project. The course will provide cutting edge knowledge concerning the change of the patterns of national identity worldwide. National identity will be conceptualized in constitutional, political, economic, anthropological, sociological and social psychological contexts. Quantitative as well qualitative methods of investigation will be used. At the end of the course participants will be required to make use of concepts and tools, combined with their earlier knowledge and experience, in order to develop a project of improving intergroup relations for the region which may include specification of objectives and target groups, identification of means and partnerships, suggestions for dissemination and methods of monitoring.

The course is focused on the six topics as follows:

- Russia and Europe, differences and similarities of political culture
- The nationalizing process. Anthropological Perspectives
- Patterns of national identity in Europe and in Russia in comparative and longitudinal perspectives
- Contemporary national identity, nationalism, national sovereignty and constitutionalism
- Citizenship theory, standards of minority rights protection and distributive justice
- Russian living outside the Russian Federation-Coexistence of the „titular groups“ with the Russian minorities

CLASS READER (a preliminary reading list for the course):

Recommended readings

Craig Calhoun (2007) *Nations Matter: Culture, History, and the Cosmopolitan Dream*. New York: Routledge,
Snyder, Timothy (2010) *Bloodlands. Europe between Hitler and Stalin*. New York: Basic Book
Szűcs, Jenő (1983) The three historical regions of Europe. *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 29.
pp. 131-184.

Required readings

Brubaker, Rogers (2011) "Nationalizing States Revisited: Projects and Processes of Nationalization in Post-Soviet States", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34 (2011), pp. 1785-1814

Calhoun, Craig (2003) "Belonging' in the Cosmopolitan Imaginary", *Ethnicities*, December 2003 3: 531-553

Csepe, Gy. and Antal Örkény (1999) "International Comparative Investigation into the National identity", *Review of Sociology*, Budapest, pp. 95-114.

De Vroome, Thomas, Borja Martinovic, Maykel Verkuyten (2014) "The integration paradox: Level of education and immigrants' attitudes towards natives and the host society". *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, Vol 20(2), Apr 2014, 166-175.

Fox, Jon E. and Cynthia Miller-Idriss (2008) "Everyday nationhood", *Ethnicities*, vol. 8, no. 4,

Habermas, Jürgen (1992) "Citizenship and National Identity: Some Reflections on the Future of Europe," *Praxis International*, Vol.12, No.1, April 1992, pp.1-19

Hutchinson, John (2003) „The past, present and future of the nation-state”, *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Winter/ Spring (1). pp. 7–14

Jakab, András (2012) "Defining the Borders of the Political Community: Constitutional Visions of the Nation", *digital resource*

Örkény, Antal (2011) "European Identity and National Attachment: Harmony or Dissonance", in. *Corvinus Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* Vol.2 (2011) 1, pp. 33–61, see also <http://cjssp.uni-corvinus.hu/index.php/cjssp/index> pp. 536-63.

Peregudov , Serghei (2013) "The Russian question in the context of Ethnonational relations in Russia", *Russian Academy of Sciences Quarterly* №4 2013, pp.56-68

Putnam, Robert D. (2007) "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century", *Scandinavian Political Studies* Volume 30, Issue 2, pages 137–174, June 2007

Semenenko, Irina (2013) "Political discourse and Russian public opinion on the EU and Europe", *digital manuscript*

Tierney, Stephen (2013) "The Nation as 'The Public': The Resilient Functionalism of Public Law", University of Edinburgh - School of Law, March 12, 2013, *Edinburgh School of Law Research Paper* No. 2013/09

WEEK I

Monday am	Introduction
Faculty member	All faculty, all students, presentations of the country reports
Number of hours	2
Teaching mode	Group discussion

Monday pm	Russia, Europe, a troubled relationship
Faculty member	Irina Semenenko
Number of hours	3
Teaching mode	Lectures and group discussions
Topics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political culture in Russia and Europe • Varieties of Russian images of Europe • Clashing conceptions of “being Russian” • Past and present perceptions of Russia in the West
Discussion points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Russia is an asset or a liability to the West? • Containment or appeasement? Strategies of the West towards Russia • Competition or cooperation? Russian strategies towards the transatlantic

Tuesday am	National identity, nationalism, national sovereignty and constitutionalism
Faculty member	András Jakab (University of Heidelberg)
Number of hours	3
Teaching mode	Lectures, case studies and group discussion
Topics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National sovereignty and national identity • The birth of the rule of law in countries of Central and Eastern Europe • Dimensions of comparison of the individual constitutions
Discussion points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Selected case studies by participants <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Case 1: Progressive country - Case 2: Regressive country - Case 3: Country with continuous transition to liberal democracy <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How can a constitution influence the transformation? • What are the benefits of the liberal democratic system? • What are the causes of „weimarization“?

Tuesday pm	Citizenship and nationalism: normative, institutional and identity dilemmas
Faculty member	Zsolt Körtvélyesi
Number of hours	3
Teaching mode	Lectures and group discussion
Topics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizenship as social closure: normative questions of citizenship theory • Citizenship regimes: typologies of citizenship acquisition laws • External citizenship and “passportization” • Citizenship as a marker of identity: qualitative research perspectives
Discussion points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prospects of universal citizenship • The specificities and ambiguities of supranational EU citizenship • External citizenship – a geopolitical weapon or gerrymandering by other means? • Non-resident citizenship – an instrumental asset or a marker of identity?
Film screening (6 pm)	Andrey Smirnov: Belorusskii Vokzal (1970) , location: FT409

Wednesday am	The nationalizing process
Faculty member	Liana Grancea
Number of hours	3
Teaching mode	Lectures and group discussion
Topics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An examination of how national identity is perceived and experienced in everyday life and of the ways in which the everyday experience of nationhood is shaped by long-term nationalizing processes and contemporary nationalizing projects. • Lectures will explore changes in current understandings and practices of nationhood in view of challenges to the nation-state posed by the unifying and expanding project of the European Union, large-scale migration in Europe, and the post-communist and post-soviet transformations in Eastern Europe.
Discussion points	<hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The conflict of „Europeanization“ and „nationalization“ • Resistance to social entropy in contemporary European societies • Diaspora-identities

Wednesday pm	Panel Discussion: Geopolitical Challenges and Responses
Faculty member	<p>Ilona Kiss, researcher in comparative cultural studies Gergely Pröhle, EMMI Deputy State Secretary for European Affairs Alexander Astrov, political scientist István Ijgyártó, KKM Deputy State Secretary for Eastern Affairs Károly Banai, security expert Irina Samarkina, political scientist</p> <p>Chairs: Antal Orkeny, Gyorgy Csepeli</p>
Number of hours	2
Teaching mode	Round table discussion
Topics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foreign relation • International security • Military threat • International politics • Political conflict • Conflict management
Discussion points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reconsideration of national sovereignty • The use and misuse of minorities • The emerging conflict between the West and Russia in global context (e.g. China, Middle East, Afghanistan) • Geopolitical aspects of the supply of energy • Identities and interests
Film screening (6 pm)	Alexander Sokurov: Russian Ark (2002) , Location: FT409

Thursday am, pm	Patterns of national identity in Europe and in Russia in comparative and longitudinal perspectives
Faculty member(s)	György Csepeli (ELTE), Antal Örkény (ELTE)
Number of hours	5
Teaching mode	Lectures, empirical studies and group discussion
Topics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction to the theory of national identity • Operationalization of the elements of national identity (widening circles of identification, contents of the national categorization, justification of national pride, ethnocentrism, nationalism, xenophobia) • Clusters according to the pattern of national identity (exclusive, inclusive, civic, superordinate) • Sociological variables (social status, education, age, gender, type of settlement, religion minority background) • Regional differences (the three historical regions of Europe)
Discussion points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the conclusions to be drawn based on the trends of national identity between 1996 and 2013? • How is the state of the „culture of exclusion” in the three historical regions of Europe? • What are the future scenarios of the development of extremist, civic and superordinate types of national identity?
CEU Library tour (4-5 pm)	CEU Library staff will introduce the Library (catalogue system, online databases, etc.)

Office hour (5-6 pm)	
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Friday am, pm	Russians living outside the Russian Federation-Coexistence of the „titular groups” with the Russian minorities
Faculty member	Louk Hagendoorn
Number of hours	5
Teaching mode	Lectures, case studies and discussion
Topics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fears and perceptions of the majority and the minority in the individual post-Soviet countries • Mirror images of each other of the “titular groups” and the Russian minority groups • Determinants of the willingness to assimilate and the willingness to be separated • Case studies (Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan)
Discussion points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the biggest challenges for the titular groups and the Russian minority groups? • Why do we need international guarantees against separatism? • Principles for conflict-free coexistence

Friday pm	Office hours and consultation
Faculty member	All faculty
Number of hours	2
Film screening (6 pm)	Nikita Mikhalkov: Unfinished Piece for Player Piano (1977) , Location: FT409

WEEK II

Monday am	Similarities and differences in Russian identity and European identity
Faculty member	Irina Semenenko
Number of hours	3
Teaching mode	participatory exercise, individual presentations and discussion
Topics	Participants' presentations on the assigned topics
Discussion points	The students select one discussion point to present. It is well advised to include into the presentation a research outcome or public policy proposal. The proposals of short presentation will be discussed by the group and evaluated by the instructor. The best presentations will be considered for publication in the framework of the EuinDepth project.

Monday pm	Contemporary national identity and nationalism cannot be separated from the problem of national sovereignty and constitutionalism.
Faculty member(s)	András Jakab
Number of hours	3
Teaching mode	case studies, individual presentations and group discussion
Topics	Participants' presentations
Discussion points	The students select one discussion point to present. It is well advised to include into the presentation a research outcome or public policy proposal. The proposals of short presentation will be discussed by the group and evaluated by the instructor. The best presentations will be considered for publication in the framework of the EuinDepth project.
Film screening (6 pm)	Andrey Zvyagintsev: Leviathan (2014) , Location: FT409

Tuesday am	Conceptualization of citizenship, minority rights, ethnicity, and nation state
Faculty member(s)	Zsolt Körtvélyesi
Number of hours	3
Teaching mode	case studies, individual presentations and group discussion
Topics	Participatory exercise, individual presentations and discussion Participants' presentations
Discussion points	The students select one discussion point to present. It is well advised to include into the presentation a research outcome or public policy proposal. The proposals of short presentation will be discussed by the group and evaluated by the instructor. The best presentations will be considered for publication in the framework of the EuinDepth project.

Tuesday pm	Communicating and interpreting ethnicity in interactions
Faculty member	Liana Grancea
Number of hours	3
Teaching mode	Case studies, individual presentations and group discussion
Topics Discussion points	Participants' presentations The students select one discussion point to present. It is well advised to include into the presentation a research outcome or public policy proposal. The proposals of short presentation will be discussed by the group and evaluated by the instructor. The best presentations will be considered for publication in the framework of the EuinDepth project.

Wednesday am Wednesday pm	Clusters and patterns of national identity in Europe and in Russia
Faculty member	György Csepeli- Antal Örkény
Number of hours	4
Teaching mode	Individual presentations and group discussion
Topics Discussion points	<p>Participants' presentations</p> <hr/> <p>The students select one discussion point to present. It is well advised to include into the presentation a research outcome or public policy proposal. The proposals of short presentation will be discussed by the group and evaluated by the instructor. The best presentations will be considered for publication in the framework of the EuinDepth project.</p>

Thursday am Thursday pm	From majority into minority: Russians living outside the Russian Federation
Faculty member	Louk Hagendoorn
Number of hours	4
Teaching mode	Individual presentations and group discussion
Topics Discussion points	<p>Participants' presentations</p> <hr/> <p>The students select one discussion point to present. It is well advised to include into the presentation a research outcome or public policy proposal. The proposals of short presentation will be discussed by the group and evaluated by the instructor. The best presentations will be considered for publication in the framework of the EuinDepth project.</p>

Friday am	Cross-national, cross-cultural research methods
Faculty member(s)	All faculty
Number of hours	2
Teaching mode	panel discussion
Topics	Quantitative research methods Qualitative research methods Time comparison Cross-cultural comparison Disciplinary differences
Discussion points	Qualitative and quantitative methods Conflict between anthropology and sociology Normative and interpretative approach Description and explanation New variables of explanation (network status, subjective well-being) Modeling, forecasting, simulating

Friday pm	Summary and overview 2
Faculty member(s)	All faculty
Number of hours	3
Teaching mode	general discussion
Topics	The students of the course will be asked to evaluate the learning experiences of the two weeks from the perspective of their future research plans or/and public policy projects
Discussion points	