Course Goals and Description
This is a class on nation-building in the Balkans. The first half of the course is designed to provide you with basic historical knowledge on the region and an overview of “unfinished business” in contemporary Balkans. In the second half of the course, we will focus on the various nation-building policies Balkan nation-states have pursued toward different non-core groups over the 19th and 20th centuries. State policies have ranged from deportation and killings, to forced assimilation or even accommodation. The main emphasis of the class is to understand the logic behind these policy choices and evaluate their consequences. Towards the end of the course we will study “third-party nation-building” conducted by international organizations in the Balkans, focusing primarily on Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

During the semester students will be introduced to the research tools they need to conduct original research. Students will also learn how to formulate research questions and test hypotheses. Issues of falsifiability and external validity of arguments will be discussed. Using the reading material we will discuss various research methods (how to collect relevant data) and designs (how to maximize the information we can get from the available data). Every student will be required to write a research or policy paper on some aspect of nation-building in the Balkans using primary sources (archives, newspapers, parliamentary debates, memoirs, interviews, NGO reports).

Films
Every Tuesday night at 7.30pm I will be screening a film. Some of the films will be related to the material covered in our class. The screenings will take place at Monroe B32 (and sometimes at Room 505 of the Elliott School). Attendance is not mandatory. However, watching the movies is highly recommended and will help you comprehend the class material.

Texts
There are 4 books, available for purchase at the GW Bookstore (or online). All books are also on reserve at Gelman Library.


*Recommended Books:*


**Blackboard:**

This course will use Blackboard for announcements and readings (see “Electronic Reserves”). I strongly encourage you to ensure you have access to Blackboard as soon as possible.

**Course Requirements:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short Presentations</th>
<th>September 7 and October 12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two memos</td>
<td>November 9 and 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outline of final paper</td>
<td>November 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentations</td>
<td>November 30 or December 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Paper</td>
<td>December 16</td>
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**Learning Outcomes:**

As a result of completing this course, students will:

1. Become familiar with the complexities of Balkan history and contemporary politics.
2. Learn how to assess writings on national history and be alert to propaganda.
3. Compose a publishable article on the topic.
4. Improve your presentation skills.

**Class Policies**

The following policies are important. Read them carefully.

**Attendance**

Please come to class on time. Feel free to bring a cup of coffee/tea or water, but please don’t bring food. Cell phones must be turned off. Laptop volume must be set to “mute.”

**Grading**

There are four components to your grade:

- Participation (20%)
- Two memos (20%)
- Presentations (20%)
- Final Paper (40%)

**Participation**

You are expected to come *prepared*.

**Late Work**

Late assignments will lose one third of a full grade (e.g., from an A to a A-, to B+ etc.) for each day after the deadline.

There are only two exceptions to the late-assignment policy: illness or family emergency. If either of these circumstances applies, you must provide *written documentation* (such as a doctor’s note if you are ill), **and** you must communicate with me *before the assignment is due* (i.e.,
emailing me on the morning the assignment is due and saying you are sick is not acceptable for avoiding a penalty). I am willing to accommodate documented requests, but you must communicate with me before the assignment is due.

**Policy on Religious Holidays:**
You should notify me during the first week of the semester of your intention to be absent from class on a day(s) of religious observance. If an assignment falls on a day you will be observing a religious holiday, we will work together to find an alternative time to complete the assignment. Please communicate with me about holidays in advance of the original due date. I do not intend to observe any religious holidays.

**Office Hours**
My office hours are Wednesday 1:30 - 3:30 pm or by appointment. Please keep email communications brief.

**Academic Integrity**
By taking this course, you are agreeing to abide by the University’s Code of Academic Integrity. It states: “Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information.” For the remainder of the code, see: http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html

If you are unsure about any aspect of this policy the Writing Center (http://www.gwu.edu/~gwriter/) can provide assistance on citation or other aspects of writing papers. Claiming ignorance about how or when to cite sources is not an excuse for academic dishonesty.

**Support for Students outside the classroom**
**DISABILITY SUPPORT SERVICES (DSS)**
Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at 202-994-8250 in the Marvin Center, Suite 242, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. For additional information please refer to: http://gwired.gwu.edu/dss/

**UNIVERSITY COUNSELING CENTER (UCC) 202-994-5300**
The University Counseling Center (UCC) offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include:
- crisis and emergency mental health consultations
- confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals http://gwired.gwu.edu/counsel/CounselingServices/AcademicSupportServices

**Security**
To Report an Emergency or Suspicious Activity call the GW Police Department at 202-994-6111 (Foggy Bottom) or 202-242-6111 (Mount Vernon). If the line is unavailable, dial 911.

Your first reaction in an emergency should be to stay where you are. Evacuate only if you hear the fire alarm or someone instructs you to evacuate. If you are outdoors during an incident, proceed into the closest GW building unless you are told to do otherwise. No matter where you are on campus, the basic steps of “sheltering in place” are:

Shelter—in—place in an interior room, above ground level, and with the fewest windows.
If there is a large group of people inside a particular building, several rooms may be necessary. Shut and lock all windows (locking will form a tighter seal), close exterior doors, and stay away from glass doors and windows. Turn off air conditioners, heaters, and fans. Close vents to ventilation systems as you are able (Facilities staff will turn off ventilation systems as quickly as possible). Make a list of the people with you and call the list in to GWPD (see numbers above) so they know where you are.

Visit GW Campus Advisories http://CampusAdvisories.gwu.edu or call the GW Information Line at 202-994-5050 for incident updates. If possible, turn on a radio or television and listen for further instructions. If your e-mail address or mobile device is registered with Alert DC, check for alert notifications. Make yourself comfortable and look after one other. You will get word as soon as it is safe to come out.

Evacuation
We will always evacuate if the fire alarm sounds or if the building we are in becomes unsafe. In the event of an evacuation, please quickly gather your personal belongings (purse, keys, cell phone, GWorld card, etc.) and proceed to the nearest exit. Do not use the elevator.

Alert DC
Alert DC provides free notification by email or text message during an emergency. Visit GW Campus Advisories for a link and instructions on how to sign up for alerts pertaining to GW. If you receive an Alert DC notification during class, please share the information immediately.

GW Alert
GW Alert provides popup notification to desktop and laptop computers during an emergency. You are encouraged to download this application to your personal computer. Visit GW Campus Advisories to learn how.

Additional Information about emergency preparedness at GW can be found on GW Campus Advisories http://CampusAdvisories.gwu.edu.
Course Schedule:

WEEK 1 (August 31). What is Nation-Building?

In this class we will discuss the terms state, nation, nationalism, patriotism, identity, ethnicity, religion, race and of course “Nation-Building”. The main goal is to understand how important conceptualization is in understanding social phenomena.

Required Reading:
Gellner, pp. 1-7.

Recommended Reading on Concepts and Definitions:

THE CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS

WEEK 2 (September 7). “Unfinished Business” in the Balkans

This week we are going to highlight the problems related to nation-building that still exist in the Balkans. Including geopolitical competition, bilateral disputes, EU integration, minority rights, etc.

Pick one country or interstate dispute and prepare a 3-minute presentation.

Geopolitics
Dušan Reljic. 2009. “The West Balkans between the EU, the USA, and Russia,” German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik).

US Policy and the Balkans


Bilateral Disputes
- The Kosovo Issue [Serbia- Kosovo under UN Security Council Resolution 1244/99]
  http://www.state.gov/video/?videoid=207638641001
- Bosnia and Herzegovina [Republica Srbska and Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina]
- The Macedonian Name Dispute [Greece-FYROM]
  http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/europe/b52_macedonias_name___breaking_the_deadlock.ashx
  Thomas Meaney and Harris Mylonas. "The Name Game," Foreign Policy, July 23 2009.
- Cyprus Occupation [Turkey-Cyprus]
- The Slovenian-Croatian Border Dispute [Slovenia-Croatia]

THE HISTORY
WEEK 3 (September 14). The Geography and Peoples of the Balkans
What was the Ottoman system of rule like? - When did “the Balkans” come about? What defines them as a geographical region? - What were the various nation-building policies pursued in the Balkans? How does Mazower explain the use of these policies? Provide examples. - Are Balkan countries more violent than other countries in Europe?

(Ideally you will read the whole book, otherwise definitely read the Intro and Chapter 4)

STATE-BUILDING IN THE BALKANS
WEEK 4 (September 21). Making Nation-States in the Balkans
Where did the modern Balkan states come from? How were they created? - “Who” is planning nation-building policies within these nation-states? - “Who” decides what is the core group? - How do non-core group categories emerge?

Required Reading:
Hechter, Chapter 5

**Recommended Reading:**

**Suggested Film “America America”** (Ottoman Empire)

**NATION-BUILDING POLICIES**

**Required Reading:**


**Recommended Reading:**

**WEEK 6 (October 5). Non-Violent Policies: Assimilation and Accommodation**

**Required Reading:**

**Recommended Reading:**

**Suggested Documentary Film** “Technology of Evil” (Bulgaria)

**WEEK 7 (October 12). Midterm**

**Pick one country and prepare a 5-minute presentation**

**Bulgaria:**
Greece:

Romania:

Turkey:

Yugoslavia:

**Suggested Film “Lamerica” (Albania)**

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**WEEK 8 (October 19). Research Design**

*We will discuss how to formulate research questions and test hypotheses. Issues of falsifiability and external validity of arguments will be discussed. We also will discuss various research methods (how to collect relevant data) and designs (how to maximize the information we can get from the available data).*

**Required Reading:**


**Recommended Reading:**


**Suggested Film** "Lawrence of Arabia" (Ottoman Empire)

**THE EXPLANATIONS**

**WEEK 9 (October 26). Domestic**

**A. Groups Attributes, Past Conflict, and Emotions**


**B. Regime Type, Elites, and Political Ideologies**
Banac, Ivo. “Political Change and National Diversity”


**Recommended:**
Bulgaria:
Note: By now, you should have decided which part of the Balkans you will write your paper on and what specific aspect of nation-building you would like to explain (e.g. success or failure of a national movement, spatial variation in the spread of national ideology within a country, variation in the treatment of different national minorities within a country, variation in the treatment of the same national minority across different countries, degree of national integration of a nation-state, intensity of national sentiments, etc.).

Memo 1: Write a memo with your empirical puzzle, research question, and a description of the dependent variable. You will have to turn in a bibliography of sources. Email me a copy by 10pm on November 2 (not more than 1 page single spaced).

WEEK 10 (November 2). International

A. Geopolitics and War

Recommended Reading:

B. Norms, Migrations, and Transnational Networks

Recommended Reading:
Memo 2: Building on memo 1, write a memo describing how you would operationalize the key independent and dependent variables. Say something about the tradeoffs, if any, involved in the operationalizations that you propose. Email me a copy by 10pm on November 9 (not more than 2 pages single spaced).

To clarify what I want you to do in this memo I will give you an example:

Assume that my research question is: What accounts for the variation in the treatment of different groups or provinces by the same government in a country at time zero (T₀, e.g. First years that the country was created...)? The dependent variable (in other words, what I want to explain) is the different treatment, the policies across groups or provinces...So I have to look for the various policies implemented by the state or local administration toward different populations or regions or the territorial unit I am studying. I have to decide a way to categorize the various policies (i.e. educational, economic, etc.) and measure their intensity (e.g. non-violent, violent, extremely violent, etc). The independent variables will be factors that can help me understand why one group is treated differently than another one (similarly with provinces/villages, etc). Now once I come up with some factors that explain the variation in state policies then I can formulate them as hypotheses. For e.g. if I think that "being close to the borders" matters, then I can say H1: When a group is close to the borders then I expect the state to follow more intense nationalization strategies...etc. In this memo I want you to do something similar with the questions you are interested in...

Suggested Film “When father was away on Business” (Yugoslavia)

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND NATION-BUILDING

WEEK 11 (November 9). Third Party Nation-Building in the Balkans

Required Reading:


**Recommended Reading:**

**Note:** Draft of the final paper due November 30.

**WEEK 12 (November 16). EU enlargement in the Balkans**

**EU enlargement**
-- Croatia, Turkey, and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (Official Candidates)
-- Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo under UN Security Council Resolution 1244/99, Albania (…“a prospect for joining”)


**WEEK 13 (November 23). The Future of Nation-Building: Secession, Integration, or Exclusion?**

Serbs in Bosnia, Albanians in FYROM. Serbs in Kosovo, Turks in Greece, Turks in Bulgaria, Kurds in Turkey, Hungarians in Romania, Roma in the Balkans

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Suggested Film “Pretty Village, Pretty Flame” (Yugoslavia)

**WEEK 14 (November 30). Student Presentations**

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Suggested Film “Attilas ’74” (Cyprus)

**WEEK 15 (December 7). Student Presentations**
Final Papers Due by December 16, 2009.