



## *The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

### *Syllabus*

## *Catalonia and Beyond - Comparing Self-Determination Movements in Contemporary Europe - 29955*

*Last update 18-09-2022*

*HU Credits:* 2

*Degree/Cycle:* 2nd degree (Master)

*Responsible Department:* Spanish & Lat. Amer. Studies

*Academic year:* 0

*Semester:* 2nd Semester

*Teaching Languages:* English

*Campus:* Mt. ScopusMt. Scopus

*Course/Module Coordinator:* Dr. Daniel Cetrà Bernardo

*Coordinator Email:* [Daniel.Cetra@mail.huji.ac.il](mailto:Daniel.Cetra@mail.huji.ac.il)

*Coordinator Office Hours:* Tuesday, 18:00-18:40 by appointment (set via email).

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Teaching Staff:

Dr. daniel cetra bernardo

Course/Module description:

Self-determination movements in Europe have strengthened in recent years and are reshaping politics. From Catalonia to Scotland, minority nations are demanding more autonomy, referendums, and even independence. Yet state and EU responses are resistant and often inconsistent.

This course offers a comparative approach to territorial crises in the European Union. We will start off learning about Catalonia, focusing on the history of Catalan nationalism and the recent push for secession. We will then place Catalonia in comparative perspective, with case studies ranging from Scotland (the UK) to Flanders (Belgium), the Basque Country (Spain), South Tyrol (Italy), and Northern Ireland (the UK).

Having examined minority mobilization, we will turn to the other side of the coin. We will examine state and EU responses to territorial demands and their counter-secession strategies. Finally, we will end the course with two sessions reflecting upon the scope for accommodating minority nations within existing European borders and about future avenues for Catalan nationalism.

Course/Module aims:

The course aims at a critical understanding of self-determination movements in Europe in their theoretical, empirical, and comparative dimensions.

- Understand the theoretical aspects of nationalist and territorial crises and dynamics.
- Learn about a wide range of European cases.
- Apply the comparative method to better understand the phenomenon under study.
- Engage in debates about territorial stability in the European Union.
- Appraise competing political and normative arguments about the unity or disunity of political units.

Learning outcomes - On successful completion of this module, students should be able to:

By the end of this course, you will have a deep knowledge and understanding of self-determination movements in Europe. In addition, you will have gained an in-depth understanding of Catalonia. Further, you will be able to critically assess the drivers, evolution, and dynamics of territorial disputes in the European Union.

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Attendance requirements(%):

100%

*Teaching arrangement and method of instruction: This course places an emphasis on interactive learning and combines several teaching methodologies which overlap in practice. A core teaching technique is simulation-based learning, which consists in replacing real experiences with guided experiences that replicate aspects of the real world. For example, students will simulate being leading political figures of the Catalan and Spanish Governments and the European Commission. The course also draws on problem-based learning to seek to find solutions to political dilemmas. How should the EU respond to moments seeking the break-up of states? A third teaching methodology is game-based learning, which triggers engagement to enhance learning. For example, two groups defending opposing views on state responses to territorial demands will have to convince a jury. Finally, several lectures will consist in case studies to examine in-depth several aspects of territorial disputes in real-world cases (i.e., Catalonia, Belgium, the UK, Italy).*

Course/Module Content:

1. *What is Catalonia? What are Self-determination Movements?*
2. *History of Catalan Nationalism: Emergence and Evolution*
3. *The Catalan Quest for Independence (2012-17)*
4. *Comparing Self-determination Movements in Europe I: Scotland (the UK)*
5. *Comparing Self-determination Movements in Europe II: Flanders (Belgium)*
6. *Comparing Self-determination Movements in Europe III: the Basque Country (Spain)*
7. *Comparing Self-determination Movements in Europe IV: South Tyrol (Italy)*
8. *Comparing Self-determination Movements in Europe V: Northern Ireland (the UK)*
9. *'Better Together': State Responses to Territorial Demands*
10. *'An Internal Affair': European Union Responses to Territorial Demands*
11. *Navigating the EU: Self-determination Parties in European Institutions*
12. *Catalonia Post-Referendum: Where to for Catalan Nationalism?*

Required Reading:

1. *What is Catalonia? What are Self-determination Movements?*
  - Sanjaume-Calvet, Marc et al. (2022) 'Catalonia', in World Autonomies Project. Available at <https://www.world-autonomies.info/territorial-autonomies/catalonia>
  - Keating, Michael (2019) 'Is a Theory of Self-determination Possible?', *Ethnopolitics*, 18:3, 315-323.
2. *History of Catalan Nationalism: Emergence and Evolution*
  - Balcells, Albert (1996) *Catalan Nationalism: Past and Present*, Palgrave Macmillan,

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chapters 4 to 11.

• Guibernau, Montserrat (2004) *Catalan Nationalism: Francoism, Transition and Democracy*, Routledge, chapters 2 to 4.

3. *The Quest for Catalan Independence (2012-17)*

• Watch the documentary *Two Catalonias* on Netflix

4. *Comparing Self-determination Movements in Europe I: Scotland (the UK)*

• Keating, Michael (2020) 'Scotland as a Permanent Minority', *H-Nationalism*.

Available at <https://networks.h-net.org/node/3911/discussions/6478322/scotland-permanent-minority>

• Liñeira, Robert and Cetrà, Daniel (2015) 'The Independence Case in Comparative Perspective', *The Political Quarterly*, 86:2, 257-64.

5. *Comparing Self-determination Movements in Europe II: Flanders (Belgium)*

• Huysseune, Michel (2017) 'The Flemish Paradox: The Hegemony of Pro-Independence Parties in a Region Largely Indifferent Towards Independence', *Ethnopolitics*, 16:4, 352-368.

6. *Comparing Self-determination Movements in Europe III: the Basque Country (Spain)*

• Conversi, Daniele (1997). *The Basques, the Catalans, and Spain: Alternative Routes to Nationalist Mobilisation*, Hurst, chapters 8 and 9.

7. *Comparing Self-determination Movements in Europe IV: South Tyrol (Italy)*

• Alber, Elisabeth (2020) 'South Tyrol's Model of Conflict Resolution: Territorial Autonomy and Power-Sharing', in Keil, Soren and McCulloch, Allison (eds.) *Power-Sharing in Europe: Past Practice, Present Cases, and Future Directions*, Palgrave Macmillan, 171-99.

8. *Comparing Self-determination Movements in Europe V: Northern Ireland (the UK)*

• Utz, Patrick (2022) 'Northern Ireland', in *World Autonomies Project*. Available at <https://www.world-autonomies.info/territorial-autonomies/northern-ireland>

9. *'Better Together': State Responses to Territorial Demands*

• Cetrà, Daniel and Harvey, Malcolm (2019) 'Explaining Accommodation and Resistance to Demands for Independence Referendums in the UK and Spain', *Nations and Nationalism*, 25:2, 607-629.

10. *'An Internal Affair' European Union Responses to Territorial Demands:*

• Hepburn, Eve (2008) 'The Rise and Fall of a "Europe of the Regions"', *Regional and Federal Studies*, 18:5, 537-555.

• Massetti, Emanuele (2022) 'The European Union and the challenge of "independence in Europe": Straddling between (formal) neutrality and (actual) support for member-states' territorial integrity', *Regional and Federal Studies*, 32:3, 307-220.

11. *Navigating the EU: Self-determination Parties in European Institutions*

• Cetrà, Daniel, and Robert Liñeira (2018) 'Breaking-up within Europe: Sub-state Nationalist Strategies in Multilevel Politics', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56:3, 717-729.

• Jordana, Jacint et al. (2018) (eds.) *Changing Borders in Europe: Exploring the Dynamics of Integration, Differentiation and Self-determination in the European Union*, Routledge, chapters 1 and 10 and 13.

12. *Catalonia Post-Referendum: Where to for Catalan Nationalism?*

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• Balcells, Laia, and Kuo, Alexander (2021) 'Preferences in between: Moderates in the Catalan Secessionist Conflict', *Politics and Governance*, 9:4, 386-398. Available at <https://www.cogitatiopress.com/politicsandgovernance/article/viewFile/4563/4563>

Additional Reading Material:

- Basta, Karlo (2021) *The Symbolic State: Minority Recognition, Majority Backlash, and Secession in Multinational Countries*, McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Branchadell, Albert et al. (2017) *The Catalan Process: Sovereignty, Self-determination and Democracy in the 21st century*, Institut d'Estudis de l'Autogovern. Available at [https://presidencia.gencat.cat/web/.content/ambits\\_actuacio/desenvolupament\\_autogovern/iea/publicacions/01\\_IEAg/IEAg\\_arxiu-i-vincles/IEAg\\_05.pdf](https://presidencia.gencat.cat/web/.content/ambits_actuacio/desenvolupament_autogovern/iea/publicacions/01_IEAg/IEAg_arxiu-i-vincles/IEAg_05.pdf)
- Gagnon, Alain-G. and Tully, James (eds.) (2001) *Multinational Democracies*, Cambridge University Press.
- Gillespie, Richard, and Caroline Gray (2015) *Contesting Spain: The Dynamics of Nationalist Movements in Catalonia and the Basque Country*, Routledge.
- Griffiths, Ryan D. and Muro, Diego (2020) *Strategies of Secession and Counter-Secession*, ECPR Press.
- Griffiths, Ryan D. (2021) 'Secessionist Strategy and Tactical Variation in the Pursuit of Independence', *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 6:1, 1-19.
- Keating, Michael (2001) *Plurinational Democracy: Stateless Nations in a Post-sovereignty Era*, Oxford University Press.
- Lecours, André (2012) 'Sub-state Nationalism in the Western World: Explaining Continued Appeal', *Ethnopolitics*, 11:3, 268-286.
- Lecours, André (2021) *Nationalism, Secessionism and Autonomy*, Oxford University Press.
- Muro, Diego (2013) *Ethnicity and Violence: The Case of Radical Basque nationalism*, Routledge.
- Zuber, Christina I. (2011) 'Understanding the Multinational Game: Toward a Theory of Asymmetrical Federalism', *Comparative Political Studies*, 44:5, 546-71.
- Swenden, Wilfried (2013) 'Territorial Strategies for Managing Plurinational States', *Routledge Handbook of Regionalism & Federalism*, 77-91.
- Waters, Timothy W. (2020) *Boxing Pandora: Rethinking Borders, States, and Secession in a Democratic World*, Yale University Press.

Course/Module evaluation:

End of year written/oral examination 0 %  
Presentation 0 %  
Participation in Tutorials 30 %  
Project work 70 %

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*Assignments 0 %*  
*Reports 0 %*  
*Research project 0 %*  
*Quizzes 0 %*  
*Other 0 %*

*Additional information:*