

Universidad Complutense de Madrid  
Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociología

**MASTER's Degree in: NATIONALISM STUDIES**

**EUROPEAN IDENTITIES AND THE EUROPEAN UNION**  
**[ECTS: 6.0]**

**Professor: [Andrés Barrera González](#)**  
**Academic Year: 2023-2024, Second Semester.**

**Outline:**

The aim of the present course-subject is to provide theoretical and conceptual tools (interpretive keys) that would allow comprehending and explaining Europe as a historical and cultural reality; and more specifically elucidating what the far-reaching political project, the current European Union, represents. Issues will be addressed from a range of diverse perspectives and disciplinary approaches, in accordance with the multiple dimensions that they entail. Therefore, data and references from philosophy, history, the broad social sciences, and ethnography will be taken into consideration in broaching the subject matter of the course. Given the growing incidence of the European Union in all areas of society: the economy, education, politics, working conditions and leisure; a better understanding of the foundations on which the EU is based, and the institutions that it comprises, becomes an intellectual, a political, as well as a practical imperative. More so for the generations that are beginning to effectively live as Europeans.

**Schedule:** Tuesday, 15:30 to 18:30 CET. **Room:** NT-159 & Online, via G. Meet.

**Tutorials:** Tuesday, 18:30 to 19:30 CET in person, room 1209. Or via *Google Meet* and email at any time during the semester [abarrera@ucm.es](mailto:abarrera@ucm.es) ]

*This course is incorporated to the Campus Virtual, UCM.*

### **COURSE AIMS:**

As it is stated in the subject's title, the broad aim of this course is to describe and comprehend the wide range of historical, religious, ethnic and linguistic, in sum sociocultural identities, that Europe (from the Urals to the Atlantic Ocean, Scandinavia to the shores of the Mediterranean) encompasses. Moreover, a particular focus will be placed in the study of the evolving latest grand endeavour aiming at building a united Europe, this time bearing the name of the European Union.

### **COURSE ABSTRACT:**

For the fulfillment of the indicated objectives, resources and materials from diverse disciplinary fields will be brought to bear. Firstly, a selection of short texts [Basic Readings] which enrolled students ought to read, and that they will be discussed in class. Secondly, access will be given to a set of documentaries and films, on which students ought to produce their comments (eventually in writing) in the open forum sections that will be convened to such end. Finally, participants in the course are expected to make use of resources available at specified websites, to investigate and document themselves for the writing of their course essay. As regards work to be done in the classroom, a mixed formula is applied, where introductory lectures by the instructor and seminar-type open discussion are combined. Seminar sessions, where previously agreed texts and monographs are to be discussed, will eventually incorporate formal oral presentations by individual students, on the books chosen for the writing of critical reviews.

### **REQUIREMENTS:**

This subject-course will be taught in English. Lectures and seminar sessions will take place fully online. Proficiency in the English language, with advanced reading and speaking skills, are therefore required from enrolled students. Therefore:

- a) Participants in the course ought to choose a book or monograph [among those marked with an asterisk (\*) in the "Bibliographic References" section of the Hand Program]. With the purpose to write **a critical review**; in no more than three pages (about 1500 words). Copy of the book review ought to be uploaded to the *Campus Virtual* website. A formal presentation of the reviewed book to the full classroom is also mandatory. This presentation should be carried out during one of the weekly seminar sessions, when it is fitting according to the *Weekly Work Plan* of the course.
- b) Furthermore, students who take this course are expected to attend class regularly (in person or online), work with the readings specified for each weekly session; and if required, prepare some reading notes on such texts. At the end of the semester all these reading notes should be gathered in a DOSSIER and uploaded to the *Campus Virtual*. In the unfolding of the weekly seminar sessions, spontaneous comments or informal presentations may be requested from the participants, when it is appropriate during the open discussion part that regularly follows the teacher's lecture of the day.
- c) The writing of a short final **course essay**, on one of the topics addressed in the subject program, is also mandatory. Course essay's projects ought to be agreed upon with the teacher, in a tutorial *rendezvous* at the beginning of the semester. At the end of the semester, individual course essays should be uploaded to the corresponding section of the course's website in the *Campus Virtual*. Before the 5<sup>th</sup> of June (ordinary end of semester call), or before the 5<sup>th</sup> of July (extraordinary end of semester call).

## **TEACHING SCHEDULE and ACTIVITIES**

### **Lectures:**

Introductory lectures will be delivered by the teacher on each of the main themes addressed in the course. Every week at the beginning of the meeting, about forty five minutes long each.

### **Seminars:**

The format of the second and third hour of the weekly meetings will be that of an open debate seminar; where compulsory readings will be discussed, documentaries be watched and commented, presentations by students will be carried out.

### **Presentations:**

Enrolled students are required to do one formal oral presentation at least. Namely, that of the full monograph-book chosen from the main references list to read and write a short review essay on.

### **Other activities:**

Eventually, some complementary activities will be carried out, in agreement with participants in the course. These might include lectures on specific topics by external authors-lecturers invited.

### **Weekly Working Guides:**

A few days in advance to each weekly session, a *Working Guide* will be compiled by the instructor and uploaded to the Campus Virtual, giving details of the contents of the corresponding session, compulsory readings for participants to work with, relevant primary and secondary sources for further study, some visual and documentary references of interest to the field of study.

### **Teaching time overall:**

Three hours per week (with at least one short pause or interlude). Including time dedicated to introductory lectures, seminar format discussion, and other complementary activities.

## **ASSESSMENT:**

Participation in the seminar-discussion sessions, having previously worked with the assigned readings for each weekly meeting, plus oral presentations: 20 percent.

Book review essay, individually produced in written form, plus a formal oral presentation of the said book to the class: 20 percent.

Final oral or written exam (question paper), plus individual course essay: 60 percent.

## OUTLINE of CONTENTS by MODULES:

**Module 1. (1.1)** The concept and the idea of Europe in literary, ethnographic, and historical sources. Natural and human landscapes: The role of geography, history, and culture in the shaping of Europe. **(1.2)** How Europe imagines itself in contrast to other regions of the world such as Africa, the Americas or 'the Orient'. Europe and China. Europe and Russia: political and cultural relationships, historical and current.

**Module 2. (2.1)** The European 'discovery' of the Americas and the emergence of the Modern Era. The age of Empire: European metropolises and their large colonial empires. **(2.2)** The age of Revolution. The rise and transformations of the nation-state. About the '*Short Twentieth Century*'. And beyond the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Soviet Union: Globalism (West-centered, US hegemonized) and Multilateralism.

**Module 3. (3.1)** Social and cultural diversity across Europe: historical developments, religious traditions, political cultures, cultural identities. Religious, ethnic and language minorities. **(3.2)** The Europe of nations and national states. National minorities, nations without a state. The issue of language diversity within the framework of the European Union. Does the European Union need a common language, and/or a collective identity?

**Module 4. (4.1)** Latest (post-WWII) proposals and projects for a United Europe. The European Union, a *sui generis* entity. The old-new ever expanding-contracting, unfinished European Union: political, economic, and sociocultural dimensions. **(4.2)** Challenges brought about by the new migrations and globalization. Population movements and migrations, their impact on the definition and practice of citizenship. The populations of Muslim origins. **(4.3)** The constitutional project: Towards a European civil society and effective citizenship status. The concept and practice of 'cultural citizenship'. The future of the European Union.

## Bibliographic References:

(\*) ABÉLÈS, Marc (1992) *La vie quotidienne au Parlement Européen*. Paris : Hachette.

(\*) ANDERSON, Benedict (1982) *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York: Verso, 1992.

BAUMAN, Zygmunt (2004) *Europe. An Unfinished Adventure*. London: Polity Press.

BENDA, Julien (1927) *La traición de los intelectuales [La trahison des clercs]*. Barcelona: Círculo de Lectores, 2000.

BERLIN, Isaiah (1990) *The Crooked Timber of Humanity. Chapters in the History of Ideas*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013.

BILLIG, Michael (1995) *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage Publications.

(\*) BILLINGTON, James H. (1966) *The Icon and the Axe. An Interpretive History of Russian Culture*. New York: Vintage Books, 1970.

(\*) DANILEVSKII, Nikolai I. (c. 1869) *Russia and Europe: The Slavic World's Political and Cultural Relations with the Germanic Roman West*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, Slavica Publishers Inc., 2013.

- DALE, Stephen F. (2015) *The Orange Trees of Marrakesh. Ibn Khaldûn and the Science of Man*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- (\*) DÍEZ del CORRAL, Luis (1954) *El rapto de Europa. Una interpretación histórica de nuestro tiempo*. Madrid: CEU, 2018.
- DIEZ MEDRANO, Juan (2013) *Framing Europe. Attitudes to European Integration in Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
- ESLER, Gavin (2021) *How Britain Ends. English Nationalism and the Rebirth of Four Nations*. London: The Head of Zeus.
- (\*) GALBRAITH, James K. (2016) *Welcome to the Poisoned Chalice. The Destruction of Greece and the Future of Europe*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- GALCERÁN HUGUET, Montserrat (2014) *La bárbara Europa. Una mirada desde el postcolonialismo y la descolonialidad*. Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños.
- (\*) GOODY, Jack (2006) *The Theft of History*. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge U. Press.
- (\*) GOODY, Jack (2003) *Islam in Europe*. London: Polity Press.
- GREENFELD, Liah (1992) *Nationalism. Five Roads to Modernity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- HABERMAS, Jürgen (1995) *Más allá del estado nacional*. Madrid: Trotta, 1997.
- HABERMAS, Jürgen (1996) *La inclusión del otro. Estudios de teoría política*. Barcelona: Paidós, 1999.
- HOBSBAWM, Eric (1962) *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848*. London: Abacus, 1977.
- HOBSBAWM, Eric (1975) *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875*. London: Abacus, 1997.
- HOBSBAWM, Eric (1987) *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914*. London: Abacus, 2014.
- HOBSBAWM, Eric (1994) *The Age of Extremes. The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991*. London: Abacus, 1995.
- JUDT, Tony (2005) *Postwar. A History of Europe Since 1945*. London: Vintage Books.
- JUDT, Tony (1996) *A Grand Illusion? An Essay on Europe*. London: Hill & Wang Publishers.
- KHALDÛN, Ibn (c.1370) *The Muqaddimah. An Introduction to History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005 (abridged edition).
- LACROIX, J.; NICOLAÏDIS, K. (eds.) (2010) *European Stories. Intellectual Debates on Europe in National Contexts*. Oxford, Eng: Oxford University Press.
- (\*) LLOBERA, Josep (1994) *The God of Modernity. The Development of Nationalism in Western Europe*. Oxford: Berg.
- MAR-MOLINERO, Clare et al, (eds.) (2006) *Language Ideologies, Policies and Practices. Language and the Future of Europe*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

MEARSHEIMER, John J. (2018) *The Great Delusion. Liberal Dreams and International Realities*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.

(\* MOSSE, George L. (1975) *The Nationalization of the Masses. Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1996.

(\* MURRAY, Douglas (2017) *The Strange Death of Europe. Immigration, Identity, Islam*. London: Bloomsbury, 2018.

(\* NAIRN, Tom (1977) *The Break-Up of Britain. Crisis and Neo-Nationalism*. London and New York: Verso, 2021 (with a new Introduction).

PADGEN, Anthony (ed.) (2002) *The Idea of Europe. From Antiquity to the European Union*. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press.

(\* SAID, Edward W. (1978) *Orientalism. Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London: Penguin Books, 1991.

(\* SAID, Edward W. (1993) *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Alfred Knopf.

(\* SHORE, Chris (2000) *Building Europe: The cultural politics of European integration*. London: Routledge.

THIESSE, Anne-Marie (1999) *La création des identités nationales. Europe XVIIIe.-XXe. siècle*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

(\* TODD, Emmanuel (2024) *La défaite de l'Occident*. Paris: Gallimard.

(\* WOLF, Eric R. (1982) *Europe and the People Without History*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

### **OTHER SOURCES: Websites & Links:**

<http://europa.eu/> <http://www.eurydice.org/>  
<http://www.euro-islam.info/> <http://www.robert-schuman.eu/>  
<http://www.jeanmonnetprogram.org> <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/default.asp>

World Values Survey: <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/>

Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe: <http://www.share-project.org/>

Immigration and Citizenship in Europe: <http://www.euimmigration.org/>

International Centre for Migration Policy Development: <http://www.icmpd.org/>

**EUROSTAT** 2002 (&after). *The Life of Women and Men in Europe: A Statistical Portrait*  
Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Union.

### Documentaries and films:

- [Europa](#) (Lars Von Trier, 1990)
- [Europa, Europa](#) (Agnieszka Holland, 1990)
- [Ordinary Fascism \(Triumph over Violence\)](#) (Mikhail Romm, 1965)
- [Alemania, año cero](#) (Roberto Rossellini, 1948)
- [Europa 1951](#) (Roberto Rossellini, 1951)
- [E la nave va](#) (F. Fellini, 1983)

- *The Sacrifice [Sacrificio]* (Andrei Tarkovsky, 1986)
- *Good bye, Lenin* (Wolfgang Becker, 2003)

- *América, América* (Elia Kazan, 1963)
- *The American Creed* (A. Lasfargues y H. Védryne, 2004)
- *Fahrenheit 9/11* (Michael Moore, 2004)
- *El mundo según Bush* (William Karel, 2004)

- *My country, my country* (Laura Poitras, 2006)
- *Homeland: Iraq Year Zero* (Abbas Fahdel, 2015)
- *Palestine is Still the Issue* (John Pilger, 1977, 2002)

*Farewell Comrades!* (Andrei Nekrasov et al, 2011; ARTE, gebrueder beetz filmproduktion and Artline Films). TV series in six episodes: 1.Victory; 2.Wars; 3.Hope; 4.Awakening; 5.Rebellion; 6.Collapse.

*The Western Tradition* (E. Weber): 27.- The Reformation. 29.- The Wars of Religion. 35.- The Enlightenment and Society. 37.-The American Revolution. 43.- The French Revolution (and the romantics), 44.- The nation-states.

- *Cromwell* (Ken Hughes, 1970)
- *Irlanda: la raíz del problema* (Granada TV, 1998)
- *Todos somos vecinos* (Granada TV, 1993)

- *Memoria de Europa. J. Semprún en Buchenwald* (TVE-En Portada, 2010)
- *La nueva Alemania y Europa* (TVE-En Portada, 2011)
- *El desencanto de Europa* (TVE-En Portada, 2012)

- *Fronteras de Europa. La fortaleza europea* (TVE-ARTE France, 2001)
- *Musulmanes en Europa* (TVE-En Portada, 2008)
- *The [Green Border](#)* (Agnieszka Holland, 2023)
- *Los Hermanos Musulmanes (Egipto)* (TVE-En Portada, 2011)

- *When the Moors Ruled in Europe* (Granada TV report, 2005. T. Copestake)
- *An Islamic History of Europe* (BBC-Manchester report, 2004. Paul Sapin)
- *The Crusades: Crescent and the Cross* (History Channel, 2005: Mark Lewis)