

International Studies 602 (Spring 2017)  
University of Wisconsin-Madison  
Elizabeth Covington, Ph.D.  
T/R 1:00-2:15, 215 Ingraham Hall  
Office hours: R 2:15-3:15, T 12-1, 213 Ingraham Hall (265-4778)  
[ecovington@wisc.edu](mailto:ecovington@wisc.edu)

### Seminar: Europe and Migration

This seminar will examine how European nation-states became part of the supranational European Union, and how the very notion of Europe has been defined and re-defined. Study of nationalism is a primary aspect of this course, as is the constantly changing definition of citizenship and belonging, legally, culturally and otherwise. The course covers how formerly warring nation states joined together after World War Two in an economic and political community, which has grown to encompass 509.6 million persons (plus ~3m. Syrian, Afghani and other refugees), an annual GDP of \$16.312 trillion (US 18 t., 2015 figures), 28 nations, and the 19-nation Eurozone.

From 1945 to about 2009, the transatlantic alliance built upon NATO wax and waned, but remained fairly stable through the Cold War, the eventual fall of the Soviet Union, and the reunification of Germany. Under Obama the US consistently focused on the Pacific rather than the Atlantic, a diplomatic move labelled the Asia Rebalance. And who knows what the present US administration means to do with Europe. Or not do. Many US politicians and strategists across the ideological spectrum share the notion that “Old Europe” is nothing more than an unwieldy trading bloc which refuses to pay for its share of global military costs.

The movement of peoples is a part of European “integration,” an aspect of politics which receives a large majority of the theoretical focus in European history and political science. While we will spend some time reading about how academic disciplines conceive of and theorize the processes of European integration (theory), we will also study how European integration has created the need for effective public policy. Included are problems in many advanced industrial democracies such as (discordant or nonexistent) immigration policies, demographic troubles which pit young against old, increasing political polarization and populism, the transfer of power from nations to subnational and supranational entities, and new security challenges inconceivable during the Cold War. By the end of the course, you will be familiar with many of the broad geopolitical, diplomatic and economic challenges facing advanced industrial democracies, including all European Member States as well as the United States. It may finally be time to talk about European “disintegration.”

Course readings are interdisciplinary. Primarily, they will come from history, sociology and political science, with a small dose of philosophy. Towards the end of the course, we will be reading journalism, white papers, editorials, and official statements from individual nations, the European Commission, *Financial Times*, *New York Times*, *Foreign Affairs* and *The Economist*. In addition, you will be asked to attend parts of a major conference on April 6-8, 2017, and at least one further lecture, most likely Professor F. Bozo of the Sorbonne’s talk on February 23rd.

European Union Simulation Module: the last two to three weeks of the course, we will do a group project (simulated decision-making), most of which will be advance preparation for your final paper. We'll be investigating the obvious current theme of discord in Europe, how the need for coherent immigration and migration policies is threatening Schengen's open border Europe, and how this interacts with populist politics and legitimate fears of terrorism. Students will draw the countries they will represent. Since there are 28 member states (including the odd duck, Britain), some countries may need two representatives (e.g., Germany) and some will receive none at all (e.g., Cyprus). This simulation will require significant preparation, which we'll discuss at length later.

#### Course Requirements:

- 1) Mid-term Examination (Thursday, March 16): in-class, blue-book essay-question format, based on all readings from the first eight weeks of the course (30%). We will prepare in class on Tuesday, March 14, 2017. Group study is encouraged. The midterm will be designed to display full knowledge of the readings and thoughtful contemplation of their meaning.
- 2) Class Participation: (30%). Please note that a significant percentage of your course grade is composed of participation, meaning 1) obligatory attendance. For example, three or four absences would lower your grade to a B at the highest, medical absences with appropriate documentation being obvious exceptions. And 2) in a seminar each individual is expected to contribute vocally to the learning process and to display active participation in all course activities, whether that be commenting on the readings or making substantive comments on your peers' projects. Typically, I am forced to use the power ploy of pop quizzes between Weeks Two and Five to get students to do the reading. These can sink your course participation grade, or ensure an "A." Your choice. If you are uncertain about your participation, please make an appointment to see me **early in the semester**.
- 3) Outline of Country Coverage for Weeks 13-15: (10%), you will show up having prepped an outline of the main argumentative points and official position your EU Member State will adopt in the simulation.
- 4) Full Research Profile and Position Paper for your Member State (s): (30%), 10-12 pages total. This will be a reasoned and researched analysis of the major European issue we discuss in our simulation, drawing in full on the primary source materials you consulted for the country you cover, as well as some secondary sources. The full paper will be due at 4:45 pm on the day of the official final examination slot, or the last day of finals if someone is diligent enough to read this far.

#### Week 1: "Imagined Community" and Historicizing Globalization

January 17: Brief lecture on ravages of World Wars One and Two

January 19: Discussion of readings\* (and thereafter during class, unless otherwise noted).

Adam Tooze, *The Deluge: the Great War, America and the Remaking of the Global Order, 1916-1931* (2014), pp. 3-30. **Learn @UW**

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 1-12. **On College Reserve or Purchase**

"The New Nationalism," *The Economist* (Leader), November 19, 2016

Week 2: Rebuilding Europe, European Reconstruction and Cold-War Ideology

January 24:

Anderson, pp. 67-86 (skim lengthy literary examples, e.g. p. 73)

Tony Judt, *Postwar: a History of Europe since 1945*, Chapter One (Legacy of War) and Chapter 3 (The Rehabilitation of Europe)

January 26

Gareth Harding, "The Myth of Europe," in *Foreign Policy* Volume 1 (January-February 2012),

**MadCat**

"Exit Wounds," by Ian Buruma, *New York Times Magazine*, Sunday, December 2015

Week 3: Nationalism, Nationality and Identity

January 31

Neil Fligstein, "Who are the Europeans and how does this matter for politics?," Chapter 6 in Jeffrey T. Checkel and Peter J. Katzenstein, *European Identity* (2009)

Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity'" *Theory and Society* 29: 1-47: 2000.

**MadCat**

February 2

Eric D. Weitz, "From the Vienna to the Paris System: International Politics and the Entangled Histories of Human Rights, Forced Deportations, and Civilizing Missions" *American Historical Review* 113, No. 5 (December 2008):1313-1343.

Week 4: How the EU functions as Policymaker, Theories of Integration

February 7

Chapter 1, "The EU as a Policymaking State" in Jeremy Richardson and Sonia Mazey (eds.), *European Union: Power and Policy-making* FOURTH Edition (2015)

Axelrod, Vig and Schreurs, The EU as an Environmental Governance System (for a basic intro to how EU works on one topic), **Learn@UW**

February 9

Chapters Two and Three, Richardson and Mazey.

Week 5:

February 14

Lecture on ideological divide of Cold War, German reunification, Eastern Enlargement

Tony Judt, pp. 145-64 (parts of Chapter 5), and Chapter 9.

February 16

"EU Enlargement," by Frank Schimmelfennig, Chapter 11 in Richardson and Mazey

Mark Mazower, Chapter 11 of *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (**Learn @ UW**)

Week 6: Eastern Europe, Accession and Nationalism

February 21

Milada Vachudova, *Europe Undivided*, "Liberal and Illiberal Democracy" **Learn @ UW**

February 23

Rogers Brubaker, Chapter Four (pp. 79-96) in *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* **Learn @ UW**

Adriane Favell, "Immigration, Migration and free movement in the making of Europe," Chapter 7 in Jeffrey T. Checkel and Peter J. Katzenstein, *European Identity* (2009) **Learn @ UW**

Week 7: Security, Borders and Governmental Identities

February 28

Portions intro plus Chapter Five from Jef Huysmans, *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, migration and asylum in the EU*

March 2, Populism and Nativism

Fareed Zakaria, "Populism on the March: Why the West is in Trouble," *Foreign Relations*, 2016. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2016-10-17/populism-march> (**Elizabeth will post, no longer available for free**)

Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, "Trump, Brexit and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash" **World Wide Web**

Week 8 Global Policy on Migration

Rebecca Stern, "Our Refugee Policy is Generous: Reflections on the Importance of a State's Self-Image" *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 33.1 (2014): 25-43.

Randall Hansen and Demitrios G. Papademetriou, *Securing Borders: the Intended, Unintended and Perverse Consequences* (2014 report, Migration Policy Institute), **Learn @UW**

Week 9: Revision and Midterm

March 14, Revision

March 16, In-class Midterm

(March 18-26) Spring Break

Week 10: EU-specific migration (including lecture on demographics)

March 28, March 30

Elsbeth Guild, CEPS Essay, "Rethinking Migration Distribution in the EU (January 2016)

Martin Kahanec, "Labor Mobility in an enlarged European Union," Chapter 7 of *The International Handbook of the Economics of Migration*, Amelie F. Constant and Klaus Zimmerman (eds.), Elgar, 2015.

Alison Gerard and Sharon Pickering, "Gender, Securitization and Transit: Refugee Women and the Journey to the EU," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 27, No. 3 (2013) 338-359.

Week 11: EU Communiqués on Migration

April 4

Communication From The Commission To The European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic And Social Committee And The Committee Of The Regions: A European Agenda On Migration **Learn @UW**

April 6 no class, come to Gillian Tett lecture instead

Week 12: Social Science and Governmental Bodies

Begin country preparation for final project, no class during class hours but I will be in my office. Your two-page precis of your country's position on immigration must be circulated to everyone by Monday 8:00 pm (April 24)

No class April 11

Check-in during class on April 13

Week 13: April 18, 20  
Simulation of European Governance

Week 14: Simulation  
April 25, 29

Week 15: Simulation of European Governance  
May 2, 4 (no class)

**\*Readings Key:** Richardson and Mazey, FOURTH EDITION, Benedict Anderson, and Tony Judt have been ordered at the University Bookstore. You will have to purchase the Richardson text, as the College Library is too cash strapped to purchase more than one copy of the new edition. Anderson and Judt are on Reserve at the College Library. While there is no additional reader for the course, there are numerous materials. All selections are available on the World Wide Web, online in Desire 2 Learn at Learn @UW, or at the College Library Reserves. I expect some changes in the readings.

**(Mad Cat)** =the materials are available through the U-W electronic library databases. Go to Mad Cat (the UW Libraries home page) and click on Journals. Use the search engine to request the article. The University pays upwards of \$15,000 per year for access to each major research journal, which only becomes important when you can not access them anymore!