



Politics, Nations and Identity in the New Europe: Switzerland and the European Union
CAS IR 418 / PO 247 – Spring 2022

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1. Content

What is Europe, and are the Swiss in or out of it? Who can come in and who should stay out of Europe? This course is designed as an introduction to some of the most pressing political, social and cultural issues in present-day Europe: nations and identity in a continent of free internal movements of peoples while facing external migration pressures. Focusing on the host country, Switzerland, it will set this small independent nation in the context of European history and specifically its relations with its big neighbor, the European Union (EU) which brings together 27 States, after the Brexit, and is struggling to construct a common European identity. Divided in four sections, the course begins with an introduction to the concepts of identity, nations and citizenship, as the essential background knowledge for the issues that will be discussed throughout the course. Section II surveys the European economic integration, the EU citizenship, and the challenges relating to EU enlargement with regard to the quest for a common European identity. In Section III, the course looks at Switzerland's history, society and politics, notably its unique system of semi-direct democracy, which is seen as a solution, among other virtues, for a peaceful coexistence in a multicultural society. This will include the complex relationship between Switzerland and the EU. Section IV addresses the global migration question in its political, economic, security and humanitarian dimensions, including the EU immigration policy, where politics, nations and identity play significant roles.

There are no pre-requisites for this class, which should be of interest to students in IR, Political Science, History, or European studies – as well as anyone who just wants to make sense of present-day Switzerland and Europe.

2. Reading materials

A reading kit will be distributed to the students, containing the assigned readings. Other readings and additional texts are also posted at Blackboard Learn.

3. Assignments and grading

There are four assignments for the course (three graded and one ungraded):

- i. **Critical review of a reading (35%)**: Each student, alone or in pair, has to write a critical review of one of the course readings, which will be attributed in the first classes. A guideline for writing a critical review will be posted at Learn Blackboard and commented during the first class. The paper – of 4 pages maximum, excluding references – shall be sent by email to the instructor 36 hours before its presentation in class. A 10% penalty per 8-hour late submission applies, starting 15 minutes after the deadline.
- ii. **Final Exam (45%)**: The exam will consist of 6 questions on the whole course (7.5 points each), based on lectures, readings, presentations, and class discussions.
- iii. **Participation (20%) and full attendance** are key components of students' grade. This includes active, engaged, intelligent comments in class, based on the lectures and the discussions of the texts from the reader, and punctuality. As these discourses are integral parts of their grade, students are strongly advised to read carefully the required readings. Absences are only excused in the case of illness duly attested by a doctor's note. Unexcused absence as well as lateness will affect the participation grade.
- iv. **Class presentation of the assigned readings (ungraded)**: It consists of students' presentation of all key points and concepts of the reading s/he reviewed, followed by general discussions of that reading and other assigned readings. Students' regular comments, responses and inputs during this exercise will be taken into account for the participation grade.

The objectives and evaluation criteria of these assignments will be further explained in the first class. They are also posted online, at Blackboard Learn.

4. Boston University Geneva Study Abroad Academic policy

All students are responsible for having read and understood the program's academic policy. It contains information about the program's academic policies and procedures, academic conduct and attendance policies. The policy is published on the program website: <http://www.bu.edu/geneva/academic-policy/>.

5. Schedule (13 classes of 3 hours each)

I. MAJOR ISSUES AND CONCEPTS

Class 1: January

Organization of the course

Major issues and concepts (Part I): Nation, Nationalism, Identity, Multiculturalism, Cosmopolitanism

Required readings (Subject to change by the beginning of the course):

1. Armin von BOGDANDY & Stefan HAUBLER, 'Nations', in *Max Planck Encyclopedia of PIL* (2008, 9 p.), ([PDF](#), [Blackboard Learn](#)).
2. Ien ANG, 'Beyond Unity in Diversity: Cosmopolitanizing Identities in a Globalizing World', *Diogenes*, vol. 60 (2014) 1, 10-20 ([PDF](#), [Blackboard Learn](#)).

Class 2:

Major issues and concepts (Part II): National identity and integration, Nationality, Ethnic supremacy, Populism;

Required readings:

3. Rogers BRUBAKER, 'Why populism', in *Theory and Society*, vol. 46 (5), Nov. 2017, 357-385 ([PDF](#), [Blackboard Learn](#)).
4. Linda Martín ALCOFF, *The Future of Whiteness* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), 1-34 (See the [last text of the Reading brick](#)).

II. HISTORICAL AND BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE OF CONTEMPORARY EUROPE

Class 3:

Understanding the 'European construction' (Part I):

- From the interwar period to WW II
- The idea of the EC and the development of the EU

Required readings:

5. Walter OPELLO and A.R. Katherine OPELLO, 'Chapter 9: From Military Competition to Economic Cooperation', *European Politics. The Making of Democratic States* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2009), 201-231.
6. Paul KUBICEK, 'Chapter 3: The Development of the European Union', *European Politics* (Boston et al.: Longman, 2012), 65-79.

Class 4: Morning

(US Mission visit in the afternoon, 2-4 pm - TBC)

Understanding the 'European construction' (Part II):

- The EU enlargement: process and spatial limits
- The creation of EU citizenship and the quest for a European identity
- *Brexit* and the future of the European construction

Required readings:

7. Neil FLIGSTEIN, 'European Integration, Nationalism and European Identity', *50 Journal of Common Market Studies* 1 (2012), 106-122.
8. Jelena SUBOTIC, 'Europe is a State of Mind: Identity and Europeanization in the Balkans', *International Studies Quarterly* 55 (2011), 309-330.

Read also publications on the effects of Brexit in 'European' and British online media.

Class 5:

Topic 1: The EU identity as an international security player: the CFSP and CSDP

Topic 2: The EU as an international person: the EU-ACP accords and other EU's international commitments

Required readings:

9. Sven BISCOP, 'Peace without Money, War without Americans: challenges for European Strategy', 8 *International Affairs* 5 (2013), 1125-1142.
10. Patrick MUELLER, 'Europe's Foreign Policy and the Middle East Peace Process: The Construction of EU Actorness in Conflict Resolution', in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 14: 1 (2013), 20-35.

You may also read Thierry TARDY, *CSDP in Action – What Contribution to International Security?*, EU Institute for Security Studies, Chaillot Papers No. 134, May 2015, 19-36 [Extracts]

III. SWITZERLAND'S UNIQUE POLITICAL SYSTEM AND RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EU

Class 6:

Topic 1: The creation of the Swiss nation

Topic 2: Contemporary Swiss citizens: immigration and integration policies

Required readings:

11. Gregory FOSSEDAL, *Direct Democracy in Switzerland*, 'Chapter 2: 1291' and 'Chapter 3: Willensnation' (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2002), 11-27.
12. Gianni D'AMATO, 'Switzerland: A Multicultural Country without Multicultural Policies?', in Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf (eds.), *The Multiculturalism Backlash. European Discourses, Policies and Practices* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 130-151.

You may also read Steinberg's, and Linder's articles posted at Blackboard Learn.

Class 7:

- Swiss semi-direct democracy and political system
- Swiss neutrality

Required reading:

13. Wolf LINDER, *Swiss Democracy: Possible Solutions to Conflict in Multicultural Societies* (New York: St. Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), Chapter 3: Direct Democracy, 92-101 **and** Chapter 5: Comparative Perspectives, 158-173.
14. Jürg Martin GABRIEL, 'The Price of Political Uniqueness: Swiss Foreign Policy in a Changing World', in *Swiss Foreign Policy, 1945-2002*, ed. by Jürg Martin Gabriel and Thomas Fischer (Houndmills, Palgrave, 2003), 1-22.

Peruse also: *The Swiss Confederation: A Brief Guide 2018* (PDF, Blackboard Learn)

Class 8:

Switzerland and its relations with the EU

- The nature and evolution of the Swiss-EU relationship
- The Bilateral Agreements and the implementation of the 2014 Swiss vote on 'Stop mass immigration'

Required readings:

15. Hanspeter KRIESI and Alexander TRECHSEL, 'Chapter 11: Foreign Policy: Switzerland and the EU', in *The Politics of Switzerland. Continuity and Change in a Consensus Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 172-189.

Browse also the Press Releases on the latest news concerning Swiss European policy, at

<https://www.eda.admin.ch/dea/en/home/aktuell/medienmitteilungen.html>, and www.swissinfo.ch

IV. GLOBAL MIGRATION AND EUROPE: CRISIS MANAGEMENT AND POLITICS OF IDENTITY

Class 9:

European identity and the treatment of peoples fleeing generalized violence: refugees admission and rights, the Dublin regulations, and the criminalization of immigration

Required readings:

16. Susan FRATZKE, *Not Adding Up. The Fading Promise of Europe's Dublin System* (Migration Policy Institute Europe, March 2015).
17. Nora MARKARD, 'The Right to Leave by Sea: Legal Limits on EU Migration Control by Third Countries', *The European Journal of International Law*, vol. 27 (3) 2016, 591-616. (PDF - Blackboard Learn)

Class 10:

European identity and the treatment of peoples fleeing extreme poverty: the rise of nationalism, and the trial between anti-immigration pressures and economic needs

Required readings:

18. Tim BALE, 'Not Wanted but Needed – Migrants and Minorities', in *European Politics. A Comparative Introduction* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 339-377.
19. Natalia BANULESCU-BOGDAN, *When Facts Don't Matter: How to Communicate More Effectively about Immigration's Costs and Benefits*, Migration Policy Institute, November 2018, 19 p. (PDF - Blackboard Learn)

Class 11:

The question of migration and terrorism: the identity and national cohesion dimensions

- The question of 'home-grown terrorists'
- The phenomenon of 'foreign terrorist fighters'
- The OSCE community approach to the prevention of radicalization and violent extremism that may lead to terrorism

Required readings:

20. OSCE, *Preventing Terrorism and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization that Lead to Terrorism: A Community-Policing Approach* (ODIHR, February 2014), 27-47.
21. Francis Fukuyama, 'Identity, Immigration & Democracy', *Journal of Democracy*, April 2006, Vol. 17 (2), 5-20. (PDF - Blackboard Learn)

SECTION V: CONCLUSION

Class 12:

Wrap-up session

Politics, nations and identity in an era of globalization: Living together as one human race

Class 13:

Final Exam