Summer 2017  
MS385 Europe’s Multi-Dimensional Crisis: Migration, Security and Economy  
Course Instructors: Dr. Angeliki Dimitriadi, Dr. Thanos Dokos, Dr. Ritsa Panagiotou

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HOURS AVAILABLE:  
PHONE:

Class Meetings:  
M-F 9:30-12:30  
Classroom CB-1

Course Description  
The course will address the complex, multi-layered and at times interlinked issues that impact the fabric and the very future of Europe. These include the challenge of irregular migration and recent refugee crisis, the multiple security challenges both inside Europe and its Eastern and Southern neighborhoods and the ongoing financial/ economic crises in Greece and Europe. All these challenges and crises are interconnected and feeding into each other. The section of the course dedicated to migration will introduce students to the evolving phenomenon of migration, discuss certain key areas of critical importance to policy makers (smuggling/trafficking, detention and returns) and discuss the global governance approach towards irregular migrants and refugees in Europe, Australia and the US.  
At the same time, the course will also focus on unfolding events in the regions of the eastern Mediterranean, Southeastern Europe (including Greece and Turkey) and the Black Sea region from the perspective of security and stability. Issues to be discussed include regional conflicts (Ukraine, Syria, the Israeli Palestinian conflict, the Cyprus problem, the Kurdish question), the rise of ISIS and the threat of jihadist terrorism for Europe and the West, the geopolitics of energy in the Eastern Mediterranean, the foreign policy and domestic political situation of Turkey and the possible hotspots in the Balkans, as well as the role of the US, the EU and Russia. Finally, the Greek sovereign debt crisis and the eurozone crisis continue to dominate European interest; the causes, repercussions and outcomes of these unprecedented and interconnected crises have been the focus of much study, research and debate over these past years. While the Greek crisis remains unresolved, the EU economies remain in recession and a large part of the European population is under the pressure of long term austerity policies, other crucial new challenges are also vying for Europe’s attention: these include the departure of the United Kingdom from the EU (Brexit), the escalating threat of terrorism and the rise of right wing populism and extremism in Europe.

Course Resources and Activities  
To investigate these questions, we will read; analyze and interpret texts, evidence, and experience; work and think with others; and write. Below we describe our explicit goals for your engagement with each of these modes of learning.

Learning Objectives  
By the end of the course, students should be able to:

1) Understand the context and framework from which the management of irregular migration emerges;  
2) Draw comparisons between the EU, the USA and Australia but also highlight differences;  
3) Understand the causes for a number of conflicts and crises in Europe’s periphery, as well as the possible options for the resolution or management of these problems;  
4) Appreciate the complex new economic, social and geopolitical realities and challenges facing Europe, that are threatening to undermine decades of economic integration and political cooperation on the continent;  
5) Comprehend the main causes of the Greek/Eurozone crisis from institutional, political, social and economic perspectives, the responses to the crisis and its impact on European economy and society.  
6) Appreciate and comprehend the context and impact of the new challenges facing the EU as a result of Brexit, the threat of terrorism, and the rise in populist extremism in Europe.
Course Requirements
Final exam: 40% (of the final grade)
Class participation: 20% (of the final grade)
Class presentation: 40% (of the final grade)

Class Presentations
Class presentations are meant to function similar to short essay assignments. Students will choose the topic from one of the three core issues (migration, economy, and security), during the 1st class. They will have time to prepare the presentation using literature and resources available through the handbook but also based on individual research (following consultation with the professor). The class presentation will be on a topic that the students have not yet been taught at class by the professor. They will be evaluated on what they have understood, the questions they raise, the issues identified as important and the resources they reference (for example quotes should be referenced). The presentation will have a 25min duration, of which 20min will be used by the presenter to introduce the topic and 5min for questions. The presentations will serve as an introduction to the topic which the professor will then discuss in more detail.
In order to ensure fair grading, all comments, questions, and notes should link back to the literature read. It is recommended that you treat the presentation as a paper delivered orally, i.e. it will require the same level of research and preparatory work.

Grading and Evaluation
Grades are intended to give you a sense of the quality of a particular piece of work: roughly speaking, a B means that you have done a good job with the writing, the ideas, and the organization of the work; a C conveys that the work lacks some important qualities and has some problems, while an A means that the work is exemplary in some key ways: the writing is particularly clear, the ideas thoroughly treated, the organization of the presentation well considered and effective.

Attendance
Students are expected to report for classes promptly. CYA regards attendance in class and on-site as essential. Absences are recorded and have consequences. Illness or other such compelling reasons which result in absences should be reported immediately in the Student Affairs Office.

Policy on Original Work
Unless otherwise specified, all submitted work must be your own, original work. Any excerpts from the work of others must be clearly identified as a quotation, and a proper citation provided. (Check Student handbook, pg. 9)

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities
If you are a registered (with your home institution) student with a disability and you are entitled to learning accommodation, please inform the Director of Academic Affairs and make sure that your school forwards the necessary documentation.

Books, Course Materials, Moodle
Some of the reading material can be accessed freely via academia.edu provided their authors have uploaded them. Other are available online, and where that is the case their links are included.

Class Schedule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Day</th>
<th>Day/Date</th>
<th>Topic / Readings / Assignments Due</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>27/6</td>
<td>The irregular journey and the border</td>
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<td>The session will look at how migration is approached from the migrant perspective and how the journey unfolds as a result, in the form of transit migration. The border crossing will also be discussed since it is through the violation of the border that illegality begins.</td>
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Required Reading


Optional Reading


Questions to be addressed/thinking guide

1. Does the 'illegal' manner of the journey matter for the migrants?
2. Can you identify the two critical aspects (or actors) of a successful journey?

Smuggling/trafficking: the new security elements in irregular migration

Beyond the border crossing, and the sovereign right to control one's borders, irregular migration in increasingly linked at a global level with transnational organised crime. The discourse is important because it allows for an added layer of 'criminalisation' of the process thus transforming the journey to an entirely illegal activity. The session, before the fieldtrip to Brussels, will discuss transnational organised crime, smuggling, differences and commonalities and how they link (if at all) with irregular migration.

Required reading


Optional Reading


Questions to be addressed/thinking guide

1. What are the main differences between human smuggling and trafficking?
2. Can smuggling transform to trafficking and vice- versa? Under
which circumstances?
3. “Human smuggling is a transnational organised crime to be combatted” Argue against that statement.

3 29/6 Detention: the new management of migratory flows
The flagship policy of detention and return is part of a global approach to managing irregular migration. The session will look at how the particular policy is currently implemented in Greece (and the EU framework) the US and Australia

Required Reading


Optional Reading
Coddington K., R. Tina Catania, Loyd J., Mitchell-Eaton E. and Mountz A. (2012).” Embodied Possibilities, Sovereign Geographies and Island Detention: Negotiating the 'right to have rights' on Guam, Lampedusa and Christmas Island”, Shima: the international journal of research into island cultures, 6(2), ISSN: 1834-6057 (online version)


Dimitriadi, A. (2014) Involuntary Mobility: Between a Rock and a Hard Place. Available at: http://bordercriminologies.law.ox.ac.uk/involuntary-mobility/


‘We were never treated as people’ available at http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2014/07/corinth-greece-migrant-detention-centre-201471072910906809.html

See also Refworld’s special page on detention: www.unhcr.org/refworld/detention.html

Questions to be addressed/thinking guide
1. “The moral and legal restrictions as well as the heavy drain on government resources such as detention capacity and personnel severely limit the State’s possibilities (Walters, 2002)”—Discuss.
2. Is detention becoming globally entrenched and why? Can you outline similarities and differences between the EU, USA and Australia?

4 30/6 Europe’s refugee crisis
The class will look at events and trends of 2014-2016, and the responses at an EU and Greek level regarding the refugee crisis.

Required reading
The focus will be on maritime migration, why it has drawn so much focus amongst politicians, media and public, the issues around maritime irregular crossings, and the maritime routes and trends in recent years. Sea passage is intrinsically linked with smuggling, which is increasingly approached as an (in) security issue. In the context of maritime migration, the islands will be discussed as the sites where policy responses emerge but often implemented. The case of Australia will also be discussed here.

Required Reading


Optional Reading


Questions to be addressed/Thinking guide

1. What are the critical issues around maritime migration?
2. What is the dual role islands can play in relation to irregular migration?
3. Explain the differences and linkages of off-shore processing, excision of territory and externalisation.

6 4/7  US-Mexico border: a migration and refugee crisis in the making
Unlike the past, the US-Mexico border has evolved into a site of transit, strandedness but also a refugee crisis in the making. The border will be discussed both in relation to the various security practices taking place to deter entry but also in relation to how both sides are responding to the presence of asylum-seeking flows as a result of the Central American violence-driven refugee crisis.

Required reading


Optional Reading


Questions to be considered/Thinking guide
1. Outline three main security measures/policies deployed at the US-Mexico border that can be found also at the external borders of the Union.
2. What are the adaptive strategies deployed by undocumented migrants at the US-Mexico crossing?
3. Discuss the reasons behind the current refugee crisis on the US-Mexico border

7 5/7  Brussels Trip

Notes from Professor

8 6/7  Brussels Trip
Brussels Trip

Hot spots and sources of insecurity in Europe’s Eastern Neighborhood

After briefly discussing some important changes and trends in the global system, the focus will be on the crisis in Ukraine which is indeed Europe’s most serious post-Cold War security challenge since the Balkan Wars. After the shooting down of Flight MH17 the situation has escalated, efforts to resolve the crisis through diplomatic means have met with very limited success so far and the end result may very well be a new Cold War of unknown duration and consequences between the West and Russia. To better manage the next stages of the crisis, it is important to understand how the situation escalated to this degree.

Required reading:

John Mearsheimer, ‘Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West’s Fault’, Foreign Affairs, September-October 2014
Nicu Popescu, ‘First lessons from the Ukrainian crisis’, EU-ISS, October 2014


The Eastern Mediterranean conundrum I: (a) The civil war in Syria and regional security (b) The situation in Iraq and the Kurdish question

(a) The Eastern Mediterranean and its adjoining regions are currently the most unstable regions in the world. Current regional instability is the result of a combination of factors: a number of weak, artificial states (most of them created by the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916) crumbling under strain, the extremely unfortunate choices of major powers still plaguing the region, the lack of a regional security architecture, an evolving global and regional system, poverty and lack of democracy, existing regional conflicts, the ambitious agendas of regional powers, Islam’s struggle to find its position in the modern world and the appearance of sectarian tensions, and a serious economic and political crisis in Europe, combined with concerns about the future of the EU and weak leadership in Europe. All those factors combined to form an almost perfect storm in the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

Syria is the most important hotspot today. Several scenarios are theoretically possible for the country’s future and none of them is attractive: the transformation of Syria into a failed state, its fragmentation, protracted civil war, or a new regime dominated by Islamist forces. The stabilization of the country and the processes of reconstruction and reconciliation will be extremely difficult challenges for the international community.

(b) The Kurds remain the largest ethnic group without a state. Their total number is
estimated at 25 to 30 million, and they live mainly in Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. Their desire to create an independent Kurdish state has been causing varying degrees of concern to host countries. The Kurds of Northern Iraq have enjoyed wide autonomy for two decades and are unlikely to willingly relinquish it. If circumstances allow in the future, they may try to replace de facto with de jure independence. The Kurds of Syria may also try to create their own autonomous entity. Despite Turkey's clever policy of economic and political engagement of the Kurdish entity in northern Iraq, there is concern that Ankara's inability to resolve its own Kurdish problem may increase the future attractiveness of a Kurdish state for Turkey's own Kurdish population.

Required reading:


12 12/7 The Eastern Mediterranean conundrum II: (a) The Sunni-Shia divide, the rise of the Islamic State, Salafist ideologies and Jihadist terrorism (b) The Israeli-Palestinian problem

(a) Although some analysts have described the Syrian conflict as a confrontation between Iran-led and pro-Western camps, a different narrative suggests a deepening Sunni-Shia rift in the Middle East, with Syria being the main area of competition, with the Assad regime, Iran and Hezbollah on one side and Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Turkey and Egypt on the other. Of course, the Sunni-Shia divide is also seen as running through societies, not just across them. Furthermore, one should not downplay the profound divisions and tensions within the Sunni camp (for example the rivalry between Salafi and more moderate Islamist forces or the different agendas and ambitions of the main Sunni states). If there is no diplomatic solution, the Syrian conflict may have profound consequences for the whole region.

(b) Probably accurately labeled the 'mother of all conflicts”, it remains, at least symbolically, if not in substance, the most important regional conflict in the Middle East. If not resolved in a mutually acceptable and viable manner, it will continue to cause tension and suffering in all parties involved, and to be used by radicals in the Muslim world as a justifying cause for their jihad(s).

Required reading:

International Crisis Group, No Exit? Gaza & Israel Between Wars, 26 Aug 2015


13 13/7 The geopolitics of energy in the Eastern Mediterranean; The Cyprus problem

The discovery of significant natural gas deposits in the exclusive economic zones of Israel and Cyprus and the alleged deposits of the Levant Basin may provide an additional energy source outside the former Soviet space and the Middle East
proper and therefore contribute to the diversification of Europe’s natural gas suppliers. Although the deposits discovered so far in Cyprus and Israel are not expected to have a transforming effect on Europe’s energy situation, they can hardly be ignored as long as Europe continues to voice concerns about its energy security (and especially after the evolving crisis in Ukraine). In any case, the picture may change as there are additional explorations under way in Cyprus, Israel and Greece.

Required reading:


14 14/7 Domestic politics and foreign policy in Turkey
An overview of Turkish foreign policy would clearly show that Turkey has been an important regional player in multiple regions (Middle East, Black Sea, Southeastern Europe, and Caucasus), a member of NATO and a candidate for membership to the EU. During the last decade, Turkish foreign policy, under the AKP governments, has become more active and dynamic, leading to an increase of the country’s regional and global visibility and influence. Critics claim, however, that this policy was flawed and exposed Turkey to serious risks. Both schools of thought will be presented and discussed. Turkey’s prospects as a rising power (a “central power” according to Ahmet Davutoğlu) in the 21st century will also be examined as well as its relations with the EU, the US and other major powers such as Russia and China. Turkish domestic politics have also been quite interesting, to say the least. The domestic situation after the July 2016 failed coup d’etat and the April 2017 referendum for the change of the constitution to transform the Turkish political system into a ‘presidential’ one (with insufficient checks and balances, critics would argue) will be discussed.

Required reading:

15 17/7 Are the Balkans still the powder-keg of Europe?
The Balkans have been a major European hotspot twice during the 20th century: in 1914, providing the spark for the explosion of World War I and in the 1990s, with the Yugoslav civil wars. In the 21st century the Balkans are a quieter place, but there still are a number of weak/fragile states, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) and Kosovo. Prospects for conflict involving those countries, also in connection to the issue of Albanian nationalism, will be discussed, along with the role of the EU, the US and Russia.

Required reading:

16 18/7 Eurozone Crisis: Background, Responses and Impact
The European Union’s Economic and Monetary Union; the Maastricht Convergence Criteria and launch of the common currency; outbreak of the crisis in Greece, responses and contagion to other eurozone countries; impact of the crisis and austerity on Greek/ European economy and society.

Required Reading
- The Eurozone in Crisis (Council on Foreign Relations, 2015)
- A very short history of the crisis (The Economist)
- The origin of the Greek sovereign debt crisis (M. Vyas)
- Eurozone crisis explained (BBC)
- The True Cost of Austerity - Greece case study (Oxfam)
- Europe is Destroying Greece’s Economy for no reason at all (Washington Post)
- Young, gifted and Greek: Generation G (Guardian)
- What austerity looks like inside Greece (New Yorker)
- Austerity vs Democracy in Greece (Foreign Affairs)
- Greece’s successful death (N. Chrysoloras, Crisis Observatory)
- The Social impact of the Economic Crisis in Europe (Hanan)
- A cautionary tale (Oxfam)

17 19/7 Europe’s New Challenges: Brexit, or the European Union without the UK
The United Kingdom as the reluctant European; The UK’s love/hate relationship with the EU; countdown to the IN/OUT referendum of June 23, 2016; Aftermath of the referendum: what now for Europe? What now for the UK?

Required Reading
- Britain and Europe (The Economist)
- The roots of Euroscepticism (The Economist)
- Economic implications of Brexit (Brookings Institution)
- Brexit means brexit (The Guardian)
- Brexit Grexit and Italexit: what is happening in Europe? (OneEurope)
- After the UK Referendum, the main trial: save Europe! (P. Efthymiou, Crisis Observatory)
- A weaker, more hostile country (The New European)
- Brexit will wipe UK out of History (The New European)
- A Background Guide to Brexit (The Economist)
- Brexit: Consequences and Significance

18 20/7 Europe’s New Challenges: The spectre of Terrorism ; the rise of populism and extremism in Europe
The new kind of terror threat in Europe; how are terrorism (and Europe’s other new challenges) encouraging the rise of right wing populism in Europe

Required Reading
- The new normal (The Economist)
- These 5 facts explain why Europe is ground zero for terrorism (The Economist)
- Why Belgium is front line in war on terror (CNN)
- The rise and fall of free speech under Turkey’s Islamists
- Islamic terror could drive Europe into the arms of the far right
- Rising fear of terrorism pushes Europeans to rethink approach to right wing parties
- This is why the far right is on the rise in Europe (TIME)
- Europe’s far right is surging (The Guardian)

*Assignments must be submitted at the beginning of class on due date, unless noted otherwise on syllabus