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Office Hours: Thu 2-3:30 pm

## What Is Europe?

Graduate Course  
G42.2301  
Tue 5:00 – 7: 00 pm

**Abstract** This course studies ideas about Europe, aspects of European divisions as well as unity, European integration, the concept of the East, presumed correlates of European identity such as religion, the particularities of European cities and capitals. It is an interdisciplinary approach to Europe but its center of gravity lies with the social sciences. The course is organized in five topical packages, each of which contains a more historical and a more present-day component. There will be three “intermissions” with guest lectures and public discussions each of which students are required to attend and participate in.

**Course Requirements:** Students are expected to attend all class meetings, write weekly thought papers on the readings and a research paper which shall connect a theoretical question with an empirical analysis. The paper topic will be assigned on November 17, the paper is due on December 17 noon.

**Grades:** class participation/thought papers (33.3%), research paper (66.6%)

### Books to buy:

Berger/Davie/Fokas, *Religious America, Secular Europe?* (2008)  
Ellis, *The Napoleonic Empire* (1996)  
Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (1992).  
Harrison, *Greeks and Barbarians* (2002).  
Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power* (2003).  
Minkenberg, *The Radical Right in Europe* (2008).  
Zielonka, *Europe as Empire* (2007).

### *Introduction*

Some general and preparatory reflections about approaches to identify Europe: through a web of international relations defined by particular actors, as a civilization or culture as opposed to others, as a way of life, in analogy to the American way of life. Who draws the limits? What is the core of such an identity?

Sep. 8            How to Define Europe? (Calleo, chaps. 1, 3, 7, 9)

Sep. 15          Europe as a Civilization (Huntington, chaps. 1 – 3, 7; Kagan: Judd, chaps. 23 – 24)

### *European Divides*

The search for Europe as opposed to a big Other: dividing lines between Europe and the Other can coexist with dividing lines within Europe, most notably the East-West divide. What images of Europe are used to distinguish it from the rest of the world? How does the image of the rest feed back to the image of Europe?

Sep. 22          Greeks, Europeans, Barbarians (Herodotus, book I, para 1 – 5 and intro by editor; Harrison, pp. 1 – 49, 101 – 125, 189 – 210, 257 – 309).

Sep. 29          East vs. West (Wolff, intro, chap. 4, conclusion; Jowitt, pp. 249-305; Tismaneanu)

### *Us and Them in Europe*

A more specific way of defining Europe entails the identification of those who “do not belong” to Europe and/or its constituent parts, again seen as a collection of nationalities and nation states, or as a broader culture. In the nation building era, animosities between nations and nationalisms created sharp distinction between Us and Them, today the distinctions are more blurred and reactivated with regard to minorities and immigrants. Which are there continuities and differences between the 19<sup>th</sup> century nationalism and today’s xenophobia?

Oct 6            Nationalism and the Nation State (Smith, chaps. 1 – 2; Hobsbawm, chaps. 1 – 4; Anderson, chaps. 1 – 3)

Oct 13          Immigrants and the Radical Right (Ireland; Minkenberg 2008a, all, 2009).

### *Intermission I*

Oct 20          Max Weber and the Study of Europe: guest lecture by Joachim Radkau

### *Religion and Europe*

Europe used to be united by Christendom, as opposed to other civilizations and their religions, and at the same time suffered religious schisms from an early age. Today, Europe stands out as a particularly secularized part of the world, compared to the US, Latin America, the Arab world and other regions. What are the legacies of Christianity in Europe? Is Europe really the secular

exception to the religious world? How does religious diversity in Europe today redefine the role of religion as a marker of identity?

Oct 27 Europe – from Christianity to Secularism? (Bruce, chaps. 1 – 2; Berger/Davie/Fokas, all).

Nov 3 Christian Legacies and Current Diversities (Byrnes/ Katzenstein, chaps. 2 – 3; Norris/Inglehart, chap. 4; Minkenberg 2008b)

### *Intermission II*

Nov 10 Walls in Europe and Beyond: Commemorative Roundtable at Deutsches Haus (Judt, chap. 19)

### *Modern European Unifications*

Europe has always been subject to imperial efforts of unification which preceded or transcended its organization in nation states. In the distant past, these were the Roman Empire, Charlemagne's Empire, and the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. In the age of the nation states, both Napoleon's and Hitler's effort stand out – equally grand in ambition and failure. They contrast with more modest and peaceful ambitions which originated in the interwar period and culminated with the project of European integration. How do such efforts of unification – in its imperial-military and its intergovernmental-democratic forms – redefine the relationship between the center and the parts/peripheries? How does government and decision making function under these conditions?

Nov 17 Napoleon and Hitler (Ellis, all; Mazower, intro, chaps. 7 – 8, 17 – 18)

Nov 24 The EU (Hix; Zielonka, pp. 1-90, 117-191)

### *Intermission III*

Dec 1 Europe as a Political Actor in the World: guest lecture by Ulrich Krotz (Krotz 2009)

### *The European City*

European history is markedly shaped by the peculiarities of its urban development. In many parts, before territorial states, there were city states (in classical Greece, in medieval Germany and Italy). Modern urbanization has again left a distinct mark. What are the hallmarks of the "European City" model? How does it differ from the "American City" model? How do capital cities – cities of a specific meaning and function – and their design and architecture symbolize the respective nation state and the functioning of the political regime? Is Brussels the capital of Europe?

Dec 8 Urban Development and Design in Europe (Mumford, pp. 351-367; Braunfels, intro, chaps. 2 – 3, 7; Häussermann/Haile; LeGalès, pp. 31 – 73)

Dec 15 Capital Questions: National Capitals and the European Capital (Vale, chap. 1; Gordon, chaps. 1 – 2, 4 – 7, 14, 17; Hein, chaps. 7 – 8)

## Literature:

- Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Berger, Peter, Davie, Gracie, and Fokas, Effie. 2008. *Religious America, Secular Europe? A Theme and Variations*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Braunfels, Wolfgang. 1988. *Urban Design in Western Europe. Regime and Architecture 900 – 1900*. Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- Bruce, Steve. 2002. *God Is Dead. Secularization in the West*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Byrnes, Timothy, and Katzenstein, Peter (eds.). 2006. *Religion in an Expanding Europe*. Ann Arbor, MI: Univ. of Michigan Press.
- Calleo, David. 1978. *The German Problem Reconsidered. Germany and the World Order, 1870 to the present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ellis, Geoffrey. 1996. *The Napoleonic Empire*. New York: Palgrave.
- Gordon, David (ed.). 2006. *Planning Twentieth Century Capital Cities*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Häussermann, Hartmut, and Haile, Anna. 2005. "The European City: A Conceptual Framework and Normative Project," in Yuri Kazepov (ed.), *Cities of Europe: Changing Contexts, Local Arrangements, and the Challenge to Social Cohesion*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 43-63
- Harrison, Thomas (ed.). 2002. *Greeks and Barbarians*. New York: Routledge.
- Hein, Carola. 2004. *The Capital of Europe. Architecture and Urban Planning for the European Union*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Herodotus. 440 BC. *The Histories*. Ed. by John Marincola. New York: Penguin (2003).
- Hix, Simon. 2008. "The EU as a new political system", in: Daniele Conversi (ed.), *Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, pp. 573-601.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1992. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1996. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Ireland, Patrick. 2000. "Reaping What They Sow: Institutions and Immigrant Political Participation in Western Europe", in: Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham (eds.), *Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relations Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 233-282.

- Jowitt, Ken. 1992. *New World Disorder. The Leninist Extinction*. Berkeley, CA: Univ. of California Press.
- Kagan, Robert. 2003. *Of Paradise and Power. America and Europe in the New World Order*. New York: Alfred Knopf.
- Krotz, Ulrich. 2009. "Momentum and Impediments: Why Europe Won't Emerge as a Full Political Actor on the World Stage Soon", in: *Journal of Common Market Studies* 47 (3), pp. 555-578.
- LeGalès, Patrick. 2002. "The Long History of the European City," in: *European Cities: Social Conflicts and Governance*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 31-73.
- Mazower, Mark. 2008. *Hitler's Empire. How the Nazis Ruled Europe*. New York: Penguin.
- Minkenberg, Michael. 2008a. *The Radical Right in Europe. An Overview*. Guetersloh: Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung.
- Minkenberg, Michael. 2008b. "Religious Legacies and the Politics of Multiculturalism. A Comparative Analysis of Integration Policies in Western Democracies", in: Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia and Simon Reich, (eds.) *Immigration, Integration and Security. America and Europe in Comparative Perspective*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, pp. 44-66.
- Minkenberg, Michael. 2009. "Anti-Immigration Politics in Europe. The Radical Right and its Environment", in: Jennifer Hochschild and John Mollenkopf (eds.) *Bringing Outsiders In. Transatlantic Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, pp. 140-157.
- Mumford, Lewis. 1961/1989. *The City in History*. New York: Harcourt.
- Judt, Tony. 2005. *Postwar. A History of Europe Since 1945*. New York: Penguin.
- Norris, Pippa, and Inglehart, Ronald. 2005. *Sacred and Secular. Religion and Politics Worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Smith, Anthony. 2001. *Nationalism. Theory, Ideology, History*. Oxford: Polity.
- Tismaneanu, Vladimir. 2007. "Is East-Central Europe Backsliding? Leninist Legacies, Pluralist Dilemmas" in: *Journal of Democracy* 18 (4), October, pp. 33-39
- Vale, Lawrence. 2008. *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London and New York: Routledge.
- Wolff, Larry. 1994. *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press.
- Zielonka, Jan. 2007. *Europe as Empire. The Nature of the Enlarged European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.