

The Ohio State University
Spring 2016 (11 January – 27 April)
T/Th 2:20-3:40pm
Stillman Hall 235

Peter J. Tunkis
3046 Derby Hall
tunkis.1@osu.edu
Office hours: T/Th 1:00-2:00pm
(or by appointment)

PS 4210

Politics of European Integration *Institutions and Issues*

The European Union (EU) is currently facing some of its greatest challenges: fiscal insolvency, regional (in)stability, and the migrant and refugee crisis. Since the financial crisis began in 2008-09, Greek insolvency and political turmoil, fiscal difficulties in Portugal, Spain, and Italy, and the questionable future of the Euro have had political and economic ramifications not only for Europe, but also globally. Following protests that at first mimicked the Orange Revolution in Kiev, what followed has raised questions as to the EU's ability to handle the challenges of a hostile world. Most recently, the mounting humanitarian challenges faced by Europe as a result of an influx of refugees—a consequence of rapidly deteriorating situations in the Middle East and elsewhere—are also challenging the very notion of Europe as a united continent. How has the EU dealt with these problems, and what steps can be taken in order to reassert Europe's strength and standing in the international community?

In order to address these issues, a basic understanding of the EU is required, culminating in an important question: what *is* the EU? While this question may appear simple, in truth the answer is not, and discussion often raises more questions. Is the EU a democracy? Is it representative of and accountable to the citizens of its (currently) 28 member countries? If so (or if not), why and how is this the case? How does this affect the way we understand the EU and how it accomplishes its goals? Politically, the EU has often been labeled *sui generis* since its formation and origins in the European Coal and Steel Community, meaning that it is unlike any other government or institution and cannot be compared to more commonly understood political systems—but is this really the case? How do its characteristics affect its ability to persevere through good times and bad?

This course is designed to address these questions through the evaluation of the history of the EU, its institutions, and its current state of development, challenges, and possible future. This entails an introduction to 1) the historical origins and development of the EU from its inception through the present day, 2) the major EU institutions, and 3) discussion about the current state, challenges, and future of the EU *in a comparative context*. This will be accomplished through a review of EU-specific scholarship in conjunction with some of the fundamental theories in comparative politics on institutions and development, all the while determining their applicability to the EU, whether it is or is not *sui generis*.

Course Requirements and Grades

This course requires:

1. Readings averaging around 60-100 pages per week.
2. Mid-term and final exams.
3. A short position-paper (8-10pp double-spaced, including 1pg of references).
4. Active participation (in-class discussions, questions, activities).

Grades will be weighted accordingly:

1. Attendance and participation: 10%
2. Mid-term exam: 30%

3. Semi-cumulative final exam: 30%
4. Position paper: 30%

Attendance and participation:

Class sessions will involve lectures covering material from the assigned reading, along with discussions of material not explicitly found in the reading. Discussion is critical to facilitating a learning environment, and students who actively participate in class will be rewarded. Attendance is not taken regularly—however, it is taken on occasion to supplement/reward the marks of those who show up to class.

Mid-term exam:

The exam will cover all material from the beginning of the term until **Week 7 (it takes place on March 3)**. A study guide will be distributed on February 23.

Semi-cumulative final exam:

This exam will cover material from the entire course (readings and lectures), from the first day through the last. However, it will be largely biased towards covering material in the second half of the course. A study guide will be distributed on April 14. Save the date: it will take place on **Wednesday, April 27**.

Position paper:

At the end of the course (by the beginning of the Final Exam), a short 8-10pp double-spaced paper will be due. The topic may be one of your choice, to be approved by me. In order to make sure everyone is given a sufficient amount of time to complete this paper on time (see the make-up/late policy below), the assignment is broken up into segments: (1) submission of a paper topic/question for my approval and feedback via turnitin.com; (2) a brief outline of the paper with annotated bibliography via turnitin.com; (3) optional/extra-credit draft submission (for feedback—highly encouraged!) via email or hardcopy, and (4) submission of the paper via turnitin.com. Specific guidelines/requirements as well as instructions for how to use turnitin.com will be distributed and discussed within the first week or two of the class.

Note regarding exams (the ‘make-up’ policy):

I do not give make-up exams unless they are warranted—I will only give make-up exams for those with medical or family emergencies, and for which *satisfactory documentation is provided*. Satisfactory documentation should say that you were unavailable on the date during the time of the exam. For example: if you are sick on the day of the exam, send me an email ASAP so I am aware of the situation. When you go to the doctor’s office, make sure you get documentation with the date, time, and reason for the visit (including why you could not make it to the exam).

Alternatively, if you have any work-related or athletics-related events that conflict with the exam dates that have already been scheduled, you **MUST** tell me ahead of time (e.g., a month or so, so that we can schedule an appropriate time in advance). **DO NOT WAIT UNTIL THE LAST MINUTE.**

For the position paper, I will not accept late assignments. Written assignments (with the exception of a draft-paper, see above) **must be submitted to turnitin.com** by the assigned due date. I am more than happy to correspond with any of you regarding your outlines or drafts via email and/or in person, but the final product will not be accepted via email or in hard copy—I will only retrieve final papers for grading through turnitin.com **by the assigned due date and time** (don’t worry, you will have most of the semester to write it ☺).

Thus, by signing up for this course, you agree that it is your responsibility to adjust your schedule and commitments to accommodate the schedule of exams as well as the final paper assignment and its components. In the event that a make-up exam is merited, I am flexible, and any appointments can be worked out in advance. Once an appointment has been made, however, please stick to it—there are *especially no make-ups for make-ups*, so please do not be late or miss the appointment. Make-up exams will not be in the same format as the in-class exams (i.e., they will be essay-based exams for which a strong command of the material covered in class and in the readings will be required).

Letter grades will be assigned according to the standard OSU grading scheme:

93.00 – 100	A	80.00 – 82.99	B-	67.00 – 69.99	D+
90.00 – 92.99	A-	77.00 – 79.99	C+	60.00 – 66.66	D
87.00 – 89.99	B+	73.00 – 76.99	C	0 – 59.99	E
83.00 – 86.99	B	70.00 – 72.99	C-		

Academic misconduct

It is the responsibility of the Committee on Academic Misconduct to investigate or establish procedures for the investigation of all reported cases of student academic misconduct. The term “academic misconduct” includes all forms of student academic misconduct wherever committed; illustrated by, but not limited to, cases of plagiarism and dishonest practices in connection with examinations. Instructors shall report all instances of alleged academic misconduct to the committee (Faculty Rule 3335-5-487). For additional information, see the Code of Student Conduct: (http://studentaffairs.osu.edu/resource_csc.asp).

TURNITIN.com:

This course will utilise turnitin.com for assignments to be handed in for evaluation. In order to receive credit for assignments, *you must submit an electronic copy of your work* to turnitin.com. Turnitin matches papers against published and online sources, as well as against its own database of previously submitted papers from other OSU students or other subscribing institutions.

Information on how to register and submit written work on turnitin.com will be forthcoming, and will be distributed through email and on Carmen in the first week or two of the course.

Disability Services:

Students with disabilities that have been certified by the Office for Disability Services will be appropriately accommodated, and should inform the instructor as soon as possible of their needs. The Office for Disability Services is located in 150 Pomerene Hall, 1760 Neil Avenue; telephone 292-3307, TDD 292-0901; <http://www.ods.ohio-state.edu/>.

Course materials:

Most of the materials will be available on Carmen, or through links provided in this syllabus (if from a source like the Economist, Euractive, or VoxEU), except for the required material below.

Required book:

- Peterson and Shackleton (eds.). 2012. *The Institutions of the European Union*, Third Edition. Oxford University Press.
 - ISBN: 978-0-19-957498-8

This book may be purchased from amazon.com, and should be available at the University bookstore. All readings on the syllabus from this source will not be posted on Carmen.

There are also a few resources that I have listed as ‘recommended’; though any excerpts from these sources will be listed on Carmen, they may prove useful as references for your work if you plan to study EU politics in the future (they might also be helpful for your research paper). I am happy to suggest additional resources if you are interested—just let me know!

Recommended resources:

- Nugent. 2010. *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, Seventh Edition. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hix and Høyland. 2011. *The Political System of the European Union*, Third Edition. Palgrave MacMillan.

Format:

Lectures and class discussions are designed to complement the readings assigned in this course, but neither substitute for the other—in other words, we won’t go over all of the readings with a fine-tooth comb, and you might not find class-discussed or reviewed materials in the readings. Thus, you will get the most out of this class by completing reading assignments before the first session of each week and by attending all the lectures. The readings for this course average roughly 60-100 pages per week, with the totals varying from week to week depending on the topic.

Some of the scholarly articles and book chapters within topics present opposing and conflicting arguments. It is thus important to read actively and critically—there is no “Truth with a capital-T” or guaranteed correct answer. The purpose of this course (as well as the position paper due at the end of the class) is for you to take note of the broad questions prompted by this course (or those of your own design) and identify, compare, and evaluate the relevant competing arguments (in the case of the paper, choose one).

The readings for this course complement lectures and class discussion, but neither can totally substitute for one another. You will learn the most and best follow the lectures if you complete the readings before coming to class. The readings are designed to reinforce lecture materials, set topic outlines and agendas, and to introduce you to the relevant dialogues and questions about important issues, all the while encouraging critical thinking and improving analytical reading skills. For example, with most topics outlined below, broad questions are presented that might assist in tying concepts discussed in the abstract to everyday application.

While I will not take attendance regularly, there will be in-class discussions and activities that relate to the material covered for that week or section—showing up for these and actively taking part is an easy source of points, and will contribute to your participation grade.

Finally, I am always available to answer questions or discuss any course-related material with you—if you would like to reach me outside of class or office hours, please email me. I am generally pretty good about responding, but if I am too slow, please feel free to send me reminders! If you have a question about the course in general, *please consult the syllabus and Carmen first.*

Schedule of lectures and required readings

As instructor, I reserve the right to alter the schedule or reading assignments, with due notice.

Introduction

12 Jan. – Syllabus and introduction to the course

- No readings!

Part I: History (Weeks 1 – 2)

What are the origins of the EU, and how do they impact the way things work today?

14, 19 Jan. – A Brief History of the EU

- Nugent. 2010. *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, Seventh Edition. Palgrave Macmillan. Parts I and II (pp. 1-86).

Part II: Institutions (Weeks 2 – 7)

How does the EU accomplish its policy goals, and who or what are some of the major players?

21 Jan. – Introduction to EU Institutions, and how to study them

What do we mean by “institutions,” and how might we go about studying them in the EU?

- Carey. 2000. “Parchment, Equilibria, and Institutions.” *Comparative Political Studies* 33(7): 735-761.
- Peterson and Shackleton (eds.). 2012. *The Institutions of the European Union*, Third Edition. Oxford University Press. Chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 1-42)

26, 28 Jan. – The European Commission

Is this an executive branch, or is it a bureaucracy?

- Hix and Høyland. 2011. *The Political System of the European Union*, Third Edition. Palgrave MacMillan. Chapter 3 (pp. 23-47).
- Peterson and Shackleton (eds.). 2012. *The Institutions of the European Union*, Third Edition. Oxford University Press. Chapter 5 (pp. 96-123)
- Hooghe. 2001. *The European Commission and the Integration of Europe*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6 (pp. 142-167).
- Hix. 2003. “Linking National Politics to Europe.” Foreign Policy Centre.

Paper topics are due by the beginning of class on January 28 via turnitin.com. Hardcopy/email submissions will not be accepted. Comments/feedback will be distributed at the end of class February 4.

2, 4 Feb. – The Councils

Are these executive or legislative branches?

- Hix and Høyland. 2011. *The Political System of the European Union*, Third Edition. Palgrave MacMillan. Chapter 3 (pp. 49-74).
- Peterson and Shackleton (eds.). 2012. *The Institutions of the European Union*, Third Edition. Oxford University Press. Chapters 3 and 4 (pp. 43-95).

9, 11 Feb. – The European Parliament and Parties

Is the EP a legislature or an assembly-just-for-show? Are European Parties actually parties?

- Peterson and Shackleton (eds.). 2012. *The Institutions of the European Union*, Third Edition. Oxford University Press. Chapter 6 and 15 (pp. 124-147, 338-358).
- Hix. 2002. "Parliamentary Behaviour with Two Principals: Preferences, Parties, and Voting in the European Parliament." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(3): 688-698.

16, 18 Feb. – The European Court of Justice

Judicial review or judicial activism?

- Peterson and Shackleton (eds.). 2012. *The Institutions of the European Union*, Third Edition. Oxford University Press. Chapter 7 (pp. 148-172).
- Weiler. 2002. *The Constitution of Europe*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5 (pp. 188-218)
- Alter. 1998. "Who Are the 'Masters of the Treaty'? European Governments and the European Court of Justice." *International Organization* 52(1): 121-147.

23, 25 Feb. – European Central Bank and its acronymed accomplices

Is this a central bank, a toothless fiscal watchdog, or something else?

- Peterson and Shackleton (eds.). 2012. *The Institutions of the European Union*, Third Edition. Oxford University Press. Chapters 9 and 11 (pp. 199-218, 241-264).
- Wyplosz. "Who's afraid of the Eurozone?" VoxEU.org, 10 June 2004, accessible at <
<http://www.voxeu.org/article/whos-afraid-eurozone>>
- Boltho and Carlin. 2012. "The problems of European monetary union – asymmetric shocks or asymmetric behaviour?" VoxEU.org, 31 March 2012, accessible at <
<http://www.voxeu.org/article/problems-eurozone>>

Outline with annotated bibliography for final paper is due at the beginning of class on February 25 via turnitin.com. Comments will be handed back upon your completion of the Mid-term on March 3.

March 1 – Mid-term review

March 3 – Mid-term exam (History and Institutions)

Part III: Current state, challenges, and the future (Weeks 9 – 14)

March 8, 10 – “Democratic Deficit”

What does this mean? Is the EU actually “democratic”?

- Moravcsik. 2004. “Is there a ‘Democratic Deficit’ in World Politics? A Framework for Analysis.” *Government and Opposition* 39(2): 336-363.
- Majone. 1998. “Europe’s ‘Democratic Deficit’: The Question of Standards.” *European Law Journal* 4(1): 5-28.
- Follesdal and Hix. 2006. “Why there is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44(2): 533-562.
- EurActive.com. 2014. “It’s official: Last EU election had lowest-ever turnout.” Retrieved 21 August 2014. <<http://www.euractiv.com/sections/eu-elections-2014/its-official-last-eu-election-had-lowest-ever-turnout-307773>>

MARCH 14 – 18: SPRING BREAK

March 22, 24 – Should we (not?) pay in Euros or Drachmas?

European financial crisis: Causes, challenges, solutions?

- Economist. 2011. “The Causes: A Very Short History of the Crisis.” From the print edition, 2011 Nov 12, accessible at <<http://www.economist.com/node/21536871>>
- Kouretas and Vlamis. 2010. “The Greek Crisis: Causes and Implications.” *Pandemoniacus* 4: 391-404.
- De Grauwe. 2010. “Crisis in the Eurozone and how to Deal with It.” CEPS Policy Brief No. 204, February 15, 2010.
- Buti and Carnot. “Fiscal policy in Europe: Searching for the right balance.” VoxEU.org, 14 March 2013, accessible at <<http://www.voxeu.org/article/fiscal-policy-europe-searching-right-balance>>
- Underholl and Blom. “The case for policy change: Democratic legitimacy of EMU cannot be an afterthought in solving the crisis.” VoxEU.org, 19 March 2013, accessible at <<http://www.voxeu.org/article/democratic-legitimacy-eurozone>>
- Nieto and White. “Will bank supervision in Ohio and Austria be similar? A transatlantic view of the Single Supervisory Mechanism.” VoxEU.org, 22 March 2013, accessible at <<http://www.voxeu.org/article/will-bank-supervision-ohio-and-austria-be-similar-transatlantic-view-single-supervisory-mechanism>>

March 29, 31 – Nationalism and Euroscepticism

Reactionary or real concern?

- Corbett. 2014. “‘European Elections are Second-Order Elections’: Is Received Wisdom Changing?” *Journal of Common Market Studies* (Early view, in-print): 1-5.
- Economist. 2014. “The Eurosceptic Union: The impact of the rise of anti-establishment parties, in Europe and abroad.” From the print edition, 31 May 2014, accessible at <<http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21603034-impact-rise-anti-establishment-parties-europe-and-abroad-eurosceptic-union>>
- Taggart. 1998. “A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western European Party Systems.” *European Journal of Political Research* 33: 363-388.
- Halikiopoulou, Nanou, and Vasilopoulou. 2012. “The Paradox of Nationalism: The Common Denominator of Radical Right and Radical Left Euroscepticism.” *European Journal of Political Research* 51(2): 504-539.

April 5, 7 – The humanitarian crisis

Migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers—do we need ‘more Europe’?

- De Master and Le Roy. 2000. “Xenophobia and the European Union.” *Comparative Politics* 32(4): 419-436.
- Johns, Michael. 2003. “‘Do as I say, Not as I Do’: The European Union, Eastern Europe and Minority Rights.” *East European Politics and Societies* 17(4): 682-699.
- Fisher and Taub. “The refugee crisis: 9 questions you were too embarrassed to ask.” Vox.com, 9 September 2015, accessible at < <http://www.vox.com/2015/9/9/9290985/refugee-crisis-europe-syrian> >
- Mudde. “The intolerance of the tolerant.” openDemocracy.net, 20 October 2010, accessible at < <http://www.opendemocracy.net/cas-mudde/intolerance-of-tolerant> >

Optional (for extra credit points towards the final paper grade)—hand in a draft of your final paper in hardcopy or via email by the end of the day April 5. Please make sure it is double-spaced. You will receive the paper with feedback in about a week ☺

April 12, 19 – Dealing with the neighbours

Ukraine, Middle East, North Africa...one foreign policy or 28?

- Diuk, Nadia. 2014. “Euromaidan: Ukraine’s Self-Organizing Revolution.” *World Affairs* 176(6): 9-16.
- Smith, Nicholas Ross. 2014. “The EU’s Difficulty in Translating Interests into Effective Foreign Policy Action: A Look at the Ukraine Crisis.” *Baltic Journal of European Studies* 4(1): 54-68.
- Gordon, Philip H. 1997. “Europe’s Uncommon Foreign Policy.” *International Security* 22(3): 74-100.
- Missiroli, Antonio. 2010. “The New EU ‘Foreign Policy’ System after Lisbon: A Work in Progress.” *European Foreign Affairs Review* 15(4): 427-452.
- Economist. “Meanwhile on planet Brussels.” Blogs: Charlemagne, 18 October 2011, accessible at < <http://www.economist.com/blogs/charlemagne/2011/10/eu-foreign-policy> >

NO CLASS ON APRIL 14

April 21 – Wrap up: So what is the EU?

International Organisation like the UN? Federal System like the U.S.? Or something else?

- Hix and Høyland. 2011. *The Political System of the European Union*, Third Edition. Palgrave MacMillan. Chapter 1 (pp. 1-19).
- Final exam review

Wednesday, April 27, 2:00pm – 3:45pm: FINAL EXAM

- **Position Paper due on turnitin.com at the beginning of exam-time.**