

The Ohio State University
Autumn 2014 (27 August – 17 December)
W/F 3:55-5:15pm
Ramseyer Hall 65

Peter J. Tunkis
3046 Derby Hall
tunkis.1@osu.edu
Office hours: W/F 2:30-3:30pm
(or by appointment)

PS 4219

European Political Development

Since the end of the Second World War, Europe has endured and undergone many significant changes, including the Cold War, the evolution of a European Union (EU), the collapse of Communism, democratisation, etc. Today's hot-topic current affairs are no exception: Europe still faces great challenges such as the fallout from the financial crisis in 2008, and serious tensions vis-à-vis Ukraine and Russia this year. Yet the politics and development of Europe do not stop there—alongside foreign relations and macroeconomic policy issues, the questions of immigration and domestic welfare policies loom large. How do they do things across the pond? How has this affected how they have, are, and might yet deal with many of these issues?

In order to address these questions, a basic understanding of European politics is required. This course does so in two ways. First, it takes a broad *thematic* approach concerning the variety of institutions and their configurations found across the continent, culminating in a discussion about major issues that affect all states found in the 'Old World.' Second, lectures and course materials also highlight specific examples of these institutions, policies, and issues in action and in context to complement the broader themes. In doing so, the course offers the opportunity to get an idea on how observe how past developments (e.g., the formation of the European Union or the end of Communism) have an impact on developments in the present and future.

This course thus entails 1) a brief historical overview, critical to setting the stage for any study of contemporary European politics, 2) coverage of the major political institutions found in Europe, and 3) a discussion about current challenges facing Europe and what the future may hold. This will be accomplished through a review of some of the fundamental theories in comparative politics on institutions and development in conjunction with applied case-examples.

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. Map quiz: 5%
3. Mid-term exam: 25%
4. Semi-cumulative final exam: 30%
5. 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.

Map quiz:

You must identify a set of European countries (and provide the names of their capitals) on a blank map of Europe. It will take place at the beginning of class **1 October**.

Mid-term exam:

The exam will cover all material from the beginning of the term until **Week 8 (it takes place on 17 October)**. A study guide will be distributed on 8 October.

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. Save the date: it will take place on **Monday, 15 December**.

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 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:

- Bale, Tim. 2013. *European Politics: A Comparative Introduction*, Third Edition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
 - ISBN: 978-0-230-36294-9

This book may be purchased from the OSU bookstore or online. All readings on the syllabus from this source will *not* be posted on Carmen. The textbook will hereon be referred to as “Bale” in the syllabus.

Besides what is featured below, I am also happy to suggest additional resources if you are curious about a particular topic, or if you are interested in studying European politics in the future—just let me know!

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

(W01) August 27 – Syllabus and introduction to the course; discussion re: reading materials, course assignments

- No readings!

Part I: A bit of history—Europe in transition (Weeks 1 – 2)

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

(W01) August 29 – A Brief History of Europe

- Bale, Chapter 1.

(W02) September 3, 5 – A Europe of Nations

- Bale, Chapter 2.
- Maier, Charles S. 1981. “The Two Postwar Eras and the Conditions for Stability in Twentieth-Century Western Europe.” *The American Historical Review* 86(2): 327-352.
- Vachudova, Milada Anna. 2005. *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration After Communism*. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapter 1.
- Braun, Mats. 2006. “The Troublesome Concept of Sovereignty – the Czech debate on European Unity.” *Perspectives: The Central European Review of International Affairs* 25(Winter 2005/2006): 7-22.

Part II: European Politics and Institutions (Weeks 3 – 7)

How do politics work in Europe? How are policy goals accomplished? Who plays important roles, and how?

(W03) September 10, 12 – From Government to Governance

- Bale, Chapter 3.
- Garrett, Geoffrey. 1995. “The Politics of Legal Integration in the European Union.” *International Organisation* 49(1): 171-181.
- Dardanelli, Paolo. 2005. “Democratic Deficit or the Europeanisation of Secession? Explaining the Devolution Referendums in Scotland.” *Political Studies* 53(2): 320-342.

Paper topics due by the beginning of class on Sept. 12 via turnitin.com. Hardcopy/email submissions will not be accepted. Comments/feedback will be distributed at the end of class Sept. 17.

(W04) September 17, 19 – President or Parliament? Executives and Legislatures

- Bale, Chapter 4.
- Sartori, Giovanni. 1994. “Neither Presidentialism nor Parliamentarism,” in Juan J. Linz and Arturo Valenzuela (eds.), *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 106-118.
- Eaton, Kent. 2000. “Parliamentarism versus Presidentialism in the Policy Arena.” *Comparative Politics* 32(3): 355-376.

(W05) September 24, 26 – The Life of the Party: Ideologies, Coalitions, Affiliations

- Bale, Chapter 5.
- Shabad, Goldie, and Kazimierz M. Słomczyński. 2004. “Inter-party Mobility Among Parliamentary Candidates in Post-Communist East Central Europe.” *Party Politics* 10(2): 151-176.
- Marks, Gary, Liesbet Hooghe, Moira Nelson, and Erica Edwards. 2006. “Party Competition and European Integration in the East and West: Different Structure, Same Causality.” *Comparative Political Studies* 39(2): 155-175.
- Hellström, Johan. 2014. “There Are Important Differences Between Coalition Formation Processes In West European And Central/East European States.” Blog. *EUROPP*. <<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2014/08/13/there-are-important-differences-between-coalition-formation-processes-in-west-european-and-centraleast-european-countries/>>.

(W06) October 1, 3 – Participation in European Democracy

Map Quiz, Beginning of Class, 1 October

- Bale, Chapter 6.
- Sloam, James. 2014. “New Voice, Less Equal: The Civic and Political Engagement of Young People in the United States and Europe” *Comparative Political Studies* 47(5): 663-688.
- 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>>
- Corbett, Richard. 2014. ““European Elections are Second-Order Elections’: Is Received Wisdom Changing?” *Journal of Common Market Studies* (Early view, in-print): 1-5.

(W07) October 8, 10 – Media: Portrayal and Perception

- Bale, Chapter 7.
- Semetko, Holli A., Claes H. De Vreese, and Jochen Peter. 2000. “Europeanised Politics – Europeanised Media? European Integration and Political Communication.” *West European Politics* 23(4): 121-141.
- Gross, Peter. 2004. “Between Reality and Dream: Eastern European Media Transition, Transformation, Consolidation, and Integration.” *East European Politics and Societies* 18(1): 110-131.
- Van Dalen, Arjen, and Peter Van Aelst. 2014. “The Media as Political Agenda-Setters: Journalists’ Perceptions of Media Power in Eight West European Countries.” *West European Politics* 37(1): 42-64.

Outline with annotated bibliography for final paper is due at the beginning of class on Oct. 10 via turnitin.com. Comments will be handed back upon your completion of the Mid-term on Oct. 17.

(W08) October 15 – Catch-up (if necessary) and Mid-term Exam Review.

(W08) October 17 – In-class Mid-term Exam.

Part III: European Current Affairs (Weeks 9 – 15)

(W09) October 22, 24 – Pressure groups and participation

- Bale, Chapter 8.
- Economist. 1999. “Politics Brief: Ex uno, plures.” From the print edition, 19 August 1999, accessible at <<http://www.economist.com/node/233442>>
- Tresch, Anke, and Manuel Fischer. 2014. “In search of political influence: Outside lobbying behaviour and media coverage of social movements, interest groups and political parties in six Western European countries.” *International Political Science Review* (Early view, in-print): 1-18.

(W10) October 29, 31 – Inequality and the welfare state

- Bale, Chapter 9.
- Pierson, Paul. 2001. “Post-Industrial Pressure on the Mature Welfare States,” in Paul Pierson (ed.), *The New Politics of the Welfare State*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 80-104.
- Economist. 2011. “Taming Leviathan.” From the Print Edition, 17 March 2011, accessible at <<http://www.economist.com/node/18359896>>

(W11) November 5, 7 – Immigration and Integration

- Bale, Chapter 10.
- De Master, Sara, and Michael K. 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.

(W12) November 12, 14 – Foreign Policy? 1 goal, 28 opinions

- Bale, Chapter 11.
- 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>>

(W13) November 19 – Tightened Belts and Questionable Currencies: Crisis in the Eurozone

- Kouretas, Giorgios P., and Prodromos Vlamis. 2010. “The Greek Crisis: Causes and Implications.” *Pandeconomicus* 4: 391-404.
- De Grauwe, Paul. 2010. “Crisis in the Eurozone and how to Deal with It.” CEPS Policy Brief No. 204, February 15, 2010.
- Buti, Marco and Nicolas 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>>

(W13) November 21 – A Crisis of Legitimacy? The ‘Democratic Deficit’

- Follesdal, Andreas, and Simon 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.
- Underhill, Geoffrey R. D., and Jasper 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>>

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 21 November. Please make sure it is double-spaced. You will receive the paper with feedback after the break ☺

(W14) November 26, 28 – Thanksgiving Break!

- No readings!

(W15) December 3 – The Maidan and the Bear: Ukraine vs. Russia

- Diuk, Nadia. 2014. “Euromaidan: Ukraine’s Self-Organizing Revolution.” *World Affairs* 176(6): 9-16.
- Miazhevich, Galina. 2014. "Russia Today's coverage of Euromaidan." *Russian Journal of Communication* 6(2): 186-191.
- 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.

(W15) December 5 – Catch-up and Final Exam Review

Monday, 15 December, 4:00pm – 5:45pm: FINAL EXAM

- **Position Paper due on turnitin.com by 4:00pm!!! (No exceptions)**