

The Ohio State University
Summer 2013 (7 May – 25 July)
T-R 3:55-5:15pm
Caldwell Labs 0133

Peter J. Tunkis
3046 Derby Hall
tunkis.1@osu.edu
Office hours: T-R 1:00-3:30pm
(or by appointment)

PS 4597.02

Institutions and Crisis in the Eurozone: A Guide to European Union Politics (*a.k.a. 'Political Problems of the Contemporary World'*)

The European Union (EU) is currently facing one of its greatest challenges with the financial crisis. Since the crisis began in 2008-09, Greek insolvency and political turmoil, fiscal difficulties in Spain and Italy, the questionable future of the Euro currency and the stability of the EU has had political and economic ramifications not only for Europe, but also globally. 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 this issue, 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) 27 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, the European Economic Community, and the European Community, meaning that it is unlike any of the governments or institutions and cannot be compared to the more commonly understood political systems and institutions, 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; more details forthcoming...).
4. Active participation (in-class discussions, questions, activities).

Grades will be weighted accordingly:

1. Mid-term exam: 30%
2. Final exam: 30%
3. Position paper: 30%
4. Participation: 10%

There are *no* make-up exams, with the exception of *documented* medical or family emergencies. Thus, it is your responsibility to adjust your schedule and commitments to accommodate the schedule of exams. The same applies if you need a make-up exam—once an appointment has been made, please stick to it. I am flexible, and any appointments can be worked out in advance. If you miss the set appointment, you must present documentation of a medical or family emergency in order to reschedule.

For the final paper, I will not accept late assignments. Papers must be submitted to turnitin.com (see section below) by the assigned due date. I will be happy to correspond with any of you regarding your outlines or drafts via email if you like, but the final product will not be accepted via email—I will only retrieve final papers for grading through turnitin.com.

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, the BBC, or VoxEU.org), 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. 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. 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.

The plan:

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 sometimes 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.

I am always available to answer questions or discuss any class or EU-related material with you—if it is outside of class or my 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

May 7 – 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?

May 9, 14 – 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 – 9)

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

May 16 – 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)

May 21, 23 – 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.

May 28, 30 – The Councils

Are these executive or legislative branches?

- Hix and Høyland. 2011. *The Political System of the European Union*, Third Edition. Palgrave MacMillan. Chapter 4 (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).

June 4, 6 – 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.

June 11, 13 – 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.

June 18, 20 – 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>>

June 25 – Mid-term review

June 27 – Mid-term exam (History and Institutions)

July 2 – What is the EU?

IO like the UN? Federation like the US? Like Canada? A unitary state?

- McNamera. 2003. “Towards a Federal Europe? The Euro and Institutional Change in Historical Perspective,” pp. 253-268 in Börzel and Cichowski (eds.), *The State of the European Union, Volume 6*. Oxford University Press.
- Forsyth. 2003. “The Political Theory of Federalism,” pp. 195-213 in Nelson and Stubb (eds.), *The European Union: Readings on Theory and Practice*. Lynne Reinner Publishers.
- Hix and Høyland. 2011. *The Political System of the European Union*, Third Edition. Palgrave MacMillan. Chapter 1 (pp. 1-19).

July 4 – No class (Independence Day)

Part III: Current state, challenges, and the future (Weeks 10 – 12)

July 9, 11 – “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.

July 16 – Eurozone Crisis: Causes

- Mody and Sandri. 2012. “The eurozone crisis: how banks and sovereigns came to be joined at the hip.” *Economic Policy* 27(70): 199-230.
- Economist. 2011. “Staring into the Abyss.” From the print edition, 2011 Nov 12, accessible at <<http://www.economist.com/node/21536872>>
- 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>>
- BBC News. 2012. “Eurozone crisis explained.” Accessible at <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-16290598>>
- Lapavistas et al. 2010. “Eurozone Crisis: Beggar Thyself and Thy Neighbour.” RMF Occasional Report, March 2010. *Read pp. 1-12*.

July 18 – Eurozone Crisis: Challenges

- Kouretas and Vlamis. 2010. “The Greek Crisis: Causes and Implications.” *Pandoeconomicus* 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>>
- Dadush and Wyne. “Is the euro rescue succeeding? An update.” VoxEU.org, 20 April 2012, accessible at <<http://www.voxeu.org/article/eurozones-real-malady>>

July 23 – Eurozone Crisis: Solutions?

- Lapavitsas et al. “Eurozone Crisis: Beggar Thyself and Thy Neighbour.” RMF Occasional Report, March 2010. *Read pp. 49-59.*
- 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>>
- Schoenmaker and Siegmann. “Winners of a European Banking Union.” VoxEU.org, 27 February 2013, accessible at <<http://www.voxeu.org/article/winners-european-banking-union>>
- 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>>

July 25 – Wrap-up, Final Exam review, Concluding Remarks

Monday, July 29, 4:00pm – 5:45pm: FINAL EXAM

- **Position Paper due on turnitin.com**