

POL324 H1-S
Politics of Europe and the European Union
University of Toronto
2016

Course Instructor: Sebastian Baglioni
Email: sebastian.baglioni@utoronto.ca
Office Hours: Thursday 10-noon, Sidney Smith 3118

Classroom: UC 179
Class hours: Wednesday 6-8pm

Course Description

Europe is a continent that has reinvented itself starting in the second part of the twentieth century. Leaving behind long-standing rivalries and bloody wars, the European countries embraced an ambitious and transformative project of economic and political integration. First the European Economic Community and then the European Union created the conditions for peace and stability in the continent. However, the EU has not meant the disappearance of the Member States as a meaningful and influential political unit. Rather, national institutions, actors and policies are still needed in order to understand contemporary Europe in its diverse social, economic and political reality.

In this course we will look at issues of central significance to Europe and the European Union. We will do so focusing on three interrelated perspectives. First, we will analyse a number of European countries paying special attention to fundamental political issues and debates that characterise the national life of contemporary Europe. Second, we will focus on the impact of the EU in relation to the Member States highlighting the degree of 'Europeanisation' of those fundamental issues. Third, we will examine the changing relation between national politics and European integration in a globalised world and the possible long-term impact this can have for the future of Europe.

Learning Goals

The learning objectives of the course are the following ones:

- Understand the importance of the fundamental issues that characterise politics in contemporary Europe, and identify the central debates that mark political strife both within European countries and across them.
- Develop the skills to critically analyse European politics in general and the political conflicts and tensions of contemporary Europe in particular.
- Understand and assess the shifting relation between national politics and the project/reality of European integration.

Course Material

- a) *European Politics. A Comparative Introduction*. Tim Bale. Third Edition (2013). Palgrave MacMillan.
- b) *Selection of academic journal articles*.

A copy of *European Politics. A Comparative Introduction* is available at the Course Reserve section of Robarts (Fourth Floor); also, the Bookstore has in stock copies for purchase. This textbook provides in each chapter a number of additional readings and online resources.

All other readings are available electronically through the Robart's Library website. If needed, students will be able to access PDF files on Blackboard for the more-difficult-to-find material (or those with current broken links). *However, it is the students' responsibility to find the sources. Looking for sources is a central part of a researcher's job, and in so doing, it is likely that students will already engage with related literature on topics of their interest.*

On top of the previous material, students are encouraged to check regularly current developments and debates surrounding contemporary European politics and the European Union. There is an extensive list of websites and databases that both analyse European and EU news and recent events, and provide in-depth analysis and theoretically informed discussions. Here are but a few examples:

The Economist

- <http://economist.com>

The Guardian

- <http://theguardian.com>

European Union Website

- <http://europa.eu>

The Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (European University Institute)

- <http://www.eui.eu/DepartmentsAndCentres/RobertSchumanCentre/Index.aspx>

ARENA Centre for European Studies

- <http://www.sv.uio.no/arena/english>

Centre for European Policy Studies

- <http://www.ceps.be>

Finally, a number of academic journals are devoted to European politics and the EU, which can be accessed through the Robarts Library website. The most notable examples include: Comparative European Politics, European Journal of Political Research, Journal of Common Market Studies, and West European Politics.

Requirements

Students will be assessed according to multiple exercises that demonstrate their understanding of the issues and their overall development of critical ideas and engagement with the scholarly literature. Detailed information about the assignments will be posted on Blackboard. There, students will also find a number of writing and research resources and guides.

The following ones are the assignments for this course:

1) Reaction Paper – 20% (Due on Week 4)

This assignment asks students to briefly analyse, based on course readings and discussions, a particular debate or contentious issues of contemporary European politics. This is an applied exercise as students will be reacting to a real, ongoing issue in Europe and analyse it and discuss it in light of the contents of the course.

The reaction paper must be three pages long (maximum), double spaced, and typed in 12pt font, with 1-inch margins. Two topics will be provided.

2) Research Proposal – 15% (Due on Week 7)

This assignment is the starting point for the subsequent Research Essay. In the Proposal students will have to provide a research question and hypothesis, a brief literature review and two or three central arguments they want to discuss in relation to the chosen topic and their own hypothesis.

The research proposal must be five pages long (maximum), double spaced, and typed in 12 point font, with 1-inch margins. The topic must be part of the contents of the course.

3) Research Essay – 30% (Due on Week 12)

The essay presents and critically engages the arguments from relevant course readings and the students' own research to support the development of a single central thesis, which ought to be stated clearly at the outset of the essay. The remainder of the essay is organised explicitly and logically in order to support the thesis. The essay must not rely heavily on quotations. Rather, the essay uses original language to present and discuss the main points of the relevant topic.

The essay must be 12 pages long (maximum), double spaced, and typed in 12pt font, with 1-inch margins. This is a *research* paper, therefore it must include 15 sources minimum, at least 5 of which should be books.

4) Final Exam – 35% (TBA, Exam Period)

There will be a final exam for this course. It will take place during the Exam Period (April 12-April 29). The specific date and structure of the Final Exam will be announced and discussed during the course.

Course Policies

Extensions and Penalties

The written assignments must be handed in on the due date as stated above, **at the beginning of class**. Late submissions will be penalised with a 3% deduction mark per day. Only hard copies are acceptable; e-mailed assignments will not be accepted.

Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their essays and assignments before handing it to the TA/instructor/Department. Essays/assignments should be kept until the marked essays/assignments have been returned to you and the grades are posted on ROSI.

If unable to submit a written assignment as scheduled, students can request permission for an extension. No extension will be granted after the due date of the assignment. In general, extensions will not be granted unless it is a case of unavoidable and unforeseeable circumstances. Supporting document (i.e., Registrar's note or doctor's note) will be required before any extension is granted.

Grade Appeal

Should students have any concerns regarding their grade, they should present an appeal in writing. No appeal will be considered unless it is accompanied by a detailed written explanation of why the student

feels the grade is unjustified. Please note that the appeal process can result in one of three outcomes: no change to the original grade, a higher grade or a lower grade.

Double-sided initiative

This course is taking part in the University of Toronto's double-sided initiative. Students are encouraged to print their essays on both sides of the page.

BlackBoard (Portal) and E-mail Policy

All students should have an active University of Toronto email account. Important course information will be posted electronically through Blackboard and students are strongly advised to regularly log in. Students' email will be responded within 48-hours, excluding week-ends. All email queries should have a subject line clearly indicating the topic of the message/question, and must include the course number (e.g., "Fist Assignment, EUR498"). I am, of course, able to assist students with their assignments, but students must submit their queries well in advance of the respective due date, and be specific. It is unreasonable to expect an immediate response to a last-minute email asking if a piece of work is 'good'.

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is fundamental to learning and scholarship at the University of Toronto. Participating honestly, respectfully, responsibly, and fairly in this academic community ensures that the U of T degree that you earn will be valued as a true indication of your individual academic achievement, and will continue to receive the respect and recognition it deserves. For more information, please visit www.artsci.utoronto.ca/osai/students.

Familiarise yourself with the University of Toronto's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>). It is the rule book for academic behaviour at the U of T, and you are expected to know the rules

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information, please see the University of Toronto's policy on plagiarism at: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>

Accessibility Needs

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible: <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>

Course Schedule

Week 1 (January 13) – Introduction

Overview of syllabus and assignments. Administrative details. Use of Blackboard. Introduction: contemporary politics in Europe and Europeanisation

Week 2 (January 20) – Europe and Europeanisation

What is Europe? Historical background and conditions leading to contemporary Europe as we know it. What is Europeanisation? Why does it matter?

Readings

- Tim Bale, Chapter 1 “Europe. A continent in the making” (pp. 7-43)
- Thomas Riise “No Demos? Identities and Public Spheres in the Euro Crisis”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 52, No. 6, pp. 1207-1215 (2014)

Week 3 (January 27) – Europe, nation-states and European Integration

European politics: between national and supranational. What does ‘national’ mean? Subnational political units and conflicts surrounding national unity in Europe. Is the EU superseding the ‘nation-state’?

Readings

- Tim Bale, Chapter 2 “The end of the nation-state?” (pp. 44-76)
- Jan Palmowski “The Europeanization of the Nation-State”, *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 46, No. 3, pp. 631-657 (2011)

Week 4 (February 3) – The European Multilevel Governance System REACTION PAPER DUE

What is the difference between government and governance? Are power diffusion and the multiplicity of political authorities bad for Europe? Multilevel System of Governance as a new way to understand European politics?

Readings

- Tim Bale, Chapter 3 “From Government to Governance – running the state, making policy and policing the constitution” (pp. 77-100)
- Johan Olsen “EU Governance: where do we go from here?”, ARENA Working Paper No. 10, May (2008)

Week 5 (February 10) – National Parliaments and the EU

European variations of Parliaments: minority and majority governments, unicameral and bicameral. The role of Parliaments as a central democratic institution. National Parliaments and the EU: is the Treaty of Lisbon changing the game?

Readings

- Tim Bale, Chapter 4 “Governments and Parliaments – a long way from equality” (pp. 112-148)
- Thomas Christiansen, Anna-Lena Hogenauer and Christine Neuhold “National Parliaments in the Post-Lisbon European Union: bureaucratization rather than democratization?”, *Comparative European Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 121-140 (2014)

Week February 17 – No class (reading week)

Week 6 (February 24) – Judicial Politics

The role of the Judiciary as a central institution of European governments. Is Judicialisation of politics a threat to democracy? The European Court of Justice and National Constitutional Courts. European Law and the principles of Direct Effect and Supremacy.

Readings

- Tim Bale, Chapter 3 “From Government to Governance – running the state, making policy and policing the constitution” (pp. 100-111)
- Arthur Dyevre “The German Federal Constitutional Court and European Judicial Politics”, *West European Politics*, Vol. 34, No. 2, pp. 346-361 (2011)

Week 7 (March 2) – Political Parties, the European Parliament **RESEARCH PROPOSAL DUE**

Political Parties as a fundamental actor in contemporary Europe. Political parties as a necessary mechanism for democracy. European Parliament elections and political parties ‘ideological families’. European Elections as second order elections.

Readings

- Tim Bale, Chapter 5 “Parties – how the past affects the present, and an uncertain future” (pp. 149-189)
- Richard Corbett “‘European Elections are Second-Order Elections’: is received wisdom changing?”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 52, No. 6, pp. 1194-1198 (2014)

Week 8 (March 9) – Elections and voting

Electoral systems and the transformation of votes into power. Turnout and democratic participation. Voting preferences and citizens choices. Is direct democracy good?

Readings

- Tim Bale, Chapter 6 “Elections, voting and referendums – systems, turnout, preferences and unpredictability” (pp. 190-226)
- Daniele Caramani “The Europeanization of Electoral Politics: an analysis of converging voting distributions in 30 European party systems, 1970-2008”, *Party Politics*, Vol. 18, No. 6, pp. 803-823 (2011)

Week 9 (March 16) – Civil Society

The role of civil society as a facilitator of democracy. Trade unions, NGOs and social movements. Lobbying and pressure groups as part of contemporary European politics.

Readings

- Tim Bale, Chapter 8 “Participation and pressure politics – civil society, organized interests and social movements” (pp. 266-300)
- Angela Bourne and Sevasti Chatzopoulou “Social Movements and the Construction of Crisis Actors: collective responsibility, identity and governance”, *International Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 38, pp. 874-883 (2015)

Week 10 (March 23) – European Right, European Left: Politics and the Market

Ideological spectrum of European political parties: the Left, the Right and the persistence of the Centre. Politics and the market: the welfare state and social democracy.

Readings

- Tim Bale, Chapter 9 “Politics over Markets: does politics – and left and right- still matter?” (pp. 301-338)
- Bent Greve “Free movement as a threat to universal welfare states”, *European Review*, Vol. 22. No. 3, pp. 388-402 (2014)

Week 11 (March 30) – ‘Fortress Europe’? Migrants and minorities

Migration into Europe, trends and reality. Illegal immigration and asylum-seeking. Migrants and minorities: between discrimination and integration.

Readings

- Tim Bale, Chapter 10 “Not wanted but needed – migrants and minorities” (pp. 339-377)
- Alexander Caviedes “An Emerging ‘European’ News Portrayal of Immigration?”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 6, pp. 897-917 (2015)

Week 12 (April 6) – Europe and the World

ESSAY DUE

Security and Defence. Europe, international politics and neighbourhood policy in a globalised world. Trade, the environment, foreign aid and developing countries.

Readings

- Tim Bale, Chapter 11 “Protecting and Promoting – Europe’s international politics” (pp. 378-412)
- Tanja Borzel “When Europe hits...beyond its borders: Europeanization and the near abroad”, *Comparative European Politics*, Vol. 9, No. 4/5, pp. 394-413 (2011)