

European Union: Politics, Institutions and Society

POL 324 H1F

Fall 2021

Thursdays, 2-4 p.m.

Weeks 1-4: online synchronous delivery

Weeks 5-12: in-person, room BL325

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Office hours: Thursdays, 10.00-11.30 a.m. (weeks 1-4 online via Zoom; weeks 5-12 online via Zoom or in-person; please contact me via Email to set up a Zoom meeting)

Course Description

This course offers a comprehensive introduction to European integration. The discussions will focus first and foremost on the European Union (EU). More specifically, we will examine both the process and the (current) outcome of European/EU integration along the dimensions “deepening” and “widening.” Among the guiding questions are: What have been the driving forces of the European integration process? How does the EU’s political system work? In which policy areas is the EU an important actor? And how to account for the integration process in theoretical terms?

In addition, the course will examine the “other” European integration process that has unfolded within the framework of the Council of Europe. This organization is not only older than the EU and its predecessors but also broader in geographical scope (bringing together 47 states compared to the EU’s 27) and more thematically focused, with particular emphasis placed on democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.

Learning Objectives

This course is designed to help students:

1. Survey the academic literature on different dimensions of European integration.
2. Become familiar with the history, institutions and key policy areas of the EU.
3. Acknowledge that European integration is not confined to the EU framework.
4. Understand contemporary challenges of European integration.
5. Develop writing skills by composing academic essays with attention to logical rigor.

Teaching Format

Students are expected to read the materials before each class according to the schedule outlined below. I will devote part of the class to summarize the most relevant concepts and ideas included in the material and to explain the connections between them. Having said that, I will not cover the materials in their entirety, which is why you have to read them beforehand.

In addition, we will also cover in the sessions (a) current events and developments in Europe that relate to the respective session topics and (b) address several of the discussion questions that you provide for each session (see below on “class participation”).

Assignments and Assignment Submission Policy

(1) Class participation (25% of the final grade)

Class participation consists of three components:

Attendance (5%)

You are expected to attend all classes. If you have to miss class, it is key to communicate with me prior to class and provide appropriate documentation (see information on absence declaration below). It is important for you to show up on time so we can start and finish class in a timely manner without interruptions.

Weekly Online Discussion Questions (15%)

You are required to submit *one* discussion question for *each* class (except for week 1) through Quercus under “assignments” (by 2 p.m. on Wednesday before each class). These questions will help you think through the readings. You should identify and put into a question a “puzzling” development, action, etc. that defies easy explanation.

Participation (5%)

In-class discussion contributions are important for your success in this course. Make sure to do the readings and appear well prepared for every class, as we will discuss and analyze the readings and put them into broader perspective. The quality of your responses, which requires you to speak up in class, will be evaluated for your participation grade.

(2) Three written assignments (75% of the final grade)

First Assignment (25%): due by October 12, 8 p.m.

Commentary (8–10 double-spaced pages including bibliography): Two weeks before the submission deadline I will upload a few newspaper articles related to topics covered in weeks 2-5. You will then have two weeks to submit a comment on one of the articles. It is mandatory to use at least four readings (book chapters and/or journal articles) from the syllabus (from weeks 2-5), though you can and are encouraged to include other references as well. In your comment, you will have to explain the connections between the references and the article.

Second Assignment (25%): due by November 5, 8 p.m.

Response paper (8-10 double-spaced pages including bibliography): Response papers should critique all readings for a given week. Do not provide extensive summaries of the readings. Instead, evaluate specific arguments and positions, strengths and weaknesses of these arguments, methods and evidence, and/or the implications of the readings. NB: You may choose any week from weeks 6-9.

Third Assignment (25%): due by December 1, 8 p.m.

Response paper (8-10 double-spaced pages including bibliography): Response papers should critique all readings for a given week. Do not provide extensive summaries of the readings. Instead, evaluate specific arguments and positions, strengths and weaknesses of these arguments, methods and evidence, and/or the implications of the readings. NB: You may choose any week from weeks 10-12.

Submission of Assignments

Normally, students will be required to submit their course assignments to the University's plagiarism detection tool website for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their material to be included as source documents in the University's plagiarism detection tool reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the University's plagiarism detection tool service are described on the company web site.

The Faculty of Arts and Science deadline to drop F section code courses is November 8, 2021.

Course Resources and Technology

Quercus

This course uses Quercus for assignments, announcements, readings and discussions. Please be sure to have access to Quercus and check it regularly.

Please note that you are **required to purchase the book by Bulmer et al. (2020) *Politics in the European Union*, 5th edition, Oxford University Press**. Make sure you get the right edition. The rest of required readings consist of a series of book chapters, articles and other resources that are all available online through Quercus.

Zoom (weeks 1-4)

Please create a Zoom account with your university email address (<https://utoronto.zoom.us>), as only authenticated users will be able to join class sessions and office hours. See Quercus for the link to the course's Zoom meetings.

Please note that the Zoom sessions (weeks 1 to 4) will *not* be recorded.

Class Policies

Communication and office hours

Please send emails from your university email accounts. I will try my best to respond to email within 48 hours.

You are very much encouraged to see me during office hours for substantive questions regarding course material and assignments. If you prefer a virtual office hour, please send me an email so that I can share Zoom meeting details.

Recordings of seminars are prohibited

Students may not create audio or video recordings of Zoom seminars (weeks 1 to 4). The unauthorized use of any form of device and/or software to audiotape, photograph, video-record or otherwise reproduce seminars or teaching materials is prohibited. Students creating and/or sharing unauthorized audio or video recordings of Zoom seminars violate the instructor's intellectual property rights protected by the Canadian Copyright Act. Students violating this agreement will be subject to disciplinary actions under the Code of Student Conduct.

Late work

You are expected to submit assignments on time. To receive special consideration, it is key to communicate with me well before deadlines and provide me with appropriate documentation. Late assignments will be subject to a late penalty of 5% per day (including weekends) of the total marks for the assignment. Assignments submitted five calendar days beyond the due date will be assigned a grade of zero.

Classroom technology policy

Please stay away from your cellphones at all times and use laptops/tablets for class purposes only.

Absence declaration

For 2021-22, the Verification of Illness (or "doctor's note") is not required. Students who are absent from academic participation for any reason (e.g., COVID, cold, flu and other illness or injury, family situation) and who require consideration for missed academic work have been asked to record their absence through the ACORN online absence declaration. The absence declaration is considered sufficient documentation to indicate an absence and no additional information or documentation should be required when seeking consideration from an instructor. Students should also advise their instructor of their absence. Instructors can contact their Undergraduate Administrators if they have questions or would like confirmation for a particular student.

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is essential to the pursuit of learning and scholarship in a university, and to ensuring that a degree from the University of Toronto is a strong signal of each student's individual academic achievement. As a result, the University treats cases of cheating and plagiarism very seriously. The University of Toronto's *Code of Behavior on Academic Matters* (www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm) outlines the behaviors that constitute academic dishonesty and the processes for addressing academic offences. All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated and dealt with accordingly.

Religious Holidays

The University has a general policy of accommodating absences for reasons of religious obligation, strongly articulated on the Provost's webpage (see <https://www.viceprovoststudents.utoronto.ca/policies-guidelines/accommodation-religious/>).

Please notify me if you plan on missing class in order to observe a religious holiday. If an assignment falls on that day, we will work together to find an alternative time for you to complete or submit the assignment. It is key to inform me well before your planned absence.

Accessibility

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or the AccessAbility Resource Centre as soon as possible.

AccessAbility staff (located at 445 Spadina Ave.) are available by appointment to assess specific needs, provide referrals and arrange appropriate accommodations. Please call 416-978-8060 or email accessibility.services@utoronto.ca. The sooner you let us know your needs the quicker we can assist you in achieving your learning goals in this course.

Notice of Collection

The University of Toronto respects your privacy. The information on medical certificates is collected pursuant to section 2(14) of the University of Toronto Act, 1971. It is collected for the purpose of administering accommodations for academic purposes based on medical grounds. The department will maintain a record of all medical certificates received. At all times it will be protected in accordance with the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act. If you have questions, please refer to www.utoronto.ca/privacy or contact the University's Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Office at 416-946-5835. Address: Room 201, McMurrich Bldg., 12 Queen's Park Crescent, Toronto, ON, M5S 1A1.

Course Schedule

Week 1 (September 9, Zoom)

Introduction and Overview

No readings for this session.

Week 2 (September 16, Zoom)

History of the Integration Process I: From the ECSC to the Treaty of Maastricht

Bulmer, Simon et al. (2020) *Politics in the European Union*, 5th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapters 5-8.

Week 3 (September 23, Zoom)

History of the Integration Process II: From the Early 1990s to 2021

Bulmer, Simon et al. (2020) *Politics in the European Union*, 5th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapters 9-11.

Week 4 (September 30, Zoom)

The Political System of the EU I: Intergovernmental Institutions

Bulmer, Simon et al. (2020) *Politics in the European Union*, 5th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapter 12, 14.

Novak, Stéphanie (2013) The Silence of Ministers: Consensus and Blame Avoidance in the Council of the European Union. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51(6), 1091–1107

Sjursen, Helene (2011) Not So Intergovernmental After All? On Democracy and Integration in European Foreign and Security Policy. *Journal of European Public Policy* 18(8), 1078–1095.

Week 5 (October 7, in-person)

The Political System of the EU II: Supranational Institutions

Bulmer, Simon et al. (2020) *Politics in the European Union*, 5th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapters 13, 15, 16.

Hobolt, Sara B. (2014) A Vote for the President? The Role of *Spitzenkandidaten* in the 2014 European Parliament Elections. *Journal of European Public Policy* 21(10), 1528–1540.

Week 6 (October 14, in-person)

Policymaking and Policies in the EU I: Internal Policies

Bulmer, Simon et al. (2020) *Politics in the European Union*, 5th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapters 18-21.

Week 7 (October 21, in-person)***Policymaking and Policies in the EU II: External Policies***

Allison-Reumann, Laura (2020) EU Narratives of Regionalism Promotion to ASEAN: A Modest Turn? *Journal of Common Market Studies* 58(4), 872–889.

Bulmer, Simon et al. (2020) *Politics in the European Union*, 5th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapters 24, 25.

Hackenesch, Christine et al. (2021) Development Policy under Fire? The Politicization of European External Relations. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 59(1), 3–19.

Week 8 (October 28, in-person)***European Identity and Society***

Guerra, Simona, and Hans-Joerg Trencz (2019) Citizens and Public Opinion in the EU. In Michelle Cini and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano Borragán (eds) *European Union Politics*, 6th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 219–231.

Hobolt, Sara B., and Toni Rodon (2020) Domestic Contestation of the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy* 27(2), 161–167.

Kuhn, Theresa (2012) Why Educational Exchange Programmes Miss Their Mark: Cross-Border Mobility, Education and European Identity. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50(6), 994–1010.

Mitchell, Kristine (2015) Rethinking the ‘Erasmus Effect’ on European Identity. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53(2), 330–348.

Week 9 (November 4, in-person)***Theories of the Integration Process***

Börzel, Tanja A., and Thomas Risse (2019) Grand Theories of Integration and the Challenges of Comparative Regionalism. *Journal of European Public Policy* 26(8), 1231–1252.

Bulmer, Simon et al. (2020) *Politics in the European Union*, 5th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapter 1.

Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks (2019) Grand Theories of European Integration in the Twenty First Century. *Journal of European Public Policy* 26(8), 1113–1133.

Kuhn, Theresa (2019) Grand Theories of European Integration Revisited: Does Identity Politics Shape the Course of European Integration? *Journal of European Public Policy* 26(8), 1213–1230.

November 11: Reading week**→ No Class**

Week 10 (November 18, in-person)

The Council of Europe I: History and Institutions

Bae, Sangmin (2008) Friends Do Not Let Friends Execute: The Council of Europe and the International Campaign to Abolish the Death Penalty. *International Politics* 45(2), 129–145.

Brummer, Klaus (2014) The Council of Europe as an Exporter of Democracy, Human Rights and the Rule of Law. *International Politics* 51(1), 67–86.

Francis, Céline (2008) ‘Selective Affinities’: The Reactions of the Council of Europe and the European Union to the Second Armed Conflict in Chechnya (1999 – 2006). *Europa-Asia Studies* 60(2), 317–338.

Weiß, Norman (2017) Origin and Further Development. In Stefanie Schmahl and Marten Breuer (eds) *The Council of Europe: Its Law and Policies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3-22.

Week 11 (November 25, in-person)

The Council of Europe II: The European Court of Human Rights

Lambert Abdelgawad, Elisabeth (2017) The European Court of Human Rights. In Stefanie Schmahl and Marten Breuer (eds) *The Council of Europe: Its Law and Policies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 227–268.

Panke, Diana (2020) The European Court of Human Rights under Scrutiny: Explaining Variation in Non-compliance Judgments. *Comparative European Politics* 18(2), 151–170.

Stiansen, Øyvind (2021) Directing Compliance? Remedial Approach and Compliance with European Court of Human Rights Judgments. *British Journal of Political Science* 51(2), 899–907.

Voeten, Erik (2008) The Impartiality of International Judges: Evidence from the European Court of Human Rights. *American Political Science Review* 102(4), 417–433.

Week 12 (December 2, in-person)

Current Challenges of European Integration

European Commission (2017) White Paper on the Future of Europe. Reflections and Scenarios for the EU27 by 2025. Brussels (available at: https://ec.europa.eu/info/future-europe/white-paper-future-europe_en).

Gstöhl, Sieglinde, and David Phinnemore (2021) The Future EU–UK Partnership: A Historical Institutional Perspective. *Journal of European Integration* 43(1), 99–115.

Keleman, R. Daniel (2020) The European Union’s Authoritarian Equilibrium. *Journal of European Public Policy* 27(3), 481–499.

Schomaker, Rahel et al. (2021) The EU’s Reaction in the First Wave of the Covid-19 Pandemic between Centralisation and Decentralisation, Formality and Informality. *Journal of European Public Policy* 27(8), 1278–1298.