

PS 1330: European Union Seminar (CL 126)
Current Challenges Facing the EU
Tuesday/Thursday: 11am – 12:15pm

Instructor: Josh Counselman
Office: European Studies Center (UCIS)
Office Hours: Wednesday, 1-2pm; Thursday, 2-3pm; or by appointment.
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Course Description:

This course explores some of the most pressing challenges facing the European Union and its member states: Representation, identity and public opinion, immigration, and the Eurozone crisis. Some of the questions we will cover include why did the Eurozone crisis occur and why did member states respond differently; how does public opinion influence support for and elections in the European Union? We will examine the rise of these challenges as well as the EU and its member states' responses. The course starts off with a brief refresher on the EU's institutions and then proceeds to the challenges facing Europe. Each student will research a topic based on his/her interest related to the European Union and Europe.

Course Objectives:

- Identify the causes for some of the most pressing challenges facing Europe.
- Explain how the challenges impact Europe.
- Rationalize the variation in EU member state actions.

Required Reading:

Hix, Simon and Bjorn Hoyland. 2011. *The Political System of the European Union*. 3rd ed. Palgrave.

This is the only required textbook for you to purchase. Any other book on the syllabus can be found in Hillman Library (on reserve) or electronically through Hillman (library.pitt.edu). Although not required, you are encouraged you to follow current events in Europe over the semester (and beyond). There are many great on-line resources for European/EU news, including: the New York Times—www.nyt.com, Economist—www.economist.com, BBC—www.bbc.co.uk, Der Spiegel—www.spiegel.de/international. Some of these may have a limited number of free articles you can browse from the website, but there are student subscriptions and unlimited access through the library for most. I'd also suggest listening to NPR (www.npr.org) listener. Our local station is WESA, 90.5 FM—www.wesa.fm.

Evaluation:

Your grade for this course will be calculated on an A-F scale. The grade will be calculated based on grade distribution below:

97-100 = A+	87-89 = B+	77-79 = C+	67-69 = D+	59 and below = F
94-96 = A	84-86 = B	74-76 = C	64-66 = D	
90-93 = A-	80-83 = B-	70-73 = C-	60-63 = D-	

- Attendance and Participation (15%)
- Midterm Exam (25%)
- Final Paper (35%)
 - Paper (25%)
 - Presentation (10%)
- Response Papers (12.5% each - 2)

Attendance and Participation: It is not enough to simply show up! This is an upper level seminar and participation is expected, which is reflected in the percent allocation. I will briefly lecture at the start of class, but the course will focus on discussion. You are required to come to class prepared having read the assigned readings. This a small class, so please read the material and come prepared to participate.

Response Papers: There will be 4 prompts over the course of the semester, but you are **ONLY** required to write on 2 of the prompts. These papers should be no more than 5 pages double spaced in 12 pt. font. Response papers will be assigned on Tuesdays and due on the following Thursday.

In these papers, you should briefly discuss relevant readings from class and no more than 1 outside source. The focus of these papers is to explore the assigned topic at hand. For example, if the prompt asks, “How does support (or opposition) for further integration differ between Western and Eastern Europe?” The paper should explore arguments for and against more integration in both Western and Eastern Europe individually and then provide a comparison between the two regions and what it means for Europe and the EU.

Midterm Exam: There is only a midterm exam for the course. The midterm will be on Thursday, March 1th. The exam will be essay based with a couple of identifications (IDs).

Final Paper: Each student is required to write a 12-15pg research paper (excluding the abstract and title page and bibliography) in 12 pt. font on a topic of your choice related to Europe/European Union. Each student is required to meet with me to discuss research topics before submitting a proposal. A formal research proposal is due on **February 8th**. Each student will review and provide feedback for one of their classmates’ paper. The first rough draft (Literature review and Theory) is due **March 15th**. The second rough draft (Research design and Analysis) is due on **April 5th**. We will have a paper workshop on **April 12th**. Final papers are due on **April 19th**. On this day, each student will prepare a presentation using slides.

University and Classroom Policies:

1) *Attendance:* I will take attendance each class. You are allowed **three (3) absences** during the semester. You do not need to email or provide any documentation for these absences because they will not count against your grade. However, if you miss class, you are responsible for getting the information covered in seminar. I am also more than happy to meet with you during my office hours to discuss the readings or if you have questions. Each additional absence beyond the initial three will result in a **2%** reduction in participation grade (excused absences will not count against your grade).

2) *Email*: I will send emails to you via your Pitt email. Please check it regularly and ensure that it is linked to another email account if you do not use your Pitt email directly. If you email me, please do it directly rather than using Courseweb.

3) *CourseWeb*: I will post announcements in CourseWeb about upcoming changes or important deadlines for the course. I will also upload the readings for each week to CourseWeb for your convenience.

4) *Extensions and Alternative Dates*: Generally, extensions on deadlines will not be allowed for papers or exams. If you believe you are in a situation where you will potentially miss a deadline, please let me know as soon as possible. Do not let me know the day of the assignment or exam!

5) *Late Policy*: A late assignment will be deducted 2.5 points each day it is late. If a paper received a 92 and is two days late, the grade drops down to an 87. After a week, it will no longer be accepted. Please be aware of all deadlines in the syllabus.

6) *Grade Appeals*: If you want to appeal your grade, the appeal must be in writing. You will need to explain why you believe you deserve a different grade than the one you received.

7) *Technology Policy*: The use of laptops is perfectly fine. Personally, I do all of my reading electronically via my laptop. However, laptops are only to be used for 1) notetaking and 2) to refer back to the readings and your notes. Since I do all of my reading electronically, I am very much aware of when you are referring back to notes and when you are simply scrolling through Facebook. If you are caught on Facebook or using your computer for another non-classroom sanctioned reason (note taking and referring to the readings), you will be docked **2** participation points. For first time offenders, I will ask you after class to refrain from such actions during class time. After the first time, I will dock participation points without addressing you. This includes cellphones and other electronic devices. There is also no reason to have your cellphone in your hand. I will keep track of time and ensure we end at the scheduled time. If you are on your phone during class, you will be docked **2** participation points per offense.

8) *Academic Integrity*: All students are expected to adhere to the standards of academic honesty. Any student engaged in cheating, plagiarism, or other acts of academic dishonesty would be subject to disciplinary action. Any student suspected of violating this obligation for any reason during the semester will be required to participate in the procedural process, initiated at the instructor level, as outlined in the University Guidelines on Academic Integrity. This may include, but is not limited to the confiscation of the examination of any individual suspected of violating the University Policy.

9) *Accommodations*: If you have a disability, contact both your instructor and the Office of Disability Resources and Services (DRS), 216 William Pitt Union, 412-648-7890/412-383-7355 (TTY) as early as possible in the term. DRS will verify your disability and determine reasonable accommodations for this course.

Course Schedule:

Part 1: EU Institutions and Roles

Week 1: What is the EU? and the Executive

Tuesday, Jan. 9: Introduction (to the Course and Debate Over Future of the EU)

Readings:

Lenoir, Noëlle, “The United Europe of Tomorrow?” *Project Syndicate*. 15 March 2017

Gros, Daniel, “Europe’s Return to Crisis?” *Project Syndicate*. 11 October 2017.

Thursday, Jan. 11: The Executive (Commission)

Readings:

Hix and Hoyland – Chapter 2 (skim for background)

Bauer, Michael W. and Stefan Becker. 2014. “The Unexpected Winner of the Crisis: The European Commission’s Strengthened Role in Economic Governance.” *Journal of European Integration*: 36(3), 213-229.

Kreppel, Amie and Buket Oztas. 2017. “Leading the Band or Just Playing the Tune? Reassessing the Agenda-Setting Powers of the European Commission.” *Comparative Political Studies*: 50(8), 1118-1150.

Week 2: Legislative

Tuesday, Jan. 16: The Legislature (Council and Parliament)

Readings:

Hix and Hoyland – Chapter 3 (Skim for background)

Ringe, Nils. 2010. *Who Decides and Why? Preferences, Uncertainty, and Policy Choice in the European Parliament*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapters 1-2. ONLINE.

Thursday, Jan. 18: Which Institution is the Most Important and Intro Democratic Deficit Debate

Readings:

Thomson, Robert and Madeleine Hosli. 2006. “Who Has Power in the EU? The Commission, Council and Parliament in Legislative Decision-Making.” *Journal of Common Market Studies*: 44(2), 391-417.

“How to Address the EU’s Democratic Deficit.” *The Economist*, March 23, 2017.

Part II: Challenges to the EU and Its Response

Weeks 3-4: Representation in the EU

Week 3: Democratic Deficit

Tuesday, Jan. 23: Is There a Democratic Deficit and Does It Matter?

Readings:

Hix and Hoyland – pages 132-137

Moravcsik, Andrew. 2002. “In Defence of the ‘Democratic Deficit’: Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union.” *Journal of Common Market Studies*: 40(4), 603-624.

Føllesdal, 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(3), 533-562.

Thursday, Jan. 25: Reassessing the Democratic Deficit?

Readings:

- Shackleton, Michael. 2017. "Transforming Representative Democracy in the EU? The Role of the European Parliament." *Journal of European Integration*: 39(2), 191-205.
- Hagemann, Sara, Sara B Hobolt, and Christopher Wratil. 2017. "Government Responsiveness in the European Union: Evidence from Council Voting." *Comparative Political Studies*: 50(6), 850-876.

Extra Credit Opportunity: The European Studies Center is co-hosting a roundtable on "Will the EU Fall Apart?" **Attend and write a 1.5-2-page summary of the discussion.**

Week 4: EP Elections and Representation – Paper option 1 assigned (EP elections and public opinion)

Tuesday, Jan. 30: Voting in EP Elections

Readings:

Hix and Hoyland – pages 146-157

Hobolt, Sara B., Jae-Jae Spoon and James Tilley. 2009. "A Vote Against Europe? Explaining Defection at the 1999 and 2004 European Parliament Elections." *British Journal of Political Science*. 39.1: 93-115

Clark, Nicholas. 2014. "Explaining Low Turnout in European Elections: The Role of Issue Salience and Institutional Perceptions in Elections to the European Parliament." *Journal of European Integration*: 36(4), 339-356.

Thursday, Feb. 1: Signals from EP Elections?

Readings:

van Spanje, Joost and Claes de Vreese. 2011. "So What's Wrong with the EU? Motivations Underlying the Eurosceptic Vote in the 2009 European Elections." *European Union Politics*: 12(3), 405-429.

Trieb, Oliver. 2014. "The Voter Says No, but Nobody Listens: Causes and Consequences of the Eurosceptic Vote in the 2014 European Election." *Journal of European Public Policy*: 21(10), 1541-1554.

EP Election Activity: Explore the results of the 2009 and 2014 EP Elections – Changes in party vote share, turnout, seat allocation, depend on country?

Week 5-7: Integration, Public Opinion, and EXIT(S)

Week 5: Public Opinion

Tuesday, Feb. 6: Public Opinion of the EU

Readings:

Hix and Hoyland – Chapter 5 (Skim for background)

Boomgaarden, Hajo G., et al. 2011. "Mapping EU Attitudes: Conceptual and Empirical Dimensions of Euroscepticism and EU Support." *European Union Politics*: 12(2), 241-266.

Copeland, Paul and Nathaniel Copsey. 2017. "Rethinking Britain and the European Union: Politicians, the Media and Public Opinion Reconsidered." *Journal of Common Market Studies*: 55(4), 709-726.

Thursday, Feb. 8: Enlargement and Public Opinion – **Research Proposal Due**

Readings:

Hobolt, Sara B. 2014. "Ever Closer or Ever Wider? Public Attitudes Towards Further Enlargement and Integration in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy*: 21(5), 664-680.

Eurobarometer Activity – Exploring different surveys and opinions across EU member states.

Week 6: Integration

Tuesday, Feb. 13: Support for More Integration?

Readings:

Hobolt, Sara B. and Catherine E. de Vries. 2016. "Public Support for European Integration." *Annual Review of Political Science*: 19, 413-32.

Podcast: "Prime Minister of Italy, 2011-2013 – Mario Monti." HARDtalk, September 21, 2017.

Podcast: "Hungary's Foreign Minister – Péter Szijjártó." HARDtalk, September 20, 2017.

- Focus on the main arguments made for and against further integration. Is this broader conflict between E. and W. Europe?

Thursday, Feb. 15: Mind the Gap – The Effects of EU Integration

Readings:

Hernandez, Enrique and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2016. "Turning Your Back on the EU. The Role of Eurosceptic Parties in the 2014 European Parliament Elections." *Electoral Studies*: 44, 515-524.

Williams, Christopher and Jae-Jae Spoon. 2015. "Differentiated Party Responses: The Effect of Eurosceptic Public Opinion on Party Positions." *European Union Politics*: 16(2), 176-193.

Week 7: E(U)xits

Tuesday, Feb. 20: Brexit and the Vote to Leave – Paper option 2 assigned (Motivations for Brexit and arguments for each side)

Hobolt, Sara B. 2016. "The Brexit Vote: A Divided Nation, A Divided Continent." *Journal of European Public Policy*: 23(9), 1259-1277.

Goodwin, Matthew J., Simon Hix, and Mark Pickup. 2017. "For and Against Brexit: A Survey Experiment on the Impact of Campaign Effects on Public Attitudes toward EU Membership." *British Journal of Political Science*.

Thursday, Feb. 22: Brexit – For and Against Post-Referendum

Podcast: "Shadow Foreign Secretary, UK – Emily Thornberry MP." HARDtalk, October 19, 2017.

Podcast: "MEP for South-East England – Daniel Hannan." HARDtalk, August 22, 2017.

Kaletsky, Anatole. 2017. "Fake Brexit or No Brexit." Project Syndicate, 20 December 2017.

Week 8: Midterm

Tuesday, Feb. 27: Review

Thursday, Mar. 1: Exam

Week 9: Spring Break!

Week 10-11: Identity, Migration, and Far Right Parties - Need to include E. Europe here.

Week 10: European Identity

Tuesday, Mar. 13: European Identities

Risse, Thomas. 2010. *A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres*. Cornell University Press. Ch. 1 (skim), 2, and 4

Thursday, Mar. 15: Assimilation into Europe? **First Paper Rough Draft Due (Lit. Review and Theory)**

Risse, Thomas. 2010. *A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres*. Cornell University Press. Ch. 9

Börzel, Tanja A. and Thomas Risse. 2018. "From the Euro to the Schengen Crises: European Integration Theories, Politicization, and Identity Politics." *Journal of European Public Policy*: 25(1), 83-108.

Week 11: (Im)Migration - Paper option 3 assigned (Immigration and Identity)

Tuesday, Mar. 20: Who Influences EU Asylum Policy?

Hix and Hoyland – Chapter 11 (273-288)

Servent, Ariadna Ripoll and Florian Trauner. 2014. "Do Supranational EU Institutions Make a Difference? EU Asylum Law Before and After 'Communitarization'." *Journal of European Public Policy*: 21(8), 1142-1162.

Zaun, Natascha. 2016. "Why EU Asylum Standards Exceed the Lowest Common Denominator: The Role of Regulatory Expertise in EU Decision-Making." *Journal of European Public Policy*: 23(1), 136-154

Thursday, Mar. 22: Attitudes Toward Immigrants/Immigration

Bansak, Kirk, Jens Hainmueller, and Dominik Hangartner. 2016. "How Economic, Humanitarian, and Religious Concerns Shape European Attitudes Toward Asylum Seekers." *Science*: 354(6309), 217-222.

Jolly, Seth K, and Gerald M. DiGiusto. 2014. "Xenophobia and immigrant contact: French public attitudes toward immigration." *The Social Science Journal*: 51, 464-473.

Green-Pedersen, Christoffer and Simon Otjes. 2017. "A Hot Topic? Immigration on the Agenda in Western Europe." *Party Politics*, 1-11.

Week 12-14: Euro Crisis

Week 12: Far Right Parties and What is the Euro and the Single Market?

Tuesday, Mar. 27: The Far Right – An Overview

Allen, Trevor J. 2017. "All in the Party Family? Comparing Far Right Voters in Western and Post-Communist Europe." *Party Politics*: 23(3), 274-285.

de Vries, Catherine E. and Isabell Hoffmann. 2016. *Fear not Values: Public Opinion and the Populist Vote in Europe*. Bertelsmann Stiftung.

Podcast: "Deputy Leader, Alternative for Germany Party - Beatrix Von Storch." HARDtalk, October 3, 2017.

- **Select article from *Comparative Political Studies* Special Issue (Volume 49, Issue 7).**

Thursday, Mar. 29: Single Market (Central Bank and One Europe)

Readings:

Hix and Hoyland – Chapter 10 (skim for background)

Sadeh, Tal and Amy Verdun. 2009. “Explaining Europe’s Monetary Union: A Survey of the Literature.” *International Studies Review*: 11(2), 277-301.

Week 13: The Euro Crisis – Paper option 4 (Why did the crisis occur and what are the effects?)

Tuesday, April 3: Foundations of the Euro Crisis

Hall, Peter A. 2012. “The Economics and Politics of the Euro Crisis.” *German Politics*: 21(4), 355-371.

Alt, James, David Dreyer Lassen, and Joachim Wehner. 2014. “It Isn’t Just about Greece: Domestic Politics, Transparency and Fiscal Gimmickry in Europe.” *British Journal of Political Science*: 44(4), 707-716.

Thursday, April 5: Political Economy of the Euro Crisis - **Second Rough Draft is Due (Research Design and Analysis)!**

Readings:

Present article from the *Comparative Political Studies* Special Issue: The Political Economy of the Euro Crisis.

Week 15: Conclude Euro Crisis and Paper Workshop

Tuesday, April 10: Consequences of the Euro Crisis

Readings:

Risse, Thomas. 2014. “No Demos? Identities and Public Spheres in the Euro Crisis.” *Journal of Common Market Studies*: 52(6), 1207-1215.

Hobolt, Sara B. and Christopher Wratil. 2015. “Public Opinion and the Crisis: The Dynamics of Support for the Euro.” *Journal of European Public Policy*: 22(2), 238-256.

Thursday, April 12: Paper Workshop

Bring a draft of your paper for the workshop. I’ll return your drafts as well.

Week 16: Paper Workshop

Tuesday, April 17: “Is there hope for the EU?” and Recap

Readings:

Palacio, Ana, “Europe’s Chance in 2018.” *Project Syndicate*. 19 December 2017

Erlanger, Steven, “In Eastern Europe, Populism Lives, Widening a Split in the E.U.” *New York Times*. 28 November 2017.

Thursday, April 19: Paper Presentations - **Turn in your final papers!**

10 minutes per presentations – Prepare slides