

EUS 4944 - CITIZENSHIP AND DEMOCRACY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

Tuesday period 7, Thursday periods 7-8

Turlington 2305

Final Exam: 4/30/2020, 12:30 PM - 2:30 PM

Course Description

This course focuses on the themes and issues presented in Robert Menasse's book - Enraged Citizens, European Peace and Democratic Deficits. This book was originally published (in German) in 2012, during the peak of the Euro-crisis, but before the refugee crisis that hit the EU in 2015. We will be using this very short book as an introduction into a wide variety of themes related to the study of the European Union including democracy, nationalism, (European) identity, and solidarity among others. The core Menasse book is supplemented with additional readings each week to provide background and delve more deeply into the various topics covered. This course is dependent on active student engagement, including completion of all assigned readings, regular class attendance and active in-class participation. While officially it is not necessary for students to have had previous courses on the European Union, an understanding of the EU will greatly facilitate things. As a result, for those not already familiar with the EU a basic intro text has been assigned and the first ~two weeks of the course will be dedicated to a rapid introduction to EU history and institutions followed by two weeks discussing the various approaches in integration theory (used in final paper).

Objectives and Learning Outcomes

The goal of this course is to encourage students interested in the European Union to engage critically with theories of integration and the actual practices of integration that have occurred across time, and particularly over the last decade. Students will gain a deeper understanding of the issues facing the European Union and its capacity to face these challenges. In particular students will obtain the ability to more comprehensively assess the positive and negative impacts of the integration project and its likely future trajectory.

Assignments and Grade Assessment

- *Class attendance (10%)*
This is a class requires active discussion and engagement – this means that students must be in class. *All students get one (1) unexcused absence*, however, students are responsible for the material they missed and any assignments due or distributed during an unexcused absence. Any additional unexcused absences will result in a grade reduction. See below for details on university absence/excuse policy.
- *Class participation and discussion leadership (20%)*
Students are expected to be ready to *actively engage* in discussion of all assigned reading for the week ***on the first day of the week for which they are assigned***. This includes the ability to demonstrate both completion of the assigned reading and a careful consideration of how it links to themes of the core text.

In addition, *discussion leaders* will be assigned for each week. Discussion leaders will have additional responsibilities, including circulating discussion questions at least 24 hours before the first class of the week to facilitate class engagement with the assigned readings.

- *Response papers* (10% each, 20% total)
Two short (3-4 pages/750-1000 words) papers that engage with the readings in a specific week to critically assess the themes and topics discussed. Students may choose the weeks they wish to use for their response papers as long as one is from Part II of the class and one is from Part III of the class. ***Students may not write a response paper for the same week they are serving as discussion leader.*** Further explanation in class.
- *Final paper* (10% topic submission/description, 30% final paper, 40% total)
A longer (10-15 pages/2,500-3,750 words) paper. Students will evaluate the merits of one or more of the theories of integration covered in weeks 3 and 4 in terms of their capacity to accurately explain the current state of the integration project. Students can use the assigned readings, ***but are also likely to need to rely on additional external materials.*** Additional details will be provided in class.

Required Textbooks

1. Robert Menasse (2016) Enraged Citizens, European Peace and Democratic Deficits
2. J. Pinder and S. Usherwood (2018) The European Union: A Very Short Introduction¹
3. Additional assigned readings (listed in course schedule) will be made available electronically via canvas or another format. Many articles can be downloaded directly.

Please Note:

- University and departmental policy on cheating/plagiarism apply (**just do not do it**) for more details see university “honesty policy” below.
- Incompletes are provided only in extreme circumstances (per university policy)
- *Professor reserves the right to change syllabus as necessary with as much advance notice as possible.*

Grading Scale

| Percent | Grade | Grade Points |
|-----------|-------|--------------|
| 93.4-100 | A | 4.00 |
| 90.0-93.3 | A- | 3.67 |
| 86.7-89.9 | B+ | 3.33 |
| 83.4-86.6 | B | 3.00 |
| 80.0-83.3 | B- | 2.67 |
| 76.7-79.9 | C+ | 2.33 |
| 73.4-76.6 | C | 2.00 |
| 70.0-73.3 | C- | 1.67 |
| 66.7-69.9 | D+ | 1.33 |
| 63.4-66.6 | D | 1.00 |
| 60.0-63.3 | D- | 0.67 |
| 0-59.9 | E | 0.00 |

This scale is determined by the university. More information on grades and grading policies is here: <https://catalog.ufl.edu/ugrad/current/regulations/info/grades.aspx>

¹ Any recent European Union text book can be substituted (and in many ways would be better) if you have one. Text must be **recent** however, post 2015. If interested please contact me for some suggestions for good recent textbooks.

Class Attendance and Make-Up Policy

Class attendance is expected. Each unexcused absence after the first will result in a reduction in the final grade. Excused absences must be consistent with university policies in the undergraduate catalog (<https://catalog.ufl.edu/ugrad/current/regulations/info/attendance.aspx>) and require appropriate documentation. Please note that the professor does NOT accept excuses based on virtual assessments.

University Honesty Policy

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, “We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: “On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment.”

The Honor Code (<https://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/process/student-conduct-honor-code/>) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor or TAs in this class.

Students Requiring Accommodations

Students with disabilities who experience learning barriers and would like to request academic accommodations should connect with the disability Resource Center by visiting <https://disability.ufl.edu/students/get-started/>. It is important for students to share their accommodation letter with their instructor and discuss their access needs, as early as possible in the semester.

Counseling and Wellness Center

Contact information for the Counseling and Wellness Center: <http://www.counseling.ufl.edu/cwc/Default.aspx>, 392-1575; and the University Police Department: 392-1111 or 9-1-1 for emergencies.

Student Course Evaluations

Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing online evaluations at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/>. Evaluations are typically open during the last two or three weeks of the semester, but students will be given specific times when they are open. Summary results of these assessments are available to students at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/>.

Course Schedule

Part I - Introduction

Week 1 (Jan. 7/9): EU History

Topics

- The origins of the EU
- Key moments in EU evolutionary history

Readings

1. Menasse, Enraged Citizens, European Peace & Democratic Deficits (whole book-start)
2. Pinder and Usherwood, The European Union: A Very Short Introduction (chapters 1-2)

Week 2 (Jan. 14/16): EU Institutions

Topics

- The EU Political system (overview)
- Executive, legislative and judicial roles
- Representing the people versus representing the states

Readings

1. Menasse, Enraged Citizens, European Peace & Democratic Deficits (whole book-finish)
2. Pinder and Usherwood, The European Union: A Very Short Introduction (Chapter 3)

Week 3 (Jan. 21/23): EU Integration Theory (Thinking about the EU #1)

Topics

- Why/how was the EU created
- Decision making in the EU

Readings

1. Mitrany, D. (1965), The Prospect of Integration: Federal or Functional. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 4: 119-149.
2. Haas, Ernst B., (2006) "The Uniting of Europe: political, social and economic forces 1950-1957" from Sangiovanni, Mette Eilstrup, *Debates on European integration: a reader* pp.105-116, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
3. Moravcsik, A. (1993), Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 31: 473-524.

Week 4 (Jan. 28/30): EU Integration Theory (Thinking about the EU #2)

Topics

- How does the EU function?
- Thinking about the EU as a political system

Readings

1. Marks, G., Hooghe, L. and Blank, K. (1996), European Integration from the 1980s: State-Centric v. Multi-level Governance*. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 34: 341-378.
2. Hix, Simon (1994) The study of the European community: The challenge to comparative politics, *West European Politics*, 17:1, 1-30.
3. Pierson, P. (1996). The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis. *Comparative Political Studies*, 29(2), 123–163.

Part II: ConceptsWeek 5 (Feb. 4/6): Democracy and the ‘democratic deficit’Topics

- What does it mean to be democratic?
- Evaluating forms of democracy
- The democratic deficit in the EU context

Readings

1. Saffon, M. P., & Urbinati, N. (2013). Procedural Democracy, the Bulwark of Equal Liberty. *Political Theory*, 41(3), 441–481.
2. Dahl, R. (1999) “Can International Organizations be Democratic?” Chapter 2 in Shapiro, Ian and Casiano Hacker-Cordon (Eds.) Democracy’s Edges, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK. (note – PDF is full book)
3. Moravcsik, A. (2004). Is there a ‘Democratic Deficit’ in World Politics? A Framework for Analysis. *Government and Opposition*, 39(2), 336-363.
4. Vesnic-Alujevic, L., & Nacarino, R. C. (2012). The EU and its Democratic Deficit: Problems and (Possible) Solutions. *European View*, 11(1), 63–70,
5. Nicolaïdis, K. (2013), European democracy and its crisis. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 51: 351-369.

Week 6 (Feb. 11/13): Nations and NationalismTopics

- Meanings of nationalism
- Forms of nationalism

Readings

1. Hutchinson, John and Anthony Smith (Eds.) Nationalism, Oxford University Press, 1995. Readings by Walker Connor, Philip Schlesinger, and all of section IV.
2. De Cleen, Benjamin, “Populism and Nationalism” in Handbook of Populism, edited by Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo and Pierre Ostiguy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
3. Fligstein, N., Polyakova, A. and Sandholtz, W. (2012), European Integration, Nationalism and European Identity. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50: 106-122.
4. Hobsbawm, E., & Kertzer, D. (1992). Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe Today. *Anthropology Today*, 8(1), 3-8.

Week 7 (Feb. 18/20): European Identity/European Culture

Topics

- What is European?
- Where does Europe end?

Readings

1. Luhmann, Sybille (2017) A Multi-Level Approach to European Identity: Does Integration Foster Identity? *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55 (6): 1360–1379
2. Cederman, L.E. (2001). Nationalism and Bounded Integration: What it Would Take to Construct a European Demos. *European Journal of Int'l Relations*, 7(2), 139–174.
3. Risse, Thomas (2005) Neofunctionalism, European identity, and the puzzles of European integration, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12:2, 291-309.
4. Shore, Cris (2006) “In Uno Plures”? EU Cultural Policy and the Governance of Europe *Cultural Analysis* 5:7-26.

Week 8 (Feb. 25/27): Old Europe/New Europe

Topics

- Comparing ‘old’ and ‘new’ Europe
- The legacy of the cold war divide

Readings

1. Tismaneanu, Vladimir (2019) “What Went Wrong and Why? Nationalism vs Democracy in Eastern and Western Europe” *Contemporary European History*, 28: 1, 69–72.
2. Goetz, Klaus H. (2004) “The New Member States and the EU” in Simon Bulmer and Lequesne, Christian (2004) *Member States and the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
3. Dimitrova, Antoaneta L. (2010) The New Member States of The EU in The Aftermath of Enlargement: Do New European Rules Remain Empty Shells? *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17:1, 137-148.
4. Ágh, Attila (2016) The Decline of Democracy in East-Central Europe, *Problems of Post-Communism*, 63:5-6, 277-287.

Week 9 (March 3/5): **Spring Break**

Week 10 (March 10/12): Europe of the Regions (decentralized Europe)

Topics

- What defines a region?
- Is there a Europe of the regions?
- What is the best level for government/decision making?

Readings

1. Hooghe, Liesbet (1996), Gary Marks; “Europe with the Regions”: Channels of Regional Representation in the European Union, *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Volume 26, Issue 1, 1:73–92.

2. Keating, Michael (2008) A Quarter Century of the Europe of the Regions, *Regional & Federal Studies*, 18:5, 629-635.
3. Harris, Erika (2017) Identity, Territory and Self-determination in Transborder Regions of Eastern and Central Europe, EUBorders Working Papers, 04, www.euborders.com.
4. Bauer, Michael W. and Tanja Börzel, 2010: Regions and the European Union, in: Enderlein, Henrik/Wälti, Sonja/Zürn, Michael (eds.): Handbook on Multi-level Governance, Edward Elgar: Cheltenham, UK/Northampton, MA, 253-263.

Part III: Policies

Week 11 (March 17/19): The Euro - Monetary Policy

Topics

- What is the Euro
- Why have a common currency?

Readings

1. **Author last name, first name** (2018) “Economic and Monetary Union” Chapter 21, pp. 385-403, in **Book Title, Publisher, City**.
2. McNamara, K. R. (2006), Economic Governance, Ideas and EMU: What Currency Does Policy Consensus Have Today? *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44: 803-821.
3. Matthias Matthijs & Kathleen McNamara (2015) The Euro Crisis’ Theory Effect: Northern Saints, Southern Sinners, and the Demise of the Eurobond, *Journal of European Integration*, 37:2, 229-245.

Week 12 (March 24/26): The Euro – Fiscal Policy

Topics

- Defining fiscal policy
- The difference between fiscal and monetary policy
- Fiscal union in the EU?

Readings

1. Van Rompuy, Herman (2012) Towards a Genuine Economic and Monetary Union, Report of the European Council President, EUCO 120/12, PRESSE 296, PR PCE 102.
2. Bordo, Michael D., Lars Jonung, Agnieszka Markiewicz (2013); A Fiscal Union for the Euro: Some Lessons from History, *CESinfo Economic Studies*, 59(3), 449–488.
3. Jones, E., D. Kelemen, R., & Meunier, S. (2016). Failing Forward? The Euro Crisis & the Incomplete Nature of European Integration. *Comp. Political Studies*, 49(7), 1010–1034.

Week 13 (March 31/April 2): Austerity vs. Social Solidarity

Topics

- Justifying austerity (moral hazard)
- The need for social solidarity

Readings

1. Beutler B. (2017) Solidarity in the EU: A Critique of Solidarity and of the EU. In: Grimm A., Giang S. (eds) *Solidarity in the European Union*. Springer, Cham.
2. Risse, Thomas. (2014), No demos? Identities and the public Sphere in the Euro Crisis. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 52: 1207-1215.
3. Hall, Peter A. (2012) The Economics and Politics of the Euro Crisis, *German Politics*, 21:4, 355-371.
4. Habermas, Jürgen (2013) Democracy, Solidarity and the European Crisis, pp. 4-13 in A.-M. Grozelier, B. Hacker, W. Kowalsky, J. Machnig, H. Meyer and B. Unger (Eds). Roadmap to a Social Europe, Social Europe, www.social-europe.eu.

Week 14 (April 7/9): Freedom of Movement (and Other Rights)

Topics

- Who moves and why does it matter?
- The refugee crisis - implications

Readings

1. Van Houtum, H. and Pijpers, R. (2007), The European Union as a Gated Community: The Two-faced Border and Immigration Regime of the EU. *Antipode*, 39: 291-309.
2. Shimmel, Natalie (2006), Welcome to Europe, but Please Stay Out: Freedom of Movement and the May 2004 Expansion of the European Union, *Berkeley Journal of International Law*, 24, 760
3. Olsen, Tore Vincents (2011) The political constitution of the EU citizen rights regime, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 18:1, 35-52.
4. De Witte F. (2019) Freedom of Movement Needs to Be Defended as the Core of EU Citizenship. In: Bauböck R. (eds) *Debating European Citizenship*. IMISCOE Research Series. Springer, Cham
5. Bellamy R. (2019) State Citizenship, EU Citizenship and Freedom of Movement. In: Bauböck R. (eds) *Debating European Citizenship*. IMISCOE Research Series. Springer, Cham

Week 15 (April 14/16): Conclusions – What do we think about the (future of the) EU?

Topics

- What is the European Union?
- What is the future of the European Union?

Readings

1. Manners, I. (2008), The normative ethics of the EU. *International Affairs*, 84: 45-60.
2. Sangiovanni, A. (2018) Debating the EU's Raison d'Être: On the Relation between Legitimacy and Justice. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*.
3. McNamara, K. R. (2018) Authority Under Construction: The European Union in Comparative Political Perspective. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56: 1510–1525.
4. E. Jones and A. Menon (2019), Europe: Between Dream and Reality, *International Affairs*, Vol. 95, No. 1, pp. 161-180.