

**Political Science 3343F**  
**European Union: The Politics of Integration**  
**Winter 2022**

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SSC 7225

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Course Meetings: Thursday 9:30-11:30 am

Office hours: Thursday 12-1 pm, or by appointment

**Course Description:** European integration has been far from merely economic in character. It has been driven substantially by politics, and suffused with politics at all levels and stages. This course will survey the sources in history of European integration, the main theories accounting for its emergence in the aftermath of the Second World War, and the institutions that have resulted from these developments. How these institutions have changed over time, and whether these changes tend in a state-like and/or democratic direction, will also be addressed. Institutional development will not be assumed, however, and so we will pay close attention to the complexity of change in the post-WWII era, and therefore also to the prospects for stagnation, reversal or advancement in response to the recent financial crisis in Europe. Furthermore, the course will examine how policy is made and implemented within the European Union, and the kinds of policy that have been generated by the EU over the years. Broadly speaking, we will try to determine whether the EU is primarily a neo-liberal phenomenon emphasizing the release of market energies, a budding social democracy, or something in between. We will pay particular attention to monetary integration, asking whether the euro works, and whether it is likely to survive the serious challenges it has faced in recent years. We will also examine the refugee crisis in the context of the development of the EU's common border and external policies, and raise the question of whether Brexit suggests that enlargement is not a one-way street.

**Learning Outcomes:**

Participants will:

- (a) acquire a detailed and theoretically informed understanding of the historical development of the European integration project and its relationship to such key events as the Second World War, the Cold War, and German reunification;
- (b) gain an understanding of the major institutions associated with European integration, their degree of novelty and the degree to which they are capable of successful interaction;
- (c) become capable of linking integration with key policies, such as the common agricultural policy, the construction of the single market, and the currency union;
- (d) learn to critically assess the character and implications of the integration process, including the strengths and weaknesses of an intergovernmental/supranational hybrid and the prospects for its persistence over time.

**Prerequisite:**

Political Science 2231E or 2531F/G or 2245E or 2545F/G or International Relations 2701E or 2702E or 2704F/G.

Unless you have either the requisites for this course or written special permission from your Dean to enroll in it, you may be removed from this course and it will be deleted from your record. This decision may not be appealed. You will receive no adjustment to your fees in the event that you are dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites.

**Course Format:**

This course will take place in person, in weekly class meetings. I do, however, reserve the right to shift to an online format if public health circumstances require it. Depending on the numbers, and in order to permit more in-class participation, I will on occasion provide some recorded lecture material in advance of our class meetings. I have found that teaching the EU, given that it is quite complex and highly innovative, requires a significant amount of lecture time. The required readings make their contribution, certainly, and our textbook is excellent, but they can only do so much. The material still needs to be clarified, organized, contextualized, extended, and poked and prodded in numerous ways. The EU, as a fairly challenging and largely unfamiliar set of arrangements, simply calls for this kind of treatment. But a proper introduction to the EU also requires time for student questions, comments, and critiques. I want to hear what students have to say, and to take advantage of the opportunity to do it in person. So, when it proves necessary to achieve this balance, I will post a brief lecture segment ahead of time, and let you know where it is. Don't hesitate to check with me for clarification.

**Course Requirements and Evaluation:**

- (a) two short papers, two pages each (15% total)
- (b) a 10-12-page research paper (40%)
- (c) a three-hour final exam (35%)
- (d) consistent and well-informed participation (10%)

**Short Papers:** Each paper will address a question tied in with a specific journal article. Students will be asked to submit two such papers. In the first case, the choice will be between the Gilbert and Glencross readings from week four. In the second case, your choice will be between the Follesdal and Hix reading from week six and the Mayoral and Perez reading from week seven. The paper will be due before the class meeting for the week in question. Each paper must be two and only two pages in length.

**Research Paper:** Students will be expected to produce a well-researched and argumentative paper on a question tightly related to the themes of the seminar. A fuller description of this assignment, with a set of proposed questions, will appear on the OWL site. Students are strongly encouraged to discuss important developmental steps with the professor, such as the identification of a thesis statement or overarching theoretical perspective. The paper will be due **December 2, 11:55 pm.**

**Final Exam:** Students will be provided in advance with nine broad-ranging questions. Six of these questions will appear on the exam, with students required to produce three one-hour essays. The exam date will be determined by the registrar.

**Participation:** Students will be expected to participate regularly and constructively in our weekly sessions. Students will be given partial credit for attendance. Beyond that, participation

will be evaluated based on the following considerations: relevance, responsiveness to the material laid out in assigned readings and lecture segments, and insightfulness. I will provide questions in advance to guide your preparation. Keep in mind that a well-informed and helpful question can be an important element in course participation. And keep in mind that our discussion segments will play an important role in preparing you for all other graded course components.

### **Required Textbook:**

Simon Bulmer, Owen Parker, Ian Bache, Stephen George and Charlotte Burns, *Politics in the European Union* (Oxford University Press, 2020 [5<sup>th</sup> Edition]). Western's bookstore has copies of this textbook available for purchase, and provides access to the link for the digital options.

## **Course Readings**

### **Week One: Introduction** (September 8)

No required readings.

### **Week Two: Early Postwar Europe and the Traditional Explanatory Approaches** (September 15)

Bulmer et al., chapters 1, 5, and 6.

### **Week Three: From the Rome to the Lisbon Treaties** (September 22)

Bulmer et al., chapters 7-10.

### **Week Four: Theoretical Reflections** (September 29)

Mark Gilbert, "Narrating the Process: Questioning the Progressive Story of European Integration." *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol. 46, no. 3 (2008).

Andrew Glencross, "Altiero Spinelli and the Idea of the US Constitution as a Model for Europe: The Promises and Pitfalls of an Analogy." *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol. 47, no. 3 (2009).

Bulmer et al., chapter 4.

### **Week Five: Commission and Council** (October 6)

Bulmer et al., chapters 12-14.

### **Week Six: Parliament, Parties, and Democracy** (October 13)

Bulmer et al., chapters 15 and 3 (pp. 54-63).

Andreas Follendal and Simon Hix, "Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik." *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol. 44, no. 3 (September 2006).

Oliver Treib, "Euroscepticism is Here to Stay: What Cleavage Theory Can Teach Us About the 2019 European Parliament Elections." *Journal of European Public Policy* vol. 28, no. 2 (February 2021).

### **Week Seven: The European Judiciary** (October 20)

Bulmer et al., chapters 2 (pp. 23-29), and 16.

Karen J. Alter and R. Daniel Kelemen, "Understanding the European Court's Political Power," and Jeremy Rabkin, "A Strange Institution," in Hubert Zimmermann and Andreas Dur, eds., *Key Controversies in European Integration* (Palgrave, 2016), pp. 80-96.

Juan A. Mayoral and Aida Torres Perez, "On Judicial Mobilization: Entrepreneurship for Policy Change at Times of Crisis." *Journal of European Integration* vol. 40, no. 6 (2018).

**Week Eight: EU Governance, Interests, and Identity** (October 29)

Bulmer et al., chapter 2 (pp. 30-42), 3 (pp. 46-54), and 17.

Nathaniel Copsey, *Rethinking the European Union* (Palgrave, 2015), chapter 2.

**\*\*Break Week** (November 3)

**Week Nine: Policy-Making, the Single Market, and the Common Agricultural Policy** (November 10)

Bulmer et al., chapters 18, 19, and 21.

**Week Ten: Economic and Monetary Union and the Financial Crisis** (November 17)

Bulmer et al., chapters 11 (pp. 186-90) and 20.

Paul Krugman, "Eurotrashed." *The New York Times Magazine* (January 12, 2011).

Erik Jones, R. Daniel Kelemen, and Sophie Meunier, "Failing Forward? The Euro Crisis and the Incomplete Nature of European Integration." *Comparative Political Studies* vol. 49, no. 7 (2016).

**Week Eleven: Common Borders and the Politics of Migration** (November 24)

Bulmer et al., chapters 23, and 11 (pp. 190-194).

Sandrino Smeets and Natascha Zaun, "What is Intergovernmental About the EU's '(New) Intergovernmentalist' Turn? Evidence from the Eurozone and Asylum Crises." *West European Politics* vol. 44, no. 4 (2021).

**Week Twelve: Brexit and the New Democratic Deficit** (December 1)

Bulmer et al., chapter 11 (pp. 194-197), and the online Brexit Supplement.

Michael Keating, "Taking Back Control? Brexit and the Territorial Constitution of the United Kingdom." *Journal of European Public Policy* vol. 29, no. 4 (2022).

R. Daniel Kelemen, "The European Union's Authoritarian Equilibrium." *Journal of European Public Policy* vol. 47, no. 3 (2020).

**Week Thirteen: Environment, Enlargement, and the Common Foreign and Security Policy** (December 8)

Bulmer et al., chapters 22, 25, and 26.

**APPENDIX TO UNDERGRADUATE COURSE OUTLINES  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**Prerequisite checking - the student's responsibility**

"Unless you have either the requisites for this course or written special permission from your Dean to enroll in it, you may be removed from this course and it will be deleted from your record. This decision may not be appealed. You will receive no adjustment to your fees in the event that you are dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites."

Essay course requirements

With the exception of 1000-level courses, most courses in the Department of Political Science are essay courses. Total written assignments (excluding examinations) will be at least 3,000 words in Politics 1020E, at least 5,000 words in a full course numbered 2000 or above, and at least 2,500 words in a half course numbered 2000 or above.

**Use of Personal Response Systems ("Clickers")**

"Personal Response Systems ("clickers") may be used in some classes. If clickers are to be used in a class, it is the responsibility of the student to ensure that the device is activated and functional. Students must see their instructor if they have any concerns about whether the clicker is malfunctioning.

Students must use only their own clicker. If clicker records are used to compute a portion of the course grade:

- the use of somebody else's clicker in class constitutes a scholastic offence,
- the possession of a clicker belonging to another student will be interpreted as an attempt to commit a scholastic offence."

**Security and Confidentiality of Student Work** (refer to current Western Academic Calendar

(<http://www.westerncalendar.uwo.ca/>)

**"Submitting or Returning Student Assignments, Tests and Exams** - All student assignments, tests and exams will be handled in a secure and confidential manner. Particularly in this respect, leaving student work unattended in public areas for pickup is not permitted."

**Duplication of work**

Undergraduate students who submit similar assignments on closely related topics in two different courses must obtain the consent of both instructors prior to the submission of the assignment. If prior approval is not obtained, each instructor reserves the right not to accept the assignment.

### **Grade adjustments**

In order to ensure that comparable standards are applied in political science courses, the Department may require instructors to adjust final marks to conform to Departmental guidelines.

### **Academic Offences**

"Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site:

[http://westerncalendar.uwo.ca/PolicyPages.cfm?PolicyCategoryID=1&Command=showCategory&Keywords=scholastic&SubHeadingID=189&SelectedCalendar=Live&ArchiveID=#SubHeading\\_189](http://westerncalendar.uwo.ca/PolicyPages.cfm?PolicyCategoryID=1&Command=showCategory&Keywords=scholastic&SubHeadingID=189&SelectedCalendar=Live&ArchiveID=#SubHeading_189)

### **Submission of Course Requirements**

ESSAYS, ASSIGNMENTS, TAKE-HOME EXAMS MUST BE SUBMITTED ACCORDING TO PROCEDURES SPECIFIED BY YOUR INSTRUCTOR (I.E., IN CLASS, DURING OFFICE HOURS, TA'S OFFICE HOURS) OR UNDER THE INSTRUCTOR'S OFFICE DOOR.

**THE MAIN OFFICE DOES NOT DATE-STAMP OR ACCEPT ANY OF THE ABOVE.**

### **Attendance Regulations for Examinations**

**EXAMINATIONS/ATTENDANCE** (Sen. Min. Feb.4/49, May 23/58, S.94, S.3538, S.3632, S.04-097) A student is entitled to be examined in courses in which registration is maintained, subject to the following limitations:

A student may be debarred from writing the final examination for failure to maintain satisfactory academic standing throughout the year.

Any student who, in the opinion of the instructor, is absent too frequently from class or laboratory periods in any course will be reported to the Dean of the Faculty offering the course (after due warning has been given). On the recommendation of the Department concerned, and with the permission of the Dean of that Faculty, the student will be debarred from taking the regular examination in the course. The Dean of the Faculty offering the course will communicate that decision to the Dean of the Faculty of registration.

### **Medical Policy, Late Assignments, etc.**

Students registered in Social Science should refer to <http://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/procedures/index.html> for information on Medical Policy, Term Tests, Final Examinations, Late Assignments, Short Absences, Extended Absences, Documentation and other Academic Concerns. Non-Social Science students should refer to their home faculty's academic counselling office.

### **University Policy on Cheating and Academic Misconduct**

**Plagiarism:** Students must write their essays and assignments in their own words. Whenever students take an idea, or a passage from another author, they must acknowledge their debt both by using quotation marks where appropriate and by proper referencing such as footnotes or citations. Plagiarism is a major academic offence." (see Scholastic Offence Policy in the Western Academic Calendar).

**Plagiarism Checking:** "All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of

detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com ( <http://www.turnitin.com> )."

**Multiple-choice tests/exams:** "Computer-marked multiple-choice tests and/or exams may be subject to submission for similarity review by software that will check for unusual coincidences in answer patterns that may indicate cheating."

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and Academic Policy. [http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/academic\\_policies/index.html](http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/academic_policies/index.html)

## PLAGIARISM\*

In writing scholarly papers, you must keep firmly in mind the need to avoid plagiarism.

Plagiarism is the unacknowledged borrowing of another writer's words or ideas. Different forms of writing require different types of acknowledgement. The following rules pertain to the acknowledgements necessary in academic papers.

A. In using another writer's words, you must both place the words in quotation marks and acknowledge that the words are those of another writer.

You are plagiarizing if you use a sequence of words, a sentence or a paragraph taken from other writers without acknowledging them to be theirs. Acknowledgement is indicated either by (1) mentioning the author and work from which the words are borrowed in the text of your paper; or by (2) placing a footnote number at the end of the quotation in your text, and including a correspondingly numbered footnote at the bottom of the page (or in a separate reference section at the end of your essay). This footnote should indicate author, title of the work, place and date of publication, and page number.

Method (2) given above is usually preferable for academic essays because it provides the reader with more information about your sources and leaves your text uncluttered with parenthetical and tangential references. In either case words taken from another author must be enclosed in quotation marks or set off from your text by single spacing and indentation in such a way that they cannot be mistaken for your own words. Note that you cannot avoid indicating quotation simply by changing a word or phrase in a sentence or paragraph which is not your own.

B. In adopting other writers' ideas, you must acknowledge that they are theirs.

You are plagiarizing if you adopt, summarize, or paraphrase other writers' trains of argument, ideas or sequences of ideas without acknowledging their authorship according to the method of acknowledgement given in 'A' above. Since the words are your own, they need not be enclosed in quotation marks. Be certain, however, that the words you use are entirely your own; where you must use words or phrases from your source, these should be enclosed in quotation marks, as in 'A' above.

Clearly, it is possible for you to formulate arguments or ideas independently of another writer who has expounded the same ideas, and whom you have not read. Where you got your ideas is the important consideration here. Do not be afraid to present an argument or idea without acknowledgement to another writer, if you have arrived at it entirely independently.

Acknowledge it if you have derived it from a source outside your own thinking on the subject.

In short, use of acknowledgements and, when necessary, quotation marks is necessary to distinguish clearly between what is yours and what is not. Since the rules have been explained to you, if you fail to make this distinction you

instructor very likely will do so for you, and they will be forced to regard your omission as intentional literary theft. Plagiarism is a serious offence which may result in a student's receiving an 'F' in a course or, in extreme cases in their suspension from the University.

\*Reprinted by permission of the Department of History

Adopted by the council of the Faculty of Social Science, October, 1970; approved by the Dept. of History, August 13, 1991

**Accessibility at Western:** Please contact [poliscie@uwo.ca](mailto:poliscie@uwo.ca) if you require any information in plain text format, or if any other accommodation can make the course material and/or physical space accessible to you.

All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com ( <http://www.turnitin.com> ).

## **SUPPORT SERVICES**

The Registrar's office can be accessed for Student Support Services at <http://www.registrar.uwo.ca>

Student Support Services (including the services provided by the USC listed here) can be reached at: <http://westernusc.ca/services/>

Student Development Services can be reached at: <http://www.sdc.uwo.ca/>

Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to [Mental Health@Western](mailto:MentalHealth@Western) <http://www.uwo.ca/uwocom/mentalhealth/> for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.