

POLS Y200 Transnational Politics of Europe Indiana University Bloomington
Department of Political Science
Spring 2006
Tues & Thurs 11:15 AM – 12:30 pm
WH 121

The Transnational Politics of Europe

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Office Hours: Tuesdays 2-4 pm and by appointment; Woodburn Hall 403

The protests at Gothenburg in 2001 were to European integration what the Battle of Seattle in 1999 was to global trade and financial integration. In this course, we will explore how citizens seek to fight for their interests in response to globalization and European integration. In the European Union, more and more decisions are made outside of national channels of representation—think, for instance, of Europe's common currency. Where does that leave democracy? How are citizens to articulate their preferences? We will study cross-border forms of protest and interest representation, focusing on the European Union as the region with the most institutionalized form of interstate cooperation.

Readings will draw on social movement theory, European integration, international political economy, and international organizations.

Goals:

1. understanding the European Union and the particular challenges it poses for democracy;
2. examining whether and how citizens organize cross-nationally to advance their interests;
3. developing critical reading skills of complex social science texts;
4. analyzing contemporary news accounts about the rapidly evolving politics of European integration.

Required text available at the IU Bookstore:

John McCormick, *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*. Palgrave Macmillan 2005. ISBN 1-4039-4451-2. 3rd edition.

Other readings will be available online (Oncourse or Wells Library reserves).

Requirements:

- 1) Three unannounced quizzes on the assigned readings, lectures, and discussions. Each is worth 10 percent of your final grade (total 30 points). This means you must keep up with the readings and take good notes on each class session.
- 2) A midterm and a final, each worth 20 percent of your final grade (total 40 points).
- 3) A 5-page paper analyzing coverage of a topic in European politics in three or more European newspapers. This report is worth 20 percent of your grade. The paper is due on April 24.
- 4) Participation is worth 10 percent of your grade and includes regular attendance, discussion contributions, short written in-class assignments, and professional conduct (e.g. punctuality, respect for fellow course members, etc.). Learning is a collective endeavor, so your contributions to group discussions matter to all of us. You are responsible for doing the readings in advance of each session *and* participating actively in the classroom. You may also raise questions by contacting me individually. **Please let**

me know if anything is unclear—chances are other students share your questions, but the only way for me to know is if you tell me!

- 5) Attendance is mandatory. If you attend class regularly, chances are you will perform better on exams and assignments than if you don't. If you must miss a class, it is YOUR responsibility to ask your colleagues for notes and updates.

Academic Integrity

Just as a free market depends on respect for private property, the free exchange of ideas depends on acknowledging other people's work. As you know, Indiana University's Code of Student Rights, Responsibilities, and Conduct (III.A: Academic Misconduct, and IV.A (1): Jurisdiction concerning Academic Misconduct) prohibits plagiarism).

Hence, you may not:

- borrow, buy, or steal a paper;
- pay anybody to write your paper;
- copy from another source without citation (whether deliberately or accidentally);
- use anybody's ideas without acknowledging the source;
- stay too close to the language of the original source when paraphrasing (EVEN IF you acknowledge the source).

If you're not sure about when and how to acknowledge your sources, you may find the Campus Writing Program's information helpful: <http://www.indiana.edu/~wts/wts/plagiarism.html>. Please ask me if you have any questions.

Students with Disabilities:

If you have a disability or special learning needs, please contact me right away so we can make the necessary arrangements. You may also contact Disability Services for Students for assistance. The DSS website is <http://www.indiana.edu/~iubdss/>.

News Analysis (due April 24)

Goals:

1. regularly reading foreign press and acquiring familiarity with a range of news sources outside of the US;
2. through immersion in one current political issue, understanding how EU politics works;
3. analyzing how political ideas and interests affect news reporting and commentary.

Each student will produce a written news analysis (approximately 5 double-spaced pages) comparing how three or more European newspapers have reported your chosen topic. An outline (detailing news sources, main structure of your paper, and a work schedule) is due on March 29, 2007. Students are strongly encouraged to meet with me at least once to discuss the selection of your paper topic and news sources.

Outline (due March 29, 2007):

- What newspapers will you be monitoring? What do you know about the general ideological tendencies of each: Does it favor state involvement in the economy or a free market with a strictly non-interventionist state? What social values (e.g. on family policy etc.) does the paper endorse? What is the paper's general take on European integration—should there be more or less of it? What kinds of foreign policy does the paper advocate?
- What's the timeline for your work? What will you be doing between March 29 (the due date of the outline) and April 24 (when the paper is due)?

Suggested format of News Analysis (due April 24, 2007):

Introduction

- State the problem/issue/controversy that your paper will examine.
- Who are the main actors? What are their interests?
- Define key terms.
- What are your sources?
- Thesis statement: What is your position on the issue and how did you arrive at it?

Body

- State the arguments that support your position. Explain these arguments using details from your sources. Use footnotes to provide quotation and paraphrase from newspapers. Be sure to cite properly.
- State the arguments that speak against your position. Explain these arguments using details from your sources. Use footnotes to provide quotation and paraphrase from newspapers. Be sure to cite properly.
- Is there a general tendency on the issue among the newspapers that you have surveyed? Or do they disagree widely? How does their position on this issue fit with their general ideological outlook (as defined by stance on free market versus state intervention, EU integration, foreign policy, social values)?
- Do you find that the newspapers vary significantly in the quality of reporting?

Conclusion

- Restate your main position, focusing in particular on why the counterarguments do not hold up to scrutiny.
- What implications does this issue, and your position on it, have for other areas of the world?

Resources:

- Using outlines: <http://www.indiana.edu/~wts/pamphlets/outlines.shtml>
- How should you use evidence? See http://www.indiana.edu/~wts/pamphlets/using_evidence.shtml
- What is plagiarism and how do you avoid it? See <http://www.indiana.edu/~wts/pamphlets/plagiarism.shtml>
- How should you cite sources? See http://www.indiana.edu/~wts/pamphlets/mla_style.shtml
- How do you write a thesis statement? See http://www.indiana.edu/~wts/pamphlets/thesis_statement.shtml

Criteria for evaluation:

Successful papers will

- use the required number and kind of sources
- provide a clear thesis statement
- answer the question(s) posed thoroughly
- support assertions well using sources
- use proper citation of sources
- be clearly written.

Questions? Concerns?

Please ask me if anything is unclear! The sooner you raise any questions, the more everybody can learn from them.

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Current events

Reading an EU-based newspaper and/or news digest is essential for understanding EU politics. We will refer to current developments in each session. Here are a few suggestions for keeping abreast of Brussels politics:

- The *Financial Times* is probably the single best source in English. You can get a 15-week student subscription to the print edition for \$32 (https://www.ftnewspaper.com/cgi-bin/ftusa.cgi/fess/vanity_us_student). You can search the online edition via the Library's Online Full-Text Journals and Newspapers search tab. Furthermore, the current edition is available online at www.ft.com.
- The European Voice (www.europeanvoice.com) is a weekly owned by The Economist (which is another good source you should look at occasionally at www.economist.com).
- *EUPolitix.com* is a news digest with links to European press articles; it also offers briefs on legislation in the pipeline with links to the relevant documents. Very up-to-date.
- *EUObserver.com* is a news digest affiliated with the Euro-skeptic Group for a Europe of Democracies and Diversities in the European Parliament. It also offers links to European press articles.
- The EU's own news service is at http://europa.eu.int/news/index_en.htm.

Class Schedule

1/9/07 Introduction

Part I: Understanding the European Union

- 1/11/07 What is the European Union?**
McCormick, *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*.
Palgrave Macmillan 200, 1-26.
- 1/16/07 The idea of Europe**
McCormick, 27-51.
- 1/18/07 The evolution of the EU**
McCormick, 52-78.
- 1/23/07 The institutions of the EU**
McCormick, 79-107.
- 1/25/07 The EU and the member states**
McCormick, 108-130.
- 1/30/07 Discussing the paper assignment**
Please come prepared with some ideas for a paper topic, based on your perusal of European current events.
- 2/1/07 Library Information Session with Dr. Robert Goehlert**
Meet in the Library Information Commons, clusters to be announced
- 2/6/07 The EU and its citizens**
McCormick, 131-156.
- 2/8/07 Economic policy**
McCormick, 157-180.

- 2/13/07** **Improving the quality of life**
McCormick, 181-207.
- 2/15/07** **The EU and the world**
McCormick, 208-232.
- 2/20/07** **Review session**
Please send me at least one question that you would like to discuss in the review session. Use the Oncourse message feature for this purpose.
- 2/22/07** **Midterm Examination**

Part 2: Understanding Citizen Responses to Economic Integration

- 2/27/07** **The Battle of Seattle as defining moment of transnational anti-globalization activism**
In-class screening of "This is what democracy looks like" (film by Jill Freidberg, Rick Rowley, 2000).
- 3/1/07** **The "Battle of Seattle": What was it about?**
Barbara Epstein, "Not Your Parents' Protest," *Dissent* 47:2 (2000), 8-11 [Oncourse].

Margaret Levi and David Olson, "The Battles in Seattle," *Politics & Society* 28:3 (2000), 309-329 [Oncourse].

Francis Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, "Power Repertoires and Globalization," *Politics & Society* 28:3 (2000), 413-430 [Oncourse].
- 3/6/07** **Does the EU have a democratic deficit?**
Robert A. Dahl, "A Democratic Dilemma: System Effectiveness versus Citizen Participation," *Political Science Quarterly* 109:1 (1994), 281-304 [Oncourse].

Andrew Moravcsik, "In Defense of the 'Democratic Deficit': Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40:4 (2002), 603-624 [Oncourse].
- 3/8/07** **Does the EU have a democratic deficit? (cont'd)**
Philippe C. Schmitter, *How to Democratize the European Union ... And Why Bother?* (Lanham, MD: 2000), chs. 1 & 5 [Wells reserves].
- 3/10-18/07** **Spring Break**
- 3/20/07** **Public opinion: What do European citizens think? And does it matter?**
Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, "Calculation, Community and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration," *European Union Politics* 6:4 (2005), 419-443 [Oncourse].
- 3/22/07** **The Constitution referendums: What explains the failure of the European Constitution?**
Matt Qvortrup, "The Three Referendums on the European Constitution Treaty in 2005," *The Political Quarterly* 77:1 (2006), 89-97 [Oncourse].

Steven Philip Kramer, "The End of French *Europe*?" *Foreign Affairs* 85:4 (2006), 126-138 [Oncourse].

3/27/07

Political parties in the EU

Gary Marks, Carole J. Wilson, and Leonard Ray, "National Political Parties and European Integration," *American Journal of Political Science* 36:3 (2002), 585-594 [Oncourse].

3/29/07

What is the role of social movements in democratic politics?

*** *Paper outline due****

Herbert Kitschelt, "Social Movements, Political Parties, and Democratic Theory," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 528 (1993): 13-29 [Oncourse].

4/3/07

Case study 1: ATTAC and the European anti-globalization movement

Marcus Angelovici, "Organizing Against Globalization: The Case of ATTAC in France," *Politics & Society* 30:3 (2002), 427-463 [Oncourse].

ATTAC, "Platform of the International Movement ATTAC," adopted at the international meeting of Dec. 11-12, 1998, available at

<http://www.attac.org/spip.php?article2&lang=en>

4/5/07

Case study 1, cont'd

Felix Kolb, "The Impact of Transnational Protest on Social Movement Organizations: Mass Media and the Making of ATTAC Germany," in Donnatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, eds., *Transnational Protest and Global Activism* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), 95-120 [Wells reserves].

4/10/07

Case study 2: The environmental movement

Russell J. Dalton, Steven Recchia, Robert Rohrschneider, "The Environmental Movement and the Modes of Political Action," *Comparative Political Studies* 36:7 (2003), 743-771 [Oncourse].

4/12/07

Case study 2, cont'd

Christopher Rootes, "A Limited Transnationalization? The British Environmental Movement," in Donnatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, eds., *Transnational Protest and Global Activism* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), 21-44 [Wells reserves].

4/17/07

Case study 3: The Battle of Genoa and violence as a protest tactic

Mary Black [pseudonym], "Letter from Inside the Black Bloc," *Alternet*, 25 July 2001, available at <http://www.alternet.org/story/11230/> .

Kenny Bruno, "After Carlo Giuliani, Peaceful Protests Must Continue," CorpWatch, 25 July 2001, available at

<http://www.corpwatch.org/article.php?id=400> .

John Vidal, "The Battle for Genoa," *Guardian*, 18 July 2001, available at

<http://www.commondreams.org/views01/0718-02.htm> .

Walden Bello, "The Battle of Genoa," *The Nation*, 23 July 2001, available at

<http://www.thenation.com/doc/20010723/bello20010721> .

4/19/07

Policing Protest Demonstrations

Richard Ericson and Aaron Doyle, "Globalization and the Policing of Protest: The Case of APEC 1997," *British Journal of Sociology* 50 (1999), 589-608 [Oncourse].

Mike King and David Waddington, "Flashpoints Revisited: A Critical Application to the Policing of Anti-Globalization Protests," *Politics & Society* 15:3 (2005), 255-282 [Oncourse].

4/24/07 Case study 4: The role of online activism

***** Term paper due*****

Eszter Hargittai, "The Digital Divide and What to Do About It," in Derek C. Jones, *The New Economy Handbook* (San Diego: Academic Press, 2003), available at <http://www.eszter.com/research/pubs/hargittai-digitaldivide.pdf>

Donnatella della Porta and Lorenzo Mosca, "Global-net for Global Movements? A Network of Networks for a Movement of Movements," *Journal of Public Policy* 25:1 (2005), 165-190 [Oncourse].

4/26/07 Final exam review

Please send me at least one question that you would like to discuss in the review session. Use the Oncourse message feature for this purpose.

5/1/07 10:15 AM - 12:15 PM Final Exam in WH121