Carleton University
Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies
Winter 2024
PSCI 5113 / EURR 5113 Democracy in the European Union
Wednesday, 6pm – 9pm ONLINE SYNCHRONOUS (TEAMS)

Office Hours: Teams, by appointment.
Email: *akayshahumniski@cunet.carleton.ca*
All email communication is to be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or
Brightspace.

Course description
The aim of this course is to explore the mobilization of democracy across the European Union
(EU). As a multi-level normative power, the EU has been one of the most tireless promoters of
democracy around the globe, however with the onslaught of over 15 years of crisis (polycrisis),
the EU's democratic legitimacy has been called into question. This course draws attention to the
foundational values, institutions, and approaches that undergird European integration, and it
aims to provide students with tools to interpret and engage with the dominant debates around
democracy in the EU.

First, this course will delve into the foundations, myths, and institutions that undergird the
European integration and the EU's democracy. Second, it explores the role of political figures in
shaping Europe's agenda and democratic governance. Third, it presents the impact of polycrisis
on democracy in Europe and unpacks the EU's promotion of its democratic values.

This course draws on advanced understandings/readings and relies on student contributions, as
such, it is solely designed for students at the graduate level.

Course Format
This course will be seminar style, hosted in a synchronous online manner. Students are
expected to have a good internet connection with webcam and microphone to facilitate
complete participation.

Learning outcomes
At the end of the course students should:
- be familiar with different approaches, positions, and debates around democracy in the
European Union
- understand the roles and functions of the democratic institutions and actors of the
European Union
- be able to discuss advanced academic debates about democracy and apply this
knowledge to the contemporary European context
- develop critical perspectives on policies, processes, and practices of democracy
- gain practical skills in writing, reviewing, and editing a research proposal and paper
- gain experience engaging in discourse analysis and collaborating with peers

Course Requirements (overview)

Attendance/Participation	20%

Presentation 1	10%
Presentation 2	10%
SOTEU Activity	5%
Peer Review	10%
Final Paper Outline	15%
Final Paper	30%

Students must complete **_all_** course requirements to obtain a final grade.

Respect in the Classroom
The promotion of equitable participation and respect for diversity in the classroom are key priorities of this course. I will gladly honour your request to address you by an alternate name or gender pronoun, please let me know and I can alter my records.

In order to foster an environment of open and inclusive discussion in the classroom, please listen to your peers while they are speaking, respond respectfully, and address your classmates by their preferred name and gender pronoun during class discussions.

Late Penalties and Extensions
All assignments should be uploaded to Brightspace by 11:59pm on the due date and they must be uploaded in an accessible format (doc, docx, pdf, etc.). Extensions on assignments will be granted at the instructor's discretion and must be acquired in advance of the due date to avoid late penalties. Students will be penalized up to 3% per day for late submissions, however, should appropriate documentation be provided these penalties would be waived

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Course Requirements (in detail)

Attendance/Participation (20%): Students are tasked with attending weekly seminars and participating in class discussions. As a seminar, this course is heavily based on student engagement and collaboration, which are enhanced through regular attendance and participation. Full marks in this category requires active, consistent, and respectful contribution across all class discussions and activities.

Presentations (2x 10% = 20%): Students are tasked with developing and delivering two (2) presentations on the assigned readings throughout the semester (**note.** All students must complete at least one (1) presentation by 14 February 2023). They are expected to identify the main themes and engage in analysis of the readings. These presentations should **not** be summaries of the readings but rather students are asked to serve as a course facilitator for the week. Students should prepare 2-3 discussion questions or prompts for the class in line with their presentation. Presentations should be approx. 10-15 minutes and draw on two (2) of the assigned readings for the week. Students will submit their speaking notes following the presentation.

SOTEU Activity (5%): Students are tasked with participating in a collaborative analysis of State of the European Union (SOTEU) addresses. Students will have the opportunity to perform an analysis of the discourses mobilized by the Commission president in the SOTEU and engage in collective discussion. Students are expected to come to class prepared and ready collaborate with their peers.

Research Paper Outline (10% + 5%= 15%): Students are tasked with completing an outline of their proposed final research paper. The research paper outline should clearly state the research question, hypothesis, and thesis statement as well as a breakdown of the proposed line of argumentation/body paragraphs and a preliminary bibliography. Students will submit their outlines for peer-review and present their proposed paper. This presentation should be informal and be approx. 10 minutes in length. Research paper outlines will be presented and peer-reviewed during the last two weeks of the semester.

Outline Peer-review (10%): Students are tasked with conducting a peer-review of a research paper outline. This review should assess the content, line of argumentation, evidentiary support, etc. of the proposed research paper and provide evaluation and constructive recommendations. Students will deliver their peer-review to the class following the presentation of the outline and engage in further discussion. A peer-review template will be provided to guide this review. This presentation should be informal and approx. 5-10minutes in length.

Final Research Paper (30%): Students are tasked with writing an original research paper on a topic relevant to the course. This paper should be argumentative and supported by peer-reviewed academic research. Students are expected to draw on ten (10) or more peer-reviewed sources inclusive of at least three (3) readings from the syllabus. Final papers should be 20 pages (approx. 5000 words) in length.

All submitted work for this course should be delivered in an accessible format (pdf or Word), include complete references and bibliography, and be free of grammatical/spelling errors.

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Introduction- January 10

- A. Hurrelmann (2018), "Democracy in the European Union", in: E. Brunet-Jailly, A. Hurrelmann and A. Verdun, eds., European Union Governance and Policy-Making: A Canadian Perspective (University of Toronto Press), 339- 358.

Democracy and Democratic Institutions- January 17

- M. Pollack (2005) "THEORIZING THE EUROPEAN UNION: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance?" *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 357–98, https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.8.082103.104858.
- Warleigh (2001), Understanding European Institutions (Taylor and Francis). 1-21.
- M. Franklin, M and S. B. Hobolt (2015), "European Elections and the European Voter", in J. Richardson and S. Mazey, eds., *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*, 4th edition (London: Routledge), 399-418.
- S. Baglioni, S and A. Hurrelmann (2016), "The Eurozone Crisis and Citizen Engagement in EU Affairs", *West European Politics* 39:11, 104-124.
- C.Roederer-Rynning (2019), "Passage to Bicameralism: Lisbon's Ordinary Legislative Procedure at Ten", Comparative European Politics 17(1), 957–973

Politicizing European Integration – Building Europe's Democracy?- January 24

- V. Schmidt (2005), "Democracy in Europe: The Impact of European Integration", Perspectives on Politics 3:4, 761- 779.
- P. De Wilde (2011.). "No Polity for Old Politics? A Framework for Analyzing the Politicization of European Integration." Journal of European Integration 33 (5): 559–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2010.546849
- J. Päivi (2018). "Retrieving the 'Subject' of European Integration." European Law Journal 25 (1): 6–20. https://doi.org/10.1111/eulj.12301.

- J. Habermas (2001), "Why Europe Needs a Constitution", *New Left Review* 42:11, 5-26.
- B. Van Apeldoorn (2002), *Transnational Capitalism and the Struggle over European Integration* (London: Routledge).

Myths and Narratives of the European Project - January 31

- V. Della Sala (2016). "Europe's Odyssey?: Political Myth and the European Union." Nations and Nationalism 22 (3): 524–41. https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12159
- T. Lahdesmaki (2019). "The Founding Myths of EU Europe and the Workings of Power in the EU Heritage and History Initiatives." European Journal of Cultural Studies 22(5-6):781- 798
- E. Jones (2010). "The Economic Mythology of European Integration." Journal of Common Market Studies 48 (January): 89–109. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2009.02043.x.
- M. O'Dwyer (2018) "The Intersectional Politics of Bullshit." *EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS AND GENDER* 1, no. 3: 405–420 9
- H. MacRae (2010). "The EU as a Gender Equal Polity: Myths and Realities." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 48 (1): 155–74. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2009.02046.x.

Social Europe: Expanding the European Agenda and "Citizenship"- February 7

- P. Vessan, F. Corti, and S. Sabato (2021). "The European Commission's entrepreneurship and the social dimension of the European Semester: from the European Pillar of Social Rights to the Covid-19 pandemic." Comparative European Politics, 19(3): 277-295.
- C. Hermann (2017). "Crisis, Structural Reform and the Dismantling of the European Social Model(s)." Economic and Industrial Democracy 38 (1): 51–68. https://doi.org/10.1177/0143831X14555708.

- C. Zhang and N. Lillie (2015), "Industrial Citizenship, Cosmopolitanism and European Integration", *European Journal of Social Theory* 18:1, 93- 111.
- D. Vaughan-Whitehead (2015). "The European Social Model in times of crisis: An overview." In Daniel Vaughan-Whitehead (eds.) The European Social Model in Crisis: Is Europe Losing Its Soul? Cheltenham, UK: Elgar.

- G. Baldi (2018). "Re-Conceptualizing Equality in the Work Place: A Reading of the Latest CJEU's Opinions over the Practice of Veiling." Oxford Journal of Law and Religion 7 (2): 296–312. https://doi.org/10.1093/ojlr/rwy028.

The European Commission and its Leaders -February 14th

- H. Müller (2017). "Setting Europe's Agenda: The Commission Presidents and Political Leadership." Journal of European Integration 39 (2): 129–42.
- H. Kassim, and B. Laffan (2019). "The Juncker Presidency: The 'Political Commission' in Practice." JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies 57: 49– 61. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12941
- G. Abels, and J. M. Mushaben. (2020). "Great Expectations, Structural Limitations: Ursula von Der Leyen and the Commission's New Equality Agenda." JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies 58 (S1): 121–32. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13102.
- U. Von der Leyen (2019). "My agenda for Europe: Political Guidelines for the Next European Commission 2019-2014." https://doi.org/10.2775/018127.
- https://www.parlementairemonitor.nl/9353000/d/political%20guidelines%20-%20juncker%20commission.pdf

State of the European Union: Discourse and Rhetorical Action – February 28

SOTEU Activity (No presentations)

- P. Pansardi, and F. Battegazzorre (2018). "The Discursive Legitimation Strategies of the President of the Commission: A Qualitative Content Analysis of the State of the Union Addresses (SOTEU)." Journal of European Integration 40 (7): 853–71. https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2018.1482286.
- F. Schimmelfennig (2006). "Competition and Community: Constitutional counts, rhetorical action and the institutionalized human rights of the European Union." Journal of European Public Policy 13(8): 1247-1264. DOI: 10.1080=13501760600999557

From the Euro Crisis to Europe in Polycrisis- March 6

- H. Overbeek (2012). "Sovereign Debt Crisis in Euroland: Root Causes and Implications for European Integration." The International Spectator 47 (1): 30–48.
- J. Zeitlin, F. Nicoli, and B. Laffan. (2019). "Introduction: The European Union beyond the Polycrisis? Integration and Politicization in an Age of Shifting Cleavages." Journal of European Public Policy 26 (7): 963–76. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2019.1619803
- J. Leschke, and M. Jepsen (2012). "Introduction: Crisis, Policy Responses and Widening Inequalities in the EU." International Labour Review 151 (4): 289-312. https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1564-913X.2012.00150.X
- M. Moore, and S. Trommer (2021). "Critical Europeans in an Age of Crisis: Irish and Portuguese Protesters' EU Perceptions." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 59 (2): 316–34. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13091.

- M. Karamessini, and J. Rubery (2014). "The Challenge of Austerity for Equality: A Consideration of Eight European Countries in the Crisis." *Revue de l'OFCE* 133: 15–39

March 13 Democratic Legitimacy and Democratic Backsliding

- K. NICOLAïDIS, and R. YOUNGS (2014). "Europe's Democracy Trilemma." *International affairs (London)* 90, no. 6. 1403–1419.
- V. Schmidt (2016). "Reinterpreting the Rules 'by Stealth' in Times of Crisis: A Discursive Institutionalist Analysis of the European Central Bank and the European Commission." West European Politics 39 (5): 1032–52. https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2016.1186389

- Hurrelmann (2019), "Legitimacy and European Union Politics", in: (20 pages) *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), DOI:10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.1112.
- F. Cerutti (2008). "Why Political Identity and Legitimacy Matter in the European Union." In The Search for a European Identity: Values, Policies and Legitimacy of the European Union, edited by Furio Cerutti and Sonia Lucarelli. London, UK: Routledge.
- S. Wöhl, E. Springler, M. Pachel, and B. Zeilinger. (2019). "Fault Lines in European Integration. An Introduction." In Stefanie Wöhl, Elisabeth Springler, Martin Pachel, and Bernhard Zeilinger (eds.) The State of the European Union: Fault Lines in European Integration. New York, USA: Springer.

March 20 Normative Power Europe EU as a "Force for Good"
- S. Lavenex and F. Schimmelfennig (2011), "EU Democracy Promotion in the Neighbourhood: From Leverage to Governance?", *Democratization* 18:4, 885-909.
- I. Manners (2002). "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies 40 (2): 235–58. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-5965.00353
- M. Merlingen. (2007) "Everything is Dangerous: A Critique of 'Normative Power Europe'". Security Dialogue 38: 435-453
- E. Barbe, and E. Johnsson- Nogues. (2008) "The EU as a Modest 'force for good': The European Neighbourhood Policy." International Affairs 84(1): 81-96
- H. Haukkala (2008) "The European Union as a Regional Normative Hegemon: The Case of European Neighbourhood Policy". Europe- Asia Studies 60(9): 1601-1622

Appendix

VII. Statement on Plagiarism

Some departments have a standard statement and some instructors have their own. Either of these options is fine, but please ensure that these statements are consistent with the university's Academic Integrity Policy when it comes to definitions, potential penalties and the like. The policy can be found here.

Note that **submitting without permission substantially the same piece of work more than once for academic credit** is not considered a form of plagiarism. If you wish to prohibit

students from re-using their own work from a different course (or from the same course if they are repeating), or to require students to cite such work, or to seek your permission before doing so, this must be clearly stated in the course outline or assignment instructions. In addition, instructors wishing to prohibit multiple submissions of substantially the same work should be as clear as possible about what they consider to be "substantially the same."

You should also clearly convey your expectations regarding collaboration and group work: If you do ask students to work together on reports, seminar presentations, research projects or other assignments, you should include in your course outline a clear and specific description of **how and to what extent you consider collaboration to be acceptable or appropriate, especially in the completion of written assignments**.

In addition, you should clearly indicate your expectations regarding the use of **Generative Artificial Intelligence tools (e.g. ChatGPT).** Unless you give explicit permission, either generally or for a specific assignment, any use of generative AI tools to produce assessed content is considered a violation of academic integrity standards. If you explicitly permit the use of generative AI, you must provide clear and detailed instructions on which generative AI program students may use and with what limits.

If you have neither a departmental nor an individual statement, something along the following lines would be acceptable:

PLAGIARISM

The University Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as "*presenting, whether intentionally or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own."* This includes reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one's own without proper citation or reference to the original source. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, artworks, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else, including the unauthorized use of generative AI tools (e.g., ChatGPT);
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one's own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Plagiarism is a serious offence that cannot be resolved directly by the course's instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They can include a final grade of "F" for the course.

Intellectual property: Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s). Students registered in the course may take notes and make copies of course materials for their own educational use only. Students are not permitted to reproduce or distribute lecture notes and course materials publicly for commercial or non-commercial purposes without express written consent from the copyright holder(s). As such, no audio or video recording of course lectures or presentations in any format, openly or surreptitiously, in whole or in part, is permitted without the instructor's prior permission.

VIII. Statement on Student Mental Health

As a University student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you.

[You may include the following list or reference this link (https://carleton.ca/wellness/)] :

Emergency Resources (on and off campus): https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/

Carleton Resources:
• Mental Health and Wellbeing: https://carleton.ca/wellness/
• Health & Counselling Services: https://carleton.ca/health/
• Paul Menton Centre: https://carleton.ca/pmc/
• Academic Advising Centre (AAC): https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/
• Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): https://carleton.ca/csas/
• Equity & Inclusivity Communities: https://carleton.ca/equity/

Off Campus Resources:
• Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/
• Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, http://www.crisisline.ca/
• Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/
• Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, https://good2talk.ca/
• The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: https://walkincounselling.com

IX. Requests for Academic Accommodations

[Please include the following text or reference this link (https://students.carleton.ca/course-outline/) on all course outlines, and read it at the beginning of your first few classes to remind

students. For details, see the [accommodations section](#) and the [Course Outline Information on Academic Accommodations](#).]

ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATION

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request the processes are as follows:

Academic consideration for medical or other extenuating circumstances: Students must contact the instructor(s) as soon as possible, and normally no later than 24 hours after the submission deadline for course deliverables. [*Provide any additional information on your requirements for short-term informal accommodations. If you require supporting documentation for short-term considerations, you may only request the [Self-Declaration for Academic Considerations form](#). You may not request medical notes or documentation.*]

Students should also consult the [Course Outline Information on Academic Accommodations](#) for more information. Detailed information about the procedure for requesting academic consideration can be found [here](#).

Pregnancy obligation: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form ([click here](#)).

Religious obligation: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details [click here](#).

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, please request your accommodations for this course through the [Ventus Student Portal](#) at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). Requests made within two weeks will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. For final exams, the deadlines to request accommodations are published in the [University Academic Calendars](#). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (if applicable).

Survivors of Sexual Violence
As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and where survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: https://carleton.ca/equity/sexual-assault-support-services

Accommodation for Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation will be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf

Grading

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts

All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton University e-mail accounts and/or Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton University email accounts and Brightspace.

Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies and Political Science websites are the official course outline.