

Syllabus

PS 341 - Politics of Western Europe and the EU: History and Politics of European Integration

Philipp Kneis

Department of Political Science
300C Social Sciences Hall
Oregon State University
Corvallis, Oregon 97330-6206

Tel. Office: (541) 737-1325

Office Hours: Tuesday, 2-4, Thursday 9:30-10:30,
or per appointment

kneisp@onid.orst.edu

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(living syllabus / subject to change)

1. Course Introduction

This course is an introduction to the history and politics of the European Union. Topics to be covered include the history of ideas of unification, the historical backdrop of European integration, specific issues and challenges for the integration process, such as European security, transatlantic ties, economic motives, European institutions, politics, and the challenges of Eastern enlargement.

The principal goal is to develop an understanding of the complex history of the European integration process, to be able to theorize such processes, in order to comprehend past and present policy challenges.

Furthermore, students will be reading and presenting research articles, in order to develop own research interests and skills. A concluding research paper will be based on research presentations.

The seminar depends on the active participation of every single member of the class.

2. Student Learning Outcomes

The course seeks to develop in students...

- an understanding for the central issues in the history of Europe in the 20th century that led to European unification
- a sense for the complex development of ideas of Europe since antiquity
- an understanding of the driving forces of European unification and integration
- an understanding of recent developments in Europe, and the ability to connect these to historical trends
- an understanding of the necessity to theorize history and politics, and to apply different theoretical models to different circumstances
- the ability to present the basic argument of a scholarly text
- the ability to work collaboratively on a presentation
- the ability to conduct own research and write a research paper based upon what was discussed in class, and the student's own research interest

3. Course Policy

- Attendance is mandatory.
- A seminar thrives on the regular participation of every single member of the group. You are expected to participate actively in the discussions, and you should feel free to do so. This is a place to learn, not a place to be perfect. You do not need to be intimidated. Everyone is in the same boat.
- Respect your fellow students.
- If somebody makes a mistake, be patient and understanding. Make any criticism about the argument and the issue, not about the person.
- People are indeed able to see things differently, even though they have the same facts.
- During the course there may be some unforeseen circumstances which arise that alter the schedule below. In this case it will be YOUR responsibility to be in class to find out what those adjustments might be.
- This is a living syllabus, it may be subject to change.
- If you are experiencing problems with this course, its content, the readings, my teaching style, I strongly encourage you to raise your concerns at the earliest possible moment. You can do so by visiting me during my office hours.
- Student Conduct: To fully understand student conduct expectations (definitions and consequences of plagiarism, cheating, etc.), see <http://oregonstate.edu/studentconduct/regulations/index.php#acdis>.
- The Writing Center provides students with a free consulting service for their writing assignments, see <http://cwl.oregonstate.edu/owl.php>.

- In the case that I feel attendance and reading progress are below reasonable expectations, I reserve the right to do an unannounced quiz at the beginning of a session in order to check on reading progress. These would have 2 questions. If every question is answered correctly, your total point balance will be unaffected. Any question answered wrongly (or not at all) will downgrade your total points by - 0.25 points. You can avoid such tests if everybody attends regularly, participates actively, and does their reading.

4. Required Texts by Session

See Blackboard for further reading assignments.

Session 3: European Unity and Disunity

Hösle, Vittorio. "The European Union and the U.S.A.: Two Complementary Versions of Western 'Empires'?". In: *Symposium (Canadian Journal of Continental Philosophy / Revue canadienne de philosophie continentale)* 14: 1 (2010): 22-51.

Session 4: Concepts of Union

Müller, Harald. "A Theory of Decay of Security Communities with an Application to the Present State of the Atlantic Alliance." *Institute of European Studies, UC Berkeley*. 2006. <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/95n4b4sp>.

Session 5: Nationalism and Identity

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London, New York: Verso, 1983. 1-46.

Geary, Patrick J. *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2002. 1-40.

Session 6: Ideas for European Unification in the 19th and 20th Century

Marcussen, Martin, Thomas Risse, Daniela Engelmann-Martin, Hans Joachim Knopf and Klaus Roscher. "Constructing Europe? The Evolution of French, British and German Nation State Identities." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6:4 (1999, Special Issue): 614-33.

Coudenhove-Kalergi, Richard. "The Pan-European Outlook." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1931-1939)* 10.5 (Sep., 1931): 638-651.

Session 7: The End of the European Empires

Cooper, Robert. "Integration and Disintegration." *Journal of Democracy* 10.1 (1999): 8-21.

Schmidt, Helmut. "Miles to Go: From American Plan to European Union." *Foreign Affairs* 76.3 (May-Jun 1997): 213-221.

Session 8: Class Debate: Is there a European Identity?

Larat, Fabrice. "Present-ing the Past: Political Narratives on European History and the Justification of EU Integration." *German Law Journal* 6.2 (2005): 273-290.

Smith, Anthony D. "National Identity and the Idea of European Unity." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 68.1 (Jan. 1992): 55-76.

Shore, Cris. "Inventing the 'People's Europe': Critical Approaches to European Community 'Cultural Policy.'" *Man, New Series* 28.4 (Dec. 1993): 779-800.

ADDITIONAL TEXT:

Stråth, Bo. "Methodological and Substantive Remarks on Myth, Memory and History in the Construction of a European Community." *German Law Journal* 6.2 (2005): 255-271.

Session 9: European Economy

Rappaport, Armin. "The United States and European Integration: The First Phase." *Diplomatic History* 5.2 (April 1981): 121-150.

Spaak, Paul-Henri. "The Integration of Europe: Dreams and Realities." *Foreign Affairs* 29.1 (Oct. 1950): 94-100.

Hitchcock, William I. "France, the Western Alliance, and the Origins of the Schuman Plan, 1948-1950." *Diplomatic History* 21.4 (Fall 1997): 603-630.

Kunz, Diane B. "The Marshall Plan Reconsidered: A Complex of Motives." *Foreign Affairs* 76.3 (May-Jun. 1997): 162-170.

Session 10: European Defense and the Transatlantic Alliance

Lundestad, Geir. "Empire by Invitation? The United States and Western Europe, 1945-1952." *Journal of Peace Research* 23 (1986): 263-277.

Deighton, Anne. "The European Security and Defence Policy." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 40.4 (2002): 719-41.

Bryan, Ferald J. "George C. Marshall at Harvard: A Study of the Origins and Construction of the 'Marshall Plan' Speech." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 21.3 (Summer 1991): 489-502.

Session 11: Competing Models of Unification, Free Market, Empire, EFTA

Ash, Timothy Garton. "Is Britain European?" *International Affairs* 77.1 (2001): 1-13.

Session 12: Theories of Integration

Parsons, Craig. "Showing Ideas as Causes: The Origins of the European Union." *International Organization* 56.1 (2002): 47-84.

Dietz, Antje, Thomas Dietz. "Introducing the Mosaic of Integration Theory." In: Dietz, Antje, Thomas Dietz, eds. *European Integration Theory*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004. 1-21.

ADDITIONAL TEXTS:

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette, ed. *Debates on European Integration*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Session 13: A Growing Union

Schimmelpfennig, Frank. "The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union." *International Organization* 55.1 (Winter 2001): 47-80.

Grabbe, Heather. "European Union Conditionality and the 'Acquis Communautaire.'" *International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique* Vol. 23.3 "Enlarging the European Union: Challenges to and from Central and Eastern Europe. L'élargissement de l'Union européenne" (Jul. 2002): 249-268.

Krol, Marcin. "A Europe of Nations or a Universalistic Europe?" *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 66.2 (Apr. 1990): 285-290.

Wagner, Gerhard. "Nationalism and Cultural Memory in Poland: The European Union Turns East." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 17.2 (Winter 2003): 191-212.

5. Course Assignments

- 1) **Presentation of an assigned text (Weeks 2-7).** In the beginning of the quarter, the texts will be distributed amongst all participants. Longer texts will be presented by 2 students, shorter by 1 student (see schedule below). The presentation should introduce the main arguments of the text and briefly explain the historical background. The duration of the presentation should be **approx. 5 minutes**. During the discussion, the presenters will then also be responsible for facilitating the class discourse by being the experts on the text. Whether you are presenting or not, **everybody is required to read all the texts**, unless they are marked as additional. If you share a presentation with another student, both of you must speak for an equal portion of the time. A summary of the presentation is to be posted on blackboard after the session.
- 2) **Response Paper on the topic of "European Identity."** This is an opinion piece which is based upon the seminar readings and discussions. You are supposed to develop a thesis in the beginning, and then develop arguments in support of the thesis, but also hint at possible counterarguments. You do not need to find additional research articles or books. Standard citation methods apply. The paper should be **approx. 2 pages** of text (12 point Times, 1.5-spaced, 1 in. margins) plus bibliography. **Due Date: Tuesday 02/14, by 12:00 PM, PRINTED OUT HARDCOPY ONLY (before the seminar session).**

- 3) **Research Presentation.** Students will work **in groups of threes** and present a topic of their own choice. The presentation must not be longer than **15 minutes**. All three students sharing a presentation must speak for an equal portion of the time. The presentations should ideally be a preparation for the final research paper. A summary of the presentation is to be posted on blackboard after the session.
- 4) **Research Paper on a topic of your own choice.** This research paper can be based on the preceding research presentation. Unlike the response paper, your focus has to be on analysis rather than on opinion. You are supposed to develop a thesis in the beginning, and then develop arguments in support of the thesis, but also hint at possible counterarguments. You need to use at least 2 of the texts discussed throughout the seminar, and to find at least 3 additional scholarly research articles or books. Standard citation methods apply. The paper should be a minimum of **5 pages of text**, no more than 6 (12 point Times, 1.5-spaced, 1 in. margins) plus bibliography in addition to the allotted pages. **Due Date: Monday 03/19, by 2:00 PM, PRINTED OUT HARDCOPY ONLY** (either personally in my office, or at the main office, 307 Gilkey Hall).
- 5) **Blackboard.** Students will have to participate in Blackboard.

6. General Argumentation Rules (for Presentations and Papers)

- If you refer to somebody or a text, always provide a detailed source. Never say “As Aristotle has said, ...” but provide a concrete source. You will find that many quotes are continually misattributed. Do the research.
- Be respectful of others’ opinions and arguments, no matter how harshly you may disagree. Any criticism must be aimed at the argument or subject matter (“*argumentum ad rem*”), not at the person (“*argumentum ad hominem*”).
- If you disagree with a certain position, make sure you represent it accurately in all its scope, and not as a distorted caricature (“straw man argument”).
- Base your argument on a solid database, not just on your own experiences or things you have heard (“anecdotal evidence”).
- Just because a famous or influential person made a certain argument, does not automatically provide it with legitimacy (“argument from authority”).
- Just because something occurs in nature, does not make it good (“naturalistic fallacy”).
- See also: www.fallacyfiles.org

7. Presentation Guidelines and Grading

For general remarks, see the presentation guidelines in Appendix I, page 13.

Grading: 10 points total

- complexity of the argument (up to 5 points)
- correct rendition of the argument (1 point)
- clarity of the argument (1 point)
- adequate use or non-use of technology and/or visual aids and/or handout (1 point)
- handling your responses to questions (1 point)
- pose and clarity of speaking (1 point)

7.1. Specific Guidelines for the Presentation of an Assigned Text (Weeks 2-7)

- You are the expert on the text. You can assume everyone else has read the text as well (they should). Nevertheless, recap the major arguments of the text.
- None of the texts holds absolute truth. All of them are written from a specific point of view, with which you may agree or disagree. If you voice any such judgment, you need to provide reasons.
- If you have a presentation partner, work with them. Make sure you divide up the work equally, and that both of you present your parts of the presentation.
- Time yourself, you only have 5 minutes.
- Prepare up to 2 questions for class discussion.
- Prepare to be interrupted if your time is up.

7.2. Specific Guidelines for the Research Presentation (Weeks 7-9)

- Find your own topic, and discuss it with the instructor in beforehand.
- Find scholarly articles for your research.
- Justify why you think your topic is of relevance.
- Put your own topic into its proper historical and/or political context.
- Structure your argument clearly.
- Work with your presentation partner. Make sure you divide up the work equally, and that all of you present your parts of the presentation.
- Time yourself, you only have 15 minutes.
- Prepare up to 3 questions for class discussion.
- Prepare to be interrupted if your time is up.

8. Response Paper Grading

- **10 points total**
- 5 points for complexity of the argument
- 2 points for correct bibliography and correct citation (choose either MLA or APA, see Appendices II and III, page 15, and stick to one method throughout your paper).
- 1 point for spelling and language
- 1 point for structure
- 1 point for fulfilling formal criteria (formatting, length, etc.)

Penalties for turning it in later:

- Turning in the assignment late: -1 point per day
- if you turn it in on the same day but later, -½ a point

9. Research Paper Grading

- **15 points total**
- 5 points for complexity of the argument
- 2 points for correct bibliography and correct citation (choose either MLA or APA, see Appendices II and III, page 15, and stick to one method throughout your paper).
- 1 point for spelling and language
- 1 point for structure
- 1 point for fulfilling formal criteria (formatting, length, etc.)
- 1 point per cited article or book that was assigned for class (min. 2 articles or books, max. 2 points)
- 1 point per cited article or book that you individually researched (min. 3 articles or books, max. 3 points)

Penalties for turning it in later:

- Turning in the assignment late: -1 point per day
- if you turn it in on the same day but later, -½ a point

10. Blackboard Guidelines and Grading

- Introduce yourself initially to Blackboard by saying who you are, what your study interests are, and whatever else you would like people to know about yourself.
- You then need to write at least 5 posts for blackboard of substantial length and quality. This cannot just be a brief response of twitter length, or a link, but has to be a contribution for discussion of at least 2 paragraphs of length which opens up a possible discussion topic and/or discusses or introduces a topic and/or provides a thoughtful response to a post opened by someone else earlier.
- Blackboard min. 5 posts, total

Grading: 5 points total

- 1 point per post, but only a maximum of 5 points

11. Final Grade Distribution

Maximum possible points: 50 points

- Text Presentation: 10 points
- Research Presentation: 10 points
- Response Paper: 10 points
- Research Paper: 15 points
- Blackboard: 5 points

Grading:

A	95% to under or equal	100%	47.5 to under or equal	50 points
A-	90% to under	95%	45 to under	47.5 points
B+	87% to under	90%	43.5 to under	45 points
B	83% to under	87%	41.5 to under	43.5 points
B-	80% to under	83%	40 to under	41.5 points
C+	77% to under	80%	38.5 to under	40 points
C	73% to under	77%	36.5 to under	38.5 points
C-	70% to under	73%	35 to under	36.5 points
D+	67% to under	70%	33.5 to under	35 points
D	63% to under	67%	31.5 to under	33.5 points
D-	60% to under	63%	30 to under	31.5 points
F	0% to under	60%	0 to under	30 points

12. Schedule

Week	Session	Tuesday	Session	Thursday
1	1	1/10/2012	2	1/12/2012
INTRO & HISTORY	Introduction: What is Europe? Introduction to the Seminar Identification of Key Issues Discussion		<u>PART I: THE (WESTERN) EUROPEAN SPACE</u> The European Space Since Antiquity Early Cultures Around the Mediterranean: Historical Overview	
2	3	1/17/2012	4	1/19/2012
HISTORY	European Unity and Disunity From Roman Ecumene to Fragmentation Guiding Ideas: Translatio Imperii, Religion, Nationalism Text: Hösle 2010 (2 Presenters)		Concepts of Union Delian League, Hanse, League of the Iroquois, US Text: Müller 2006 (2 Presenters)	
3	5	1/24/2012	6	1/26/2012
HISTORY & THEORY	Nationalism and Identity Discussion of Texts: Anderson, Geary Texts: Anderson 1983: 1-46 (2 Presenters) Geary 2002: 1-40 (2 Presenters)		<u>PART II: TOWARDS A UNITED EUROPE</u> Ideas for European Unification in the 19th and 20th Century The Pan-European Union and other movements Texts: Marcussen et al. 1999 (2 Presenters) Coudenhove-Kalergi 1931 (1 Presenter)	

<p>4</p> <p>HISTORY & IDENTITY</p>	<p>7 1/31/2012</p> <p>The End of the European Empires Europe in/and the world after World War II</p> <p>EU Accession and Institutions Integration after World War II - Overview</p> <p>Texts: Cooper 1999 (1 Presenter) Schmidt 1997 (1 Presenter)</p>	<p>8 2/2/2012</p> <p>Class Debate: Is there a European Identity? (Response Paper due 02/14)</p> <p>Texts: Larat 2005 (1 Presenter) Smith 1992 (2 Presenters) Shore 1993 (2 Presenters)</p> <p><i>Strath 2005 (Additional)</i></p>
<p>5</p> <p>INTE-GRATION</p>	<p>9 2/7/2012</p> <p><u>PART III: MECHANICS OF INTEGRATION</u></p> <p>European Economy Schuman Plan and Marshall Plan: Unifying Industry and Creating Security</p> <p>Texts: Rappaport 1981 (2 Presenters) Spaack 1950 (1 Presenter) Hitchcock 1997 (2 Presenters) Kunz 1997 (2 Presenters)</p>	<p>10 2/9/2012</p> <p>European Defense and the Transatlantic Alliance NATO, Pleven Plan, Warsaw Pact</p> <p>Instructions for own Research (for Weeks 8-10 and Final) Research Tools, Finding Articles, Requirements</p> <p>Texts: Lundestad 1986 (1 Presenter) Deighton 2002 (2 Presenters) Bryan 1991 (1 Presenter)</p>
<p>6</p> <p>INTE-GRATION</p>	<p>11 2/14/2012</p> <p>Competing Models of Unification, Free Market, Empire, EFTA Great Britain, France, Germany - and the Rest</p> <p>Text: Ash 2001 (1 Presenter)</p> <p>Response Paper "European Identity" due</p>	<p>12 2/16/2012</p> <p>Theories of Integration</p> <p>Texts: Parsons 2002 (2 Presenters) Dietz and Wiener 2004: 1-21 (2 Presenters)</p> <p><i>see also Eilstrup-Sangiovanni 2006 for your own research</i></p>

13. Appendix I: Presentation Guidelines

13.1. When Introducing a Text

These questions need not be answered in that order or that directly – but these issues should be addressed or be kept in mind.

- What is it about?
- Who is the author? (relevant if important person of history, but no extended biographies in presentation)
- What is the context?
- How is it written?
- What is the line of argument?
- How was it perceived? What has it achieved? (relevant if this text is a historical source or has had a deep impact on a field of research)
- own evaluations

13.2. WHEN PRESENTING YOUR OWN ANALYSIS OR ARGUMENT

These questions need not be answered in that order or that directly – but these issues should be addressed or be kept in mind.

- Be transparent: name your sources, provide a handout with a bibliography and a structure of your presentation.
- Provide a clear line of argument
- Prefer analysis over opinion and personal experiences
- Be clear about what is your own analysis, and what is someone else's.

13.3. GENERAL PRESENTATION RULES

- Everybody is nervous. EVERYBODY.
- Everybody makes mistakes.
- Preparation always helps.
- Practice.
- A seminar presentation is supposed to help you to learn.

CONTENT

- The presentation is not about you.
- It is about the content.

STRUCTURE

- You are *communicating*, not talking at somebody.
- Make sure you do everything to get your message across in the short time you have.
- Tell them what you're about to tell them.
- Tell them.
- Tell them what you've just told them.
- Intelligent redundancy is good.
- Patronizing is bad.

MODES OF PRESENTING

- Do what you feel is most comfortable to you.
- Talk loudly and clearly.
- Make eye contact as much as possible.

Reading out a written text:

- pro: safety, you tend to forget less, you can formulate better
- contra: inflexible, less communicative

Speaking freely (without notes):

- pro: flexible, can adapt to audience quickly, communicative
- contra: needs experience, you may forget things, imperfect formulations
- you may compensate with a handout

Speaking freely with notes

- best of both worlds
- you may even write an introduction & a closing to read out

TIME

- Time yourself. You have limited time allotted. Test out your presentation beforehand; then add 2-3 minutes. You will always take longer than planned.
- Provide a handout collating your most important findings, central quotes, a bibliography, and your contact information. If you forget to say something important in the presentation, it'll be there.

TECHNOLOGY

- Use technology only if necessary.
- Only use technology that you know how to handle.
- Be sure to have reliable equipment. If possible, bring your own computer. Apple computer owners: bring an adapter cable for VGA.
- Make backups of your presentation. Make a backup of the backup.
- Be only as fancy as absolutely necessary. Anything flashy that distracts from your message can go.
- Sometimes, a blackboard is enough.
- A paper handout may substitute or supplement a visual presentation. It gives people something to take away.
- Be prepared for tech to break down.

ATTIRE

- Look professional. This is work, it should look like that.
- Respect your audience.
- There will always be a question from the audience you won't like. Be cordial. Admit if you don't know something, promise to get back with more information.
- Know how to react: "Never answer the question that is asked of you. Answer the question that you wish had been asked of you." (Robert S. McNamara, *The Fog of War*, 87:11-87:19)

REMEMBER MURPHY'S LAW

- Nothing is as easy as it seems.
Everything takes longer than expected.
And if something can go wrong it will,
at the worst possible moment.
- Well, hopefully not. But be prepared anyway.
- Good luck!

14. Appendix II: Citation Guide MLA

Page/font format:

- Font Size 12 pt (use a normal system font like Times New Roman, Arial, Cambria, etc.)
- Line spacing 1.5
- Footnotes: 10 pt, Line spacing 1
- Indent quotations longer than 3 lines, with 10 pt size font
- Mark omitted parts of a quotation with squared brackets to distinguish them from possible (round) brackets within the quotation:

"Falling Down is a smart film, but it struggles [...] to convince viewers that [the hero] represents an ultimately (mythologically) redundant model of white masculinity." (Kennedy 2000: 122)

Bibliographical reference in parentheses (Author Year: Page):

Blabla blabla (Soja 1989: 37).

When Works Cited holds more than one title of the same author and from the same year, specify text by adding letters to the publication date:

Blabla blabla (Soja 1989a: 37).
Blabla blabla (Soja 1989b: 1).

Footnotes should be used only for further comments, not as bibliographical reference.

The **Works Cited** appears at the end of your paper. The format is the following:

For articles in collective volumes:

Name, First Name. "Article". In: Name, First Name, ed. *Larger Volume*. Publishing Place: Publishing House, Year. Pages.

e.g. Kennedy, Liam. "Paranoid Spatiality: Postmodern Urbanism and American Cinema." In: Balshaw Maria, Liam Kennedy, eds. *Urban Space and Representation*. London: Pluto, 2000. 116-30.

(use ed. for one Editor, eds. for multiple Editors)

For articles in journals or magazines:

Name, First Name. "Article". Name, First Name. *Magazine Title*. Magazine Number (Year): Pages.

e.g. Foucault, Michel. "Of Other Spaces." *Diacritics* 16.1 (1986): 22-27.

For monographs:

Name, First Name. *Larger Volume*. Publishing Place: Publishing House, Year. Pages.

e.g. Soja, Edward. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London: Verso, 1989.

For internet articles:

Name, First Name. "Article." *Main Web Site Title*. URL. Retrieved MM/DD/YYYY.

(or variations, such as organization name or alias in the first place, depending on nature of the web site)

e.g. Edmunds, R. David. "The US-Mexican War: A Major Watershed." *PBS*.
pbs.org/ker/usmexicanwar/war/major_watershed.html. Retrieved 09/01/2009.

e.g. World Health Organization (WHO). *Active Ageing: A Policy Framework*. Geneva: WHO, 2002.
who.int/ageing/publications/active/en. Retrieved 08/25/2011.

15. Appendix III: Citation Guide APA

You can also use APA style for citations, see:

<http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/560/01>

<http://www2.liu.edu/cwis/cwp/library/workshop/citapa.htm>

16. Students with Disabilities

Students with documented disabilities who may need accommodations, who have any emergency medical information the instructor should know, or who need special arrangements in the event of evacuation, should make an appointment with the instructor as early as possible (use email for this class), no later than the first week of the term. In order to arrange alternative testing the student should make the request at least one week in advance of the test. Students seeking accommodations should be registered with the Office of Services for Students with disabilities.