

University of Georgia
International Affairs 8320, Spring 2006
Politics of the European Union (Graduate)

Prof. Maurits van der Veen

Class

Wednesday 5:45-8:45 pm
Location: 115 Candler Hall
Office hours: Wed. 2-4pm & by appt.

Office

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Course description

This course is a graduate-level introduction to the politics of the European Union. As such, the focus is more on explaining the European Union than on simply describing it, and the course will more theoretically oriented than an undergraduate course on the same topic would be.

The European Union is further along the road to international integration than is any other international institution. As a result, it is both one of the most complex and one of the most intriguing organizations for scholars of international and comparative politics to study. Why have independent nations to some degree ‘pooled’ their sovereignty in the EU, and how far has this pooling gone? How have different states been able to balance the EU’s policy goals against their own, possibly conflicting, national goals? Why is the EU more or less effective in different policy areas? How does enlargement affect the ongoing integration process?

All these are questions we will investigate through the prism of different theoretical approaches. The literature on the European Union is vast, and deals with a far wider array of different topics than we could hope to deal with in the course of a single semester. However, the course is designed so as to give you a solid grasp of current theoretical debates in the study of the European Union, equipping you to investigate other issues on your own.

A particular focus of this course is the relationship between national government preferences and European-level outcomes. As part of this focus, we will pursue a joint research project. Using data from legislative debates and public opinion surveys, each student will choose an EU issue and analyze the position of a particular member state on that issue. The analysis will be developed throughout the semester, so that our research findings will also become part of the material discussed for the course.

Course policies & requirements

Since this is a seminar, I expect you to have done all the reading prior to class, and to arrive prepared to contribute intelligently to the class discussion. Part of your grade is based on class participation, which will be judged in terms of the quality, not the quantity, of your contributions.

The remainder of your grade is tied to your written work, which has two components. First, each of you will write three short response papers, analyzing the readings on a particular topic. These should be in a format similar to book reviews in academic journals. This means they should achieve the following tasks: briefly summarize the argument(s), highlight the strengths and weaknesses, and suggest improvements or further research. Each of these response papers should be 4-6 pages (double-spaced) in length. These response papers must be turned in Tuesday, the day before the class in question, by 12 noon. I will use your papers as the basis for class discussions, so you should be prepared to elaborate upon your various criticisms and suggestions.

In addition, as noted above, each of you will produce a research paper analyzing a member state's stance on a particular issue, drawing on legislative debate data and public opinion surveys. For example, you might choose to analyze the decision of the British government to apply for membership in 1961, or the Irish government's attitude towards the Single European Act. Your choice of particular topic is free, but the country you choose has to be one whose national language(s) you can comfortably read. More information about the research project will be discussed during the first class session.

Two class sessions are set aside to discuss everyone's research findings (March 1st and April 26th). In addition, we will have time during the regular class sessions to discuss particular issues that come up in the course of your research.

The overall grade breakdown is as follows:

Participation: 20%

Response papers: 10% each

Research project presentations: 10% each

Data summary (handed at first presentation, more info later): 10%

Research paper: 20%

Mandatory boilerplate language:

I take violations of academic honesty very seriously. All academic work must meet the standards contained in "A Culture of Honesty" (www.uga.edu/ovpi/honesty/ah.pdf). All students are responsible to inform themselves about those standards before performing any academic work. If you commit plagiarism and I discover it, you will at the very least fail the course. Depending on the seriousness of the offense, I may also push for more severe penalties.

Office hours &c

My office hours are Wednesdays, 2-4pm and by appointment. Please do come see me if you have any questions on or problems with the reading material, the writing assignments, or the course in general. If you need to reach me to make an appointment, I am most easily reached by e-mail.

Readings

The following 4 books are required for purchase, and ought to be available at the University Bookstore. They are also readily available through Amazon.com or Barnes&Noble (bn.com), and you may also be able to get a used copy through Amazon. (The book by Vachudova may not be there yet; it is apparently being reprinted and should be available by the end of January, well before we need it.)

Diez Medrano, Juan. 2003. *Framing Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Moravcsik, Andrew. 1998. *The Choice for Europe. Social Purpose & State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Vachudova, Milada. 2005. *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wiener, Antje, and Thomas Diez. 2004. *European Integration Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

All additional readings are available online through UGA's electronic journals subscriptions.

If you have no prior exposure at all to the European Union and its politics, you should definitely read "The European Union: A Guide for Americans" (see Jan. 11).

Calendar

The course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary.

Wed. Jan. 11 ***Introduction to the EU & overview of the course***

Recommended:

The European Union: A Guide for Americans

<http://www.eurunion.org/infores/euguide/euguide.pdf>.

I. Explaining European Integration

Wed. Jan. 18 ***Framing European Union: National Differences***

Diez Medrano, chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-105).

Vössing, Konstantin. 2005. "Nationality and the Preferences of the European Public toward EU Policy-Making." *European Union Politics* 6(4):445-467.

Wed. Jan. 25 ***Intergovernmentalism & Neofunctionalism***

Wiener & Diez, chapter 4.
Moravcsik, chapter 5.

Wiener & Diez, chapter 3
Sandholtz, Wayne, and John Zysman. 1989. "1992: Recasting the European Bargain."
World Politics 42:95-128.

Recommended

Wiener & Diez, chapter 1.
Moravcsik, chapter 1.
Greer, Scott. 2006. "Uninvited Europeanization: neofunctionalism and the EU in health
policy." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13(1):134-152

Wed. Feb. 1 ***Institutionalism & Constructivism***

Wiener & Diez, chapter 7.
Pollack, Mark A. 1997. "Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the European
Community." *International Organization* 51(1): 99-134.

Wiener & Diez, chapter 8.
Checkel, Jeffrey. 1999. "Social Construction and Integration." *Journal of European
Public Policy*, 6(4):545-60.

Jupille, Joseph, James Caporaso and Jeffrey Checkel. 2003. "Integrating Institutions:
Rationalism, Constructivism, and the Study of the European Union."
Comparative Political Studies 36(1/2): 7-41.

Recommended

Wiener & Diez, chapter 10.
Moravcsik, Andrew. 1999. "Is Something Rotten in the State of Denmark? Constructivism
and European Integration" *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6(4):669-
81.
Moravcsik, chapter 7.

II. Institutions, Governments, Publics

Wed. Feb. 8 ***The Commission and the Council***

Peterson, John. 1999. "The Santer Era: The European Commission in Normative,
Historical and Theoretical Perspective." *Journal of European Public
Policy* 6(1):46-65.

Egeberg, Morten. 2006. "Executive politics as usual: role behaviour and conflict dimensions in the College of European Commissioners." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13(1):1-15.

Mattila, Mikko, and Lane, Jan-Erik. 2001. "Why Unanimity in the Council? A Roll-Call Analysis of Council Voting." *European Union Politics*, 2(1):31-52.

Moberg, Axel. 2002. "The Nice Treaty and Voting Rules in the Council." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40(2):259-282.

Recommended

Hosli, Madeleine O., and Moshé Machover. 2004. "The Nice Treaty and Voting Rules in the Council: A Reply to Moberg (2002)." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42(3):497-521.

Wed. Feb. 15 ***The Parliament and the Court***

Selck, Torsten J. and Bernard Steunenberg. 2004. "Between Power and Luck: The European Parliament in the EU Legislative Process." *European Union Politics* 5:25-46.

Kasack, Christiane. 2004. "The Legislative Impact of the European Parliament Under the Revised Co-Decision Procedure: Environmental, Public Health and Consumer Protection Policies." *European Union Politics* 5:241-260.

Burley, Anne Marie and Walter Mattli. 1993. "Europe Before the Court: A Political Theory of Legal Integration." *International Organization* 47(2):41-76.

Alter, Karen. 1998. "Who are the Masters of the Treaty? European Governments and the European Court of Justice." *International Organization*, 52(1):121-148.

Recommended

Kreppel, Amie, and Simon Hix. 2003. "From 'Grand Coalition' to Left-Right Confrontation: Explaining the Shifting Structure of Party Competition in the European Parliament." *Comparative Political Studies* 36(1-2):75-96.

Wiener & Diez, chapter 9.

Tsebelis, George, and Geoffrey Garrett. 2001. "Legislative Politics in the European Union." *European Union Politics*, 1(1):9-36.

Wed. Feb. 22 ***National governments and public opinion***

Hug, Simon, and Thomas König. 2002. "In View of Ratification: Governmental Preferences and Domestic Constraints at the Amsterdam Intergovernmental Conference." *International Organization*, 56(2):447-476.

Hix, Simon, and Christophe Crombez. 2005. "Extracting Ideal Point Estimates from Actors' Preferences in the EU Constitutional Negotiations." *European Union Politics* 6(3): 353-376.

- Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. 2005. "Calculation, Community and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration." *European Union Politics* 6(4): 419-443.
- Çiftçi, Sabrî. 2005. "Treaties, Collective Responses and the Determinants of Aggregate Support for European Integration." *European Union Politics* 6(4):469-492.

Recommended

- Hooghe, Liesbet. 2003. "Europe Divided? Elites vs. Public Opinion on European Integration." *European Union Politics* 4:281-304.
- Hug, Simon, and Tobias Schulz. 2005. "Using Mass Survey Data to Infer Political Positions." *European Union Politics* 6(3): 339-352.

Wed. Mar. 1 ***Class discussion of preliminary research findings***

Diez Medrano, chapters 4-8.

III. Applying Theory to EU Topics

Wed. Mar. 8 ***Explaining early institutional outcomes***

Rittberger, Berthold. 2001. "Which Institutions for Post-War Europe? Explaining the Institutional Design of Europe's First Community." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 8(5):673-708.

Dwan, Renata. 2000. "Jean Monnet and the European Defense Community, 1950-54." *Cold War History* 1(1): 141-160.

Parsons, Craig. 2002. "Ideas as Causes: The Origins of the European Union." *International Organization*, 56(1):47-84.

Moravcsik, chapter 2.

Recommended

Moravcsik, chapters 3-4.

(Wed.Mar. 15 *Spring Break*)

Wed. Mar. 22 ***Economic and monetary union***

McNamara, Kathleen. 1999. "Consensus and Constraint: Ideas and Capital Mobility in Monetary Integration." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37(3): 455-76.

Risse, Thomas, *et al.* 1999. "To Euro or Not To Euro? The EMU and Identity Politics in the European Union." *European Journal of International Relations*, 5(2): 147-87.

Maes, Ivo, and Amy Verdun. 2005. "Small States and the Creation of EMU: Belgium and the Netherlands, Pace-setters and Gate-keepers." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 43(2): 327-348.

Donnelly, Shawn. "Explaining EMU Reform." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 43(5):

Recommended

Sandholtz, Wayne. 1993. "Choosing Union: Monetary Politics and Maastricht." *International Organization* 47(1): 1-40.

Moravcsik, chapter 6.

Wed. Mar. 29 ***Common Foreign and Security Policy***

Howorth, Jolyon. 2001. "European Defence and the Changing Politics of the European Union: Hanging Together or Hanging Separately?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39(4): 765-789.

Wagner, Wolfgang. 2003. "Why the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy Will Remain Intergovernmental: A Rationalist Institutional Choice Analysis of European Crisis Management Policy" *Journal of European Public Policy* 10(4): 576-595.

Eichenberg, Richard. 2003. "Having It Both Ways: European Defense Integration and the Commitment to NATO." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 67: 627-659.

Wivel, Anders. 2005. "The Security Challenge of Small EU Member States: Interests, Identity and the Development of the EU as a Security Actor." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 43(2):393-412.

Wed. April 5 ***Enlargement***

Schimmelfennig, Frank. 2001. "The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union." *International Organization*, 55(1):47-80.

Bieler, Andreas. 2002. "The Struggle over EU Enlargement: A Historical Materialist Analysis of European Integration." *Journal of European Public Policy* 9(4):575-597.

Moravcsik, Andrew, and Milada Vachudova. "National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement.

(<http://www.princeton.edu/~amoraves/library/vachudova.pdf>)

Schimmelfennig, Frank and Ulrich Sedelmeier. 2002. "Theorizing EU enlargement: Research focus, hypotheses, and the state of research." *Journal of European Public Policy* 9(4): 500-528.

IV. The European Union as the Independent Variable

Wed. April 12 *Compliance and the Europeanization of National Governments*

Wiener & Diez, chapter 5 (recommended: chapter 6).

Knill, Christoph, and Andrea Lenschow. 2005. "Compliance, Competition and Communication: Different Approaches of European Governance and their Impact on National Institutions." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 43(3): 583-606.

Börzel, Tanja A. 2002. "Pace-Setting, Foot-Dragging, and Fence-Sitting: Member State Responses to Europeanization." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40(2):193-214.

Sonja Bugdahn. 2005. "Of Europeanization and domestication: the implementation of the environmental information directive in Ireland, Great Britain and Germany." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12(1): 177-199.

Wed. April 19 *Enlargement as a tool for national political change*

Vachudova chapters 1-3, 5, 8, plus one of the remaining chapters (4, 6, 7).

Wed. April 26 *Research presentations*