

University of Georgia
International Affairs 8320, Spring 2008
Politics of the European Union (Graduate)

Prof. Maurits van der Veen

Class

Monday 3:35-6:30 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? To what extent (and how) has European integration reconciled contrasting national identities and promoted a broader European identity? 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? And, finally, what has been the impact of public support for (or opposition to) integration?

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.

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 (starting the week of Feb. 18). 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 5-7 pages (double-spaced) in length. These response papers must be turned in no later than Sunday, 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, each of you will produce a research paper analyzing some aspect of European integration, past or present. These research papers will be developed over the course of the semester, in stages (as noted in the syllabus below). In order to provide some thematic coherence to the papers, they must all make use of public opinion data available through the Eurobarometer public opinion surveys. More information about the research paper will be provided during the first class meeting.

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
- Research paper: 30%

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 to get a used copy through Amazon.

- Green, David Michael. 2007. *The Europeans: Political Identity in an Emerging Polity*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- 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.

Calendar

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

I. Introduction

Mon. Jan. 7 ***Introduction to the EU & overview of the course***

Recommended (but overlaps with Fontaine, see Jan. 14):
The European Union: A Guide for Americans
<http://www.eurunion.org/infores/euguide/euguide.htm>

Mon. Jan. 14 ***A brief overview of the EU, European identity, and the Eurobarometer***

Fontaine, Pascal. *Europe in 12 lessons*.
http://ec.europa.eu/publications/booklets/eu_glance/22/en.pdf
Green, chapter 1 (Introduction).

Eurobarometer 68: First Results (pp. 22-42 only).
http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb68/eb68_first_en.pdf

Recommended

Brinegar, Adam, and Seth Jolly. 2004. "Integration: Using the Eurobarometer to Measure Support." pp. 497-504 in John G. Geer, ed. *Public Opinion and Polling Around the World*.

(available at: <http://www.duke.edu/~skj3/MeasuringSupport.pdf>.)

Pollack, Mark. 2001. "International Relations Theory and European Integration." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 39(2):221-244.

(Mon. Jan. 21 MLK day)

II. Explaining European Integration

Mon. Jan. 28 *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

Mon. Feb. 4 *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

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

Mon. Feb. 11 ***Discourse/deliberation & Identity***

Research paper topic due

Wiener & Diez, chapter 10.

Magnette, Paul and Nicolaidis, Kalypso. 2004. "The European Convention: Bargaining in the Shadow of Rhetoric." *West European Politics* 27(3):381-404.

Neyer, Jürgen. 2006. "The Deliberative Turn in Integration Theory." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13(5):779-791

Green, chapter 2.

Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus." (forthcoming, BJPS).

<http://www.unc.edu/%7Ehooghe/downloads/Postfunctionalist%20theory.pdf>

Recommended

Wiener & Diez, chapter 12.

Moravcsik, chapter 7.

III. Institutions, Governments, Publics

Mon. Feb. 18 ***The Commission, the Presidency, 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.

Quaglia, Lucia, and Edward Moxon-Browne. 2006. "What Makes a Good EU Presidency? Italy and Ireland Compared." *JCMS* 44(2):349-368.

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.

König, Thomas, and Sven-Oliver Proksch. 2006. "Exchanging and Voting in the Council: Endogenizing the Spatial Model of Legislative Politics." *JEPP* 13(5):647-669.

Hayes-Renshaw, Fiona, Wim van Aken, and Helen Wallace. 2006. "When and Why the EU Council of Ministers Votes Explicitly." *JCMS* 44(1):161-194.

Recommended

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

Mon. Feb. 25 ***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.
- Thomson, Robert, and Madeleine Hosli. 2006. "Who Has Power in the EU? The Commission, Council and Parliament in Legislative Decision-Making." *JCMS* 44(2):391-417.
- 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

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

Mon. Mar. 3 ***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.
- Schmidt, Vivien A. 2007. "Trapped by their Ideas: French Élités' Discourses of European Integration and Globalization." *JEPP* 14(7):992-1009.

- Hooghe, Liesbet. 2003. "Europe Divided? Elites vs. Public Opinion on European Integration." *European Union Politics* 4:281-304.
- Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. 2005. "Calculation, Community and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration." *European Union Politics* 6(4): 419-443.
- Taggart, Paul. 2006. "Questions of Europe — The Domestic Politics of the 2005 French and Dutch Referendums and their Challenge for the Study of European Integration." *JCMS* 44, special issue: 7-25.

Recommended

- Hug, Simon, and Tobias Schulz. 2005. "Using Mass Survey Data to Infer Political Positions." *European Union Politics* 6(3): 339-352.
- Çiftçi, Sabrî. 2005. "Treaties, Collective Responses and the Determinants of Aggregate Support for European Integration." *European Union Politics* 6(4):469-492.

(Mon. Mar. 10 Spring Break)

Mon. Mar. 17 *European identity*

Discussion of preliminary research results

Green, chapters 3-5, 7.

III. Applying Theory to EU Topics

Mon. Mar. 24 *Economic and monetary union*

- Moravcsik, chapter 6.
- McNamara, Kathleen. 1999. "Consensus and Constraint: Ideas and Capital Mobility in Monetary Integration." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37(3): 455-76.
- 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.
- 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.
- Jabko, Nicolas. 1999. "In the Name of the Market: How the European Commission Paved the Way for Monetary Union." *JEPP* 6(3):475-498.
- 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.

Mon. Mar. 31 ***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.
- Jensen, Christian B., Jonathan Slapin, and Thomas König. 2007. "Who Calls for a Common EU Foreign Policy? Partisan Constraints on CFSP Reform." *EUP* 8(3):387-410.
- 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.
- Ojanen, Hanna. 2006. "The EU and NATO: Two Competing Models for a Common Defence Policy." *JCMS* 44(1):57-76.

Mon. April 7 ***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.
- 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.
- Moravcsik, Andrew, and Milada Vachudova. "National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement."
(<http://www.princeton.edu/~amoravcs/library/vachudova.pdf>)
- McLaren, Lauren M. 2007. "Explaining Opposition to Turkish Membership of the EU." *EUP* 8(3): 251-278.
- Delhey, Jan. 2007. "Do Enlargements Make the European Union Less Cohesive? An Analysis of Trust between EU Nationalities." *JCMS* 45(2):253-279.

IV. The European Union as the Independent Variable

Mon. April 14 *Compliance and the Europeanization of National Governments*

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

Kohler-Koch, Beate, and Berthold Rittberger. 2006. "The 'Governance Turn' in EU Studies." *JCMS* 44, special issue: 27-49.

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.

Jensen, Christian B. 2007. "Implementing Europe: A Question of Oversight." *EUP* 8(4):451-477.

Mon. April 21 *Enlargement as a tool for national political change*

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

Scheipers, Sibylle, and Daniela Sicurelli. 2007. "Normative Power Europe: A Credible Utopia?" *JCMS* 45(2):435-457.

Mon. April 28 *Final research presentations*

Fri. May 2 *Research paper due*