

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Department of International Relations

Fall Semester 2006

Course Offering CLA IR 550

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Class Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 9:30 -11:00 am

Location: IRC 102

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and by appointment

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: IR550

Prof. Vivien A. Schmidt

These are exciting times for the European Union. Enlargement occurred on May 1 2004, with ten new member-states including former Communist East European countries entering the EU. The euro, inaugurated on January 1, 1999, and used as hard currency on January 1, 2001, marked a new stage of European monetary integration, with 11 out of 15 member-states now participating in the 'eurozone.' Moreover, the previous stage, the integration of Europe through the creation of a single market, has already been largely successful. The European Union is a force to be reckoned with not only in Europe but around the world, helping set the agenda for international trade and finance along with the United States. The postwar economic project of European integration, in short, is proceeding apace, and its future seems assured.

The political project of European integration, by contrast, has not gone as far, and its future remains tentative at best. The Constitutional Treaty seemed to go some small way toward creating a more democratic Europe. But its rejection by France and the Netherlands have put that entire project on hold. However, even had the Constitutional Treaty been quickly ratified, questions related to the 'democratic deficit' as well as the loss of national sovereignty in the face of the growing powers of EU institutions would have continued to bedevil. Moreover, the different member-states have had very different experiences adapting themselves to the EU, given their own differing institutional structures, policymaking processes, and representative politics. And they also have very different visions of Europe and its political future, by contrast with a more common vision of its economic future.

In this course, we will explore the political and institutional dimensions of the European Union, considering not only the practices, policies, and politics at the EU level but also their impact on national level practices, policies, and politics. Thus, we will look not only at the process of *European integration*, that is, the development of the European Union and the bottom-up influence of member-states in that development, but also *Europeanization*, or the top-down influence of the EU on member-states.

After a brief introduction to the major themes of the course, we will consider first the governance of the EU, focusing in turn on the institutional structures, policymaking processes, and representative politics as well as the problems for political identity and democratic legitimacy at the European and national levels. Then, we will explore the policies of the EU with regard to the single market, monetary integration, agriculture, cohesion policies, employment, environment, telecommunications, transport, citizenship, immigration, policing, external trade, foreign and security policy, and enlargement. And finally, we will consider individual country experiences more closely. Throughout, we will consider not only the ways in which particular member-states have influenced the construction of the EU as both an economic and political entity but also the ways in which the EU has affected the economies and polities of its member-states.

COURSE OUTLINE:

Introduction

- A. The EU Project
 - 1. The EU as a New Kind of State
 - 2. The EU as Global Power and Regional Democracy
 - 3. Theorizing about the EU
- B. Governance in the EU and its impact on National Governance
 - 1. Executives
 - 2. Parliaments and Courts
 - 3. Interest and Contentious Politics in the EU
 - 4. Politics
 - 5. Enlargement
- C. EU Policies and their Impact on Member-States
 - 1. Environmental Policy
 - 2. The Single Market and National Economies
 - 3. European Monetary Policy and its effects
 - 4. Justice and Home Affairs
 - 5. Agricultural, Cohesion, and other Expenditure Policies
 - 6. Gender-Related Policies
 - 7. Food Safety and GMO Policies
 - 8. Drugs and Alcohol-Related Policies
 - 9. Foreign Trade Policy
 - 10. Foreign and Security Policy
- D. Country Experiences (and Country Reports)
 - 1. Europeanization of the Member-States
 - 2. France and the UK
 - 3. Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxemburg
 - 4. Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece
 - 5. The Nordic Countries, Austria and Ireland
 - 6. Eastern European Countries

COURSE READINGS:

- Bulmer, Simon and Lequesne, Christian (2005) The Member States of the European Union New York: Oxford.
- Cowles, Maria Green and Dinan, Desmond (2004) Developments in the European Union Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Hix, Simon (1999) The Political System of the European Union Basingstoke: Palgrave 2005.
- Imig, Doug and Tarrow, Sidney (2001) Contentious Europeans Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Kurzer, Paulette (2001) Markets and Moral Regulation: Cultural Change in the European Union (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leonard, Mark (2005) Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century (New York: Harper).

All the books are available in the bookstore: Barnes and Noble. They will also be on reserve in the library. In addition to the required books, students are strongly encouraged to subscribe to the Financial Times and The Economist.

Also, please also check out the internet. Look at my website for 'links' to a great variety of sources: <http://people.bu.edu/vschmidt> In addition, the EU has a very elaborate site, with a great deal of information. Check it out at www.eurunion.org There is a short guide for Americans at www.eurunion.org/infores/eurguide/eurguide.htm . Another EU address of use is: www.europa.org. For individual countries, check out the government sites, both the general and the ministry concerning the policy of greatest interest to you. For working papers on topics of interest, try Harvard's Center for European Studies, the European University Institute site (iue.it), the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, Arena in Oslo, among others. Also check out EUSA.org, the European Union Studies Association, which will have links to other sites as well, such as the ten regional EU centers.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

This course will be run as a seminar. Students are expected to do all the readings and to be prepared to discuss them. There will be one mid-term exam (worth 40 percent of the grade) and a final paper (worth 40 percent). Students will also be expected to provide one or two (for graduate students) oral presentations (worth 10 percent) in addition to a final class report on their paper, plus attend class regularly and participate in discussions (worth 10 percent of the grade). The paper (15-20 pages) will be a research paper focused on a single country and its experience of European integration in a particular policy area (graduate students are expected to write a 20-25 page paper comparing the experience of two countries). Students will form affinity groups concentrating on individual countries. The oral presentation will be a report based on readings from the syllabus and presented in class (10-15 minute presentation). In the last few classes of the course, students will give an oral presentation of their country research (at the time their country is discussed).

The College of Arts and Sciences (CAS) Dean's Office has requested that you be informed of the following: The last day you may drop the course without a W grade is Oct. 7. The last day you may drop the course with a W grade is Oct. 28. You are responsible for knowing the provisions of the CAS Academic Conduct Code (copies are available in CAS 105). Cases of suspected academic misconduct will be referred to the Deans' Office.

COURSE OUTLINE

9/5

Introduction: Course Organization and Course Themes

“Key facts and figures about the EU” EU Commission

download from: http://europa.eu.int/abc/keyfigures/index_en.htm

“Europe in twelve lessons” EU Commission

download from: http://europa.eu.int/abc/12lessons/index_en.htm

Plus, check out the rest of the site of ‘Europe at a glance’ for background information:

http://europa.eu.int/abc/index_en.htm

The general site is: http://europa.eu.int/index_en.htm

A. THE EU PROJECT

9/7

1. The EU as a New Kind of State

Vivien A. Schmidt, “The European Union: Democracy in a Regional State?” Journal of Common Market Studies (December 2004) (download from ejournals or from my webpage: <http://people.bu.edu/vschmidt>)

9/12

2. The EU as Global Power and Regional Democracy

Mark Leonard, Why Europe will run the 21st Century pp. 1-143.

Desmond Dinan, “Reconstituting Europe” in Developments in the European Union, pp.25-46.

9/14

3. Theorizing about the EU

Simon Hix, “Introduction” in The Political System of the European Union, pp. 1-26

Tanja A. Börzel, “Europeanization: How the European Union Interacts with its Member States” in Member-States of the European Union, pp. 45-76

Vivien A. Schmidt (2005) “Democracy in Europe: The Impact of European Integration.” Perspectives on Politics vol. 3, no. 4 (2005): 761-779 (download from ejournals or from my webpage)

B. GOVERNANCE IN THE EU AND ITS IMPACT ON NATIONAL GOVERNANCE

Check out the EU site for info at: http://europa.eu.int/institutions/index_en.htm

9/19

1. Executives

Simon Hix, “Executive Politics” in The Political System of the European Union, pp. 27-71.

Helen Wallace, "Exercising Power and Influence in the European Union: The Roles of Member States" in Member-States of the European Union, pp. 25-44
Hussein Kassim, "The Europeanization of Member State Institutions" in Member-States of the European Union, pp. 285-316

9/21

2. Parliaments and Courts

Simon Hix, "Legislative Politics" and "Judicial Politics," in The Political System of the European Union, pp. 72-146.
Michael Shackleton, "The Parliament: Is the Destination Still Unknown?" in With US or Against US: The State of the European Union eds. Jabko and Parsons Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming. (will email)
Paulette Kurzer, "Irish Moral Conservatism and European Sexual Permissiveness" in Markets and Moral Regulation, Chapter 7, pp. 143-169.

9/25

3. Interest and Contentious Politics in the EU

Simon Hix, "Interest Representation" in The Political System of the European Union, pp. 208-234.
Doug Imig and Sidney Tarrow, "Mapping the Europeanization of Contention" in Imig and Tarrow, eds., Contentious Europeans, pp. 27-49.
Andrew Martin and George Ross, "Trade Union Organizing at the European Level: The Dilemma of Borrowed Resources" in Imig and Tarrow, eds., Contentious Europeans, pp. 53-76.
Virginie Guiraudon, "Weak Weapons of the Weak? Transnational Mobilization around Migration in the European Union" in Imig and Tarrow, eds., Contentious Europeans, pp. 163-185.

9/28

4. Politics

Vivien Schmidt, "The EU and National Politics: EU 'Policy without Politics' and Member-State 'Politics without Policy.'" Extract from Chapter 4 in Democracy in Europe (Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2006). (will email)
Simon Hix, "Public Opinion, Political Cleavage, Parties, Elections, and EU Democracy" in The Political System of the European Union, pp. 147- 207.
Paul Taggart and Aleks Szczerbiak, Supporting the Union? Euroscepticism and the Politics of European Integration" in Developments in the European Union, pp. 65-84.

10/03

4. Enlargement (guest lecturer—Prof. Henrik Selin)

Desmond Dinan, "The Road to Enlargement" in Developments in the European Union, pp. 7-24.
John Van Oudenaren, "Policy Towards the Extended Frontier: The Balkans and the Newly Independent States" in Developments in the European Union, pp. 256-274.
Elizabeth Pond, "Kosovo and Serbia after the French Non" Washington Quarterly (Autumn 2005) download from http://www.twq.com/05autumn/docs/05autumn_pond.pdf

C. EU POLICIES AND THEIR IMPACT ON MEMBER-STATES

10/05 (guest lecturer—Prof. Henrik Selin)

1. Environmental Policy

Andrea Lenschow, “Environmental Policy at a Crossroads?” in Developments in the European Union, pp. 140-159.

David Vogel, “The Hare and the Tortoise Revisited: The New Politics of Consumer and Environmental Regulation in Europe,” British Journal of Political Science (download from ejournals)

Dieter Rucht, “Lobbying or Protest? Strategies to Influence EU Environmental Policies” in Contentious Europeans, pp. 125-142.

Henrik Selin, “Europeanization and Environmental Policymaking: The Case of Chemicals Management.” (mss. Will email)

10/12 Midterm exam

10/17

2. The Single Market and National Economies

Simon Hix, “Regulation of the Single Market” in The Political System of the European Union, pp. 235-270.

Mark Thatcher, “Winners and Losers in Europeanisation: Reforming the National Regulation of Telecommunications,” West European Politics vol. 27: 284-309. (download from ejournals)

Vivien A. Schmidt, “The Europeanization of National Economies?” in Member States of the European Union, pp. 360-387.

10/19

3. European Monetary Policy and its Effects

Simon Hix, “Economic and Monetary Union” in The Political System of the European Union, pp. 309-343.

Amy Verdun, “The Euro and the European Central Bank” in Developments in the European Union, pp. 85-99.

Antony Wallace, “Completing the Single Market: The Lisbon Strategy” in Developments in the European Union, pp. 100-118.

10/24

4. Justice and Home Affairs

Simon Hix, “Citizen Freedom and Security Policies” in The Political System of the European Union, pp. 344-373.

John D. Occhipinti, “Police and Judicial Cooperation” in Developments in the European Union, pp. 181-199.

Virginie Guiraudon, “Immigration and Asylum: A High Politics Agenda” in Developments in the European Union, pp.160-180.

10/26

5. Agriculture, Cohesion, and other Expenditure Policies

Desmond Dinan and Marios Camhis, "The Common Agricultural Policy and Cohesion" in Developments in the European Union, pp. 119-139.

Simon Hix, "Expenditure Policies" in The Political System of the European Union, pp. 271-308.

Eve Fouilleux, "CAP Reforms and Multilateral Trade Negotiations: Another View on Discourse Efficiency," West European Politics vol. 27: 235-255. (download from ejournals)

Evelyn Bush and Pete Simi, "European Farmers and their Protests" in Imig and Tarrow, eds., Contentious Europeans, pp. 97-124.

10/31

6. Gender-Related Policies

Rachel A. Cichowski (2004) "Women's Rights, the European Court and Supranational Constitutionalism" *Law & Society Review*, 38: 489-512. (ejournals)

Gerda Falkner, Oliver Treib, Miriam Hartlapp, Simone Leiber "The Pregnant Workers Directive: European Social Policy between Protection and Employability" (Chapter 5) Complying with Europe EU Harmonisation and Soft Law in the Member States Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. (will email)

Barbara Helfferich and Felix Kolb, "Multilevel Coordination in 'European Contentious Politics': The Case of the European Women's Lobby" in Contentious Europeans, pp. 143-162.

11/2

7. Food Safety and GMO Policies

Paulette Kurzer and Alice Cooper, "What's for Dinner? Variations in European Support for Genetically Modified Food." Mss. (to be distributed via email)

Vera Kettner, "The European Conflict over Genetically Engineered Crops, 1995-1997" in Imig and Tarrow, eds., Contentious Europeans, pp. 205-232.

Chris Ansell and Rebecca Chen, "Territorial Representation: Similar Dynamics of Federalism?" in With US or Against US: The State of the European Union eds. Jabko and Parsons Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming. (will email)

11/7

8. Drugs and Alcohol-Related Policies

Paulette Kurzer, "Permissive Pragmatism: Drug Control Policy in the Netherlands" and "Harm Reduction meets the EU: From Public Health to Public Order" in Markets and Moral Regulation, Chapters 5-6, pp. 97-142.

Paulette Kurzer, "Binge Drinking: The evolution of Alcohol Control Policy in Finland," "Our Greatest Social Problem: Anti-Alcohol Policy in Sweden," and "Nordic Morality meets the European Union" in Markets and Moral Regulation, Chapters 2-4, pp. 27-96.

11/9

9. Foreign Trade Policy

Simon Hix, "External Economic Policies" in The Political System of the European Union, pp. 374-386.

Alasdair Young, "The EU and World Trade: Doha and Beyond" in Developments in the European Union, pp. 200-220.

Sophie Meunier and Kalypso Nicolaïdis, "The European Union as a Conflicted Trade Power," Journal of European Public Policy vol. 13, no. 6 (2006): 906-925 (download from ejournals or will email)

11/14

10. Foreign and Security Policy

Anand Menon, "The Foreign and Security Policies of the European Union" in Developments in the European Union, pp. 221-236.

Simon Hix, "External Political Relations" in The Political System of the European Union, pp. 387-405.

Jolyon Howorth, "Discourse, Ideas, and Epistemic Communities in European Security and Defense Policy," West European Politics vol. 27: 211-234. (download from ejournals)

Michael Smith, "The European Union, The United States and Asia-Pacific: A New Trilateralism?" in Developments in the European Union, pp. 237-255.

D. COUNTRY EXPERIENCES (AND COUNTRY REPORTS)

11/16

1. Europeanization of the Member-States

Vivien A. Schmidt, "European 'Federalism' and its Encroachments on National Institutions." Publius vol. 29, no. 1 (Winter 1999): 19-44. (download from ejournals)

Vivien A. Schmidt "Procedural Democracy in the EU: The Europeanization of National and Sectoral Policymaking Processes," Journal of European Public Policy vol. 13, no. 5 (2006): 670-691 (download from ejournals or will email)

Thomas Risse, "A European Identity? Europeanization and the Evolution of Nation-State Identities" in Cowles, Caporaso, and Risse, eds., Transforming Europe, pp. 198-216.

11/21

2. France and the UK (and country reports)

Richard Balme and Cornelia Woll, "France: Between Integration and National Sovereignty" in Member-States of the European Union, pp. 97-118.

David Allen, "The United Kingdom: A Europeanized Governing in a non-Europeanized Polity" in Member-States of the European Union, pp. 119-142.

11/28

3. Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxemburg (and country reports)

Jeffrey J. Anderson, "Germany and Europe: Centrality in the EU" in Member-States of the European Union, pp. 77-96.

Erik Jones, "The Benelux Countries: Identity and Self-Interest," in Member-States of the European Union, pp.164-184.

11/30

4. Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece (and country reports)

Federiga Bindi with Manuela Cisci, "Italy and Spain: A Tale of Contrasting Experiences" in Member-States of the European Union, pp. 142-163.

Béatrice Hibou, "Greece and Portugal: Convergent or Divergent Europeanization?" in Member-States of the European Union, pp. 229-253.

12/5

5. The Nordic Countries, Austria and Ireland (and country reports)

Morten Egeberg, "The EU and the Nordic Countries: Organizing Domestic Diversity?" in Member-States of the European Union, pp. 185-208.

Gerda Falkner and Brigid Laffan, "The Europeanization of Austria and Ireland" in Member-States of the European Union, pp. 209-228.

12/7

6. Eastern European Countries (and country reports)

Klaus H. Goetz, "The New Member States and the EU: Responding to Europe" in Member-States of the European Union, pp. 254-284.

12/12

Final reports