

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Pardee School of Global Studies and Department of Political Science

Fall Semester 2014

Course Offering CLA IR 550/PO535

**EUROPEAN INTEGRATION**

Class Hours: Mondays, 1:00-4:00pm  
Location: SED 140 (2 Sherborn Street, room 140)

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## EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: IR550/PO535

As the Chinese curse goes: May you live in interesting times. And these are interesting times indeed for the European Union. The Eurozone has been roiled by the sovereign debt crisis since the beginning of 2010, having managed well through the banking crisis of 2008 and the crisis in the real economy of 2009. And it now faces an existential crisis with regard to either deepening integration further, or risking disintegration of the Eurozone under the pressures of the markets. By contrast, the incursion in Libya was a military success—but it was a NATO operation led by Britain and France under the UN rather than a Common Security and Defense Policy initiative of the EU. The Lisbon Treaty, finally ratified in 2009, bringing to a close the Constitutional crisis that followed the defeat of the Constitutional Treaty by referenda in France and the Netherlands in 2005, was supposed to have provided new leadership under the new positions of Council President—to speak in one voice for the EU—and High Representative—to coordinate foreign policy. The jury is still out as to whether this has done anything more than add another two voices to the cacophony. Moreover, these reforms did little to address the question of the EU's 'democratic deficit,' a topic of increasing concern since the early 1990s and the main reason for the launching of the Constitutional process in 2000. Although Enlargement—arguably the EU's greatest achievement, which occurred on May 1 2004 with ten new member-states including former Communist East European countries entering the EU—is not in question, further enlargement is. Euroskepticism, moreover, is becoming more generalized in many European Union member-states, along with the rise of a populist right that contests the open borders of Schengen—another great EU achievement—as well as the bailouts and loan guarantees to member-states in the Southern periphery.

And yet, despite all of this, the European Union remains the largest market economy in the world, bigger than the US, and 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. Moreover, the EU goes on integrating in quiet ways, below the radar and off the front page, through the economic policies of the Single Market and the social policies focused on improving the environment, gender equality, and labor rights. EU member-states have adapted institutionally to the EU as they have adopted EU policies throughout a range of areas—but they have had very different experiences in so doing, 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 short, the process of *European integration*, that is, the development of the European Union and the bottom-up influence of member-states in that development, cannot be separated from the process of *Europeanization*, or the top-down influence of the EU on member-states.

The unique history, make up, and current circumstances of the European Union make it an especially interesting case for study. This course, as a graduate-level seminar on the institutions, politics, and history of the European Union, will do more than examine 'what happened' or even 'why it happened' and how. We will also be trying to understand and theorize what kind of political entity the EU is and will be in the future within the context

of theories of international organization. The European Union is more economically and politically integrated than any other international institution and, as such, is one of the most challenging and complex organizations for scholars of international and comparative politics to study. It is a real time experiment testing what we think we know about politics, power, and interests. Why have sovereign states ‘pooled’ part of their sovereignty over time? How should we classify and analyze the EU in a broader context? What is the relationship between European integration, national identities, and a broader European identity? Why is the EU more successful in some policy areas than others? What impact have market and monetary integration had on European political integration? What is the role of EU enlargement in the integration process over time? What has been the impact of public opinion on EU integration? And what has been the impact of the EU been on the member state economies and institutions? We will investigate these issues through the framework of different theoretical approaches. The literature on the European Union is broader than can be covered well in a single semester, but the seminar is designed along the key debates and lenses for understanding the European Union, equipping you to investigate other issues and policies through your own research.

After a brief introduction to the major themes of the course, we begin with discussions of the major controversies regarding the EU, including how to understand its past and its future, the Eurozone crisis, and the EU leadership (or lack thereof) in the world; how to explain European integration as a governance form. We then consider the institutions and 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. Next, we explore the policies of the EU with regard to the single market, monetary integration, regulation of risk, enlargement, immigration, foreign and security policy, and trade policy. 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 READINGS:**

IR 550/PO 535 book order

1. Bickerton, Christopher (2012) *European Integration: From Nation-States to Member-States* Oxford: Oxford University Press.  
<http://www.oxfordscholarship.com.ezproxy.bu.edu/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199606252.001.0001/acprof-9780199606252>
2. Bulmer, Simon and Lequesne, Christian (2013) *The Member States of the European Union* New York: Oxford.
3. Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette (2006) *Debates on European Integration* London: Palgrave Macmillan
4. Hix, Simon and Hyland, Bjorn (2011) *The Political System of the European Union* 3<sup>rd</sup> edition Basingstoke: Palgrave.

5. Chebel d'Appollonia Ariane (2012) *Frontiers of Fear: Immigration and Insecurity in the United States and Europe* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.  
<http://site.ebrary.com.ezproxy.bu.edu/lib/bostonuniv/detail.action?docID=10545388>
6. Jabko, Nicolas (2006). *Playing the Market: A Political Strategy for Uniting Europe, 1985-2005* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).  
<http://site.ebrary.com.ezproxy.bu.edu/lib/bostonuniv/detail.action?docID=10522186>
7. Marquand, David (2011), *The End of the West: The Once and Future Europe* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011  
<http://site.ebrary.com.ezproxy.bu.edu/lib/bostonuniv/detail.action?docID=10451089>  
<http://www.amazon.com/dp/B008ES7GMK/?tag=princetonuniv-20>
8. Kelemen, Daniel R. 2010. *Eurolegalism: The Rise of Adversarial Legalism in the European Union*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.  
<http://site.ebrary.com.ezproxy.bu.edu/lib/bostonuniv/detail.action?docID=10461094>
9. Vachudova, Milada (2005) *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism*. Oxford University Press.  
<http://www.oxfordscholarship.com.ezproxy.bu.edu/view/10.1093/0199241198.001.0001/acprof-9780199241194>
10. Vogel, David (2012) *The Politics of Precaution: Regulating Health, Safety and Environmental Risks* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

All the books are available in the bookstore: Barnes and Noble. They are also available used online. They will also be on reserve in the library. I have noted when the library has an online copy available.

Other readings are available via library ejournals, on the internet, on reserve at the library, or through email. Readings with an \* are recommended readings.

#### ABSENCES AND LATE WORK:

Students are expected to attend all class sessions and to hand in assignments at the scheduled times, unless documentation is given excusing an absence for medical, religious or personal reasons, or for official university business. Every effort should be made to notify the instructor as soon as possible (preferably in advance) of the reason for the absence. Late papers will be penalized five (5) points for the first day late, and three (3) points each day thereafter.

#### READINGS:

Students are required to complete all reading assignments before class. This is a working seminar, and discussions will require a thorough understanding of the readings.

#### Websites to check out on a regular basis:

The EU Observer, <http://euobserver.com>

Euractiv, <http://www.euractiv.com>

BBC News, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news>

Spiegel Online, <http://www.spiegel.de>

Le Monde, <http://www.lemonde.fr>

The Economist, <http://www.economist.com>

<http://www.euointelligence.com/Euointelligence-Home.901.0.html>: A daily wrap-up of European newspapers produced by Wolfgang Munchau (a commentator to follow via his op-eds in the Financial Times) and Susanne Mundschenk with a stellar discussion platform.

<http://www.voxeu.org/>: A policy-oriented forum, hosted by the Center for European Policy Research, a European network of economists and policy analysts

<http://www.telos.fr/> A French policy-oriented forum (with English translations) that often reproduces voxeu pieces and vice-versa

*Social Europe Journal* (access <http://www.social-europe.eu/>): Has lots of US and EU political scientists, economists, and policy analysts writing interesting pieces.

On the eurozone crisis:

[http://ec.europa.eu/economy\\_finance/focuson/crisis/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/focuson/crisis/index_en.htm) EU Commission website on the economic crisis

<http://www.bruegel.org/> Bruegel (leading think tank on European economy)

[http://www.robert-schuman.eu/archives\\_questions\\_europe.php](http://www.robert-schuman.eu/archives_questions_europe.php) Robert Schuman Foundation (leading think tank on European affairs)

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. You can find many of the web addresses on the Center for the Study of Europe website:

<http://www.bu.edu/european>

### Clickers

Clickers will be used in this course to enhance engagement and increase interactivity.

New and used clicker accounts are available at the BU Bookstore or at [store.turningtechnologies.com](http://store.turningtechnologies.com) The device used at BU is the TurningTechnologies ResponseWare/ResponseCard.

Students **MUST create a Turning Account**, available at [account.turningtechnologies.com](http://account.turningtechnologies.com)

BU is moving to **cloud-based responseware** in Fall 2014, so students do not have to purchase a ResponseWare device, but **only have to download an app** from the Android or Apple stores.

<http://sites.bu.edu/edtech/files/2014/06/Turning-Cloud-Announcement.pdf>

<http://sites.bu.edu/edtech/2014/06/>

BU School code is: **B6sC**

### 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.

1. Weekly readings of 150-200 pages. Knowledge and synthesis will be evaluated through Clicker and Blackboard Discussion Participation (**15% of the grade**).
2. Participation in class discussions (including discussions of required readings as well as current events) and two oral presentations (**15% of the grade altogether**):
  - One oral presentation (two for graduate students) on the reading material assigned for the day. The oral presentation will be an analytical summary and critical evaluation of the readings from the syllabus and presented in class (10-15 minute presentation). The presentation should raise issues the student believes will be useful for discussion, followed by questions to peers (can use clicker technology) and discussion. You will sign up for the presentations the first week of the course.
  - an oral presentation on your draft research paper in the last classes (approx 5-10 minutes including question-and-answer session with fellow students);
3. Two (out of three) brief essays of about 2000 words for undergraduates, 3000 for graduate students that are think pieces related to the readings, with the question agreed on in class (**15% each, 30% total**).
  - Paper #1 due October 3 (covers up to Sept. 29).
  - Paper #2 due October 24 (covers up to Oct. 20).
  - Paper #3 due November 26 (covers up to Nov. 20, send via email).

*You choose which two of the three you write!*
4. A research paper on a topic of the student's choice, using primary and secondary research sources, and considering an EU policy areas and its relationship to one or two (in particular for graduate students) member-states. The paper is expected to use the class readings to help analyze the topic. It should also use original research (primary sources: websites, statistics, newspaper articles, speeches, party manifestos, policy memos, legislation, etc), and cite at least 20 secondary sources (refereed articles/chapters in books/or books). This is to be undertaken in three stages:
  - a 3-5 page topic abstract, argument, basic outline, and working bibliography for a research paper on a topic of your choice, due on November 6<sup>th</sup> (**5% of the grade**);
  - the final draft of the research paper of 4000 to 5000 words for undergraduates, 5000 to 6000 for graduate students, due on or before the last class session (**35% of the grade**).

These papers are intended to demonstrate that you have read and analyzed the assigned readings, so please be sure to write your essays with specific reference to relevant readings.

#### **INFORMATION**

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 Tuesday Oct. 7. The last day you may drop the course with a W grade is Friday, Nov. 8. 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.

**Academic Misconduct:** All class members are expected to maintain high standards of academic honesty and integrity. You are expected to provide citations in papers for all quotations, paraphrases, and ideas taken from any source other than your own original thoughts. Boston University has very strict standards for intellectual integrity, and punishment for plagiarism is severe, and can include permanent expulsion from the university. For more on the definition of plagiarism and the standards to which you will be held, see the CAS Academic Conduct Code, available at <http://www.bu.edu/academics/resources/academic-conduct-code/> or the GRS Academic Conduct Code: <http://www.bu.edu/cas/students/graduate/forms-policies-procedures/academic-discipline-procedures/>

\*READINGS WITH AN ASTERIX ARE RECOMMENDED, NOT REQUIRED READINGS.

## COURSE OUTLINE

### WEEK 1 (9/8)

**Introduction:** Course Organization, Course Themes, and a brief history of the EU

Pascal Fontaine, *Europe in 12 Lessons* (EU Publications Office, 2010). [Free download](#)

Hix Chapter 1

[EUROBUBBLE YouTube Channel](#)

The Schumann Declaration: <http://europa.eu/about-eu/basic-information/symbols/europe-day/schuman-declaration/>

### WEEK 2 (9/15)

#### THE EU PROJECT

##### The Past and Future of the EU

###### Thinking about the EU's Past, Imagining its Future

Marquand, David (2011) "Prologue" and "Weighing like a Nightmare" in *The End of the West: The Once and Future Europe* Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 1-66.

Thies, W.J., 2012. Is the EU Collapsing? *International Studies Review*, 14 (2), 225–239.

\*Stelzenmüller, Constanze, (2012) "Europe On its Own: How the Crisis-Ridden Continent will Respond to a Decade of U.S. Retrenchment: Three Scenarios" *German Marshall Fund*, The EuroFuture Project (June).

<http://www.gmfus.org/archives/europe-on-its-own/>

\*European Commission (2012) "Europe 2050". [http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/pdf/global-europe-2050-report\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/pdf/global-europe-2050-report_en.pdf) DG Research and Innovation EUR 25252 (October)

###### The EU as Economic Failure? The Eurozone Crisis

Randall Hansen & Josha C. Gordon (2014), "Deficits, Democracy, and Demographics: Europe's Three Crisis", *West European Politics*, 37:6, 1199-1222.

Kevin Featherstone. 2011. "The Greek Sovereign Debt Crisis and EMU: A Failing State in a Skewed Regime." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49(2):193-217.

Bergsten (2012) "Why the Euro Will Survive: Completing the Continent's Half Built House" *Foreign Affairs*, September/October.

Matthijs, Matthias and Blyth, Mark "Why Only Germany Can Fix the Euro: Reading Kindleberger in Berlin" *Foreign Affairs* Nov. 17, 2011.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/136685/matthias-matthijs-and-mark-blyth/why-only-germany-can-fix-the-euro>

Cramme, Olaf (2013) "Politics in the Austerity State" *Policy Network* July 11, [http://www.policy-network.net/publications\\_detail.aspx?ID=4438](http://www.policy-network.net/publications_detail.aspx?ID=4438)



Balibar, E. "Europe is a dead political project" *The Guardian*  
<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/may/25/eu-crisis-catastrophic-consequences>

\*Jürgen Habermas, "Merkel needs to confront real European Reform" *Der Spiegel* Aug. 9, 2013 <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/juergen-habermas-merkel-needs-to-confront-real-european-reform-a-915244.html>

\*Tony Barber, FT Oct 21, 2010, on the day the euro nearly collapsed  
<http://video.ft.com/v/631247549001/The-day-the-euro-nearly-collapsed>

\*Tony Barber, FT, Oct 10, 2010, on dinner at the time of the crisis  
<http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/190b32ae-d49a-11df-b230-00144feabdc0.html#axzz16fj75uwR>

\*"Who is rescuing whom and why? The Euro, the banks, the debt crisis." Bertelsmann  
<http://www.fortunatelyunified.eu/>

\*"The Failure of the Euro? Causes and Consequences for Europe and Beyond."  
 Conference sponsored by the Watson Institute for International Studies and the Rhodes Center for International Economics, Brown University (April 17, 2012). See especially speech by Martin Wolf, FT columnist, the first panel, the panel on the markets and media, and the final panel on 'Can Europe Survive the Euro'  
<http://brown.edu/web/livestream/archive/2012-euroconf.html>

\*Mark Blyth, "Austerity" [http://watsoninstitute.org/news\\_detail.cfm?id=1388](http://watsoninstitute.org/news_detail.cfm?id=1388)

### **The EU as Global Leader?**

Mark Leonard, *Why Europe will Run the 21st Century* argument:

<http://bigthink.com/videos/mark-leonard-europe-will-run-the-21st-century>

Award Ceremony Speech, Nobel Peace Prize 2012, 10 December 2012

[http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/peace/laureates/2012/presentation-speech.html](http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2012/presentation-speech.html)

Andrew Moravcsik, "Europe: The Quiet Superpower," *French Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 3/4 (Sept-Dec 2009), pp. 403-422.

\*Charles Grant, "Is Europe Doomed to Fail as a Power?" with a response by Robert Cooper, *Centre for European Reform essays* (London: Centre for European Reform, July 2009). <http://www.policypointers.org/Page/View/9746>

\*Jeremy Shapiro and Nick Witney, *Towards a Post-American Europe: A Power Audit of EU-US Relations*, European Council on Foreign Relations, 2 November 2009, available at: [http://ecfr.3cdn.net/cdb1d0a4be418dc49c\\_2em6bg7a0.pdf](http://ecfr.3cdn.net/cdb1d0a4be418dc49c_2em6bg7a0.pdf).

## **WEEK 3 (9/22)**

### **Explaining European Integration**

#### **The EU from Nation State to Member-state**

Bickerton, Christopher (2012) *European Integration: From Nation-States to Member-States* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 1-3, pp. 21-112.

#### **The EU as International Regime, Federal or Confederal System?**

- Altiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi, "For a Free and United Europe. A Draft Manifesto" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 37-42
- Ernst Haas, "The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces 1950-1957" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 105-116.
- Stanley Hoffman, "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 134-159

### **The EU as Supranational, Intergovernmental, or Multi-Level System**

- Andrew Moravcsik, "Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 264-303.
- Gary Marks, Liesbet Hooghe, and Kermit Blank, "European Integration from the 1980s: State-centric vs. Multi-level Governance" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 357-377.
- \*Wayne Sandholtz and John Zysman, "1992: Recasting the European Bargain" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 204-225.
- \*Giandomenico Majone, "The Rise of the Regulatory State" in *Debates on European Integration*, pp. 378-392.

## **WEEK 4 (9/29)**

### **Explaining European Integration P.II**

#### **Rethinking European Integration**

- Marquand, David (2011) "Hate and Hope" in *The End of the West*, pp. 67-101.
- Jan Zielonka, *Europe as Empire*, Introduction & Chapter 6.  
<http://www.oxfordscholarship.com.ezproxy.bu.edu/view/10.1093/0199292213.001.0001/acprof-9780199292219>
- Daniel H. Deudney, "The Philadelphian System: Sovereignty, Arms Control, and Balance of Power in the American States-Union, Circa 1787-1861." *International Organization* 49(02): 191-228. 1995. Available at:  
<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=4310888>
- \*Vivien Schmidt, "Theorizing Democracy in Europe" in *Democracy in Europe*, pp. 219-266
- \*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.
- \*Mark Gilbert, "Narrating the Process: Questioning the Progressive Story of European Integration," *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol. 46, no. 3 (2008): 641-62.

\* *Paper #1 due October 3 (covers up to 9/29).*

*Question:* Will the EU 'run' the 21<sup>st</sup> century, or is it in perpetual decline? What does the past history and process of European integration suggest about future prospects? What effect is the Eurozone Crisis likely to have on this future?

## **WEEK 5 (10/6)**

## A. INSTITUTIONS AND GOVERNANCE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

### 1. Who is in Charge? EU Institutions

Everyone: Read Hix textbook chapters + readings below

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

Kelemen, Daniel R. 2010. *Eurolegalism: The Rise of Adversarial Legalism in the European Union*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 1-93

The Economist, "A democratic nightmare", 26 October, 2013

"All the Presidents Presidents" The Economist:

[http://www.economist.com/blogs/johnson/2010/06/eu\\_jargon](http://www.economist.com/blogs/johnson/2010/06/eu_jargon)

"Biased Referee?" The Economist: <http://www.economist.com/node/149581>

#### Presentations:

##### Commission

Hooghe, Liesbet. 2012. "Images of Europe: How Commission Officials Conceive Their Institution's Role." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50, 87-111.

Hodson (2013), "The Little Engine that Wouldn't: Supranational Entrepreneurship and the Barroso Commission" *Journal of European Integration*, Vol 35: 3, pp. 301-314.

#### Presenter:

##### Council

Mattila, Mikko. 2009. "Roll call analysis of voting in the European Union Council of Ministers after the 2004 enlargement." *European Journal Of Political Research* 48(6), 840-857

Mair, Peter; Thomassen, Jacques (2010) "Political representation and government in the European Union" *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17(1): 20-35

#### Presenter:

##### Parliament

Kardasheva, Raya. 2013. "Package Deals in EU Legislative Politics" *American Journal of Political Science* 57: 858-874.

Hix, Simon and Michael Marsh. 2007. "Punishment or Protest? Understanding European Parliament Elections". *The Journal of Politics*, 69, 495-510

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

#### Presenter:

##### ECJ

Lisa Conant, "Review Article: The Politics of Legal Integration," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45 (2007): 45-66.

Reading TBD

#### Presenter:

## WEEK 6 (10/14—Monday schedule on Tuesday)

### EU Governance

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, “Interest Representation” in *The Political System of the European Union*.

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, “Public Opinion’ and “Democracy, Parties, and Elections,” in *The Political System of the European Union*.

Documentary “The Brussels Business” 2012

### Parties:

Ladrech, Robert (2012) “Europeanization and Political Parties” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 313-332

\*Trenz, Hans-Jörg & de Wilde, Pieter (2009) "Denouncing EU integration: Euroscepticism as reactive identity formation." RECON online working paper 2009/10

[http://www.reconproject.eu/main.php/RECON\\_wp\\_0910.pdf?fileitem=16662597](http://www.reconproject.eu/main.php/RECON_wp_0910.pdf?fileitem=16662597)

### Presenter:

### Interest Groups:

Saurugger, Sabine (2012) “The Europeanization of Interest Groups and Social Movements” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 333-357

Schilde, Kaija (forthcoming) “Embedded in Brussels: The Political Economy of European Security Policy,” introduction and chapter 3 (skim).

\*Maria Green Cowles. 1995. “Setting the Agenda for a New Europe: The ERT and EC 1992,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 33: 501-26.

### Presenter:

### Public Opinion:

Hobolt, Sara B, Tilley, James. Forthcoming. “Who's in Charge? How Voters Attribute Responsibility in the European Union." *Comparative Political Studies*

\*Hooghe, Liesbet. 2003. “Europe Divided? Elites vs. Public Opinion on European Integration.” *European Union Politics* 4:281-304.

### Presenter:

### Solutions:

Marquand, David (2011) “The Revenge of Politics” in *The End of the West*, pp. 102-140.

\*Duff, Andrew, (2012) “On Governing Europe,” *Policy Network* <http://www.policy-network.net/publications/4257/On-Governing-Europe>

\*Simon Hix, “The EU is flawed but it can be fixed”

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/6232331/EU-is-flawed-but-it-can-be-fixed.html>

\* Schmidt, Vivien (2009) “Re-Envisioning the European Union: Identity, Democracy, Economy,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol. 47 Annual Review (2009): 17-42

### Presenter:

## B. EUROPEAN UNION POLICIES

### WEEK 7 (10/20)

#### 1. The Internal Market and the Euro

##### a. Constructing a Single Market

Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, "Regulation of the Single Market" in *The Political System of the European Union*.

Nicolas Jabko (2006). *Playing the Market: A Political Strategy for Uniting Europe, 1985-2005* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press). Chapters 1-5, pp. 1-90

Kelemen, Daniel R. 2010. *Eurolegalism: The Rise of Adversarial Legalism in the European Union*. "Competition Policy", pp. 143-194

Bickerton, Christopher (2012) "European Economic Integration and State Transformation" *European Integration: From Nation-States to Member-States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). Chapter 4, pp. 113-150

Neil Fligstein, Euroclash, Chapter 4. "The Creation of Markets"

Vivien A. Schmidt, "The Europeanization of National Economies?" in *Member States of the European Union*, pp. 408-436.

\* <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/24/world/europe/european-commission-tables-olive-oil-rule.html?emc=tnt&tntemail0=y&pagewanted=print>

\* Cameron, David, "Creating Market Economies after Communism: The Impact of the European Union," *Post-Soviet Affairs* vol. 25, no. 1 (2009): 1-39 (ejournals)

\* Höpner, Martin and Schäfer, Armin (2007) "A New Phase of European Integration: Organized Capitalisms in Post-Ricardian Europe." MOIFG Discussion Paper no. 07/4. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=976162>

**Presenter:**

**Presenter:**

\* Paper #2 due October 24 (covers up to Oct. 20).

*Question: Who is in charge of the EU? Answer by discussing the nature and problems of EU governance. And how does the construction of the Internal Markets illustrate your propositions? What solutions to the problems of EU governance do you think most plausible?*

### WEEK 8 (10/27)

##### b. Constructing a Single Currency

Nicolas Jabko (2006). *Playing the Market: A Political Strategy for Uniting Europe, 1985-2005* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press). Chapter 8, pp. 147-178

Matthijs, Matthias "The Eurozone Crisis: Growing Pains or Doomed from the Start?" in *Handbook of Global Economic Governance: Players, Power, and Paradigms* (Routledge, forthcoming 2014)

- Schmidt, Vivien A. (2010) "The European Union's Eurozone Crisis and What (not) to do about it" *Brown Journal of World Affairs* vol. XVII, issue I (Fall/Winter 2010), pp. 199-214.
- Schmidt, Vivien A. (2013) "Governing by the Rules, Ruling by the Numbers: EU Institutional Actors in the Eurozone Crisis."
- Dinan, Desmond (2013) "EU Governance and Institutions: Stresses above and below the Waterline," *Journal of Common Market Studies* vol. 51 Annual Review, pp. 89-102.
- Simon Hix and Bjorn Hyland, "Economic and Monetary Union" in *The Political System of the European Union*.
- \*Scharpf, Fritz W. (2012) "Legitimacy Intermediation in the Multilevel European Polity and Its Collapse in the Euro Crisis" MPIfG Discussion Paper 12/6  
[http://www.mpifg.de/people/fs/publikation-wpdp\\_de.html](http://www.mpifg.de/people/fs/publikation-wpdp_de.html)
- \*Jabko, Nicolas (2010) "The hidden face of the euro" *Journal of European Public Policy* Vol. 17 Issue 3, p318-334
- \*Lütz, Susanne and Kranke, Matthias (2010) "The European Rescue of the Washington Consensus? EU and IMF Lending to Central and East European Countries" LESQ Paper 22/2010.
- New York Times, Room For Debate: "Can Eurobonds save the Union?"  
<http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2012/05/22/can-euro-bonds-save-the-union>
- The Economist. "Eurobonds: How best to share the sacrifice?"  
<http://www.economist.com/blogs/freeexchange/2012/04/eurobonds>

**Presenter:**

**Presenter:**

\* *Plan ahead: 3-5 page topic abstract, argument, basic outline, and working bibliography for a research paper on a topic of your choice, due on November 8<sup>th</sup>*

## 2. EU Policy Domains

### WEEK 9 (11/3)

#### a. EU Enlargement

- Marquand, David (2011) "Which Boundaries, Whose History?" in *The End of the West*, pp. 141-177.
- Rachel Epstein and Wade Jacoby, "Eastern Enlargement Ten Years On: Transcending the East-West divide?", *JCMS*, 2014, Vol. 52, N01, pp. 1-16.
- Vachudova, Milada Anna (2005). *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism* (New York: Oxford University Press). Chapters 1-3, 5, 8, plus one of the remaining chapters (4, 6, 7).
- Mearsheimer, John. "Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault." *Foreign Affairs*, Sept/Oct 2014. <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/141769/john-j-mearsheimer/why-the-ukraine-crisis-is-the-west-s-fault>
- Eric Berglof, "Europe's precarious New Normal", *Project Syndicate*, May 2, 2014  
<http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/erik-berglof-takes-the-measure-of-central-and-eastern-europe---and-ukraine---ten-years-after-eu-accession>

Timothy Snyder, “Ukraine, the antidote to Europe’s fascists?”, *New York Review of Books* Blog, May 27, 2014

<http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2014/may/27/ukraine-antidote-europes-fascists/>

Jim Sleeper, “What if Timothy Snyder is wrong about Ukraine?” *Washington Monthly*, May 13, 2014

<http://www.washingtonmonthly.com/ten-miles-square/2014/05/what-if-timothy-snyder-is-wron050323.php>

**Presenter:**

**Presenter:**

\*Moravcsik, Andrew, and Milada Vachudova. “National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement. (<http://www.princeton.edu/~amoravcs/library/vachudova.pdf>)

\*Michael Minkenberg, Hajo G Boomgaarden, with Claes H de Vreese & André Freire (2012) “Turkish membership in the European Union--The role of religion” *Comparative European Politics* 10: 133-148

\*Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier (2002). “Theorising EU Enlargement: Research Focus, Hypotheses, and the State of Research,” *Journal of European Public Policy*, 9(4): 500-528

## WEEK 10 (11/10)

### **Internal EU Security: Border Security, and Immigration Policy**

Chebel d'Appollonia Ariane (2012) *Frontiers of Fear: Immigration and Insecurity in the United States and Europe* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, especially the Introduction and chapters 1, 2, 3, 8 and the conclusion, pp. 1-110, 222-263.

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

**Presenter:**

**Presenter:**

\*Andrew Geddes, “*Il Rombo des Cannoni?* Immigration and the Centre-right in Italy,” *Journal of European Public Policy* no. vol. 15, no. 3 (2008) pp. 349-366 (ejournals)

\*Sally Marthaler, Nicolas Sarkozy and the Politics of French Immigration Policy,” vol. 15, no. 3 (2008) pp. 382-397 (ejournals)

\*Bjorn Müller-Wille, “The Effect of International Terrorism on EU Intelligence Cooperation,” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 46(1): 49-73.

\*Lindstrom, Gustav. “The EU’s Approach to Homeland Security: Balancing Safety and European Ideals,” in Esther Brimmer (ed.), *Transforming Homeland Security: U.S. and European Approaches*, Washington, D.C.: Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2006, pp. 115-131, at:

[http://transatlantic.saisjhu.edu/bin/i/p/transforming\\_homeland\\_security.pdf](http://transatlantic.saisjhu.edu/bin/i/p/transforming_homeland_security.pdf)

\*Elaine Fahey, Eva Gross, Daniel Hamilton, Xymena Kurowska, Maria Grazia Porcedda, Mark Rhinard, Thorsten Wetzling, Sarah Wolff; edited by Patryk Pawlak, *The EU-US Security and Justice agenda in action*, CHAILLOT PAPERS December 2011

[http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/cp127\\_EU-US\\_security\\_justice\\_agenda.pdf](http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/cp127_EU-US_security_justice_agenda.pdf)

- \*Olivier Roy, "EuroIslam: The Jihad Within?" *The National Interest* 71 (2003), p. 63-73.
- \*Bowen, John. "Does French Islam Have Borders? Dilemmas of Domestication in a Global Religious Field," *American Anthropologist*, Volume 106, issue 1 (March 2004), p. 43-55.
- \*Huysmans, Jef. 2000. "The European Union and the Securitization of Migration" *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Vol. 38 No. 5: 751-777.
- \*BOSWELL, Christina (2007), "Migration Control in Europe After 9/11: Explaining the Absence of Securitization", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45 (3), 589–610.

### **European Identity**

Neil Fligstein, *Euroclash*, chapters 5-8.

Kaija Schilde, "Who are the Europeans? European Identity Outside of European Integration." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 52, Issue 3, pages 650–667, May 2014

### **Presenter:**

*Current events readings added*

## **WEEK 11 (11/17)**

### **External EU Security: Common Defense and Security Policy**

- Richard Whitman, "Road Map for a Route March? (De-)civilianizing through the EU's Security Strategy," *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2006), pp. 1-15
- Thomas Overhage, "Pool it, Share it or Loose it: An economical view on pooling and sharing of European military capabilities," *Defense and Security Analysis*, 2013, vol. 29, No4, pp. 323-41.
- Anand Menon, "European Defense Policy: From Lisbon to Libya," *Survival* 53:3 (2011), pp.75- 90
- Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*  
<http://www.hoover.org/publications/policyreview/3460246.html>
- Robert Cooper, "The European Answer to Robert Kagan," *Transatlantic Internationale Politik*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2003), pp. 19-24.
- \*Anand Menon, Kalypso Nicolaïdis, and Jennifer Welsh, "In Defence of Europe: A Response to Kagan," *Journal of European Affairs*, September 2004. (ejournals)

### **Presenter:**

### **Common Foreign and Security Policy**

- Bickerton, Christopher (2012) "From Nation-State to Member-State in European Foreign Policy" *European Integration: From Nation-States to Member-States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). Chapter 5, pp. 151-181
- Simon Hix, "Foreign Policies" in the Political System of the European Union, pp. 374-405.
- Chase, Peter. "The EU's External Action Service: Will it Deliver?" *Brussels Forum Paper Series* (March 2011),



[http://www.gmfus.org/galleries/ct\\_publication\\_attachments/BF\\_briefs\\_Chase\\_web.pdf](http://www.gmfus.org/galleries/ct_publication_attachments/BF_briefs_Chase_web.pdf).

Hemra, Staffan *et al.* “A Diplomatic Entrepreneur: Making the Most of the European External Action Service”, Chatham House Report (Dec. 2011),  
[http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Europe/r1211\\_eas.pdf](http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Europe/r1211_eas.pdf)

Richardson, John B. “The External Action Service of the European Union – Fit for Purpose?”, German Marshall Fund of the United States, Policy Brief (March 2011),  
[http://www.gmfus.org/galleries/ct\\_publication\\_attachments/Richardson\\_ExtActionServices\\_Mar11.pdf;jsessionid=aRncHpS7n45\\_p2yHQg](http://www.gmfus.org/galleries/ct_publication_attachments/Richardson_ExtActionServices_Mar11.pdf;jsessionid=aRncHpS7n45_p2yHQg).

\*The European Union as a Normative Foreign Policy Actor, ed. By Nathalie Tocci, With case studies by Hakim Darbouche, Michael Emerson, Sandra Fernandes, Ruth Hanau-Santini, Gergana Noutcheva and Clara Portela, CEPS Working Document No. 281/January 2008  
<http://www.ceps.be/ceps/download/1421>

**Presenter:**

## WEEK 12 (11/24)

### EU Trade Policy

Jacoby, Wade and Meunier, Sophie, (2010) “Europe and the Management of Globalization,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 17:3 April 2010: 299–317  
 Sbragia, Alberta (2010) “The EU, the US, and trade policy: competitive interdependence in the management of globalization” *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 17 Issue 3, p368-382

Karel de Gucht on TTIP

[http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2013/october/tradoc\\_151822.pdf](http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2013/october/tradoc_151822.pdf)

**Presenter:**

### EU Risk Regulation and TransAtlantic Comparisons

Vogel, David (2012) *The Politics of Precaution: Regulating Health, Safety and Environmental Risks* Princeton: Princeton University Press, especially chapters 1,2, 7, 9, pp. 1-42, 219-251, 279-294.

**Presenter:**

\* *Paper #3 due November 26 (covers up to Nov. 24).*

*Question: In which of the policy areas considered do you think the EU has been most successful, in which the least? Why?*

## EUROPEANIZATION OF THE MEMBER-STATES

### WEEK 13

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

Hussein Kassim, “The Europeanization of Member State Institutions” in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 285-316

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

(Oral presentations of final papers, paired with country discussions)

## **WEEK 14**

(Presentations, paired with country discussions)

**Read two chapters, 1 for the country you are researching + one more. Include comparison between the states in your research presentation**

### **France, the UK, and Germany**

Olivier Rozenberg: Genuine Europeanization or Monnet for Nothing? in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 57-84

Timm Beichelt: Germany: In Search of a New Balance in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 85-107

David Allen: The United Kingdom: Towards Isolation and a Parting of the Ways? in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 108-133

Matthias Matthijs, “David Cameron’s Dangerous Game,” *Foreign Affairs* Sept/Oct 2013

### **Other Member-States**

Francesc Morata: Spain: Modernization through Europeanization in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 134-160

Anna Michalski: Sweden: From Scepticism to Pragmatic Support in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 161-185

Nathaniel Copsy: Poland: An Awkward Partner Redeemed in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp.186-212

Piret Ehin: Estonia: Excelling at Self-Exertion in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 213-235

Dimitris Papadimitriou and David Phinnemore: Romania: Uneven Europeanization in *Member-States of the European Union*, pp. 236-258

**(Final Papers Due last class)**

## **Response Papers and Presentations Grading Rubric**

Response Papers

5 points

Answers the prompt in a coherent manner. Makes creative links between the reading, authors and concepts. Goes beyond the assigned content to draw fresh insights and analysis. Demonstrates mastery of the material and engages in independent thinking.

Avoids making claims unsupported by evidence and/or reasonable judgment, or making fallacious claims including equivocation. Writing is exceptionally lucid.

4.5

Answers the prompt in a coherent way. Makes links between the cases, concepts or authors. Demonstrates a solid understanding of the material and goes beyond simple regurgitation, even if all claims are not convincingly established. Avoids being vague, making claims unsupported by evidence and/or reasonable judgment. Writing is clear

4

Answers the prompt in a coherent way although lacks creativity and depth. Demonstrates more than cursory understanding of the material. Tends toward vagueness but does not make claims unsupported by evidence and/or reasonable judgment. Writing is good.

3.5

Answers the prompt. Provides examples of cases, concepts or authors but fails to effectively connect evidence to the prompt. Makes claims unsupported by evidence and/or reasonable judgment. Writing itself is acceptable but needs improvement.

3

Unclear answer to the prompt. Fails to lay out the answer with evidence from the cases concepts, and/or fails effectively connect evidence to the argument. Tends toward vagueness, makes claims unsupported by evidence and/or reasonable judgment. Writing itself is poor.

2.5

States an unclear claim. Fails to lay out the argument with evidence from the texts and fails to demonstrate knowledge of the material itself. Vague, makes claims unsupported by evidence and/or reasonable judgment. Writing itself is unacceptable or incoherent.

### Reading Presentations

1. Clear and concise: summarize readings as succinctly as possible. Highlight what you think is important. This is an editing job, not a regurgitation of the entire reading. You are not proving to us that you have read it, you are extracting the key points out of it (no more than 3-5 per reading!)
2. Comprehensive: You are extracting only key points, but from all the readings.
3. Analytical: your job is not to report on the readings, but to synthesize, analyze, and critique them. No more than 30% of a presentation (no more than 3-5 minutes) should summarize the readings: the rest should be analytical commentary. You should link the readings to the overall themes and theories of the course.
4. Entertaining: Think of your audience and peers! Don't be boring! The entire point of a presentation—aside from training you for professional skills—is to generate a discussion. Regurgitated facts do not generate discussion. Puzzles, critiques, debates, and questions do.
5. Make it unique. Tell us about something only you know about, or give us an interesting tidbit or anecdote from current events and your own readings.

### Research Presentations

1. The quality of the research
2. The quality of the presentation
3. How interesting/relevant the topic is
4. How the project ties into the themes and theories of the class