BOSTON UNIVERSITY
Pardee School of Global Studies and Department of Political Science

Fall Semester 2016

Course Offering IR 550/PO535

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Class Hours: Mondays, 1:00-4:00pm
Location: IRC 220

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Book time slot at: https://schilde-pardeeschoolofglobalstudies.youcanbook.me
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, having resulted in the “Brexit” vote in June 2016. And Euroskepticism is also associated 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 the internally open borders of Schengen are also related to the deadly crisis at the external borders of the EU, exacerbated by increasing flows of refugees seeking asylum.

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 ‘poled’ 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 and borders, 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

(for purchase)
2. Zimmermann, Hubert and Dür, Andreas (2016) Key Controversies in European Integration Palgrave (*will be published on 9 September 2016)

(available electronically through library)

Other readings are available via library ejournals or blackboard.

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.

ONLINE PARTICIPATION: We will be using Piazza for class discussion. Piazza has two functions: one for practical course questions, and the other for facilitating online discussion. For practical questions, I prefer you first post any inquiries to Piazza before emailing the professor. It is likely that you will get an answer to your question much faster if you pose it to your peers first on piazza, and then I can validate or follow up on any answer when I’m available to do so. Piazza has an anonymous function for this purpose. We will also use Piazza to host a weekly online discussion prior to the start of class. The online comment will be due by 10 am the morning of class. Participating in the online discussions in piazza is very important, particularly to encourage student-to-student interaction through the system. In order to receive participation credit, you
must have at least one meaningful (2+ paragraph or 300 word +) discussion contribution (question, answer, follow-up comment) in every week the course is taught. The comment or contribution must take at least 2-3 readings into account. It is not a work of perfection or brilliance: it is a conversation. It can pose more questions than answers. I want you to take risks and really enter an evolving debate and conversation. In a topic as complex and messy as the EU, there is no ‘right’ answer. The only way to be wrong is to not participate, or to have strong preexisting biases you are not willing to address and evaluate. Additional contributions (answers and follow-up comments) will garner up to five extra credit points for the semester. Find our class page at: https://piazza.com/class/is417ipcs574ig

If you have any problems or feedback for the developers, email team@piazza.com.

Current events sources:
Politico Europe: European Politics, Policy, Government News - POLITICO
EU Observer, http://euobserver.com
Euractiv, http://www.euractiv.com
Spiegel Online, http://www.spiegel.de
The Economist, http://www.economist.com
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.bruegel.org/ Bruegel (leading think tank on European economy)
http://www.robert-schuman.eu/archives_questions_europe.php Robert Schuman Foundation (leading think tank on European affairs)

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. This means reading and reflecting analytically on the readings, posting online comments on Piazza before class, and engaging in the seminar discussion. It also means you will prepare a puzzle-driven original research project in multiple steps, using your own original research based on primary sources, and workshop the project in-class.

1. Weekly readings of 150-250 pages. Knowledge and synthesis will be evaluated through Piazza Discussion Participation (15% of the grade).
2. Participation in class discussions (including discussions of required readings as well as current events) and two presentations (25% of the grade altogether):
   - One debate presentation (two for graduate students) on one side of a particular EU policy issue. You will first provide an analytical summary (and the position) on the issue as presented by the contributor in the Zimmerman and Dur (2016) readings, and then also further evaluate and support the position taken with additional academic, policy, and journalistic evidence and sources.
(10-15 minute presentation). You will signup for the debate presentations the first week of the course. *(10% of grade, evaluated by peers)*

- an oral presentation on your draft research paper in the last classes (approx 5-10 minutes including question-and-answer session with fellow students); *(5% of grade, evaluated by professor)*
- in class seminar participation *(10% of grade, evaluated by peers and professor)*

3. One brief essay 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 *(20% of grade).*
   - *You choose which paper prompt you will write*

4. A research paper on a topic of the student’s choice, using primary and secondary research sources, and considering a puzzle surrounding an EU policy area and its relationship to one or two (in particular for graduate students) member-states. It is not speculative, meaning it cannot ask a puzzle about the future (i.e. NOT “what will Brexit do to Britain in 20 years…”). It is also not normative (i.e. NOT “is Merkel’s position on migration good or bad/right or wrong”). We will discuss in class how to frame an analytical, empirical research question and research design. The paper is expected to use the class readings to help analyze the topic. It should also use original primary 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 proposal, including: topic, puzzle, abstract, hypotheses, basic outline, and working bibliography for a research paper on a topic of your choice, due on November 7th. The proposal bibliography should already have at least ten SECONDARY sources (for forming a literature review and hypotheses) and ten PRIMARY sources (for evaluating the hypotheses and collecting data) *(5% of the grade, post to Piazza)*;
   - peer feedback via piazza comments to two other proposals *(10% of grade, on Piazza)*
   - 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 course final date assigned by the registrar *(25% 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 Oct 12.  The last day you may drop the course with a W grade is Nov 12.  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/](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/](http://www.bu.edu/cas/students/graduate/forms-policies-procedures/academic-discipline-procedures/)
COURSE OUTLINE

WEEK 1 Mon Sep 12

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

A united Europe is closer than you think: http://www.politico.eu/article/europe-union-brexit-eurobarometer/

Brexit means Brexit — but in reality it’s a long time away http://www.standard.co.uk/comment/comment/david-allen-green-brexit-means-brexit-but-in-reality-it-s-a-long-time-away-a3314616.html

Brexit Explanation: http://www.vox.com/2016/6/24/12025514/brexit-cartoon


“Key facts and figures about the EU” EU Commission http://europa.eu.int/abc/keyfigures/index_en.htm

Schuman Declaration http://www.eppgroup.eu/Activities/docs/divers/schumanen.pdf


Craig Parsons, A Brief History of the European Union, http://eucenter.berkeley.edu/workingpapers/Parsons_Brief%20History%20of%20EU.2009.doc


Pascal Fontaine, Europe in 12 Lessons (EU Publications Office, 2010).

EUROBUBBLE YouTube Channel

THE EU PROJECT

WEEK 2 Mon Sept 19

The EU and Europe: Past and Future

Soros Interview, NY Review of Books
http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2016/02/11/europe-verge-collapse-interview/


Award Ceremony Speech, Nobel Peace Prize 2012, 10 December 2012
http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2012/presentation-speech.html


http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/01/09/where-is-europe/?_r=0

Timothy Garton Ash, “The Crisis of Europe: How the Union Came Together and Why it’s Falling Apart,” Foreign Affairs, September/October 2012

WEEK 3 Mon Sept 26

Explaining European Integration I


WEEK 4 Mon Oct 3

Explaining European Integration II


Jan Zielonka, Europe as Empire, Introduction & Chapter 6.


* Paper #1 due October 3 (covers up to 9/26).

Question: Will the EU ‘run’ the 21st 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, Brexit, or the Migration Crisis likely to have on this future?

WEEK 5 --Tues Oct 11 (Monday schedule on Tuesday)
A. **Institutions and Governance of the European Union**

1. **Who is in Charge? EU Institutions**
   
   Toemmel, Ingeborg (2014) *The European Union: What it is and how it works* Palgrave Press. Chapters 4-7
   

   Zimmerman and Dur, chapters 3&5:
   
   Debate 1: 3. More Powers for Brussels or Renationalization?
   
   *A Stronger, More Supranational Union - Derek Beach*
   
   *The New Intergovernmentalism – The Next Phase in European Integration - Uwe Puetter*

   Debate 2: 5. Too Much Power for the Judges?
   
   *Understanding the European Court's Political Power- Karen Alter and Daniel Kelemen*
   
   *A Strange Institution - Jeremy Rabkin*

WEEK 6 — Mon Oct 17

**EU Governance & Legitimacy I**

Toemmel, Ingeborg (2014) *The European Union: What it is and how it works* Palgrave Press. Chapters 8-12

*Member states reading TBD*

New German Hegemony: Does It Exist, And Is It Dangerous?

*A Benign Hégémon: Germany's European Vocation - Miguel Otero-Iglesias and Hubert Zimmermann*

*The Failure of German Leadership - Matthias Matthijs*

Should It Stay or Should It Go? Britain, EU Membership and the Merits of Selective Integration

*The Case for Brexit: Why Britain should leave the EU - Alan Sked*

*Brexit – a Disaster for Britain and for the European Union - Martin Rhodes*

Conclusion

WEEK 7 --- Mon Oct 24

**EU Governance & Legitimacy II**

*Documentary “The Brussels Business” 2012*


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

Debate 1: Zimmerman and Dur Chapter 4. How Democratic Is The EU?
  The Inevitability of a Democratic Deficit - Richard Bellamy
  A Democratic Achievement, not just a Democratic Deficit - Christopher Lord

Debate 2: Zimmerman and Dur ch. 7. Lobbying in the EU: How Much Power for Big Business?
  Big Business Dominates the EU - Laura Horn and Angela Wigger
  The Power of Big Business is Constrained in the EU - David Marshall

* Paper #2 due October 24 (covers up to Oct. 17).

Question: Who is in charge of the EU? Answer by discussing the nature and problems of EU governance. What solutions to the problems of EU governance do you think most plausible?

B. EUROPEAN UNION POLICIES

WEEK 8 – Mon Oct 31

1. The Internal Market
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”

 Debate 1: Zimmerman and Dur chapter 10. Can the EU Tame Big Finance?
  The Merits of Adaptive Governance: The Regulation of Financial Services in the EU - Jörn Carsten Gottwald
  The Pitfalls of EU Governance in Financial Markets - Daniel Mügge

 Debate 2: Zimmerman and Dur chapter 2. The Political Efficiency of the EU
  The EU as Efficient Polity - Desmond Dinan
  The EU: Quick to Regulate, Slow to Adapt - Mats Persson

WEEK 9 – Mon Nov 7

The Euro

Debate: Z &D CH. 8. The Uncertain Future of the Euro
*Why the Euro is a Functional Necessity in the Process of European Integration* - Henrik Enderlein
*For a Plurality of Economic and Social Models! Against the Uniform Euro State!* - Andreas Nölke

Debate: Z &D CH. 9. The Euro: Economic Success or Disaster?
*Exit or Differentiated Monetary Integration – Saving the Euro by Making It More Flexible* - Tal Sadeh
*Unity in Diversity: The Unfulfilled Promise of the Euro* - Waltraud Schelkle

**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 7th

2. EU Policy Domains

**WEEK 10 – Mon Nov 14**

a. EU Enlargement


Debate Zimmerman & Dur Ch. 13. Is EU Enlargement a Success Story or Has It Gone Too Far?
The Benefits of EU Enlargement: Defending Security, Prosperity, and Democracy - Rachel Epstein
EU Enlargement: A Critique - Christopher J. Bickerton

**WEEK 11 – Mon Nov 21**

Identity and Migration

Neil Fligstein, Euroclash, chapters 5-8.


Debate Zimmerman and Dur Ch. 6. Can There Be A Common European Identity?

*The Emergence of a European Identity - Ulrike Liebert*

*A Common European Identity is an Illusion - Jonathan White*

**WEEK 12 – Mon Nov 28**

**Foreign, Security, Trade, and Defense Policy**


Debate 1: Zimmerman and Dur, Chapter 14.

Towards A Common European Army?

*Still Flattering to Deceive: The Common Security and Defence Policy Defence! - Anand Menon*

*Defence Integration in the EU: From Vision to Business-as-Usual - Hanna Ojanen*

Debate 2: Zimmerman and Dur Ch. 12. Does the EU Act as a Normative Power?

*The EU as Normative Power - Daniela Sicurelli*

*Living in a Material World: A Critique of 'Normative Power Europe’ - Mark Pollack*
* Paper #3 due November 28 (covers up to Nov. 21).

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

**WEEK 13 Mon Dec 5**

Oral presentations of research projects

**WEEK 14 – Mon Dec 12**

Oral presentations of research projects

**(Final Papers Due on day of Final)**

**Response Papers 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.