Temple University Fall 2012

Syllabus for Political Science 3331: Politics of the European Union

Instructor

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Office Hours: Tuesday 12:45 – 1:45 p.m.;
Thursday 9:45 – 10:45 a.m.; 3:30 – 4:30 p.m.

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Lecture: TR, 11:00 a.m. – 12:20 p.m., Ritter Hall 103

The European Union (formally the European Community) has been described as "an extraordinary political experiment," "the most original political concept since the American Constitution was drafted in 1787," and "surely one of the most important political experiments in Europe in modern times." From its beginnings as the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951, the European Union today has grown to a supranational polity composed of 27 member states governed by an ever-growing set of political institutions, and sharing common economic and social policies, a common foreign and security policy, and (for some member states at least) a common currency, the Euro.

This course seeks to explicate and understand the European Union in its dual aspects: as a *process* of international or regional integration, tying existing nation-states such as France, Germany, and the United Kingdom into an "ever-closer Union of peoples"; and as a *polity* or political system with its own institutions, policies, and policy processes. As we shall see, the study of the European Union increasingly blurs the boundaries between international relations (concerned with the relations among states) and comparative politics (concerned with the workings of domestic political systems), and we will draw from both fields in our effort to make sense of the EU and its workings.

The course is arranged in three parts. In the first part, we explore both the political history of European integration in the post-war era, up to and including the recently adopted Treaty of Lisbon, and the various theories put forward by political scientists to explain and understand the process of European integration. Next, in part two, we turn from European integration as a process to the workings of the EU as a political system, including its core institutions and its legislative, executive and judicial politics. In the third and longest part of the course, we turn for several weeks to look at the substance of EU policies, including the core project of completing a European internal market, the single currency, the incomplete development of a "social Europe" and an area of "freedom, security and justice," the enlargement of the Union to include new members, and the development of a common foreign policy vis-à-vis the United States and the rest of the world.

The schedule of classes and topics is as follows:

- Week 1: Introduction, and the Origins of the EU (Aug 28, 30)
- Week 2. Integration Theory, and the Relaunching of Europe (Sept 4, 6)
- Week 3: From Community to Union, and the Birth of Theoretical Pluralism (Sept 11, 13)
- Week 4. The Democratic Deficit, the Constitution, and the Lisbon Treaty (Sept 18, 20)
- Week 5: Independent Research (Sept 25, 27)
- Week 6: The EU as a Political System; Legislative Politics (Oct 2, 4)
- Week 7. Executive and Judicial Politics (Oct 9, 11)
- Week 8: The Internal Market: The Core of the European Union (Oct 16, 18)
- Week 9: The EU and the World (Oct 23, 25, 30)
- Week 10: Economic and Monetary Union (Nov 1, 6, 8)
- Week 11: Social Europe? (Nov 13, 15)
- Week 12: Spending Policies (Nov 20)
- Week 13: Enlargement and Justice and Home Affairs (Nov 27, 29)
- Week 14: Conclusions and The Future of Europe (Dec 4)

Course requirements: The requirements for this course are:

1. a series of three 1-2 page papers (double-spaced, 12-point font!) in response to the study questions for the weekly readings, to be handed in at the *beginning* of lecture on the *first day* of the weeks selected. These papers are intended to demonstrate that you have read and thought about the *assigned readings*, so please be sure to write your essays with specific reference to relevant readings. Students may select any three weeks of the course among weeks 2-4 and 6-13. Please note that some weeks are irregular, and begin on a Thursday, so consult the syllabus for the precise dates for each week. Please note also that *late papers will not be accepted*, so be sure to get all three papers submitted on-time by Week 13 (8% per paper, for a total of 24% of the grade);

2. attendance at and participation in class discussion (including discussions of the required readings as well as discussions of current events from Week 6 onwards), 8% of the grade;

3. a mid-term exam covering weeks 1-8 of the course (October 16th, 15% of the grade)

4. a 3-5 page abstract and working bibliography for a research paper on a topic of your choice, due on Thursday, November 1st (8% of the grade);

5. a 10-20 page research paper on a topic of your choice, drawn from primary as well as secondary sources, and due on or before Tuesday, December 4th (25% of the grade); and

6. an in-class final exam (date TBA) (20%).

Required readings: The following books, marked with an asterisk in the weekly readings, are on order at the Temple University Bookstore, and on reserve at Paley Library.

- Simon Hix and Bjorn Hoyland, *The Political System of the European Union*, 3rd edition (London: Palgrave, 2011), ISBN 978-0230249820.

- Helen Wallace, Mark A. Pollack, and Alasdair R. Young, eds., *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 6th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

All other *required* readings will also be made available via electronic reserve. In addition to these required readings, the syllabus lists a number of *recommended* readings on various topics. These readings will generally not be discussed in class, but are included for students with an interest in doing extra research in one of these areas.

In addition to these secondary sources, we will hold a special session during the first half of the term on the use of *primary* sources, discussing how to find these sources, how to search through them efficiently, and how to use and cite them in your research papers.

Finally, please note that all readings are subject to potential revision as new and more up-to-date sources are released.

Sources for current events in the EU. In addition to these readings, students are strongly encouraged to consult one of the growing number of good websites devoted to EU politics. The best news sites for EU politics are:

- *euobserver* at http://www.euobserver.com; and
- *Euractiv* at http://www.euractiv.com.

Both are excellent, detailed, and updated daily – and you should be sure to sign up, no later than Week 6, for their terrific and free daily e-mail newsletters! Other useful websites include the EU's own *Europa* website at http://europa.eu.int; *Eupolitix* at http://www.eupolitix.com; and the website of the EU-oriented TV station *Euronews,* which features daily video stories at http://www.euronews.net. The semi-weekly newsletter *European Report* offers excellent and detailed coverage of the EU, and is available through the Lexis-Nexis database. The best English-language daily newspaper coverage of the EU can be found in the Financial Times, which has a good web site at http://www.ft.com (alas, behind a pay wall) and offers special rates for students during the semester.

Once again, we will begin each Tuesday from Week 6 onwards with a brief **discussion of current events** in EU politics, and students are urged to prepare for these discussions by consulting regularly one or more of the above web-sites for the most important stories of the week.

Note on Academic Misconduct. All students in this class are expected to adhere to the University of Pennsylvania standards on academic conduct. In recent years, I have had increasing experience with students plagiarizing work from either printed sources or internet web sites, and I therefore consider it important to clarify the course policy regarding plagiarism and other types of academic misconduct. All students should, in all assignments, fully and

unambiguously cite sources from which they are drawing important ideas and/or sizable quotations (for example, more than eight consecutive words or more than 50% of a given sentence or paragraph). Failure to do so constitutes plagiarism, which is a serious act of academic misconduct and *will result in a failing grade for the course*, as well as the possibility of notification of the infraction to the Dean of Students and academic dismissal. Similarly, cheating during exams, copying written assignments from other students, or providing answers to others during exams are considered acts of academic misconduct. Given the seriousness of these infractions, there will be no second chances and no leniency. Please avoid them at any cost. If you still have doubts or specific questions about citation of sources, feel free to raise them directly with me.

Frequency of words in this syllabus, from Wordle.net

TABLE OF READINGS AND STUDY QUESTIONS

PART I: EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: HISTORY AND THEORY

Week 1: Introduction, and the Origins of the EU (Aug 28, 30)

Required Readings

* Hix and Hoyland, *The Political System of the European Union*, Chapter 1, pp. 1-19.

Ian Bache and Stephen George, *Politics in the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), Chapters 5-10, pp. 81-146.

Recommended Readings (Good General Texts on the EU)

Neill Nugent, *Government and Politics of the European Union*, 6th edition (Duke University Press, 2006).

Michelle Cini, ed., *European Union Politics*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Ian Bache and Stephen George, *Politics in the European Union*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

John Peterson and Elizabeth Bomberg, *Decision-Making in the European Union* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).

John Peterson and Michael Shackleton, *The Institutions of the European Union*, 2nd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Jeremy Richardson, *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*, 3rd edition (London: Routledge, 2005).

Ian Bache and Stephen George, *Politics in the European Union*, 2nd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Elizabeth Bomberg, John Peterson, and Andrew Stubb, eds., *The European Union: How Does it Work*?, 2nd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

The Early History of European Integration

Jean Monnet (1978). *Memoirs* (New York: Doubleday).

François Duchêne (1994). *Jean Monnet: The First Statesman of Interdependence* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company).

Milward, Alan, *The European Rescue of the Nation-State* (2nd edition, London: Routledge, 2000).

Desmond Dinan, *Europe Recast: A History of the European Union* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004).

Desmond Dinan, ed., *Origins and Evolution of the European Union* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

William Diebold (1959). *The Schuman Plan: A Study in Economic Cooperation, 1950-1959* (New York: Praeger).

Pattison de Menil, Lois (1978). *Who Speaks for Europe? The Vision of Charles de Gaulle* (New York: St Martin's Press).

No study questions this week!

Week 2. Integration Theory, and the Relaunching of Europe (Sept 4, 6)

Required Readings

Carsten Stroby-Jensen, "Neo-functionalism," in Michelle Cini, ed., *European Union Politics*, 2nd edition (Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 85-98.

Michelle Cini, "Intergovernmentalism," in Michelle Cini, ed., *European Union Politics*, 2nd edition (Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 99-108 only.

Ian Bache and Stephen George, *Politics in the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), Chapters 11-12, pp. 147-165.

Moravcsik, A., and Schimmelfennig, F. (2009), "Liberal Intergovernmentalism," in Wiener and Diez (eds.), *European Integration Theory,* 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 67-87.

Study Questions (please choose just one of these questions, not all of them!):

1. Why did France, Germany, and four other countries agree to begin the process of European integration with the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951? And why did neofunctionalists like Ernst Haas believe that the process of European integration, having begun so modestly, would snowball into an ongoing process of political integration?

2. By the late 1950s, the neofunctionalist spill-over process predicted by Ernst Haas seemed to be in full swing, only to have the process apparently derailed in the 1960s by French President Charles de Gaulle? Looking beyond the personality of de Gaulle, (1) analyze why the decades of the 1960s and 1970s appeared to have falsified Haas' neofunctionalism, and (2) assess whether the 1960s and 1970s were a period of progress, or rollback, or a mix of the two, in the integration process.

3. The Single European Act (SEA) of 1986 is widely considered to be the relaunching of the integration process after several decades of stagnation. Reading Bache and George's historical account, do you think the events leading up to the SEA generally support the neofunctionalist or the intergovernmentalist theory of European integration? Be sure to explain the reasons for your view.

4. In the 1990s, following the SEA, Andrew Moravcsik set out a new, "liberal intergovernmentalist" (LI) theory of European integration. What are the basic, core stages of the

LI model, and how well do you think LI does in explaining the path of European integration thus far in the course?

Recommended Readings

Ben Rosamond, *Theories of European Integration* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez, eds., *European Integration Theory,* 2nd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Michelle Cini and Angela K. Bourne, eds., *Palgrave Advances in European Union Studies* (New York: Palgrave, 2006).

John T.S. Keeler, "Mapping EU Studies: The Evolution from Boutique to Boom Field 1960-2001," *Journal of Common Market Studies,* Vol. 43, No. 3, pp. 551-82.

Knud Erik Jorgensen, Mark A. Pollack, and Ben Rosamond, eds., *The Handbook of European Union Politics* (New York: Sage Publications, 2007).

Karl W. Deutsch, et al. (1957). *Political Community in the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Ernst Haas (1958). *The Uniting of Europe* (Stanford University Press).

David A. Mitrany (1966). *A Working Peace System* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books).

Haas, Ernst B. (1976). "Turbulent Fields and the Theory of Regional Integration," *International Organization* 30: 173-212.

Arne Niemann with Philippe C. Schmitter, "Neofunctionalism," in Wiener and Diez (eds.), *European Integration Theory,* 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 45-66.

Lindberg, Leon N. and Scheingold, Stuart A. (1970). *Europe's Would–be Polity* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall).

Pentland, Charles (1976). *International Theory and European Integration* (London: Macmillan).

Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*, chapter 2.

Berthold Rittberger (2001). "Which Institutions for Post-War Europe? Explaining the Institutional Design of Europe's First Community," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 8, No. 5: 673-708.

Stanley Hoffmann, "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe," *Daedalus*, Vol. 95, No. 3 (1966).

Newhouse, John (1967). *Collision in Brussels*. New York: Norton.

Helen Wallace and William Wallace, *Policy-Making in the European Communities* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977).

Peter Cocks (1980). "Towards a Marxist Theory of European Integration," *International Organization*, Vol. 34, pp. 1-40.

Taylor, Paul (1983). *The Limits of European Integration*. New York: Columbia University Press.

John Zysman and Wayne Sandholtz (1989). "1992: Recasting the European Bargain," *World Politics*, 41: 1–30.

Moravcsik, A. (1991), "Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community," *International Organiz*ation, 45/1: 19–56.

Richard Corbett (1987). "The 1985 Intergovernmental Conference and the Single European Act," in Roy Pryce (ed.), *The Dynamics of European Union* (New York: Croom Helm).

Tranholm-Mikkelsen, "Neofunctionalism: Obstinate or Obsolete?" *Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1991), pp. 1-22.

Moravcsik, Andrew (1991). "Negotiating the Single European Act," in Robert O. Keohane and Stanley Hoffmann (eds), *The New European Community* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press).

Andrew Moravcsik (1993). "Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31: 473–524.

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

Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), introduction and chapter 4.

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

Week 3: From Community to Union, and the Birth of Theoretical Pluralism (Sept 11, 13)

Required Reading

Ian Bache and Stephen George, *Politics in the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), Chapters 13-14, pp. 166-88.

* Mark A. Pollack, Chapter 2, "Theorizing EU Policy-Making," in Wallace, Pollack, and Young, *Policy-Making in the European Union,* 6th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Risse, T. (2009), "Social Constructivism and European Integration," in Wiener, A., and Diez, T. (eds.), *European Integration Theory,* 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 144-61.

Study Questions (Answer only one of the following two questions):

1. Former Commission President Jacques Delors once said that the early 1990s witnessed an "acceleration of history" in the EU, and indeed the period last decade of the century was a busy one, characterized by both steps forward and crises. Without trying to cover *all* of the events of

the 1990s, (a) identify a few of the *most important* developments in the EU during those years, and (b) state briefly how the EU was different at the end of that period compared with the beginning.

2. Writing in 1994, Simon Hix argued that theories of the European Union had to some extent moved on from the traditional questions of integration theory (What drives integration? Is it a self-sustaining process? What will the end point be?), and began to ask different questions. Without trying to cover all possible theories of the EU, outline briefly the *primary theoretical approaches to EU studies today*, and discuss the different kinds of questions that each one asks about the Union.

Recommended Reading

Historical Developments of the 1990s

Richard Corbett (1994). *The Treaty of Maastricht*. Harlow: Longman Current Affairs.

Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*, chapter 5.

Bobby McDonagh (1998). *Original Sin in a Brave New World: The Paradox of Europe: An Account of the Negotiation of the Treaty of Amsterdam*. Dublin: Institute of European Affairs.

Andrew Moravcsik, and Kalypso Nicolaidis (1998). "Explaining the Treaty of Amsterdam: Interests, Influence, Institutions," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 37: 59–85.

Theoretical Debates

Simon Hix (1994). "The Study of the European Community: The Challenge to Comparative Politics," *West European Politics* 17: 1-30; and subsequent debate with Hurrell et al.

James Caporaso and John Keeler (1995) "The European Union and Regional Integration Theory," in Carolyn Rhodes and Sonia Mazey, eds., *The State of the European Union* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner).

Geoffrey Garrett and George Tsebelis (1996). "An Institutional Critique of Intergovernmentalism," *International Organization*, Vol. 50, No. 2, pp. 269-99.

Pierson, Paul (1996). "The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutionalist Analysis," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 123-163.

Christiansen, Thomas, Knud Erik Jorgensen, and Antje Wiener, 1999. "The Social Construction of Europe," *Journal of European Public Policy* 6: 528-44.

Andrew Moravcsik, "Is Something Rotten in the State of Denmark? Constructivism and European Integration," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (1999).

Jeffrey T. Checkel and Andrew Moravcsik, "A Constructivist Research Programme in EU Studies?" *European Union Politics*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (June 2001), pp. 219-49.

Joseph Jupille, and James A. Caporaso (1999). "Institutionalism and the European Union: Beyond International Relations and Comparative Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2: 429–44.

Mark Aspinwall and Gerald Schneider, eds. (2000). *The Rules of Integration: Institutionalist Approaches to the Study of Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).

Keith Dowding (2000). "Institutionalist Research on the European Union: A Critical Review," *European Union Politics*, 1: 125–44.

Markus Jachtenfuchs (2001). "The Governance Approach to European Integration," *Journal of Common Market Studies*

John T.S. Keeler, "Mapping EU Studies: The Evolution from Boutique to Boom Field 1960-2001," *Journal of Common Market Studies,* Vol. 43, No. 3, pp. 551-82.

Jupille, J. (2005), 'Knowing Europe: Metatheory and Methodology in EU Studies', in Cini and Bourne (eds.), *Palgrave Guide to European Union Studies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), 209-232.

Mark A. Pollack. "Rational Choice and EU Politics," Chapter 2 in Knud Erik Jørgensen, Mark A. Pollack, and Ben Rosamond, eds. *The Handbook of European Union Politics* (New York: Sage Publications, 2007), pp. 31-56.

Pollack, M. A. (2009). "The New Institutionalisms and European Integration," in Wiener and Diez (eds.), *European Integration Theory,* 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 125-143.

Manners, I. (2007), "Another Europe is Possible: Critical Perspectives on European Union Politics," in Jørgensen, Pollack and Rosamond, B. (eds.), *The Handbook of European Union Politics* (New York: Sage Publications), 77-96.

Week 4. The Democratic Deficit, the Constitution, and the Lisbon Treaty (Sept 18, 20)

Required Readings

Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Europe*, Chapter 6, pp. 133-67 (read 143-156 carefully; you can skim the rest).

Michael Th. Greven. (2000). "Can the European Union Finally Become a Democracy?" in Michael Greven and Louis Pauly (eds), *Democracy Beyond the State? The European Dilemma and the Emerging World Order* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield), pp. 35-61.

Andrew Moravcsik, "In Defense of the Democratic Deficit: Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (November 2002), pp. 603-624.

Fondation Robert Schuman, *The Lisbon Treaty: 10 Easy-to-Read Fact Sheets*, http://www.robert-schuman.eu/doc/divers/lisbonne/en/10fiches.pdf, sheets 1-5 and 10 required, the rest recommended.

Study Questions

1. Beginning in the late 1980s, critics of the European Union noted that the EU had begun to take an increasing number decisions that directly affected the lives of European citizens, yet these decisions were generally taken by officials that were at best indirectly accountable to the people –

a problem that became popular known as the EU's "democratic deficit." What, according to Greven, are the fundamental causes of this deficit, and why is it unlikely to be fixed in the near future? Why, by contrast, does Andrew Moravcsik argue that the EU is not "broken" (from a democratic perspective) and doesn't require fixing? Which view do you find most convincing, and why?

2. During the first half of this decade, a European "Convention" created a draft Constitution for the Union, which was in turn amended by the member governments into a "Constitutional Treaty" for ratification by each of the 25 member states. As is well known, however, the French and Dutch electorates both rejected the Constitutional Treaty (CT), plunging the EU into a "constitutional crisis" from which it has yet to emerge. Why was the CT rejected, and how did the EU respond? What is the Lisbon Treaty, and what are the most important changes that it has introduced since coming into effect in December 2009?

Recommended Readings

The Democratic Deficit

Fritz W. Scharpf (1999). *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?* (New York: Oxford University Press).

Johan P. Olsen, Alberta Sbragia and Fritz W. Scharpf (2002). Symposium: Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?" *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 7, No. 2, p. 310-24.

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus," *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 39, pp. 1-23.

* Simon Hix and Byorn Hoyland, *The Political System of the European Union,* 3rd edition, chapters 5-6.

Andreas Follesdal and Simon Hix, "Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik," *European Governance Papers*, No. C-05-02.

Hix, S. (2008). *What's Wrong with the European Union & How to Fix It* (Cambridge: Polity).

The Treaty of Nice (background to the Convention/Constitution)

David Galloway (2001). *The Treaty of Nice and Beyond: Realities and Illusions of Power in the EU* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).

Wolfgang Wessels (2001). "Nice Results: The Millennium IGC in the EU's Evolution," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp. 197-219.

George Tsebelis and Xenophon Yataganas (2002). "Veto Players and Decision-Making in the EU After Nice: Policy Stability and Bureaucratic/Judicial Discretion," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 2, pp. 283-307.

The Convention and the Constitutional Treaty

Draft Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe, available–with much other supporting

documentation, at the website of the European Convention: http://european-convention.eu.int. Read Part I, esp. Articles I-1 to I-29, and skim the index (at the end of the document!).

Peter Norman, *The Accidental Constitution: The Story of the European Convention* (Brussels: Eurocomment, 2003).

George Tsebelis and Sven-Oliver Proksch, "The Art of Political Manipulation in the European Convention," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (2007), pp. 1157-86.

Andrew Moravcsik, "The European Constitutional Compromise and the Neofunctionalist Legacy," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (April 2005), pp. 349-386.

Jean-Claude Piris, *The Constitution for Europe: A Legal Analysis* (New York: Cambridge Universit y Press, 2006).

European Commission, *Summary of the Constitutional Treaty*, 28 June 2004, accessed at http://europa.eu.int/constitution.

Alberta Sbragia, et al., "Symposium: The EU Constitution? RIP?" *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (April 2006), pp. 237-72, essays by Sbragia, Hooghe and Marks, Aarts and van der Kolk, and Milner.

The Treaty of Lisbon

Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) (2007), *The Treaty of Lisbon: Implementing the Institutional Innovations* (Brussels, CEPS).

Europolitics (2007), *Treaty of Lisbon: Here is What Changes!* special edition of *Europolitics,* 7 November 2007 N° 3407, skim and read articles according to your interests.

Visit *euobserver*'s Institutional Affairs page, at: http://euobserver.com/18.

PART II: THE EU AS A POLITICAL SYSTEM

Week 5: Independent Research (Sept 25, 27)

Week 6: The EU as a Political System; Legislative Politics (Oct 2, 4)

Required Reading

* Helen Wallace, Chapter 3, "An Institutional Anatomy and Five Policy Modes," in Wallace, Pollack, and Young, *Policy-Making in the European Union,* 6th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

* Hix and Hoyland, *The Political System of the European Union*, Chapter 3, pp. 49-74.

Study Questions (Answer only one of the following questions):

1. In her chapter, Helen Wallace reviews the basic institutional architecture of the European Union, and discusses five distinct "policy modes" modes in today's EU. What are these five policy modes, and how important a role does the executive Commission play in each?

2. From its beginnings in the 1950, the EEC was designed to be able to "legislate," i.e. to adopt new rules to govern the activity of the member states and their citizens. How has the EU legislative process changed over time, and how, in brief, does it work today?

3. Although the European Parliament is in many ways a unique experiment in multinational democracy, Simon Hix and other EU scholars have referred to the EP as a "normal" Parliament. In what specific sense is it "normal" (like national parliaments) and it what sense (if any) does it remain unique or *sui generis*?

Recommended Reading

George Tsebelis and Geoffrey Garrett (2000). "Legislative Politics in the European Union," *European Union Politics*, 1: 9–36.

– – (2001). "The Institutional Foundations of Intergovernmentalism and Supranationalism in the European Union," *International Organization*, 55: 357–90.

Richard Corbett (2000). "Academic Modelling of the Codecision Procedure: A Practitioner's Puzzled Reaction," *European Union Politics*, 1: 373–78, and responses by Crombez et al.

Simon Hix, Abdul Noury, and Gerard Roland (2002). "A 'Normal' Parliament? Party Cohesion and Competition in the European Parliament, 1979-2001," EPRG Working Paper, No 9, available on-line at: http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/eprg/working-papers.htm.

Mattila, M. (2004). "Contested Decisions – Empirical Analysis of Voting in the EU Council of Ministers," *European Journal of Political Research* 43/1: 29-50.

Richard Corbett, Francis Jacobs, and Michael Shackleton (2005). *The European Parliament*, 6th edition

(London: John Harper Publishing).

Amie Kreppel (2001). *The European Parliament and Supranational Party System: A Study in Institutional Development* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

Simon Hix, Tapio Raunio, and Roger Scully, eds., "Fifty Years on: Research on the European Parliament," special issue of the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (April 2003).

Clifford Carubba et al. (2003). "Selection Bias in the Use of Roll-Call Votes to Study Legislative Behavior," EPRG Working Paper No. 11, available on-line at: http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/eprg/working-papers.htm.

Simon Hix, Abdul Noury and Gerard Roland (2005). "Power to the Parties: Cohesion and Competition in the European Parliament, 1979-2001," *British Journal of Political Science* 35(2), 209-234

European Parliament Research Group Working Papers Series, available on-line at: http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/eprg/working-papers.htm.

Hayes-Renshaw, Fiona, and Helen Wallace (2006). *The Council of Ministers*, 2nd revised and updated edition (London: Palgrave).

Naurin, D., and Wallace, H. (2008) (eds.), *Unveiling the Council of the European Union: Games Governments Play in Brussels* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), intro by Naurin and Wallace.

Hix, S. Noury, A.G., and Roland, G. (2007). *Democratic Politics in the European Parliament* (New York: Cambridge University Press), Introduction and Chapters 5 and 9, pp. 1-11, 87-104, and 161-181.

Thomson, Robert, Frans N. Stokman, Christopher H. Achen and Thomas König (2006). *The European Union Decides* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

McElroy, G. (2007), "Legislative Politics," in Jørgensen, K. E., Pollack, M. A. and Rosamond, B. (eds.), *The Handbook of European Union Politics* (New York: Sage) 175-94.

Tallberg, J. (2008), "The Power of the Chair: Formal Leadership by the Council Presidency," in Naurin, D., and Wallace, H. (eds.), *Unveiling the Council of the European Union: Games Governments Play in Brussels* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), 187-202.

Week 7. Executive and Judicial Politics (Oct 9, 11)

Required Reading

* Hix and Hoyland, *The Political System of the European Union*, chapters 2, 4, pp. 23-48, 75-101.

Study Questions (Answer only one of the following two questions):

1. Hix and Hoyland's chapter, looking at executive politics broadly, identifies a "dual executive" in the EU. Who are the two members of this dual executive? What role, or roles, does the Commission play in the executive politics of the Union? Is the Commission able to act as an independent "engine of European integration," as the neofunctionalists argued, or is it an obedient

servant of the member states, as intergovernmentalists believed?

2. The study of the European Court of Justice produced one of the most vigorous debates in EU studies, pitting the neofunctionalist or supranationalist theorists against intergovernmentalist scholars. Has the ECJ played a significant role in the process of European integration – and if so, how?

Recommended Reading

The Commission and Executive Politics

Laura Cram (1994). "The European Commission as a Multi-organisation: Social Policy and IT Policy in the EU," *Journal of European Public Policy*, 1: 195–217.

George Ross (1995). *Jacques Delors and European Integration*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Michelle Cini (1996). *The European Commission: Leadership, Organisation, and Culture in the EU Administration* (New York: Manchester University Press).

Christian Joerges and Jurgen Neyer (1997). "Transforming Strategic Interaction into Deliberative Problem–Solving: European Comitology in the Foodstuffs Sector," *Journal of European Public Policy*, 4: 609–25.

Liesbet Hooghe, 2002. *The European Commission and the Integration of Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press.

John Peterson, "The College of Commissioners," in Peterson and Shackleton, eds., *The Institutions of the European Union*, pp. 71-94.

Mark A. Pollack (2003). *The Engines of European Integration: Delegation, Agency and Agenda Setting in the European Union* (New York: Oxford University Press).

Jonas Tallberg, "Executive Politics" in Jorgensen, Pollack and Rosamond, eds., *The Handbook of European Union Politics* (New York: Sage, 2007).

Fabio Franchino (2007). *The Powers of the Union: Delegation in the EU* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

The ECJ and Judicial Politics

Lisa Conant, "Judicial Politics," in Jorgensen, Pollack and Rosamond, eds., *The Handbook of European Union Politics* (New York: Sage, 2007), pp. 213-29.

Geoffrey Garrett (1992). "International Cooperation and Institutional Choice: The European Community's Internal Market," *International Organization*, 46: 533–60.

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

Geoffrey Garrett (1995). "The Politics of Legal Integration in the European Union," *International*

Organization, 49: 171–81.

Walter Mattli and Anne-Marie Slaughter (1995). "Law and Politics in the European Union: A Reply to Garrett," *International Organization*, 49: 183–90.

Walter Mattli and Anne-Marie Slaughter (1998). "Revisiting the European Court of Justice," *International Organization*, 52: 177–209.

Karen J. Alter (1998). "Who are the Masters of the Treaty? European Governments and the European Court of Justice,"*International Organization*, 52: 125–52.

Geoffrey Garrett, R. Daniel Kelemen, and Heiner Schulz (1998). "The European Court of Justice, National Governments, and Legal Integration in the European Union," *International Organization*, 52: 149–76.

Craig, P., and de Búrca, G. (2008), *EU Law*, 4th edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Stone Sweet, Alec, and Brunell, T. L. (1998). "Constructing a Supranational Constitution: Dispute Resolution and Governance in the European Community," *American Political Science Review*, 92: 63–81.

Weiler, Joseph H.H. (2000). *The Constitution of Europe: "Do the New Clothes Have an Emperor?" and Other Essays on European Integration* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Karen J. Alter (2001). *Establishing the Supremacy of European Law: The Making of an International Rule of Law in Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press).

Conant, Lisa (2002). *Justice Contained: Law and Politics in the European Union*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Karen J. Alter, "The European Court and Legal Integration: An Exceptional Story or Harbinger of the Future?" in Keith E. Whittington, R. Daniel Kelemen, and Gregory A. Caldeira, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Law and Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 209-228.

PART III: THE POLICIES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Week 8: The Internal Market: The Core of the European Union (Oct 16 [quiz], 18)

Required Readings

* Alasdair R. Young, "The Single Market," Chapter 5 in Wallace, Pollack and Young, *Policy-Making in the European Union* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

* Hix and Hoyland, *The Political System of the European Union,* Chapter 8, "Regulation of the Single Market," pp. 189-202.

Student paper from previous semesters to be distributed.

Study Question

1. We all know, by now, that the European Union is first and foremost an "internal market" linking together the 25 member states of the EU. But what specifically *is* an internal market? How has the EU gone about *creating* such a market? And to what extent can we really speak about the European Union as a genuine single market?

Recommended Readings

John Pinder (1968). "Positive Integration and Negative Integration: Some Problems of Economic Union in the EEC," *The World Today*, Vol. 24, No. 4, pp. 88-110.

Alan Dashwood (1983). "Hastening Slowly: The Community's Path Towards Harmonization," in Wallace, Wallace, and Webb, eds., *Policy-Making in the European Community*, pp. 173-212.

Jacques Pelkmans and Alan Winters with Helen Wallace (1988). *Europe's Domestic Market* (New York: Routledge).

Michelle Egan (2001). *Constructing a European Market: Standards, Regulations and Governance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Walter Mattli, ed. (2001). "The Politics and Economics of International Standards Setting," special issue of *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (June).

Lee McGowan and Stephen Wilks (1995). "The First Supranational Policy in the European Union: Competition Policy," *European Journal of Political Research*, 28: 141–69.

Cini, M., and McGowan, L. (2009), *Competition Policy in the European Union* 2nd edn. (London: Palgrave Macmillan).

Wilks, S. (2009), 'Competition Policy in the Recession: Industrial Crisis and Implications for the Economic Constitution', paper presented at the Biennial Conference of the European Union Studies Association, Los Angeles, 22-25 April.

Week 9: The EU and the World (Oct 23, 25, 30)

Required Readings

* Wallace, Pollack, and Young, *Policy-Making in the European Union,* 6th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Read **both** of the following:
- Chapter 16, "Trade Policy," by Stephen Woolcock
- Chapter 18, "Foreign and Security Policy," by William Wallace

Ian Manners, "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (2002), pp. 235-58.

Student paper from a previous semester to be distributed.

Mark A. Pollack. "Living in a Material World: A Critique of 'Normative Power Europe'," *EUSA Review*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Spring 2010), pp. 3-5.

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).

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

Study Questions

1. Since the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957, the European Commission has represented the member states of the Union on trade issues vis-à-vis the rest of the world, negotiating the various rounds of the World Trade Organization as well as other bilateral agreements with individual states or groups of states. Throughout the history of the EU, third parties feared a protectionist "Fortress Europe," while other analysts in France and elsewhere have feared that the Commission would pursue a neoliberal free-trade agenda with the rest of the world. In a short essay, describe the Commission's role in international trade policy: What does the Commission do? What kinds of trade policy has it sought to implement? And how effective has it been?

2. Outside the trade arena, Bastien Giegerich and William Wallace point out, the EU has pursued a "painful path from shadow to substance" over the past three decades. What does the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy look like today? What have been its strengths and its successes, and what have been its weaknesses and failures?

3. In recent years, it has become commonplace for scholars like Grant and Moravcsik to argue that the EU is either a minor and declining power in world affairs, or alternatively a strong and rising superpower. What are the main arguments on each side of the debate? Which do you find more convincing, and why?

Recommended Readings

* Hix and Hoyland, *The Political System of the European Union*, chapter 10, pp. 302-330.

Trade and Economic Policy

Sophie Meunier, *Trading Voices: The European Union in International Commercial Negotiations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

Common Foreign and Security Policy

Michael E. Smith, *Europe's Foreign and Security Policy: The Institutions of Cooperation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Christopher Hill and Michael Smith, eds., *International Relations and the European Union* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

John Vogler and Charlotte Bretherton, *The European Union as a Global Actor*, 2nd edition (New York: Routledge, 2006).

Transatlantic Relations

Mark A. Pollack and Gregory C. Shaffer, eds., *Transatlantic Governance in the Global Economy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001).

Robert Kagan, *Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (New York: Random House, 2003).

Mark A. Pollack. "*JCMS* Annual Lecture: The New Transatlantic Agenda at Ten: Reflections on an Experiment in International Governance," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 5 (December 2005), pp. 899-919.

Elliot Posner, "Making Rules for Global Finance: Transatlantic Regulatory Cooperation at the Turn of the Millennium," *International Organization*, Vol. 63, No. 4 (2009), pp. 665-699.

Alasdair R. Young, "Confounding Conventional Wisdom: Political Not Principled Differences in the Transatlantic Regulatory Relationship," *British Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Vol. 11, No. 4, pp. 666-89.

Abraham L. Newman, "Building Transnational Civil Liberties: Transgovernmental Entrepreneurs and the European Data Privacy Directive," *International Organization,* Vol. 62, No. 1 (2008), pp 103-130.

John Peterson and Rebecca Steffenson, "Transatlantic Institutions: Can Partnership Be Engineered?" *British Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2009), pp. 25-45.

Week 10: Economic and Monetary Union (Nov 1, 6, 8)

Required Readings

***** Dermot Hodson, "Economic and Monetary Union," chapter 7 in Wallace, Pollack, and Young, *Policy-Making in the European Union,* 6th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Additional readings (mostly on the sovereign debt crisis) to be added later in the semester.

Study Questions

1. Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) is unquestionably one of the major steps forward in the process of European integration over the past decade. What *is* EMU? How, basically, does it work, and why do your authors believe that many of the EU's member states have been willing to give up their national currencies in favor of the Euro?

2. Hodson makes the distinction between monetary and fiscal policy, noting that the former is centralized (for members) in the European Central Bank, while the latter is merely coordinated through instruments like the Stability and Growth Pact. In a short essay, (a) spell out the difference between monetary policy and fiscal policy and (b) discuss the problems that have cropped up as a result of having a single monetary policy but only a looser coordination of fiscal policies in the EU.

Recommended Readings

* Hix and Hoyland, *The Political System of the European Union*, Chapter 10, pp. 245-272.

Peter Ludlow (1982). *The Making of the European Monetary System* (London: Butterworth).

Kenneth Dyson and Kevin Featherstone (1999). *The Road to Maastricht: Negotiating Economic and Monetary Union* (New York: Oxford University Press).

McNamara, Kathleen R. (1999). *The Currency of Ideas: Monetary Politics in the European Union* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press). \

Barry Eichengreen and Jeffrey A. Frieden, eds. (2000). *The Political Economy of European Monetary Integration* (Boulder: Westview Press).

Paul De Grauwe (2003). *The Economics of Monetary Union* (New York: Oxford University Press).

Week 11: Social Europe? (Nov 13, 15)

Required Readings

* Hix and Hoyland, *The Political System of the European Union*, Chapter 8, "Regulation of the Single Market," pp. 203-217.

* Wallace, Pollack, and Young, *Policy-Making in the European Union,* 6th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), read **at least one** of the following chapters according to your interests:

- Chapter 11, "Social Policy," by Stephan Leibfried
- Chapter 12, "Employment Policy," by Martin Rhodes
- Chapter 13, "Environmental Policy," by Andrea Lenschow

Student papers from previous classes to be distributed.

Study Questions (Answer only one of the following questions):

1. During the 1990s, analysts like Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, depicted European integration

as a right-left struggle between the "neoliberalism" of a pure single market and the "regulated capitalism" of an EU with progressive, high-standard social and environmental policies. Based on your reading of existing EU social and environmental policies, discuss which of these two visions seems to be winning out, on balance, in today's EU. [Note: to answer this question well, you *must* read Stefan Leibfried's social policy chapter and Andrea Lenschow's environment chapter.]

2. While the EU has adopted "hard" or binding regulations in some areas of social policy, in other areas the Union has opted instead for the "soft-law" approach of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC), designed to coordinate national policies, establish benchmarks for best practice, and put "peer pressure" on member states to improve their own national policies. How does the OMC appear to be working in areas such as employment policy, where it has been tried? Is the OMC a creative means to move ahead with progressive policies, or an excuse for inaction, or somewhere in between? [Note: to answer this question well, you *must* read Martin Rhodes' chapter on employment.]

Recommended Readings

Social Policy and the Open Method of Coordination

Paul Pierson and Stefan Leibfried, eds. (1995). *European Social Policy* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution).

Streeck, Wolfgang (1996). "Neo-Voluntarism: A New Social Policy Regime?" in Gary Marks, Fritz W. Scharpf, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Wolfgang Streeck, *Governance in the European Union* (Thousand Oaks, CA and London: SAGE).

Volker Eichener (1997). "Effective European Problem-Solving: Lessons from the Regulation of Occupational Safety and Environmental Protection," *Journal of European Public Policy*, 4: 591–608.

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, "The Making of a Polity: The Struggle over European Integration," in H. Kitschelt, P. Lange, G. Marks and J.D. Stephens, eds., *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 70-97.

Dermott Hodson and Imelda Maher (2001). "The Open Method as a New Mode of Governance: The Case of Soft Economic Policy Co-ordination," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 39: 719–46.

Fritz W. Scharpf (2002). "The European Social Model," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 4, pp. 645-70.

James S. Mosher and David M. Trubek (2003). "Alternative Approaches to Governance in the EU: EU Social Policy and the European Employment Strategy," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 41, No.1, pp. 63-88.

S. Borras and B. Greve, eds. (2004). "The Open Method of Coordination in the European Union," special issue of *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (2004).

Sonia Mazey, Jo Shaw, Amy Elman and Mark Bell (2002). "EUSA Review Forum: Progressive Europe? Gender and Non-Discrimination in the EU," *EUSA Review*, Vol. 15, No. 3, pages 1-7, available on-line at: http://www.eustudies.org/GenderForum.pdf

Jonathan Zeitlin and Philippe Pochet with L. Magnusson, eds., *The Open Method of Coordination in Action: The European Employment and Social Inclusion Strategies* (Brussels: P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2005).

For an excellent bibliography of work on the Open Method of Coordination, see web page of The European Union Center at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, OMC Research Forum: http://eucenter.wisc.edu/OMC/open12.html.

Environmental Policy

Stanley P. Johnson and Guy Corcelle (1990). *Environmental Policy of the European Communities* (London: Graham & Trotman).

Andrew Jordan, ed. (2002). *Environmental Policy in the European Union: Actors, Institutions and Processes* (London: Earthscan).

Andrea Lenschow (2003). *Environmental Policy Integration: Greening Sectoral Policies in Europe* (London: Earthscan Publications).

Gender

Ilona Ostner and Jane Lewis (1995). "Gender and the Evolution of European Social Policies," in Paul Pierson and Stephan Leibfried, eds., *European Social Policy*.

Catherine Hoskyns (1996). *Integrating Gender: Women, Law and Politics in the European Union* (London: Verso).

Ellis, Evelyn (2005). *EU Anti-Discrimination Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

R. Amy Elman, ed., *Sexual Politics in the European Union: The New Feminist Challenge* (Berghahn Books).

Rees, Teresa (1998). *Mainstreaming Equality in the European Union: Education, Training and Labour Market Policies* (New York: Routledge).

Prügl, E. (2007), 'Gender and European Union Politics', in Jørgensen, K.E., Pollack, M.A., and Rosamond, B. (eds.) (2007), *The Handbook of European Union Politics* (New York: Sage Publications), 433-48.

Birgit Lochner and Elisabeth Prügl, "Gender and European Integration," Chapter 10 in Wiener, A., and Diez, T. (eds.), *European Integration Theory,* 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 181-198.

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton and Mark A. Pollack. "Mainstreaming Gender in the European Union: Getting the Incentives Right," *Comparative European Politics,* Vol. 7, No. 1 (2009), pp. 114-138.

Week 12: Spending Policies: The Structural Funds, the CAP, and Beyond (Nov 20)

Required Readings

* Hix and Hoyland, *The Political System of the European Union*, Chapter 9, pp. 218-244.

* Wallace, Pollack, and Young, *Policy-Making in the European Union,* 6th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), read **at least one** of the following according to your interests:

- Chapter 8 ("The Common Agricultural Policy," by Christilla Roederer-Rynning);
- Chapter 9 ("The Budget," by Brigid Laffan and Johannes Lindner);
- Chapter 10 ("Cohesion and the Structural Funds," by David Allen);

Study Question

1. The European Union is often characterized as a "regulatory state," with Brussels active in promulgating regulations but having a relatively small budget worth only about 1.27 percent of EU gross domestic product. Still, the Union *does* have a budget, and it spends part of this budget redistributing funds among EU member states, regions, and groups of citizens. In a short essay, describe briefly how the EU spends its annual budget, and who benefits (and who loses) from the EU's distribution of funds.

Recommended Readings

Jeffrey J. Anderson (1990). "Skeptical Reflections on a Europe of Regions: Britain, Germany, and the ERDF," *Journal of Public Policy*, Vol. 10, No. 4, pp. 417-47.

Marks, Gary (1993). 'Structural Policy and Multilevel Governance in the EC', in Alan Cafruny and Glenda Rosenthal (eds), *The State of the European Community 2: The Maastricht Debates and Beyond*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Pollack, Mark A. (1995). "Regional Actors in an Intergovernmental Play: The Making and Implementation of EC Structural Policy," in Sonia Mazey and Carolyn Rhodes (eds), *The State of the European Union, 3: Building a European Polity* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner).
Hooghe, Liesbet (ed.) (1996). *Cohesion Policy and European Integration* (New York: Oxford University Press).

Laffan, Brigid (1997). *The Finances of the European Union* (Basingstoke: Macmillan).

Bache, Ian (1998). *The Politics of European Union Regional Policy: Multi–Level Governance or Flexible Gatekeeping?* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).

Week 13: Enlargement and Justice and Home Affairs (Nov. 27, 29)

Required Readings

* Ulrich Sedelmeier, "Eastern Enlargement," Chapter 17 in Wallace, Pollack, and Young eds., *Policy-Making in the European Union* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Mark A. Pollack. "Europe United? The Impact of the EU's Eastern Enlargement, Five Years On," *European View*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (December 2009), pp. 239-54.

* Wallace, Pollack, and Young, *Policy-Making in the European Union,* 6th edition (Oxford: Oxford

University Press, 2010), Chapter 19, "Justice and Home Affairs," by Sandra Lavenex.

Study Questions (answer only one)

1. In EU studies, scholars increasingly speak of the "Europeanization" of the policies and politics of EU member states, which have been required to adopt the EU's *acquis communautaire.* Indeed, in recent years it has been argued that the 12 new member states that joined the EU in 2004 and 2007 were Europeanized even *before* they joined the Union. How did the EU manage to Europeanize these candidate countries even before they joined, and what evidence is there that the countries of central and eastern Europe really have Europeanized?

2. The 2004 and 2007 enlargements of the EU were expected to have a major impact, not only on the new members, but also on the EU itself, whose institutions were expected to be stretched and strained by enlargement to 27 (and potentially more) member states. How do EU institutions, and EU policy-making, appear to be holding up under the strain of enlargement?

3. Starting in the 1970s, and accelerating in the 1990s into the current decade, the EU has created a "Justice and Home Affairs" policy seeking to coordinate issues like police and judicial affairs that until very recently were held closely by states as an integral part of national sovereignty. What, specifically, is Justice and Home Affairs policy about, and why have the EU member states moved to adopt such a policy over the past few decades?

Recommended Readings

On Europeanization

Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse, "Europeanization: The Domestic Impact of EU Politics," chapter 25 in Jorgensen, Pollack and Rosamond, eds., *The Handbook of European Union Politics* (New York: Sage, 2007), pp. 483-504.

Maria Green Cowles, James A. Caporaso, and Thomas Risse (2001). *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).

Kevin Featherstone and Claudio Radaelli, eds. (2003). *The Politics of Europeanization* (New York: Oxford University Press).

Gerda Falkner, Oliver Treib, Miriam Hartlapp, and Simone Leiber, *Complying with Europe: EU Harmonisation and Soft Law in the Member States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Oliver Treib, "Implementing and Complying with EU Governance Putputs", *Living Reviews in European Governance*, Vol. 3, (2008), No. 5: http://www.livingreviews.org/lreg-2008-5.

On Enlargement

Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, eds., *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), Chapters 1 and 11, pp. 1-28, 210-228.

Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, "The Study of EU Enlargement: Theoretical Approaches and Empirical Findings," in Michelle Cini and Angela K. Bourne, *Palgrave Advances in European Union Studies*, pp. 96-116.

Daniel Naurin and Rutger Lindahl, "East-North-South: Coalition-Building in the Council before and after Enlargement," in Daniel Naurin and Helen Wallace, eds., *Unveiling the Council: Games Governments Play in Brussels* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008), pp. 64-78.

Rachel A. Epstein and Ulrich Sedelmeier, "Beyond Conditionality: International Institutions in Postcommunist Europe after Enlargement," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 15, No. 6 (September 2008), pp. 795-805.

Frank Schimmelfennig (2001). "The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union," *International Organization*, Vol. 55, No. 1, pp. 47-80.

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.

Andrew Moravcsik and Milada Vachudova (2002) "Bargaining Among Unequals: Enlargement and the Future of European Integration," *EUSA Review,* Vol. 15, No. 4, pp. 1-3, available on-line at: http://www.eustudies.org/MoravcsikVachudovaEssay.pdf.

Jacoby, Wade (2004). *The Enlargement of the European Union: Ordering from the Menu in Central Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

Vachudova, Milada Anna (2005). *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism* (New York: Oxford University Press).

Wallace, H. (2007), "Adapting to Enlargement of the European Union: Institutional Practice," *TEPSA Working Paper* (Brussels: TEPSA).

Hix, S. and Noury, A. G. (2009), "After Enlargement: Voting Patterns in the Sixth European Parliament," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 34/2: 159-74.

Mikko Mattila (2008), "Voting and Coalitions in the Council after the Enlargement', in Naurin, D., and Wallace, H., eds., *Unveiling the Council: Games Governments Play in Brussels* (Basingstoke: Palgrave), 23-35.

Schimmelfennig, F. (2008), 'EU Political Accession Conditionality after the 2004 Enlargement: Consistency and Effectiveness', *Journal of European Public Policy* 15/6: 918-37.

Gerda Falkner and Oliver Treib, "Three Worlds of Compliance or Four? The EU-15 Compared to the New Member States," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 293-313.

Best, E., Christiansen, C., and Settembri, P. (eds.) (2008), *The Institutions of the Enlarged European Union* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar).

Thomson, R. (2008), "The Relative Power of Member States in the Council: Large and Small, Old and New," in Daniel Naurin and Helen Wallace, eds., *Unveiling the Council: Games Governments Play in Brussels* (Basingstoke: Palgrave), pp. 238-257.

Week 14: Conclusions and The Future of Europe (Dec 4)

Required Reading

* Mark A. Pollack, Helen Wallace, and Alasdair Young, "EU Policy-Making in Challenging Times: Adversity, Adaptability, and Resilience," Chapter 20 in Wallace, Pollack, and Young, eds., *Policy-Making in the European Union* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

* Hix and Hoyland, *The Political System of the European Union*, Chapter 13, pp. 331-339.

Recommended Reading

Alberto Alesina and Francesco Giavazzi, *The Future of Europe: Reform or Decline?* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008).

Sabel, C., and Zeitlin, J., "Learning from Difference: The New Architecture of Experimentalist Governance in the EU," *European Law Journal*, 14/3 (2008): 271-327.