

*College of William & Mary
Government 330, Fall 2013*

The Politics of European Cooperation

Prof. Maurits van der Veen

Class

Wed. & Fri. 2-3:20 or 3:30-4:50
Location: 1 Morton Hall
Office hours: Friday 9-11am & by appointment

Office

31 Morton Hall
757-221-3029
maurits@wm.edu

Course description

The European Union is further along the road to international integration than is any other international institution. As a result, it is both one of the most complex and one of the most intriguing organizations for scholars of international and comparative politics to study:

Why have independent nations to some degree ‘pooled’ their sovereignty in the EU, and how far has this pooling gone? How have different states been able to balance the EU’s policy goals against their own, possibly conflicting, national goals? Why is the EU more or less effective in different policy areas, from agricultural policy to monetary union to social policies? How does enlargement affect the ongoing integration process? And how do national publics in the different member states view the European integration project?

The European Union is under permanent construction and reconstruction. From six founding members in 1952, it has grown over time to include 27 member states as of 2007. At the same time, some of the original members are displaying signs of uncertainty and unease about the current trends towards deeper and wider integration — witness the comparative lack of celebration surrounding Croatia’s membership in July 2013. Moreover, states increasingly weigh whether they can opt out of particular innovations, from homogenization of social policies to giving up a national currency, without hurting the EU’s overall strengths and benefits.

This course provides an overview of the history, the political institutions, the decision-making processes and the major policies of the European Union. The emphasis throughout will be on understanding the reasons for particular choices of institutional design and policy, taking into account the preferences of individual member states and of the various EU institutions, as well as the changing international context.

Course goals & requirements

The goal of the course is three-fold: first, to provide a thorough overview of the European Union, its history, institutions, and policy processes; second, to think more broadly about how our theories of comparative and international politics can explain what we see happening in Europe; and third, to get a sense of where the European Union is likely to be headed in the future.

There will be two midterm exams and a 10-12 page final paper that will serve as your final exam. The midterm exams will be worth 25% of your total grade each and will be given in class on October Xth and November Xth. They will be identical in set-up: each will consist of a brief multiple choice section, a short answer section, and an essay question. The paper will be worth 30% of your overall grade, and will be due on the last day of class, December Xth. The paper will take the form of an argument about a current issue in EU politics, including, but not limited to, prospects for the euro, and the likelihood of further enlargements. More information on the paper will be provided later in the semester.

Class participation is worth 20% of your final grade, and is constructed from three separate components:

- Participation in class discussions, which will be judged in terms of the quality, not the quantity, of your contributions. Class discussions are crucial opportunities to critically analyze the material covered in the readings and lectures, and to share your own ideas and insights. Your participation will not just improve your own learning; it also helps that of all your fellow students.
- Quizzes: There will be four unannounced quizzes given in class, based on the reading for that day as well as on major developments (if any) in EU politics
- Extra credit: you can boost your participation grade one full letter grade by any combination of 8 of the following “assignments”:
 - Online discussion: From time to time I will post recommended readings, along with some comments, on our class discussion board. Make a thoughtful contribution (at least 100 words long) to the ensuing discussion
 - Over the course of the semester, I will identify at least 10 outside speakers or events relevant to our course. Attend such an event and write a brief comment/response on the discussion board for that particular event
 - Participate in the new government department survey program. More details on this will follow once it gets officially off the ground.

Do some combination of these three options summing to 8 to get the credit. In fact, all of them are great ways to think about and apply political science issues beyond the classroom, so I highly encourage you participate in them even if you do not feel you need extra credit.

Additional policies & comments

You need to let me know ahead of time if you cannot make a class. After-the-fact excuses for missing class on days that happened to feature a quiz are unlikely to be accepted. The same goes for the midterm exams: do not expect to e-mail me a day later with a flimsy excuse and expect to be able to take a make-up exam without penalty. Similarly, if you need an extension on your

paper, and have a good reason, let me know in advance. Unapproved late submissions of the paper will be penalized one half of a full grade per day.

Failure to complete any single component of the course (never showing up to class, missing all quizzes, missing a midterm, or not submitting a final paper) will result in failing the course — in other words, you cannot make up for it by excelling in all other components.

I take violations of academic honesty very seriously. All academic work must meet the standards set out in the Honor Code. In particular, if you cheat on a test or commit plagiarism on your paper and I discover it, I will report the violation to the Dean's office, with all the potential repercussions that implies. The key point is that the work you submit must be your own — not that of a fellow student, nor that of someone whose work you found in the library or online.

Office hours &c

My office hours are Fridays 9-11am or by appointment. Please do come see me if you have any questions on or problems with the reading material, the writing assignment, or the course in general. If you need to reach me to make an appointment, just email me or see me before or after class.

Readings

Two required titles are available for purchase at the W&M Bookstore. They are:

Dinan, Desmond. 2010. *Ever Closer Union. An Introduction to European Integration*. (4th edition) Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Nelsen, Brent F., and Alexander C-G. Stubb, eds. 2003. *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. (3rd edition) Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

All additional readings are available online or through the electronic journals feature of the W&M library website. There will be also likely be some reading assignments of brief articles on new developments in European cooperation and integration, in newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Economist*. Links will be provided on the course Blackboard site.

Calendar

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

I. Introduction

Wed. Aug. 28 ***Introduction; overview of course***

Dinan: "Introduction" (pp. 1-6).

Fri. Aug. 30 *The real face of the European Union?*

No class, but watch the “documentary”
(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7LycuReWpAE>).
We will discuss it in class next Wednesday.

II. History

Wed. Sep. 4 *The early years*

Dinan, ch. 1: “Reconstruction, Reconciliation, and Integration, 1945-1957” (pp. 9-28).
Nelsen & Stubb, chs. 1-4: Early visions of a United Europe (pp. 3-18).
Nelsen & Stubb, ch. 13: Sergio Pistone. “Altiero Spinelli and the Strategy for the United States of Europe.” (pp. 91-98).

Fri. Sep. 6 *De Gaulle, enlargement, Eurosclerosis*

Dinan, ch. 2: “Uncertain Terrain, 1958-1972” (pp. 29-51).
Dinan, ch. 3: “A Community in Flux, 1973-1984” (pp. 53-72).
Recommended
Nelsen & Stubb, chs. 5-6: Monnet and De Gaulle on Europe (pp. 19-44).

Wed. Sep. 11 *Becoming a Union*

Dinan, ch. 4: “From European Community to European Union, 1985-1993”
(pp. 73-102).
Dinan, ch. 5: “The Emergent European Union, 1993-1999” (pp. 103-131).
Recommended
Nelsen & Stubb, chs. 7-9: Visions of Europe in the 1980s (pp. 45-64).

Fri. Sep. 13 *Challenges in the new century*

Dinan, ch. 6: “The Unsettled European Union, 2000-2010” (pp. 133-167),
Nelsen & Stubb, ch. 12: “Reflections on a Constitution for Europe” (pp. 69-90).
Recommended
Multiple authors. 2005. “Europe Without Illusions.” *Prospect* 112, July 23.
(<http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/2005/07/europewithoutillusions/>)

III. Theories of European Integration

Wed. Sep. 18 *Functionalism and Neofunctionalism*

Nelsen & Stubb, chs. 16-17: Haas and Lindberg (pp. 145-162).

Nelsen & Stubb, ch. 21: Stone Sweet & Sandholtz. "Integration, Supranational Governance, and the Institutionalization of the European Polity." (pp. 215-238).

Fri. Sep. 20 *Intergovernmentalism and Liberal Intergovernmentalism*

Nelsen & Stubb, ch. 18: Stanley Hoffmann. "Obstinate or Obsolete?" (pp. 163-178).

Nelsen & Stubb, ch. 22: Andrew Moravcsik. "The Choice for Europe." (pp. 239-254).

Wed. Sep. 25 *Constructivism*

Nelsen & Stubb, ch. 27: Jeffrey Checkel. "Social Construction and European Integration" (pp. 350-360).

Checkel, Jeffrey T., and Andrew Moravcsik. 2001. "A Constructivist Research Programme in EU Studies?" *European Union Politics* 2(2):219-249.

Fri. Sep. 27 *Review & broader theoretical debates*

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

Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. 2009. "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus." *British Journal of Political Science* 39(1):1-23.

IV. Institutions

Wed. Oct. 2 *The Commission*

Dinan, ch. 7: "The Commission" (pp. 171-203).

Tsakatika, Myrto. 2005. "Claims to Legitimacy: The European Commission between Continuity and Change." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 43(1):193-220.

Fri. Oct. 4 *The Council of Ministers*

Dinan, ch. 8: "The European Council and the Council of Ministers" (pp. 205-234).

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.

Highly recommended

Mattila, Mikko, and Lane, Jan-Erik. 2001. "Why Unanimity in the Council? A Roll-Call Analysis of Council Voting." *European Union Politics*, 2(1):31-52.

Wed. Oct. 9 ***The European Parliament***

Dinan, ch. 9: "The European Parliament" (pp. 235-264).

Hix, Simon, Abdul Noury, and Gérard Roland. 2006. "Dimensions of Politics in the European Parliament." *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(2):494-520.

Recommended

Corbett, Richard, Francis Jacobs, and Michael Shackleton. 2003. "The European Parliament at Fifty: A View from the Inside." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 41(2):353-373.

Fri. Oct. 11 **Midterm exam 1**

Fall break

V. Policies, and Institutional Development & Legitimacy

Wed. Oct. 16 ***EU law***

Dinan, ch. 10: "Other Institutions and Bodies." (pp. 265-282 only)

Kelemen, R. Daniel. 2012. "The political foundations of judicial independence in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 19(1):43-58.

Recommended

Alter, Karen. 1998. "Who are the Masters of the Treaty? European Governments and the European Court of Justice." *International Organization*, 52(1):121-148.

Fri. Oct. 18 ***Common Agricultural Policy***

Dinan, ch. 12: "Agriculture and Cohesion." (pp. 329-347 only).

Greer, Alan, and Thomas Hind. 2012. "Inter-institutional decision-making: The case of the Common Agricultural Policy." *Policy and Society* 31(4):331-341.

Recommended

Daugbjerg, Carsten, and Alan Swinbank. 2007. "The Politics of CAP Reform: Trade Negotiations, Institutional Settings and Blame Avoidance." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45(1):1-22.

Wed. Oct. 23 ***Economic and Monetary Union***

Dinan, ch. 13: "The Internal Market and Monetary Union." (pp. 359-413).

Hodson, Dermot. 2013. "The Eurozone in 2012: 'Whatever it takes to preserve the euro'?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 51(S1):183-200.

Recommended

Hodson, Dermot. 2009. "EMU and political union: what, if anything, have we learned from the euro's first decade?" *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16(4):508-526.

Fri. Oct. 25 ***Security and Foreign Policy***

Dinan, ch., 17: “Internal and External Security” (pp. 529-566).

Meyer, Christoph O., and Eva Strickmann. 2010. “Solidifying constructivism: How material and ideational factors interact in European defence.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49(1):61-81.

Recommended

Bickerton, Chris J., Bastien Irondelle, and Anand Menon. 2010. “Security co-operation beyond the nation-state: The EU’s Common Security and Defence Policy.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49(1):1-21.

Wed. Oct. 30 ***The Democratic Deficit***

Bellamy, Richard. 2010. “Democracy without Democracy? Can the EU’s Democratic ‘Outputs’ Be Separated from the Democratic ‘Inputs’ Provided by Competitive Parties and Majority Rule?” *Journal of European Public Policy* 17(1):2-19.

Cheneval, Francis, and Frank Schimmelfennig. 2012. “The case for democracy in the European Union.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51(2):334-350.

VI. European identity and the meaning of the European Union

Fri. Nov. 1 ***European identity***

Caporaso, James, and Min-hyung Kim. 2009. “The dual nature of European identity: subjective awareness and coherence.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 16(1):19-42.

Cram, Laura. 2012. “Does the EU need a navel? Implicit and explicit identification with the European Union.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50(1):71-86.

Wed. Nov. 6 ***Thinking about the meaning of the European Union***

Chapters 1 & 2 in *Europe in the eye of the beholder*

Fri. Nov. 8 ***Identifying Europeans by their opinions***

Chapters 3 & 5 in *Europe in the eye of the beholder*

Wed. Nov. 13 ***From identity and meaning to policy support***

Chapters 6 & 8 in *Europe in the eye of the beholder*

Fri. Nov. 15 **Midterm exam 2**

VII. The Future of the EU: Who Can Join, and Where Will It End?

Wed. Nov. 20 *Turkey and the European Union*

Azrout, Rachid, Joost van Spanje, and Claes de Vreese. 2011. "Talking Turkey: Anti-Immigrant Attitudes and Their Effect on Support for Turkish Membership of the EU." *European Union Politics*.

Hinrichsen, Malte Carlos. 2012. "Religion, the media and EU membership of Turkey." *Comparative European Politics* 10:198-217.

Fri. Nov. 22 *EU governance today*

Börzel, Tanja. 2010. "European Governance: Negotiation and Competition in the Shadow of Hierarchy." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48(2):191-219.

Dinan, Desmond. 2013. "EU governance and institutions: Stresses above and below the waterline." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51(S1):89-102.

Thanksgiving

Wed. Dec. 4 *Looking towards the future*

Nicolaïdis, Kalypso. 2010. "Sustainable Integration: Towards EU 2.0?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48(S1):21-54.

Falkner, Gerda. 2013. "Is the European Union losing its credibility?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51(S1):13-30.

Fri. Dec. 6 *Wrap-up*

Paper due

Readings TBA.