

# Politics of the European Union

## PSC756 – Fall 2011

Department of Political Science  
Syracuse University

Monday 12.45pm–3.30pm  
Room: Maxwell Hall 315

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Course website: [blackboard.syr.edu](http://blackboard.syr.edu)

*Office Hours*  
Monday 4–5pm,  
Wednesday 2–3pm,  
or by appointment

## Course Overview

In this graduate seminar on the European Union, we will engage theories explaining the shift of authority from the national to the supranational level. We will examine general theories of regional integration, paying special attention to the European integration process, which is the most advanced and most theorized case of multi-level governance.

In the first part of the course, we cover theories from the work of Ernst Haas to the present, which ask questions such as: How have political scientists conceptualized European integration? How have they explained the development of supranational institutions? As we will see, there are few areas of agreement, so we will compare the strengths and weaknesses of these various theories.

In the second part of the course, we will address questions regarding power and interests in the European Union. For instance, how is conflict over European issues structured? How does European integration affect domestic contestation between political parties? During this section, we will also consider redistribution, regulation and policies at the supranational level, including monetary policy and foreign affairs. F

## Course Expectations and Requirements

### Response Papers

Each student will complete three written critiques of the readings, 5–6 pages (~1250–1500 words) each. Each paper should be distributed to all class members via email by 1pm the Sunday before class. These response papers will be the starting point for our discussion each week. The authors will also be expected to help lead the discussion during their week. Each student will choose one session from each of the following groups: 2–4, 5–7, and 8–11. To ensure even coverage, we will coordinate response papers during the first session.

I expect the papers to be analytical response papers, not simply restatements of the main arguments. Rather than summaries, you should focus on the strengths and weaknesses of the readings, including addressing any debates between the readings as well as discussing any interesting unanswered research questions raised by the authors. Do not feel obliged to address each article from the week. Rather, you may want to focus on one issue or debate and follow it through several pieces. The supplementary readings provide additional resources for this purpose and you are welcome to incorporate them. For these readings, though, be aware your classmates will not have read them so a little more summarizing may be in order.

## Discussant

Each student will choose one article from the main readings to discuss. The discussant will present the paper, key findings, and some criticism to jump-start the discussion. Beyond presenting and summarizing the paper itself, discussants should provide comments and criticisms similar to the Political Science Research Workshop format. Comments should be between 10–20 minutes.

## Research Paper

Each student will write an original research paper, between 15–25 pages (~3,750–6,250 words). These papers should look like a journal article or conference paper. The papers should include a research question or puzzle, a short review of the relevant literature, theoretical arguments and hypotheses, and evidence. The papers can focus on any of the literature or questions raised in the class. I am open to a variety of paper topics, depending on the interests of the students. Options include, but are not limited to:

- Compare the choice, attempted reform, or revision of a European Union institution.
- Apply theoretical arguments or evaluate competing theoretical explanations in a particular case.
- Review at least one problem surrounding an institution (e.g. political issues, lack of achievement, lack of resources, etc), with some consideration given to the problem and prospects for improvement.
- Conduct empirical analysis on public or elite attitudes toward European integration.

By October 17, each student should prepare a topic statement of less than one page and submit it for approval. During the final class sessions on 11/28 and 12/5, we will have a panel discussion of the papers. Each student will present their paper and serve as a discussant for a colleague's paper. Presentations are expected to be conference-style, meaning 10–15 minutes, preferably with Power-Point or Keynote. To facilitate the discussion, the paper drafts will be circulated no later than noon on Friday prior to your presentation. Along with your discussant and classmates, I will comment on whatever you hand in, so it is to your advantage to complete as much as possible by this date.

The final paper is due Monday, December 12th.

Submit it via hard copy *and* electronically.

## Participation

As a graduate seminar, each participant will be expected to attend class and be prepared to discuss the assigned readings. Active student participation is essential to a successful seminar.

## Evaluation

Response Papers (3)	30%
Discussant	10%
Research Paper	40%
Participation	20%

## Readings

All books will be available for purchase from the Syracuse University bookstore, and will be placed on reserve at the library. Other readings will be available on-line in blackboard.

## Required Books

Hix, Simon and Bjørn Høyland. 2011. *The Political System of the European Union*. 3rd ed. New York: Palgrave MacMillan. (ISBN: 0230249825)

McCormick, John. 2011. *Understanding the European Union. A Concise Introduction*. 5th ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. (ISBN: 0230298834)

Moravcsik, Andrew. 1998. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. (ISBN: 0801485096)

Nelsen, Brent F. and Alexander Stubb, eds. 2003. *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. 3rd edition. Boulder: Lynne Rienner. (ISBN: 1588262316)

## Suggested Background Reading

Wallace, Helen, Mark A. Pollack, and Alasdair R. Young. 2010. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. 6th ed. New York: Oxford University Press. (ISBN: 0199544824)

## Course Policies

### Statement Regarding Disability-Related Accommodations

If you believe that you need accommodations for a disability, please contact the Office of Disability Services (ODS), <http://disabilityservices.syr.edu>, located at 804 University Avenue, room 309, or call (315) 443-4498 for an appointment to discuss your needs and the process for requesting accommodations. ODS is responsible for coordinating disability-related accommodations and will issue students with documented disabilities “Accommodation Authorization Letters,” as appropriate. Since accommodations may require early planning and generally are not provided retroactively, please contact ODS as soon as possible.

You are also welcome to contact me privately to discuss your academic needs although I cannot arrange for disability-related accommodations.

### Academic Integrity Statement

The Syracuse University Academic Integrity Policy holds students accountable for the integrity of the work they submit. Students should be familiar with the Policy and know that it is their responsibility to learn about instructor and general academic expectations with regard to proper citation of sources in written work. The policy also governs the integrity of work submitted in exams and assignments as well as the veracity of signatures on attendance sheets and other verifications of participation in class activities. Serious sanctions can result from academic dishonesty of any sort. For more information and the complete policy, see <http://academicintegrity.syr.edu>

# Class Schedule

## I. Theoretical Approaches

### Session 1: Introduction to the European Union (29 August)

#### Required Readings

McCormick, John. 2011. *Understanding the European Union. A Concise Introduction*. 5th ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Nelsen & Stubb, eds. Selections by:

- Winston Churchill (“The Tragedy of Europe”), 7–11
- Robert Schuman (“Declaration”), 13–14
- Jean Monnet (“A Ferment of Change”), 19–26
- Joschka Fischer, Jacques Chirac, & Tony Blair (“Reflections on a Constitution for Europe”), 69–83.

#### Recommended Readings

Nelsen & Stubb, eds. Selection by:

- Charles de Gaulle (“A Concert of European States”), 27–44.

Hix and Høyland. Ch. 1 “Introduction: Explaining the EU Political System”: 1–19.

#### Supplementary Readings

Cornett, Linda and James A. Caporaso. 1992. “‘And Still It Moves!’ State Interests and Social Forces in the European Community.” In *Governance Without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*, eds. James N. Rosenau and Ernst–Otto Czempiel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 219–249.

Hix, Simon. 1994. “The Study of the European Community: The Challenge to Comparative Politics.” *West European Politics* 17.1 (January): 1–30.

Hurrell, Andrew and Anand Menon. 1996. “Politics Like Any Other? Comparative Politics, International Relations and the Study of the EU.” *West European Politics* 19.2 (April): 386–402.

Hix, Simon. 1996. “CP, IR, and the EU! A Rejoinder to Hurrell and Menon.” *West European Politics* 19.4 (October): 802–804.

Jupille, Joseph and James A. Caporaso. 1999. “Institutionalism and the European Union: Beyond International Relations and Comparative Politics.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 429–444.

Risse-Kappen, Thomas. 1996. “Exploring the Nature of the Beast: International Relations Theory and Comparative Policy Analysis Meet the European Union.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34.1 (March): 53–80.

Mazey, Sonia. 2001. “European Integration: Unfinished Journey or Journey without End?” In *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*, ed. Jeremy Richardson. London: Routledge: 27–50.

## Labor Day—No Class (5 September)

## Session 2: Neofunctionalism (12 September)

### Required Readings

Nelsen & Stubb, eds. Selections by:

- David Mitrany (“A Working Peace System”), 99–119
- Ernst Haas (“The Uniting of Europe”), 145–151
- Stanley Hoffman (“Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe”), 163–177
- Bela Balassa (“The Theory of Economic Integration: An Introduction”), 179–194
- Stone Sweet and Sandholtz (“European Integration and Supranational Governance”), 215–238
- Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks (“Multi-Level Governance in the European Union”), 281–311
- Markus Jachtenfuchs (“The Governance Approach to European Integration.”), 335–348.

Morgan, Glyn. 2005. “Ch. 7. A Sovereign Europe.” In *The Idea of a European Superstate*. Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press, 133–157.

### Supplementary Readings

Bache, Ian and Matthew Flinders, eds. 2004. *Multi-Level Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (esp. B. Guy Peters and Jon Pierre’s “Multi-Level Governance and Democracy: A Faustian Bargain?” (pages 75–92)).

Börzel, Tanja A. and Thomas Risse. 2009. “Revisiting the Nature of the Beast—Politicization, European Identity, and Postfunctionalism: A Comment on Hooghe and Marks.” *British Journal of Political Science* 39.1 (January): 217–220.

George, Stephen. 2004. “Multi-level Governance and the European Union.” In *Multi-Level Governance*, eds. Ian Bache and Matthew Flinders. New York: Oxford University Press, 107–126.

Haas, Ernst. 1964. *Beyond the Nation-State: Functionalism and International Organization*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Haas, Ernst. 1975. ‘*The Obsolescence of Regional Integration Theory*.’ Institute of International Studies. University of California, Berkeley, Research Series No. 25.

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2001. *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2003. “Unraveling the Central State, But How? Types of Multi-level Governance.” *American Political Science Review* 97.2 (June): 233–243.

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 (January): 1–23.  
• See response articles from Schmitter, Kriesi, and Börzel & Risse from the same BJPS issue in **supplementary readings**.

Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2009. “Rejoinder to Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, ‘A Postfunctional Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus.’” *British Journal of Political Science* 39.1 (January): 221–224.

- Marks, Gary and Liesbet Hooghe. 2000. "Optimality and Authority: A Critique of Neoclassical Theory." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38.5 (December): 795–816.
- Mearsheimer, John. 1990. "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War." *International Security* 15: 5–56.
- Mitrany, David. 1965. "The Prospect of Integration: Federal or Functional?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 4.2 (December): 119–149.
- Morgan, Glyn. 2005. *The Idea of a European Superstate*. Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press.
- Sandholtz, Wayne and Alec Stone Sweet, eds. 1998. *European Integration and Supranational Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Scharpf, Fritz. 1994. "Community and Autonomy: Multilevel Policy Making in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 1: 219–242.
- Schmitter, Philippe. 2004. "Neo-Neofunctionalism: Déjà Vu, or All Over Again?" In *European Integration Theory*, eds. Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez. New York: Oxford University Press, 45–74.
- Schmitter, Philippe C. 2009. "On the Way to a Post-Functionalist Theory of European Integration." *British Journal of Political Science* 39.1 (January): 211–215.
- Wallace, Pollack and Young. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Ch. 2 "Theorizing EU Policy-Making": 15–44.

## Session 3: Liberal Intergovernmentalism (19 September)

### Required Readings

Moravcsik, Andrew. 1998. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

- Introduction & Ch. 1 “Theorizing European Integration”: 1–85
- Ch. 7 “European Integration in Retrospect”: 472–502
- *Sub-groups of class will each read and present one case study chapter, to be coordinated on Day 2.*

Wallace, Helen, James A. Caporaso, Fritz W. Scharpf, and Andrew Moravcsik. 1999. “Review section symposium: *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 6.1 (March): 155–179.

### Recommended Readings

Pierson, Paul. 1996. “The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis.” *Comparative Political Studies* 29.2 (April): 123–162.

### Supplementary Readings

Garrett, Geoffrey and George Tsebelis. 1996. “An Institutional Critique of Intergovernmentalism.” *International Organization* 50.2 (Spring): 269–99.

Grieco, Joseph. 1995. “The Maastricht Treaty, Economic and Monetary Union and the Neorealist Research Programme.” *Review of International Studies* 21: 21–40.

Lieshot, Robert H., Mathieu L. L. Segers, and Anna M. van der Vleuten. 2004. “De Gaulle, Moravcsik and *The Choice for Europe*. Soft Sources, Weak Evidence.” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 6.4 (Fall): 89–139.

Moravcsik, Andrew. 1993. “Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmental Approach.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31: 473–524.

Moravcsik, Andrew. 1998. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, Chs. 2–5.

Moravcsik, Andrew. 1999. “A New Statecraft? Supranational Entrepreneurs and International Cooperation.” *International Organization* 53.2 (April): 267–306.

Stone Sweet, Alec and James A. Caporaso. 1998. “From Free Trade to Supranational Polity: The European Court and Integration.” In *European Integration and Supranational Governance*, eds. Wayne Sandholtz and Alec Stone Sweet. New York: Oxford University Press, 92–133.

Tsebelis, George and Geoffrey Garrett. 2001. “The Institutional Foundations of Intergovernmentalism and Supranationalism in the European Union.” *International Organization* 55.2: 357–390.

## II. Topics in European Integration

### Session 4: Contestation over the EU: Parties & the Public (26 September)

#### Required Readings

Hix and Høyland. Ch. 5 “Public Opinion”: 105–129.

Marks, Gary, Carole Wilson, and Leonard Ray. 2002. “National Political Parties and European Integration.” *American Journal of Political Science* 46.3 (July): 585–594.

Eijk, Cees van der and Mark N. Franklin. 2004. “Potential For Contestation on European Matters at National Elections in Europe.” In *European Integration and Political Conflict*, eds. Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen. New York: Cambridge University Press, 32–50.

Taggart, Paul and Aleks Szczerbiak. 2004. “Contemporary Euroscepticism in the Systems of the European Union Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe.” *European Journal of Political Research* 43.1 (January): 1–27.

Gabel, Matthew. 1998. “Public Support for European Integration: An Empirical Test of Five Theories.” *Journal of Politics* 60.2 (May): 333–54.

McLaren, Lauren. 2002. “Public Support for the European Union: Cost/Benefit Analysis or Perceived Cultural Threat?” *Journal of Politics* 64.2 (May): 551–566.

Brinegar, Adam and Seth Jolly. 2005. “Location, Location, Location: National Contextual Factors and Public Support for European Integration.” *European Union Politics* 6.2 (June): 155–180.

Tucker, Joshua A., Alexander C. Pacek, Adam J. Berinsky. 2002. “Transitional Winners & Losers: Attitudes Toward EU Membership in Post-Communist Countries.” *American Journal of Political Science* 46.3 (July): 557–571.

#### Recommended Readings on Elite-Mass Linkage

Gabel, Matthew and Kenneth Scheve. 2007. “Estimating the Effect of Elite Communications on Public Opinion Using Instrumental Variables.” *American Journal of Political Science* 51.4 (October): 1013–1028.

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2005. “Calculation, Community and Cues.” *European Union Politics* 6.4: 419–443.

Mattila, Mikko and Tapio Raunio. 2006. “Cautious Voters — Supportive Parties. Opinion Congruence between Voters and Parties on the EU Dimension.” *European Union Politics* 7.4: 427–449.

Steenbergen, Marco R., Erica E. Edwards and Catherine E. de Vries. 2007. “Who’s Cueing Whom? Mass-Elite Linkages and the Future of European Integration.” *European Union Politics* 8.1: 13–35.

## Supplementary Readings

- Brinegar, Adam, Seth Jolly and Herbert Kitschelt. 2004. "Varieties of Capitalism and Political Divides over European Integration." In *European Integration and Political Conflict*, eds. Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen. New York: Cambridge University Press, 62–89.
- Carrubba, Clifford J. 2001. "The Electoral Connection in European Union Politics." *Journal of Politics* 63.1 (February): 141–58.
- Eichenberg, Richard and Russell Dalton. 1993. "Europeans and the European Community: The Dynamics of Public Support for European Integration." *International Organization* 47.4 (Autumn): 507–534.
- Evans, Geoffrey. 2002. "European Integration, Party Politics and Voting in the 2001 Election." *British Elections & Parties Review* 12: 95–110.
- Gabel, Matthew. 1998. *Interests and Integration. Market Liberalization, Public Opinion, and European Union*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Gabel, Matthew. 1998. "Economic Integration and Mass Politics: Market Liberalization and Public Attitudes in the European Union." *American Journal of Political Science* 42.3 (July): 936–953.
- Gabel, Matthew J. and Christopher J. Anderson. 2004. "The Structure of Citizen Attitudes and the European Political Space." In *European Integration and Political Conflict*, eds. Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen. New York: Cambridge University Press, 13–31.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 1999. "The Making of a Polity: The Struggle over European Integration." In *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*, eds. Herbert Kitschelt, Gary Marks, Peter Lange and John Stephens. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 70–97.
- Imig, Doug and Sidney Tarrow, eds. 2001. *Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in an Integrating Europe*. Boulder CO: Rowman and Littlefield Press.
- Hix, Simon. 1999. "Dimensions and Alignments in European Union Politics: Cognitive Constraints and Partisan Responses." *European Journal of Political Research* 35.1 (January): 69–106.
- Hix, Simon and Christopher Lord. 1997. *Political Parties in the European Union*. New York: St. Martin's.
- Jolly, Seth K. 2007. "The Europhile Fringe? Regionalist Party Support for European Integration." *European Union Politics* 8.1: 109–130.
- Kopecky, Petr and Cas Mudde. 2002. "The Two Sides of Euroskepticism: Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe." *European Union Politics* 3.3: 297–326.
- Mair, Peter. 2000. "The Limited Impact of Europe on National Party Systems." *West European Politics* 23.4 (October): 27–51.
- Marks, Gary and Liesbet Hooghe. 2004. "Does Identity or Economic Rationality Drive Public Opinion on European Integration?" *Political Science* 37.3: 415–442.
- Marks, Gary, Liesbet Hooghe, Moira Nelson, and Erica Edwards. 2006. "Party Competition and European Integration in East and West: Different Structure, Same Causality." *Comparative Political Studies* 39.2 (March): 155–175.
- Marks, Gary and Marco Steenbergen, eds. 2004. *European Integration and Political Conflict*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Marks, Gary and Carole Wilson. 2000. "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Positions on European Integration." *British Journal of Political Science* 30: 433–459.
- Pennings, Paul. 2002. "The Dimensionality of the EU Policy Space. The European Elections of 1999." *European Union Politics* 3: 59–79.
- Ray, Leonard. 2003. "When Parties Matter: The Conditional Influence of Party Positions on Voter Opinions about European Integration." *Journal of Politics* 65.4 (November): 978–994.
- Ray, Leonard. 2004. "Don't Rock the Boat: Expectations, Fears, and Opposition to EU-level Policy-Making." In *European Integration and Political Conflict*, eds. Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen. New York: Cambridge University Press, 51–61.
- Rohrschneider, Robert and Stephen Whitefield. 2004. "Support for Foreign Ownership and Integration in Eastern Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 37.3: 313–339.
- Scharpf, Fritz. 1999. *Crisis and Choice in European Social Democracy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Scheve, Kenneth. 2000. "Comparative Context and Public Preferences over Regional Economic Integration." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, 31 August-3 September.
- Steenbergen, Marco and Bradford S. Jones. 2002. "Modeling Multilevel Data Structures." *American Journal of Political Science* 46.1 (January): 218–237.
- Taggart, Paul. 1998. "A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western European Party Systems." *European Journal of Political Research* 33.3 (April): 363–388.
- Tverdova, Y. V. and C. J. Anderson. 2004. "Choosing the West? Referendum Choices on EU Membership in East-Central Europe." *Electoral Studies* 23.2 (June): 185–208.

## Session 5: European Parliament & Democracy in Europe (3 October)

### Required Readings

Hix and Høyland. Ch. 3 “Legislative Politics”: 49–74.

Tsebelis, George and Geoffrey Garrett. 2000. “Legislative Politics in the European Union.” *European Union Politics* 1.1: 9–36.

Costello, Rory. 2010. “Does Bicameralism Promote Stability? Inter-institutional Relations and Coalition Formation in the European Parliament.” *West European Politics* 34.1: 122–144.

Hix and Høyland. Ch. 6 “Democracy, Parties, and Elections”: 130–157.

Moravcsik, Andrew. 2002. “In Defence of the ‘Democratic Deficit’: Reassessing the Legitimacy of the European Union.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40.4 (September): 603–634.

Follesdal, Andreas and Hix, Simon. 2006. “Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44.3 (September): 533–562.

Hix, Simon and Michael Marsh. 2011. “Second-Order Effects Plus Pan-European Political Swings: An Analysis Of European Parliament Elections Across Time.” *Electoral Studies* 30.1 (March): 4–15.

### Supplementary Readings

de Vries, Catherine E., Wouter van der Brug, Marcel H. van Egmond, and Cees van der Eijk. 2011. “Individual and Contextual Variation in EU Issue Voting: The Role of Political Information.” *Electoral Studies* 30.1 (March): 16–28.

Hix, Simon, Abdul Noury and Gerard Roland. 2009. “Voting Patterns and Alliance Formation in the European Parliament.” *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B* 364: 821–831.

Hobolt, Sara Binzer and Jill Wittrock. 2011. “Individual and Contextual Variation in EU Issue Voting: The Role of Political Information.” *Electoral Studies* 30.1 (March): 29–40.

Kreppel, Amie. 2002. “Moving Beyond Procedure: An Empirical Analysis of European Parliament Legislative Influence.” *Comparative Political Studies* 35.7: 784–813.

Majone, Giandomenico. 1996. *Regulating Europe*. London: Routledge.

Majone, Giandomenico. 1998. “Europe’s ‘Democratic Deficit’: The Question of Standards.” *European Law Journal* 4.1: 5–28.

Moravcsik, Andrew. 2004. “Is there a ‘Democratic Deficit’ in World Politics? A Framework for Analysis.” *Government and Opposition* 39.2: 336–363.

Reif, Karlheinz, and Hermann Schmitt. 1980. “Nine Second-Order National Elections: A Conceptual Framework For The Analysis Of European Election Results.” *European Journal of Political Research* 8.1: 3–45.

Rohrschneider, Robert. 2002. “The Democracy Deficit and Mass Support for an EU-wide Government.” *American Journal of Political Science* 46.2 (April): 463–75.

- Scharpf, Fritz. 1999. *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schmitter, Philippe. 2000. *How to Democratize the European Union... And Why Bother?* Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000.
- Tsebelis, George. 1994. "The Power of the European Parliament as a Conditional Agenda-Setter." *American Political Science Review* 88.1 (March): 128–142.
- Tsebelis, George and Geoffrey Garrett. 2001. "The Institutional Foundations of Intergovernmentalism and Supranationalism in the European Union." *International Organization* 55.2 (Spring): 357–390.
- Tsebelis, George, Christian B. Jensen, Anastassios Kalandrakis, and Amie Kreppel. 2001. "Legislative Procedures in the European Union: An Empirical Analysis." *British Journal of Political Science* 31.4 (October): 573–599.

## Session 6: European Civil Society (10 October)

### Required Readings

- Hix and Høyland. Ch. 7 “Interest Representation”: 159–188.
- Pollack, Mark. 1997. “Representing Diffuse Interests in EC Policy-making.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 4.4: 572–590.
- Beyers, Jan. 2004. “Voice and Access: Political Practices of European Interest Associations.” *European Union Politics* 5.2 (June): 211–240.
- Coen, D. 2007. “Empirical and Theoretical Studies in EU Lobbying.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 14.3: 333–345.
- Bouwen, Pieter. 2002. “Corporate Lobbying in the European Union: The Logic of Access.” *Journal of European Public Policy*. 9.3: 365–390.
- Bouwen, Pieter and Margaret McCown. 2007. “Lobbying versus Litigation: Political and Legal Strategies of Interest Representation in the European Union.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 14.3: 422–443.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 1996. “‘Europe with the Regions’: Channels of Regional Representation in the European Union.” *Publius* 26.1 (Winter): 73–91.
- Mahoney, Christine. 2007. “Lobbying Success in the United States and the European Union.” *Journal of Public Policy* 27.2: 35–56.
- Baumgartner, Frank R. 2007. “EU Lobbying: A View from the US.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 14.3: 482–488.

### Recommended Readings

- Hix and Høyland. Ch. 5 “Judicial Politics”: 75–104.

### Supplementary Readings

- Eising, Rainer. 2007. “The Access of Business Interests to EU institutions: Towards Elite Pluralism?” *Journal of European Public Policy* 14.3: 384–403.
- Mahoney, Christine and Michael Beckstrand. N.d. “Following the Money: EU Funding of Civil Society Organizations” *Journal of Common Market Studies*: forthcoming.
- Mahoney, Christine. 2007. “Networking vs. Allying: The Decision of Interest Groups to Join Coalitions in the US and the EU.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 14.3: 366–383.
- Mahoney, Christine. 2008. *Brussels versus the Beltway. Advocacy in the United States and the European Union*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

## Session 7: Delegation & Compliance in the EU (17 October)

### Required Readings

Hix and Høyland. Ch. 2 “Executive Politics”: 23–48.

Nelsen & Stubb, eds. Selection by:

- Mark A. Pollack (“Delegation and Agency in the European Community”), 255–279.

Tallberg, Jonas. 2002. “Delegation to Supranational Institutions: Why, How, and With What Consequences?” *West European Politics* 25.1: 23–46.

Mastenbroek, Ellen. 2005. “EU Compliance: Still a ‘Black Hole’?” *Journal of European Public Policy* 12.6 (December): 1103–1120.

Tallberg, Jonas. 2002. “Paths to Compliance: Enforcement, Management, and the European Union.” *International Organization* 56.3 (Summer): 609–643.

Börzel, Tanja A. 2002. “Pace-Setting, Foot-Dragging, and Fence-Sitting: Member State Responses to Europeanization.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40.2 (June): 193–214.

Vachudova, Milada Anna. 2009. “Corruption and Compliance in the EUs Post-Communist Members and Candidates.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 47: 43–62.

### Supplementary Readings

Alesina, Alberto, Ignazio Angeloni, Ludger Schuknecht. 2005. “What does the European Union do?” *Public Choice* 123.3/4 (June): 275–319.

Börzel, Tanja A. 2000. “Why there is No ‘Southern Problem:’ On Environmental Leaders and Laggards in the European Union.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 7.1: 141–162.

Börzel, Tanja A. 2001. “Non-Compliance in the European Union: Pathology or Statistical Artefact?” *Journal of European Public Policy* 8.5:803–824.

Börzel, Tanja A. 2003. “Guarding the Treaty: The Compliance Strategies of the European Commission.” In *The State of the European Union, Volume 6: Law, Politics, and Society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 197–220.

Ciavarini Azzi, Giuseppe. 2000. “The Slow March of European Integration: The Implementation of Directives.” In *European Integration After Amsterdam: Institutional Dynamics and Prospects for Democracy*, eds. Karlheinz Neunreither and Antje Wiener. New York: Oxford University Press, 52–67.

Greenwood, Justin. 2003. *Interest Representation in the European Union*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ross, Stephen A. 1973. “The Economic Theory of Agency: The Principal’s Problem.” *The American Economic Review*. 63.2 (May): 134–139.

Tallberg, Jonas. 2000. “The Anatomy of Autonomy: An Institutional Account of Variation in Supranational Influence.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38.5 (December): 843–864.

Wallace, Pollack, and Young. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Ch. 13 “Environmental Policy: Contending Dynamics of Policy Change”: 307–330.

## No class—paper research week (24 October)

### Session 8: IPE in the EU—Regulation & Monetary Policy (31 October)

#### Required Readings

Hix and Høyland. Ch. 8 “Regulation of the Single Market”: 189–217.

Caporaso, James. 1996. “The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalian, Regulatory or Post-Modern?” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34.1 (March): 29–52.

Simmons, Beth. 2001. “The International Politics of Harmonization: The Case of Capital Market Integration” *International Organization* 55.3 (September): 589–620.

Barry, Frank, John Bradley, Aoife Hannan. 2001. “The Single Market, the Structural Funds and Ireland’s Recent Economic Growth.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39.3 (September): 537–552.

Hix and Høyland. Ch. 10 “Economic and Monetary Union”: 245–272.

Sachs, Jeffrey and Felipe Larrain. 1999. “Why Dollarization Is More Straitjacket Than Salvation.” *Foreign Policy* 116 (Autumn): 80–92.

Hausmann, Ricardo. 1999. “Should There Be Five Currencies or One Hundred and Five?” *Foreign Policy* 116 (Autumn): 65–79.

McNamara, Kathleen. 1999. “Consensus and Constraints: Ideas and Capital Mobility in European Monetary Integration.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37.3 (September): 455–476.

#### Supplementary Readings

Cappelen, Aadne, Fulvio Castellacci, Jan Fagerberg, and Bart Verspagen. 2003. “The Impact of EU Regional Support on Growth and Convergence in the European Union.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 41.4 (November): 621–644.

Cohen, Benjamin J. 2003. “Are Monetary Unions Inevitable?” *International Studies Perspectives* 4.3 (August): 275–292.

de Grauwe, Paul. 2000. *Economics of Monetary Union*. 4th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Eberlein, Burkard and Edgar Grande. 2005. “Beyond Delegation: Transnational Regulatory Regimes and the EU Regulatory State.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 12.1 (February): 89–112.

Egan, Michelle. 2001. *Constructing a European Market: Standards, Regulation, and Governance*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Selections from Eichengreen, Barry and Jeffrey A. Frieden. 2001. *The Political Economy of European Monetary Unification*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press:

- Barry Eichengreen and Jeffrey A. Frieden (Ch. 1 “The Political Economy of European Monetary Unification: An Analytical Introduction”), 1–22
- Geoffrey Garrett (Ch. 5 “The Politics of Maastricht”), 111–130
- Lisa L. Martin (Ch. 6 “International and Domestic Institutions in the EMU Process and Beyond”), 131–156.

- Hall, Peter A. 2001. "The Evolution of Economic Policy-Making in the European Union." In *From the Nation State to Europe: Essays in Honor of Jack Hayward*, eds. Anand Menon and Vincent Wright. New York: Oxford University Press, 214–245.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Marks, Gary. 2001. *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 81–118 (Chs. 5–7).
- Hösli, Madeleine. 2005. *The Euro: A Concise Introduction to European Monetary Integration*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Majone, Giandomenico. 1994. "The Rise of the Regulatory State in Europe." *West European Politics* 17.3 (July): 77–101.
- Nicolaidis, Phedon. 2004. "The Political Economy of Multi-tiered Regulation in Europe." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42.3 (September): 599–618.
- Pollack, Mark A. 2000. "A Blairite Treaty: Neo-Liberalism and Regulated Capitalism in the Treaty of Amsterdam." In *European Integration After Amsterdam: Institutional Dynamics and Prospects for Democracy*, eds. Karlheinz Neunreither and Antje Wiener. New York: Oxford University Press, 266–289.
- Pollack, Mark A. 2003. "Regulating Europe: The Commission, the Court, and the Regulation of the European Market." In *The Engines of European Integration: Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the European Union*. New York: Oxford University Press, 323–374.
- Selections from Wallace, Pollack, and Young. *Policy-Making in the European Union*:
- Ch. 5 "The Single Market: Deregulation, Reregulation, and Integration": 107–132
  - Ch. 6 "Competition Policy: Towards an Economic Constitution": 133–156
  - Ch. 7 "Economic and Monetary Union: An Experiment in New Modes of EU Policy-Making": 157–180
  - Ch. 10 "The Structural Funds and Cohesion Policy: Extending the Bargain to Meet New Challenges": 229–252.

## Session 9: IPE in the EU: Trade (7 November)

### Required Readings

- Meunier, Sophie and Kalypso Nicolaïdis. 2006. "The European Union as a Conflicted Trade Power." *Journal of European Public Policy* 13.6 (September): 906–925.
- Meunier, Sophie. 2000. "What Single Voice? European Institutions and EU-U.S. Trade Negotiations." *International Organization* 54.1 (Winter): 103–135.
- Goldstein, Judith and Lisa L. Martin. 2000. "Legalization, Trade Liberalization, and Domestic Politics: A Cautionary Note." *International Organization* 54.3 (Summer): 603–632.
- Davis, Christina L. 2004. "International Institutions and Issue Linkage: Building Support for Agricultural Trade Liberalization." *American Political Science Review* 98.1 (February): 153–169.
- Alter, Karen J. and Sophie Meunier. 2006. "Nested and Competing Regimes in the Transatlantic Banana Trade Dispute." *Journal of European Public Policy* 13.3 (April): 362–382.
- Scheve, Kenneth and Matthew Slaughter. 2001. "What Determines Individual Trade Policy Preferences?" *Journal of International Economics* 54.2: 267–292.
- Hiscox, Michael. 2001. "Class Versus Industry Cleavages: Inter-Industry Factor Mobility and The Politics of Trade." *International Organization* 55.1 (Winter): 1–46.

### Supplementary Readings

- Davis, Christina L. 2003. *Food Fights Over Free Trade: How International Institutions Promote Agricultural Trade Liberalization*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hiscox, Michael. 2002. *International Trade and Political Conflict: Commerce, Coalitions and Factor Mobility*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (ISBN: 0691088551)
- Keohane, Robert. 1984. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rogowski, Ronald. 1989. *Commerce and Coalitions: How Trade Affects Domestic Political Alignments*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Selection from Wallace, Pollack, and Young. *Policy-Making in the European Union*:
- Ch. 15 "Trade Policy: A Further Shift Towards Brussels": 381–400.

## Session 10: A Common Foreign & Security Policy? (14 November)

### Required Readings

Hix and Høyland. Ch. 12 “Foreign Policies”: 302–330.

Ginsberg, Roy H. 1999. “Conceptualizing the European Union as an International Actor: Narrowing the Theoretical Capability-Expectation Gap.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37.3 (September): 429–454.

Frieden, Jeffrey. 2004. “One Europe, One Vote? The Political Economy of European Union Representation in International Organizations.” *European Union Politics* 5.2 (June): 261–276.

Kagan, Robert. 2002. “Power and Weakness.” *Policy Review* 113 (June/July): 3–28.

Dinan, Desmond. 2011. “Governance and Institutions: Implementing the Lisbon Treaty in the Shadow of the Euro Crisis.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49 (Annual Review): 103–121.

Hill, Christopher. 2001. “The EU’s Capacity for Conflict Prevention.” *European Foreign Affairs Review* 6.3 (Fall): 315–333.

Whitman, Richard G. 2004. “NATO, the EU and ESDP: An Emerging Division of Labour?” *Contemporary Security Policy* 25.3 (December): 430–451.

Keukeleire, Stephan. 2010. “European Security and Defense Policy: From Taboo to a Spearhead of EU Foreign Policy.” In *The Foreign Policy of the European Union: Assessing Europe’s Role in the World*, ed. Federiga Bindi. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 51–72.

Smith, Michael. 2004. “Toward a Theory of EU Foreign Policy-Making: Multi-level Governance, Domestic Politics, and National Adaptation to Europe’s Common Foreign and Security Policy.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 11.4 (August): 740–758.

### Supplementary Readings

Cross, Mai’i Davis, Jolyon Howorth, Anand Menon, and Zachary Selden. 2011. “EUSA Review Forum: EU as a Global Actor since Lisbon.” *EUSA Review* 24.2 (Spring): 3–12.

Glarbo, Kenneth. 1999. “Wide-Awake Diplomacy: Reconstructing the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 6.4 (December): 634–651.

Hill, Christopher. 1993. “The Capability-Expectations Gap, or Conceptualising Europe’s International Role.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31.3 (September): 305–328.

Howorth, Jolyon. 2010. “The EU as a Global Actor: Grand Strategy for a Global Grand Bargain?” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48.3: 455–474.

Keohane, Robert. 2002. “Ironies of Sovereignty: The European Union and the United States.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40.4: 743–65.

Piana, Claire. 2002. “The EU’s Decision-Making Process in the Common Foreign and Security Policy: The Case of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.” *European Foreign Affairs Review* 7.2 (Summer): 209–226.

- Smith, Michael E. 2000. "Conforming to Europe: The Domestic Impact of EU Foreign Policy Co-operation." *Journal of European Public Policy* 7.4 (October): 613–631.
- Treacher, Adrian. 2004. "From Civilian Power to Military Actor: The EU's Resistable Transformation." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 9.1 (Spring): 49–66.
- Wæver, Ole. 2000. "The EU as a Security Actor: Reflections from a Pessimistic Constructivist on Post-Sovereign Security Orders." In *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration: Power, Security, and Community*, eds. Morten Kelstrup and Michael C. Williams. London: Routledge, 250–294.
- Wallace, Pollack, and Young. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Ch. 18 "Foreign and Security Policy: Civilian Power Europe and American Leadership": 431–456.

## Thanksgiving Break—No Class (21 November)

### Session 11: Moving East: Effects on Eastern Europe & Beyond (28 November)

#### Required Readings

- Pevehouse, Jon C. 2002. "With a Little Help from My Friends? Regional Organizations and the Consolidation of Democracy." *American Journal of Political Science* 46.3 (July): 611–626.
- Moravcsik, Andrew and Milada Anna Vachudova. 2003. "National Interests, State Power and EU Enlargement." *East European Politics and Societies* 17.1: 42–57.
- Grzymala-Busse, Anna and Abby Innes. 2003. "Great Expectations: the EU and Domestic Political Competition in East Central Europe." *East European Politics and Societies* 17.1 (February): 64–73.
- Vachudova, Milada Anna. 2005. *Europe Undivided. Democracy, Leverage & Integration After Communism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ch. 3 "The Passive Leverage of the European Union": 63–80
  - Ch. 5 "The Active Leverage of the European Union": 105–138
  - Ch. 8 "The Endgame of the Negotiations and the Future of an Enlarged European Union": 223–256.
- Kelley, Judith. 2004. "International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions." *International Organization* 58.3 (July): 425–457.
- Sasse, Gwendolyn. 2008. "The Politics of EU Conditionality: The Norm of Minority Protection During and Beyond EU Accession." *Journal of European Public Policy* 15.6 (September): 842–860.
- Saideman, Stephen M. and R. William Ayres. 2007. "Pie Crust Promises and the Sources of Foreign Policy: The Limited Impact of Accession and the Priority of Domestic Constituencies." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3.3 (July): 189–210.

#### Supplementary Readings

- Hooghe, Liesbet. 2005. "Several Roads Lead to International Norms, but Few Via International Socialization: A Case Study of the European Commission." *International Organization* 59.4 (October): 861–898.
- Kelley, Judith G. 2006. *Ethnic Politics in Europe: The Power of Norms and Incentives*. New York: Princeton University Press.
- Mansfield, Edward D. and Jon C. Pevehouse. 2000. "Trade Blocs, Trade Flows and International Conflict." *International Organization* 54.4 (November): 775–808.
- Pevehouse, Jon C. 2002. "Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization." *International Organization* 56.3 (August): 515–549.
- Pevehouse, Jon C. 2005. *Democracy from Above: Regional Organizations and Democratization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wallace, Pollack, and Young. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Ch. 17 "Enlargement: From Rules for Accession to a Policy Towards Europe": 401–430.

**Session 12: Paper Discussions (5 December)**

**Final papers due (12 December)**

Last updated: October 9, 2011.