

Politics of the European Union

PSC756 – Spring 2010

Department of Political Science
Syracuse University

Thursday 12.30pm–3.15pm
Room: Max 309B

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Course website: blackboard.syr.edu

Office Hours
Friday
10am–12pm
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. Finally, we will evaluate the generalizability of the lessons from Europe for other regional economic regimes.

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 Wednesday 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 8–10. 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 Design

Each student will write an original research design, between 15–20 pages (~3,750–5,000 words). These papers should look like an empirical journal article or conference paper, with only the actual empirical analysis missing. The papers should include a research question or puzzle, a short review of the relevant literature, theoretical arguments and hypotheses, and a proposed method of researching the question (empirical evidence, methodology, i.e. how you would potentially test these hypotheses etc.). Papers can include some preliminary analysis. The papers can focus on any of the literature or questions raised in the class.

Prior to spring break, each student should prepare a topic statement and submit it for approval. We will discuss these ideas in class to generate constructive feedback and directions for research.

During the final class sessions on 4/22 and 4/29, 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. To facilitate the discussion, the paper drafts will be circulated no later than the Monday prior to your presentation.

The final paper is due Thursday, May 6th.

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

Mahoney, Christine. 2008. *Brussels versus the Beltway. Advocacy in the United States and the European Union*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. (ISBN: 1589012038)

Mattli, Walter. 1999. *The Logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (ISBN: 0521635365)

- 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)
- Vachudova, Milada Anna. 2005. *Europe Undivided. Democracy, Leverage, & Integration After Communism*. New York: Oxford University Press. (ISBN: 0199241198)

Suggested Background Reading

- Pinder, John. 2008. *The European Union: A Very Short Introduction*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press. (ISBN: 0199233977)
- Wallace, Helen, William Wallace and Mark A. Pollack. 2005. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. 5th ed. New York: Oxford University Press. (ISBN: 0199276129)

Course Policies

Statement Regarding Disability-Related Accommodations

Students who are in need of disability-related academic accommodations must register with the Office of Disability Services (ODS), 804 University Avenue, Room 309, 315-443-4498. Students with authorized disability-related accommodations should provide a current Accommodation Authorization Letter from ODS to the instructor and review those accommodations with the instructor. Accommodations, such as exam administration, are not provided retroactively; therefore, planning for accommodations as early as possible is necessary. For further information, see the ODS website, Office of Disability Services <http://disabilityservices.syr.edu>.

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: European Union: International or Domestic Politics? (21 January)

Required Readings

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.

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
- Charles de Gaulle ("A Concert of European States"), 27–44
- Joschka Fischer, Jacques Chirac, & Tony Blair ("Reflections on a Constitution for Europe"), 69–83
- David Mitrany ("A Working Peace System"), 99–121

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.

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.

Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Ch. 1 "An Overview": 3–12.

Session 2: Neofunctionalism & New Approaches to Functionalism (28 January)

Required Readings

- 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**.
- Mitrany, David. 1965. "The Prospect of Integration: Federal or Functional?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 4.2 (December): 119–149.
- Morgan, Glyn. 2005. "Ch. 7. A Sovereign Europe." In *The Idea of a European Superstate*. Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press, 133–157.
- Nelsen & Stubb, eds. Selections by:
- 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.

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.
- 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.

- 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: 219–42.
- 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, Wallace, and Pollack. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Ch. 2 "Theorizing EU Policy-Making": 13–45.

Session 3: Liberal Intergovernmentalism (4 February)

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.*
- Pierson, Paul. 1996. “The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis.” *Comparative Political Studies* 29.2 (April):123–62.
- 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): 155–79.

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: Political Parties (11 February)

Required Readings

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

Supplementary Readings

- Evans, Geoffrey. 2002. "European Integration, Party Politics and Voting in the 2001 Election." *British Elections & Parties Review* 12: 95–110.
- Imig, Doug and Sidney Tarrow, eds. 2001. *Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in an Integrating Europe*. Boulder CO: Rowman and Littlefield Press.
- 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 Euroscepticism: 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, 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.

Taggart, Paul. 1998. "A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western European Party Systems." *European Journal of Political Research* 33.3 (April): 363–88.

Session 5: Contestation over the EU: Citizens (18 February)

Required Readings

- 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.
- 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.
- Gabel, Matthew. 1998. "Public Support for European Integration: An Empirical Test of Five Theories." *Journal of Politics* 60.2 (May): 333–54.
- 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.
- McLaren, Lauren. 2002. "Public Support for the European Union: Cost/Benefit Analysis or Perceived Cultural Threat?" *Journal of Politics* 64.2 (May): 551–66.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 2002. "In Defence of the 'Democratic Deficit': Reassessing the Legitimacy of the European Union." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40.4 (September): 603–34.
- 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.
- 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.

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): 507–34.
- 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): 936–53.
- 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.
- Majone, Giandomenico. 1998. "Europe's 'Democratic Deficit': The Question of Standards." *European Law Journal* 4.1: 5–28.

- Marks, Gary and Liesbet Hooghe. 2004. "Does Identity or Economic Rationality Drive Public Opinion on European Integration?" *Political Science* 37.3: 415–42.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 2004. "Is there a 'Democratic Deficit' in World Politics? A Framework for Analysis." *Government and Opposition* 39.2: 336–63.
- Ray, Leonard. 2003. "When Parties Matter: The Conditional Influence of Party Positions on Voter Opinions about European Integration." *Journal of Politics* 65.4 (November): 978–94.
- 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. 2002. "The Democracy Deficit and Mass Support for an EU-wide Government." *American Journal of Political Science* 46.2 (April): 463–75.
- 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): 218–37.
- Symposium. 2006. "The EU and Its 'Constitution.'" *PS: Political Science & Politics* 39.2 (April).
- Alberta Sbragia, "Introduction—The EU and Its 'Constitution': Public Opinion, Political Elites, and Their International Context": 237–241
 - Kees Aarts and Henk van der Kolk, "Understanding the Dutch No: The Euro, the East, and the Elite": 243–246.
 - Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, "Europe's Blues: Theoretical Soul-Searching after the Rejection of the European Constitution": 247–250.
 - Boyka Stefanova, "The 'No' Vote in the French and Dutch Referenda on the EU Constitution: A Spillover of Consequences for the Wider Europe": 251–255.
 - Henry Milner, "'YES to the Europe I want; NO to this one.' Some Reflections on France's Rejection of the EU Constitution": 257–260.
 - Sylvain Brouard and Vincent Tiberj, "The French Referendum: The Not So Simple Act of Saying Nay": 261–268.
 - Mabel Berezin, "Appropriating the 'No': The French National Front, the Vote on the Constitution, and the 'New' April 21": 269–272.
- 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 6: Delegation & Compliance in the EU (25 February)

Required 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: 141–62.
- 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.
- Mastenbroek, Ellen. 2005. "EU Compliance: Still a 'Black Hole'?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 12.6 (December): 1103–1120.
- 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.
- Tallberg, Jonas. 2002. "Paths to Compliance: Enforcement, Management, and the European Union." *International Organization* 56.3 (Summer): 609–643.

Supplementary Readings

- 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, Wallace, and Pollack. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Ch. 12 "Environmental Policy: Contending Dynamics of Policy Change": 305–324.

Session 7: European Civil Society (4 March)

Required Readings

- Beyers, Jan. 2004. "Voice and Access: Political Practices of European Interest Associations." *European Union Politics* 5.2 (June): 211–240.
- Bouwen, Pieter. 2002. "Corporate Lobbying in the European Union: The Logic of Access." *Journal of European Public Policy*. 9.3: 365–390.
- 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. 2008. *Brussels versus the Beltway. Advocacy in the United States and the European Union*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Pollack, Mark. 1997. "Representing Diffuse Interests in EC Policy-making." *Journal of European Public Policy* 4.4: 572–590.

Supplementary Readings

- Bouwen, Pieter. 2007. "Lobbying versus Litigation: Political and Legal Strategies of Interest Representation in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 14.3: 422–443.

Session 8: IPE in the EU—Regulation & Monetary Policy (11 March)

Required Readings

- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- Hausmann, Ricardo. 1999. “Should There Be Five Currencies or One Hundred and Five?” *Foreign Policy* 116 (Autumn): 65–79.
- Majone, Giandomenico. 1994. “The Rise of the Regulatory State in Europe.” *West European Politics* 17.3 (July): 77–101.
- McNamara, Kathleen. 1999. “Consensus and Constraints: Ideas and Capital Mobility in European Monetary Integration.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37.3 (September): 455–476.
- Sachs, Jeffrey and Felipe Larrain. 1999. “Why Dollarization Is More Straitjacket Than Salvation.” *Foreign Policy* 116 (Autumn): 80–92.
- Simmons, Beth. 2001. “The International Politics of Harmonization: The Case of Capital Market Integration” *International Organization* 55.3 (September): 589–620.

Supplementary Readings

- de Grauwe, Paul. 2000. *Economics of Monetary Union*. 4th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 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.
- Nicolaides, Phedon. 2004. “The Political Economy of Multi-tiered Regulation in Europe.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42.3 (September): 599–618.
- Selections from Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack. *Policy-Making in the European Union*:
- Ch. 4 “The Single Market: A New Approach to Policy”: 93–110.
 - Ch. 6 “Economic and Monetary Union: Innovation and Challenges for the Euro”: 141–160.
 - Ch. 9 “Cohesion and Structural Funds: Competing Pressures for Reform?”: 213–242.
 - Ch. 15 “Trade Policy: From Uruguay to Doha and Beyond”: 377–400.

No Class 18 March—Spring Break

Session 9: IPE in the EU: Trade (25 March)

Required Readings

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

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.
- Selections from Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack. *Policy-Making in the European Union*:
- Ch. 15 “Trade Policy: From Uruguay to Doha and Beyond”: 377–400.

Session 10: A Common Foreign & Security Policy? (1 April)

Required Readings

- 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.
- 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.
- Hill, Christopher. 2001. "The EU's Capacity for Conflict Prevention." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 6.3 (Fall): 315–333.
- Kagan, Robert. 2002. "Power and Weakness." *Policy Review* 113 (June/July): 3–28.
- 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. 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.
- Treacher, Adrian. 2004. "From Civilian Power to Military Actor: The EU's Resistable Transformation." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 9.1 (Spring): 49–66.
- Whitman, Richard G. 2004. "NATO, the EU and ESDP: An Emerging Division of Labour?" *Contemporary Security Policy* 25.3 (December): 430–451.

Supplementary Readings

- 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.
- 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.
- Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Ch. 17 "Foreign and Security Policy: The Painful Path from Shadow": 429–454.
- 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.

III. Generalizing Beyond Western Europe

Session 11: Moving East: Effects on Eastern Europe & Beyond (8 April)

Required Readings

- Vachudova, Milada Anna. 2005. *Europe Undivided. Democracy, Leverage & Integration After Communism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kelley, Judith. 2004. "International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions." *International Organization* 58.3 (July): 425–457.
- 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.
- 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.

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.
- 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.

Session 12: Experimenting in Regionalism (15 April)

Required Readings

- Baldwin, Richard E. 1997. "The Causes of Regionalism." *The World Economy* 20.7: 865–888.
- Caporaso, James A., Gary Marks, Andrew Moravcsik, and Mark A. Pollack. 1997. "Does the European Union Represent an *n* of 1?" *ECSA Review* 10.3: 1–5.
- Mattli, Walter. 1999. *The Logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Supplementary Readings

- Cohen, Benjamin J. 2003. "Are Monetary Unions Inevitable?" *International Studies Perspectives* 4.3 (August): 275–292.
- Efird, Brian and Gaspare M. Genna. 2002. "Structural Conditions and the Propensity for Regional Integration." *European Union Politics* 3.3: 267–295.
- Laursen, Finn, ed. 2003. *Comparative Regional Integration. Theoretical Perspectives*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Wallace, Wallace, and Pollack. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Ch. 16 "Eastern Enlargement: Towards a European EU?": 401–428.

Session 13: Paper Discussions (22 April)

We will have to reschedule this session as I will be in Chicago for the Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting.

Session 14: Paper Discussions (29 April)

Final drafts due 6 May.