

M.Pol.3

Multilevel Governance in Europe

Summer semester 2014

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Office hours Wednesday, 14.00-16.00, please register with Mrs. Luft in advance at: sekretariat.lenz@sowi.uni-goettingen.de

Time and place

Tuesdays 12:00-14:00 Weekly seminar VG 3.106

Course description

The European Union (EU) is widely seen as the most successful regional integration project in the world but, at the same time, is suffering increasing criticism in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis – a development that is seriously affecting the legitimacy of the integration process. This English-speaking course introduces graduate students to the academic study of the EU, its history, institutions and policies. Given the current state of affairs in European integration, the course puts particular emphasis on seeking to understand and assessing the legitimacy of the EU, both from a historical and analytical perspective. The course is divided into three parts. In the first part, we examine the history of European integration from the 1950s until today and aim to understand the main theories of European integration that seek to explain aspects of this history while being, at the same time, a reflection of it. In the second part, we analyse the main EU institutions, their interplay, and assess the functioning and legitimacy of the EU's governance system. In the third part, we study the historical evolution and current functioning of selected policy areas.

Course objectives

In this course students learn:

- to gain a solid understanding of the historical evolution of the EU, of the functioning of its main institutions and policies as well as of key academic debates in EU Studies;
- to harness the main theoretical approaches and key concepts in EU Studies to analyse current issues in European integration;
- to develop an understanding of the difficulties involved in assessing the legitimacy of EU governance;
- to enhance students' presentation and academic writing skills.

Course assessment

This course is assessed through (1) a class presentation (33 percent of final grade) and (2) an extended research essay of about 20 pages (*Hausarbeit*) (66 percent of final grade) that is due on 30 August 2014. It is to be submitted in printed form in the secretariat to Mrs. Luft (Oec 0.145), with an electronic copy sent to me by email. Students must register their **course assessment via FlexNow**.

Class presentations last no longer than 15 minutes and address either (one of) the question(s) posed for the respective session or a question developed by students themselves. Any self-chosen question has to be cleared with me at least two weeks prior to the presentation. On the basis of the required and additional readings for the respective week (self-chosen questions might require additional literature to be consulted), presentations should give a clearly stated and well reasoned answer to the question posed. Presentations include a handout of not more than one page that outlines the advanced argument. The presenter also moderates the subsequent discussion.

The research essay addresses a substantive question in EU studies, developed by students themselves, on the basis of theoretical approaches and concepts dealt with in this course. The question might be the same as the self-chosen presentation question or a different one. Research designs are discussed twice in class, in week 9 and week 14 (see also syllabus below).

Teaching arrangements

The seminar is based on student presentations as well as class discussions of the required readings based upon the question(s) posed for each week. Students are expected to be able to outline an answer to each week's question(s) – an expectation that is occasionally checked by asking students to present their answer. When students are unable to prepare the readings, they are expected to inform the teacher before class.

The *required readings* will be posted on StudIP. Note that many of the readings are relevant to more than one class topic. Most of the *additional readings* are available in the *Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SUB)* or the *Bereichsbibliothek Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften*. If you cannot locate a specific article or book chapter, it is possible to order reading material via interlibrary loan (*Fernleihe*). As these loans may take several weeks to arrive, make sure to plan ahead.

Course content

Week 1 Introduction and overview

Part 1: History and Integration Theory

Week 2 Early European integration history: From coal and steel to the Single European Act

Week 3 'Classical' integration theories: neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism

8 May *A Demoi-cratic Approach to EMU Governance in the Post-Crisis Era, Kalypso Nicolaïdis, Oxford University*

Week 4 'Alternative' theories of integration: ideational and institutional approaches

Week 5 Developments since the Maastricht Treaty: Politicization in the EU

Part 2: Institutions and the EU governance system

Week 6 The European Parliament and democracy in the EU [*revision of EP election results*]

Week 7 The Council, the Commission and EU decision-making

Week 8 The European Court of Justice and the constitutionalization of Europe

Week 9 The legitimacy of the EU governance system
Discussion of research designs

Part 3: Policies

Week 10 Single Market / EU social policy

Week 11 Economic and Monetary Union

Week 12 No class

Week 13 The EU in international politics

Week 14 Concluding discussion and revision of research designs

General reading

There are various good textbooks on the EU that serve as introductory literature.

- On the history and structure of European integration: N. Nugent (2010) *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 7th edition.
- On classics of European integration: Nelsen, B.F. and A. Stubb (eds) (2003) *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 3rd Edition.
- On EU policy domains: Wallace, H, M. Pollack and A. Young (2010) *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 6th Edition.

- An advanced overview of the polity, policies and politics of the EU: S. Hix and B. Hoyland (2011) *The Political System of the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 3rd edition.
- A general overview is: J. Erik, A. Menon and S. Weatherill (eds) (2012) *Oxford Handbook of the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

In preparing the extended research essays, you might want to consult the following academic journals that carry much of the debate on the EU.

Comparative European Politics
European Journal of Political Research
European Political Science Review
European Union Politics
Journal of Common Market Studies
Journal of European Integration
Journal of European Public Policy
West European Politics

Syllabus

22 April: Introduction and overview

In this introductory session, we will *inter alia* distribute presentation topics.

Part 1: History and Integration Theory

29 April: Early European integration history: From coal and steel to the Single European Act

Questions:

- ❖ Why was the European Economic Community founded in 1957?
- ❖ Why did European integration first succumb to, and then recover from, 'Eurosclerosis'? Can we learn anything from this episode for today's crisis period in the EU?

Required reading:

- Milward, A. (1992) *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*. London: Routledge, ch. 1.
- Deighton, A. (1998), 'The Remaking of Europe, 1945-1990', in: M. Howard and W. Louis (eds.) *Oxford History of the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 190-201.

Additional reading:

- Lundestad, G. (1998) *'Empire' by Integration: The United States and European Integration, 1945-1997*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Desmond Dinan (ed) *Origins and Evolution of the European Union* (2006), chs. 2 & 3 OR Desmond Dinan, *Europe Recast: A History of the European Union* (2003), ch. 2.
- Schulz-Forberg, H. and Stråth, B. (2010) *The Political History of European Integration: The hypocrisy of democracy-through-market*. London: Routledge.
- Gilbert, M. (2012) *European Integration: A Concise History*. Rowman and Littlefield.

6 May: 'Classical' integration theories

Questions:

- ❖ What has driven European integration forward? Will these factors continue to drive European integration in the future?

- ❖ Can the development of the European Union be explained by a single theory?

Required reading:

- Moravcsik, A. (1998), *The Choice for Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, ch. 1 (pp.18-85), in particular pp.18-28, 50-55, 67-77.
- Stone Sweet, A. and W. Sandholtz (1997), 'European Integration and Supranational Governance', *Journal of European Public Policy* 4(3): 297-317.

Additional reading:

- Haas, E. (1958) *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Sandholtz, W. and Zysman, J. (1989), '1992: Recasting the European Bargain', *World Politics* 42(1): 95-128.
- Hoffmann, S. (1966), 'Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe', *Daedalus* 95(3): 862-915.
- Rosamond, B. (2000) *Theories of European Integration*, European Union Series. Basingstoke: Macmillan, chs. 3, 4 and 6.
- Schimmelfennig, F. (2012), 'Zwischen Neo- und Postfunktionalismus: Die Integrationstheorien und die Eurokrise', *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 53(3): 394-413

13 May: 'Alternative' integration theories – Ideational and institutional approaches

Question:

- ❖ How much do ideas and institutions add to our understanding of the EU?

Required reading:

- Parsons, C. (2002), 'Showing Ideas as Causes: The Origins of the European Union', *International Organization* 56(1): 47-84.
- Pierson, P. (1996), 'The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis', *Comparative Political Studies* 29(2): 123-163.

Additional reading:

- Aspinwall, M. and Schneider, G. (2000), 'Same Menu, Separate Tables: The institutionalist Turn in Political Science and the Study of European Integration', *European Journal of Political Research* 38(1): 1-36.
- Scharpf, F. (1988), 'The joint-Decision Trap: Lessons from German Federalism and European Integration', *Public Administration* 66(3): 239-78.
- Pollack, M. (1994), 'Creeping Competence: The Expanding Agenda of the EC', *Journal of Public Policy* 14(2): 95-145.
- Risse, T., Engelmann, M., Knopf, H.J., and K.Roscher (1999), 'To Euro or Not to Euro? The EMU and Identity Politics in the European Union', *European Journal of International Relations* 5(2): 147-87.

- Diez, T. (1999), 'Speaking 'Europe': The politics of integration discourse', *Journal of European Public Policy* 6: 598-613.

20 May: Developments since the Maastricht Treaty: Politicization in the EU

Questions:

- ❖ Have existing theories of integration underestimated the importance of politicization as an influence on European integration?
- ❖ What exactly does politicization help us understand?

Required reading:

- Hooghe, L. and Marks, G. (2009), 'A Postfunctional Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus', *British Journal of Political Science* 39(1): 1-23.
- Vollard, H. (2014), 'Explaining European Disintegration', *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Early view online.

Additional reading:

- Zürn, M. and de Wilde, P. (2012), 'Can the Politicization of the European Union be Reversed?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, S1(50): 137-53.
- Caporaso, J. and Tarrow, S. (2009), 'Polanyi in Brussels: Supranational Institutions and the Transnational Embedding of Markets', *International Organization* 63(4): 593-620.
- Gabel, M. (1998), 'Public Support for European Integration: An Empirical Test of Five Theories', *The Journal of Politics* 60(2): 333-54.
- Hobolt, S. (2012), 'Public opinion and integration', in: Erik, J., Menon, A., and Weatherill, S. (eds.) *Oxford Handbook of the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- De Vries, C.E. (2007), "'Sleeping giant: Fact or fairytale? How European integration affects national elections', *European Union Politics* 8(3): 363-85.

<h2>Part 2: Institutions and the EU governance system</h2>

27 May: The European Parliament and Democracy in the EU

In this session, we will first review the European Parliament election results and discuss their potential consequences for the future of the EU. Afterwards, we will debate, in an Oxford style panel debate, the following question:

- ❖ Does the EU suffer from a 'democratic deficit'?

Required reading:

- Moravcsik, A. (2002), 'In defence of the 'democratic deficit': Reassessing legitimacy in the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(4): 603-24.
- Follesdal, A. and S. Hix (2006), 'Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44(3): 533–62.
- Follow newspaper commentary on the EP election results.

Additional reading:

- Mair, P. (2007), 'Political Opposition and the European Union', *Government and Opposition* 42(1): 1-17.
- Mather, J. (2001), 'The European Parliament: A model of representative democracy?' *West European Politics* 24(1): 181-201.
- Maurer, A. (2003), 'The legislative powers and impact of the European Parliament', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 41(2): 227-47.
- Crombez, C. (2003), 'The democratic deficit in the European Union: much ado about nothing?', *European Union Politics*, 4(1): 101-20.

3 June: The Council, the Commission and EU decision-making

Question:

- ❖ Where does power lie in the EU?

Required reading:

- Thomson, R. and Hosli, M. (2006), 'Who has the power in the EU? The Commission, Council and Parliament in legislative decision-making,' *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44: 391-417.
- Marks, G., Hooghe, L. and Blanket, K. (1996), 'European integration from the 1980s: State-centric vs. multi-level governance', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34(3): 341-78.

Additional reading:

- Reh, C. et al (2013), 'The Informal Politics of Legislation: Explaining Secluded Decision Making in the European Union', *Comparative Political Studies* 46(9): 1112-42.
- Neyer, J. (2004), 'Explaining the Unexpected: Efficiency and Effectiveness in European Decision-Making', *Journal of European Public Policy* 11(1): 19-38.
- Smith, A. (2003), 'Why European Commissioners Matter', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 41(1): 137-55.
- Tallberg, J. (2003), 'The Agenda-Setting Powers of the EU Council Presidency', *Journal of European Public Policy* 10(1): 1-19.

10 June: The European Court of Justice and the constitutionalization of Europe

Questions:

- ❖ To what extent has the European Court of Justice contributed to the process of European integration?
- ❖ Is the constitutionalization of Europe legitimate?

Required reading:

- Burley, A.-M. and Mattli, W. (1993), 'Europe before the Court: A political theory of legal integration', *International Organization* 47(1): 41-76.
- Alter, K. and Helfer, L. (2010), 'Nature or Nurture? Judicial Lawmaking in the European Court of Justice and the Andean Tribunal of Justice', *International Organization* 64(4), 563-92.

Additional reading:

- As background on the ECJ and its evolving legal doctrines, you might want to consult: Stein, E. (1981), 'Lawyers, Judges, and the Making of a Transnational Constitution', *American Journal of International Law*, 75(1): 1-27.
- Vauchez, A. (2012), 'Keeping the dream alive: The European Court of Justice and the transnational fabric of integrationist jurisprudence', *European Political Science Review* 4(1):1-21.
- Garrett, G. (1995), 'The Politics of Legal Integration in the European Union', *International Organization*, 49(1): 171-181.
- Stone Sweet, A. and Brunell, T. (1998), 'Constructing a supranational constitution: Dispute resolution and governance in the European Community', *American Political Science Review* 92(1): 63-81.
- Kelemen, D. and Schmidt, S. (2012), 'The European Court of Justice and legal integration: perpetual momentum?' Special Issue *Journal of European Public Policy* 19(1): 1-7.

17 June: The legitimacy of the EU governance system

This session is structured in two parts. First, we will discuss research designs for the final research essay. For that purpose, students bring to class a one-page outline of their research design including a clear research question. Second, we will revisit the previous sessions in terms of the general legitimacy of the EU governance system – an assessment that students also undertake in the final part of their research essay.

Question:

- ❖ Is the EU governance system legitimate?
- ❖ Is the use of direct democracy a good way of increasing the democratic legitimacy of the EU?

Required reading:

- Cheneval, F. and Schimmelfennig, F. (2013), 'The Case for Democracy in the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51(2): 334-50.

Additional reading:

- White, J. (2013), 'Emergency Europe', *Political Studies*. Early view online.
- Hooghe, L. (2003), 'Europe Divided? Elites vs. Public Opinion on European Integration', *European Union Politics* 4(3): 281-304.
- Neyer, J. (2010), 'Justice, not Democracy: Legitimacy in the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48(4): 903-921.

On research design:

- Gschwend, T. and Schimmelfennig, F. (eds) (2007) *Research design in political science*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, Ch. 1 (pp. 1-21).
- Hancké, B. (2008) *Intelligent research design*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, esp. pp. 35-59.

Part 3: Policies

24 June: Single Market and EU social policy

Questions:

- ❖ Is the EU (still) a 'regulatory state' (Majone)?
- ❖ Why has market integration in Europe not been accompanied by a supranational social policy? Does this damage the legitimacy of the EU?

Required reading:

- Majone, G. (1996), *Regulating Europe*. London: Routledge, ch. 1.
- Daly, M. (2006), 'EU social policy after Lisbon', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44(3): 461-481.

Additional reading:

- Scharpf, F. (2010), 'The Asymmetry of European integration: Or why the EU cannot be a "social market economy"', *Socio-Economic Review* 8(2): 211-50.
- Majone, G. (2000), 'The credibility crisis of Community regulation', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38(2): 273-302.
- Keleman, D. and Tarrant, A. (2011), 'The Political Foundations of the Eurocracy', *West European Politics* 34(5): 922-47.
- Young, A. (2010), 'The Single Market', in: Wallace, H., Pollack, M. and Young, A. (eds) *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 6th edition.

- Nicolaïdis, K. and Egan, M. (2001), 'Transnational market governance and regional policy externality: Why recognize foreign standards', *Journal of European Public Policy* 8(3): 454-473.
- Scharpf, F. (1999) *Governing Europe: Effective and Democratic?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, esp. ch. 2.
- Mosher, D.M. and Trubek, J.S. (2003), 'Alternative approaches to governance in the EU: EU social policy and the European Employment Strategy', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 41(1): 63-88.

1 July: Economic and Monetary Union

Questions:

- ❖ Why was EMU created? What repercussions does the founding rationale have for today's economic crisis in Europe?

Required reading:

- Feldstein, M. (1997), 'The political economy of the European Economic and Monetary Union: Political sources of an economic liability', *NBER Working Paper Series*, No. 6150.
- Crum, B. (2013), 'Saving the Euro at the cost of democracy?', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51(4): 614-30.

Additional reading:

- Dyson, K. (2012), 'Economic and Monetary Union', in: Erik, J., Menon, A., and Weatherill, S. (eds.) *Oxford Handbook of the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Van Rompuy, H. (2012), 'Towards a genuine Economic and Monetary Union', Report by the President of the European Council, 26 June; available at: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/131201.pdf.
- Hosli, M. (2000), 'The creation of the European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU): Intergovernmental negotiations and two-level games', *Journal of European Public Policy* 7(5): 744-66.
- Mongelli, F.P. (2005), 'What is European Economic and Monetary Union telling us about the properties of optimum currency areas?' *Journal of Common Market Studies* 43(3): 607-35.

8 July: No class

15 July: EU in international politics

Question:

- ❖ Does the EU's increasing military capabilities undermine its normative power? Answer with reference to at least one current case in international politics.

Required reading:

- Manners, I. (2002), 'Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(2): 235-58.
- Hyde-Price, A. (2006), "'Normative" power Europe: a realist critique', *Journal of European Public Policy* 13(2): 217-34.

Additional reading:

- Damro, C. (2012), 'Market power Europe', *Journal of European Public Policy* 19(5): 682-99.
- Kagan, R. (2002) 'Power and weakness', *Policy Review*, No. 113 (June–July).
- Nicolaïdis, K. and Howse, R. (2002), "'This is my EUtopia...": Narrative as power', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(4): 767-792.
- Aggestam, L. (2008), 'Introduction: Ethical power Europe?', *International Affairs* 84(1): 1-11.
- Special issue of *Cooperation and Conflict* [48(2), 2013] on the concept of normative power Europe.

22 July: Concluding Discussion

In this session, we will summarize what we have learned about the EU's legitimacy in view of its current difficulties. And we will talk about the do's and don'ts of the extended research essay.