

## **POLI 451: The European Union**

POLI 451  
Fall 2018  
Maass 217

WF 16:05-17:25

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This is a course on the politics of the European Union. It will start with a brief history of European integration ideas and then examine in some detail EU's institutions and their effects on domestic politics in EU's current and would-be member states. The theoretical and conceptual focus will be on the process of Europeanization of domestic European politics, rather than on the intergovernmentalism, i.e. relations between states, that motivated earlier studies of European integration. In other words, this is more of a comparative politics course, than an international relations course.

### **Required Readings**

This course requires a moderate amount of reading, but many of the articles are challenging either conceptually or methodologically. Plan accordingly. Do NOT fall behind, because you will not be able to skim the readings to catch up. Readings include:

Textbook: Michelle Cini and Nieves Perez-Solorzano Borrogon, *European Union Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2018

You can buy the textbook from Paragraphe Bookstore.

Articles and book chapters: Most assigned articles and book chapters are available online through McGill library resources. A few readings will be posted on the course website.

### **Course Obligations**

Students will be evaluated based on four measures:

- 1) Conference participation (10%)
- 2) Midterm (30%)
- 3) Infographic (20%)
- 4) Final (40%)

#### Conferences: 10%

You should register for a conference time on Minerva as soon as possible. Conferences will be led by the TA. Conferences will begin during the third week of classes (the week of Sep 17<sup>th</sup>). Half of your conference grade will be based on attendance. You are expected to attend all conferences. The other half of your conference grade will be based on the quality of your participation in group discussions and activities.

#### In-class Midterm: 30%

The midterm will be given in class on October 24<sup>th</sup>. The midterm will consist of term identifications and multiple-choice questions. The material will be drawn both from lecture and from the readings. Practice by studying the multiple-choice questions available with each

chapter at the textbook's online space:

<http://global.oup.com/uk/orc/politics/eu/cini5e/student/mcqs/>

### Infographic: 20%

The class will break up into small groups (up to 5 people). Each group will research a topic related to the EU and will present the findings in the form of an infographic. Infographics tell a story with numbers and pictures; they present data in an easily digestible and visually appealing manner to simplify complicated issues for a broader audience. Possible topics include: (1) The enlargement of the European Union; (2) The EMU and the Monetary Crisis; (3) The EU and Migration; (4) Treaty Reform; (5) Elections to the European Parliament. You will form groups and pick a topic after the midterm on October 24<sup>th</sup>. Each group will submit a brief plain text draft (250 words) on November 9<sup>th</sup>; your final infographic assignment is due on November 30<sup>th</sup> (all deadlines: 11:59 PM on MyCourses).

### Final exam: 40%

A cumulative final exam will test your ability to integrate a theoretical understanding of the EU with practical knowledge of the day-to-day workings of the EU. For the final, you will be writing a number of short essays. The date for the final exam will be set by the university.

## **On Academic Integrity and Submitting Written Work in French**

McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see [www.mcgill.ca/integrity](http://www.mcgill.ca/integrity) for more information).

L'université McGill attache une haute importance à l'honnêteté académique. Il incombe par conséquent à tous les étudiants de comprendre ce que l'on entend par tricherie, plagiat et autres infractions académiques, ainsi que les conséquences que peuvent avoir de telles actions, selon le Code de conduite de l'étudiant et des procédures disciplinaires (pour de plus amples renseignements, veuillez consulter le site [www.mcgill.ca/integrity](http://www.mcgill.ca/integrity)).

In accordance with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded.

### **Other issues**

If you have a disability and you would like to discuss the issue with me, please contact me to arrange a time to meet. It would be helpful if you contact the Office for Students with Disabilities at 514-398-6009 before you do this.

End-of-term course evaluations are one of the ways that McGill works towards maintaining and improving the quality of courses and the students' learning experience. You will be notified by e-mail when the evaluations are available on Mercury, the online course evaluation system. Please note that a minimum number of responses must be received for results to be available to students.

Additional policies governing academic issues which affect students can be found in the McGill Charter of Students' Rights (The Handbook on Students' Rights and Responsibilities is available at :

[www.mcgill.ca/files/secretariat/Handbook-on-Student-Rights-and-Responsibilities-2010.pdf](http://www.mcgill.ca/files/secretariat/Handbook-on-Student-Rights-and-Responsibilities-2010.pdf)).

## Lecture and Reading Schedule

### Introduction (Sep 5)

### The “Crises” and Challenges Facing the EU right now (Sep 7)

- C&P, Introduction
- Börzel, T. A. (2016) “From EU Governance of Crisis to Crisis of EU Governance: Regulatory Failure, Redistributive Conflict and Eurosceptic Publics”. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54: 8–31.

Complete the quizzes on the textbook’s online space:

<http://global.oup.com/uk/orc/politics/eu/cini5e/>

### Historical context (Sep 12, Sep 14)

- C&P, Part 1, pp. 9-51
- ‘The Schuman Declaration’, website of the European Union, available at: [http://europa.eu/abouteu/basic-information/symbols/europe-day/schuman-declaration/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/abouteu/basic-information/symbols/europe-day/schuman-declaration/index_en.htm)
- Spaak, Paul-Henri (1963) ‘Hold Fast’, *Foreign Affairs*, 41:4, pp. 611-620
- Watch the short documentary “Europe Through the Generations”:  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=isVdxUBAp78>

### Neo-Functionalism and Intergovernmentalism (Sep 19)

- C&P, Chpts 4 and 5, pp. 51-79
- Stone-Sweet, Alec & Wayne Sandholtz (1997) ‘European Integration and Supranational Governance’, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 4:3, pp. 297-317
- Moravcsik, Andrew (1995) ‘Liberal Intergovernmentalism and Integration: A Rejoinder’, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 33:4, 611-628

### No lecture on Sep 21

### Governance (Sep 26)

- C&P, Ch 7, pp. 97-109
- Marks, Gary, Liesbet Hooghe, and Kermit Blank. "European integration from the 1980s: state-centric v. multi-level governance." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 34, no. 3 (1996): 341-378.

### Europeanization (Sep 28)

- C&P, Ch 8
- Radaelli, Claudio M. "Europeanization: solution or problem?." In *Palgrave advances in European Union studies*, pp. 56-76. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2006.

### **The European Commission (Oct 3)**

- C&P, Chpt 9, pp. 123-138
- Hooghe, Liesbet. 2012. "Images of Europe: How Commission Officials Conceive Their Institution's Role." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50, 87–111.

### **The Migration Crisis in Europe: Visit by Dusseldorf Mayor Thomas Geisel (Oct 5)**

- C&P, Ch 20

### **The European Council and the Council of the European Union (Oct 10)**

- C&P, Chpt 10, pp. 138-155
- Puetter, Uwe. "Europe's deliberative intergovernmentalism: the role of the Council and European Council in EU economic governance." *Journal of European Public Policy* 19, no. 2 (2012): 161-178.

### **The European Parliament (Oct 12)**

- C&P, Chpt 11, pp. 155-167
- Rittberger, Berthold. "The creation and empowerment of the European Parliament." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 41, no. 2 (2003): 203-225.
- Hix, Simon, and Bjørn Høyland. "Empowerment of the European parliament." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16 (2013): 171-189.
- Dinan, D. 'Governance and Institutions: the Year of the Spitzenkandidaten', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 53 s1 (2015), pp. 93-107

### **The Court of Justice of the European Union (Oct 17)**

- C&P, Chpt 12, pp. 167-179
- Karen Alter, "Who are the "masters of the treaty"?": European governments and the European Court of Justice." *International organization* 52, no. 1 (1998): 121-147, available online [here](#)

### **Policy-making in the EU (Oct 19)**

- C&P, Chpt 14, pp. 197-214
- Mastenbroek, Ellen. "EU compliance: Still a 'black hole'?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 12, no. 6 (2005): 1103-1120.

### **INCLASS MIDTERM (Oct 24)**

### **PART II: Integration and Disintegration**

### **Enlargement, conditionality, and democratization (Oct 26, Oct 31)**

- Cini et al, Chpt 16, pp. 227-241
- 1995 European Commission White Paper 'Preparation of the Associated Countries of Central And Eastern Europe for Integration into the Internal Market of the Union', COM(95) 163 available from the Archive of European Integration at the University of Pittsburgh at: [http://aei.pitt.edu/1120/1/east\\_enlarg\\_wp\\_COM\\_95\\_163.pdf](http://aei.pitt.edu/1120/1/east_enlarg_wp_COM_95_163.pdf)

- Schimmelfennig, Frank, and Ulrich Sedelmeier. "Governance by conditionality: EU rule transfer to the candidate countries of Central and Eastern Europe." *Journal of European public policy* 11, no. 4 (2004): 661-679.
- Noutcheva, Gergana, and Dimitar Bechev. "The successful laggards: Bulgaria and Romania's accession to the EU." *East European Politics and Societies* 22, no. 1 (2008): 114-144.
- Vachudova, Milada Anna. "EU Leverage and National Interests in the Balkans: The Puzzles of Enlargement Ten Years On." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 52, no. 1 (2014): 122-138.

### **Backsliding and rule of law threats (Nov 2, Nov 7)**

- Wojciech Sadurski, 'Polish Constitutional Tribunal Under PiS: From an Activist Court, to a Paralysed Tribunal, to a Governmental Enabler' (2018) *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law* 1 (first published online; not yet assigned to an issue).
- Gabor Halmai, 'The Possibility and Desirability of Rule of Law Conditionality' (2018) *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law* 1 (first published online; not yet assigned to an issue).
- Kelemen, R. Daniel. "Europe's other democratic deficit: national authoritarianism in Europe's Democratic Union." *Government and Opposition* 52, no. 2 (2017): 211-238.

### **Economic and Monetary Union (Nov 9)**

- C&P, Chpts 18, 21
- 1985 European Commission White Paper 'Completing the Internal Market', COM(85) 310 available from the Archive of European Integration at the University of Pittsburgh at: [http://aei.pitt.edu/1113/1/internal\\_market\\_wp\\_COM\\_85\\_310.pdf](http://aei.pitt.edu/1113/1/internal_market_wp_COM_85_310.pdf)

### **Euro crisis (Nov 14, Nov 16)**

- C&P, Chpt 26, pp. 365-379
- Peter A. Hall. 2012. "The Economics and Politics of the Euro Crisis", *German Politics* 21(4), 355–371
- Risse, T. (2014), "No Demos? Identities and Public Spheres in the Euro Crisis" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 52: 1207–1215

### **Democracy and Legitimacy (Nov 21, Nov 23)**

- C&P, Ch 24, 25, pp. 340-364
- Moravcsik, Andrew. "Reassessing legitimacy in the European Union." *JCMS: journal of common market studies* 40, no. 4 (2002): 603-624.
- Follesdal, Andreas, and Simon Hix. "Why there is a democratic deficit in the EU: A response to Majone and Moravcsik." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 44, no. 3 (2006): 533-562.
- Schmidt, V. 'Re-Envisaging the European Union: Identity, Democracy and Economy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol 47 s1 (2009), pp. 17-42
- Szczerbiak, A. and Taggart, P., 2008. Theorizing party-based Euroscepticism: problems of definition, measurement, and causality. *Opposing Europe*, pp.238-262.

### **European Identity (Nov 28, Nov 30)**

- C&P, Ch 27 and Brexit booklet
- Hobolt S. (2016) The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 23, No. 9, pp. 1259-1277
- Taggart, Paul and Szczerbiak, Aleks (2018) *Putting Brexit into perspective: the effect of the Eurozone and migration crises and Brexit on Euroscepticism in European states*. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25 (8). pp. 1194-1214. ISSN 1350-1763
- Usherwood, Simon, Nicholas Startin, and Benjamin Leruth. "Defining Euroscepticism: From a broad concept to a field of study." In *The Routledge Handbook of Euroscepticism*, pp. 3-10. Routledge, 2017.
- Fligstein, Neil. *Euroclash: The EU, European identity, and the future of Europe*. Oxford University Press, 2008, Chpt 5, pp. 123-165