

European Union Politics (PO 3680)

Lecturer

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Lectures

Thursdays, 6–7pm, Hamilton July 4

Fridays, 2–3pm, Arts 3074

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Preliminaries

Course aims and objectives

The general aim of this course is to provide students with a critical understanding and comprehensive knowledge of the politics and public policy making processes of the European Union. Particular attention will be paid to European institutions and the EUs main policy areas. At the end of this course it is expected that students will have a detailed understanding of: how the EU institutions work, how public policy is formed and theoretical characterisations of the policy making process.

Course Structure and Tutorials

Lectures will take place twice a week and students will attend one tutorial approximately fortnightly. There are 4 tutorial groups for PO3680. Each meets at the following times/rooms for the specified Teaching Weeks, TW, for Semester 1 and Semester 2.

Sign up sheets will be found on the 3rd floor bulletin boards of 1 College Green. There is a maximum number of 20 allowed for each group and places are assigned on a first come, first served basis.

Group	Day	Time	Place	Weeks
1	Thursdays	10am	CG 3	4, 6, 10
2	Thursdays	3pm	Arts 5025	4, 6, 10
3	Thursdays	3pm	Arts 5025	5, 8, 11
4	Thursdays	1pm	AP 4.03	4, 6, 10

Readings and Attendance

The readings are very important: students are reminded that this course only works if every student (a) completes the assigned reading before class and (b) attends classes and participates in tutorial discussions. In addition, you should also keep informed by reading a regular news source (e.g. The Economist, The Financial Times, RTE News.)

Grading

Grades will be based on the following 2 forms of evaluation:

- Two essays. These essays will count as 25% of the overall mark. Essays should be *no longer* than 2500 words in length with word count included, typed, double spaced, with a reasonable margin, with footnotes and bibliographies. Topics and due dates will be announced later.
- An annual exam. The annual exam counts 75%.

Please note that plagiarism will lead to automatic failure and will be reported with the probability of severe penalties likely to ensue. All late work, unless excused in advance by the course lecturer, or justified by medical certificate or tutor's note, will be penalised at a rate of 5 marks per working day. However, under no circumstances will work be accepted after the set work has been marked and handed back to other students, or after the end of second semester.

Essays must be submitted BOTH in hard copy form AND in electronic form using <http://www.turnitin.com/>. <http://www.turnitin.com/> is an online system that enables the

teaching team to manage the module efficiently. Note that there is also a plagiarism detector on <http://www.turnitin.com/>. In order to submit your essay on <http://www.turnitin.com/>, you need to register yourself with <http://www.turnitin.com/> registration for the EUP module.

Note the <http://www.turnitin.com/> details are *different* for this semester!

Class Name: EU Politics (PO 3680), 2010-2011 (Part 2)

Course ID: 3772523

Enrollment Password: 27states

Recommended Text Purchases

- Chari, R. and Kritzinger, S. (2006). *Understanding E.U. Policy Making*. Pluto Press, London, UK
- Hix, S. (2005). *The Political System of the European Union*. Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, UK, 2 edition

Other texts worth browsing for those new to the EU:

- Bache, I. and George, S. (2006). *Politics in the European Union*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, 2nd edition
- Cini, M. and Perez-Solorzano Borragan, N., editors (2009). *European Union Politics*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, 3rd edition
- Dinan, D. (2005). *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration*. Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, UK, 3rd edition
- Nugent, N. (2010). *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, UK, seventh edition
- Wallace, H., Pollack, M. A., and Young, A. R., editors (2010). *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK

Useful websites

- <http://www.euractiv.com/en> — EU news.
- <http://www.euobserver.com/> — a collection of daily news items on EU from across the member states.
- <http://blogs.ft.com/brusselsblog/> — blog written by Brussels-based FT correspondents (free).

- <http://www.ft.com/> — the best newspaper coverage of EU events (subscription required).
- <http://www.economist.com/>
- <http://www.economist.com/blogs/charlemagne/> — blog written by Brussels-based correspondent(s) for The Economist.
- <http://www.eurointelligence.com/> — economics- and finance-focused.
- <http://www.europa.eu.int/> — the official EU web site.

Visiting Students

Full-year visiting students are expected to fulfill the same course requirements, in terms of coursework and exams, as Trinity students. Visiting students here for the whole academic year should bear in mind, before making arrangements to return home, that the examination season does not finish until late May. This module is worth 10 ECTS credit modules for students taking this all year.

For those visiting students who may be here for only Michaelmas Term (Term 1) you can receive 5 ECTS credits for taking one term of the course and you will be expected to write two essays. The topics of these two essays are those two discussed in Tutorials during Term 1. Be sure to coordinate this second essay directly with the TA. For those visiting students who may be here for only Hilary Term (Term 2), you can receive 5 ECTS credits and you will be expected to write two essays.

Acknowledgements

I am extremely grateful to the following for their help in preparing this course: Adriana Bunea, Raj Chari, Séin Ó Muineacháin, and Will Phelan.

1 Introductions

1.1 What Does the EU Do?

Required Readings

- Hix, S. (2005). *The Political System of the European Union*. Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, UK, 2 edition, chapter 1
- Pierson, P. (1996). The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis. *Comparative Political Studies*, 29(2):123–163

Recommended Readings

- Scharpf, F. W. (1994). Community and autonomy: Multi-level policy-making in the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 1(2):219–242
- Caporaso, J. A. (1996). The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalian, Regulatory or Post-Modern? *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 34(1):29–52

2 Economic Integration

2.1 The Single Market

See http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/internal_market/index_en.htm for the EU Directorate General responsible for the ‘internal market’ (aka ‘single market’).

Required Readings

- Young, A. R. (2010). The Single Market: Deregulation, Reregulation, and Integration. In Helen Wallace, M. A. P. and Young, A. R., editors, *Policy-Making in the European Union*, chapter 5, pages 107–132. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK
- Chari, R. and Kritzinger, S. (2006). *Understanding E.U. Policy Making*. Pluto Press, London, UK, chapter 4

Recommended Readings

- Hix, S. (2005). *The Political System of the European Union*. Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, UK, 2 edition, pp.235–249 and pp.261–269
- Hoffman, S. (1989). The European Community and 1992. *Foreign Affairs*, 68(4):27–47
- Sandholtz, W. and Zysman, J. (1989). 1992: Recasting the European Bargain. *World Politics*, 42(1):95–128

- Moravcsik, A. (1991). Negotiating the Single European Act: national interests and conventional statecraft in the European Community. *International Organization*, 45(01):19–56
- Garrett, G. (1992). International cooperation and institutional choice: the European Community’s internal market. *International Organization*, 46(02):533–560

2.2 The Rise of the ECJ

See <http://curia.europa.eu/> for the ECJ home page.

Required Readings

- Hix, S. (2005). *The Political System of the European Union*. Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, UK, 2 edition, chapter 4
- Garrett, G., Kelemen, D. R., and Schulz, H. (1998). The European Court of Justice, National Governments, and Legal Integration in the European Union. *International Organization*, 52(1):149–176
- Alter, K. J. (1998). Who are the ‘Masters of the Treaty’?: European Governments and the European Court of Justice. *International Organization*, 52(1):121–147

Recommended Readings

- Burley, A.-M. and Mattli, W. (1993). Europe before the Court: A Political Theory of Legal Integration. *International Organization*, 47(1):41–76
- Garrett, G. (1995). The Politics of Legal Integration in the European Union. *International Organization*, 49(1):171–181
- Mattli, W. and Slaughter, A.-M. (1995). Law and Politics in the European Union: A Reply to Garrett. *International Organization*, 49(1):183–190

3 Agricultural Policy

See http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/agriculture/index_en.htm for the EU Directorate General responsible for agricultural policy.

Required Readings

- Hix, S. (2005). *The Political System of the European Union*. Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, UK, 2 edition, chapter 9 (pp. 281–289)

- Nugent, N. (2010). *The Government and Politics of the European Union*. Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, UK, seventh edition, chapter 20
... OR ...
- Dinan, D. (2005). *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration*. Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, UK, 3rd edition, chapter 12
- Chari, R. and Kritzinger, S. (2006). *Understanding E.U. Policy Making*. Pluto Press, London, UK, chapter 7
- Keeler, J. T. S. (1996). Agricultural Power in the European Community: Explaining the Fate of CAP and GATT Negotiations. *Comparative Politics*, 28(2):127–149

Recommended Readings

- Coleman, W. D. (1998). From protected development to market liberalism: paradigm change in agriculture. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 5(4):632–651
- Daugbjerg, C. (2001). Policy feedback and paradigm shift in EU agricultural policy: the effects of the MacSharry reform on future reform. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10(3):421–437
- Kay, A. (2001). Path dependency and the CAP. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10(3):405–420
- Greer, A. (2005). *Agricultural Policy in Europe*. Manchester University Press, Manchester, UK, esp. chapter 8
- Daugbjerg, C. and Swinbank, A. (2007). The Politics of CAP Reform: Trade Negotiations, Institutional Settings and Blame Avoidance. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45(1):1–22

4 Pathologies and Potential in the EU?

See http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/budget/index_en.htm for the EU Directorate General responsible for the budget.

Required Readings

- Scharpf, F. W. (1988). The Joint-Decision Trap: Lessons from German Federalism and European Integration. *Public Administration*, 66(3):239–278
- Scharpf, F. W. (2006). The Joint-Decision Trap Revisited. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44(4):845–864

- Pollack, M. A. (1994). Creeping Competence: The Expanding Agenda of the European Community. *Journal of Public Policy*, 14(02):95–145
- Pollack, M. A. (2000). The End of Creeping Competence? EU Policy-Making Since Maastricht. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38(3):519–538

Recommended Readings

- Laffan, B. (2000). The big budgetary bargains: from negotiation to authority. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 7(5):725–743
- Pierson, P. (1996). The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis. *Comparative Political Studies*, 29(2):123–163
- Eberlein, B. and Kerwer, D. (2004). New Governance in the European Union: A Theoretical Perspective. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 42(1):121–142
- Ackrill, R. and Kay, A. (2006). Historical-institutionalist perspectives on the development of the EU budget system. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13(1):113–133
- Kay, A. and Ackrill, R. (2007). Financing social and cohesion policy in an enlarged EU: plus ça change, plus c’est la même chose? *Journal of European Social Policy*, 17(4):361–374
- Dür, A. and Mateo, G. (2010). Bargaining Power and Negotiation Tactics: The Negotiations on the EU’s Financial Perspective, 2007–13. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48(3):557–578

5 Cohesion Policy

See http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/regional_policy/index_en.htm for the EU Directorate General responsible for regional/cohesion policy.

Required Readings

- Allen, D. (2010). The Structural Funds and Cohesion Policy: Extending the Bargain to Meet New Challenges. In Helen Wallace, M. A. P. and Young, A. R., editors, *Policy-Making in the European Union*, chapter 10, pages 229–252. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, 6th edition
- Hooghe, L. and Keating, M. (1994). The politics of European union regional policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 1(3):367–393

- Bachtler, J. and Mendez, C. (2007). Who Governs EU Cohesion Policy? Deconstructing the Reforms of the Structural Funds. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45(3):535–564

Recommended Readings

- Hix, S. (2005). *The Political System of the European Union*. Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, UK, 2 edition, pp. 289–295
- Dinan, D. (2005). *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration*. Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, UK, 3rd edition, pp. 373–385
- Hooghe, L., editor (1996). *Cohesion Policy and European Integration: Building Multi-Level Governance*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK
- Hooghe, L. (1998). EU Cohesion Policy and Competing Models of European Capitalism. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 36(4):457–477
- Rynck, S. D. and McAleavey, P. (2001). The cohesion deficit in Structural Fund policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 8(4):541–557
- Bailey, D. and De Propris, L. (2001). The 1988 reform of the European Structural Funds: entitlement or empowerment? *Journal of European Public Policy*, 9(3):408–428
- Barry, F. (2003). Economic Integration and Convergence Processes in the EU Cohesion Countries. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 41(5):897–921
- Barry, F., Bradley, J., and Hannan, A. (2001). The Single Market, the Structural Funds and Ireland’s Recent Economic Growth. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 39(3):537–552
- Blom-Hansen, J. (2005). Principals, agents, and the implementation of EU cohesion policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12(4):624–648
- Hooghe, L. (1998). EU Cohesion Policy and Competing Models of European Capitalism. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 36(4):457–477
- Behrens, P. and Smyrl, M. (1999). A conflict of rationalities: EU regional policy and the Single Market. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6(3):419–435

6 Social Policy

See <http://ec.europa.eu/social/home.jsp?langId=en> for the EU Directorate General responsible for social policy.

6.1 The Labour Market

Required Readings

- Chari, R. and Kritzinger, S. (2006). *Understanding E.U. Policy Making*. Pluto Press, London, UK, chapter 8
- Lange, P. (1993). Maastricht and the Social Protocol: Why Did They Do It? *Politics & Society*, 21(1):5–36

Recommended Readings

- Leibfried, S. (1994). The Social Dimension of the European Union: En Route To Positively Joint Sovereignty? *Journal of European Social Policy*, 4(4):239–262
- Falkner, G. (2000). The Council or the social partners? EC social policy between diplomacy and collective bargaining. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 7(5):705–724
- Mosher, J. S. and Trubek, D. M. (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
- Mailand, M. (2008). The uneven impact of the European Employment Strategy on member states' employment policies: a comparative analysis. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 18(4):353–365
- Toshkov, D. (2007). Transposition of EU social policy in the new member states. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 17(4):335–348
- Annesley, C. (2007). Lisbon and social Europe: towards a European 'adult worker model' welfare system. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 17(3):195–205

6.2 Beyond The Labour Market

Required Readings

- Begg, I. and Berghman, J. (2002). Introduction: EU social (exclusion) policy revisited? *Journal of European Social Policy*, 12(3):179–194
- Scharpf, F. W. (2002). The European Social Model. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40(4):645–670
- Greer, S. L. (2006). Uninvited Europeanization: neofunctionalism and the EU in health policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13(1):134–152

Recommended Readings

- Sohrab, J. A. (1994). An Overview of the Equality Directive On Social Security and Its Implementation in Four Social Security Systems. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 4(4):263–276
- O’Connor, J. S. (2005). Policy coordination, social indicators and the social-policy agenda in the European Union. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 15(4):345–361
- de Boer, R., Benedictus, H., and van der Meer, M. (2005). Broadening without Intensification: The Added Value of the European Social and Sectoral Dialogue. *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, 11(1):51–70
- Greer, S. L. (2008). Choosing paths in European Union health services policy: a political analysis of a critical juncture. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 18(3):219–231
- Scharpf, F. W. (Forthcoming). The asymmetry of European integration, or why the EU cannot be a social market economy. *Socio-Economic Review*

7 Environmental Policy

See http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/environment/index_en.htm for the EU Directorate General responsible for environmental policy.

Required Readings

- Cichowski, R. A. (1998). Integrating the environment: the European Court and the construction of supranational policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 5(3):387–405
- Lenschow, A. (2007). Environmental Policy in the European Union: Bridging Policy, Politics, and Polity Dimensions. In Knud Erik Jorgensen, M. A. P. and Rosamond, B., editors, *Handbook of European Union Politics*, chapter 21, pages 413–431. Sage, London, UK

Recommended Readings

- Kelemen, R. D. (2010). Globalizing European Union environmental policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17(3):335–349
- Liefferink, D. and Andersen, M. S. (1998). Strategies of the ‘green’ member states in EU environmental policy-making. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 5(2):254–270

- Knill, C. and Lenschow, A. (1998). Coping with Europe: the impact of British and German administrations on the implementation of EU environmental policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 5(4):595–614
- Lenschow, A. and Sprungk, C. (2010). The Myth of a Green Europe. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48(1):133–154
- Parker, C. F. and Karlsson, C. (2010). Climate Change and the European Union’s Leadership Moment: An Inconvenient Truth? *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48(4):923–943
- Börzel, T. A. (2006). Participation Through Law Enforcement. *Comparative Political Studies*, 39(1):128–152

8 Foreign Policy

See http://www.eeas.europa.eu/index_en.htm for the EU External Action Service web site.

8.1 The ‘Good’ News: Trade

See http://ec.europa.eu/trade/index_en.htm for the EU Directorate General responsible for trade policy.

Required Readings

- Hix, S. (2005). *The Political System of the European Union*. Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, UK, 2 edition, chapter 12 (pp. 374–393)
- McGuire, S. M. and Lindeque, J. P. (2010). The Diminishing Returns to Trade Policy in the European Union. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48(5):1329–1349

Recommended Readings

- Meunier, S. and Nicolaidis, K. (1999). Who Speaks for Europe? The Delegation of Trade Authority in the EU. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 37(3):477–501
- Young, A. R. (2007). Trade Politics Ain’t What It Used to Be: The European Union in the Doha Round. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45(4):789–811
- Sbragia, A. (2010). The EU, the US, and trade policy: competitive interdependence in the management of globalization. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17(3):368–382

- Burgoon, B. (2010). Betwixt and between? The European Union's redistributive management of globalization. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17(3):433–448
- Ehrlich, S. D. (2009). How Common is the Common External Tariff? *European Union Politics*, 10(1):115–141
- Beyers, J. and Kerremans, B. (2007). The press coverage of trade issues: a comparative analysis of public agenda-setting and trade politics. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 14(2):269–292
- Jensen, C. B., Slapin, J., and König, T. (2007). Who Calls for a Common EU Foreign Policy? Partisan Constraints on CFSP Reform. *European Union Politics*, 8(3):387–410
- De Vreese, C. H. and Kandyla, A. (2009). News Framing and Public Support for a Common Foreign and Security Policy. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 47(3):453–481

8.2 The 'Bad' News: Defence and War

Required Readings

- Hix, S. (2005). *The Political System of the European Union*. Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, UK, 2 edition, chapter 12 (pp. 393–405)
- Chari, R. and Kritzinger, S. (2006). *Understanding E.U. Policy Making*. Pluto Press, London, UK, chapter 10
- Koenig-Archibugi, M. (2004). Explaining Government Preferences for Institutional Change in EU Foreign and Security Policy. *International Organization*, 58(01):137–174

Recommended Readings

- Crowe, B. (2003). A common European foreign policy after Iraq? *International Affairs*, 79(3):533–546
- Menon, A. (2004). From crisis to catharsis: ESDP after Iraq. *International Affairs*, 80(4):631–648
- Crowe, B. (2003). A common European foreign policy after Iraq? *International Affairs*, 79(3):533–546
- Shepherd, A. J. (2006a). Europe and the 'War on Terror': Irrelevant or Indispensable? ESDP, the 'War on Terror' and the Fallout from Iraq. *International Politics*, 43(1):71–92

- Berenskoetter, F. and Giegerich, B. (2006). Europe and the ‘War on Terror’: What ‘War on Terror’ are we Talking About? A Response to Alistair Shepherd. *International Politics*, 43(1):93–104
- Shepherd, A. J. (2006b). Europe and the ‘War on Terror’: Lost in Translation: Confusing Objectives, Discourses and Capabilities — A Reply to Berenskoetter and Giegerich. *International Politics*, 43(1)
- Thomas, D. C. (2009). Explaining the negotiation of EU foreign policy: Normative institutionalism and alternative approaches. *Int Polit*, 46(4):339–357
- Norheim-Martinsen, P. M. (2010). Beyond Intergovernmentalism: European Security and Defence Policy and the Governance Approach. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48(5):1351–1365
- Bickerton, C. J., Irondelle, B., and Menon, A. (2011). Security Co-operation beyond the Nation-State: The EU’s Common Security and Defence Policy. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49(1):1–21
- Menon, A. (2011). Power, Institutions and the CSDP: The Promise of Institutional Theory. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49(1):83–100

9 European Monetary Union

See <http://www.ecb.int/> for the European Central Bank.

Required Readings

- Hix, S. (2005). *The Political System of the European Union*. Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, UK, 2 edition, chapter 10
- Chari, R. and Kritzinger, S. (2006). *Understanding E.U. Policy Making*. Pluto Press, London, UK, chapter 6
- McKay, D. C. (1999). The Political Sustainability of European Monetary Union. *British Journal of Political Science*, 29(03):463–485
- Hosli, M. O. (2000). The creation of the European economic and monetary union (EMU): intergovernmental negotiations and two-level games. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 7:744–766

Recommended Readings

- Jabko, N. (1999). In the name of the Market: how the European Commission paved the way for monetary union. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6(3):475–495
- Jabko, N. (2010). The hidden face of the euro. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17(3):318–334
- McKay, D. (2005). Economic logic or political logic? Economic theory, federal theory and EMU. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12(3):528–544
- Segers, M. and Van Esch, F. (2007). Behind the Veil of Budgetary Discipline: The Political Logic of the Budgetary Rules in EMU and the SGP. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45(5):1089–1109
- Hobolt, S. B. and Leblond, P. (2009). Is My Crown Better than Your Euro? Exchange Rates and Public Opinion on the European Single Currency. *European Union Politics*, 10(2):202–225

10 Financial Crisis

Readings to be announced later in the hope of them remaining topical.