

FALL 2016
IR 468 European Integration
School of International Relations
University of Southern California
Schedule: Tues, Thu 12:30 to 1.50pm, VKC 208

Instructor: Prof. Barberá
Office Hours: Wed 2pm-4pm

email: pbarbera@usc.edu
Office: VKC 359A

Course Description and Objectives:

The recent political and economic crisis in the European Union (EU) highlights the considerable challenges that the process of European integration currently faces. How should the European institutional framework be designed in order to strike a balance between protecting national sovereignty and ensuring an efficient policy process? Is there a “democratic deficit” within the EU, and if so, what type of reforms may foster political accountability and democratic legitimacy? After the financial crisis and the prospects of Greece leaving the Eurozone, is a common currency still viable? What should be the role of the EU as an international actor, regarding its trade, defense, and foreign policies? These are some of the broad themes we will address throughout the course.

The course will begin with an overview of the history of the EU, and the key theories and debates on European integration. We will draw on this historical and theoretical background to discuss its governing institutions and to examine the main aspects of legislative, executive, and judicial politics in the Union, as well as the role of citizens, political parties, and interest groups. During the second half of the semester, we will focus on some of the important questions regarding the future of the EU: the potential enlargement of the Union, the viability of the single currency, and the EU’s role as a global actor.

Course Requirements and Grading:

Class participation and short quizzes: 10%
Midterm exam: 25%
Final exam: 25%
Participation as debate leader: 20%
Final term paper (10-15 pages): 20%

Class participation

Students are expected to attend every class, do the assigned readings before each session so that they arrive to class ready to discuss them, and prepare questions to ask during the debate sessions. With just a few exceptions noted in the syllabus, every week will follow the same structure: the first session will focus on a general discussion of the content of the readings, while the second session will include a student-led debate on a key issue

related to that week's topic, followed by questions from the instructor and the audience. Some sessions will also feature short in-class quizzes to facilitate the discussions. Participation in these quizzes is required, but they will not be graded, as in many cases there will not be a "right" answer.

Midterm and final exams

There will be two non-cumulative exams, one during the 8th week of the course (on October 11th), and another one during the time assigned by the school for the final exam. The exams will be part short answers to questions about key concepts and part essay. Any content in the readings, class materials, and class discussions (including debates) may be part of the exams.

Debates

During the course, we will hold nine in-class debates led by groups of four students, two on each side of the debate. Students will sign up for a particular debate from a list of topics, which will refer to specific initiatives or decisions in the European integration process. You will have to choose one of the two sides of each argument (in favor or against), and arrive to class prepared to defend your position and to address questions from the instructor and other students. Note that the goal of this debate is not to exchange personal opinions – you are expected to articulate and defend the main arguments put forward by political actors and scholars on your side of the issue, and to provide additional evidence in favor of these arguments where necessary.

All students are expected to do the readings associated with each debate before class, and to think of questions to ask during the discussion. Students leading the debate will also need to do additional background reading and research in order to be as informed as possible about the topic.

Term paper

The term paper, due the last day of class, will be 10-15 pages long (around 5,000 words). It should provide an in-depth analysis of one of the issues discussed during the debates. You can choose to focus on the main question of a debate, a particular aspect of that debate that you consider relevant, or any other issue related to the content of the class. The only two requirements for the paper is that it should *not* be about the same topic of the debate that you led, and it must be based largely on scholarly literature. The topic should be chosen in consultation with the instructor – please send me a one-page summary of your topic, including a preliminary bibliography, by week 6 of the course.

Required Readings:

The reading list for most weeks will consist of one chapter from the two main textbooks for the class (see below; make sure you're reading from the right edition of the books),

complemented with some book chapters or research papers on the topic, which will be made available on Blackboard. Some readings are specific to the debate sessions, and are marked as such in the list of readings below. Note that all readings are required for all students in the class, not only those leading the discussion.

We will read most of the following books, which I recommend purchasing:

Hix, Simon, and Bjørn Høyland (2011). *The Political System of the European Union*, 3rd edition. Palgrave Macmillan.

McCormick, John (2014). *Understanding the European Union. A Concise Introduction*, 6th edition. Palgrave Macmillan

Zimmermann, Hubert and Andreas Dür (2012). *Key Controversies in European Integration*. Palgrave Macmillan.

COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS

Week 1. Aug. 23 & 25. Introduction to the course. History of European integration.

Hix and Høyland, Ch. 1, pages 1-16 (skip last section).

McCormick, Ch. 3, pages 47-71

Week 2. Aug. 30 & Sep. 1. The EU in the international system. Main theories of European integration.

Hix and Høyland, Ch. 1, pages 16-19 (rest of Ch. 1).

McCormick, Ch. 1-2, pages 1-46.

Rosamond, Ben (2000). *Theories of European Integration*. Palgrave Macmillan. Read: "Introduction" (pages 1-19), "Integration Theory and Social Science" (pages 186-197), and "Glossary of Theoretical Terms" (pages 198-205).

Week 3. Sep. 6 & 8. Theories of European integration (cont.). Legislative politics. The European Parliament and the Council of the EU. The policy process in the EU.

Hix and Høyland, Ch. 3, pages 49-74.

McCormick, Ch. 6, pages 120-138

DEBATE 1 (Sep. 6): More powers for Brussels or Renationalization? Should the European Union become the “United States of Europe,” with e.g. independent EU taxes to finance its budget rather than member state contributions?

Zimmermann and Dür, Ch. 3.1, “A stronger, more supranational Union” (pages 49-55) and Ch. 3.2, “The new intergovernmentalism in EU governance” (pages 56-62).

Fabbrini, Sergio (2013) “Intergovernmentalism and Its Limits: Assessing the European Union’s Answer to the Euro Crisis.” *Comparative Political Studies*, 46 (9): 1003-1029.

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks (2009) “A Postfunctional Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus.” *British Journal of Political Science*, 39(1): 1-23.

Week 4. Sep. 13 & 15. Executive politics. The European Commission and the European Council.

Hix and Høyland, Ch. 2, pages 23-48.

Schmidt, Susanne K. (2000). “Only an agenda setter? The European Commission's power over the Council of Ministers.” *European Union Politics*, 1(1), 37-61.

DEBATE 2 (Sep. 15): The “democratic deficit” in the EU. Should the European Parliament have more legislative powers?

Zimmermann and Dür, Ch. 4.1, “The inevitability of a democratic deficit” (pages 64-70) and Ch. 4.2, “A democratic achievement, not just a democratic deficit” (pages 56-62).

Follesdal, Andreas, and Simon Hix. (2006) “Why there is a democratic deficit in the EU: A response to Majone and Moravcsik.” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44 (3): 533-562.

Majone, Giandomenico (2014) *Rethinking the Union of Europe Post-Crisis. Has Integration Gone Too Far?* Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6: “From the democratic deficit to a democratic default? The normative dimension of the euro crisis”, pages 179-207.

Week 5. Sep. 20 & 22. Judicial politics. The European Court of Justice. The legal system of the EU.

Hix and Høyland, Ch. 4, pages 75-103.

Alter, Karen J. (2000) "The European Union's legal system and domestic policy: spillover or backlash?." *International Organization* 54 (3): 489-518.

DEBATE 3 (Sep. 22). The conflict between the primacy of EU law and national constitutional laws. Does the EU need a Constitution?

Zimmermann and Dür, Ch. 5.1, "Understanding the European Court's political power" (pages 80-87) and Ch. 5.2, "The European Court of Justice: a strange institution" (pages 88-94).

Grimm, Dieter (1995) "Does Europe need a constitution?" *European law journal*, 1(3), 282-302.

Reh, Christine (2009) "The Lisbon Treaty: De-Constitutionalizing the European Union?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 47 (3): 625-650.

Week 6. Sep. 27 & 29. Citizens, parties, and elections. (Deadline to submit one-page summary of term paper.)

Hix and Høyland, Ch. 6, pages 130-158.

Schmitt, Hermann (2005) "The European parliament elections of June 2004: still second-order?." *West European Politics* 28 (3): 650-679.

DEBATE 4 (Sep. 29). How to transform the European parliament elections into "first-order" elections. Should the "Spitzenkandidat" system be revisited in the next EP elections?

Schmitt, Hermann, Sara Hobolt and Sebastian Adrian Popa (2015) "Does personalization increase turnout? Spitzenkandidaten in the 2014 European Parliament elections", *European Union Politics*, 16 (3): 347-368.

Hobolt, Sara B. (2014) "A vote for the President? The role of Spitzenkandidaten in the 2014 European Parliament elections." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21 (10): 1528-1540.

Laslier, Jean-François, André Blais, Damien Bol, Sona N. Golder, Philipp Harfst, Laura B. Stephenson, and Karine Van der Straeten (2015) "The EuroVotePlus experiment." *European Union Politics*, 16 (4): 601-615.

Week 7. Oct. 4 & 6. Public opinion. Euroscepticism. Nationalism and European identity.

Hix and Høyland, Ch. 5, pages 105-129.

Boomgaarden, Hajo G., Andreas RT Schuck, Matthijs Elenbaas, and Claes H. De Vreese. (2011) "Mapping EU attitudes: Conceptual and empirical dimensions of Euroscepticism and EU support." *European Union Politics* 12 (2): 241-266.

DEBATE 5 (Oct. 6). *Creating a common European identity. Should the United Kingdom leave the EU?*

Adler-Nissen, Rebecca (2015) *Opting Out of the European Union. Diplomacy, Sovereignty, and European Integration*. Cambridge University Press. Read Chapters 1—3 (pages 1-73) and Chapters 6—7 (pages 147-189).

Zimmermann and Dür, Ch. 6, "Can There Be a Common European Identity?" (pages 95-111).

Fligstein, N., Polyakova, A., & Sandholtz, W. (2012). "European integration, nationalism and European identity." *JCMS: journal of Common Market Studies*, 50 (1), 106-122.

Week 8. Oct. 11 & 13. Interest representation in EU politics. MIDTERM EXAM.

Hix and Høyland, Ch. 7, pages 159-185.

Klüver, Heike (2011) "The contextual nature of lobbying: Explaining lobbying success in the European Union." *European Union Politics*, 12 (4): 483-506.

Week 9. Oct. 18 & 20. Economic and monetary union.

Hix and Høyland, Ch. 10, pages 245-272.

Drudi, Francesco, Alain Durré, and Francesco Paolo Mongelli (2012) "The Interplay of Economic Reforms and Monetary Policy: The Case of the Eurozone." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50 (6): 881-898.

DEBATE 6 (Oct. 20): *Does the recent debt and financial crisis in the EU cast shadow on the future of the euro? Will the euro survive long-term in a "suboptimal currency area"?*

Arestis, Philip and Sawyer, Malcolm (2011), 'The Design Faults of the Economic and Monetary Union', *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 19(1), 21-32.

Zimmermann and Dür, Ch. 7.1, "The euro has a future?" (pages 112-120) and Ch. 7.2, "The end of the euro mark I: a skeptical view of European Monetary Union" (pages 121-129).

Featherstone, Kevin (2011) "The JCMS Annual Lecture: The Greek Sovereign Debt Crisis and EMU: A Failing State in a Skewed Regime." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49 (2): 193-217.

Week 10. Oct. 25 & 27. Interior policies. Enlarging the EU: an even wider Union?

Hix and Høyland, Ch. 11, pages 273-301.

Czaika, Mathias, and Hobolth, Mogens. (2016) "Do restrictive asylum and visa policies increase irregular migration into Europe?" *European Union Politics*, 17 (3): 345-365.

Epstein, Rachel A., and Wade Jacoby. (2015) "Eastern Enlargement Ten Years On: Transcending the East–West Divide?." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 52 (1): 1-16.

DEBATE 7 (Oct. 27): Should Turkey become a EU member state?

Zimmermann and Dür, Ch. 13, "The benefits of EU enlargement: stability, prosperity and democracy" (pages 206-211) and Ch. 13.2, "EU enlargement: a critique" (pages 212-217).

Kubicek, Paul (2005). "Turkish Accession to the European Union: Challenges and Opportunities." *World Affairs*, 168 (2), 67-78.

McLaren, Lauren M. (2007) "Explaining opposition to Turkish membership of the EU." *European Union Politics*, 8 (2): 251-278.

Week 11. Nov. 1 & 3. Trade policies. The case of the Common Agricultural Policy.

Hix and Høyland, Ch. 9 and 12 (excerpts), pages 224-227 and 302-310.

Dinan, Desmond (2010) *Ever Closer Union. An Introduction to European Integration*. Lynne Rienner Publishers. Ch. 12, pages 329-346.

DEBATE 8 (Nov. 3): How the CAP affects global trade. Should EU farm subsidies be abolished?

Wallace, Helen and Mark A. Pollack (2015) *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Read: "The Common Agricultural Policy: The Fortress Challenged" (pages 196-219)

Zimmermann and Dür, Ch. 10.1, "EU Agricultural and Fisheries Policies: an economic and environmental disaster" (pages 160-168) and Ch. 10.2, "Europe's common values and agricultural policy: a defence of the CAP" (pages 169-176).

Week 12. Nov. 8 & 10. Foreign policy and security issues.

Hix and Høyland, Ch. 12, pages 310-319 and 323-330.

McCormick, Ch. 9, pages 194-204.

DEBATE 9 (Nov. 10): Military integration in the EU beyond NATO. Should the EU have its own standing army?

Zimmermann and Dür, Ch. 14.1, "Defence integration in the EU: a successful vision" (pages 219-224) and Ch. 14.2, "Flattering to deceive: the Common Security and Defence Policy" (pages 225-231).

Hoffmann, Stanley (2000) "Towards a Common European Foreign and Security Policy?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38(2): 189-198.

Bickerton, Chris J., Bastien Irondelle, and Anand Menon (2011) "Security Co-operation beyond the Nation-State: The EU's Common Security and Defence Policy." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 49 (1): 1-21.

Week 13. Nov. 15 & 17. Social and cohesion policies. Inequality and redistribution in the EU.

Hix and Høyland, Ch. 9, pages 230-237.

Rodden, Jonathan (2002) "Strength in Numbers? Representation and Redistribution in the European Union." *European Union Politics*, 3 (2): 151-175.

Zimmermann and Dür, Ch. 9, "The EU's Cohesion Policy: Reducing Disparities?" (pages 145-159).

Bussemeyer, Marius R., and Tobias Tober (2015) "European integration and the political economy of inequality." *European Union Politics* 16 (4): 536-557.

Week 14. Nov. 22. The future of the EU. THANKSGIVING.

Krugman, Paul (2011) "Can Europe Be Saved?" New York Times Magazine.

Moravcsik, Andrew (2012). "Europe After the Crisis." *Foreign Affairs*, 91(3): 54-68.

Berggruen, Nicolas and Gardels, Nathan (2013) "The Next Europe. Towards a Federal Union." *Foreign Affairs*, 92 (4): 134-142.

Week 15. Nov. 29 & Dec. 1. Course recap and evaluation. TERM PAPER DUE DATE.

No required readings.

Academic Conduct:

Plagiarism – presenting someone else’s ideas as your own, either verbatim or recast in your own words – is a serious academic offense with serious consequences. Please familiarize yourself with the discussion of plagiarism in *SCampus* in Section 11, *Behavior Violating University Standards* <https://scampus.usc.edu/1100-behavior-violating-university-standards-and-appropriate-sanctions>. Other forms of academic dishonesty are equally unacceptable. See additional information in *SCampus* and university policies on scientific misconduct, <http://policy.usc.edu/scientific-misconduct>.

Discrimination, sexual assault, and harassment are not tolerated by the university. You are encouraged to report any incidents to the *Office of Equity and Diversity* <http://equity.usc.edu> or to the *Department of Public Safety* <http://adminopsnet.usc.edu/departments/departments-public-safety>. This is important for the safety of the whole USC community. Another member of the university community – such as a friend, classmate, advisor, or faculty member – can help initiate the report, or can initiate the report on behalf of another person. *The Center for Women and Men* <http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/cwm/> provides 24/7 confidential support, and the sexual assault resource center webpage <http://sarc.usc.edu> describes reporting options and other resources.

Support Systems:

A number of USC’s schools provide support for students who need help with scholarly writing. Check with your advisor or program staff to find out more. Students whose primary language is not English should check with the *American Language Institute* <http://dornsife.usc.edu/ali>, which sponsors courses and workshops specifically for international graduate students. The *Office of Disability Services and Programs* http://sait.usc.edu/academicsupport/centerprograms/dsp/home_index.html provides certification for students with disabilities and helps arrange the relevant accommodations. If an officially declared emergency makes travel to campus infeasible, *USC Emergency Information* <http://emergency.usc.edu> will provide safety and other updates, including ways in which instruction will be continued by means of blackboard, teleconferencing, and other technology.