Conor O'Dwyer EUS 4212/POS 4931 (Spring 2014) When: Tues. 1:55-2:44 & Thur. 1:55-3:50 Where: Turlington 2346 Office Hours: Tues. 10-11 & Thur. 12:30-1:30 and by appointment, Anderson 311 Website: http://web.clas.ufl.edu/users/codwyer/Site/Teaching.html

## **European Integration: Politics and Policy**

This course will address core questions of European integration from the origins of the European Union to its current economic crisis. The unifying theme is the question: How alike politically do countries have to be for economic integration to work? More specifically, we will ask: Are there fundamental tensions between economic integration and political integration? If so, how might they be managed? Does the EU have a "democratic deficit" or, on the contrary, has it strengthened democracy among its members, especially in the new members from postcommunist Eastern Europe? What were/are the challenges of integrating postcommunist countries into the EU? Last, what does the ongoing economic crisis reveal about the project of creating a single currency, the Euro? In addressing these questions, the class will take an interdisciplinary approach with an emphasis on the politics of economic policy.

## **Required Books:**

• John Pinder & Simon Usherwood, *The European Union: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford UP, 2008). [Note: be sure to get the 2008 edition, not the 2001 one.]

• Simon Hix, What's Wrong With the European Union and How to Fix It (Polity, 2008).

• Any additional readings on the syllabus will be available by clicking on the links below or through the UF library's ereserves.

•Note: over the course of the semester, I may add short readings for class discussion or make adjustments to the readings below based on current developments in Europe, especially regarding the Eurozone crisis. Therefore, please access this online version of the syllabus, as it is the syllabus of record.

## Course Requirements (% of final grade):

•Three short in-class tests (15% each)

•Participation in an in-class debate, Feb. 16 (5%) -- The debate will center on the proposals for reforming the EU proposed by Simon Hix in What's Wrong With the European Union and How to Fix It.

•Research Paper (20%) -- Each student is expected to produce a research paper of 6-8 pages whose topic fits in one of the three themes; (1) a particular theoretical debate concerning European economic integration; (2) the experience of a particular EU member state with the process of economic integration in the EU; or (3) the significance/impact of the single currency. Papers are due in class on April 22nd as a hard copy and emailed to the instructor in electronic form (either MS Word or PDF). Paper topics will be assigned on February 13th. If students would prefer to write on a topic of their own choosing, they should speak with the instructor before February 13th.

•In-class presentation of research paper (20%) -- The research presentations should be 10 minutes long. They will be video-taped, and selected videos may be made available to area high school teachers for use in their broadening their curriculums. As part of the presentations section of the course, students are expected to fill out a questionnaire providing constructive feedback on each presentation. This feedback is intended to facilitate revisions and improvements to the final papers. Submitting these questionnaires is part of the presentation grade. The presentations will take place in the last few weeks of class (see below).

•Attendance and Participation (10%) -- Students are expected to attend every class meeting and come prepared to discuss the assigned readings. Up to one unexcused absence will not count against this portion of the final grade; other absences must be excused with an appropriate note of explanation. It is important that assigned readings be completed prior to class because this class is designed to involve significant in-class discussion.

## Schedule of Classes and Readings:

## Part I: Primer in EU Institutions and History

## Jan. 7 -- Introduction and course requirements / Historical overview of the EU

•Beppe Severgnini, "Can the European Center Hold?" New York Times, January 2, 2014. (class handout)

# Jan. 9 (double period) -- Classic Theories of Integration / Positive vs. Negative Integration / The EU's core institutions part 1

## •Pinder, pp. 1-35.

•Knill, C. and Lehmkuhl, D. (1999) 'How Europe Matters: Different Mechanisms of Europeanization', European Integration

Online Papers 3(7) (http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=302746)

Jan. 14 -- The EU's core institutions part 2 / A Democratic Deficit? part 1

Pinder, pp. 36-64.
Andrew Moravcsik, "In Defense of the Democratic Deficit: Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union" *The Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40, (4), 2002, 603-624 (http://www.princeton.edu/~amoravcs/library/deficit.pdf)

- Jan. 16 (double period) -- A Democratic Deficit? part 2 / Overview of EU policy areas, part 1 -- Building a Common Market •Pinder, pp. 65-79.
- Jan. 21 -- Overview of EU policy areas, part 2: Redistribution and Economic Development / Preview of the Politics of the Eastern Enlargment Process

•Pinder, pp. 80-103

Jan. 23 (double period) -- Review and reflections on the EU's political roles

Larry Neal, 2007. *The Economics of Europe and the European Union*, ch. 4 "The Common Agricultural Policy and Reforms: feeding Europe and then some" (E-RESERVES)
Pinder, pp. 104-126; pp. 162-171.

## Jan. 28: First Short Test

## Part II: Common Government, Different Nations: An EU in Political Crisis?

Jan. 30 (double period): The tension between economic and political integration •Hix, pp. 1-49.

## Feb. 4: The EU's political problems

•Hix, pp. 50-66

## Feb. 6 (double period): Revenge of the "Democratic Deficit"? The Debate over an EU Constitution

•From a special Symposium on the French and Dutch Referenda on the EU Constitutional Treaty, Perspectives on Politics (April 2006): pp. 237-272.

• Kees Aarts and Henk van der Kolk, "Understanding the Dutch 'No': The Euro, the East, and the Elite," pp. 243-246

• Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, "Europe's Blues: Theoretical Soul-Searching after the Rejection of the European Constitution," pp. 247-250.

• Henry Milner, "YES to the Europe I want; NO to this one.' Some Reflections on France's Rejection of the EU Constitution," pp. 257-260.

•Andrea Mammone, "Europeans United, in Hating Europe," New York Times, January 1, 2014. (class handout)

Feb. 11: The EU's political problems (cont...)

•Hix, pp. 67-86.

- Feb. 13 (double period): Hix's Fix / Paper/Presentation Topics Assigned •Hix, pp. 89-165.
- Feb. 18: Hix Conclusion

•Hix, pp. 166-192.

Feb. 20 (double period): / Class Debate

## Feb. 25: 2nd SHORT TEST

Feb. 27 (double period): Paper research day

March 4 & 6: Spring Break

## Part III: Expanding into Unfamiliar Territory: The "Europeanization" of Postcommunist States?

## March 11: Introduction to the Eastern Enlargement

•David Cameron, "The Challenges of Accession," East European Politics and Societies, 17 (2003): 24-41. (E-RESERVES)

•Heather Grabbe, "Europeanisation Goes East: Power and Uncertainty in the EU Accession Process," in K. Featherstone and C. Radaelli (eds.), *The Politics of Europeanisation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 303-330.

## March 13 (double period):

•Andrew Janos, "From Eastern Empire to Western Hegemony: East Central Europe under Two International Regimes" East European Politics and Societies, 15(2001): 221-250. (E-RESERVES)

•Stephen Larrabee, "Danger and Opportunity in Eastern Europe," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2006): 117-131. •Philip Levitz and Grigore Pop-Eleches. 2010. "Why No Backsliding? The EU's Impact on Democracy and Governance Before and After Accession," *Comparative Political Studies* 43: 457-485. (http://www.princeton.edu/~gpop/PL\_GPE\_EU%20backsliding\_CPS.pdf)

#### March 18

•Conor O'Dwyer, "Does the EU Help or Hinder Gay-Rights Movements in Postcommunist Europe? The Case of Poland," *East European Politics* 28:4 (December 2012): 332-352.

#### Part IV: What Does the Current Economic Crisis Reveal About European Integration?

## March 20 (double period)

•Kathleen R. McNamara, "Economic and Monetary Union: Innovation and Challenges for the Euro," Ch. 6 in William Wallace, Helen Wallace, Mark Pollack, eds. *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 5th ed. (Oxford UP, 2005), pp 141-160. (E-RESERVES)

•Michelle Chang, "The birth of the euro and the Eurozone," Ch. 3 in M. Chang, Monetary Integration in the European Union (Palgrave, 2009), pp. 45-70. (E-RESERVES)

#### NPR clip on the debt crisis in Greece:

http://www.npr.org/2012/03/17/148718272/greek-bailout-is-accompanied-by-greek-resentment

## March 25: Paper research day

#### March 27 (double period)

•Martin Feldstein, "The Euro and European Economic Conditions," NBER Working Paper Series, Working Paper 17617, November 2011.

•Barry Eichengreen, "The Breakup of the Euro Area," NBER Working Paper Series, Working Paper 13393, September 2007.

•APSA European Politics and Society Section Newsletter, special issue on the Euro debt crisis, pp. 3-16.

## April 1: 3rd SHORT TEST

#### Part V: Student Presentations

- April 3 (double period): Final Presentations, part 1 •6 presentations:
- April 8: Final Presentations, part 2 •3 presentations:
- April 10 (double period): Final Presentations, part 3 •6 presentations:
- April 15: Final Presentations, part 4 •3 Presentations
- April 17 (double period): Final Presentations, part 5 •6 Presentations
- April 22: Conclusion -- Class discussion: Whither the EU? / FINAL PAPERS DUE

## FINAL CAVEATS:

**Make-up for the examinations:** If a student cannot attend an examination, s/he needs to notify the instructor as soon as physically possible by phone, fax or e-mail. Students who fail to notify the instructor prior to the examination will not be allowed to take it. Make-ups will be given only to students who have been unable to take the regularly scheduled exam due to a medical or personal condition, which has incapacitated them.

**Students with Disabilities** who require individualized testing and other accommodations should identify themselves to the instructors and express their needs. Where the disability is not immediately apparent, verification will be required.

**Academic Honor Code:** Students are expected to adhere to the UF Student Honor Code. The academic honor system of the University of Florida is based on the premise that each student has the responsibility (1) to uphold the highest standards of academic integrity in the student's own work, (2) to refuse to tolerate violations of academic integrity in the University community and (3) to foster a high sense of integrity and social responsibility on the part of the University community. Students violating the honor code will receive zero points for the assignment or exam in question, and may receive an 'F' for the class.

## Grading Scale:

- A 93-100
- A- 90-92
- B+ 87-89
- B 83-86
- B- 80-82
- C+ 77-79
- C 73-76
- C- 70-72
- D+ 67-69
- D 63-66
- D- 60-62
- E Below 60