



Spring 2004
Professor Chris Anderson

Th 12-2.45pm
Maxwell Hall 315

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PSC 756 **Politics of the European Union**

This class is designed to introduce you to some of the major topics in European Union politics. It includes discussions of the major theoretical issues as well as a number, though not all, of the major substantive topics in the field. Because much of the politics of the European Union is simultaneously domestic and international, the course will address both national and international issues. However, note that this class is a course in comparative politics, not international relations. That is, we will pay particular attention to approaches and topics that are of interest to those studying the European Union as a political system and from the perspective of comparative politics.

This class follows the seminar format. This means that students will be responsible for directing individual class sessions. It also means that the class requires you to read a considerable amount of material, think about what you have read, and regularly talk and write about your understanding of the readings. Because the field of EU politics is vast and growing, the readings will necessarily be eclectic. Note that this means that we cannot cover everything needed for further work in the field of EU politics.

Key issues we will address include:

- Democracy in the European Union
- EU institutions (Parliament, Commission, Council, European Court of Justice)
- Decision-making in the EU
- Political parties
- Public opinion
- European economic integration

Course Requirements

(1) Each student is expected to complete all required readings each week and to contribute to the seminar discussions, which will be based on that week's readings. Students are expected to attend class and be prepared to discuss the assigned readings. You also will be responsible for presenting the week's readings and leading class discussion for at least one class session. If you will be unable to attend class, you must let me know at least one day in advance. Otherwise, you will be marked as not participating. Because this is a seminar, and because part of becoming a professional political scientist involves the critical understanding of relevant scientific literature, class attendance and contributions to class discussion constitute **20%** of the course grade.

(2) In 3 weeks of the semester you will submit short papers of 4-6 pages in length (double-spaced, 1 inch margins, excluding references). These papers are critical discussions of the literature you read for that week. They should focus on the central arguments under study and treat the works' main strengths and weaknesses. The papers may identify a question left unanswered by one or more of the week's readings, expand on a theme common to several readings, evaluate one work in light of another, or reflect on one week's works in light of another week's. Ultimately, the best discussion papers will focus on the chief scholarly disputes, the methodological problems, the contribution of the work, and the nature of future research in the area.

I strongly encourage you to write these papers as early in the semester as possible to avoid the usual late-semester crunch. Short papers are due Tuesday before class by 1 p.m. by email; they constitute **30%** of the final grade.

I WILL NOT ACCEPT HARD COPIES NOR WILL I GRADE LATE PAPERS!

(3) In addition to participation, presentations, and discussion papers, students will be responsible for conducting a data analysis research project. The best projects will identify an original research question, explain why it is an important question, review the relevant literature in a specific sub-field, and develop a research strategy for answering the question. The best examples of a good research project can be found in the form of articles published in major political science journals. MA/IR students have the option to write a briefing paper on a topic of current interest that makes use of quantitative evidence. The topic and the recipient of this memo will be determined by the student in consultation with the instructor. Good briefing papers will include a concise definition of the issue under discussion, explain options, and make a recommendation for action.

I will make data available for analysis (more details will be provided in class). If you choose to collect your own data or use other data sources, you must clear your project with me first.

I strongly encourage you to think about and work on this assignment throughout the semester!! The write-up of the research project will be 15-20 pages in length (double-spaced, 12pt font, 1 in. margins, excluding references, tables, or graphs), is due the last day of class, and will constitute **50%** of the final grade.
LATE PAPERS WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED—NO EXCEPTIONS!

Required Books (available at the SU bookstore)

Hix, Simon. 1999. *The Political System of the European Union*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Updated chapters for forthcoming edition available at:
<http://personal.lse.ac.uk/HIX/WorkingPapers.HTM>

Marks, Gary, and Marco Steenbergen. 2003. *European Integration and Political Conflict*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Several of the chapters were originally published in: *Comparative Political Studies*, 35 (8), 2002.

Other readings

Readings in the form of journal articles are available in hardcopy in the library or over the internet at via the Syracuse University library webpage:

<http://libwww.syr.edu/>

If you cannot find a particular article or journal, please consult the library staff.

Note

I reserve the right to change reading assignments if necessary.

You are expected to know about and adhere to all university rules governing academic life, including plagiarism and cheating.

To get in touch with me

Stop by during office hours. Alternatively, you can e-mail me.

Spring 2004 Calendar

First Day of Classes	Mon, January 12
Martin Luther King Day (no classes)	Mon, January 19
Spring Vacation	Su-Su March 7-14
Good Friday (no classes)	Fri, April 9
Last Regular Class Day	Tues, April 27
Reading Days	Wed,Sa April 28/May 1; Su, Wed 5/2,5
Final Examinations	Th,Fri, April 29,30, MTTh May 3,4,6

Session 1
15 January
A Primer on the EU

Introduction and overview.
History of European integration
Political institutions of the European Union

Introductory Texts (read one of these if you have not studied the EU before)

J. McCormick (1999) *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*, Macmillan.

D. Dinan (1999) *Ever Closer Union? An Introduction to European Integration*, 2nd ed., Macmillan.

N. Nugent (1999) *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, 4th ed., Macmillan.

Other Useful Reading

H. Wallace & W. Wallace (eds) (2000) *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 4th ed., Oxford.

J. Peterson & E. Bomberg (1999) *Decision-Making in the European Union*, Macmillan.

A. Moravcsik (1999) *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose & State Power from Messina to Maastricht*.

F. Scharpf (1999) *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?* Oxford.

A. Stone Sweet, W. Sandholtz and N. Fligstein (eds) (2001) *The Institutionalization of Europe*, Oxford.

W. Sandholtz & A. Stone Sweet (eds) (1998) *European Integration and Supranational Governance*, Oxford.

J. Shaw (2000) *Law of the European Union*, 3rd ed., Macmillan.

A.M. El-Agraa (ed.) (2000) *The European Union: Economics and Policies*, 6th ed., Prentice Hall.

Session 2
22 January
Theoretical Approaches to EU Politics

Required readings:

Hix, Ch.1 (Introduction)

Pierson, Paul. 1996. "The Path To The European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies* 29 (2): 123-163.

Peterson, J. 2001. "The Choice For EU Theorists: Establishing A Common Framework For Analysis." *European Journal of Political Research* 39 (3): 289-318.

Jupille J., Caporaso J.A., Checkel J.T. 2003. "Integrating Institutions: Rationalism, Constructivism, and the Study of the European Union." *Comparative Political Studies* 36 (1-2): 7-40.

Optional readings:

Moravcsik, Andrew. 1991. "Negotiating The Single European Act: National Interests And Conventional Statecraft In The European Community." *International Organization* 45 (1): 19-56.

Parsons, Craig. 2002. "Showing Ideas As Causes: The Origins Of The European Union." *International Organization* 56 (1): 47-84.

Garrett G, Tsebelis G. 1996. "An Institutional Critique Of Intergovernmentalism." *International Organization* 50 (2): 269-99.

Tsebelis G, Garrett G. 2001. "The Institutional Foundations Of Intergovernmentalism And Supranationalism In The European Union." *International Organization* 55 (2): 357-90.

Aspinwall M.D., Schneider G. 2000. "Same Menu, Separate Tables: The Institutional Turn in Political Science and the Study of European Integration." *European Journal of Political Research* 38 (1): 1-36.

Putnam, Robert D. 1988. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games." *International Organization* 42 (3): 427-460.

Session 3
29 January
Executive Politics I

Required readings:

Hix, Ch.2, *Executive Politics*

Hooghe, Liesbet. 1999. "Images of Europe: Orientations to European Integration Among Senior Officials of the Commission." *British Journal of Political Science* 29 (2): 345-367.

Hug, Simon. 2003. "Endogenous Preferences and Delegation in the European Union." *Comparative Political Studies* 36 (1-2): 41-74.

Golub, J. 1999. "In the Shadow of the Vote? Decision Making in the European Community." *International Organization* 53 (4): 733-64.

Pollack, Mark A. 1997. "Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the European Community." *International Organization* 51 (1): 99-134.

Session 4
5 February
Legislative Politics I

Required readings:

Hix, Ch.3, *Legislative Politics*

Tsebelis, George. 1994. "The Power of the European Parliament as a Conditional Agenda Setter." *American Political Science Review* 88 (1): 128-142.

Optional readings:

Hix, Simon. 2002. "Parliamentary Behavior With Two Principals: Preferences, Parties, and Voting in the European Parliament." *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (3): 688-698.

Kreppel, Amie. 2002. "Moving Beyond Procedure: An Empirical Analysis of European Parliament Legislative Influence." *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (7): 784-813.

Hix, Simon. 2002. "Constitutional Agenda-Setting Through Discretion in Rule Interpretation: Why the European Parliament Won at Amsterdam." *British Journal of Political Science* 32 (2): 259-280.

Scully, Roger. 1997. "Policy Influence and Participation in the EP." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 22 (2): 233-52.

Session 5
12 February
Legislative Politics II

Required readings:

Kreppel, Amie, and Simon Hix. 2003. "From 'Grand Coalition' To Left-Right Confrontation: Explaining the Shifting Structure of Party Competition in the European Parliament." *Comparative Political Studies* 36 (1): 75-96.

Matthew J. Gabel and Simon Hix. 2004. Defining the EU Political Space: An Empirical Study of The European Elections Manifestos, 1979–1999, in Marks and Steenbergen.

Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks and Carole J. Wilson. 2004. Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration? in Marks and Steenbergen.

Jacques J. A. Thomassen, Abdul G. Noury and Erik Voeten. 2004. Political Competition in the European Parliament: Evidence From Roll Call And Survey Analyses, in Marks and Steenbergen.

Marco R. Steenbergen and David Scott. 2004. Contesting Europe? The Saliency of European Integration as a Party Issue, in Marks and Steenbergen.

Session 6
19 February
Citizen Support for Europe

Required readings:

Hix, Chapter 5, *Public Opinion and Political Cleavages*

Gabel, Matthew J. 1998. "Economic Integration and Mass Politics: Market Liberalization and Public Attitudes in the European Union." *American Journal of Political Science* 42 (3): 936-953.

Karp, Jeffrey A., Banducci Susan A., Bowler, Shaun. 2003. "To Know It Is To Love It? Satisfaction With Democracy in the European Union." *Comparative Political Studies* 36 (3): 271-292.

Anderson, Christopher J., and Karl Kaltenthaler. 1996. "The Dynamics of Public Opinion Toward European Integration, 1973-1993." *European Journal of International Relations* 2 (2): 175-99.

Anderson, Christopher J. 1998. "When In Doubt, Use Proxies: Attitudes Toward Domestic Politics and Support for European Integration." *Comparative Political Studies* 31 (5): 569-601.

Tucker, Joshua A, Pacek, Alexander C., and Berinsky Adam J. 2002. "Transitional Winners and Losers: Attitudes Toward EU Membership in Post-Communist Countries." *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (3): 557-571.

Tverdova, Yuliya V., and Christopher J. Anderson. 2004. "Choosing the West? Referendum Choices on EU Membership in East Central Europe." *Electoral Studies* (forthcoming).

Optional Readings:

Inglehart, Ronald. 1967. "An End to European Integration." *American Political Science Review* 61 (1): 91-105.

Van Kersbergen, K. 2000. "Political Allegiance and European Integration." *European Journal of Political Research* 37 (1): 1-17.

Cichowski, Rachel A. 1997. "Western Dreams, Eastern Realities: Support for the European Union in Central and Eastern Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (10): 1243-1278.

McLaren, Lauren M. 2001. "Immigration and the New Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion in the European Union: The Effect of Elites and the EU on Individual-Level Opinions Regarding European and Non-European Immigrants." *European Journal of Political Research* 39 (1): 81-108.

Christin T, Hug S. 2002. "Referendums and Citizen Support for European integration." *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (5): 586-617.

Hug S., and Sciarini P. 2000. "Referendums on European Integration: Do Institutions Matter in the Voter's Decision?" *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (1): 3-36.

Session 7
26 February
Citizens and EU Institutions

Required readings:

Hix, Simon. 1999. "Dimensions and Alignments in European Union Politics: Cognitive Constraints and Partisan Responses." *European Journal of Political Research* 35 (1): 69-106.

Marco R. Steenbergen and Gary Marks. 2004. Introduction: Models of Political Conflict in the European Union

Christopher J. Anderson and Matthew J. Gabel; The Structure of Citizen Attitudes and the European Political Space

Cees Van der Eijk and Mark N. Franklin; Potential For Contestation on National Matters at National Elections in Europe

Carrubba CJ. 2001. "The Electoral Connection in European Union Politics." *Journal of Politics* 63 (1): 141-158.

Gelleny, Ronald D., and Christopher J. Anderson. 2000. "The Economy, Accountability, and Support for the President of the European Commission." *European Union Politics* 1 (2): 173-200.

Session 8
4 March
Citizens, Parties, and European Integration

Required readings:

Hix, Chapter 6, *Parties, Elections, and EU Democracy*

Ray, Leonard. 2003. "When Parties Matter: The Conditional Influence of Party Positions on Voter Opinions about European Integration." *Journal of Politics* 65 (4): 978-994.

Taggart, Paul. 1998. "A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western European Party Systems." *European Journal of Political Research* 33 (3): 363-388.

Marks, Gary, Wilson Carol J., and Ray, Leonard. 2002. "National Political Parties and European Integration." *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (3): 585-594.

Marks, Gary, Wilson Carol J. 2000. "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration." *British Journal of Political Science* 30 (3): 433-459.

Evans, Geoffrey. 1998. "Euroscepticism and Conservative Electoral Support: How an Asset Became a Liability." *British Journal of Political Science* 28 (4): 573-590.

11 March Spring Break

NO CLASS

Session 9

18 March

European Economic and Monetary Integration

Required readings:

Smith, Dale L., Wanke, Jürgen. 1993. "Completing the Single European Market: An Analysis of the Impact on the Member States." *American Journal of Political Science* 37 (2): 529-554.

Carrubba, Clifford J. 1997. "Net Financial Transfers in the European Union: Who Gets What and Why?" *Journal of Politics* 59 (2): 469-496.

Verdier, D., Breen, R. 2001. "Europeanization and Globalization: Politics Against Markets in the European Union." *Comparative Political Studies* 34 (3): 227-262.

Kaltenthaler, Karl C., Anderson, Christopher J. 2001. "Europeans and Their Money: Explaining Public Support for the Common European Currency." *European Journal of Political Research* 40 (2): 139-170.

Optional Readings:

Frieden, Jeffrey A. 2002. "Real Sources of European Currency Policy: Sectoral Interests and European Monetary Integration." *International Organization* 56 (4): 831-60.

Oatley, T. 1999. "How Constraining is Capital Mobility? The Partisan Hypothesis in an Open Economy." *American Journal of Political Science* 43 (4): 1003-1027.

Frieden, Jeffrey A. 1996. "The Impact of Goods and Capital Market Integration on European Monetary Politics." *Comparative Political Studies* 29 (2): 193-222.

Session 10
25 March
Judicial Politics

Required readings:

Hix, Ch.4, *Judicial Politics*

Sweet, Alec Stone, Brunell, Thomas L. 1998. "Constructing a Supranational Constitution: Dispute Resolution and Governance in the European Community." *American Political Science Review* 92 (1): 63-81.

Optional readings:

Caldeira, Gregory A., Gibson, James L. 1995. "The Legitimacy of the Court of Justice in the European Union: Models of Institutional Support." *American Political Science Review* 89 (2): 356-376.

Garrett, G., Kelemen, R.D., Schulz, H. 1998. "The European Court of Justice, National Governments, and Legal Integration In The European Union." *International Organization* 52 (1): 149-76.

Garrett, G. "The Politics of Legal Integration in the European Union." *International Organization* 49 (1): 171-181.

Mattli, Walter, Slaughter, Anne-Marie. 1995. "Law and Politics in the European Union: A Reply to Garrett." *International Organization* 49 (1): 183-190.

Alter, Karen J., Meunier-Aitsahalia, Sophie. 1994. "Judicial Politics in the European Community: European Integration and the Pathbreaking Cassis-De-Dijon Decision." *Comparative Political Studies* 26 (4): 535-561.

Session 11
1 April
Changing Institutions for a Changing EU?

Required readings:

Hooghe, Liesbet, Marks, Gary. 2003. "Unraveling the Central State, But How? Types of Multi-Level Governance." *American Political Science Review* 97 (2): 233-243.

Schulz, H., König, T. 2000. "Institutional Reform and Decision-Making Efficiency in the European Union." *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (4): 653-666.

Kelemen, R.D. 2003. "The Structure and Dynamics of EU Federalism." *Comparative Political Studies* 36 (1-2): 184-208.

Rohrschneider, Robert. 2002. "The Democracy Deficit and Mass Support for an EU-Wide Government." *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (2): 463-475.

Tsebelis, G., Yataganas, X. 2002. "Veto Players and Decision-Making in the EU After Nice: Policy Stability And Bureaucratic/Judicial Discretion." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40 (2): 283-307.

Session 12
8 April
The Democracy Deficit

Required readings:

Franklin MN, Wlezien C. 1997. "The Responsive Public: Issue Salience, Policy Change, and Preferences for European Unification." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 9 (3): 347-363.

J.H.H. Weiler et al. 1995. "European Democracy and Its Critics." *West European Politics* 18 (3): 4-39.

L.-E. Cederman. 2001. "Nationalism and Bounded Integration: What it Would Take to Construct a European Demos." *European Journal of International Relations* 7 (2): 139-74 .

S. Hix. 1998. "Elections, Parties and Institutional Design: A Comparative Perspective on European Union Democracy." *West European Politics* 21 (3): 19-52.

Gabel, Matthew J. 2000. "European Integration, Voters, and National Politics." *West European Politics* 23 (4):52-72.

R.S. Katz. 2001. "Models of Democracy. Elite Attitudes and the Democratic Deficit in The European Union." *European Union Politics* 2 (1): 53-79.

Optional Readings:

Gabel, Matthew. 2003. "Public Support for the European Parliament" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 41 (2): 289-308.

Blondel J, Sinnott R, Svensson P. 1997. "Representation and Voter Participation." *European Journal of Political Research* 32 (2): 243-272.

Imig, Doug, *Contestation in the streets: European protest and the emerging Euro-polity in Marks and Steenbergen*

Norris P. 1997. "Representation and the Democratic Deficit." *European Journal of Political Research* 32 (2): 273-282.

Norris P, Franklin M. 1997. "Social representation." *European Journal of Political Research* 32 (2): 185-210.

Thomassen J, Schmitt H. 1997. "Policy Representation." *European Journal of Political Research* 32 (2): 165-184.

Session 13
15 April
Presentations

Session 14
22 April
Presentations
