

European Union Politics
Political Science, 489S
Professor Clifford J. Carrubba
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Contact Information

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Course Description

The European Union (EU) in many ways is a unique phenomenon. The member states of the EU have created a set of political and economic institutions and voluntarily ceded sovereignty to those institutions. This course is designed to provide a general understanding of this economic and political integration with a focus on three questions. First, how does the EU actually work? Second, why did the member states choose to create these ‘supranational’ institutions? And third, what does the EU really do? In answering these questions this course draws heavily on general theories of politics, rather than focusing on EU specific answers. Further, answers will be couched in terms of how the EU affects the basic currency of political systems, policy outcomes. We will see how having the EU create and implement political and economic policy actually affects policy outcomes and evaluate to what degree these outcomes deviate from the preferences of the member state governments.

While this course does not have any formal prerequisites, students will find background in certain areas useful. Most obviously, students will find introduction to comparative politics and an upper level class covering Western Europe beneficial. Not as central, but also helpful would be some familiarity with basic statistics, such as one would receive in POLS 308. Again, everything you need to know will be covered in this class, but these courses would provide useful background.

Course Requirements

Students’ performances will be evaluated through homework, a midterm, a research paper, and class participation. Homework is worth 15% of a student’s grade, the midterm is worth 20%, the paper 35%, class participation 20%, and a final debate 10%.

Class participation involves the normal components of attendance and involvement in class discussion, as well as participation in the simulation exercises and one mini in-class debate (each roughly 1/3rd of the participation grade). Following the debates students are

required to write-up short (no more than 5 pages) position papers that describe their final position on the topic of debate and why they are taking that position in light of the debate held. These papers will be graded as part of the homework assignments.

The research paper should be approximately 20 pages long, and involve research extending upon one of the class topics. Note that you are expected to engage in original research, not just summarize what others have said about a topic. The grade for the research paper can roughly be broken down as 5% initial proposal, 5% class presentation, and 25% final paper. Good sources of current events are the Economist and the Financial Times. Both sources are available online, the Economist at www.economist.com and the Financial Times at <http://news.ft.com>. The Emory library is a depository of primary EU documents and the data center has significant data resources on economic and political data as well as EU specific survey data. Staff at the library and data center can help you access these resources.

All assignments are deducted _ a letter grade for each day late. This penalty will only be waived if a valid excuse is provided prior to the due date for the assignment.

Required Readings

1. The following books will be available in the bookstore:
 - a. *The Political System of the European Union*. 1999. St. Martin's Press. By Simon Hix.
 - b. *Understanding Multivariate Research*. 2000. Westview Press. By William Berry and Mitchell Sanders.
2. The reader is available online through Euclid.

Section 1: Institutions of the European Union

Class 1: *Introduction, tools of the trade*

The first class is used to introduce students to the basic tools and concepts that will be used in this class. In particular, we will go over simple spatial modeling techniques and simple data analysis. There is no requirement that students come into this class with a background in these tools. However, several short homework assignments will be assigned to help students get comfortable with these tools at the most basic level, and an ability to understand the lessons drawn from applying these tools to the study of the European Union is expected.

Homework 1: Three problems, analyze a simple spatial model, interpret basic data results, and get familiar with web data and informational resources. Students will be assigned to work in groups of three.

Class 2: *What is the European Union and why does it exist?*

The second class dives into the study of the European Union (EU). The first part of class goes over the basic picture of what the EU is and how it came to be in a historical and factual sense. That is, we go over the historical evolution of the EU from its inception in 1957 with the Treaty of Rome to its current incarnation as of the 2000 Treaty of Nice. We look at why the founding member states chose to create the EU and why future states chose to join. We also look at the general structure of the institutions created to run the EU and how they changed over time. The second part of class asks the question, why create a set of institutions to run the EU? Issues over incomplete contracting, the prisoner's dilemma as applied to signatory cooperation over transnational law, and monitoring and enforcement of EU legislation are discussed. This meta-level analysis sets the stage for a more detailed discussion of the EU institutions in the coming weeks.

Required Readings:

Hix: Chapter 1 (1-20)

Nugent: Chapters 1-4 (1-51)

Berry and Sanders, *Understanding Multivariate Research*.

Homework 2: Class members are assigned a member state to represent. Each person's job is to research and write up a short summary (no more than 5 pages) about the state of his or her country in 1957. The summaries should include information over the type of government (e.g. presidential, parliamentary, authoritarian, etc.), the party(ies) or individual in power (e.g. single party government, coalition government, minority party government, or authoritarian leader), any relevant recent political history or current events (how soon till elections are coming, how secure the government in office is), basic economic indicators for the last 5 years (e.g. unemployment, inflation, real GDP, and real GDP growth rates), basic information over the structure of the economy (e.g. how open the economy is, how competitive the industrial sector is, how significant the agricultural sector is, and the variance in regional economies) and basic demographics (e.g. population and per capita GDP). This assignment is designed to serve two purposes. The first is to get you familiar with 'your' country for the semester's simulations, and the second is to start developing research skills. With the second feature in mind, you will be left mostly on your own to find this information; that is part of the assignment. Each person is responsible to post their summaries on learnlink by Monday at 5pm so that classmates can also become familiar with the other member states. Feel free to pool responsibility for finding the resources necessary to complete these summaries.

Class 3: *Simulation 1*

This class consists of a simulation in which the students, acting as the heads of state for their countries, negotiate the creation of the EU. Everything is up for grabs. Who chooses to sign on, what policy areas are signed onto, and what institutions, if any, are created. The first hour is spent negotiating and the next discussing the results of the negotiations. An hour is not a long time to bargain, so students should come to class with a sense (based upon their research) of what their negotiating positions are going to be.

Homework 3: Students are to write up a short discussion (no more than 5 pages) of how they think they did in the negotiations. These discussions should cover both the good and bad parts of the outcome for them as well as an overall assessment of how they did in the negotiations. Students will also be given a spacial map of the EU policy space and are asked order the member state governments in that policy space.

Class 4: *Executive Politics*

This class starts the analysis of the institutions that were created. Here we look at the Commission and its role as a bureaucratic and executive body in the EU.

Required Readings:

Hix: Chapter 2 (21-55)

M. Pollack (1997) 'Delegation, Agency, and Agenda-Setting in the European Community', *IO*, 51, 1, 99-134.

Class 5: *Legislative Politics, part 1*

This entire class is spent discussing the politics of the legislative procedures in detail. Discussion centers around four questions: 1) what the member state governments claim are the differences in the procedures; 2) how do the different procedures allocate different powers to the various legislative chambers; 3) under what conditions do the various procedures lead to different policy outcomes; 4) what are those policy outcomes; and 5) what are possible explanations for why we see the procedures we do, given this analysis.

Required Readings:

Hix: Chapter 3 (56-98)

Garrett and Tsebelis (2000), 'Legislative Politics in the European Union', *European Union Politics*, 1, 1, 9-36.

Optional Reading:

Garrett and Tsebelis (1996) 'An Institutional Critique of Intergovernmentalism', *IO*, 50, 2, 269-99.

Steunenberg (1994), 'Decision-making under Different Institutional Arrangements', *Journal of Theoretical and Institutional Economics*, no. 150, pg 642.

Homework 4: Analysis of the procedures relies heavily upon spacial modeling. Thus, this homework provides students with an opportunity to solidify the lessons from the class by analyzing a handful of potential legislative scenarios using spacial modeling. For this assignment students are required to work individually.

Class 6: *Legislative Politics, part 2*

One of the central findings of the analysis of the EU's legislative procedures is that the preferences of the European Parliament (EP) are crucial to predicting the affects of the different procedures on policy outcomes. Thus, this class focuses upon the key organizational features of the EP for the purpose of understanding the preferences and behavior of the chamber. The larger question of why this chamber is designed to operate the way it does is discussed as well.

Required Readings:

Hix: Chapter 6 (173-187).

Tsebelis and Kreppel, (1998 or 1999) 'Coalition Formation in the European Parliament,' *Comparative Political Studies*.

Van der Eijk, Franklin, and Marsh (1996), 'What Voters Teach Us about the European Union and What the European Union Teaches Us about Voters', *Electoral Studies*, vol. 159, issue 2, pp 149-166.

Carrubba and Timpone (2000), 'Strategic Voting in Federal and Quasi-Federal Systems: Evidence from European Elections', manuscript.

Homework 5a: Two teams of three students are assigned to prepare to debate the topic "Who are the masters of the treaty of Europe, the European Court of Justice or the member state governments?" After the debate a general discussion on the topic is held to synthesize what we have learned.

Homework 5b: Paper topics are due next class.

Class 7: *Judicial Politics*

Passing legislation at the EU level is one thing. Ensuring that it is obeyed is another. This class focuses on the monitoring and enforcement issues involved in running an EU superstate. In particular, we explore to what degree the ECJ truly acts as a monitoring and enforcement agency and why the member state governments would or would not want it to act that way.

Required Readings:

Hix: Chapter 4 (99-132)

Burli and Mattli (1993) 'Europe Before the Court: A Political Theory of Legal Integration', *IO*, 47, 1, 41-76.

K.J. Alter (1998) 'Who are the Masters of the Treaty? European Governments and the European Court of Justice', *IO*, 52, 1, 121-47.

Garrett, Kelemen, and Schulz (1998) 'The European Court of Justice, National Governments, and Legal Integration in the European Union', *IO*, 52, 1, 149-76.

* Paper topics due.

Homework 6: *Take-Home Midterm*

The midterm focuses on the EU institutions. Students are tested on three issues: 1) what are the EU institutions; 2) how do the institutions shape policy outcomes; and 3) why did the member state governments choose the institutions they did.

Section 2: The Public and the European Union

Class 8: *Public Preferences and Integration*

The focus of the class to date has been on understanding how the EU institutions function and in what ways those institutions serve member state government purposes. However, we know that democratic governments are at least nominally supposed to act in accordance with the wishes of their electorate. This session therefore focuses upon the questions of 1) to what degree and 2) in what ways does the EU reflect the preferences of the European public? In answering this question we will explore how public preferences over integration are formed, what the policy space of the EU is, and whether political elites take policy positions in that policy space consistent with public preferences.

Required Readings:

Hix: Chapter 5 (133-165), Chapter 6 (166-172).

Gabel (1998) 'Public Support for European Integration: An Empirical Test of Five Theories', *The Journal of Politics*, 60, 2, 333-54.

Gabel and Hix, 'Defining the EU Political Space: An Empirical Study of the European Elections Manifestos, 1979-1999', manuscript.

Carrubba (2001) 'The Electoral Connection in European Union Politics', *The Journal of Politics*, forthcoming.

Optional Reading:

Gabel and Palmer (1995), 'Understanding Variation in Public Support for European Integration', *European Journal of Political Research*.

Homework 7: Two teams of three students will be assigned to prepare to debate the topic "Why did Europe integrate?" One team takes the neofunctionalist position and one the neorealist position. After the debate a general discussion on the topic is held to synthesize what we have learned.

Section 3: European Union Policy

Class 9: *Theories of Integration*

This session the class takes a step back and re-asks the question "why did Europe integrate?" The core of the debate is whether, in some sense, the member state governments have controlled the pace and direction of integration, or whether government choices over integration have been a response to stimuli outside of their control.

Required Readings:

- Sandholz and Zysman (1989) '1992: Recasting the European Bargain', *World Politics*, 42, 1, pp 95-128.
- Moravcsik (1991) ", Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community', *IO*, 45, 1, 19-56.
- Garrett (1992) 'International Cooperation and Institutional Choice: The European Community's Internal Market', *IO*, 46, 2, 533-60.
- Pierson (1996) 'The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis', *Comparative Political Studies*, 29, 2, 123-63.

Homework 8: Work on research paper.

Class 10: *Regulatory Policy*

Having analyzed how the EU operates in detail we spend the next three sessions analyzing what the EU actually does. This class first defines what the modern regulatory state looks like and then explores to what degree the EU fulfills this definition. As usual, a central theme of the discussion will be an effort to understand why the EU regulatory state looks the way it does. Answers to this question will fundamentally rely upon the analysis of the institutions performed in the first half of the semester.

Required Readings:

- Hix: Chapter 8 (211-240)
- Weale (1996) 'Environmental Rules and Rule-Making in the European Union', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 3, 4, 549-611.
- Scharpf (1996) 'Negative and Positive Integration in the Political Economy of European Welfare States', in *Governance in the European Union*.
- Majone (1993) 'The European Community Between Social Policy and Social Regulation', *JCMS*, 31, 153-170.

*First group of presentations.

Homework 9: Work on research paper.

Class 11: *Budget Politics*

Next we perform a similar analysis of EU distributive and budgetary politics.

Required Readings:

Hix: Chapter 9 (241-277)

Paterson (1997) 'Agricultural Policy Reform in the European Community: a Three-Level Game Analysis, *IO*, 51, 1, 135-65.

Hooghe (1998) EU Cohesion and Competing Models of European Capitalism, *Journal of Common Market Studies*.

Carrubba (1997) 'Financial Transfers in the European Union, Who gets What and Why?' *Journal of Politics*.

*Second group of presentations.

Homework 10: Work on research paper.

Class 12: *Economic and Monetary Union*

And finally, we look at the political and economic issues involved in the decision to centralize monetary policy at the EU level.

Required Readings:

Hix: Chapter 10 (278-306)

Optional Reading:

Moravcsik (1998) Economic and Monetary Union: Negotiating the Maastricht Treaty, 1988-1991, *The Choice for Europe*: Cornell University Press, Ithaca NY, pp. 379-502.

*Final group of presentations.

Homework 11: Each student is responsible for thinking about their positions on Eastern Enlargement and writing a short position paper (no more than 3 pages) that will be used as their initial bargaining position for the next class. The position papers must be available by 5pm on Friday so that students have time to read each other's positions and prepare over the weekend for negotiations.

Class 13: *The Future of European Integration*

Our last discussion class turns from what the EU is to what it might become in the future. While the EU governments have invested much time, effort, and ink negotiating future widening and deepening, real progress been grudging. Only with the recently agreed upon Treaty of Nice have the governments demonstrated any real commitment to change. In this class we explore why these new changes have been so hard to agree upon and why the final bargain looks the way it does. The first half of class is a simulation in which students engage in the negotiating

process and the second half relates the results of the simulation to the readings and actual experiences of the EU in the negotiation process.

Required Readings:

Hix: Chapter 13 (357-365)

Commission of the European Community (1997) Agenda 2000 – Volume 1 – Communication: For a Stronger and Wider Union, DOC (97) 6.

(summary on: http://europa.eu.int/comm/agenda2000/rapid/over_en.htm)

Guggenbuhl (1995) 'The Political Economy of Association with Eastern Europe', in F. Laursen (ed.) *The Political Economy of European Integration*, Kluwer.

Optional Reading:

Carrubba and Volden (2001) 'Explaining Institutional Change in the European Union: What Determines the Voting Rule in the Council Of Ministers?', *European Union Politics*, forthcoming.

Homework 12: Students are to spend the week preparing to debate the topic “is there a democratic deficit in Europe?” The class will be divided into two teams and each is to develop a position on the following dimensions of the issue: 1) The role of the Commission; 2) the role of the EP; 3) the role of the Council of Ministers; 4) the link to public preferences; 4) policy outcomes; and 5) a final synthesis of these issues all put together. Each student is expected to be responsible for one aspect of the debate and argue that aspect for the team.

Class 14: *Is there a democratic deficit in Europe?*

Our final class debates the question of whether there is a democratic deficit in Europe. We close on this theme for three reasons. First, it is highly topical in the sense that there is an ongoing debate in Europe over this exact question. Many of the proposed EU-level reforms are at least publicly motivated by the argument that the reforms will reduce the democratic deficit. Second, public and elite preferences over future widening and deepening are often motivated by whether the individual perceives a democratic deficit. And finally, this theme allows us to tie together many of the themes and issues touched on in previous class sessions. Thus, this debate is both timely and will serve to synthesize the semester’s material.

* Papers Due