

*College of William & Mary
Government 330, Fall 2024*

The Politics of European Integration

Prof. Maurits van der Veen

Class

Tue/Thu. 11:00am – 12:20pm
Location: 134 Chancellors Hall
Office hours: Wed. 2-4pm & by appointment

Office

355 Chancellors Hall
757-221-3029
maurits@wm.edu

Course description

The European Union is arguably a) the most successful peace initiative in European history, b) the most developed international organization ever, and c) a crucial engine of economic growth and development in Europe. At the same time, it also often appears to be composed of individual countries more interested in their own path than in working with their fellow member states (as the cartoon on the left suggests), and more interested in looking inward than in helping other countries that are not (yet) member states (as the cartoon on the right indicates).



So: how “united” is the European Union really? And what does its presence mean for neighbouring countries that are not member states? And, taking a step back, how can we best go about answering these questions? The urgency of doing so is all the greater with Ukraine under attack from Russia, but also with voters and politicians in the United Kingdom, which recently withdrew from the EU increasingly lamenting what they lost in doing so and considering attempting to rejoin. For all that member states like to complain about the many things wrong with the EU, membership does have its privileges.

This course provides an overview of the history, the political institutions, the decision-making processes and people’s views of the European Union. The emphasis throughout will be on understanding why member states, alone or together, made particular choices about further (or

lesser) integration. By the end of the course, you will have a thorough knowledge of the European Union, as well as an understanding of how our theories of comparative and international politics help explain policy choices and developments in the EU. In addition, you'll be able to make an informed judgment about whether "ever closer union" (as called for in the EU's foundational texts) is a good or bad idea, as well as whether it is a realistic aspiration.

Course requirements

The most important requirements are: 1) do the assigned readings before class, and 2) participate in class discussions. These are also the keys to get the most out of the class. As an added incentive to do the readings before class, there will be 5 unannounced quizzes over the course of the semester, based on the readings for that day as well as on ongoing developments in Brexit and EU politics more broadly. Each quiz is worth 2% of your grade, for a total of 10%.

Participation in class (judged in terms of quality, not quantity) is worth another 15%. Class discussions are crucial opportunities to get clarifications about any questions raised in the readings, to critically analyze the material covered in the readings and lectures, and to share your own ideas and insights. Your participation will not just improve your own learning; it also helps that of all your fellow students.

Additional requirements are one midterm exam, an op-ed (short paper), and a 10-12 page final paper in lieu of a final exam. The midterm exam will be worth 25% of your total grade and will be given in class on October 31st. It will consist of a multiple choice section and an essay question. The op-ed is worth 20% of your grade and is due November 21st. In it, you will make an argument about what the 2024 European Parliament election results mean for a member state of your choice.

Finally, the paper will be worth 30% of your overall grade, and will be due on the first Monday after classes end, May 4th. It will take the form of an argument about a current issue in EU politics, such as, for instance, prospects for the euro or the likelihood of (further) disintegration. More information on both written assignments will be provided later in the semester.

You have the opportunity to boost your participation grade (which includes your overall grade for the quizzes) one full letter grade, by any combination of 8 of the following "assignments":

- Online discussion: From time to time I will post recommended readings, along with some comments, on our class discussion board. Make a thoughtful contribution (at least 100 words long) to the ensuing discussion
- Over the course of the semester, I will identify at least 5 outside speakers or events relevant to our course. Attend such an event and write a brief comment/response on the discussion board for that particular event
- Participate in the government department omnibus survey. More details will follow.

Any combination of these three options summing to 8 gets you credit. In fact, all of them are great ways to think about and apply political science issues beyond the classroom, so I highly encourage you participate in them even if you do not feel you need extra credit.

Additional policies & comments

My office hours are Wednesdays 2-4 pm or by appointment. Please do come see me if you have any questions on the reading material, the writing assignment, or the course in general. If you need to reach me to make an appointment, just email me or see me before or after class.

You need to let me know ahead of time if you cannot make a class. After-the-fact excuses for missing class on days that happened to feature a quiz are unlikely to be accepted. Similarly, if you need an extension on your written assignments, let me know in advance. Unapproved late submissions of the op-ed or the final paper will be penalized one half of a full grade per day.

Failure to complete any single component of the course (never showing up to class, missing all quizzes, missing a midterm, or not submitting a final paper) will result in failing the course — in other words, you cannot make up for it by excelling in all other components.

If you feel you may need an accommodation based on the impact of a learning, psychiatric, physical, or chronic health diagnosis, please contact the Student Accessibility Services staff at sas@wm.edu to determine what accommodations make sense and to obtain an official letter of accommodation. In addition, it would be most helpful to me if you could also reach out to me directly, so that together we can work out something that will work for you.

Finally, I take violations of academic honesty very seriously. All academic work must meet the standards set out in the Honor Code. In particular, if you cheat on a test or commit plagiarism on your paper and I discover it, I will report the violation to the Dean's office, with all the potential repercussions that implies. The work you submit must be your own — not that of a fellow student, nor that of someone whose work you found in the library or online.

Readings

There are two required titles for the course; please be sure to get the current editions, as earlier editions lack information about key recent developments.

Simon Hix and Bjørn Høyland. 2022. *The Political System of the European Union*, 4th edition. (Bloomsbury Academic Press).

Herman Lelieveldt and Sebastiaan Princen. 2023. *The politics of the European Union*. 3rd edition. (Cambridge University Press).

All additional readings are available online or through the electronic journals feature of the W&M library website. There will also be some reading assignments of brief articles on new developments in European cooperation and integration, in newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Economist*. Links will be provided on the course Blackboard site.

Calendar

Readings (marked with bullet points) are listed below the date of each class. Be sure to read them prior to our class meeting. The course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary.

I. Introduction & History

Thu. Aug. 29 *Introduction to course & key issues*

Tue. Sep. 3 *Brexit and the value of European Union membership*

- “New report reveals UK economy is almost £140billion smaller because of Brexit.” <https://www.london.gov.uk/new-report-reveals-uk-economy-almost-ps140billion-smaller-because-brexit> (also skim the actual report, which is linked in this article)

Thu. Sep. 5 *“Brexit, the movie”*

*** no class meeting ***

- Watch on Youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=44YTTYQKyJQ&t=8s> (remember this is a piece of political propaganda, so watch critically!)

Tue. Sep. 10 *Origins of European integration*

- Lelieveldt & Princen, chapter 1 (first half)

Thu. Sep. 12 *From the EEC to the EU*

- Lelieveldt & Princen, chapter 1 (second half)

II. Theorizing European Integration

Tue. Sep. 17 *Thinking about European integration theoretically*

- L&P, chapter 2
- Manners, Ian, and Philomena Murray. 2016. “The end of a noble narrative? European integration narratives after the Nobel Peace Prize.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54(1): 185-202.

Thu. Sep. 19 *Foundational theories of European integration*

- Moravcsik, Andrew. 2018. “Preferences, power and institutions in 21st-century Europe.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(7): 1648-1674.

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

Tue. Sep. 24 ***Constructing Europe***

- McNamara, Kathleen R. 2018. “Authority under Construction: The European Union in Comparative Political Perspective.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(7):1510-1525.
- Hooghe, Liesbet & Gary Marks. 2019. Grand theories of European integration in the twenty-first century, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26:8

Thu. Sep. 26 ***Deconstructing Europe?***

- Jones, Erik. “Towards a theory of disintegration.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(3): 440-451.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank. 2018. “Brexit: Differentiated disintegration in the European Union.” *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25(8): 1154-1173.

Tue. Oct. 1 ***The impact of crises***

- Jones, Erik. Dan Kelemen, and Sophie Meunier. 2021. “Failing Forward? Crises and Patterns of European Integration” *Journal of European Public Policy* 28(10): 1519-1536.
- Anghel, Veronica, and Erik Jones. 2023. “Is Europe really forged through crisis? Pandemic EU and the Russia-Ukraine war.” *Journal of European Public Policy*, 30(4): 766-786.

Thu. Oct. 3 ***Popular narratives***

- De Vries, Catherine E. 2023. “How foundational narratives shape European Union politics.” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 61(4):867-881.
- Beaudonnet, Laurie, Céline Belot, Hélène Caune, Anne-Marie Houde, and Damien Pennetreau. 2023. “Narrating Europe: (Re-)constructed and contested visions of the European project in Citizens’ Discourse.” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 61(1):161-178.

III. Institutions

Tue. Oct. 8 ***Introduction: How do institutions matter?***

- L & P, ch. 3: pp. 46-49.
- Caporaso, James. 2018. “Europe’s Triple Crisis and the Uneven Role of Institutions: The Euro, Refugees and Brexit.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(6): 1345-1361.
- Schmidt, Vivien. 2018. “Rethinking EU Governance: From ‘Old’ to ‘New’ Approaches to Who Steers Integration.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(7): 1544-1561.

Thu. Oct. 10 *Fall break*

Tue. Oct. 15 ***The executive branch***

- H&H, chapter 2
- Wonka, A. (2008). Decision-making dynamics in the European Commission: Partisan, national or sectoral? *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15, 1145-1163.

Thu. Oct. 17 ***The legislative branch***

- H&H, chapter 3
- Hobolt, Sara B. and Christopher Wratil (2020) Contestation and responsiveness in EU Council deliberations, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 27:3, 362-381.

Tue. Oct. 22 ***The judicial branch***

- H&H, chapter 4
- Blauburger, Michael & Susanne K. Schmidt (2017) The European Court of Justice and its political impact, *West European Politics*, 40:4, 907-918.

Thu. Oct. 24 ***Legislation and decision-making***

- L&P, chapter 4
- Laloux, Thomas and Tom Delreux (2021) The origins of EU legislation: agenda-setting, intra-institutional decision-making or interinstitutional negotiations? *West European Politics*, 44:7, 1555-1576.

Tue. Oct. 29 ***Parliamentary debates***

- Winzen, Thomas, Rik de Ruiter, and Jofre Rocabert. 2018. "Is parliamentary attention to the EU strongest when it is needed the most? National parliaments and the selective debate of EU policies." *European Union Politics*, 19(3): 481-501.
- Lehmann, Felix. 2022. "Talking about Europe? Explaining the salience of the European Union in the plenaries of 17 national parliaments during 2006-2019." *European Union Politics* 24(2).

Thu. Oct. 31 **Midterm exam**

Tue. Nov. 5 ***Election day (no class)***

IV. People and the EU

Thu. Nov. 7 ***Public opinion***

- L&P, chapter 5
- H&H, chapter 5

Tue. Nov. 12 ***Parties & elections***

- L&P, chapter 7
- H&H, chapter 6

Thu. Nov. 14 ***What does the EU mean to its citizens?***

- Anderson, Christopher, and Jason Hecht. 2018. “The preference for Europe: Public opinion about European integration since 1952.” *European Union Politics*, 19(4): 617-638.
- Reinl, Ann-Kathrin, and Daniela Braun. 2023. “Who holds the Union together? Citizens’ preferences for European Union cohesion in challenging times.” *European Union Politics*, 24(2): 390-409.

Tue. Nov. 19 ***Transnational solidarity***

- Papageorgiou, Acchillefs, and Walteri Immonen. 2023. “How supranational institutions benefit from crises: Member states’ solidarity and the EU’s image during the COVID-pandemic.” *European Union Politics*, 24(3): 601-621.
- Katsanidou, Alexia, Ann-Kathrin Reinl, and Christina Eder. 2023. “Together we stand? Transnational solidarity in the EU in times of crises.” *European Union Politics*, 23(1): 66-78.

VI. EU in action / inaction

Thu. Nov. 21 ***Policy implementation***

Op-ed due

- L&P, chapter 11.
- Waters, Kari. 2024. “The EU Commission: Supplying enforcement and demanding compliance.” *European Union Politics* 25(2): 396-421.

Tue. Nov. 26 ***Enlargement*** (no in-person class; discussion on Slack)

- Economides, Spyros, Kevin Featherstone, and Tom Hunter. 2024. “The changing discourses of EU enlargement: A longitudinal analysis of national parliamentary debates.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 62(1): pp. 168-185.
- Karjalainen, Tyne. 2023. “EU enlargement in wartime Europe: Three dimensions and scenarios.” *Contemporary Social Science*, 18(5): 637-656.

Thu. Nov. 28 ***Thanksgiving Break: no class***

Tue. Dec. 3 ***Crises***

- Nicoli, Francesco, and Jonathan Zeitlin. 2024. "Introduction: Escaping the politics trap? EU integration pathways beyond the polycrisis." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 31(10).
- Hoeffler, Catherine, Stéphanie C. Hofmann, and Frédéric Mérand. 2024. "The polycrisis and EU security and defence competences." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 31(10): 3224-3248.

Thu. Dec. 5 ***The future of the EU***

- H&H, chapter 13.
- Goldeberg, Andreas C., and Lukas Benedikt Hoffmann. 2024. "Peoples' perspectives on the 'Future of Europe' — A comparative study from within and beyond the European Union." *European Union Politics*, 25(1).

Mon. Dec. 9 **Paper due**