



UCD SCHOOL OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS

POL50020

**Governance of the European Union:
Policymaking in Hard Times**

Lecturer

Dr. Aidan Regan

Room:

E-mail:

Office Hours:

Course Timetable

Seminars will be held from 2-4pm on Thursdays in Room G317 of the Newman Building.

Description

This seminar introduces PhD researchers to contending positive and normative theories on European integration from a global perspective. The first part of the course focuses on international co-operation and poses the question: what is globalization? Does it require effective international governance beyond the nation-state? The second part of the course sets up a particular puzzle: why is regional co-operation in the European Union (EU) so much deeper than anywhere else in the world? Using the EU as an international case-study we will examine the contending theories that seek to explain the conditions under which states transfer sovereignty to international organizations. We then examine the politics and institutional process of multi-level governance within the European Union. In this part of the course we are particularly interested in assessing whether supranational actors such as the European Commission, the European Court of Justice (ECJ) and European Central Bank (ECB) acquire power at the expense of the state? We conclude by reflecting on democratic legitimacy and problem-solving capacity of the EU in the aftermath of the Eurozone crisis.

This is a required module for UCD's Thematic PhD in European Law and Governance and an elective for UCD's PhD in Politics and International Relations and Trinity College's PhD in Political Science. Doctoral students from other programmes are also welcome to enroll.

Intended learning outcomes

By the end of the term, students should be familiar with the major theories of international and European governance and with the strengths and weaknesses of some empirical research that links these theories to actual policy issues.

Assessment

All researchers are expected to actively participate in each seminar and to make informed contributions to discussion of the assigned readings. Each week we will assign 3/4 readings which are distributed among researchers for detailed critical review. Each seminar is 2 hours and structured as follows:

- 40 min per reading (10 min introduction by lecturer, 10 min critical review by researcher, 20 min discussion) x 3/4

Assessment will be based on three elements. Two critical response papers on assigned readings (25% each) and a research paper (50%) up to 4,000 words in length. The research paper should identify a significant gap or puzzle in current understandings of European and/or international integration, articulate an empirically-researchable question that addresses this gap/puzzle, propose hypotheses that might explain the pattern/process/outcome in question, analyse the observable implications, and present a preliminary empirical response (based on qualitative or quantitative data) to the research question. The topic of this exercise may be related to a doctoral thesis in progress. The paper must be submitted by March 28th.

Readings

Readings will be drawn from a wide range of books and journals. All required readings must be completed before the seminar for which they are assigned. Journal articles are accessible on-line through the UCD library's e-journals catalogue. Other readings are available on designated websites or the module's Blackboard site.

Disability Support Services

Students whose disabilities, medical conditions or learning difficulties (such as dyslexia) have been recognized and documented by UCD's Disability Support Services and who expect that their disability will affect the conditions of their assessment in this course are encouraged to contact Dr. Regan as soon as possible. Others who suspect that they may have such a disability are encouraged to contact the DSS office as soon as possible. For more information, see <http://www.ucd.ie/disability/index.html>.

Academic Standards

(1) The School's policy on standard academic practice (i.e., avoiding plagiarism) will be strictly enforced. A copy of the policy is available on the module's Blackboard site. (2) All written work submitted for this module should also conform to Harvard style (see guide on UCD Library website) for citations.

Seminar Plan:

Governance in a Globalised World

Week 1 Why does globalisation require effective transnational governance?

International Co-Operation

Week 2 What explains the high-level of co-operation in Europe?

Week 3 In what respect is the multi-level European governance regime different?

Problem-Solving Capacity

Week 4 Who determines who gets what in everyday decision-making?

Week 5 Does this type of governance have a neoliberal bias?

Democracy and Legitimacy

Week 6 Is the response to the Euro crisis undermining democracy?

Background reading:

If you are not familiar with the background of EU history and institutions it is essential that you read/browse/skim some of the following books:

- Desmond Dinan (2004). *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*. Houndmills. Palgrave Macmillan.

This is a useful introduction to the history of European integration since the end of WW2 until the late 1990's. It is a narrative and should not be considered a definitive account.

- Andrew Moravcsik (1998). *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power. From Rome to Maastricht*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

The argument of this book is simple but deeply contested: European integration is the outcome of rational decisions by national leaders in response to economic interests.

- Fritz Scharpf (1999). *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?* Oxford University Press.

The argument of this book is that there is a growing asymmetry between negative integration (market-making) and positive integration (market-correcting) in the European Union.

- Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks (2001). *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*. Roman and Littlefield.

This book attempts to move beyond neofunctional and intergovernmental theories by developing a 'multi-level governance' framework. It captures the dynamism of integration.

- Wallace, H., Pollack, M. and Young, A. (2010). *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Oxford University Press, Oxford-New York, Sixth Edition.

This is a very useful collection on the core actors, policy processes and institutions of the EU.

Internet Links

<http://www.cvce.eu> (A great collection of documents, sound files, videos and other data on European integration history).

http://europa.eu/abc/history/index_en.htm (The EU's own take on its history).

<http://aei.pitt.edu> (An electronic depository for research material on the topic of European integration).

<http://www.unizar.es/euroconstitucion/Home.htm> (The website provides important documents on the preparation, negotiation, and ratification of important European treaties).

<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/index.htm> (A search engine for European Union primary and secondary law).

http://europa.eu/about-eu/institutions-bodies/index_en.htm (information on European institutions).

Week 1: Europeanization and the Paradox of Globalization

Seminar questions:

What is globalization? Does it require international governance? How does this relate different conceptions of Europeanization?

Required readings:

Dani Rodrick. (2000). How Far will International Economic Integration Go?. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 14(1), 177-186.

Robert Keohane (2001). Governance in a Partially Globalized World. Presidential address, American Political Science Association, 2000. *American Political Science Review*, 95(1), 1-13.

Fritz Scharpf (2011). Monetary Union, Fiscal Crisis and the Pre-emption of Democracy. *LEQS Paper*, (36).
<http://www.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/LEQS/LEQSPaper36>

Further readings:

Peter Hall and David Soskice (2001). Varieties of Capitalism. Oxford University Press – Introduction PP 1-66. (*Not easy reading – but at least skim*)

Dani Rodrik (2012). The Globalization Paradox. Democracy and the Future of the World Economy. New York, NY: W.W Norton & Co.

Joseph S. Jr Nye & John Donahue (2000). *Governance in a globalizing world*. Brookings Institution Press.

Helen Milner (1991). The Assumption of Anarchy in International Politics: A Critique. *Review of International Studies* 17, 67-85

Alexander Wendt (1992). Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics. *International Organization* 46:2, 391-425

John W. Meyer, John Boli, George M. Thomas and Francisco O. Ramirez (1997). "World Society and the Nation-State." *American Journal of Sociology* 103:1, 144-181

David A. Lake (2008). "The State and International Relations," in Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds., *Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (Oxford), 41-61

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore (2008). "From International Relations to Global Society," in Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds., *Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (Oxford), 62-83

Week2: Theories of European Integration and Regional Co-operation

Seminar questions:

Why is there so much supranationalism in the European Union? What theories can help us explain this level of integration?

Required readings:

Andrew Moravcsik (1993). Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31, 473-524

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

Mark Pollack (2005). Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity, or Experiment in New Governance? *Annual Political Science Review* 8, 357-398.

Further readings:

Giandomenico Majone (1994). The Rise of the Regulatory State in Europe. *West European Politics* 17 (3): 77-101

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

Jeffrey W. Legro (1996). Culture and Preferences in the International Cooperation Two-Step. *American Political Science Review* 90:1, 118-137

James D. Fearon (1998). Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation. *International Organization*, 52:2, 269-305

Thomas Risse (2000). Let's Argue! Communicative Action in World Politics. *International Organization* 54:1, 1-39

Alastair Iain Johnston (2001). Treating International Institutions as Social Environments. *International Studies Quarterly* 45:4, 487-515

Arthur Stein (1982). 'Coordination and Collaboration: Regimes in an Anarchic World.' *International Organization* 36:2, 299-324.

George W. Downs, David M. Rocke, et al. (1996). Is the Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation? *International Organization* 50:3, 379-406.

Andrew Moravcsik (2000). 'The Origins of Human Rights Regimes: Democratic Delegation in Postwar Europe.' *International Organization* 54:2, 217-52

Week 3: National Models of Capitalism in a Multi-Level Polity

Seminar questions:

Does the supranational European polity really transcend the nation-state? What are the implications of European integration for national varieties of capitalism? Is integration a purely technical or political process of decision-making?

Required readings:

Fritz Scharpf (1999). *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?* Oxford University Press. Chapters 2-4.

Martin Hoepner & Armin Schafer (2010). A New Phase of European Integration: Organized Capitalisms in Post-Ricardian Europe, *West European Politics*, 33:2 344-368

Helen Callaghan (2010) Beyond Methodological Nationalism: How Multi-Level Governance Affects the Clash of Capitalisms, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17:4, 564-580.

Further readings:

Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2001). *Multi-level governance and European integration*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2003). *Unraveling the Central State, But How? Types of Multi-level Governance* (Vol. 97, p. 2). Institut für Höhere Studien.

Gary Marks, Liesbet Hooghe, and Kermit Blank (1996). "European Integration from the 1980s: State-Centric v. Multi-level Governance." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 34.3 (1996): 341-378.

The Disparity of European Integration: Revisiting Neo-functionalism in Honour of Ernst Haas. *Special Issue of European Public Policy*, 12 (2) 2005

Alec Stone Sweet and Wayne Sandholtz (1997). European integration and supranational governance. *Journal of European Public Policy* 4:3, 297-317

Jonathan B. Slapin (2009). Exit, voice, and cooperation: Bargaining power in international organizations and federal systems. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 21:2, 187-211

Frank Schimmelfennig (2006). The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union. *International Organization* 55:1, 47-80

Ulrich Sedelmeier (2005). "Eastern enlargement: Risk, rationality, and role-compliance." In Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, eds: *The Politics of European Union Enlargement*. London: Routledge, 120-141

Week 4: Decision-making, Institutions and Law (Dr. James Cross)

Seminar questions:

What can we learn from institutional theories in understanding the processes of legislative decision-making? Which is more convincing in explaining legislative outcomes in the European Union?

Required readings:

Pollack, M.A (1996). The new institutionalism and EC governance: the promise and limits of institutional analysis. *Governance*, 9(4), pp.429–458.

Tsebelis, George and G. Garrett (2000). Legislative Politics in the European Union, *European Union Politics* 1(1).

Checkel, J.T (2005). International institutions and socialization in Europe: Introduction and framework. *International Organization*, pp.801–826.

Lewis, J (2003). Institutional Environments And Everyday EU Decision Making: Rationalist or Constructivist? *Comparative Political Studies*, 36(1-2), pp.97–124.

Further readings:

Tsebelis, G. et al. (2001). Legislative Procedures in the European Union: An Empirical Analysis. *British Journal of Political Science*. pp.1–29.

Lewis, J. (2005). The Janus face of Brussels: socialization and everyday decision making in the European Union. *International Organization*, 59(04), pp.937–971.

Bailer, S., (2004). Bargaining Success in the European Union: The Impact of Exogenous and Endogenous Power Resources. *European Union Politics*, 5(1), pp.99–123.

Konig, T. & Poter, M., (2001). Examining the EU Legislative Process: The Relative Importance of Agenda and Veto Power. *European Union Politics*, 2(3), pp.329–351.

Crombez, C., (1996). Legislative procedures in the European Community. *British Journal of Political Science*, 26(02), pp.199–228.

Crombez, C., (2000). Spatial models of logrolling in the European Union. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 16(4), pp.707–737.

Crombez, C., (1997). The co-decision procedure in the European Union. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, pp.97–119.

Hosli, M.O., (1995). The balance between small and large: effects of a double-majority system on voting power in the European Union. *International Studies Quarterly*, pp.351–370.

- König, T. et al., (2007). Bicameral Conflict Resolution in the European Union: An Empirical Analysis of Conciliation Committee Bargains. *British Journal of Political Science*, 37(02), p.281.
- Warntjen, A., (2010). Between bargaining and deliberation: decision-making in the Council of the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17(5), pp.665–679.
- Cross, J.P. (2013). Everyone's a winner (almost): Bargaining success in the Council of Ministers of the European Union. *European Union Politics*, 14(1), pp.70–94.
- Christiansen, T., Jørgensen, K.E. & Wiener, A., (1999). The social construction of Europe. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6(4), pp.528–544. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/135017699343450>.
- Hagemann, S. & Hoyland, B., (2010). Bicameral politics in the European Union. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48(4), pp.811–833.
- Thomson, R., (2011). *Resolving Controversy in the European Union*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thomson, R. & Hosli, M.O., (2006). *Explaining legislative decision-making in the European Union*. In R. Thomson et al., eds. *The European Union Decides*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1–24.
- Thomson, R. et al., (2006). *The European Union Decides*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ringe, N. (2005). Policy preference formation in legislative politics: Structures, actors, and focal points. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(4), pp.731–745.

Week 5: Political Economy, Distribution and Problem-Solving Capacity

Seminar questions:

Is there an asymmetry between negative and positive integration? Where does market bias originate? Is it possible to have a single currency without a nation-state?

Required readings:

Paul De Grauwe (2006). What have we Learnt about Monetary Integration since the Maastricht Treaty? *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44 (4): 711---730.

Fritz Scharpf (2010). The asymmetry of European Integration, or why the EU cannot be a social market economy? *Socio-Economic Review* 8, 211-250

Höpner, M., & Schäfer, A. (2012). Embeddedness and Regional Integration: Waiting for Polanyi in a Hayekian Setting. *International Organization*, 66(3).

Further readings:

Paul De Grauwe (2013). The Political Economy of the Euro. *American Review of Political Science* Vol. 16: 153-170.

Jeffrey Friedman Ronald Rogowski. 1996. The Impact of the International Economy on National Policies: An Analytical Overview. In *Internationalization and Domestic Politics*, edited by Robert O. Keohane and Helen V. Milner. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ruggie, John G. (1998). Globalization and the Embedded Liberalism Compromise: The End of an Era? In *Internationale Wirtschaft, nationale Demokratie. Herausforderungen für die Demokratietheorie*, edited by Wolfgang Streeck, 79---98. Frankfurt: Campus.

Beitz, Charles R. (1999). Review: International Liberalism and Distributive Justice: A Survey of Recent Thought. *World Politics* 51(2): 269---296.

Giandomenico Majone (2005). Dilemmas of European integration. The ambiguities and pitfalls of integration by stealth. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Economic Governance in EMU Revisited, special issue of *Journal Common Market Studies* 44 (4): 669---864

Week 6: Democracy, Legitimacy and the Euro Crisis

Seminar questions:

Does Europe suffer from a democratic deficit? If so, where does it come from? Has this become exacerbated in the aftermath of the Euro crisis?

Margaret Thatcher's Bruges Speech, 20th September 1988:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wkRwMFy0CVM>

Required readings:

Andrew Moravcsik (2002). In Defence of the 'Democratic Deficit'. Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40 (4):603-624

Simon Hix and Andreas Follesdal (2006). Why there is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44 (3): 533-562.

Jürgen Habermas (2012). The Crisis of the European Union in the Light of a Constitutionalization of International Law. *The European Journal of International Law* Vol. 23 no. 2.

Further readings:

Fritz Scharpf (2013). *Political Legitimacy in a Non-Optimal Currency Area*. MPIfG Discussion Paper 13/15

Larry Siedentop. 2001. *Democracy in Europe*. New York: Columbia University Press, chap. 11.

Rittberger, Berthold, and Frank Schimmelfennig. 2006. Explaining the constitutionalization of the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy* 13 (8): 1148---1167.

Hix, Simon. 2008. *What's Wrong With the European Union and How to Fix it*. London: Polity Press.

Robert Keohane, Stephen Macedo, and Andrew Moravcsik (2009). Democracy and Enhancing Multilateralism. *International Organization* 63 (1): 1---31.

Philippe Schmitter (2000). *How to Democratize the European Union. And Why Bother*. London: Rowman & Littlefield, chap. 1.