

PAL-263
The European Union: Politics and Public Policy
Spring, 2002
Kennedy School of Government

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T-Th, 1:10-2:30, (optional module:
Spring Break (March 25-29) at the Ecole
Nationale d'Administration (ENA) in Paris)

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Course Description

This course provides an introduction to the internal dynamics of policy-making in the European Union, focusing on the interaction of the union with its national and regional governments. How does the EU make, or influence the making of, public policy? Which actors most influence the design of these policies? Is this distribution of political power justifiable according to principles of democracy? We examine the respective roles of (and conflicts among) the Commission, Court, and Parliament, as well as the Council of Ministers. We then consider ways in which various political actors can exert power over these formal institutions through an examination of progress in several domains of policy-making central to the EU's construction: economic policy (the single market and the common currency); social and redistributive policy (including the Common Agricultural Policy and the structural funds); policies toward the external world (trade, foreign and security policy, and enlargement); and citizenship and security policy. Finally, we consider the "democratic deficit" from a variety of analytical and normative frameworks.

The course includes an optional module component (also open to students of PAL-262), comprising an intensive week-long session held at the Ecole Nationale d'Administration (ENA) in Paris, France, during spring break. ENA and the Kennedy School have developed a program to bring together policymakers from across the European Union who have been active in the problem of reforming the political economy in the context of different national institutions, and during this week we will discuss with them past and future reform episodes in both national and supra-national contexts.

Audience

The course is open to all students with an interest in the politics of the European Union; there are no prerequisites. The course is complementary to BGP-405 (The European Union: Political and Economic Aspects), which is offered in the fall semester.

Requirements

Throughout the semester, students will be designated to initiate discussions by making *short* presentations that highlight the salient issues and points of contention from the reading. All students are expected to have completed the reading and to be prepared to engage in discussion at every class meeting.

Students are expected to write four short (500-750 word) papers over the course of the semester, in which they critically review the readings, and the concepts used therein, for a given class. These papers must be sent by email to Michael Blackmore (Michael_Blackmore@harvard.edu) by 3:00 PM the day before class (ie, 3:00 on Monday for Tuesday's class, 3:00 on Wednesday for Thursday's class). Students must write one paper for each of the four sections of the syllabus (institutions, theories, policy areas, democracy). Papers may not be turned in after class—those who fail to turn in the papers before a class must write about a subsequent topic, and will have a late penalty imposed.

At the conclusion of the semester, students will complete a longer (3000-5000 word) briefing paper analyzing prospective developments over the next five years in a given area, based on past history as well as the theoretical material we have covered in the course. Everyone must submit a one page prospectus, outlining the research question and strategy for the longer paper; this memo is due in class on March 14.

In order to receive an additional module credit, those students going to Paris will prepare a longer final paper (4500-6500 words). They will also be designated as scribes for a given session at the ENA, and must send their notes in electronic form to Professor Culpepper, within three days of returning from Paris.

The final grade will be determined as follows:

- participation: 25 percent;
- short discussion papers: 40 percent (4percent for the first; 12 percent for each of the last three);
- research prospectus: 5 percent
- final paper: 30 percent

Extraordinary performance in any one of these areas may be grounds for having it counted more heavily in the overall grade.

Materials

The three required texts of this class are available in paperback at the Coop:

Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union* (St. Martin's Press, 1999)

Helen Wallace and William Wallace, *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 4th Edition (Oxford University Press, 2000)

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

Additional readings for the course are available in a packet at the Course Materials Office.

Class Outline

- I. Introduction: The Institutions of the EU
- II. In Whose Interest is Policy Made? Theories of Policymaking
- III. Policy Areas
- IV. Democracy, Legitimacy, and the European Union

Introduction: The Institutions of the EU

Thursday, January 31: **The Institutional Context**

Wallace and Wallace, chapter 1 (pp. 1-38).

Tuesday, February 5: **The Dual Executive: Commission and Council**

John McCormick, *Understanding the European Union*, pp. 87-100, 113-119.

Hix ch. 2 (pp. 21-54).

Thursday, February 7: **The European Parliament**

McCormick, pp. 101-106.

Hix, ch. 3 (pp. 56-98).

George Tsebelis and Geoffrey Garrett, "Legislative Politics in the European Union" available at <http://www.sagepub.co.uk/journals/details/issue/sample/a010841.pdf>

Tuesday, February 12: **The European Court**

McCormick, pp. 107-113.

Burley and Mattli (reprinted in Brent Nelsen and Alexander Stubb, eds., *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, 2nd Edition, 1998, Lynne Rienner Publishers), pp. 249-270.

Hix, ch 4 (pp. 99-132).

In Whose Interest is Policy Made? Theories of Policymaking

Thursday, February 14: **The Uses of Theory in the European Union**

Hix, ch. 1 (pp. 1-17).

Wallace and Wallace, ch. 2-3 (pp. 39-80).

Tuesday, February 19: **Intergovernmentalism**

Stanley Hoffmann, "The Nation-State: Obstinate or Obsolete?" (reprinted in Brent Nelsen and Alexander Stubb, eds., *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*, 2nd Edition, 1998, Lynne Rienner Publishers), pp. 157-171.

Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*, Cornell University Press, 1998, pp. 18-77.

Thursday, February 21: **New Institutionalism**

Paul Pierson, "The Path to European Integration: A Historical-Institutionalist Analysis," *Comparative Political Studies* 29:2, pp. 123-163.

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

Tuesday, February 26: **Multi-Level Governance and Interest Representation**

Gary Marks, Liesbet Hooghe, and Kermit Blank, "European Integration from the 1980s: State-Centric vs. Multi-Level Governance" in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 34:3, 341-378, 1996.

Fritz Scharpf, "The Joint Decision Trap: Lessons from German Federalism and European Integration," *Public Administration* 66:3, pp. 239-278, 1988.

Hix, ch 7 (pp. 188-209).

Thursday, February 28: **The Role of the Court**

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

Karen Alter, "Who are the Masters of the Treaty? European Governments and the European Court of Justice," *International Organization* 52 (1): 125-152, 1998.

Tuesday, March 5: **Parties and Political Cleavages in the EU**

Hix, chs 5 and 6 (pp. 133-187).

Policy Areas

Thursday, March 7: **Single Market**

Wallace and Wallace, ch. 4, (pp. 85-114).

Hix, ch. 8, (pp. 211-240).

Tuesday, March 12: **Economic and Monetary Union**

Wallace and Wallace, ch. 6, (pp.149-178).

Hix, ch. 10, (pp.278-306).

Thursday, March 14: **Guest Lecture: Hussein Kassim, Birkbeck College, University of London, speaking about Industrial Policy in the EU**

PROSPECTUS DUE IN CLASS

Tuesday, March 19: **Social Policy**

Wolfgang Streeck, "From Market Making to State Building: Reflections on the Political Economy of European Social Policy," in Pierson and Leibfried, eds., *European Social Policy: Between Fragmentation and Integration*, Brookings, 1995, pp 389-431.

Wallace and Wallace, ch. 10, (pp. 267-292).

Thursday, March 21: **Enlargement**

Wallace and Wallace, chapter 16, pp. 427-460.

Schimmelfennig, Frank. 1999. "Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Decision to Expand to the East." *International Organization* 55:1, 2001, pp. 47-80.

Spring Break: ENA Module

Tuesday, April 2: **Trade Policy**
Wallace and Wallace, ch. 14, (pp. 373-400).
Brian Hanson, “What Happened to Fortress Europe? External Trade Policy Liberalization in the EU,” *International Organization* 52 :1, 1998, pp. 55-86.
Hix, pp. 331-341.

Thursday, April 4: **Common Foreign and Security Policy**
Wallace and Wallace, ch. 17, (pp. 461-491).
Philip Gordon, “Europe’s Uncommon Foreign Policy,” *International Security*, 22:3, Winter 1997/98, pp. 74-101.
Hix, pp. 341-356.

Tuesday, April 9: **Citizenship and Security Policies**
Wallace and Wallace, ch. 18, (pp. 493-519).
Hix, ch. 11, (pp. 307-330).

Democracy, Legitimacy, and the European Union

Thursday, April 11: **A Regulatory State?**
Giandomenico Majone, 1997, “From the Positive to the Regulatory State: Causes and Consequences of Changes in the Mode of Governance,” *Journal of Public Policy*, 17:2, pp. 139-167.
Giandomenico Majone, 1999, “The Regulatory State and its Legitimacy Problems,” *West European Politics*, 22:1, pp. 1-24.

Tuesday, April 16: **Capacity and Legitimacy: Scharpf I**
Fritz Scharpf, *Governing in Europe*, chs. 2-4 (pp. 43-155).

Thursday, April 18: **How the EU can be Legitimate: Scharpf II**
Fritz Scharpf, *Governing in Europe*, ch. 5 and conclusion (pp. 156-204).

Tuesday, April 23: **The “Constitution” of Europe**
Manfred Streit and Werner Mussler, 1995. “The Economic Constitution of Europe: From ‘Rome’ to ‘Maastricht.’” *European Law Journal* 1:5-30.
Weiler, J.H.H. 2000. “Federalism and Constitutionalism: Europe’s Sonderweg.” Harvard University, Jean Monnet Papers, nr. 10/00. Located at <http://www.jeanmonnetprogram.org/papers/00/001001.html>

Thursday, April 25: **Class Exercise: The Constitutional Convention**
Readings TBA.

Tuesday, April 30:

Deliberative Democracy and the EU

Christian Joerges and Juergen Neyer, 1997, "Transforming Strategic Interaction into Deliberative Problem-Solving: European Comitology in the Foodstuffs Sector," *Journal of European Public Policy*, 4: 609-625.

Joshua Cohen and Charles Sabel, "Directly Deliberative Polyarchy," Manuscript, Located at <http://www.law.columbia.edu/sabel/papers/DDP.html>

Thursday, May 2:

Class Summary

Thursday, May 23 (by 5:00 PM): **FINAL PAPERS DUE IN MY OFFICE (T-456)**