

*College of William & Mary
Government 330, Spring 2020*

The Politics of European Integration
post-COVID update version

Prof. Maurits van der Veen

Class

Tue/Thu. 9:30-10:50

Location: 134 Tyler Hall

Office hours: Wed. 2-4pm & by appointment

Office

355 Tyler Hall

757-221-3029

maurits@wm.edu

Course description

The 2016 Brexit referendum in the United Kingdom highlighted many of questions still confounding observers of European integration even after more than 60 years of development. The two cartoons below illustrate opposing sides of the referendum campaign:



So: does disaster threaten the EU from all sides, while a glorious dawn awaits those who abandon ship? Or does the 19th century loom “dead ahead” for those who leave the EU? In other words, what does the EU really mean to its members? How badly do they need it (if at all)? And, taking a step back, how can we best go about answering these questions?

The urgency of doing so is all the greater now that the United Kingdom is indeed set to leave the European Union just one week into our class! What is likely to happen to the United Kingdom once it leaves? And what will happen to the EU?

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.

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 March 26th~~ **as a take-home exam to be done April 9th**. It will consist of a ~~brief multiple-choice section, a short answer section, and an~~ **two essay questions**.

The op-ed is worth 20% of your grade and is due March 5th. In it, you will make an argument about the implications of Brexit for a continuing 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, including, but not limited to, 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
- **Recommended readings: I have added a number of recommended readings and will make Blackboard discussion sections for each. Do the reading and respond to the prompt associated with the reading on Blackboard**
- 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~~ **to be arranged as zoom meetings**. 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 three required titles for the course.

(Note that the third book exists under two different titles; either one is fine):

- Nelsen, Brent F., and Alexander C-G. Stubb, eds. 2014. *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. (4th edition) Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Olsen, Jonathan, and John McCormick. 2016. *The European Union: Politics and Policies*. (6th edition). New York: Routledge.
- O'Toole, Fintan. 2019. *Heroic Failure: Brexit and the Politics of Pain*. London: Apollo. Republished in the United States as *The Politics of Pain: Postwar England the Rise of Nationalism*. New York: Liveright.

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. Jan. 23 *Introduction to course & key issues*

Tue. Jan. 28 *“Brexit, the movie”*

- Read the BBC’s “Brexit: All you need to know about the UK leaving the EU.”
<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887>

Thu. Jan. 30 *From past to present*

- Olsen & McCormick, chapter 1

Tue. Feb. 4 *Origins of European integration*

- Olsen & McCormick, chapter 2
- Nelsen & Stubb — Visions of a United Europe: Monnet & De Gaulle

Thu. Feb. 6 *The EEC and enlargement*

- Olsen & McCormick, chapter 3, pp. 52-64 only
- Nelsen & Stubb — Visions of a United Europe: Single European Act, Thatcher

Tue. Feb. 11 *Consolidation & crisis*

- Olsen & McCormick, chapter 4
- Nelsen & Stubb — Visions of a United Europe: Delors, Maastricht Treaty

II. Theories of European Integration

Thu. Feb. 13 *Thinking about European integration theoretically*

- 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.
- Nelsen & Stubb — “February 15, or what binds European Together”
- Nelsen & Stubb — “Reflections on the Crisis in Europe”

Tue. Feb. 18 ***Functionalism and Neofunctionalism***

- Nelsen & Stubb — Deutsch, Haas
- Nelsen & Stubb: Stone Sweet & Sandholtz. “Integration, Supranational Governance, and the Institutionalization of the European Polity.”

Thu. Feb. 20 ***Intergovernmentalism and Liberal Intergovernmentalism***

- Nelsen & Stubb: Andrew Moravcsik. “The Choice for Europe.”
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 2018. “Preferences, power and institutions in 21st-century Europe.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(7): 1648-1674.
- *Recommended*: Nelsen & Stubb: Stanley Hoffmann. “Obstinate or Obsolete?”

Tue. Feb. 25 ***Constructivism***

- Nelsen & Stubb: Parsons. “The institutional construction of interests.”
- McNamara, Kathleen R. 2018. “Authority under Construction: The European Union in Comparative Political Perspective.” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(7):1510-1525.

Thu. Feb. 27 ***Review & broader theoretical debates***

- Nelsen & Stubb: Hooghe & Marks
- Jones, Erik. “Towards a theory of disintegration.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(3): 440-451.

III. Institutions

Tue. Mar. 3 ***Introduction: How do institutions matter?***

- 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. Mar. 5 ***The Commission***

Op-ed due

- Olsen & McCormick, chapter 5
- Van der Veer, Reinout, and Markus Haverland. 2018. “Bread and butter or bread and circuses? Politicisation and the European Commission in the European Semester.” *European Union Studies*, 19(3): 524-545.

Tue. Mar. 10 *Spring break*

Thu. Mar. 12

Tue. Mar. 17²⁴ ***The Council of Ministers***

- Olsen & McCormick, chapter 6.
- Fantini, Marco, and Klaas Staal. 2018. "Influence in the EU: Measuring Mutual Support." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(2): 212-229.

Thu. Mar. 19²⁶ ***The European Parliament***

- Olsen & McCormick, chapter 7
- Sorace, Miriam. 2018. "The European Union democratic deficit: Substantive representation in the European Parliament at the input stage." *EU Politics*, 19(1): 3-24.

Recommended:

- Otjes, Simon, and Harmen van der Veer. 2016. "The Eurozone crisis and the European Parliament's changing lines of conflict." *European Union Politics* 17(2):242-261.

~~Tue. Mar. 24~~ ***The European Court of Justice***

(class topic deleted, but the reading now counts as one of the recommended readings)

- Olsen & McCormick, chapter 8.

Recommended:

- Kelemen, R. Daniel. 2012. "The political foundations of judicial independence in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 19(1):43-58.

~~Thu. Mar. 26~~ **Midterm exam**

IV. People and the EU

Tue. Mar 31. ***Public opinion***

- Olsen & McCormick, chapter 10.
- Anderson, Christopher, and Jason Hecht. 2018. "The preference for Europe: Public opinion about European integration since 1952." *EU Politics*, 19(4): 617-638.

Recommended:

- Kolpinskaya, Ekaterina, and Stuart Fox. 2018. "Praying on Brexit: Unpicking the effect of religion on support for European Union integration and membership." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 57(3): 580-598.

Thu. Apr. 2 ***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.
- Auel, Katrin, Olga Eisele, and Lucy Kinski. 2018. "What happens in parliament stays in parliament? Newspaper coverage of national parliaments in EU affairs." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(3): 628-645.

Recommended:

- Meijers, Maurits J., and Harmen van der Veer. 2019. "MEP responses to Democratic Backsliding in Hungary and Poland. An Analysis of Agenda-Setting and Voting Behaviour." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 57(4):838-856.

Tue. Apr. 7 ***Solidarity across borders***

- Baute, Sharon, Koen Abts, and Bart Meuleman. 2019. "Public support for European solidarity: Between Euroscepticism and EU agenda preferences?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 57(3): 533-550.
- Thielemann, Eiko. 2018. "Why refugee burden-sharing initiatives fail: Public goods, free-riding and symbolic solidarity in the EU" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(1): 63-82.

Recommended:

- Williams, Ann E., and Christopher M. Toula. 2017. "Solidarity framing at the Union of National and Transnational Public Spheres." *Journalism Studies* 18(12):1576-1592.

Thu. Apr. 9 **Midterm exam**

V. Brexit: The national politics of European integration

Tue. Apr. 14 ***Introduction***

- O'Toole, Preface, Introduction, and chapter 1
- Warloutzet, Laurent. 2018 "Britain at the Centre of European Co-operation (1948-2016)." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(4): 955-970.

Recommended:

- Carl, Noah, James Dennison, and Geoffrey Evans. 2019. "European but not European enough: An explanation for Brexit." *European Union Politics* 20(2): 282-304.

Thu. Apr. 16 ***The people's Brexit?***

- O'Toole, chapters 2-3

Recommended:

- Bonacchi, Chiara, Mark Altaweel, and Marta Krzyzanska. 2018. "The heritage of Brexit: Roels of the past in the construction of political identities through social media. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 18(2): 174-192.

Tue. Apr. 21 ***The referendum campaign***

- O'Toole, chapters 4-5.

Recommended:

- Curtice, John. 2017. "Why Leave won the UK's EU referendum." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 55(S1): 19-37.

Thu. Apr. 23 ***After the vote***

- O'Toole, chapters 6-7.

Recommended:

- McKenzie, Lisa. 2017. "'It's not ideal': Reconsidering 'anger' and 'apathy' in the Brexit vote among an invisible working class." *Competition & Change* 21(3) 199-210.

Tue. Apr. 28 ***Brexit: what next?***

- O'Toole, chapter 8
- Readings on current developments in Brexit, TBA

Recommended:

- Bijsmans, Patrick, Charlotte Galpin, and Benjamin Leruth. 2018. "'Brexit' in transnational perspective: An analysis of newspapers in France, Germany and the Netherlands." *Comparative European Politics* 16:825-842.

VI. After Brexit

Thu. Apr. 30 ***What's next for the UK and the EU?***

- Readings TBA

Recommended:

- Iakhnis, Evgeniia, Brian Rathbun, Jason Reifler, and Thomas J. Scotto. 2018. "Populist referendum: Was 'Brexit' an expression of nativist and anti-elitist sentiment? *Research and Politics*. April 2018: 1-7.

-

Mon. May 4 **Paper due**