

**PS489:
Federalizing Europe?
Structure and Behavior in Contemporary European Politics**

Time: M, W 4-5:30
Room: G168 Angel Hall
Office: ISR (426 Thompson St.), Room 4271
Office Hours: Tuesday, 2-4 or by appointment
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Office hours:

Course description:

The course discusses European politics in face of integration. It consists of several sections, each standing as a separate unit, but together they provide an overview of both European Integration as an institutional process and European politics as it changes for ordinary citizens. The course touches on themes in contemporary European politics such as national vs. continental politics, questions of identity and multi-culturalism, federalism, institutionalized political and economic globalization, immigration, and democratic representation.

Books and reading materials:

The following books are on reserve and available for purchase at Ulrich, Michigan Union Bookstore, and Michigan Book and Supply:

Dinan, Desmond. 1999. *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration*. Lynne Rienner Publishers

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, and Peter Mair. 2006. *Representative Government in Modern Europe: Institutions, Parties, and Governments*. McGraw-Hill. Fourth edition.

Hix, Simon. 1999. *The Political System of the European Union*. Palgrave.

Highly recommended:

Achen, Christopher. 1982. *Interpreting and Using Regression*. Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, Number 29. Sage Publications.

In addition, students will have to subscribe to the **Financial Times**, a British newspaper that offers excellent international and in particular European coverage. To subscribe and receive a student discount, please go to the URL below and *fill out the Student section* of the form. As you will see in the form, you may have more than one person on a single form (but these will still be separate subscriptions).

<http://news.ft.com/Education/Portal/docs/EJJ68X0-SEMESTER.pdf>

Assignments:

Attendance and participation: attendance, participation, and contribution to the discussions are an important part of the course requirements. You are expected to attend the session

having done the readings and reflected upon them and to contribute to the discussion. Please let the instructor know ahead of time if you have to miss a session.

Midterm exam: in-class midterm exam on February 22nd. Details to follow.

Two short critical analyses of particular readings (about 3 pages each). You will be able to choose the readings that are of interest to you out of a larger set (all articles marked with a *). The two analyses, however, will be dispersed over the semester. This will serve as a step toward acquiring skills necessary for writing your own research papers. The analyses should be submitted **by 9AM on the day they are discussed in class**. The first of the two should be submitted no later than March 22. Instructions will be provided in class.

A detailed outline of a research paper (about 2 pages long). In preparing the outline, you will be required to be specific about the various components of the project. The outline will emphasize the organization of the paper, the structure of the argument, the use of empirical evidence to support the argument, discussion of alternative explanations, and the like. Due on Tuesday, 3/28 at 5PM.

A research paper (about 20 pages). This paper will reflect an original research you will conduct. Detailed instructions will be given in class. Due on Friday, April 21nd at 4PM. **Late submissions will not be accepted.**

Country expertise. Each student or a group of students will be assigned a country or a set of countries. You will be the class expert on this country and we will draw on your expertise in our class discussion. I will direct you in class to sources on the different countries.

Grading: the grade will be a combination of attendance and participation (including country expertise) (10%), mid-term exam (20%), critical reviews (10% each), outline (10%), and the final paper (40%).

I reserve the right to change or add assignments as necessary.

Course Plan

Monday 1/9

Introduction

Wednesday 1/11

Fundamentals of Contemporary European Politics I

GLM: Chapters 1, 2, 3

Monday 1/16

MLK Day

Wednesday 1/18

Fundamentals of Contemporary European Politics II

GLM: chapters 7, 8, 9

Monday 1/23

(Brief!) Historical Perspective: Origins of the EU

Dinan, Chapter 1

Wednesday 1/25

(Brief!) Historical Perspective: Evolution of the European Community

Dinan, Chapters 2-5

Monday, 1/30

(Brief!) Historical Perspective: from Community to Union

Dinan, Chapters 6, 7

The Economist survey of the EU, September 23, 2004.

Wednesday 2/1

Frameworks for Analysis

Andrew Moravcsik. "Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community." In Nelsen, Brent F., and Alexander C-G. Stubb. Eds. 1998. *The European Union: Readings on the theory and Practice of European Integration*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. Pp. 217-240.

Marks, Gary, Lisbet Hooghe, and Kermit Blank. "European Integration from the 1980s: State Centric v. Multi-Level Governance." In Nelsen, Brent F., and Alexander C-G. Stubb. Eds. 1998. *The European Union: Readings on the theory and Practice of European Integration*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. Pp. 273-293.

Monday 2/6

Political Institutional Apparatus of the EU

Dinan, Chapters 8, 9, 10, 11

Wednesday 2/8

The European Parliament

Kreppel. "Understanding the European Parliament from a federalist Perspective: The Legislatures of the USA and the EU Compared." Available at: <http://web.clas.ufl.edu/users/kreppel/COMFEDFINAL.pdf>

Hix, Simon, Abdul Noury, and Gérard Roland. Forthcoming. "Dimensions of Politics in the European Parliament." *American Journal of Political Science*.

Monday 2/13

Judicial Integration

Dinan, Chapter 11, pp: 301-317

Chapter 15, pp: 439-451

TBA

Wednesday 2/15

Representation in the EU: the Democratic Deficit

Simon Hug and Pascal Sciarini. 2000. "Referendums on European Integration: Do Institutions Matter in the Voter's Decision?" *Comparative Political Studies* 33(1): 3-36.

Robert Rohrschneider. 2002. "The Democracy deficit and Mass Support for an EU-wide Government" *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 46 (2), pp. 463-475.

Monday 2/20

Democratic Deficit and Institutional Design

Hix, Simon. 1998. "Elections, Parties, and Institutional Design: A Comparative Perspective on European Union Democracy." *West European Politics* 21(3): pp.19-52.

TBA

Wednesday 2/22

Midterm exam

Monday 3/6

Meeting with Ambassador John Bruton, the former Irish Prime Minister and current Head of the European Commission Delegation in Washington, DC. Noon, Room 1636, International Institute.

Wednesday 3/8

Support on the Ground I

Hix, Chapter 5

Lisbet Hooghe, and Gary Marks. "Does Identity or Economic Rationality drive Public Opinion on European Integration?" available for download at:

<http://www.unc.edu/%7Ehooghe/downloads/psonline.pdf>

Monday 3/13

Support on the Ground II

Lisbet Hooghe, and Gary Marks. 2003. "Europe Divided? Elites vs. Public Opinion on European Integration," *European Union Politics* (September)*

Lisbet Hooghe, and Gary Marks. "Calculation, Community, and Cues: Public Opinion on European Integration." Available for download at:

[http://www.unc.edu/%7Ehooghe/downloads/community,calculation,cues_full version.pdf](http://www.unc.edu/%7Ehooghe/downloads/community,calculation,cues_full%20version.pdf)

Wednesday 3/15

**National Elections and Elections for the European Parliament:
Aggregation of Preferences**

GLM, Chapter 11 + class exercise (country experts)

Monday 3/20

**National Elections and Elections for the European Parliament: Voter
Behavior**

Reif, Karlheinz, and Hermann Schmitt. 1980. "Nine 2nd-Order National Elections – A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of European Election Results." *European Journal of Political Research* Vol. 8 (1): 3-44.*

Marsh, Michael. 1998. "Testing the second-Order Election Model after Four European Elections." *British Journal of Political Science* Vol. 28: 591-607.*

Cees van der Eijk, Mark Franklin, and Michael Marsh. 1995. "What voters Teach Us about Europe-Wide elections; what Europe-Wide Elections Teach Us about Voters." *Electoral Studies*, pp.*

Wednesday 3/22

Elections for the European Parliament: Supra-National Party System

Hix, Chapter 6

Lisbet Hooghe, and Gary Marks, and Carole Wilson. 2002. "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?" *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 35 (8): 965-989.*

Monday 3/27

Squeezing the State? Multi-Level Governance

GLM Chapter 6

Stanley Hoffmann. "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe." In Nelsen, Brent F., and Alexander C-G. Stubb. Eds. 1998. *The European Union: Readings on the theory and Practice of European Integration*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. Pp. 217-240.

Lisbet Hooghe, and Gary Marks. 2003. "Unraveling the Central State, But How? Types of Multi-Level Governance." *American Political Science Review**

Wednesday 3/29

Monetary Integration

Wayne Sandholtz. 1993. "Choosing Union: Monetary Politics and Maastricht." *International Organization*, 1993 (Winter), pp. 1-39.

Barry Eichengreen. 1993. "European Monetary Unification" *Journal of Economic Literature* Vol. XXXI, pp. 1321-1357.

Monday 4/3

Immigration

Joel S. Fetzer. 2000. *Public Attitudes toward Immigration in the United States, France, and Germany*. Chapters 8-9, pp. 123-154. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jeannette Money. 1997. "No Vacancy: The Political Geography of Immigration Control in Advanced Industrial Countries." *International Organization* Vol. 51(4), pp. 685-720.*

Wednesday 4/5

Immigration and the Rise of the Extreme Right

Kitschelt, Herbert, in collaboration with Anthony MacGann. 1997. *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A comparative Analysis*. The University of Michigan Press. Chapters 1, 2.

Terri E. Givens. 2004. "The Radical Right and the Gender Gap." *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 37, pp. 30-54.*

Monday 4/10

The Extreme Right: the "Mechanics" of Success

Matt Golder. 2003. "Explaining Variation In The Success Of Extreme Right Parties In Western Europe." *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 36, pp 432 - 466.*

Schain, Martin S. 2000. "The National Front and the Legislative Elections of 1997." In *How France Votes*, Michael S. Lewis-Beck, ed. Pp. 70-86. New York : Chatham House Publishers, Seven Bridges Press

Wednesday 4/12

Identity, Multiculturalism, Nationalism

Benedict Anderson. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verson: London. Introduction, pp. 1-8.

J. Christopher Soper and Joel Fetzer. 2003. "Explaining the Accommodation of Muslim Religious Practices in France, Britain, and Germany." *French Politics* 1 pp. 39-59.*

Jeremy Jennings. 2000. "Citizenship, Republicanism, and Multiculturalism in Contemporary France." *British Journal of Political Science* 30: 575-598.*

Monday 4/17

TBA