

**ACES EU CENTERS OF EXCELLENCE
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GWU

AY 2011-12

**Integrating Europeans:
The Political Economy and Social Aspects of
Europeanization**

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ACES EU Curriculum Development Grant, AY 2011-12

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

The birthplace of both traditional and radical political ideas as well as of catastrophes and innovations of historical proportions, Europe continues being a fascinating moving target in terms of its political and economic development. The political development of European integration has been at best uncertain and unclear, provoking academic debates about the political structure of the EU. Concerned with finding the most appropriate way to study the evolving project, analysts from various political persuasions have attempted to anticipate the kind of polity that the integration is turning Europe into - an international organization, a democratic federation, a regulatory state, a multilevel governance structure, a composite polity, or simply a broadly-defined political system. Often, such predictions have been coupled with normative attempts prescribing the best locus of democratic legitimacy for Europe - here a first group of scholars have advocated a move towards democratizing the supranational level, a second group has preferred to retain such impulses in the nation-states where they have traditionally belonged, and a third group has redirected its gaze towards seeking legitimacy - and a progressive European identity - by means of political protest.

It is such protest, especially in the European South, that has recently focused attention to the economic side of integration. While the economic development initiated through the Single Market and the Monetary Union was seen as the necessary impetus resurrecting the European project after a period of Eurosclerosis, the sovereign debt crisis has provoked both policy and scholarly debates on the relationship between stronger performing economies and economic laggards as well as between economic development and social welfare. Since such debates are about more than simply monetary policy best managed by technically savvy experts and since they involve distributional preferences and welfare gains - both regarding regional redistribution and redistribution between social group - the crisis has demonstrated that scholarly debates about the normative shape of the EU polity as well as arguments about its democratic legitimacy are indeed relevant for Europe's ordinary citizens.

It is this relevance of political economy developments for Europe's majorities that motivates the present course. While much of the literature on European integration - in its most influential neofunctionalist and intergovernmentalist variants (but the same is true about network- and multilevel governance approaches) - has been focused on elites, and understandably so, since elites have been the guiding forces in the integration project, this course seeks to shift to focus and examine the relationship between the construction of the common market and the social aspects felt by many of those seeking to challenge the dominant logic of European integration.

This course, then, investigates the effects of integration on European citizens as well as the duality of the EU as a competitive and social model. It is sensitive to the involvement of social groups, protest, and domestic politics in the study of market integration. Some of the questions we explore are: What are the effects of regulatory policy-making on social actors, how do such actors' strategies and behaviors change as a consequence, and how do they overcome their collective action problems? Why is it that the logic of integration has at times followed a

logic of “permissive consensus” while at other times it has been described as a “constraining dissensus”? What is the importance of discourse in domestic politics in order to articulate and legitimate Europeanization? How do European identities change as a consequence of policy-making as well as of protest? To what extent do ordinary Europeans matter in terms of accepting and opposing the project of European integration, how do European citizens in core and peripheral EU states experience Europeanization, and how is their involvement in the integration project to be conceptualized?

The course is subdivided into 25 class meetings, covering a substantial amount of material which is organized in 4 sections. We begin by investigating the history of European integration as well as mainstream theories explaining it, such as neofunctionalism, liberal intergovernmentalism, constructivism, new governance, and multilevel governance. An alternative reading of history in addition to criticism of such mainstream explanations is also provided before the investigation delves into the complex institutional world of EU government and governance approaches. The second section analyzes the constitutional debate, civil society and popular participation, the debate regarding the EU’s democratic deficit, and the Open Method of Coordination as an example of soft governance. While the analytical focus throughout the conversation remains on the role of the European public in terms of the articulation and evaluation of such debates, the section moves the discussion through general issues which inform many of the more specific policy debates covered in the following section. The third and longest part covering the historical and political contours of Europe’s economy, the move towards Monetary Union, and how the overall process of market integration, while undeniably being unique for Europe, is not entirely without parallels in its historical evolution. Once again from the perspective of popular majorities and the democratic legitimacy expected to be derived from their engagement with the integration process, this section studies both long-term and immediate challenges facing economic and political integration, the role of the European Court of Justice in the integration process, and the debt crisis. It concludes by outlining the debate regarding the economic performance of the ten post-communist states which are now part of the EU, this time from the perspective of east-central European labor integration. The last section covers the academically popular concept ‘Europeanization’ as an economic, rhetorical, and governance tool, as well as the politics of dissatisfaction with and protest against such Europeanizing influences. Here, the concept of the “composite polity” in which identity becomes realized through active political engagement is suggested as an alternative to more elitist approaches to European integration. In this sense, the prognosis that political conflict, rather than elite-driven order, might pull Europe out of its troubles doesn’t seem unrealistic, as composite polities, such as Europe, possess complex hierarchies in which the integration effects on populations - the leitmotif of this course - cannot be either perfectly calculated or discounted.

As a result of completing this course (in a conscientious manner), students will be acquainted with the history, institutions, and key policy areas of importance not only to the European Union, a polity consisting of nearly half a billion citizens, but also to world politics (since the EU is a major actor on the world stage) . They will have developed a well-informed understanding of the complex political, economic, social, and identity issues the European Union faces in terms of its past, present and future, as well as a critical perspective with regard to the debates on the European Union.

Since this is not an introductory course, some previous knowledge of European politics is expected. Although the basic history, theories, and institutions of European integration are presented in the first part of the course, this presentation is quick and by no means exhaustive. Finally, students are required to come to class having completed the assigned readings and ready and eager to discuss, debate, and engage with the material. Students are always encouraged to communicate with the instructor and to ask questions, both during class and during office hours.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

Grades will be based on performance in the following:

- * **Class attendance and participation in class discussions.** Absence, especially unexcused absence, from class is strongly discouraged. This is a small seminar intended for students to come prepared and to participate in class discussions in an active and engaged manner. Unexcused absences will not only result in a lower class participation grade, but will also mean the inability to “make-up” potentially missed quizzes (see below). In addition, if at the end of the course a student is “between grades” (a situation that happens quite frequently), the student’s well-informed and frequent class participation (or lack thereof) will be decisive in terms of the final course grade. In other words, class participation is to be taken seriously, and to be able to participate students must attend class and be prepared to discuss the material. Finally, each student will be asked to lead the class discussion once during the term. Class participation will count for 20% of students’ overall grade.
- * **Frequent “pop quizzes.”** Since missing class is strongly discouraged, an unexcused absence will result in a grade of 0 for the quiz missed. These reading quizzes will be “surprise” ones (i.e., not announced in advance) for the sake of fairness to students who do their reading regularly and on time (something that all students are, of course, encouraged to do). The “pop quizzes” will count for 20% of students’ overall grade.
- * **A Midterm In-Class Examination.** The Midterm Exam will consist of short answers/ identifications requiring responses of a couple of sentences, longer answers requiring a paragraph or two, and an essay requiring the construction of a well-articulated, reasoned, and substantiated argument and integrating the material in a creative and intelligent manner. The Midterm Exam will be closed book, will be written in class, and will last 2 hours. The Midterm Exam will count for 25% of students’ overall grade.
- * **A Final Take-Home Examination.** The Final Exam will be identical in spirit, style, and format to the Midterm Exam, the only substantive differences being that it will be take-home, that it will be cumulative, that it will require the writing of two long essays in addition to the short answers/identifications and longer answers, and that students will be given 3 days to complete it. “Cumulative” means that the Final Exam will require students to connect the material covered in the latter part of the class to the material covered in the first part. I.e., the Exam will require the ability to creatively connect the policies and special topics of European integration covered in the latter part of the class (Part III) to the theoretical basis covered in the first part (Parts I and II). The Final Exam will be distributed during our last meeting and students will have 72 hours to complete it. The Final Exam will count for 35% of students’ overall grade.

READING MATERIAL

All the reading material will be provided via Blackboard. Students do not need to purchase any materials, but are strongly advised to make sure they have access to Blackboard as soon as possible.

COURSE OUTLINE

Part I: European Union Basics - Historical Background, Theories, and Institutional Government

1. Introduction and Overview

- * Anthony Pagden, "Europe: Conceptualizing a Continent" in *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union* (2002);
- * Desmond Dinan, Chapters 1 and 2 in *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration* (2010);
- * Simon Hix, "Why the European Union is More Necessary than Ever," in *What's Wrong with the European Union and How to Fix It?* (2008);
- * "The EU at a Glance": Take a look and explore the following website: https://europa.eu/abc/index_en.htm

2. A Brief History of European Integration

- * Mark Mazower, "Blueprints for the Golden Age," in *Dark Continent* (2000);
- * Alan Milward, Chapter 2: "The Postwar Nation State," in *The European Rescue of the Nation State*, pp. 21-45 (2000);
- * Desmond Dinan, Chapters 3 and 4 in *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration* (2010).

3. A Brief History of European Integration: Critical Perspectives

- * Warnecke, Steven, "The Study of the European Community: A Critical Appraisal," in *The European Community* (1978);
- * Gilbert, Mark. "Narrating the Process: Questioning the Progressive Story of European Integration," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 46(3): 641-62 (2008).

4. Explaining Europe's Integration I: Mainstream Explanations

- * Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, "Pre-theories of International Integration," in *Debates on European Integration: A Reader* (2006);
- * Wayne Sandholtz and John Zysman, "1992: Recasting the European Bargain," *World Politics*, Vol. 42 (October 1989): 95-128 (for a great portrayal of neo-functional theory);
- * Andrew Moravcsik, "Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community," *International Organization*, Vol. 45 (1991): pp. 651-688 (for a great portrayal of liberal intergovernmentalist theory).

5. Explaining Europe's Integration II: New Mainstream Explanations - Constructivism, New Governance, and Multilevel Governance

- * Ernst Haas, "Does Constructivism Subsume Neofunctionalism," in *Debates on European Integration: A Reader* (2006);
- * Simon Hix, "The Study of the European Union II: The 'New Governance' Agenda and its Rival," in *Debates on European Integration: A Reader* (2006);
- * Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, "The Making of a Polity: The Struggle Over European Integration," *European Integration Online Papers (EIoP)*, Vol. 1, No. 4.

6. Criticism of Mainstream Integration Theories: The Missing Social Aspect of EU Integration?

- * Andreas Bieler and Adam David Morton, "Conclusion: Thinking About Future European Social Relations" in *Social Forces in the Making of the New Europe: The Restructuring of European Social Relations in the Global Political Economy* (2001);
- * Bastiaan van Apeldoorn, "Theoretical Perspective: Social Forces and the Struggle Over European Order" in *Transnational Capitalism and the Struggle Over European Integration* (2002);
- * Ian Manners, "Another Europe is Possible," in Knud Erik Jorgensen, Mark Pollack and Ben Rosamond, eds. *The SAGE Handbook of European Union Politics* (2007).

7. The Government of the European Union: Institutional Makeup and Policymaking

- * Simon Hix and Bjorn Hoyland, Chapter 1: "Introduction: Explaining the EU Political System," in *The Political System of the European Union* (2011) (for an explanation of the basic constitutional makeup of the EU);
- * Magnette, Paul, "Policymaking in a Union of States," in *What is The European Union?* (2005) (for the perspective that EU institutions function like an international organization);
- * Majone, Giandomenico, "The Rise of the Regulatory State in Europe," *West European Politics*, 17 (3), pp. 77-101 (for the perspective of Europe as a regulatory state);
- * Additionally, to familiarize yourselves with the EU institutions, please see the following websites:
 - for the European Council: Explore the following website paying special attention to the sections "The Institution" and "The President": <http://www.european-council.europa.eu/home-page.aspx?lang=en>
 - for the Council of the European Union (also known as "the Council" and "the Council of Ministers"): Explore the following website paying special attention to the sections "Council," "Policies," and "Treaty of Lisbon": <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?lang=en>
 - for the European Commission: Explore the following website paying special attention to the entries under the section "About": http://ec.europa.eu/index_en.htm
 - for the European Parliament: Explore the following website: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/public/default_en.htm and watch some of the EP's videos here: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/eng-internet-publisher/eplive/public/default.do?language=en>

- for the European Court of Justice: Explore the following website paying special attention to the composition, jurisdiction, and the legal order of the EU: http://curia.europa.eu/jcms/jcms/Jo2_7024/
- for the European Central Bank: Explore the following website paying special attention to the history and organization of the ECB: <http://www.ecb.int/ecb/html/index.en.html>
- for the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC): Explore the following website paying special attention to 'Our Activities': <http://www.etuc.org/>

Part II: Constitutionalization, Governance, and Democratic Legitimacy in the EU

8. A Constitution for Europe, but of What Kind?

- * Jurgen Habermas, "Why Europe Needs a Constitution," *New Left Review*, September-October 2001;
- * John Erik Fossum and Hans-Jorg Trenz, "When the People Come in: Constitutional Making and the Belated Politicization of the European Union," *European Governance Papers*, No. C-06-93 (April 2006);
- * Beate Kohler Koch and Barbara Finke, "The Institutional Shaping of EU-Society Relations: A Contribution to Democracy via Participation," *Journal of Civil Society*, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 205-21.

9. Governance of the European Union: Is There a Democratic Deficit?

- * Andrew Moravcsik, "In Defense of the 'Democratic Deficit': Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 4, pp. 603-24 (2002);
- * Philippe Schmitter, "Making Sense of the EU: Democracy in Europe and Europe's Democratization," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 14, pp. 71-85 (2003);
- * Vivien Schmidt, "The European Union: Democratic Legitimacy in a Regional State?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 42 (2004);
- * Andreas Follesdal and Simon Hix, "Why There is A Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 3, pp. 533-62 (2006).

10. Popular Participation in the Making of Europe

- * Gary Marks, Carole Wilson, and Leonard Ray, "National Political Parties and European Integration," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 46, No. 3, pp. 585-94 (July 2002);
- * Sara Hobolt, "Direct Democracy and European Integration," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 153-66 (2006);
- * Barbara Finke, "Civil Society Participation in EU Governance," *Living Reviews in European Governance* (2007).

11. Is Soft Governance a Legitimate Form of Governance?

- * Damian Chalmers and Martin Lodge, "The Open Method of Coordination and the European Welfare State," *ESRC Centre for Analysis of Risk and Regulation*, Discussion Paper No. 11, (June 2003);
- * Susanna Borrás and Kerstin Jacobsson, "The Open Method of Coordination and the New Governance Patterns in Europe," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vo. 11, No. 2, pp. 185-208 (2004);
- * Philippe Pochet, "The Open Method of Coordination and the Construction of Social Europe," in Jonathan Zeitlin and Philippe Pochet, eds., *The Open Method of Coordination in Action: The European Employment and Social Inclusion Strategies* (2005).

12. Midterm Examination

Part III: The Political Economy of European Integration: Developments and Challenges

13. The European Economy after the Second World War

- * Gosta Esping-Andersen, Selections from the *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*: Chapter 1: "The Three Political Economies of the Welfare State," Chapter 2: "The De-Commodification in Social Policy," Chapter 3: "The Welfare State as a System of Stratification," Chapter 9: "Welfare State Regimes in Post-Industrial Structure";
- * Barry Eichengreen, "The European Economy Since 1945," Princeton University Press, 2008 (paper).

14. Towards a Deeper Union

- * Bob Hancke and Martin Rhodes, "EMU and Labor Market Institutions in Europe: The Rise and Fall of National Social Pacts," *Work and Occupations*, May 2005, Vol. 32, No. 2 (2005);
- * Georg Menz, Chapter 2: "Europeanization Meets Organized Capitalism," in *Varieties of Capitalism and Europeanization: National Response Strategies to the Single European Market* (2005);
- * Georg Menz, Chapter 3: "The Institutional Power of Unions and Employers," in *Varieties of Capitalism and Europeanization: National Response Strategies to the Single European Market* (2005).

15. Economic Integration from a Comparative Perspective

- * Kathleen McNamara, "State-Building, the Territorialization of Money, and the Creation of the American Single Currency," in Louis Pauly, David Andrews, and C. Randall Henning, eds., *Governing the World's Money* (2002);
- * Michelle Egan, "The Emergence of the US Internal Market," in Jacques Pelkmans, Dominik Hanf and Michele Chang, eds., *The EU Internal Market in Comparative Perspective: Economic, Political and Legal Analyses* (2008);

- * Daniel Keleman, "Federalism and Democratization: The US and EU in Comparative Perspective," in Anand Menon and Martin Schain, eds., *Comparative Federalism: The European Union and the United States in Comparative Perspective* (2006).

16. From Consensus to Dissensus: Does the EU Have an Economic Integration Problem?

- * Gerda Falkner, "Collective Participation in the European Union: The Euro-Corporatism Debate," in Colin Crouch and Wolfgang Streeck, eds., *The Diversity of Democracy: Corporatism, Social Order and Political Conflict* (2006);
- * Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus," *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 39, p. 1-23 (2009);
- * Wolfgang Streeck, "Markets and Peoples: Democratic Capitalism and European Integration," *New Left Review* 73, January-February 2012.

17. Towards a Solution of 'the Problem'?

- * Fritz Scharpf, "The European Social Model: Coping with the Challenges of Diversity," *MPIfG Working Paper* 02/8, July 2002;
- * Vivien Schmidt, "Putting Politics Back Into the Political Economy By Bringing the State Back in Again," *World Politics*, Vol. 61, No. 3, pp. 516-46 (2009);
- * Jonathon Moses, "Is Constitutional Symmetry Enough? Social Models and Market Integration in the US and Europe," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 4, pp. 823-843 (2011).

18. The European Court of Justice's Agency

- * Diane Panke, "The European Court an Agent of Europeanization? Restoring Compliance with EU Law," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 14, No. 6, pp. 847-66, (September 2007);
- * Fritz Scharpf, "The Only Solution is the Refuse to Comply with ECJ Rulings." Interview with Cornelia Girndt, *Social Europe Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 16-21;
- * James Caporaso and Sidney Tarrow, "Polanyi in Brussels: European Institutions and the Embedding of Markets in Society," *World Politics* (2009).

19. Current Crisis and Legitimacy in Europe

- * Martin Hoepner and Armin Schaefer, "Polanyi in Brussels? Embeddedness and the Three Dimensions of European Economic Integration," *MPIfG Discussion Paper* 10/8 (2010);
- * Fritz Scharpf, "Legitimacy in the Multilevel European Polity," *European Political Science Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 173-204 (2009);
- * Fritz Scharpf, "Monetary Union, Fiscal Crisis and the Preemption of Democracy," *London School of Economics 'Europe in Question' Discussion Paper Series* (2011).

20. Uniting Europe: Enlargement, Conditionality, and Economic Integration

- * Milada Anna Vachudova, "Introduction," Chapters 1, 8, and "Conclusion" in *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage and Integration After Communism* (2005);

- * Rob van Tulder and Winfried Ruigrok, "European Cross-National Production Networks in the Auto-Industry: Eastern Europe as the Low End of European Car Complex," *BRIE Working Paper* 121 (1998).

21. Is East-Central Europe Succeeding or Failing?

- * Anders Aslund, "Introduction," in *The Last Shall Be First: The East European Financial Crisis* (2010);
- * Bela Greskovitz and Dorothee Bohle, "Capital, Labor, and the Prospects of the European Social Model in the East," *Central and Eastern Europe Working Paper* 58, Harvard University;
- * Stephen Crowley, "Does Labor Still Matter? East European Labor and Varieties of Capitalism," *National Endowment for the Humanities Programs* (2011).

Part IV: Europeanization and Protest

22. The Politics and Economics of Europeanization

- * Vivian Schmidt, "Europeanization and the Mechanics of Economic Policy Adjustment," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 4, pp. 661-79 (2002);
- * Morten Kallestrup, "Europeanization as a Discourse: Domestic Policy Legitimation through the Articulation of a 'Need for Adaptation,'" *Public Policy and Administration*, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 110-24;
- * Claudio Radaelli, "Europeanization, Policy Learning and New Modes of Governance," *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis*, Vol. 10, No. 3, pp. 239-54 (2008).

23. European Citizens Versus Europeanizing Elites

- * Gary Marks and Doug McAdam, "Social Movements and the Changing Structure of Political Opportunity in the European Union," *West European Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 249-78 (1996);
- * Bert Klendermans and Nonna Mayer, "Right-Wing Extremism as a Social Movement," and "Through the Magnifying Glass: The World of Extreme Right Wing Activists," in *Extreme Right Activists in Europe: Through the Magnifying Glass* (2006);
- * Marc Morje Howard, "Introduction" and "Conclusion," in *The Politics of Citizenship in Europe* (2009).

24. Social Protest in the European Union

- * Doug Imig and Sidney Tarrow, "Studying Contention in an Emerging Polity," in *Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in an Emerging Polity* (2001);
- * Andrew Martin and George Ross, "Trade Union Organizing at the European Level: The Dilemma of Borrowed Resources," in *Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in an Emerging Polity* (2001);
- * Evelyn Bush and Pete Simi, "European Farmers and their Protests," in *Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in an Emerging Polity* (2001);
- * Sidney Tarrow, "Contentious Politics in a Composite Polity," in *Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in an Emerging Polity* (2001).

25. Europe's Past, Present, and Future: Concluding Reflections and Overview

- * Simon Hix and Bjorn Hoyland, Chapter 13: "Conclusion: Rethinking the European Union," in *The Political System of the European Union* (2011);
- * Perry Anderson, "Antecedents" and "Prognoses," in *The New Old World* (2011)

- * The **Final Examination** will be distributed to be completed at home. The Final Exam is due via e-mail or in hard copy 72 hours after this last class.