
Course Manual

The Future of the European Union

Course Catalogue Number
7323T002FY

Credits
6 EC

Instruction language
English

Time Period
Academic Year 2014-2015, Blocks 1-2
Mondays, 17:00-19:00

Location
REC B3.03

Instructor
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Course Objectives

- To introduce students to current academic and policy debates about the past development, present state, and future prospects of the European Union (EU).
- To enable students to analyze key questions concerning the present state and future prospects of the EU in a theoretically and empirically informed way.
- To equip students to conduct further empirical research on the EU.
- To foster critical thinking, analytical reasoning, oral communication and presentation, English writing, and research skills.

Content

The current state of the European Union (EU) is deeply paradoxical. Not since the 1960s has the EU found itself in such a profound existential crisis, wracked by intractable economic challenges, deepening divisions among Member States, falling public support, and rising Eurosceptical political movements. In other respects, however, the EU's position has never been stronger, considered in terms of the geographical scope of its membership, the breadth and depth of its impact on national policy-making, and the intensity of its external influence on third countries and global governance. This honors seminar will interrogate the

paradoxical state of the EU through an in-depth discussion of key questions about the past development, present nature, and future prospects of European integration. Topics to be discussed will include:

- The EU as a(n Unconventional) Polity
- Integration Theories and their Limits
- Governance: Engines of Innovation
- Constitutionalism and Integration through Law
- EMU and the Euro Crisis
- Politics and Identity
- Democracy and Legitimacy
- The EU in the World: What Kind of Power?
- W(h)ither the EU?

Entry requirements

The course is open to students in the Social Science Bachelor Honors Programme (Honours Talentprogramma College Sociale Wetenschappen).

Some basic prior knowledge about the European Union is required. Students who have not previously taken any courses on the EU are strongly advised to read a standard introductory text before the seminar begins, such as John McCormick, *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*, 6th ed., Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Teaching methods/learning formats

The course will be taught as a seminar, through a combination of short lectures, student debates, and class discussions. Students will be asked to introduce a class debate through presentations responding to questions on the week's topic posed by the instructor.

Manner & Form of Assessment and Assessment Requirements & Criteria

The assessment for this course will consist of four elements: (1) 8 short memos on the assigned readings (40%); (2) a class presentation introducing the debate questions (10%); (3) a final paper (40%); (4) general class participation (10%).

1) Reading response memos

8 brief response memos (1-2 single-spaced pages) on the class readings. These memos are intended to prepare the ground for good class discussions by requiring participants to set out their initial reactions to the readings in written form. Memos should *not* merely summarize the readings, but should comment on specific arguments, compare the positions of different authors, raise questions of evidence or method, draw attention to particular strengths and weaknesses in the texts, and/or explore their policy implications. (Given the short length of these response memos, it will not be necessary – or possible – for you to discuss each individual reading.) *Each memo should also identify at least one question that you would like the class to discuss, linked to the preceding analysis of the readings.* (This should not be a

purely factual question, though I will be glad to respond to such questions in class.) *If your question is selected for discussion, I will ask you to briefly introduce it, so you should bring a copy with you to class.* You may *not* submit a reading response memo on the same topic as your class presentation.

Memos are due to me via email by *9am on the day of each class*. They should also be posted to the course Blackboard discussion forum. Memos submitted late may be downgraded; those submitted after the class meeting will not be accepted. You will receive specific feedback on at least two of these memos; for others you will receive only a grade unless you have particular questions about the assessment. The memos will account for *40%* of your final grade. You may *not* write a memo on the same topic as your class presentation.

2) Debate presentation

Students will be asked to give a short debate presentation responding to questions on the topic for the week's class posed by the instructor. For each meeting, two students will be asked to present opposite sides of the questions. Presenters should coordinate between themselves on their positions to ensure a lively debate. Presentations should draw on the assigned readings, but may also bring in other materials. The use of visual aids (e.g. PowerPoint slides) is strongly encouraged. Each presentation should not exceed 10 minutes. The presentations will be followed by a general class discussion. The presentation will account for *10%* of your final grade. I will provide you with oral feedback on your presentation.

3) Final paper

You may choose between two options for the final paper: *(a) a critical review of a recent book on the future of the EU; or (b) a research paper on a topic related to the theme of the course.* The target length for both options is 3000 words (c. 12 typed double-spaced pages).

(a) *Critical book review:* in addition to summarizing concisely the author's argument, you should critically assess the book's implications for the future of the EU, paying particular attention to the theoretical assumptions and empirical evidence on which they are based, while drawing where appropriate on the other literature covered in the course. You may choose from one of the recommended books in the list below; you may also propose an alternative title, but this must be approved by me in advance.

- Bickerton, Christopher, 2012: *European Integration: From Nation-States to Member States*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dawson, Mark, Enderlein, Henrik, and Joerges, Christian, 2015: *The Governance Report 2015* [on the Euro crisis and the future of the EU], Oxford: Oxford University Press/Hertie School of Governance.
- Eriksen, Erik, 2014: *The Normativity of the European Union*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fabbrini, Sergio, 2015: *Which European Union? Europe after the Euro Crisis*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Legrain, Philippe, 2014: *European Spring: Why Our Economies and Politics are in a Mess – and How to Put Them Right*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Longo, Michael, and Murray, Philomena, 2015: *Europe's Legitimacy Crisis: From Causes to Solutions*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Offe, Claus, 2015: *Europe Entrapped*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

- Risse, Thomas, 2010. *A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- White, Jonathan, 2011: *Political Allegiance after European Integration*, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Zielonka, Jan, 2014: *Is the EU Doomed?* Cambridge: Polity Press.

(b) *Research paper*: This paper should explore a topic related to the theme of the course. The paper may build on and extend your class presentation. It should draw on the readings for the course, but should also make use of additional research materials, such as academic literature, EU and national documents, and thinktank or NGO reports. All paper topics must be agreed with me in advance, based on a short written proposal (1-2 paragraphs), due by email on Monday November 16. I will also be available for individual consultations by appointment.

Final papers of either type are due to me by email by *9am* on *Monday December 14*. I will provide you with written comments and/or oral feedback. Students will have an opportunity to revise and resubmit papers which do not achieve a passing grade. The deadline for resubmissions is 14 days after receiving this information. The paper will account for *40%* of your final grade.

4) *Class participation*

Class attendance is obligatory. You are expected to come to class having done the required reading and ready to participate actively in the discussion. Please inform me in advance if you must miss a class due to illness or emergency, which must be satisfactorily explained. Class participation will account for *10%* of your final grade.

Inspection of exams/assignments, feedback

See previous entry.

Rules regarding Fraud and Plagiarism

The provisions of the Regulations Governing Fraud and Plagiarism for UvA Students apply in full. You can access this regulation at <http://www.student.uva.nl/preventfraud-plagiarism>.

Academic dishonesty is considered a serious offence. The definition of fraud/plagiarism is to be found in the *Studiegids*, and may be translated as follows: "To plagiarise is to take the work or an idea of someone else and pass it off as one's own. This means that if you copy, paraphrase or translate materials from websites, books, magazines or any other source in your thesis without giving full and proper credit to the original author(s), you are committing plagiarism." The fair use of evidence from primary and secondary sources is the basis of academic discourse. The abuse of this fairness undermines the very nature of scholarly research. Plagiarism is a form of theft and fraud and should be avoided at all costs. If you find yourself in doubt about quotation or correct use of a source, it is always a good idea to provide full information. Presenting other people's work from whatever source (including that of other students and the Internet) as your own will be sanctioned in terms of the grade received and by the Examination Commission. You must attribute any work or idea you have made use of in the course of writing to its original author, or you are guilty of plagiarism. All direct citations must also be correctly attributed. Concerning collaboration with fellow students, this is encouraged and can help you to learn from each other, but there are limits:

unless you are specifically instructed to work in a group context and to submit a collectively authored assignment, each student must submit their *own* work and two or more students may not hand in the same assignment. You are responsible for understanding regulations in this regard; if you do not understand the rules on fraud/plagiarism, please consult me.

The Examination Committee requires all written submitted assignments to be run through Ephorus (an anti-plagiarism programme). All written work must therefore be submitted in digital form.

Literature/materials

There is no single assigned text for this course. The readings for the course will consist of academic articles, book excerpts, and other materials, which will be available for downloading from a dedicated course Dropbox. Some readings may be available electronically from the UvA University Library. We will read a number of chapters from Hubert Zimmermann and Andreas Dür (eds), *Key Controversies in European Integration*, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012; copies will be available for purchase at the Roeterseiland branch of the Atheneum Bookshop, or through Amazon and other online booksellers.

You should also get into the habit of regularly reading the *Financial Times* and more specialized EU news sources such as *EUObserver*, *EurActiv*, and *Europe's World* (all freely available), as well as the websites of EU think tanks like the European Council on Foreign Relations, the Fondation Robert Schuman, Notre Europe, the Centre for European Policy Studies, the European Policy Centre, and the Centre for European Reform. These will enable you to keep up-to-date with the fast-moving world of EU policy and politics.

Date Final Grade

Final grades will be available by *January 11, 2016*. Grades will be posted on the course Blackboard website.

Class Schedule

September 7	1. Introductory Meeting
September 14	2. The EU as a(n Unconventional) Polity
September 21	3. Integration Theories and Their Limits
September 28	4. Governance: Engines of Innovation
October 5	5. Constitutionalism and Integration through Law
October 12	6. EMU and the Euro Crisis
October 26	7. Politics and Identity
November 9	8. Democracy and Legitimacy
November 16	9. The EU in the World: What Kind of Power?
November 23	10. W(h)ither the EU?

Readings

Meeting 1. Introduction

Wallace, Helen, and Christine Rey, 2015: "An Institutional Anatomy and Five Policy Modes", in Helen Wallace, Mark A. Pollack, and Alasdair R. Young (eds.), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 7th edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 72-112.

Meeting 2. The EU as a(n Unconventional) Polity

Zimmermann, Hubert, and Andreas Dür (eds), 2012: *Key Controversies in European Integration*, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, ch. 2: "The Political Efficiency of the EU" (Desmond Dimon, "The EU as Efficient Polity" vs. Mats Persson, "The EU: Quick to Regulate, Slow to Adapt"), pp. 32-47.

Hix, Simon, 2006: "The European Union as a Polity (I)", in Knut Erik Jørgensen, Mark A. Pollack, and Ben Rosamond (eds), *Handbook of European Union Politics*, London: Sage, 141-58.

Jachtenfuchs, Markus, 2006: "The European Union as a Polity (II)", in Jørgensen et al., *Handbook of European Union Politics*, 159-74.

Scharpf, Fritz, 2003: "Legitimate Diversity: The New Challenge of European Integration", in Tanja Börzel and Rachel Cichowski (eds.), *The State of the European Union*, vol. 6: *Law, Politics, and Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 79-104.

Neyer, Jürgen, 2004: "Explaining the Unexpected: Efficiency and Effectiveness in EU Decision-Making", *Journal of European Public Policy* 11(1): 19-38.

Debate questions:

- Are the EU's unconventional features a source of strength or weakness, in terms of its decision-making efficiency and effectiveness?
- Must the EU become a more conventional polity if it is to survive in the long run?

Meeting 3. Integration Theories and Their Limits

Schimmelfennig, Frank, and Berthold Rittberger, 2006: "Theories of European Integration: Assumptions and Hypotheses", in Jeremy Richardson (ed.), *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*, 3rd ed., London: Routledge, 73-95.

Niemann, Arne, with Philippe Schmitter (2009): "Neofunctionalism", in Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez (eds), *European Integration Theory*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 45-66.

Moravcsik, Andrew, with Frank Schimmelfennig (2009): "Liberal Intergovernmentalism", in Wiener and Diez, *European Integration Theory*, 67-87.

Stone Sweet, Alec, and Wayne Sandholz, 1997: "European Integration and Supranational Governance", *Journal of European Public Policy* 4(3): 297-317.

Debate questions:

- Which of the two classic integration theories, neo-functionalism or (liberal) intergovernmentalism, best explains the development of the EU since the Treaty of Rome?
- Can either theory fully account for what the EU has become over the past 50 years, and how it works today?

Meeting 4. Governance: Engines of Innovation

Kohler-Koch, Beate, and Berthold Rittberger, 2006: "The Governance 'Turn' in EU Studies", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, annual review issue, 27-49.

Craig, Paul, and Grainne de Búrca, 2011: "New Modes of Governance", *EU Law: Text, Cases, and Materials*, 5th edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, ch. 6, pp. 158-79.

Héritier, Adrienne, and Dirk Lehmkuhl, 2008: "The Shadow of Hierarchy and New Modes of Governance", *Journal of Public Policy* 28(1): 1-17.

Sabel, Charles F., and Jonathan Zeitlin, 2008: "Learning from Difference: The New Architecture of Experimentalist Governance in the European Union", *European Law Journal* 14(3): 271-327.

Additional Reading

Börzel, Tanja, and Sandra Eckert, 2012: "Symposium on Experimentalist Governance in the EU", *Regulation and Governance* 6(3), especially Charles F. Sabel and Jonathan Zeitlin, , "Experimentalism in the EU: Common Ground and Persistent Differences", pp. 410-26.

Debate questions:

- Have new forms of (experimentalist) governance enhanced the EU's problem-solving capacities?
- If so, have they done so at the expense of its democratic legitimacy?

Meeting 5: Constitutionalism and Integration through Law

Zimmermann and Dür, *Key Controversies in European Integration*, ch. 5: "Too Much Power for the Judges?" (Karen Alter, "Understanding the European Court's Political Power" vs. Jeremy Rabkin, "The European Court: A Strange Institution"), pp. 79-95.

McCown, Margaret, 2006: "Judicial Law-Making and European Integration: The European Court of Justice", in Richardson, *European Union*, 171-86.

Fritz W. Scharpf (2012): "Perpetual Momentum: Directed and Unconstrained?", *Journal of European Public Policy* 19(1): 127-39.

Michaela Blauberg (2012): "With Luxembourg in Mind ... The Remaking of National Policies in the Face of ECJ Jurisprudence", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 19(1): 109-26.

Sabel, Charles, and Oliver Gerstenberg 2010: "Constitutionalising an Overlapping Consensus: the ECJ and the Emergence of a Coordinate Constitutional Order", *European Law Journal* 16(5): 93-110.

Debate questions:

- Has the jurisprudence of the European Court of Justice resulted in a "constitutionalization" of the EU?
- If so, has this process occurred at the expense of the policy autonomy and constitutional principles of the Member States?

Meeting 6. EMU and the Euro Crisis

Zimmermann and Dür, *Key Controversies in European Integration*, ch. 7: "The Uncertain Future of the Euro" (Amy Verdun, "The Euro Has a Future!" vs. Tal Sadeh, "The End of the Euro Mark I: A Skeptical View of European Monetary Union"), pp. 112-29.

Hodson, Dermot, 2015: "Policy-Making under Economic and Monetary Union: Crisis, Change, and Continuity", in Helen Wallace, Mark A. Pollack, and Alasdair R. Young (eds.), *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 7th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 157-80.

Jones, Erik, 2015: "Getting the Story Right: How You Should Choose between Different Interpretations of the Euro Crisis (and Why You Should Care)", *European Debates* No. 5, European Investment Bank Institute,
<http://institute.eib.org/programmes/knowledge/european-debates/getting-the-story-right-how-you-should-choose-between-different-interpretations-of-the-euro-crisis-and-why-you-should-care/>.

Crum, Ben, 2013: "Saving the Euro at the Cost of Democracy?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 51(4): 614-30.

Borrás, Susana, and Claudio Radaelli, 2014: "The Transformation of EU Governance, the Open Method of Coordination and the Economic Crisis", in Maria João Rodrigues and Eleni Xiarchogiannopoulou (eds), *The Eurozone Crisis and its Implications for the EU Governance: Internal and External Dimensions*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 41-56.

Zeitlin, Jonathan, and Bart Vanhercke, 2015: "Economic Governance in Europe 2020: Socializing the European Semester against the Odds?", in David Natali and Bart Vanhercke (eds.), *Social Policy in the EU: State of Play 2015*, Brussels: Observatoire Social Européen/European Trade Union Institute, 65-95.

Additional Reading

Matthijs, Matthias, and Mark Blyth, (eds.) 2015: *The Future of the Euro*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, esp. conclusion, 249-69.

Debate Questions:

- Have EMU and the economic governance reforms following the Euro crisis strengthened or weakened the EU?
- Does EU post-crisis economic governance leave sufficient space for legitimate national diversity?
- Is EMU sustainable in its present form?

Meeting 7: Identity and Politics

Zimmermann and Dür, *Key Controversies in European Integration*, ch. 6: "Can There Be a Common European Identity?" (Ulrike Liebert, "The Emergence of a European Identity" vs. Jonathan White, "A European Identity is an Illusion"), pp. 95-111.

Habermas, Jürgen, 1995: "Remarks on Dieter Grimm's 'Does Europe Need a Constitution?'" , *European Law Journal* 1(3): 303-307.

Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks, 2008: "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus", *British Journal of Political Science* 39(1): 1-23.

Fligstein, Neil, 2009: "Who Are the Europeans and How Does This Matter for Politics?", in Jeffrey Checkel and Peter Katzenstein (eds.), *European Identity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 132-66.

Risse, Thomas, 2014: "No Demos? Identities and Public Spheres in the Euro Crisis", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52(6): 1207-15.

Debate Questions:

- Is there be a common European identity or demos?

- Is the limited development of a common European identity a political constraint on the further progress of European integration?
- Or can the politicization of European integration itself contribute to the creation of a European demos?

Meeting 8. Democracy and Legitimacy

Zimmermann and Dür, *Key Controversies in European Integration*, ch. 4: "How Democratic Is the EU?" (Richard Bellamy, "The Inevitability of a Democratic Deficit" vs. Christopher Lord, "A Democratic Achievement, Not Just a Democratic Deficit"), pp. 63-78.

Innerarity, Daniel, 2014: "What Must Be Democratized? The European Union as a Complex Democracy", in Serge Champeau et al. *The Future of Europe: Democracy, Legitimacy and Justice after the Euro Crisis*, London: Rowman & Littlefield, 171-94.

Schmidt, Vivien, 2013: "Democracy in the European Union: Input, Output, and Throughput", *Political Studies* 61(1): 2-22.

Fabbrini, Sergio, 2015: "The European Union and the Puzzle of Parliamentary Government", *Journal of European Integration*, early view, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2015.1019877>.

Raunio, Tapio, 2015: "The Role of National Legislatures in EU Politics", in Olof Cramme and Sara Hobolt (eds), *Democratic Politics in a European Union under Stress*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 103-20.

Debate Questions:

- Is there a democratic deficit in the EU? If so, in what respect?
- Would increasing the powers of European and/or national parliaments enhance the EU's democratic legitimacy?

Meeting 9. The EU in the World: What Kind of Power?

Zimmermann and Dür, *Key Controversies in European Integration*, ch. 12: "Does the EU Act as a Normative Power?" (Ian Manners, "The European Union's Normative Power in Global Politics" vs. Mark Pollack, "Living in a Material World: A Critique of 'Normative Power Europe'", pp. 192-204.

Bach, David, and Abraham L. Newman, 2007: "The European Regulatory State and Global Public Policy: Micro-Institutions, Macro-Influence", *Journal of European Public Policy* 14(6): 827-46.

Zielonka, Jan, 2008: "Europe as a Global Actor: Empire by Example?", *International Affairs* 84(3): 471-84.

Damro, Chad, 2012: "Market Power Europe", *Journal of European Public Policy* 19(5): 682-99.

Lavenex, Sandra, 2014: "The Power of Functionalist Extension: How EU Rules Travel", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21(6): 885-903.

Zeitlin, Jonathan, 2014: "The EU and Transnational Regulation Extending Experimentalist Governance?", *GR:EEN Policy Brief* No. 40, http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/csgr/green/papers/policybriefs/pb_zeitlin.pdf.

Debate Questions:

- *Is the EU a "normative power" in global politics?*
- *If not, what kind of power is the EU?*

Meeting 10: W(h)ither the EU?

Zimmermann and Dür, *Key Controversies in European Integration*, ch. 3: "More Power for Brussels or Renationalization?" (Derek Beach, "A Stronger, More Supranational Union" vs. Uwe Puetter, "The New Intergovernmentalism in EU Governance"), pp. 48-62.

Rodrigues, Maria, 2012: *Mapping Future Scenarios for the Eurozone*, Friedrich Ebert Stichting, Berlin, June.

Juncker, Jean-Claude et al., 2015: *Completing Europe's Economic and Monetary Union*, Brussels: European Commission.

Leonard, Mark, and Zielonka, Jan, 2012: *A Europe of Incentives: How to Regain the Trust of Citizens and Markets*, London: European Council on Foreign Relations, http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR58_EUROPE_INCENTIVES_REPORT_AW.pdf.

Schimmelfennig, Frank, et al. 2015: "The EU as a System of Differentiated Integration: Interdependence, Politicization and Differentiation", *Journal of European Public Policy* 22(6): 764-82.

Zeitlin, Jonathan, 2016: "Experimentalist Governance in the EU after the Crisis", paper prepared for Brigid Laffan (ed.), "Europe's Union in Crisis – Tested and Contested", special issue of *West European Politics*, forthcoming.