

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Pardee School of Global Studies and Department of Political Science

Fall Semester 2021

Course Offering IR 550/PO535

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Class Hours: Tuesdays, 6:30-9:15PM

Location: IRC 220

Vivien A. Schmidt

Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration

Professor of International Relations and Political Science

Office: 154 Bay State Road room 303

Boston, MA 02215

Tel: +1 617 358-0192

Email: vschmidt@bu.edu

Website: <http://blogs.bu.edu/vschmidt/>

Office Hours: Tuesdays 4:00-6:00 pm, Wednesdays 1:15-2:15pm
and by appointment

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: IR550/PO535

As the Chinese curse goes: May you live in interesting times. And these have been interesting times indeed for the European Union. Economically, the Eurozone was roiled by the sovereign debt crisis beginning in 2010, having managed well through the banking crisis of 2008 and the crisis in the real economy of 2009. And the Eurozone then continued to face a potential existential crisis with regard to either deepening integration further or risking disintegration under the pressures of the markets in any new financial crisis. By contrast, in foreign and security policy, the incursion in Libya was a military success—but it was a NATO operation led by Britain and France under the UN rather than a Common Security and Defense Policy initiative of the EU. As for the democratization of the EU, the Lisbon Treaty, finally ratified in 2009, bringing to a close the Constitutional crisis that followed the defeat of the Constitutional Treaty by referendum in France and the Netherlands in 2005, was supposed to have provided new leadership under the new positions of Council President—to speak in one voice for the EU—and a High Representative—to coordinate foreign policy. The jury is still out as to whether this has done anything more than add another two voices to the cacophony. Moreover, these reforms did little to address the question of the EU's 'democratic deficit,' a topic of increasing concern since the early 1990s and the main reason for the launching of the Constitutional process in 2000. Although Enlargement—arguably the EU's greatest achievement, which occurred on May 1 2004 with ten new member-states including former Communist East European countries entering the EU—has not been in question, further enlargement is, at the same time that the 'illiberal' drift of many of these countries is worrying. Euroskepticism, moreover, has become more generalized in many European Union member-states, having resulted in the "Brexit" vote in June 2016 and in the rise of populist challenger parties across the EU, whether on the extremes of the left—which have opposed the austerity policies imposed on countries that received loan bailouts in the Southern periphery—or on the right—which have contested the open borders of Schengen, another great EU achievement. Moreover, the internally open borders of Schengen have also been related to the deadly crisis at the external borders of the EU, exacerbated by increasing flows of refugees seeking asylum. Finally, the COVID-19 pandemic has been the crisis to dwarf all other crises with its threat to European lives and livelihoods. But for the moment at least, it seems to have reversed many long-standing policies, both in terms of the Eurozone's fiscally conservative economic policy and the EU's open borders.

For all this, the European Union remains the largest market economy in the world, bigger than the US, and is a force to be reckoned with not only in Europe but around the world, helping set the agenda for international trade and finance along with the United States. Moreover, the EU goes on integrating in quiet ways, below the radar and off the front page, through the economic policies of the Single Market and the social policies focused on improving the environment, gender equality, and labor rights. EU member-states have adapted institutionally to the EU as they have adopted EU policies throughout a range of areas—but they have had very different experiences in so doing, given their own differing institutional structures, policymaking processes, and representative politics. And they also have very different visions of Europe and its political future, by contrast

with a more common vision of its economic future. In short, the process of *European integration*, that is, the development of the European Union and the bottom-up influence of member-states in that development, cannot be separated from the process of *Europeanization*, or the top-down influence of the EU on member-states.

The unique history, make up, and current circumstances of the European Union make it an especially interesting case for study. This course, as a graduate-level seminar on the institutions, politics, and history of the European Union, will do more than examine ‘what happened’ or even ‘why it happened’ and how. We will also be trying to understand and theorize what kind of political entity the EU is and will be in the future within the context of theories of international organization. The European Union is more economically and politically integrated than any other international institution and, as such, is one of the most challenging and complex organizations for scholars of international and comparative politics to study. It is a real time experiment testing what we think we know about politics, power, and interests. Why have sovereign states ‘pooled’ part of their sovereignty over time? How should we classify and analyze the EU in a broader context? What is the relationship between European integration, national identities, and a broader European identity? Why is the EU more successful in some policy areas than others? What impact have market and monetary integration had on European political integration? What is the role of EU enlargement in the integration process over time? What has been the impact of public opinion on EU integration? And what has been the impact of the EU on the member state economies and institutions? We will investigate these issues through the framework of different theoretical approaches. The literature on the European Union is broader than can be covered well in a single semester, but the seminar is designed along the key debates and lenses for understanding the European Union, equipping you to investigate other issues and policies through your own research.

After a brief introduction to the major themes of the course, we begin with discussions of the major controversies regarding the EU, including how to understand its past and its future, the Eurozone crisis, and the EU leadership (or lack thereof) in the world; how to explain European integration as a governance form. We then consider the institutions and governance of the EU, focusing in turn on the institutional structures, policymaking processes, and representative politics as well as on the problems for political identity and democratic legitimacy at the European and national levels. Next, we explore the policies of the EU with regard to the single market, monetary integration, enlargement, immigration and borders, foreign and security policy, and trade policy. Throughout, we will consider not only the ways in which particular member-states have influenced the construction of the EU as both an economic and political entity but also the ways in which the EU has affected the economies and politics of its member-states.

COURSE READINGS (ALL BOOKS ORDERED FOR THE BOOKSTORE):***(required for purchase)***

Coman, Ramona, Crespy, Amandine and Schmidt, Vivien A. (2020) *Politics and Governance in the Post-Crisis European Union* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Hodson, Dermot and Peterson, John (2017) *Institutions of the European Union* (4th edition) Oxford: Oxford University Press

Zimmerman, Hubert and Dür, Andreas (2021) *Key Controversies in European Integration* Third Edition Red Globe Press (Palgrave Macmillan)

(available electronically through library, and also for purchase)

Blyth, Mark and Matthijs, Matthias. (2015) [*The Future of the Euro*](#) (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

[Marquand, David \(2011\), *The End of the West: The Once and Future Europe* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011](#)

[McNamara, Kathleen \(2015\). *The Politics of Everyday Europe: Constructing Authority in the European Union*. Oxford University Press.](#)

Schmidt, Vivien A. (2020) [*Europe's Crisis of Legitimacy: Governing by Rules and Ruling by Numbers in the Eurozone*](#) Oxford: Oxford University Press

Other readings are available via library ejournals, Blackboard, or on PIAZZA.

Current events sources:

[Politico Europe](#) (sign up for the 'Brussels' newsletter and the London Playbook
[EU Observer](#)

[Euractiv](#)

[BBC News](#)

[Spiegel Online](#)

[Le Monde](#)

[The Economist](#)

[Financial Times](#)

[VoxEU](#): European network of economists and policy analysts

[Bruegel](#) (think tank on EU economy)

[Robert Schuman Foundation](#) (think tank on European affairs)

READINGS:

Students are required to complete all reading assignments before class. This is a working seminar, and discussions will require a thorough understanding of the readings.

ONLINE PARTICIPATION: We will be using Piazza for weekly class discussions prior to the state of class. Piazza has two functions: one for practical course questions, and the other for facilitating online discussion. For practical questions, I prefer that you

first post any inquiries to Piazza (logistics) before emailing the professor. It is likely that you will get an answer to your question much faster if you pose it to your peers first on Piazza, and then I can validate or follow up on any answer when I'm available to do so. Piazza has an anonymous function for this purpose.

**** Piazza weekly online discussions: The online comment will be due by 10 am the morning of class. Participating in the online discussions in piazza is very important, particularly to encourage student-to-student interaction through the system.

In order to receive participation credit, you must have at least one meaningful (2+ paragraph or 300 word +) discussion contribution in every week the course is taught. The comment or contribution must take at least 2-3 readings into account. It is not a work of perfection or brilliance: it is a conversation. It can pose more questions than answers. I want you to take risks and really enter an evolving debate and conversation. In a topic as complex and messy as the EU, there is no 'right' answer. The only way to be wrong is to not participate, or to have strong preexisting biases you are not willing to address and evaluate. Additional contributions (answers and follow-up comments) will garner up to five extra credit points for the semester.

Find our class linkup page at: <https://piazza.com/bu/fall2021/ir550po535> with the access code: Europe

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

This course will be run as a seminar. Students are expected to do all the readings and to be prepared to discuss them. This means reading and reflecting analytically on the readings, posting online comments on Piazza before class, and engaging in the seminar discussion. It also means you will prepare a puzzle-driven original research project, using your own original research based on primary sources, and present the project in-class.

1. Weekly readings of 150-200 pages. Knowledge and synthesis will be evaluated through weekly Piazza comments on readings as well as discussion participation in class **(15% of the grade)**.
2. **One** essay of about 2000 words for undergraduates, 3000 words for graduate students that are think pieces related to the readings, with the question set in the syllabus **(25% of grade)**.
 - This paper is intended to demonstrate that you have read and analyzed the assigned readings, so please be sure to write your essays with specific reference to relevant readings.
3. Two (or three) debate and news presentations **(25% of the grade in total)**:
 - Two **debate presentations** (two for graduate students) on one side of a particular EU policy issue. You will first provide an analytical summary (and the position) on the issue as presented by the contributor in the Zimmerman and Dur (2021) readings (as well as where appropriate our readings for the week). You will also further evaluate and support the position taken with

additional academic, policy, and journalistic evidence and sources (10-15 minute presentation). Each presentation requires finding 5 additional secondary (academic) sources and 5 additional primary (original) sources. You will circulate a 1-2 page memo on your debate position plus references (posted on Piazza after class). You will sign up for the debate presentations the first week of the course. **(20% of grade)**

- **News presentation** (signup for date on Piazza). Each student will give a brief 5 minute overview of an EU-relevant news item. The news item should be something reported in the last month, ideally from one of the news sources listed in the syllabus, or other reputable news magazines or major newspapers such as the New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Economist, or Financial Times. Students will sign up for the date, and the topic is student choice. **(5% of grade)**
4. A paper on the topic of the student's choice, related to the second part of the course, on an aspect of any one of the policy areas covered—3000 words for undergraduates, 4000 for graduate students **(35% of grade)**
- The papers should be on one of the policy areas covered in the second part of the course. In your introductory section, in addition to introducing the issues related to the policy area, you should set it into context, such as the degree of the EU's success in this policy area compared to the others studied (with citations from the readings).
 - *The paper should use primary and secondary research sources. It can take the form either of a research paper or a policy brief.*
 - If a research paper, you will need to weigh all the evidence carefully, make an argument about the nature of the problem, the background issues, and the various ways in which the issue has been viewed. It is not speculative, meaning it cannot ask a puzzle about the future (i.e. NOT “what will Brexit do to Britain in 20 years...”). It is also not normative (i.e. NOT “is Merkel's position on migration good or bad/right or wrong”).
 - If a policy brief, you provide a similar (but shorter) analysis, leaving room for your recommendations (say, to the relevant government body or expert commission) on how to resolve the question.
 - Either way, the paper is expected to use the class readings to help analyze the topic. It should also use original primary research (primary sources: websites, statistics, newspaper articles, speeches, party manifestos, policy memos, legislation, etc), and cite at least 20 secondary sources (refereed articles/chapters in books/or books).
 - You will provide an oral presentation on your draft research paper or policy brief in the last class (approx 5-10 minutes including question-and-answer session with fellow students).

ABSENCES AND LATE WORK:

Students are expected to attend all class sessions and to hand in assignments at the scheduled times, unless documentation is given excusing an absence for medical, religious or personal reasons, or for official university business. Every effort should be made to

notify the instructor **in advance** of the reason for the absence. Unexcused late papers will be penalized 5% for the first day late, and 2% each day thereafter.

INFORMATION

The College of Arts and Sciences (CAS) Dean's Office has requested that you be informed of the following: The last day you may drop the course without a W grade is Wednesday October 7. The last day you may drop the course with a W grade is Friday November 6. You are responsible for knowing the provisions of the CAS Academic Conduct Code (copies are available in CAS 105). Cases of suspected academic misconduct will be referred to the Deans' Office.

Academic Misconduct: All class members are expected to maintain high standards of academic honesty and integrity. You are expected to provide citations in papers for all quotations, paraphrases, and ideas taken from any source other than your own original thoughts. Boston University has very strict standards for intellectual integrity, and punishment for plagiarism is severe, and can include permanent expulsion from the university. For more on the definition of plagiarism and the standards to which you will be held, see the [CAS Academic Conduct Code](#), or the [GRS Academic Conduct Code](#).

Disabilities: Boston University is committed to providing equal access to our coursework and programs to all students, including those with disabilities. In order to be sure that accommodations can be made in time for all exams and assignments, please plan to turn in your accommodations letter as soon as possible after the first class to the instructor. After you turn in your letter, please meet with me to discuss the plan for accommodations so that we can be sure that they are adequate and you are supported in your learning. If you have further questions or need additional support, please contact the Office of Disability Services (access@bu.edu).

Academic Integrity

All members of the University are expected to maintain the highest standards of academic honesty and integrity, and the CAS Academic Conduct Code will be strictly enforced. The Conduct Code can be found at <http://www.bu.edu/academics/policies/academic-conduct-code/>.

The online environment does not change your responsibility to follow the Academic Conduct Code. The work you submit must be your own, with clear and accurate citations for the source of any quotations, data, or ideas. Collaboration among students on assignments is not allowed except where explicitly permitted, although I strongly encourage you to study in groups, which facilitates learning. When you submit written assignments, you will be required to affirm your adherence to the Academic Conduct Code.

Digital Conduct Code

Misuse of classroom video and recording can violate the Academic Conduct Code, the Student Conduct Code (<https://www.bu.edu/dos/policies/student-responsibilities/>), the Policy on Computer Ethics (<http://www.bu.edu/policies/conditions-of-use-policy->

[computing-ethics/](#)), and in some cases Massachusetts state law. Expectations for proper behavior are based on simple principles of privacy and mutual respect, by which all students must abide. Expectations for digital conduct include but are not restricted to:

- Students may not record class sessions without permission.
- Students may not share recordings made by the instructor or others with anyone who is not enrolled in the class.
- Students may not share other students' personal or contact information that is revealed in class.
- Harassment of fellow students is strictly forbidden.
- Only students are allowed to participate in class electronically, except with the express permission of the instructor. In order to prevent "Zoom bombing," harassment, and surveillance of your fellow students, do not share the remote participation links and passwords.
- If you have questions as to whether a particular action conforms with or violates these expectations, please consult with the instructor.

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Tuesday Sept. 7: Overview and Introduction to the EU

Marquand, David (2011) “Prologue” and “Weighing like a Nightmare” in *The End of the West: The Once and Future Europe*, pp. 1-66.

Garton Ash, Timothy (2012) “[The Crisis of Europe](#): How the Union came together and Why it’s Falling Apart,” *Foreign Affairs* (Sept./Oct.)

Coman, Ramona, Crespy, Amandine and Schmidt, Vivien A.(2020) “Introduction: The European Union as a Political Regime, a Set of Policies and a Community after the Great Recession” in *Governance and Politics in the Post-Crisis European Union*

*[WHAT IS THE EU?](#) | EuropeChats Episode 1 in conversation with Jim Cloos

Background materials:

[Schuman Declaration](#)

Pascal Fontaine, Europe in [12 lessons](#)

[EU Facts and Figures](#)

[The history of the European Union](#)

[Kristin Archick, Derek E. Mix, The European Union: Questions and Answers](#)

[EUROBUBBLE YouTube Channel](#) Funny videos on the EU

Choose Your Future – [European Elections](#) 23-26 May 2019 video to encourage voting

Tuesday Sept. 14: Explaining European Integration I (History, Institutions, Culture)

Dehousse, Renaud and Magnette, Paul (2017) “European Regional Integration from the Twentieth to the Twenty-First Century” in *Institutions of the European Union*, Ch. 2

Fabbrini, Sergio (2020) “Institutions and Decision-Making in the EU in *Governance and Politics in the Post-Crisis European Union*

McNamara, Kathleen (2015). “[Technologies of Cultural construction](#)” in *The Politics of Everyday Europe*, Ch. 3

Schilde, Kaija (2018) “Introduction” in [The Political Economy of European Security](#),

Tuesday Sept. 21: Explaining European Integration II (Form and Development)

Marquand, David (2011) “Hate and Hope” in *The End of the West*, pp. 67-101.

Jan Zielonka (2006) [Europe as Empire, Introduction](#) Oxford: Oxford University Press,

Schmidt, Vivien (2006) “[The European Union as Regional State](#)” in *Democracy in Europe: The EU and National Politics* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Debate 1: Britain’s Decision to Leave the EU: Good or Bad? (Zimmerman and Dur)

In Defence of Brexit—Christopher Bickerton

Brexit – A Political and Economic Disaster for Britain—Martin Rhodes

Martill, Benjamin and Staiger, Uta, eds., (2018) [Brexit and Beyond: Rethinking the Futures of Europe](#) London: UCL Press (esp. Ch.’s 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 13, 14)

Extra materials of interest for the debate

BBC: *Inside Europe: Ten Years of Turmoil, We Quit* - Episode 1 of 3

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gVO5dMUAq54>

[Voting on European Integration: A Long History of Skepticism](#) (on Brexit)

Jonathan Pie, 'Brexit: What the F**K is going on?' <https://youtu.be/-IL2XwSkFJQ>

(warning: lots of curse words)

Alan James Thompson [speech on Brexit](#) Labor MP Tottenham

Visit the website '[The UK in a Changing Europe](#)' and read some of the essays in the sections on Analysis and Facts for background.

Anand Menon [TEDx talk on democracy and Brexit](#)

[Yes Minister](#) clip on why Britain joined the EU

Tuesday Sept. 28: Who is in Charge or in Control? EU Institutions I

Hodson and Peterson (2017) *Institutions of the European Union*

Ch. 3: The European Council: A Formidable Locus of Power, *Philippe de Schoutheete*

Ch. 4: The Council of Ministers: Conflict, Consensus, and Continuity, *Fiona Hayes-Renshaw*

Ch. 5: The College of Commissioners: Supranational Leadership and Presidential Politics

John Peterson

*What is the [European Interest?](#) | EuropeChats Episode 2 in conversation with Jim Cloos

Debate 1 More Powers for Brussels or Renationalization? (Zimmerman and Dur)

A Stronger, More Supranational Union - Derek Beach

The New Intergovernmentalism and European Integration - Uwe Puetter

Mérand, Frédéric (2021) "Political Work in the Stability and Growth Pact," *Journal of European Public Policy* <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2021.1901961> (will post)

Tuesday Oct 5: Who is in Charge or in Control? EU Institutions II

Hodson and Peterson (2017)

6: The European Parliament: The Power of Democratic Ideas, *Michael Shackleton*

7: The Court of Justice: European Integration and Judicial Institutions, *Niamh Nic Shuibhne*

9: The European Central Bank: New Powers and New Institutional Theories, *Dermot Hodson*

Debate 1: Promise and Peril of a New German Hegemony

(Zimmerman and Dur)

The Failure of German Leadership - Matthias Matthijs

A Benign Hegemon: Germany's European Vocation - Otero-Iglesias and Zimmermann

Schmidt, Vivien (2020) *Europe's Crisis of Legitimacy*

Ch. 5 “[The Council: Dictatorship or Deliberative Body?](#)” pp. 117-149
 Habermas, Jürgen “Are we still Good Europeans?” *Social Europe* July 2018
<https://www.socialeurope.eu/are-we-still-good-europeans>

Tuesday Oct 19: EU Politics and Democracy

Marquand, David (2011) “The Revenge of Politics” in *The End of the West*, pp. 102-140.

Schmidt, Vivien A. (2020) *Europe’s Crisis of Democracy*,

Ch. 3 “[Split-Level Legitimacy and Politicization in EU Governance](#),” pp. 56-83

Lacey, Joseph and Nicolaïdis, Kalypso (2020) “Democracy and Disintegration: Does the State of Democracy in the EU put the Integrity of the Union at Risk?” in *Governance and Politics in the Post-Crisis European Union*

Debate 1: How Democratic Is The EU?

(Zimmerman and Dur).

The Inevitability of a Democratic Deficit - Richard Bellamy

A Democratic Achievement, not just a Democratic Deficit - Christopher Lord

Debate 2: Lobbying in the EU: How Much Power for Big Business?

(Zimmerman and Dur).

Still Influential after all these Years - Angela Wigger and Laura Horn

The Diminishing Power of Big Business - David Marshall

[Documentary “The Brussels Business” 2012](#)

* **Paper #1:** Due 10/26 (covers up to 10/19).

Question: What does the past history and process of European integration suggest about future prospects? Who is in charge of the EU, who is in control? How democratic is the EU? Answer by discussing the nature and problems of EU governance. What solutions to the problems of EU governance do you think most plausible?

EU Policy Domains

Tuesday Oct 26: The Internal Market

Egan, Michelle (2020) “The Internal Market: Increasingly Differentiated?” in *Governance and Politics in the Post-Crisis European Union*

Alons, Gerry (2020) Agriculture and Environment: Greening or Greenwashing? in *Governance and Politics in the Post-Crisis European Union*

Matthias Matthijs, Craig Parsons, and Christina Toenshoff (2019) “[Ever Tighter Union?](#) Brexit, Grexit, and Frustrated Differentiation in the Single Market and Eurozone” *Comparative European Politics* 17 (2): 209-230

Debate 1: Can the EU Tame Big Finance?

(Zimmerman and Dur)

The Merits of Adaptive Governance: - Jörn Carsten Gottwald
The Pitfalls of EU Governance in Financial Markets - Daniel Mügge

Debate 2: The Big Waste? The Common Agricultural Policy
 (Zimmerman & Dur)

The CAP: Dilemmas and facts—Tassos Hanliotis
The Common Agricultural Policy: an environmental, social and sanitary failure—Eve Fouilleux

Tuesday Nov 2: The Eurozone

Schmidt, Vivien A. (2020) *Europe's Crisis of Legitimacy*,
 Ch. 4 "[Governing by Rules and Ruling by Numbers](#) in the Eurozone," pp. 87-116
 Ch. 9 "[Policy Effectiveness and Performance](#) in the Eurozone Crisis," pp. 223-258
 Ch. 10 "[Politics against Policy](#) in the Eurozone," pp. 259-290
 Schmidt, Vivien A. (2021) "European Emergency Politics and the Question of Legitimacy," *Journal of European Public Policy* <https://doi-org.ezproxy.bu.edu/10.1080/13501763.2021.1916061> (will post)

Debate 1: The Future of the European Union? Union or Disintegration?
 (Zimmerman and Dur CH. 7)

Why the Euro is a Functional Necessity... - Henrik Enderlein
For a Plurality of Economic and Social Models! - Andreas Nölke
 Blyth, Mark and Matthijs, Matthias. (2015) [The Future of the Euro](#) Oxford
 McNamara, Kathleen, "[The Forgotten Problem of Embeddedness](#)"
 Jones, Erik, "[The Forgotten Financial Union](#)"

Extra background materials for the debate

BBC Inside Europe Episode 2 Ten Years of Turmoil-- Going for Broke (on the Eurozone Crisis) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W15vynTpYtg&t=3s>
 Yanis Varoufakis on [what's wrong in Europe today](#) and how to fix it tomorrow morning | DiEM25
 Yanis Varoufakis on Covid-19 response by [Germans and the Recovery Fund](#) And on

Tuesday Nov 9: The Eurozone

Blyth, Mark and Matthijs, Matthias. (2015) [The Future of the Euro](#) Oxford
 Newman, Abraham "[The Reluctant Leader](#): Germany's Euro Experience and the long Shadow of Reunification"
 Vail, Mark "[Europe's Middle Child](#): Frances' Statist Liberalism and the Conflicted Politics of the Euro
 Hopkin, Jonathan "[The Troubled Southern Periphery](#)" (on Italy and Spain)
 Kevin Featherstone (2011). "[The Greek Sovereign Debt Crisis and EMU](#): A Failing State in a Skewed Regime." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49(2):193-217
[The Greek Crisis](#)" (2020) PIIE (Peterson Institute for International Economics):

Debate 1: The Euro: Who is to Blame? EU Institutional Actors, Northern Europe led by Germany, Southern Europe, or....?

- Schmidt, Vivien A. (2020) *Europe's Crisis of Legitimacy*,
 Ch. 5 "[The Council](#): Dictatorship or Deliberative Body?" pp. 117-149
 Ch. 6 "[The European Central Bank](#): Hero or Ogre," pp. 150-175
 Ch. 7 "[The EU Commission](#): "Ayatollahs of Austerity" or "Ministers of Moderation?" pp. 176-207
 Ch. 8 "[The European Parliament](#): From Talking Shop to Equal Partner?" pp. 208-219

Tuesday Nov. 16: EU as a Global Actor (guest instructor: Prof. Kaija Schilde)

- De Ville, Ferdi (2020) "Trade Policy: Which Gains for Which Losses?" in *Governance and Politics in the Post-Crisis European Union*
 Howorth, Jolyon (2020) "The CSDP in Transition: Towards 'Strategic Autonomy'?" in *Governance and Politics in the Post-Crisis European Union*
 Schilde, Kaija (2018) "Mister Smith Goes to Brussels" in [The Political Economy of European Security](#) Ch. 2 (esp. pp. 57-84) and "The Political Economy of European Defense" in [The Political Economy of European Security](#), Chapter 4.

Debate 1: Towards A Common European Army?

(Zimmerman and Dur)

The European Union's CSDP: The great illusion—Luca Ratti

Defence Integration in the EU: From Vision to Business-as-Usual - Hanna Ojanen

Debate 2: Does the EU Act as a Normative Power?

(Zimmerman and Dur)

The EU is a Normative Power in world politics - Daniela Sicurelli

Living in a Material World: A Critique of 'Normative Power Europe' - Mark Pollack

Tuesday Nov 23: Identity and Migration (To be rescheduled for Nov. 22 or 23 any time between 7am and 1pm via zoom, or Nov. 29)

- McNamara, Kathleen (2015). "[Citizenship and Mobility](#)" in *The Politics of Everyday Europe: Constructing Authority in the European Union*. Oxford University Press, Chapter 5
 Wolf, Sarah (2020) "Managing the Refugee Crisis: A Divided and Restricted Europe?" in *Governance and Politics in the Post-Crisis European Union*
 Chebel D'Appollonia, Ariane (2019) "[EU migration policy and border controls](#): From chaotic to cohesive differentiation" *Comparative European Politics* 17 (2): 192-208
 Schilde, Kaija (2018) "The Political Development of EU Security" in [The Political Economy of European Security](#), Ch. 6 (esp. pp. 196-217)
 Yes Minister [episode explains the EEC](#)

Debate 1 Can There Be A Common European Identity?

(Zimmerman and Dur)

European Identity Formation in the Crisis - Ulrike Liebert

A Common European Identity is an Illusion - Jonathan White

Tuesday Nov 30: EU Enlargement

Marquand, David (2011) “Which Boundaries, Whose History?” in *The End of the West*, pp. 141-177.

Makszin, Kristin, Medbe-Balint, Gergö, and Bohle, Dorothee (2020) “North and South, East and West: Is it Possible to Bridge the Gap?” in *Governance and Politics in the Post-Crisis European Union*

Coman, Ramona (2020) “Democracy and the Rule of Law: how can the EU Uphold its Common Values?” in *Governance and Politics in the Post-Crisis European Union*

Vachudova, Milada (2019) “[The EU’s Eastward Enlargement and the Illiberal Turn](#)” *Current History* vol. 18, no. 806: 90-95

Debate 1: Has EU Enlargement Gone Too Far?

(Zimmerman & Dur)

The case for EU Enlargement - Rachel Epstein

EU Enlargement: A Critique - Christopher J. Bickerton

Tuesday Dec 7:

Final research or policy brief paper presentations

(Final Papers Due on Dec. 14)