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*Jean Monnet European Studies Module**

EUS 4931/POS 4931
European Economic Integration: Politics and Policy

Course Description: This course is designed to provide students with a unique perspective on the political economy of European Union (EU) economic integration. It is an interdisciplinary course that covers topics ranging from the economic and political justification for economic integration to the links between EU enlargement and post-communist economic transition to the role of the Euro in the world. In addition, the course will require participation in two in-class debates. In each, two teams will present policy briefs on complex and controversial policy choices that the EU has faced over the course of its institutional evolution. The final activity of the course is a half-day long seminar where students will present research paper findings to a group of local social studies and economics teachers.

Book(s) Available for Purchase at Goering's Books (1717 NW 1st Avenue, Tel. 352-377-3703):
William Wallace, Helen Wallace, Mark Pollack, eds. *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 5th ed.
(Oxford UP, 2005).

A course reader is available for purchase at Target Copy on University Avenue.

Course Requirements:

Two in-class exams (50% total): Midterm (20%) Final (30%)

Participation in one of two class debates (10%)

Research Paper (20%)

Participation in student-teacher seminar (10%)

Attendance and participation (10%)

Grading Scale

A	100-90	B+	85-89.9	B	80-84.9
C+	75-79.9	C	70-74.9	D+	65-69.9
D	60-64.9	E	< 60		

Class attendance and participation in class discussion are mandatory: Students are expected to attend every class meeting, and come prepared to discuss the assigned readings. Eighty percent of the attendance and participation grade will be based on attendance. Regular and thoughtful participation in the class discussion will contribute towards 20% of the attendance and participation grade. Throughout the course students are encouraged to raise questions and relevant discussion topics in class, and students are expected to contribute to all class discussions. To prepare for discussions, it is important that assigned readings be completed prior to the corresponding class period. To receive credit for participation, students are required to ask questions, raise issues, express opinions, etc. regarding the topics covered, as well as

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respond to the questions. Students who do not feel comfortable speaking in class must contact the instructors by the second week of class at the latest to arrange for alternative methods of participation.

Research Paper: Each student is expected to produce a research paper whose topic fits in one of the three themes; (1) a particular theoretical debate concerning European economic integration; (2) the experience of a particular EU member state with the process of economic integration in the EU; or (3) the significance/impact of the single currency for non-EU member states. Papers are due by **5:00pm on April 17**. Students are required to have their topics approved by one of the instructors.

Student-Teacher Seminar: All students are required to participate in a half-day seminar to be held on **April 19**, 9:00:12:00, where they will present the findings of their research papers to a select group of local high school teachers. In exchange for participation in the seminar, there will be no class on April 18, April 21 and April 23.

More details about the seminar and the presentations will be provided after the drop-add period.

Make-up for the examinations: If a student cannot attend an examination, s/he needs to notify the instructors as soon as physically possible by phone, fax or e-mail. Our e-mails are available 24 hours a day. Students who fail to notify the instructors prior to the examination will not be allowed to take it. Make-ups will be given only to students who have been unable to take the regularly scheduled exam due to a medical or personal condition which has incapacitated them. Written documentation explaining the situation is required for make-up exams. We need to receive the documentation before we allow any student to take a make-up.

If any make-up exams are necessary, they will be given during the week of final examinations, at a time that is convenient for both the student and the instructors.

Students with Disabilities who require individualized testing and other accommodations should identify themselves to the instructors and express their needs. Where the disability is not immediately apparent, verification will be required.

Academic Honor: Students are expected to adhere to the UF Student Honor Code. The academic honor system of the University of Florida is based on the premise that each student has the responsibility (1) to uphold the highest standards of academic integrity in the student's own work, (2) to refuse to tolerate violations of academic integrity in the University community and (3) to foster a high sense of integrity and social responsibility on the part of the University community.

Students violating the honor code will receive zero (0) points for the assignment or exam in question, and may receive an 'F' for the class.

DETAILED SYLLABUS

I. The Political Economy of European Integration: A Theoretical Overview

Jan 7 Introduction to the class (O'Dwyer & Kostadinova)

* Wallace and Wallace. 2005. *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Ch. 1 "Theorizing EU Policy-Making," pp. 13-48.

Jan 9 Short Overview of EU integration from origins to the current day (Kostadinova)

* John Pinder, 2001. *The European Union: a very short introduction*, Oxford UP ch. 1-2 (e-book available through UF).

Jan 11 Short Overview of EU integration from origins to the current day (cont) and begin Unlocking economic growth and efficiency through market integration (Kostadinova)

* Hans Haller. "Propaedeutics of Strategic Theories of Economic Integration". *Working paper 2006-07*. (E-RESERVES) or <http://ase.tufts.edu/econ/papers/200007.pdf>

* Christopher Dent. 1997. *The European Economy: The Global Context*. Pp. 26-45. (COURSE READER).

A. The Case for European Integration

Jan 14 Economic efficiency vs. Political Legitimacy (O'Dwyer)

* Fritz Scharpf. *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?* (<http://www.netlibrary.com/Reader/>)

•Ch. 1 "Political Democracy in a Capitalist Economy" (pp. 6-28)

•Ch. 2 "Negative and Positive Integration" (pp. 43-83)

Jan 16 Regional integration and market regulation in an increasingly global economy (Kostadinova)

* Geoffrey Underhill. 2002. "Global Integration, EMU, and Monetary Governance in the European Union: The Political Economy of the 'Stability Culture'" in Kenneth Dyson, ed. *European States and the Euro*. Oxford University Press. (COURSE READER).

* Paul Taylor. 2002. "The European Union in the Global Economy at the Millennium". In Brewer, Brenton and Boyd, eds. *Globalizing Europe*. Edward Elgar. (COURSE READER).

B. A Political Perspective on Economic Integration (O'Dwyer)

Jan 18 Who wins and who loses from EU integration?

* Fritz Scharpf. *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?*

•Ch. 3 "Regulatory Competition and Re-Regulation" (pp. 84-120)

•Ch. 5 "The European Contribution"(156-186)

Jan 21 NO CLASS: MARTIN LUTHER KING DAY

Jan 23 Building political support for EU integration?

* Larry Siedentop, *Democracy in Europe* (New York: Columbia UP, 2001): Ch. 2 "Where Are Our Madisons?" (pp. 25-46) (E-RESERVES)

* Andrew Moravcsik, "In Defense of the Democratic Deficit: Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union" *The Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40, (4), 2002, 603-624 (E-RESERVES) or (<http://www.princeton.edu/~amoravcs/library/deficit.pdf>)

C. An Ongoing Debate: EU integration and the "European Social Market Model" (Kostadinova)

Jan 25/28 Two visions of Europe: neo-liberal v. regulated capitalism

- * Gosta Esping-Andersen. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton University Press. Ch. 1 (E-RSERVES)
- * Kathleen McNamara. 1998. *The Currency of Ideas*. Cornell University Press. Ch. 6: “Neoliberal Consensus and the European Monetary System” (COURSE READER)
- * Georg Menz. 2005. *Varieties of Capitalism and Europeanization*. Oxford University Press. Ch. 2: “Europeanization Meets Organized Capitalism” (COURSE READER)

Jan 30 A populist backlash?

If you are not on campus, use remote login to UF libraries to access these articles:

- * The Economist, Feb 10, 2005. Hollow protests.
http://www.economist.com/research/backgrounders/displaystory.cfm?story_id=3648765
- * The Economist, Nov 22, 2007. The street fights back.
http://www.economist.com/world/europe/displaystory.cfm?story_id=10193524
- * Additional articles to be assigned later in the semester.

II. EU Integration in Practice (Part I): Political Economy of Integration before Eastern Enlargement

A. Policies to Unlock Market Efficiencies: Economic Perspective (Kostadinova)

Feb 1/4/6 From Customs Union to Monetary Union

- * Wallace and Wallace. 2005. *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Ch. 4&6.
- * Amy Verdun. 2002. “Why EMU Happened” in Patrick Crowley, ed. *Before and Beyond the EMU*. Routledge. (E-RESERVES)

Feb 8 The Euro, The Bank and Stability in the Eurozone

- * Paul De Grauwe. 2007. *Economics of the Monetary Union*. Oxford University Press. Ch. 4: “Costs and Benefits Compared” & Ch. 8: “The European Central Bank” (COURSE READER)

Feb 11 Competition policy within the EU

- * Wallace and Wallace. 2005. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Ch. 5

Feb 13 TBA

Feb 15 IN-CLASS MIDTERM

B. Building Popular Support for Economic Integration: A Political Perspective (O’Dwyer)

Feb 18 Common Agricultural Policy (CAP)

- * Wallace and Wallace. 2005. *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Ch. 7 “Agricultural Policy” pp. 161-191.

Feb 20 Reforming CAP?

- * Peter Nedergaard, "The 2003 Reform of the Common Agricultural Policy: Against all Odds or Rational Explanations?" *European Integration*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (July 2006): 203–223. (E-RESERVES)
- * Larry Neal. 2007. *The Economics of Europe and the European Union*, ch. 4 "The Common Agricultural Policy and Reforms: feeding Europe and then some" (COURSE READER)

STUDENT DEBATE ON CAP (Feb 22)

Feb 25 Cohesion Policy and the Structural Funds

- * Wallace and Wallace. 2005 *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Ch. 9 "Cohesion and the Structural Funds," pp. 1213-242.

Feb 27 Social Policy

- * Wallace and Wallace. 2005. *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Ch. 10, "Social Policy," (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996): pp. 243-278.

C. EU integration and varieties of capitalism: Evidence for the Convergence of National Economies? (Kostadinova)

Feb 29/Mar 3 Convergence or divergence of national policies

- * Georg Menz. 2005. *Varieties of Capitalism and Europeanization*. Oxford University Press. Ch. 5: "Response Strategies Elsewhere in Northern Europe and a Comparison of the Response Capacity of National Models". (COURSE READER)
- * Martin Rhodes. 2002. "Why EMU is – or May Be – Good for the European Welfare States". In Kenneth Dyson, ed. *European States and the Euro*. Oxford University Press. (COURSE READER).

III. Economic Transition and EU Enlargement in Contemporary Eastern Europe

A. Another Dimension in the Triple Transition?: EU Accession in the Context of Postcommunist Political, Economic, and National Transitions (O'Dwyer)

Mar 5 The Historical Context: Economic Backwardness

- * Andrew Janos, *East Central Europe in the Modern World: The Politics of the Borderlands from Pre- to Postcommunism*
 - Ch. 3 "Liberalism and the Nation-State" (pp. 54-97) (E-RESERVES)
- Barry Eichengreen, *The European Economy Since 1945* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2007)
 - Ch. 5 "Eastern Europe and the Planned Economy" (pp. 131-162) (E-RESERVES)

Mar 7 The Triple Transition in Theory: The Tasks of Postcommunist Political and Economic Reform (Conor)

- * Claus Offe, "Capitalism by democratic design? Democratic theory facing the triple transition in East Central Europe," *Social Research*, Fall, 2004 (http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2267/is_3_71/ai_n6364142/print)

Mar 17: The Triple Transition in Practice

* Milada Vachudova and Tim Snyder, "Are Transitions Transitory? Two Types of Political Change in Eastern Europe Since 1989," *East European Politics and Societies* 11:1(1997): 1-35. [E-RESERVES]

SPRING BREAK

B. Why should postcommunist countries join the EU? (O'Dwyer)

Mar 19 The Motivations for and Challenges of Accession

* "When East Meets West" *The Economist* (November 20, 2003).

[http://web.clas.ufl.edu/users/codwyer/EU_Policymaking/WhenEastMeetsWest.pdf]

* "SURVEY -- European Union Enlargement: Joining the west," *The Economist* (May 17, 2001).

[http://web.clas.ufl.edu/users/codwyer/EU_Policymaking/JoiningTheWest_Economist.pdf]

* Andrew Moravcsik and Milada Anna Vachudova, "National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement" *Working Paper, Center for European Studies, Harvard University*, (2002)

(<http://www.princeton.edu/~amoravcs/library/eeps.pdf>)

Mar 21-24 Economic support for accession: PHARE, CAP, Structural Funds

* David R. Cameron, "The Challenges of Accession," *East European Politics and Societies*, 17 (2003): 24-41. [E-RESERVES]

* Wallace and Wallace. 2005. *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Ch. 16 "Eastern Enlargement," (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996): pp. 401-428.

C. Post-accession Institutional Changes (Kostadinova)

Mar 26 Reforming EU institutions: budgetary spending and other

* The great debate begins," *The Economist* (Feb 10, 2005).

* Wallace and Wallace. 2005. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Ch. 8

* Youri Devuyst. 2003. *The European Union at the crossroads : the EU's institutional evolution from the Schuman Plan to the European Convention*. Peter Lang Publishing. Ch. 4. "Differentiation, Solidarity, Philosophical Openness and the EU's Future" (E-RESERVES)

Mar 28 EMU and the New Member-States

* Hochreiter, Eduard and Helmut Wagner. 2002. The Road to the Euro: Exchange Rate Arrangements in the European Transition Economies. *ANNALS, AAPSS* 579:169-182. (E-RESERVES)

Gros, Daniel. 2003. "Central Europe on the Way to the EMU" in Stefano Manzochi, ed. *The Economics of Enlargement*. Palgrave. (E-RESERVES)

March 31 Guest Speaker: Patrick Crowley

STUDENT DEBATE ON EMU (April 2)

C. Convergence of East and West? How has accession influenced the new member-states politically and economically? (O'Dwyer)

Apr 4 Deepening Democracy?

* Grzegorz Ekiert, Jan Kubik and Milada Anna Vachudova, "Democracy in the Post-Communist World: An Unending Quest?" *East European Politics and Societies* 21:7(2007): 7-30. (E-RESERVES)

* Jan Zielonka, "The Quality of Democracy after Joining the European Union," *East European Politics and Societies* 21:7(2007): 162-180. (E-RESERVES)

Apr 7 Economic Efficiency and Political Legitimacy Revisited, Part I

* Alexei Barrionuevo, "Slovakia Turns the Tables," Wall Street Journal, January 12, 2005, 9.

* "Dancing an Irish Jig: EU Newcomers will mimic the nimble Gaels -- if they get the chance," *The Economist* (April 17, 2004).

Apr 9 Guest Speaker: Gordon Adam

FINAL PAPERS DUE IN WEEK 14

IV. Future of European economic integration

Apr 11 Guest Speaker: Otton Solis

Apr 14: Economic Efficiency and Political Legitimacy Revisited, Part II

* Conor O'Dwyer and Branislav Kovalčík, "And the Last Shall be First: Party System Institutionalization and Second-Generation Economic Reform in Postcommunist Europe," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 41:4 (Winter 2007): 3-26. (E-RESERVES)

Recommended:

* Dorothee Bohle and Béla Greskovits, "Capitalism without Compromise: Strong Business and Weak Labor in Eastern Europe's New Transnational Industries," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 41(1) (Spring 2006): 3-25. (E-RESERVES)

Apr 16 (The End of "Fortress Europe"? (Kostadinova)

* Larry Neal. 2007. *The Economics of Europe and the European Union*, ch. 20 "The Future Members: customs union as a substitute or stage one for the EU?" (COURSE READER)

* Jens Morgensen. 1998. "The Institutional Challenges and Paradoxes of EU Governance in External Trade". In Alan Cafruny and Patrick Peters, eds. *The Union and the World*. Kluwer Law International. (COURSE READER)

* Alan Cafruny. 2003. "Europe, the United States, and Neoliberal (Dis)Order". In Alan Cafruny and Magnus Ryner, eds. *A Ruined Fortress?*. Rowman and Littlefield. (E-RESERVES)

V. Teacher-Student Seminar: Presentation of Research Projects

Apr. 19 CONCLUDING SEMINAR

FINAL EXAM DURING EXAM DAYS