

**Prof. Dr. Christiane Lemke**

UNC-Chapel Hill

Fall Term 2017

Mo, Wed, Fr 9:05 -10:35

Location: Global Education Center, 3024

Office hours Mo, Wed 11:00-12:00 and by appointment

**TAM-Course POLI 733**

## **European Integration: Theories, Institutions and Decision-Making Processes**

What is Europe and how do we define integration? This seminar will introduce you to key concepts and developments of European integration. We will begin with major theories of integration, then explore the institutions and policies of the EU. We will also discuss recent developments such as the impact of the “Brexit”-decision for the future of the EU. Questions we will address in the seminar include: How has the meaning of Europe changed over time? Why do states transfer sovereignty to the European level? What is the role of EU-institutions? How does the EU cope with current challenges such as the refugee crisis and the democratic backlash in some member countries? How are transatlantic relations changing?

This is an intensive seminar and we will meet three times per week. The format of the class includes introductory lectures, student presentations and project work. Please be prepared to actively participate in class. There will also be some special features such as films and guest lectures. The seminar will conclude with a workshop including students’ presentations on their final projects.

### **Learning Objectives**

- \* Study major theories and concepts of European integration
- \* Apply theories and concepts to policy issues
- \* Understand the workings of EU-institutions and decision-making processes
- \* Gain a better understanding of European politics
- \* Critically reflect upon European integration from a political science perspective

### **Readings**

Olson, Jonathan and John Mc Cormick (2016). *The European Union. Politics and Policies*, 6<sup>th</sup> edition, Boulder Col.: Westview Press

Required readings (articles etc.) will be posted on the course website on Sakai.

For general information about the EU you should use the official website of the EU

[http://europa.eu/european-union/index\\_en](http://europa.eu/european-union/index_en)

### **Course Requirements**

**Writing:** You will write two short papers (4-5 pages), and one final paper (15-20 pages). In the **two short papers** you should *critically* reflect on the assigned readings, for example a certain theme or argument, or answer a specific question that emerged for you in the course of the reading. The first short paper will be on the concepts and theories of European integration based on your readings; please choose one set of theories or a particular concept or question you wish to explore. The second short paper should focus on one of the EU-institutions and critically address

its role within the EU and in regard to citizens' participation. The **final paper** is a formal research paper on a topic of your choice exploring contemporary European developments.

**Due Dates:** First short paper is due on **September 18**; the second short paper on **October 9**  
Final papers are due on **October 30**.

**Presentations:** Everyone should actively participate in class, present findings from the readings and ask questions. To hone your public speaking skills you will be asked to prepare a short 3-5 minute presentation about a **current event** in European politics, based on newspaper articles followed by a brief discussion (one-page hand-out). You will also prepare a brief presentation about one of the EU-institutions (week 5 and 6).

The short papers count for 20% each and the final paper for 40% of the grade; the remaining 20% is class participation including the event of the week. Please note that the UNC Honour Code applies.

## Course Schedule

### Session 1 Wed Aug 23, Fr Aug 25, 9:05-10:35

#### What is Europe? The Changing Meaning of Europe Over Time

Topics: The meaning of Europe and the construction of the EU. How can we conceptualize integration? Why do states transfer sovereignty? Is there a new "German question"? What is the future of the EU after "Brexit"?

Readings: Crepaz/Steiner (2013). *European Democracies*, chap.14

Habermas, Jürgen (2016). The European Crisis. The Players Resign (on Brexit)

Offe/Preuß (2015). Citizens in Europe, chap. 1 (The Union's Course)

## THE EVOLUTION OF THE EU AND THEORIES OF INTEGRATION

### Session 2 Aug 28, Aug 30, Sept. 1

#### Concepts and Theories of Integration I: From Postwar Reconstruction to the Maastricht Treaty (1993)

Theories to be considered in these sections include: federalism, neo-functionalism, liberal intergovernmentalism, multi-level governance, social constructivism

Topics: The federal idea of Europe: Monnet and Spinelli; neo-functionalism; the role of states and inter-state bargaining; France and Germany; the role of the US

Readings: Burgess, Federalism, in: Wiener/Diez (2009). *European Integration*, pp. 25-44

Niemann and Schmitter, Neofunctionalism, in Wiener/Diez, pp. 45-66

Olsen/Mc Cormick (2016). *The European Union*, chap. 1 - 3

Moravcsik and Schimmelfennig, Liberal Intergovernmentalism, in: Wiener/Diez, pp. 67-87

### Session 3 (Labor Day) Wed Sept. 6, Fri Sept. 8

#### History and Theories of Integration II: Constructing the "New Europe" After 1990

Topics: Deepening and Widening of the EU; Multilevel governance; Social constructivism; Is there a European identity? German unification; Reforms and the Lisbon Treaty (2009)

Readings: Hooghe/Marks (2001). Multilevel Governance, chap. 1

Risse, Social Constructivism, in: Wiener/Diez, pp. 144-160

Lemke/Welsh (2017): *Germany Today: Politics and Policy* (chap. 1 and 7)  
Olsen/McCormick (2016). *The European Union*, chap. 4

**Session 4 Sept. 11, Sept. 13, Sept. 15**

**Crisis and Transitions: Europe After the Euro Crisis and Brexit**

Topics: The rise of Euroscepticism; Is populism a transatlantic phenomenon? The impact of the eurozone crisis; Brexit and Beyond

Bilefsky (2016). Voting on European Integration. A Long History of Skepticism

Hobolt (2016). The Brexit Vote

Lemke/Welsh (2017). *Germany Today: Politics and Policy* (chap. 3-4)

INSTITUTIONS AND THE EU-POLITY

**Session 5 Sept. 18, 20, 22**

**Institutions of the EU: Regulation and Reforms**

(with short students' presentations)

Topics: European governance: What is the role of EU-institutions? The quest for legitimacy, representation, and democracy; Euro-skepticism and anti-EU parties; the 2014 EP elections; Euro-polity and institutions

Readings: Olsen/McCormick (2016). *The European Union*, chap. 5-7; 10 (EU Commission; Council of the European Union; European Parliament; Public Opinion)

Website of the EU: [http://europa.eu/institutions/index\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/institutions/index_en.htm)

**Special Feature September 19, 6:00-8:00 pm Film Evening, GEC 3024**

“Those Who Jump” (on the refugee problem)

**Session 6 Sept. 25, Sept. 27, Sept. 29**

**Economic Governance and the Eurozone Crisis**

(with short students' presentations)

Topics: Internal market and common currency; varieties of capitalism; euro zone crisis; more integration or disintegration? European Council; European Court of Justice; European Central Bank

Readings: Olsen/McCormick (2016). *The European Union*, chap. 8-9 (ECJ; European Council; ECB)

Hall (2012). *The Economics and Politics of the Eurozone Crisis*

Lemke/Welsh (2017). *Germany Today*, chap. 6 (Political Economy)

Olsen/McCormick (2016). *The European Union*, chap. 12 (Economic and Monetary Policy)

**Special Evening Feature at 5:30 pm, September 26: The German Elections 2017**

POLICIES OF THE EU: IMMIGRATION AND EXTERNAL RELATIONS

**Session 7 Oct. 2, 4, 6**

**Policies of the EU: Migration, Immigration, Refugees and Human Rights**

Topics: The policy cycle; Europeanization and modes of governance; citizenship and

migration; human rights and asylum policy in the EU; the refugee crisis  
Readings: Alba/Foner (2015). *Strangers No More*. Immigration (chap. 1,2,7)  
Lemke/Welsh (2017). *Germany Today: Politics and Policy*, chap. 5  
(Migration)  
Olsen/McCormick (2016). *The European Union*, chap. 11 and 13

### **Session 8 Oct. 9, Oct 11, Oct 13**

#### **External Relations of the EU**

Topics: Europe's Common Foreign and Security Policy; the global role of the EU; the concept of civilian power; enlargement of the EU; Europe as normative power ; democratic backlash

Readings : Börzel and Risse (2009). *Venus Approaching Mars? The European Union as an Emerging Civilian World Power*  
Lemke/Welsh (2017). *Germany Today*, chap. 8 (Global Role)  
Levitsky, Steven/ Lucan A. Way (2010). *Competitive Authoritarianism*, chap. 3  
Olsen/McCormick (2016). *The European Union*, chap. 15  
Schimmelfennig (2001). *The Community Trap*  
Visoka and Doyle (2016). *Neofunctional Peace (on Kosovo)*

#### **Special feature October 5 Film Evening, 6:00 to 8:00 pm GEC 3033**

**“Goodbye, Lenin”** (on the fall of the wall)

#### **Special Feature: October 14 (Saturday) 10 - 4 pm GEC 3024**

**Transatlantic Masters Students Workshop with presentations of students' projects (program t.b.a.)**

### **Session 9 Oct 16**

#### **Changing Transatlantic Relations: Europe and the US**

Topics: Changing perceptions: Values and attitudes; changing policy preferences: Multilateralism, security and diplomacy

Readings: Jarausch (2015). *Continental Drift*  
Pew Research Center (2012). *Anti-Americanism Down in Europe, but a Values Gap Persists* (online)  
Olsen/McCormick (2016). *The European Union*, chap. 15  
Selected newspaper articles on US and Europe

**Prof. Dr. Christiane Lemke**

**Course European Integration Literature**

Alba, Richard and Nancy Foner (2015). *Strangers No More. Immigration and the Challenges of Integration in North America and Western Europe*, Princeton University Press 2015

Bloemraad, Irene, Anna Korteweg, and Gökce Yurdakul (2008). Citizenship and Immigration: Multiculturalism, Assimilation, and Challenges to the Nation-State, *Annu. Rev. Sociology*, 34:153-79

Börzel, Tanja A./Thomas Risse (2009). *Venus Approaching Mars? The European Union as an Emerging Civilian World Power*. Berlin Working Papers on European Integration No.11

Cavaillé, Charlotte, Noam Gidron, Peter Hall (2016). Trumpism as a Transatlantic Phenomenon. The American Prospect <http://prospect.org/article/trumpism-transatlantic-phenomenon>

Crepaz, Markus M. L. and Jürg Steiner (2013). *European Democracies*, 8th edition, New York: Pearson and Longman

Del Sarto, Raffaella A. (2016). Normative Empire Europe: The European Union, its Borderlands, and the 'Arab Spring'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Vol. 54. Number 2. pp. 215–232

Dinan, Desmond (2010). *Ever Closer Union. An Introduction to European Integration*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, Boulder/London: Lynne Rienner Publishers

Dinan, Desmond, Neill Nugent, and William E. Paterson, eds. (2017). *The European Union in Crisis*, New York: Palgrave

Habermas, Jürgen (2016). The European Crisis. The Players Resign. Core Europe to the Rescue. A Conversation with Jürgen Habermas about Brexit and the EU Crisis, *Zeit online*, Juli 12.

Habermas, Jürgen (2011). *The Crisis of the European Union*, Cambridge: Polity Press

Hall, Peter A. (2012). The Economics and Politics of the Euro Crisis. *German Politics*, 21:4, pp. 355-371

Hill, Christopher and Michael Smith (2011). International Relations and the European Union (selected chapters)

Hobolt, Sara B. (2016). The Brexit Vote: A Divided Nation, a Divided Continent. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23:9, 1259-1277

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks (2001). *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*, Lanham et.al.: Rowman and Littlefield, chap. 1

Jarausch, Konrad H. (2015). Continental Drift. The Divisions that Damage the U.S.-EU Relationship. *Foreign Affairs*, Sept. 8 <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2015-09-08/continental-drift>

Judt, Tony (2005). *Postwar. A History of Europe Since 1945*, New York: Penguin

Lemke, Christiane et.al. (2013). *Germany in Europe: Powerhouse at the Crossroads*, Center for European Studies, Max Weber Chair Working Papers, New York University (online) <http://cems.as.nyu.edu/page/publications>

Lemke, Christiane and Helga A. Welsh (2017). *Germany Today. Politics and Policies in a Changing World*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield (forthcoming)

Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way (2010). *Competitive Authoritarianism. Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*, Cambridge University Press

McCormick, John (2013). *Why Europe Matters. The Case for the European Union*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Moravcsik, Andrew (2006). What can we learn from the Collapse of the European Constitutional Projekt, *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 47, pp. 219-241

Moravcsik, Andrew (2012). Europe after the Crisis. How to Sustain a Common Currency, *Foreign Affairs*, May/June, pp. 54-68

Nolan, Mary (2012). *The Transatlantic Century. Europe and America 1890-2010*, Cambridge University Press

Olson, Jonathan and John Mc Cormick (2016). *The European Union. Politics and Policies*, 6<sup>th</sup> edition, Boulder Col.: Westview Press

Offe, Claus and Ulrich K. Preuß (2016). *Citizens in Europe. Essays on Democracy, Constitutionalism and European Integration*, ECPR Press

Schimmelfennig, Frank (2001). The Community Trap. Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union, *International Organization* 55, 1, pp. 47-80

Visoka, Gezim and John Doyle (2016). Neo-Functional Peace: The European Union Way of Resolving Conflicts, *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Vol. 54. No. 4. pp. 862-877

Wiener, Antje and Thomas Diez, eds. (2009). *European Integration Theory*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Oxford University Press (selected chap.)