

# European Institutions and Integration

Political Science 733

Fall 2023

Professor Christiane Lemke

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Office hours: TBA

Class: Tate Turner Kuralt - Room 0113

Friday 9:00-11:30 am

This seminar will introduce you to key developments in Europe and critically assess the evolution of the European Union (EU). We will begin with major concepts and theories of European integration, then explore the institutions and finally analyze key policies of the EU. Each week we will also discuss current developments in Europe and the European Union such as the impact of the war in Ukraine, migration, and populism. 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 security issues, increasing migration, climate change, and the democratic backlash in some member countries? How are transatlantic relations changing and which policies are providing bridges between the two continents?

The key to a successful semester is your active class participation. The format of the seminar includes brief introductory lectures, student's presentations and project work. Please be prepared to contribute to the seminar and participate in our discussions. There will also be some special features such as guest lectures during the semester.

## Learning Objectives

- \* Study major theories and concepts of European integration and EU-development;
- \* Critically reflect upon European politics and the EU from a political science perspective;
- \* Understand the workings of EU-institutions and the decision-making processes;
- \* Analyze policy issues, including security, migration, and climate change policies;
- \* Discuss the causes and consequences of challenges Europe is facing today;
- \* Gain a better understanding of transatlantic relations.

## Assignments and Grading

- 1) **Assignment 1 (Writing) Two short papers:**

- a) **One short essay** on the question: **What is Europe?** (6-8 pages; with sources). Give your own perspective based on Video in week 1 and readings. (email to [lemke@email.unc.edu](mailto:lemke@email.unc.edu)). Due on Sept. 20, 2023.
- b) **One short paper on EU-issue** critically reflecting on one of the issue areas of the EU (6-8 pages; with sources). Choose your own topic in consultation with the instructor. This paper should be based on your own research. Due on Dec 1, 2023.
- 2) **Assignment 2: Event of the Week presentation.** 3-4 minute in-class presentation about a current event in Europe based on a news report. Please sign up for a date in class (one person only). Ideally, the topic chosen relates to the topic of the session. The presenter should be able to answer questions and lead the discussion on the news report. Please prepare one-page handout for the class (including sources you used).
- 3) **Assignment 3: In-class group presentation** about one of the European institutions (groups of 3-4; max 10-15 minutes per group; with ppt) due week 5, 6, 7. Use website of EU to study role and function; discuss governance and its role in democratic polity. Lead into discussion with questions.
- 4) **Assignment 4: Present One Reading** (team of two) and lead the discussion once during the semester. Choose one reading from the week's required texts (texts are marked with \*), discuss text in team meeting and prepare short power point presentation (5-10 min) about key arguments and findings in text.

## Grading

This is a seminar-style course based on active participation. Please come to class fully prepared to discuss the topics of the week and the readings. Your two short papers (Assignment 1) count for 20 percent each (40 percent total). The event of the week (Assignment 2) and the in-class group presentation (Assignment 3) each count for 15 percent (30 percent total). The presentation of the reading (Assignment 4) counts for 20 percent. Regular weekly participation in seminar discussion counts for 10 percent or your grade.

## Expectations

### *Office hours*

Everyone is welcome to come see me during my office hours for consultations. Please send me an e-mail to set up an appointment. You can also speak to me after class.

### *Attendance*

Please note that class attendance is mandatory. If you need to miss class for some reason you should let me know in advance. In case of a personal emergency, please email me as soon as it is practicable to do so. I grant excused absences in reasonable circumstances, but I may ask you to complete an additional assignment.

### *Honor code*

The Honor Code is in effect in this class. I am committed to treating Honor Code violations seriously and urge all students to become familiar with the terms of the Honor Code at

<http://instrument.unc.edu>.

If you have questions or concerns, it is your responsibility to ask about the Code’s application. All written work, and other projects must be submitted with a statement that you have complied with the requirements of the Honor Code in all aspects of the submitted work.

**Recommended Readings**

- Patel, Kiran Klaus. 2020. *Project Europe. A History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Accessible reading to understand the evolution of European integration from a historian’s perspective)
- Olsen, Jonathan. 2021. *The European Union*. 7<sup>th</sup> edition, New York: Routledge (Very informative reading. We will use several chapters in class as background reading.)

The readings for each session are listed on the syllabus. All texts are required readings for everyone. Please complete readings before the class meetings. Required readings are posted on the course website on the UNC learning platform Canvas (“Course Reserves”). There is also a list of literature attached to the syllabus with additional readings for presentations and papers.

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)

**Schedule**

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|                         | Part I: History and Politics of European Integration  |
| <b>Week 1</b><br>Aug 25 | <p><b>Introduction: What is Europe?</b></p> <p><b>Topics:</b> The changing meaning of Europe over time; how can we conceptualize European integration? The social construction of Europe; Europe and the EU</p> <p><b>Readings:</b></p> <p>Lemke/Welsh (2018) <i>Germany Today</i>, chap. on EU<br/> Olsen (2021). <i>The European Union</i>. Introduction<br/> Patel (2020). <i>Project Europe</i>, pp. 1-49 (Intro and chap. 1)</p> <p><b>Video:</b></p> <p>“What is Europe?” Video UNC 2018<br/> YouTube <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A8_wLaseNYA">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A8_wLaseNYA</a></p> |
| <b>Week 2</b><br>Sept 1 | <p><b>Theories and Concepts of European Integration I</b></p> <p><b>The Post-WW II Peace Project</b></p> <p><b>Topics:</b> Post-WW II history of Europe; Europe as “peace project”; the role of the Cold War; why do states transfer sovereignty? Federalism, neo-functionalism; intergovernmentalism and multi-level governance (MLG)</p>  |

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|  | <p><b>Readings:</b></p> <p>*Hooghe/ Marks (2019). Grand theories of European integration</p> <p>*Moravcsik/Schimmelfennig (2019). Liberal Intergovernmentalism, in: Wiener et al.: European Integration Theory pp. 64-86</p> <p>Olsen (2021). The European Union. Part I (History), chap. 1, 2</p>   |
| <p><b>Week 3</b><br/>Sept 8</p>  | <p><b>Theories and Concepts of European Integration II: Constructing the „New Europe“ After 1990</b></p> <p><b>Topics:</b> 1989/90 as a turning point; Maastricht Treaty; deepening and widening; governance and social constructivism; the rise of populism; Illiberalism and democratic backsliding; Brexit</p> <p><b>Readings:</b></p> <p>*Ekiert, Grzegorz (2017). How to Deal With Poland and Hungary?<br/><a href="https://www.socialeurope.eu/book-author/grzegorz-ekiert">https://www.socialeurope.eu/book-author/grzegorz-ekiert</a></p> <p>*Hobolt (2016). The Brexit Vote</p> <p>Risse (2019). Social Constructivism, in: A. Wiener et.al. European Integration Theory</p> <p>Olsen (2021). The European Union chap. 3, 4</p> |
| <p><b>Week 4</b><br/>Sept 15</p> <p><b>First Paper due Sept 20</b></p> | <p><b>“Blind Spots”: Europe and Post-Colonialism</b></p> <p><b>Topics:</b> How does colonialism matter for European identity? Legacies and policies; memory politics and restitution today; post-colonialism as theory and practice</p> <p><b>Readings:</b></p> <p>*Patel (2020). Project Europe, chap. 8 (Europe and the World)</p> <p>*Sierp (2020). EU Memory Politics and Europe’s Forgotten Colonial Past</p> <p>Video on Post-Colonialism: Lecture by Dr. Akasemi Newsome<br/><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dxF9LDTtm2M&amp;list=PLctYgE-cUDs77vhlyyMY_pmqVDpvydFL&amp;index=4">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dxF9LDTtm2M&amp;list=PLctYgE-cUDs77vhlyyMY_pmqVDpvydFL&amp;index=4</a></p>                              |
|  | <p>Part II: Governing the EU: Institutions and Politics</p>  |
| <p><b>Week 5</b><br/>Sept 22</p> <p><b>Group presentations</b></p>     | <p><b>Institutions I: EU-Commission - Administration and Regulation</b></p> <p><b>Topics:</b> EU-Commission; EU-Council (heads of state); regulating the EU; citizens and the EU; Is there a democratic deficit?</p> <p><b>Readings:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Olsen (2021). The European Union. chap. 5 (Commission) chap. 6 (EU Council)</li> <li>• Website of the EU</li> </ul> <p><b>Groups:</b></p> <p>1) <b>European Commission</b></p>   |

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|  | <b>2) EU Council</b>   |
| <b>Week 6</b><br>Sept 29<br><br><b>Group presentations</b> | <p><b>Institutions II: Legislature: EU-Parliament and Council of Ministers</b></p> <p><b>Topics:</b> EU-Parliament; Council of Ministers; EP-elections 2019; Euroscepticism and the rise of populism</p> <p><b>Readings:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Olsen (2021). The European Union. chap. 6 (Council of the EU), Chap. 7 (European Parliament)</li> <li>• Website of the EU</li> </ul> <p><b>Groups:</b></p> <p>3) European Parliament<br/>4) Council of Ministers</p>                 |
| <b>Week 7</b><br>Oct 6                                     | No in-person class; I am attending a conference. Please use time to prepare your second written assignment and hand in a paragraph about your topic by Oct 10.   |
| <b>Week 8</b><br>Oct 13<br><br><b>Group presentations</b>  | <p><b>Institutions III The European Courts and the ECB</b></p> <p><b>Topics:</b> European and national law; rule of law; role of the European Central Bank</p> <p><b>Readings:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Olsen (2021). The European Union, chap. 8 (European Court of Justice), chap. 9 (ECB), chap 12 (Monetary Union)</li> <li>• Website of the EU</li> </ul> <p><b>Groups:</b></p> <p>5) European Court of Justice (ECJ)<br/>6) European Central Bank (ECB)</p>                      |
| <b>Week 9</b>  | NO CLASS. FALL BREAK   |
|  | Part III: Issues and Challenges of the EU  |
| <b>Week 10</b><br>Oct 27                                   | <p><b>Energy and Climate Change Policy</b></p> <p><b>Topics:</b> EU-regulations and environmental policies; climate change and energy policy; renewables; <i>Energiewende</i>; the impact of the war in Ukraine</p> <p><b>Readings:</b></p> <p>*Gross (2023). Energy and Power. Germany in the Age of Oil, Atoms, and Climate Change, Introduction, Part II chap. 9, 10, and Coda</p> <p>*Lemke/Wiedekind (2023). Assessing the Prospect of Multilateralism in Transatlantic Climate Change Policy (Paper)</p> |

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|                                  | <p>Oberthür/Dupont (2021). The European Union’s international climate leadership</p> <p>Olsen (2021). The European Union, Part III, chap. 11, 12,13</p>   |
| <p><b>Week 11</b><br/>Nov 3</p>  | <p><b>Immigration, Integration and the Refugee Policy</b></p> <p><b>Topics:</b> Does the EU have an immigration policy? Refugee Crisis and Responses; asylum policy; integration policies; security vs. human rights</p> <p><b>Readings:</b><br/> *Alba/Foner (2015). Strangers No More, chap. 1 and 2<br/> Lemke/Welsh (2018) Germany Today, chap 7(Immigration)<br/> Olsen (2021). The European Union, Part III, chap. 14<br/> Wodak (2019) Discourse and European Integration. In: Wiener et. al. European Integration Theory, chap. 8</p>   |
| <p><b>Week 12</b><br/>Nov 10</p> | <p><b>EU Foreign and Security Policy</b></p> <p><b>Topics:</b> Developing a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP); EU and NATO; relations with Russia; Ukraine and the EU; “<i>Zeitenwende</i>” and beyond.</p> <p><b>Readings:</b><br/> Ash, Timothy G. (2022). “Ukraine deserves its place in Europe”<br/> *Bossé, Giselle (2022). “The EU’s response to the war against Ukraine”<br/> *Langenbacher, Eric (2022). „Introduction: Zeitenwende Indeed”<br/> Olsen (2021). The European Union, chap. 15 (Security).<br/> NATO 2022 strategic concept <a href="https://www.nato.int/strategic-concept/">https://www.nato.int/strategic-concept/</a></p>  |
| <p><b>Week 13</b><br/>Nov 17</p> | <p><b>Europe and the US: Transatlantic Relations</b></p> <p><b>Topics:</b> What are the most important policy issues (trade and economy; health; security policy; climate change; immigration and race)? Public Opinion and political perceptions</p> <p><b>Readings:</b><br/> Olsen (2021). The European Union, chap. 16 (EU and the World).<br/> *Transatlantic Trends 2022. Survey by Bertelsmann Foundation, <a href="https://www.gmfus.org/news/transatlantic-trends-2022">https://www.gmfus.org/news/transatlantic-trends-2022</a></p> <p>Note: For those interested there are Blog Posts from the TAM-course 2021: <a href="https://medium.com/unceurope/blog-posts-transatlantic-seminar-2021-f53b9e2ef523">https://medium.com/unceurope/blog-posts-transatlantic-seminar-2021-f53b9e2ef523</a></p> |
| <p><b>Week 14</b></p>            | <p>NO CLASS. THANKSGIVING RECESS (Nov. 22-26)</p>   |

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| Nov 24   |   |
| <b>Week 15</b><br>Dec 1<br>Second Paper<br>due Dec 1 | Review and Conclusions. Future Perspectives of the EU |

### Literature Poli 733: European Institutions and Integration - Resources

(Note: This list contains references to books and articles beyond required reading materials for the class which you may find helpful for your papers)

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

Ash, Timothy G. (2022). "Ukraine deserves its place in Europe", The Guardian, June 6, 2022. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/jun/17/ukraine-eu-europe-european-commission-china-russia>

Ayoub, Phillip M. (2016). *When States come out. Europe's Sexual Minorities and the Politics of Visibility*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Börzel, Tanja A. and Thomas Risse (2018). From the euro to the Schengen crises: European integration theories, politicization, and identity politics, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25:1, 83-108, DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2017.1310281

Bosse, Giselle (2022). Values, Rights, and Changing Interests. The EU's response to the war against Ukraine. *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 43, Issue 3.

Campbell, Ross and Louise K. Davidson-Schmich (2023). *The German Federal Election 2021: Negotiating A New Era*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan (forthcoming).

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. (2017). *European Democracies*, 9th edition, New York: Routledge.

Csergö, Z. et. al. (2021). *Central and East European Politics. Changes and Challenges*. 5<sup>th</sup> edition. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

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

Ekiert, Grzegorz (2017). How to Deal With Poland and Hungary?  
<https://www.socialeurope.eu/book-author/grzegorz-ekiert>

Fanon, Frantz (1961). *The Wretched of the Earth* (various editions).

Givens, Terri E., Rachel Navarre, and Pete Mohanty (2020). *Immigration in the 21st Century. The Comparative Politics of Immigration Policy*. New York, London: Routledge.

Gross, Stephen G. (2023). *Energy and Power. Germany in the Age of Oil, Atoms, and Climate Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Habermas, Jürgen (2018). Are we still good Europeans? *Zeit online*, July 6.  
<https://www.zeit.de/kultur/2018-07/european-union-germany-challenges-loyalty-solidarity/>

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

Hill, Christopher, Michael Smith, and Sophie Vanhoonacker (2017). *International Relations and the European Union*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press

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

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks (2009). A post-functionalist theory of European integration. From Permissive Consensus and constraining Dissensus. *British Journal of Political Science*, Volume 39, Issue 1, January 2009, pp. 1 - 23

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123408000409>

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks (2019). Grand theories of European integration in the twenty-first century. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 16, issue 8, pp. 1113-1133.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2019.1569711>

Jarusch, Konrad H. (2021). *Embattled Europe. A Progressive Alternative*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

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

Langenbacher, Eric (2022). „Introduction: Zeitenwende Indeed” in: The 2021 Bundestag Election and its Consequences. Structural and Systemic Dynamics. *German Politics and Society*. Vol. 40, No. 2 (2022): 1-26.

Lemke (2020). Right-Wing Populism and International Issues, A Case Study of the AfD, *German Politics and Society*, Vol 38, No.2, pp. 90-108. doi:10.3167/gps.2020.380204



Lemke, Christiane and Helga A. Welsh (2018). *Germany Today. Politics and Policies in a Changing World*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

Lemke, Christiane and Jakob Wiedekind (2023). Finding Common Ground in Uncertain Times. Assessing the Prospect of Multilateralism in Transatlantic Climate Change Policy, *Transatlantic Studies* (forthcoming).

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

Moravcsik, Andrew/Frank Schimmelfennig (2019). Liberal Intergovernmentalism, in: Wiener et al.: *European Integration Theory*, Oxford, pp. 64-86.

Mudde, C. (2018). *The Far Right Today*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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

Oberthür, Sebastian and Claire Dupont. 2021. The European Union's international climate leadership: towards a grand climate strategy? *Journal of European Public Policy*, DOI: [10.1080/13501763.2021.1918218](https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2021.1918218)

Olsen, Jonathan (2021). *The European Union. Politics and Policies*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition, Boulder Col.: Westview Press.

Patel, Kiran Klaus (2020). *Project Europe. A History*. Cambridge University Press.

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Pettifor, Ann (2017) Brexit and its Consequences, *Globalizations*, 14:1, 127-132, DOI: [10.1080/14747731.2016.1229953](https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2016.1229953)

Plokhyy, Serhii (2021). *The Gates of Europe. A History of Ukraine*. New York: Basic Books.

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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.

Sierp, Aline (2020). EU Memory Politics and Europe's Forgotten Colonial Past. *Interventions. International Journal for Postcolonial Studies*. DOI: [10.1080/1369801X.2020.1749701](https://doi.org/10.1080/1369801X.2020.1749701)

Snyder, Timothy (2017). Germany's Historical Response for Ukraine. Link: <https://marieluisebeck.de/artikel/20-06-2017/timothy-snyder-germanys-historical-responsibility-ukraine>

Snyder, Timothy (2017). *Bloodlands. Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*. New York: Basic Books.

Transatlantic Trends 2022. Survey by German Marshall Fund and Bertelsmann-Foundation, <https://www.gmfus.org/news/transatlantic-trends-2022>.

Van Middelaar, Luuk (2020). *Alarums and Excursions. Improvising Politics on the European Stage*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Agenda Publishing.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvnjbf19>

Wiener, Antje, Tanja Boerzel, and Thomas Risse, eds. (2019). *European Integration Theory*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Oxford University Press



