

## **Course Outline**

Course: European Integration: Current Theory and Research

Code: EU2111

Fall semester 2017

Responsible teacher: Jonathan Polk, [jonathan.polk@gu.se](mailto:jonathan.polk@gu.se)

### **Aim**

This course provides a deeper understanding of European integration by studying ongoing research on European integration as well as classical texts on the subject. Students will learn about the institutions and practices of the European Union (EU) and gain an overview of, and an ability to critically reflect upon and discuss, orally and in written form, current theory and research on the EU within the social sciences. The course is made up of three components: I) core lectures on the “EU as a political system”, II) four research themes presented by active researchers, III) the study of classical texts of EU integration.

### **I. Core Lectures “EU as a political system”**

The core lectures present the institutional structure and political processes of the European Union. For each lecture, students are required to complete the core readings in the textbook by Hix and Høyland (see full reference below) and required articles. An additional list of recommended complementary readings is also provided.

A core lecture will be followed by an “EU as a political system” seminar. Each student will be required to make one 10-12 minute oral presentation in the context of this seminar. Students are expected to present an argument that addresses some aspect of EU institutions, decision-making processes or the politics of integration. The presentation can reflect on the importance of the complementary readings, or it may highlight some political, social, etc. aspect of EU integration. Each presentation should also include one or two questions for discussion at the seminars. Students are encouraged to use technical assistance equipment such as power point for their presentations.

All students in the audience are expected to engage the speaker with questions and comments on the content and implications of the presentation, and continue a discussion on the raised topics for the remainder of the seminar.

### **II. Research Themes**

In addition to the core lectures and seminars, the course presents four research themes, selected and introduced by teachers involved in research within these fields. These follow a weekly schedule where the themes are introduced by the teacher in an introductory lecture and discussed at a seminar the following Thursday (usually).

For each theme a reading list is given which includes 1) 3-4 texts on the research theme

which are compulsory reading, and 2) an additional list of articles, books, chapters, websites and/or conference papers which give a deeper insight into the theme.

*All students are required to:*

Read the compulsory readings and submit a short essay on the texts (6000 (min) - 7000 (max) characters, including blanks). The essay should be uploaded to GUL before 16:00 on Friday.

The instructor for each research theme will provide more detailed information about the requirements for each essay, but, in general, students should keep these questions in mind when writing essays: What research problem/s is/are dealt with in this theme? How do the authors address this problem? What are they finding? A good essay analyzes rather than describes the literature, while at the same time demonstrating that the student is well aware of its content. If appropriate, the analysis may be evaluative (the student may, for example, claim that the authors are right or wrong on some aspect). In that case it is important that the student gives grounds for his/her arguments and not just deliver opinions.

Actively participate in the discussions of the readings and the theme during the Thursday seminar. All students are further required to submit three potential discussion questions for the seminar by e-mail (addresses listed before each research theme's description below) to the research theme instructor 24 hours prior to the seminar. These points may be raised in the seminar discussion.

### **III. Classical texts**

In parallel to the core lectures and research themes, the course includes two major classical works on European integration: *The Constitution of Europe* by Joseph H.H. Weiler and *The Choice for Europe* by Andrew Moravcsik. These two studies are introduced at the beginning of the course in two lectures and discussed at two seminars later in the course.

### **Current Events**

We will discuss and reference current events within the European Union and its member states throughout the course. It is therefore essential that students keep up with EU news. Some options for news on Europe in English include: BBC News, Der Spiegel (international version), The Economist, EurActiv, EUObserver, The Financial Times, Reuters, The Wall Street Journal, etc.

There are an increasing number of blogs with an interest in European politics and social science, including but not limited to: The LSE European politics and policy blog, LSE's Brexit blog, The Monkey Cage, and the UCL SSEES Researchblog.

## Requirements and grades

**Essays 40% (10% each)** Each student is required to submit a short essay on each research theme (4 essays total). Each passed essay gives you 1,5 Higher Education Credits (Hec).

**Oral presentation 10%** Each student is required to make one oral presentation in the context of the “EU as a political system” seminar. The Oral Presentation gives you 1,5 Hec.

**Final exam 50%** A final take-home exam, consisting of 3-4 essay questions, will focus on the classical texts, and the “EU as a political system” lectures and readings. The students will receive the questions in the last lecture. The exam shall be submitted electronically to GUL no later than 31 October 2017 at 16:00. The Final exam gives you 7,5 Hec.

Grading structure:  
90-100% High Pass  
70-89% Pass  
69% and below Fail

Students must pass each component (essay, presentation, exam) of the course. A component that is not passed must be resubmitted before the end of the course.

## Missing Seminars

Active participation is expected from all students in the seminars. Should you fail to attend any of the seminars you will be required to complete an extra assignment for each seminar that you miss. As an extra assignment you are requested to (in addition to the required essay assignment) write an essay on one of the texts on the additional reading list. It should be 3500-4000 characters (incl. blanks) and have the same structure as the regular essay.

## Failing/missing the Final Exam

If you fail or miss the final exam, you will be required to retake it. The first retake will be handed out on January 15, 2018. The second retake will be handed out on August 14, 2018.

## Rules and requirements regarding cheating and plagiarism

Cheating on examinations is considered a **serious offence**. Proved or suspected cheating will be reported to the Disciplinary Committee. This procedure is also employed by teachers and advisors in project work, individual papers and theses. Copying material from the Internet, from books, journals, reports or from a fellow student and then presenting it as one’s own without source references is plagiarism and is **strictly**

**forbidden.** Please note that plagiarism includes the use of material downloaded from electronic sources such as the Internet. Plagiarism is theft of someone else's work and will result in immediate fail of the assignment. Please note that the inclusion of a source in a bibliography list is not in itself sufficient attribution of another's work. All student work is screened with a program called Urkund, which compares a student's written work with published materials (including everything published on the internet) and all the work from prior students to detect plagiarism. It is the student's responsibility to keep an electronic and hard copy of each item of work that is submitted. The consequences may be severe for a student if found guilty. A student may be suspended from classes and other university activities for a determined time period (usually 6 weeks). Suspension from the university will result in a temporary suspension of all financial aid (including CSN) and may jeopardize a student's residence permit status.

**Schedule: the TimeEdit link below will always be correct for all lectures and seminars**

<https://se.timeedit.net/web/gu/db1/schema/ri1X50gQ3560YvQQ86Z6073Y0Zy2007526Y59Q627.html>

**Literature for Core Lectures "EU as a political system"**

Hix, Simon. and Bjørn. Høyland (2011). *The Political System of the European Union*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition, Palgrave Macmillan.

Journal articles can be accessed through the University library. Some unpublished work or excerpts can be found on GUL.

## Core and Classical Text Lecture Schedule and Reading List

### The Nature of the EU as a Political System – 28 August

Jonathan Polk

#### *Required Readings*

Hix and Høyland Chapter 1

Christiansen, Thomas and Christine Reh. (2009) "The Constitutionalization of Europe" in Christiansen and Reh (eds) *Constitutionalizing the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan.

#### *Recommended Readings*

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. (2009) "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus". *British Journal of Political Science* 39(1): 1-23.

Jones, Erik, R. Daniel Kelemen, and Sophie Meunier. (2016) "Failing Forward? The Euro Crisis and the Incomplete Nature of European Integration" *Comparative Political Studies* 49(7): 1010-1034.

Kreppel, Amie. (2011) "Looking 'Up', 'Down' and 'Sideways': Understanding EU Institutions in Context" *West European Politics* 34(1): 167-179.

Marks, Gary. (2012) "Europe and its Empires: From Rome to the European Union" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50(1): 1-20.

#### *Suggested Readings*

Hix, Simon. (1994) "The Study of the European Community: The Challenge to Comparative Politics." *West European Politics* 17(1): 1-30.

Hurrell, Andrew and Anand Menon. (1996) "Politics Like Any Other? Comparative Politics, International Relations and the Study of the EU." *West European Politics* 19(2): 386-402.

Hix, Simon. (1996) "CP, IR, and the EU! A Rejoinder to Hurrell and Menon." *West European Politics* 19(4): 802-804.

### Classical Texts – The Choice for Europe – 30 August

Markus Johansson

#### *Required Reading*

Moravcsik, Andrew. (1998) *The Choice for Europe*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Introduction & Chapter 1 "Theorizing European Integration: 1-85".

#### *Recommended Readings*

Lieshot, Robert H., Mathieu L. L. Segers, and Anna M. van der Vleuten. (2004) "De Gaulle, Moravcsik and The Choice for Europe: Soft Sources, Weak Evidence." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 6(4): 89-139.

Moravcsik, Andrew. (1993) "Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmental Approach." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31: 473-524.

Moravcsik, Andrew. (2000) "De Gaulle Between Grain and Grandeur: The political economy of French EC policy, 1958-1970." *Journal of Cold War Studies*. Part 1 (JCWS

2(2): 3-43) and Part 2 (JCWS 2(3): 4-68).

Moravcsik, Andrew. (2016) "The great Brexit kabuki — a masterclass in political theatre." *Financial Times*, 8 April 2016. <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/64159804-fc1f-11e5-b5f5-070dca6d0a0d.html#axzz4HUqaP2dl>

## **The Commission – 4 September**

**Jonathan Polk**

### *Required Readings*

Hix and Høyland Chapter 2

Bickerton, Christopher, Dermot Hodson and Uwe Puetter. (2015) "The New Intergovernmentalism: European Integration in the Post-Maastricht Era" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53(4): 703-722.

### *Recommended Readings*

Hooghe, Liesbet. (2012) "Images of Europe: How Commission Officials Conceive their Institution's Role" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50(1): 87-111.

Nugent, Niell and Mark Rhinard. (2016) "Is the European Commission Really in Decline?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54(5): 1199-1215.

Schmitt, Hermann, Sara Hobolt and Sebastian Popa. (2015) 'Does Personalization increase turnout? *Spitzenkandidaten* in the 2014 European Parliament elections.' *European Union Politics* 16(3): 347-368.

### *Suggested Readings*

Costello, Rory and Robert Thomson. (2013) "The distribution of power among EU institutions: who wins under codecision and why?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 20(7): 1025-1039.

Smith, Andy. (2003) "Why European Commissioners Matter" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 41(1): 137-155.

Wonka, Arndt. (2007) "Technocratic and Independent? The appointment of the European Commissioners and its policy implications." *Journal of European Public Policy* 14(2): 169-189.

## **The Councils – 22 September**

**Markus Johannson**

### *Required Reading*

Hix and Høyland Chapter 2-3

Schimmelfennig, Frank. (2015) "What's the News in 'New Intergovernmentalism'? A Critique of Bickerton, Hodson and Puetter" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53(4): 723-730.

Bickerton, Christopher, Dermot Hodson and Uwe Puetter. (2015) "Something New: A Rejoinder to Frank Schimmelfennig on the New Intergovernmentalism." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53(4): 731-736.

### *Recommended Readings*

- Hagemann, Sara, Sara Hobolt, and Christopher Wratil. (2016) "Government Responsiveness in the European Union: Evidence From Council Voting" *Comparative Political Studies* 50(6): 850 – 876.
- Keline, Mareike. (2013) "Knowing your limits: Informal governance and judgment in the EU" *The Review of International Organizations* 8(2): 245-264.
- Naurin, Daniel. (2015) "Generosity in intergovernmental negotiations: The impact of state power, pooling and socialisation in the Council of the European Union." *European Journal of Political Research* 54(4): 726-744.
- Novak, Stéphanie. (2013) "The Silence of Ministers: Consensus and Blame Avoidance in the Council of the European Union" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51(6): 1091-1107.

### *Suggested Readings*

- Bailer, Stefanie, Mikko Mattila and Gerald Schneider. (2015) "Money Makes the EU Go Round: The Objective Foundations of Conflict in the Council of Ministers" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53(3): 437-456.
- Golub, Jonathan. (2012) "How the European Union does not work: national bargaining success in the Council of Ministers" *Journal of European Public Policy* 19(9): 1294-1315.
- Häge, Frank. (2008) "Who Decides in the Council of the European Union?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 46(3): 533-558.
- Tallberg, Jonas. (2008) "Bargaining Power in the European Council" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 46(3): 685-708.
- Veen, Tim. (2011) "The dimensionality and nature of conflict in European Union politics: On the characteristics of intergovernmental decision-making" *European Union Politics* 12(1): 65-86.

## **The EU Judiciary – 13 September**

### **Jonathan Polk**

#### *Required Reading*

Hix and Høyland Chapter 4

- Blauberger, Michael and R. Daniel Keleman. (2017) "Can courts rescue national democracy? Judicial safeguards against democratic backsliding in the EU" *Journal of European Public Policy* 24(3): 321-336.

#### *Recommended Readings*

- Burley, Anne Marie and Walter Mattli. (1993) "Europe before the Court: A Political Theory of Legal Integration" *International Organization* 47(1): 41-76.
- Alter, Karen. (1998) "Who are the Masters of the Treaty?" *International Organization!* 52(1): 121-147.
- Alter, Karen. (2000) "The European Union's Legal System and Domestic Policy: Spillover or Backlash?" *International Organization* 54(3): 489-518.
- Carruba, Cliff, Matthew Gabel and Charles Hankla. (2008) "Judicial Behavior under Political Constraints: Evidence from the European Court of Justice" *American Political Science*

Review 102(4): 435-452.

**Classical Texts – The Transformation of Europe – 26 September**  
**Per Cramér**

*Required Reading*

Weiler, Joseph. "The Transformation of Europe", (chap 2) in Weiler, Joseph: *The Constitution of Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1999, (first published in (1991) 100 Yale Law Journal 2403).

[http://www.fd.unl.pt/docentes\\_docs/ma/mpm\\_ma\\_6012.pdf](http://www.fd.unl.pt/docentes_docs/ma/mpm_ma_6012.pdf)

**European and Comparative Regional Integration – 2 October**  
**Fredrik Söderbaum**

*Required Readings*

Söderbaum, Fredrik (2016) "Old, New and Comparative Regionalism: The History and the Scholarly Development of the Field" in Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse (eds) *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism*, Oxford University Press.

Warleigh-Lack, Alex and Ben Rosamond (2010) "Across the EU Studies-New Regionalism Frontier: Invitation to a Dialogue" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48(4): 993-1013.

*Recommended Reading*

Söderbaum, Fredrik and Alberta Sbragia (2010) EU Studies and the 'New Regionalism': What can be Gained from Dialogue?" *European Integration* 32(6): 563-582.

**The European Parliament – 4 October**  
**Jonathan Polk**

*Required Readings*

Hix and Høyland Chapter 3

Hix and Høyland (2013) 'Empowerment of the European Parliament' *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 171-189.

*Recommended Readings*

Høyland, Bjørn, Sara Hobolt and Simon Hix. (2017) "Career Ambitions and Legislative Participation: The Moderating Effect of Electoral Institutions." *British Journal of Political Science*, 1-22. doi:10.1017/S0007123416000697

Klüver, Heike, and Jae-Jae Spoon. (2015) "Bringing salience back in Explaining voting defection in the European Parliament." *Party Politics* 21(4): 553-564.

Lindstädt, René, Jonathan B. Slapin, and Ryan J. Vander Wielen. (2012) "Adaptive behaviour in the European Parliament: Learning to balance competing demands." *European Union Politics* 13(4): 465-486.

McElroy, Gail and Kenneth Benoit. (2012) "Policy Positioning in the European Parliament."



*European Union Politics* 13(1): 150-167.

### *Suggested Readings*

- Corbett, Richard, Francis Jacobs, and Michal Shackleton. (2011) 'The Political Groups' (Chapter 5) in *The European Parliament*. John Harper Publishing.
- Corbett, Richard, Francis Jacobs, and Michal Shackleton. (2011) 'The Parliamentary Committees' (Chapter 7) in *The European Parliament*. John Harper Publishing.
- Hix, Simon, Abdul Noury, and Gérard Roland. (2006). "Dimensions of Politics in the European Parliament." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 494- 520.
- Hix, Simon, Abdul Noury and Gérard Roland. (2005) "Power to the parties: cohesion and competition in the European Parliament, 1979–2001." *British Journal of Political Science* 35(2): 209-234.
- McElroy, Gail and Kenneth Benoit. (2010) "Party Policy and Group Affiliation in the European Parliament" *British Journal of Political Science* 40(2, April): 377-398.

## **Democratic Deficit, Public Opinion and Political Competition in the EU – 19 October Jonathan Polk**

### *Required Reading*

- Hix and Høyland Chapter 5 Hix and Høyland Chapter 6
- Hobolt, Sara and Catherine de Vries (2016) "Public Support for European Integration" *Annual Review of Political Science* 19: 413-432.

### *Recommended Readings – Democratic Deficit*

- Føllesdal, Andreas and Simon Hix. (2006) "Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik" *Journal of Common Market Studies* (44)3: 533-62.
- Crombez, Christophe. (2003) 'The Democratic Deficit in the European Union: Much Ado about Nothing?' *European Union Politics*, 4(1): 101–20.
- Majone, Giandomenico. (1994) "The Rise of the Regulatory State in Europe" *West European Politics* 17(3): 77-101.
- Moravcsik, Andrew. (2002) "In Defence of the 'Democratic Deficit': Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(4): 603-24.

### *Recommended Readings – Political Party Competition*

- Benoit, Kenneth, and Michael Laver. (2012) "The dimensionality of political space: Epistemological and methodological considerations." *European Union Politics* 13(2): 194-218.
- Lo, James, Sven-Oliver Proksch, and Thomas Gschwend. (2014) "A common left-right scale for voters and parties in Europe." *Political Analysis* 22(2): 205-223.
- Marks, Gary, Liesbet Hooghe, Moira Nelson and Erica Edwards. (2006) "Party Competition and European Integration in East and West: Different Structure, Same Causality" *Comparative Political Studies* 39: 155–75.
- Mair, Peter and Jacques Thomassen. (2010) "Political representation and government in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 17(1): 20-35.

### Suggested Reading

Hagemann, Sara and Bjørn Høyland. (2008) "Parties in the Council?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 15(8): 1205-1221.

Reif, Karlheinz and Hermann Schmitt. (1980) 'Nine Second-Order National Elections: A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of European Election Results', *European Journal for Political Research* 8: 3-44.

Tallberg, Jonas and Karl-Magnus Johansson. (2008) "Party politics in the European Council" *Journal of European Public Policy* 15(8): 1222-1242.

## Research Theme Schedule, Descriptions, and Reading Lists

### Research Theme 1 (Week 37)

Adrian Hyde-Price, Professor, Department of Political Science [adrian.hyde-price@gu.se](mailto:adrian.hyde-price@gu.se)

#### The European Union as an International Actor

Since the end of the Cold War, the European Union has emerged as a significant regional and international actor. Indeed, few policy areas of European integration have developed as fast as foreign and security policy over the last two decades. The Maastricht Treaty of 1993 created the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), and in 1999 it acquired a capacity for military and civilian crisis management through the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). The EU now has a global security strategy and a policy (the ENP) for engaging with its troubled neighbourhood in the East and South, and EU foreign and security policy-making was substantially reorganized with the 2009 Lisbon Treaty. Understanding what sort of international actor the EU is, however, and what kind of power and influence it wields in the global system, raises some complex and highly contested issues. In this track we examine some of the key academic debates on the EU's foreign and security policy, focusing on what sort of actor the EU is and the sources of its power and influence in the international system.

#### *Required Readings:*

Manners, I. (2002) 'Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40: 2, 235-58.

Hyde-Price, A. (2006) "'Normative" Power Europe: A Realist Critique', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13: 2 (March), 217-34.

Hyde-Price, A. (2013a) 'Neither Realism nor Liberalism: New Directions in Theorizing EU Security Policy', *Contemporary Security Policy*, 34: 2, 397-408.

#### *Supplementary Reading:*

Hyde-Price, A. (2008) 'A "Tragic Actor"? A Realist Perspective on "Ethical Power Europe"', *International Affairs*, 84: 1, 49-64.

Aggestam, L (2008), 'Ethical Power Europe?', *International Affairs* 84: 1, 1-11.

Hyde-Price, A. (2013) 'Realism: A Dissident Voice in the Study of the CSDP', *The Routledge Handbook of European Security*, edited by Sven Biscop and Richard Whitman (London: Routledge, 2013), pp.18-27.

Hyde-Price, A. (2012) 'Neorealism: A Structural Approach to the ESDP', in *Explaining European Security and Defence Policy: Theory in Action*, edited by Xymena

Kurowska and Fabian Breuer (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp.16-40.

Aggestam, L. (2013), 'Global Norms and European Power', in K. E. Jorgensen and K. V. Laatikainen, eds., *Routledge Handbook on the European Union and International Institutions: Performance, Policy, Power*, London: Routledge. (Can be found as an E-Book in the university database).

Hill, C. and Smith, M., eds. (2011), *International Relations and the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hug, A. ed. (2013), *Europe in the World: Can EU Foreign Policy Make an Impact?* London: The Foreign Policy Centre, <http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/1535.pdf>

Keukeleire, S. and Delreux, T. (2014), *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*, Basingstoke: Palgrave 2nd ed.

Bickerton, C. (2011), *European Union Foreign Policy: From Effectiveness to Functionality*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Bretheron, C. and Vogler, J. (2006), *The European Union as a Global Actor*, London: Routledge.

## **Research theme 2 (Week 38)**

Daniel Naurin, Professor, PluriCourts, Oslo University and the Department of Political Science, University of Gothenburg [daniel.naurin@pol.gu.se](mailto:daniel.naurin@pol.gu.se)

### **Judicial politics in the European Union**

Judicial independence is a challenge for courts whose decisions have politically salient consequences. This is so in particular for international courts—such as the European Court of Justice—whose powers fundamentally rests in the hands of the member states. To what extent is the ECJ able to perform its role as a neutral arbiter and interpreter of EU law, given the incentives for the member states to exercise political pressure on the judges? Do ECJ judges have political preferences of their own, and are they successful in pursuing those, even against the will of member states? Has the Court been able to transform the European Union into something different than what was intended by the governments who created it? This research theme introduces recent empirical research and debate on these highly contentious issues in European integration research.

#### *Required readings*

Davies, Gareth. 2016. "The European Union Legislature as an Agent of the European Court of Justice" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54(4), pp. 846-861.

Grimmel, Andreas. 2012. "Judicial Interpretation or Judicial Activism? The Legacy of Rationalism in the Studies of the European Court of Justice", *European Law Journal*, Vol. 18(4), pp. 518–535.

Larsson, Olof and Naurin, Daniel. 2016. "Judicial Independence and Political Uncertainty: How the Risk of Override Affects the Court of Justice of the EU", *International Organization*, Vol.70(2), pp.377-408.

Pollack, Mark. 2013. "The New EU Legal History: What's New, What's Missing?" *American University International Law Review*, Vol.28(5), pp.1257-1310.

#### *Additional readings*

Alter, Karen J. 2009. *The European Court's Political Power: Selected Essays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burley, Anne-Marie, and Walter Mattli. 1993. "Europe Before the Court: A Political Theory of Legal Integration." *International Organization* 47(1): 41– 76.

Carrubba, Clifford J., Gabel, Matthew and Hankla, Charles. 2012. "Understanding the Role of the European Court of Justice in European Integration." *American Political Science Review* 106(01).

Davies, Bill. 2012. *Resisting the ECJ: Germany's Confrontation with European Law, 1949-1979*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Davies, Gareth. 2014. "Legislative control of the European Court of Justice", *Common Market Law Review* 51: 1579–1608, 2014.

Garrett, Geoffrey, Kelemen, Daniel R. and Schulz, Heiner. 1998. "The European Court of Justice, National Governments, and Legal Integration in the European Union." *International Organization* 52(01): 149–76.

Kelemen, Daniel. R. 2012. "The political foundations of judicial independence in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 19(1), 43-58.

Malecki, Michael. 2012. "Do ECJ judges all speak with the same voice? Evidence of divergent preferences from the judgments of chambers." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 19(1), 59-75.

Stein, Eric. 1981. "Lawyers, Judges, and the Making of a Transnational Constitution." *The American Journal of International Law* 75(1): 1–27.

Stone Sweet, Alec. 2004. *The Judicial Construction of Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stone Sweet, Alec, and Brunell Thomas L. 2012. "The European Court of Justice, State Noncompliance, and the Politics of Override." *American Political Science Review* 106(01): 204–13.

Tsebelis, George and Geoffrey Garret. 2001. "The institutional foundations of intergovernmentalism and supranationalism in the European Union", *International Organization*, 55: 357-90.

Vachez, Antoine. 2012. "Keeping the dream alive: the European Court of Justice and the transnational fabric of integrationist jurisprudence", *European Political Science Review*, 4, 51-71.

Voeten, Erik. 2013. "International Judicial Independence" in Dunoff, Jeffrey L. and Pollack, Mark A. (eds.), *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on International Law and International Relations. The State of the Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

### **Research theme 3 (Week 39)**

Ketevan Bolkvadze, Doctoral Student, Department of Political Science  
[ketevan.bolkvadze@gu.se](mailto:ketevan.bolkvadze@gu.se)

### **Europeanisation of the Central and Eastern Europe and the new Neighbourhood**

Following decades of the communist rule, starting with 1989 Central and Eastern European states have embarked on an ambitious triple transition to liberal democracy, free market economy and a viable nation-state. The "return to Europe", or in other words the accession to the European Union, has been a key component of this transition, thus allowing the EU to influence domestic politics and policies in newly emerging democracies in Central and Eastern Europe. This research theme will map diverse effects of the EU and the main explanations for the variation in these effects. How much has the EU contributed to the consolidation of democracy and good governance in Central and Eastern Europe, both before and after the accession of these countries to the EU?

The second part of the research theme will also touch upon the EU's eastern neighbourhood. Here Brussels' efforts to further diffuse its norms beyond its borders will be examined, as well as the challenges it encounters in the region: Can the EU be considered as an influential actor in its shared neighbourhood with Russia?

### **Mandatory reading:** (on CEE)

Schimmelfennig, F. & Sedelmeier, U. (2004) "Governance by conditionality: EU rule transfer to the candidate countries of Central and Eastern Europe", *Journal of European*

Public Policy, 11(4).

Vachudova, M. 2005. Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage and Integration After Communism. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press. Chapter 7 (Can be found as an E-Book in the university database).

*(on Neighbourhood)*

Sasse, G. (2008) "The European Neighbourhood Policy: Conditionality Revisited for the EU's Eastern Neighbours", Europe-Asia Studies, 60 (2).

Börzel, T. (2011) "When Europe hits ... beyond its borders: Europeanization and the near abroad", Comparative European Politics, 9 (4), 394–413.

Lavenex, S., & Schimmelfennig, F. (2009). "EU rules beyond EU borders: theorizing external governance in European politics", Journal of European Public Policy, 16(6), 791-812.

*Recommended reading:*

Bolkvadze, Ketevan (2016) "Cherry Picking EU Conditionality: Selective Compliance in Georgia's Hybrid Regime", Europe-Asia Studies, 68(3), 409-440.

Börzel, T. & van Hüllen, V. (2014) "State-Building and the European Union's Fight against Corruption in the Southern Caucasus: Why Legitimacy Matters." Governance, 27(4), 613–634.

Ugur, M. (2013). "Europeanization, EU Conditionality, and Governance Quality: Empirical Evidence on Central and Eastern European Countries". International Studies Quarterly, 57(1), 41-51.

Levitz, P. and Pop-Eleches, G. 2010 "Why No Backsliding? The European Union's Impact on Democracy and Governance before and after Accession", Comparative Political Studies, 43(4): 457–485.

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Casier, T. (2011). "To adopt or not to adopt: explaining selective rule transfer under the European neighbourhood policy". European Integration, 33(1), 37-53.

Gawrich, A., Melnykovska, I., & Schweickert, R. (2010). "Neighbourhood Europeanization

through ENP: the case of Ukraine". *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48(5), 1209-123

#### **Research theme 4 (Week 41)**

**Nicholas Charron, Associate Professor, Department of political science**

[Nicholas.charron@pol.gu.se](mailto:Nicholas.charron@pol.gu.se)

#### **Public Support for European Integration: Past and Present**

Who supports an integrated Europe and why? For the EU to be successful in the long run it requires a certain degree of legitimacy and support among its citizens. And while many citizens support the idea of a more integrated Europe, there is clear opposition (e.g. 'Euroscepticism') to the EU project which at times has real-world consequences for the future of the Union, as demonstrated by the recent 'Brexit' vote in the UK. This research theme will cover some of the past and current research on explaining the support for European integration broadly speaking, as well as focusing on support for specific economic integration, such as the common Euro currency and EU Regional (Cohesion) policy. Some questions that we will investigate are: what is, and how do we measure, 'support' or 'scepticism' for European integration? what are the individual and contextual factors that drive support (or scepticism) for EU integration? Is there a unified theory of EU support, or does support for European integration vary too much across countries and time periods? How does the national context - political parties, macroeconomic conditions, the media - shape public attitudes about the EU? Finally, do theories of public support for EU integration in general also explain public support of more specific economic policy issues (monetary union, Cohesion policy, etc.)? We will examine these questions both theoretically and with empirical data.

#### ***Required reading***

Gabel, M. (1998). Public support for European integration: An empirical test of five theories. *The Journal of Politics*, 60(2), 333-354.

Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2005). Calculation, community and cues: Public opinion on European integration. *European Union Politics*, 6(4), 419-443.

Boomgaarden, H. G., Schuck, A. R., Elenbaas, M., & De Vreese, C. H. (2011). Mapping EU attitudes: Conceptual and empirical dimensions of Euroscepticism and EU support. *European Union Politics*, 12(2), 241-266.

Hobolt, S. B., & de Vries, C. E. (2016). Public support for European integration. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 19, 413-432.



### **Recommended reading**

Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2009). A postfunctionalist theory of European integration: From permissive consensus to constraining dissensus. *British Journal of Political Science*, 39(1), 1-23.

Risse, T. (2014). No demos? Identities and public spheres in the euro crisis. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 52(6), 1207-1215.

McLaren, L. M. (2002). Public support for the European Union: cost/benefit analysis or perceived cultural threat?. *The Journal of Politics*, 64(2), 551-566.

Hakhverdian, A., Van Elsas, E., Van der Brug, W., & Kuhn, T. (2013). Euroscepticism and education: A longitudinal study of 12 EU member states, 1973–2010. *European Union Politics*, 14(4), 522-541.

Boomgaarden, H. G., De Vreese, C. H., Schuck, A. R., Azrout, R., Elenbaas, M., Van Spanje, J. H., & Vliegenthart, R. (2013). Across time and space: Explaining variation in news coverage of the European Union. *European Journal of Political Research*, 52(5), 608-629.

De Vries, C., & Steenbergen, M. (2013). Variable opinions: The predictability of support for unification in European mass publics. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 12(1), 121-141.

De Wilde, P., & Trenz, H. J. (2012). Denouncing European integration: Euroscepticism as polity contestation. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 15(4), 537-554.

Hobolt, S. B., & Wratil, C. (2015). Public opinion and the crisis: the dynamics of support for the euro. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22(2), 238-256.

**Joint Project: “Rebuilding Europe”**

Jonathan Polk, Post-doctoral researcher, Department of Political Science,  
[jonathan.polk@gu.se](mailto:jonathan.polk@gu.se)

Partner Universities:

Charles University, Prague / Sciences Po, Paris / University of Gothenburg MA European Studies

**Aim of the Project:** The project gives you the possibility to creatively consider the various institutional relationships in the European Union with respect to occasionally competing principles, such as democracy, efficiency, transparency, and the balance of power between national, regional and European levels. Additionally, the project aims to give you a chance to work with students at another European studies center abroad.

**Goal of the Project**

Security challenges on the eastern border of the EU underline the institutional and political shortcomings of Europe. You are asked to jointly redesign the institutional structure of the Union, while providing an explanation for your choices. You may develop new institutions or redraft the roles, competences and compositions of the current institutions in light of trying to address a common EU security policy. You will start by working in small groups here in Gothenburg, you will eventually develop a joint position of our class. This position will then be communicated to Paris and Prague, where students will compare and comment on the draft. You will finally meet representatives from Paris and Prague over Skype and be able to discuss your proposal with them.

**Structure of the Project**

The description of the project is handed out on 3 October. Small groups (3-4 students) prepare draft proposals. This preparation will be carried out individually, outside class time.

The groups meet on 16 October to present their proposals briefly. Students identify common themes and work towards a joint proposal. The meeting on 26 October concludes Gothenburg deliberation and finalizes the Gothenburg proposal. Students elect an ‘ambassador’ who will be tasked with presenting the joint proposal from Gothenburg to Paris and Prague. This will be done via e-mail. The ambassador will also receive the proposals of the other sides. The ambassador will be responsible for disseminating the proposal to his/her colleagues.

After receiving the Paris and Prague proposals from the ambassador, all students are responsible for preparing comments on the draft from Paris/Prague.

Students meet the representatives from Paris/Prague in a final meeting (date TBA) and attempt to make a compromise solution between the three campuses.

Participation in the project is voluntary, and the project is concluded during the second course of the semester.