Interdisciplinary Programmes

Academic year 2018-2019

(Dis)Continuities in European Governance

MINT134 - Autumn - 6 ECTS

Course Description

This course explores different facets of the current crisis of the European Union (EU). We will analyze the evolution of EU actors, its institutional characteristics and policymaking dynamics. The course emphasizes power relationships among EU actors, the EU's legitimacy or lack thereof, and its international role as they constitute bones of contention when it comes to European governance.

> **PROFESSOR**

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Syllabus

Many scholars and pundits portray the European Union as going through a historic crisis. Whether one agrees or not with this characterization, the "crisis" and its discourse deeply affect the EU's design and capacity, and could even lead to its collapse according to some commentators. While the theme of the crisis is not new, the EU currently faces a number of difficulties pertaining to its legitimacy, capacity and leadership. This course will explore some core questions relating to the EU and its said current crisis: who (should) govern(s) the EU? How responsive and accountable should non-elected EU officials be? Is a transnational organized civil society the panacea to democratic legitimacy? Are redistributive consequences of EU integration (still) negligible?

To address these questions, the course is divided in two sections. It first deals with governance actors and how they govern. This section specifically addresses the traditional theme of EU's (lack of) legitimacy and its new developments. It is the aim of this section to provide empirical knowledge about actors, their formal competences and how they use them in policymaking. This section ends with a presentation and debate on the EU's democratic deficit. The second section deals with EU policies: it sheds light onto how the issues discussed in section one translate into, and shape, the EU governance's capacity, territory and instruments. This is first analyzed through cross-cutting questions (differentiated integration; modes of governance and policy instruments; EU as an international actor), and then applied to four specific policies. Students will have to choose one policy at the beginning of the semester based on which they will present in class (group presentation).

The pedagogical objectives of the course are manifold: (1) it provides students with analytical skills to better understand and analyze the politics of an international organization such as the EU; (2) it offers specific empirical knowledge about the EU; (3) it helps students to link analytical skills with current political debates; and (4) it encourages students to engage with current political debates related to the

EU and more generally to governance beyond the nation-state, its organization, problem-solving capacity and legitimacy.

This course is based on the active participation of students in class, which requires them to engage seriously with weekly readings. I encourage students to participate in class discussion, through the analysis of readings and other exercises (debate; class presentation; meeting with an EU official).

Requirements
Students will be evaluated based on the following requirements:
1) active class participation (30% of the final grade): this includes participating in
    the discussion of weekly readings and the discussion with a EU official (TBC)
    the debate in class

2) An oral presentation on one EU policy (30%)
Students will have to choose one policy domain among four (environment, migration, security and trade) at the beginning of the course, and prepare a group presentation. Throughout the semester they will be expected to collect information and apply the course material to their policy domain. They will then present their findings in sessions 12 or 13 (approx. 20 min per group). More details will be provided in class.

3) A final paper (40%): 5000 words (+/- 10%, including bibliography and sources)
The final paper is expected to be anchored in theories discussed in class and grounded empirically: the four policy domains analyzed in class constitute a particularly rich source of information that students are encouraged to make use of. The final paper is due December 21 2018, 10pm (CET). More details will be provided in class.

Readings
All compulsory readings will be made available to students at the beginning of the semester in electronic format. Additionally, here are some references to very useful handbooks to refresh one's knowledge (especially welcome for beginners on EU studies):

Hodson, D., & Peterson, J. (Eds.). (2017). *The institutions of the European Union* (4th edition). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
Jones, E., Menon, A., & Weatherill, S. (Eds.). (2012). *The Oxford handbook of the European Union* (1st ed). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Wallace, H., Pollack, M. A., & Young, A. R. (Eds.). (2015). *Policy-making in the European Union* (Seventh edition). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Class schedule
Three times two sessions will be grouped in one week: as a consequence, the class will not take place each week of the semester. Students are kindly asked to make sure to check their calendar.

Semester Calendar	Session number - Title	Important things to do / deadlines
Week 1: Sept. 21	2.15-4 pm : #1 Introduction	
	4.15-6 pm : #2 Why integrate and who governs? Explaining how the EU works	
Part 1. Governance actors, power and legitimacy		
Week 2	*No course*	
Week 3: Oct. 5	2.15-4 pm : #3 Member States in a very integrated EU: a comeback?	
	4.15-6 pm : #4 The politics of depoliticization (1):	

	the EU Commission, an all-mighty policy-entrepreneur?	
Week 4	*No course*	
Week 5: Oct. 19	2.15-4 pm : #5 The politics of depoliticization (2): the power of law and regulatory agencies	
	4.15-6 pm : #6 The European Parliament and EU legitimacy	Time for debate !
Week 6	*No course*	
Part 2. Governance dynamics and EU policies		
Week 7: Nov. 2	2.15-4 pm : #7 A differentiated integration: multi-speed EU and its variable geometry	
	4.15-6 pm : #8 Policy instruments, efficiency & legitimacy: questioning (a not so) soft governance	
Week 8	*No course*	
Week 9: Nov. 16	2.15-4 pm : #9 The EU beyond Europe (1)	
	4.15-6 pm : #10 The EU beyond Europe (2)	Prepare meeting with professionals
Week 10	*No course*	
Week 11: Nov. 30	2.15-4 pm : #11 What the EU does (1) : Trade & environment	Class presentations
	4.15-6 pm : #12 What the EU does (2) : Security & migrations	Class presentations
Week 12	*No course*	
Week 13: Dec. 14	2.15-4 pm : #13 A (democratic) legitimacy deficit? The EU, participation and contestation	
	4.15-6 pm : #14 Conclusions : A crisis, what crisis?	
Week 14	*No course*	

Course presentation

W1#1 Introduction
W1#2 Why integrate and who governs? Explaining how the EU works

Marks, G., Hooghe, L., & Blank, K. (1996). European Integration from the 1980s: State-Centric v. Multi-level Governance. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, *34*(3), 341–378.
Moravcsik, A. (1993). Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, *31*(4), 473–524.
Sweet, A. S., & Sandholtz, W. (1997). European integration and supranational governance. *Journal of European Public Policy*, *4*(3), 297–317.

Part 1. Governance actors, power and legitimacy

W3#3 Member States in a very integrated EU: a comeback?

Bailer, S., Mattila, M., & Schneider, G. (2015). Money Makes the EU Go Round: The Objective Foundations of Conflict in the Council of Ministers: Money makes the EU go round. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, *53*(3), 437–456.

Bocquillon, P., & Dobbels, M. (2014). An elephant on the 13th floor of the Berlaymont? European Council and Commission relations in legislative agenda setting. *Journal of European Public Policy*, *21*(1), 20–38.

Novak, S. (2013). The Silence of Ministers: Consensus and Blame Avoidance in the Council of the European Union: The silence of ministers. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, *51*(6), 1091–1107.

W3#4 The politics of depoliticization (1): the EU Commission, an all-mighty policy-entrepreneur?

Becker, S., Bauer, M. W., Connolly, S., & Kassim, H. (2016). The Commission: boxed in and constrained, but still an engine of integration. West European Politics, 39(5), 1011–1031.

Hartlapp, M., Metz, J., & Rauh, C. (2013). Linking Agenda Setting to Coordination Structures: Bureaucratic Politics inside the European Commission. *Journal of European Integration*, *35*(4), 425–441.

Schmidt, S. K. (2000). Only an Agenda Setter?: The European Commission's Power over the Council of Ministers. *European Union Politics*, *1*(1), 37–61.

W5#5 The politics of depoliticization (2): the power of law and regulatory agencies

Alter, K. J. (1998). Who Are the "Masters of the Treaty"?: European Governments and the European Court of Justice. *International Organization*, *52*(01), 121–147.

Busuioc, M., Curtin, D., & Groenleer, M. (2011). Agency growth between autonomy and accountability: the European Police Office as a 'living institution'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, *18*(6), 848–867.

Egeberg, M., & Trondal, J. (2017). Researching European Union Agencies: What Have We Learnt (and Where Do We Go from Here)?: European union agencies. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, *55*(4), 675–690.

W5#6 The European Parliament and EU legitimacy

Héritier, A. (n.d.). The increasing institutional power of the European Parliament and EU policy making. *Institut Für Europäische Integrationsforschung, Working Paper N. 01/2017*, 1–28.

Rittberger, B. (2014). Integration without Representation? The European Parliament and the Reform of Economic Governance in the EU: Integration without representation? *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, *52*(6), 1174–1183.

Additionally to the readings' discussion, this session is devoted to debating one facet of the EU legitimacy crisis: The question to be discussed will revolve around Euroscepticism and its causes. Students will be divided into four groups. Each group will focus on one specific factor/reading of this phenomenon:

- Norm-related factors: identity, values, religion, culture, etc.
- Economic factors : the financial crisis, liberalization, GDP, income, inequalities, redistribution, etc.
- National political actors and institutions: national parliaments, governments, bureaucracies, elections, etc.
- The EU itself: its institutional design, its communication, its "Eurocracy", etc.

Groups are expected to explain how the factor they have worked on explains Euroscepticism and to stress its explanatory limits; they should come up with a few policy recommendations. Particular attention will be paid to the ways these factors can be combined but also how they can lead to divergent policy recommendations. More details will be given in class.

Part 2: Governance dynamics and EU policies

W7#7 A differentiated integration: multi-speed EU and its variable geometry

Adler-Nissen, R. (2009). Behind the scenes of differentiated integration: circumventing national opt-outs in Justice and Home Affairs. *Journal of European Public Policy*, *16*(1), 62–80.

Lavenex, S. (2015). The external face of differentiated integration: third country participation in EU sectoral bodies. *Journal of European Public Policy*, *22*(6), 836–853.

Schimmelfennig, F., Leuffen, D., & Rittberger, B. (2015). The European Union as a system of differentiated integration: interdependence, politicization and differentiation. *Journal of European Public Policy*, *22*(6), 764–782.

W7#8 Policy instruments, efficiency & legitimacy: questioning (a not so) soft governance

Dehousse, R. (2016). Has the European Union moved towards soft governance? *Comparative European Politics*, *14*(1), 20–35.

Saurugger, S., & Terpan, F. (2016). Resisting 'new modes of governance': An agency-centred approach. *Comparative European Politics*, *14*(1), 53–70.

Trubek, D. M., & Trubek, L. G. (2005). Hard and Soft Law in the Construction of Social Europe: the Role of the Open Method of Co-ordination. *European Law Journal*, *11*(3), 343–364.

W9#9 The EU beyond Europe (1)

Conceição-Heldt, E. d., & Meunier, S. (2014). 'Speaking with a Single Voice: Internal Cohesiveness and External Effectiveness of the EU in Global Governance'. *Journal of European Public Policy,* 21(7): 961–79.

Joachim, J., Schneiker, A., & Jenichen, A. (2017). 'External Networks and Institutional Idiosyncrasies: The Common Security and Defence Policy and UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security'. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs,* 30(1): 105–24.

Manners, I. (2006). 'Normative Power Europe Reconsidered: Beyond the Crossroads1'. *Journal of European Public Policy,* 13(2): 182–99.

W9#10 The EU beyond Europe (2):

Meeting with EU officials (TBC)

W11#11 What the EU does (1): Trade & environment

Group presentations.

W11#12 What the EU does (2): Security & migrations

Group presentations.

W13#13 A (democratic) legitimacy deficit ? The EU, participation and contestation

*For this session, please read all readings marked with * + either the texts (a) or the texts (b) = total of 4 texts*

(b)Follesdal, A., Hix, S., 2006. Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies 44, 533–562.

(b) Kohler-Koch, B., 2010. Civil society and EU democracy: 'astroturf' representation? Journal of European Public Policy 17, 100–116.
(a) Majone, G., 1998. Europe's "Democratic Deficit": The Question of Standards. European Law Journal 4, 5–28.
(a) Moravcsik, A., 2002. Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies 40, 603–624.
*Scharpf, F.W., 2009. Legitimacy in the multilevel European polity. European Political Science Review 1, 173.
*Schmidt, V.A., 2013. Democracy and Legitimacy in the European Union Revisited: Input, Output and 'Throughput.' Political Studies 61, 2–22.

W13#14 Conclusions : A crisis, what crisis?