Integrating Europeans: 
The Political Economy and Social Aspects of Europeanization 

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COURSE DESCRIPTION
The birthplace of both traditional and radical political ideas as well as of catastrophes and innovations of historical proportions, Europe continues being a fascinating moving target in terms of its political and economic development. The political development of European integration has been at best uncertain and unclear, provoking academic debates about the political structure of the EU. Concerned with finding the most appropriate way to study the evolving project, analysts from various political persuasions have attempted to anticipate the kind of polity that the integration is turning Europe into - an international organization, a democratic federation, a regulatory state, a multilevel governance structure, a composite polity, or simply a broadly-defined political system. Often, such predictions have been coupled with normative attempts prescribing the best locus of democratic legitimacy for Europe - here a first group of scholars have advocated a move towards democratizing the supranational level, a second group has preferred to retain such impulses in the nation-states where they have traditionally belonged, and a third group has redirected its gaze towards seeking legitimacy - and a progressive European identity - by means of political protest.

It is such protest, especially in the European South, that has recently focused attention to the economic side of integration. While the economic development initiated through the Single Market and the Monetary Union was seen as the necessary impetus resurrecting the European project after a period of Eurosclerosis, the sovereign debt crisis has provoked both policy and scholarly debates on the relationship between stronger performing economies and economic laggards as well as between economic development and social welfare. Since such debates are about more than simply monetary policy best managed by technically savvy experts and since they involve distributional preferences and welfare gains - both regarding regional redistribution and redistribution between social group - the crisis has demonstrated that scholarly debates about the normative shape of the EU polity as well as arguments about its democratic legitimacy are indeed relevant for Europe’s ordinary citizens.

It is this relevance of political economy developments for Europe’s majorities that motivates the present course. While much of the literature on European integration - in its most influential neofunctionalist and intergovernmentalist variants (but the same is true about network- and multilevel governance approaches) - has been focused on elites, and understandably so, since elites have been the guiding forces in the integration project, this course seeks to shift to focus and examine the relationship between the construction of the common market and the social aspects felt by many of those seeking to challenge the dominant logic of European integration.

This course, then, investigates the effects of integration on European citizens as well as the duality of the EU as a competitive and social model. It is sensitive to the involvement of social groups, protest, and domestic politics in the study of market integration. Some of the questions we explore are: What are the effects of regulatory policy-making on social actors, how do such actors’ strategies and behaviors change as a consequence, and how to they overcome their collective action problems? Why is it that the logic of integration has at times followed a
logic of “permissive consensus” while at other times it has been described as a “constraining dissensus”? What is the importance of discourse in domestic politics in order to articulate and legitimate Europeanization? How do European identities change as a consequence of policy-making as well as of protest? To what extent do ordinary Europeans matter in terms of accepting and opposing the project of European integration, how do European citizens in core and peripheral EU states experience Europeanization, and how is their involvement in the integration project to be conceptualized?

The course is subdivided into 25 class meetings, covering a substantial amount of material which is organized in 4 sections. We begin by investigating the history of European integration as well as mainstream theories explaining it, such as neofunctionalism, liberal intergovernmentalism, constructivism, new governance, and multilevel governance. An alternative reading of history in addition to criticism of such mainstream explanations is also provided before the investigation delves into the complex institutional world of EU government and governance approaches. The second section analyzes the constitutional debate, civil society and popular participation, the debate regarding the EU’s democratic deficit, and the Open Method of Coordination as an example of soft governance. While the analytical focus throughout the conversation remains on the role of the European public in terms of the articulation and evaluation of such debates, the section moves the discussion through general issues which inform many of the more specific policy debates covered in the following section. The third and longest part covering the historical and political contours of Europe’s economy, the move towards Monetary Union, and how the overall process of market integration, while undeniably being unique for Europe, is not entirely without parallels in its historical evolution. Once again from the perspective of popular majorities and the democratic legitimacy expected to be derived from their engagement with the integration process, this section studies both long-term and immediate challenges facing economic and political integration, the role of the European Court of Justice in the integration process, and the debt crisis. It concludes by outlining the debate regarding the economic performance of the ten post-communist states which are now part of the EU, this time from the perspective of east-central European labor integration. The last section covers the academically popular concept ‘Europeanization’ as an economic, rhetorical, and governance tool, as well as the politics of dissatisfaction with and protest against such Europeanizing influences. Here, the concept of the “composite polity” in which identity becomes realized through active political engagement is suggested as an alternative to more elitist approaches to European integration. In this sense, the prognosis that political conflict, rather than elite-driven order, might pull Europe out of its troubles doesn’t seem unrealistic, as composite polities, such as Europe, possess complex hierarchies in which the integration effects on populations - the leitmotif of this course - cannot be either perfectly calculated or discounted.

As a result of completing this course (in a conscientious manner), students will be acquainted with the history, institutions, and key policy areas of importance not only to the European Union, a polity consisting of nearly half a billion citizens, but also to world politics (since the EU is a major actor on the world stage). They will have developed a well-informed understanding of the complex political, economic, social, and identity issues the European Union faces in terms of its past, present and future, as well as a critical perspective with regard to the debates on the European Union.
Since this is not an introductory course, some previous knowledge of European politics is expected. Although the basic history, theories, and institutions of European integration are presented in the first part of the course, this presentation is quick and by no means exhaustive. Finally, students are required to come to class having completed the assigned readings and ready and eager to discuss, debate, and engage with the material. Students are always encouraged to communicate with the instructor and to ask questions, both during class and during office hours.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING
Grades will be based on performance in the following:
* **Class attendance and participation in class discussions.** Absence, especially unexcused absence, from class is strongly discouraged. This is a small seminar intended for students to come prepared and to participate in class discussions in an active and engaged manner. Unexcused absences will not only result in a lower class participation grade, but will also mean the inability to “make-up” potentially missed quizzes (see below). In addition, if at the end of the course a student is “between grades” (a situation that happens quite frequently), the student’s well-informed and frequent class participation (or lack thereof) will be decisive in terms of the final course grade. In other words, class participation is to be taken seriously, and to be able to participate students must attend class and be prepared to discuss the material. Finally, each student will be asked to lead the class discussion once during the term. Class participation will count for 20% of students’ overall grade.

* **Frequent “pop quizzes.”** Since missing class is strongly discouraged, an unexcused absence will result in a grade of 0 for the quiz missed. These reading quizzes will be “surprise” ones (i.e., not announced in advance) for the sake of fairness to students who do their reading regularly and on time (something that all students are, of course, encouraged to do). The “pop quizzes” will count for 20% of students’ overall grade.

* **A Midterm In-Class Examination.** The Midterm Exam will consist of short answers/identifications requiring responses of a couple of sentences, longer answers requiring a paragraph or two, and an essay requiring the construction of a well-articulated, reasoned, and substantiated argument and integrating the material in a creative and intelligent manner. The Midterm Exam will be closed book, will be written in class, and will last 2 hours. The Midterm Exam will count for 25% of students’ overall grade.

* **A Final Take-Home Examination.** The Final Exam will be identical in spirit, style, and format to the Midterm Exam, the only substantive differences being that it will be take-home, that it will be cumulative, that it will require the writing of two long essays in addition to the short answers/identifications and longer answers, and that students will be given 3 days to complete it. “Cumulative” means that the Final Exam will require students to connect the material covered in the latter part of the class to the material covered in the first part. I.e., the Final Exam will require the ability to creatively connect the policies and special topics of European integration covered in the latter part of the class (Part III) to the theoretical basis covered in the first part (Parts I and II). The Final Exam will be distributed during our last meeting and students will have 72 hours to complete it. The Final Exam will count for 35% of students’ overall grade.
READING MATERIAL
All the reading material will be provided via Blackboard. Students do not need to purchase any materials, but are strongly advised to make sure they have access to Blackboard as soon as possible.

COURSE OUTLINE

Part I: European Union Basics - Historical Background, Theories, and Institutional Government

1. Introduction and Overview
   * Anthony Pagden, “Europe: Conceptualizing a Continent” in The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union (2002);
   * Desmond Dinan, Chapters 1 and 2 in Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration (2010);
   * Simon Hix, “Why the European Union is More Necessary than Ever,” in What’s Wrong with the European Union and How to Fix It? (2008);
   * “The EU at a Glance”: Take a look and explore the following website: https://europa.eu/abc/index_en.htm

2. A Brief History of European Integration
   * Mark Mazower, “Blueprints for the Golden Age,” in Dark Continent (2000);
   * Alan Milward, Chapter 2: “The Postwar Nation State,” in The European Rescue of the Nation State, pp. 21-45 (2000);
   * Desmond Dinan, Chapters 3 and 4 in Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration (2010).

3. A Brief History of European Integration: Critical Perspectives

4. Explaining Europe’s Integration I: Mainstream Explanations
   * Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, “Pre-theories of International Integration,” in Debates on European Integration: A Reader (2006);
5. Explaining Europe's Integration II: New Mainstream Explanations - Constructivism, New Governance, and Multilevel Governance

* Ernst Haas, “Does Constructivism Subsume Neofunctionalism,” in *Debates on European Integration: A Reader* (2006);

6. Criticism of Mainstream Integration Theories: The Missing Social Aspect of EU Integration?

* Andreas Bieler and Adam David Morton, “Conclusion: Thinking About Future European Social Relations” in *Social Forces in the Making of the New Europe: The Restructuring of European Social Relations in the Global Political Economy* (2001);
* Bastiaan van Apeldoorn, “Theoretical Perspective: Social Forces and the Struggle Over European Order” in *Transnational Capitalism and the Struggle Over European Integration* (2002);


* Simon Hix and Bjorn Hoyland, Chapter 1: “Introduction: Explaining the EU Political System,” in *The Political System of the European Union* (2011) (for an explanation of the basic constitutional makeup of the EU);
* Magnette, Paul, “Policymaking in a Union of States,” in *What is The European Union?* (2005) (for the perspective that EU institutions function like an international organization);
* Majone, Giandomenico, “The Rise of the Regulatory State in Europe,” *West European Politics*, 17 (3), pp. 77-101 (for the perspective of Europe as a regulatory state);
* Additionally, to familiarize yourselves with the EU institutions, please see the following websites:
  - for the European Commission: Explore the following website paying special attention to the entries under the section “About”: [http://ec.europa.eu/index_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/index_en.htm)
- for the European Court of Justice: Explore the following website paying special attention to the composition, jurisdiction, and the legal order of the EU: [http://curia.europa.eu/jcms/jcms/Jo2_7024/](http://curia.europa.eu/jcms/jcms/Jo2_7024/)
- for the European Central Bank: Explore the following website paying special attention to the history and organization of the ECB: [http://www.ecb.int/ecb/html/index.en.html](http://www.ecb.int/ecb/html/index.en.html)
- for the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC): Explore the following website paying special attention to ‘Our Activities’: [http://www.etuc.org/](http://www.etuc.org/)

**Part II: Constitutionalization, Governance, and Democratic Legitimacy in the EU**

8. A Constitution for Europe, but of What Kind?

9. Governance of the European Union: Is There a Democratic Deficit?

10. Popular Participation in the Making of Europe
11. Is Soft Governance a Legitimate Form of Governance?
* Damian Chalmers and Martin Lodge, “The Open Method of Coordination and the European Welfare State,” ESRC Centre for Analysis of Risk and Regulation, Discussion Paper No. 11, (June 2003);
* Susanna Borras and Kerstin Jacobsson, “The Open Method of Coordination and the New Governance Patterns in Europe,” Journal of European Public Policy, Vo. 11, No. 2, pp. 185-208 (2004);

12. Midterm Examination

Part III: The Political Economy of European Integration: Developments and Challenges

13. The European Economy after the Second World War

14. Towards a Deeper Union

15. Economic Integration from a Comparative Perspective
* Kathleen McNamara, “State-Building, the Territorialization of Money, and the Creation of the American Single Currency,” in Louis Pauly, David Andrews, and C. Randall Henning, eds., Governing the World’s Money (2002);
* Michelle Egan, “The Emergence of the US Internal Market,” in Jacques Pelkmans, Dominik Hanf an Michele Chang, eds., The EU Internal Market in Comparative Perspective: Economic, Political and Legal Analyses (2008);

16. From Consensus to Dissensus: Does the EU Have an Economic Integration Problem?

17. Towards a Solution of ‘the Problem’?
* Vivien Schmidt, “Putting Politics Back Into the Political Economy By Bringing the State Back in Again,” World Politics, Vol. 61, No. 3, pp. 516-46 (2009);

18. The European Court of Justice’s Agency
* Fritz Scharpf, “The Only Solution is the Refuse to Comply with ECJ Rulings.” Interview with Cornelia Girndt, Social Europe Journal, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 16-21;

19. Current Crisis and Legitimacy in Europe
* Martin Hoepner and Armin Schaefer, “Polanyi in Brussels? Embeddedness and the Three Dimensions of European Economic Integration,” MPIfG Discussion Paper 10/8 (2010);

20. Uniting Europe: Enlargement, Conditionality, and Economic Integration
* Milada Anna Vachudova, “Introduction,” Chapters 1, 8, and “Conclusion” in Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage and Integration After Communism (2005);

21. Is East-Central Europe Succeeding of Failing?
* Anders Aslund, “Introduction,” in *The Last Shall Be First: The East European Financial Crisis* (2010);

Part IV: Europeanization and Protest

22. The Politics and Economics of Europeanization

23. European Citizens Versus Europeanizing Elites
* Bert Klandermans and Nonna Mayer, “Right-Wing Extremism as a Social Movement,” and “Through the Magnifying Glass: The World of Extreme Right Wing Activists,” in *Extreme Right Activists in Europe: Through the Magnifying Glass* (2006);

* Doug Imig and Sidney Tarrow, “Studying Contention in an Emerging Polity,” in *Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in an Emerging Polity* (2001);
* Andrew Martin and George Ross, “Trade Union Organizing at the European Level: The Dilemma of Borrowed Resources,” in *Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in an Emerging Polity* (2001);
25. Europe’s Past, Present, and Future: Concluding Reflections and Overview
* Simon Hix and Bjorn Hoyland, Chapter 13: “Conclusion: Rethinking the European Union,” in The Political System of the European Union (2011);

* The Final Examination will be distributed to be completed at home. The Final Exam is due via e-mail or in hard copy 72 hours after this last class.