

**Academic Year/course:** 2023/24

## **32694 - The Consequences of the European Integration on EU Citizens**

### **Teaching Guide Information**

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**Academic Course:** 2023/24

**Academic Center:** 805 - Masters Centre of the Department of Political and Social Sciences

**Study:** 8057 - Master of Research in Political Science

**Subject:** 32694 - The Consequences of the European Integration on EU Citizens

**Credits:** 5.0

**Course:** 1

**Teaching languages:**

Theory: Group 1: English

**Teachers:** Francisco Javier Arregui Moreno

**Teaching Period:** First Quarter

### **Presentation**

This seminar examines current debates in comparative European politics. It focuses on discourses on democracy, policy-making and public policy. The approach of the course is to establish a substantive link between the theoretical, empirical and normative analysis of the European Union (EU) policy process. More specifically, the course analyzes the modes of governance in Europe and it discusses how and why the European Integration has progressed the way it has. The focus of the course rests on the existing relationship between institutions and the outputs of the public policies implemented in the EU.

### **Associated skills**

The aim of the course is that students achieve or improve competences such as:

#### **Instrumental competences**

Critical thinking skills

Planning and management of time Basic knowledge of the area of study

#### **Interpersonal competences**

Interpersonal skills

Skills to communicate with people who are not experts in the subject

#### **Systemic competences**

Research skills

Skills to adapt to new situations Skills to generate new ideas Skills to write papers

## Learning outcomes

### Specific competences

- To understand the development and working of EU policy-making
- To comprehend the relationship between the EU institutions and public policy
- To become familiar with the key literature on EU integration and comparative European politics

## Contents

### Building blocks

#### 1. Introduction

Theoretical debates over the European Integration. Idioms of analysis in EU politics. The Institutionalization of the European Space.

#### 2. Government Structure and Policy-Making in EU Politics

The EU political system. Institutions: the Council, the Commission, the Parliament and the European Central Bank in the EU policy-making. Interaction between institutions in the policy-making. Structural factors that determine policy outputs.

#### 3. Public Policies: The Policies of EU Citizens

Negative and Positive Integration in the Political Economy of European Welfare States. Regulation of the single market. social, environmental, and cohesive policies. Economic and Monetary Union policies.

### Schedule of sessions

#### 1. Introduction

Aims of the course – Overview of the main topics we will cover in the course - Introduction to the main theories of the European integration- Idioms of analysis in EU politics - Institutionalization of the European space across member states – The EU as a Political System – How the EU Political System works – Actors, Institutions and Outcomes

Required Readings:

- Wallace, H., W. Wallace and M. Pollack. 2005. 'An Overview', in *Policy-Making in the European Union*, pp. 3-11.
- Pollack, M. 2005. 'Theorizing EU Policy-Making', in *Policy-Making in the European Union*, pp. 13-48.
- Hix, Simon and B. Hoyland. (2011) 'Explaining the EU Political System', in *The Political System of the EU*, pp. 4-22.
- Peterson, John., and E. Bomberg. (1999) 'Making Sense of the EU Decision-Making' in *Decision-Making in the European Union*, pp. 4-30.

Further Readings:

- Caporaso, J. A. (1996) 'The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalian, Regulatory or Post- Modern?', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34 (1): 29-52.
- Haas, E. (1958) 'The Uniting of Europe', except reprinted in B. Nelsen and A. C. G. Stubb. 1998. *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 139-143.
- Risse-Kappen, T (1996) 'Exploring the Nature of the Beast : International Relations Theory and Comparative Policy Analysis Meet the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34 (1): 53-80.
- Rosamon, Ben (2000), *Theories of European Integration*, Palgrave.
- Stone Sweet, A., W. Sandholtz and Neil Fligstein, (2001) *The Institutionalization of Europe*.
- Thomson, R. (2012) 'The European Union's Political Space' in *Resolving Controversy in the European Union*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wallace, W., (1983) 'Less than a Federation, More than a Regime: the Community as a Political System', in H. Wallace, W. Wallace and C. Webb (eds), *Policy-Making in the European Community*.

### Questions:

- Should we understand integration as a process or as an outcome?
- What are the main criticisms of the neofunctionalist approach?

- What are the main criticisms of the intergovernmentalism?
- Which variables have been the most important to explain the political outputs produced by the Treaty of Rome, Amsterdam, Nice and Lisbon.
- Is the EU an international organization, a state a political system or none of them?
- Assess the utility of the various new institutionalist approaches to the study of the EU.
- What are the key issues facing the EU in the coming fifteen years?

## 2. The Council and the Commission in the EU Policy and Decision-making

Government by the Council – Government by the Commission – Legislative Politics and Decision-making in the Council - Democratic Control of the EU executive – Processes in the Council and the Commission – Policy outputs produced by the Council and the Commission

Required Readings:

- Majone, G. (1996) 'The European Commission as Regulator', in *Regulating Europe*, pp. 61-79.
- Hix, S and B. Hoyland. (2011) 'Executive Politics' in *The Political System of the EU*, pp. 23-50, and 'Legislative Politics in the Council', pp. 62-66.

Further Readings:

- Achen, C., (2006) 'Evaluating Political Decision Models' in R. Thomson, F. Stokman, C. Achen and T. König (eds), *The European Union Decides*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 264-298.
- Arregui, J., and R. Thomson (2009) 'States' Bargaining Success in the European Union', *Journal of European Public Policy* 16 (5): 655-676.
- Arregui, J. and R. Thomson (2014) 'Domestic Adjustment Costs, Interdependencies and Dissent in the Council of the EU', *European Journal of Political Research* 53 (4): 692-708.
- Arregui, J (2016) 'Determinants of Bargaining Satisfaction Across Policy Domains in the EU Council of Ministers', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54 (5): 1105- 1122
- Franchino, Fabio (2004) 'Delegating Powers in the European Union', *British Journal of Political Science* 34 (2): 269-293.
- Häge, F. (2007) 'The Division of Labour in Legislative Decision-Making of the Council of the European Union', *Journal of Legislative Studies* 13 (4): 497-516.
- Hayes- Renshaw, F. And H. Wallace (2006) *The Council of Ministers*, 2nd edition, London: Macmillan
- Lewis, J. (1998) 'Is the Hard Bargaining Image of the Council Misleading? The Committee of Permanent Representatives and the Local Elections Directive', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 36 (4): 479-504.
- Naurin, D., and R. Lindahl (2008) 'East-Nort-South: Coalition Building in the Council Before and After Enlargement', in *Unveiling the Council of the European Union. Games Governments Play in Brussels*, Palgrave, pp. 64-78.
- Nugent, N and M. Rhinard, (2016) *Is the Commission Really In Decline?*, Neill Nugent and Mark Rhinard, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54 (5): 1199-1215.
- Pollack, M., (2006) 'Delegation and Discretion in the European Union', in *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 165-196.
- Steinebach, Y., and C. Knill (2016) 'Still and Entrepreneur? The Changing Role of the European Commission in EU Environment Policy-making', *JEPP* 1-18.
- Tallberg, J. (2004) 'The Power of the Presidency: Brokerage, Efficiency and Distribution in EU negotiations', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42 (5): 999-1022.
- Thomson R. (2012) 'The Relative Power of Member States', in *Resolving Controversy in the European Union*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thomson, R. (2012) 'The European Commission's Policy Positions', in *Resolving Controversy in the European Union*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thomson, R. (2012) 'Transforming Policy Positions into Decision Outcomes' in *Resolving Controversy in the European Union*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wonka, Arndt (2008), 'Decision-making Dynamics in the EU Commission: Partisan, National or Sectoral?', *JEPP* 15 (8): 1145-1163.

**Questions:**

- To what extent is the Commission an autonomous political actor?
- Is the Commission an 'executive', a 'bureaucracy' or a 'regulatory agency'?
- How influential is the Commission in the policy process?
- Why has the Council delegated certain powers to the Commission?
- How relevant is the organization of the Council for policy coherence?
- Do preferences or power determine how member states vote in the Council?
- What explains the national preferences of the major governments?
- Do large member states have more power under QMV than under unanimity?
- How might domestic factors affect European integration?

### 3. The European Parliament and the European Central Bank in the EU Policy and Decision-making

Legislative Politics in the European Parliament – Legislative Bargaining between the Council and the EP  
 – Independence of the European Central Bank – Policy outputs produced by the EP - European Central Bank decision making - Democratic control of the EU legislative process

#### Required Readings:

- Hix, S (2011) 'Legislative Politics' in *The Political System of the European Union*, pp. 51-62 and 67-80.
- McNamara, K. (2001) 'Where do rules come from? The Creation of the European Central Bank', in *The New Institutionalism in Europe*, pp. 155-170.

#### Further Readings:

- Badinger, H., and V. Nitsch (2014) 'National Representation in Supranational Institutions: The Case of the European Central Bank', *Journal of Comparative Economics* 42: 19-33.
- Bebenroth, R., and U. Vollmer, (2007) 'Bank of Japan versus Eurosystem', A comparison of monetary policy institutions and conduct in Japan and in the Euro Area, *Inereconomics*: 43-53.
- Burns, C., (2013) 'Consensus and Compromise Become Ordinary - but at What Cost? A Critical Analysis

of the Impact of the Changing Norms of Codecision Upon European Parliament Committees', *JEPP* 20 (7): 988-1005.

- Chang, K., (2003) *Appointing Central Bankers. The Politics of Monetary Policy in the United States and the European Monetary Union*, Cambridge University Press.
- Coman, E, (2009), 'Reassessing the Influence of Party Groups on Individual Members of the European Parliament', *WestEuropean Politics*, 32 (6): 1099-1117.
- Crowe, C. And E. Meade (2007) 'The Evolution of Central Bank Governance around the World', *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 21 (4): 69-90.
- Elgie, R (2002) 'The Politics of the European Central Bank: Principal-Agent Theory and Democratic Deficit', *Journal of European Public Policy* 9 (2): 186-200.
- Hawkins, D., D. Lake, D. Nielson and M. Tierney, (2008) *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*, Cambridge University Press.
- Hayo, B., and P.G. Méon, (2013) 'Behind Closed Doors: Revealing the ECB's Decision Rule', *Journal of International Money and Finance* 37: 135-160.
- Häge, F., (2011), '[Politicising Council Decision-making: The Effect of European Parliament Empowerment](#)

[', \*WestEuropean Politics\*, 34 \(1\): 18-47.](#)

- Häge, F. and M. Kaeding, 'Reconsidering the EP's Legislative Influence: Formal vs. Informal Procedures',

*European Integration*, 29 (3): 341-361.

- Hix, S., (2002) 'Parliamentary Behaviour with Two Principals: Preferences, Parties and Voting in the EP',

*American Journal of Political Sciences* 46 (3): 688-698.

- Hix, S., A. Noury and G. Roland (2007) *Democratic Politics in the European Parliament*, Cambridge University Press.
- Judge, D. and D. Earnshaw, (2011) 'Relais Actors and Co-decision First Reading Agreements in the EP: the Case of Advanced Therapies Regulation', *JEPP* 18 (1): 53-71.
- Kreppel, A., (2002) *The European Parliament and Supranational Party System*, Cambridge University Press.
- Manow, P., and H. Döring (2006) 'Divided Government European Style? Electoral and Mechanical

Causes of European Parliament and Council Divisions`, *Max Planck Institute Discussion Paper* N8.

- Rittberger, B., (2012) 'Institutionalizing Representative Democracy in the EU: the Case of the EP', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50 (1): 18-37.
- Santow, L., (2013) 'The Eurozone Needs to Rethink the Powers of the ECB', *Challenge* 56 (2): 79-99.
- Scully, R. (2001) 'Policy Influence and Participation in the European Parliament', *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 22 (2): 233-252.
- Thomson, R., (2012) 'The European Parliament's Policy Positions', in *Resolving Controversy in the European Union*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tsebelis, G., and G. Garret (2002) 'Veto Players: How Political Institutions Work', *European Union Politics*

1 (1): 9-36.

- Ullrich, K., (2004) 'Decision-Making of the ECB: Reform and Voting Power', Discussion Paper No. 04-70, Center for European Economic Research, University of Mannheim.

### Questions:

- What are the main determinants of coalition formation in the EP?
- Are there real ideological divisions within the EP and even the main party groups?
- Should we want more ideological division within the EP?
- Does the EP produce policy outcomes close to the European median voter preference?
- To what extent does the power of the different actors change according to legislative procedures in the EP?
- Can you think of any informal sources of power in the EP-Council relationships that actually matter?
- Is the ECB a conservative central bank?
- What are the benefits and costs of delegating so much power to the ECB?
- What are the implications of the institutional design of the ECB for accountability and price stability?
  
- Can you relate the decision-making of the ECB with the implications for democratic legitimacy and accountability?

### 4. Public Policies: Regulation of the Single Market

Theories of Regulation – Deregulation via Negative Integration: the Single Market and Competition Policies – Regulation via Positive Integration: Environmental and Social Policies – Explaining EU Regulatory Policies

#### Required Readings:

- Majone, G. (1996) 'Regulatory Europe' and 'The Rise of Statutory Regulation of Europe' in *Regulating Europe*, pp. 47-59 and 284-301.
- Hix, S. and B. Hoyland, (2011) 'Regulation of the Single Market', in *The Political System of the EU*, pp. 202-232.

#### Further Readings:

- Bach, D., and A. Newman (2007) 'The European Regulatory State and Global Public Policy: Micro- institutions, Macro-influence', *Journal of European Public Policy* 14 (6): 827-846.
- Balleisen, E., and D. Moss (edt), (2010), *Government and Markets*, Cambridge University Press.
- Bieling, H.J, J. Jäger and M. Ryner (2016) 'Regulation Theory and the Political Economy of the EU', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54 (1): 53-69.
- Börzel, T., (2009), *Coping with Accession to European Union: New Modes of Environmental Governance*, Palgrave.
- Bulmer, S., (1998) 'New Institutionalism and the Governance of the Single European Market' 5 (3) 365-386. *Journal of European Public Policy* 1998 5 (3): 365-386
- Caporaso, J.A., (1996), 'The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalian, Regulatory or Post-Moders?', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34 (1): 29-52.
- Dehousse, R., (1997) 'Regulation by Networks in the European Community: The Role of European

Agencies`, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 4 (2): 246-261.

- Dannreuther, C., (2006), 'Regulation Theory and the EU', *Competition & Change* 10 (2): 180- 199.
- Ellerman, Denny and K. Buchner (2007), 'The EU Emissions Trading Scheme: Origins, Allocations and Early Results', in *Review of Environmental Economics and Policy* 1: 1: 66-87
  - [Carbon Trade Watch \(2011\): EU Emissions Trading System: failing at the third attempt. Online available at: www.carbontradewatch.org.](http://www.carbontradewatch.org)
  - Fligstein, N., and I. Mara-Drita, (1996), 'How to Make a Market: Reflections on the Attempt to Create a Single Market in the European Union', *American Journal of Sociology* 102 (1): 1-33.
  - Grahl, J., and P. Teague (1989) 'The Cost of Neo-Liberal Europe', *New Left Review* No. 114, March/April 1989.
  - Jamasb, T., and M. Pollit (2005), 'Electricity Market Reform in the European Union: Review of Progress toward Liberalization & Integration', Working Paper 05 – 003, *Center for Energy and Environmental Policy Research*.
  - Krapohl, S., (2008) 'Legitimising Supranational Risk Regulation: The EU Pharmaceutical and Food Safety Regimes', *German Policy Studies* 4 (1): 237-276.
  - Kelemen, D., (2011), *Eurolegalism. The Transformation of Law and Regulation in the EU*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Chapters 5, 6 and 7.
  - Knill, C., and D. Lehmkuhl (2002), 'The National Impact of EU Regulatory Policy: Three Europeanization Mechanisms', *European Journal of Political Research* 41 (2). 255-280.
  - König, A., (2010) 'Compatibility of the Safe Foods Risk Analysis Framework with the Legal and Institutional Settings of the EU and the WTO', *Food Control* 21 (2): 1638-1652.
  - Majone, G. (2009), 'Policy Dilemmas', in *Dilemmas of European Integration*, Oxford University Press, pp. 107-142.
  - Moran, M., (2010), 'The Political Economy of Regulation: Does it have any lessons for accounting research?', *Accounting and Business Research* 40 (3): 215-225.
  - Mabbett, D., and W. Schelkle. 2009. 'The Politics of Conflict Management in EU Regulation', *West European Politics* 32 (4): 699-718.
  - Montanari (1995), 'Harmonization of Social Policies and Social Regulation in the EC', *EJPR*, 27, 1, 21-45.
  - Quaglia, L., (2007) 'The Politics of Financial Services Regulation and Supervision Reform in the European Union', *European Journal of Political Research* 46: 269-290.
  - Radaelli, C., and A. Meuwese. 2009. 'Better Regulation in Europe: Between Public Management and Regulatory Reform', *Public Administration* 87 (3): 639-654.
  - Scharpf, F., (1996) 'Negative and Positive Integration in the Political Economy of European Welfare States', in Marks et al. *Governance in the European Union*, pp. 15-39.
  - Stiglitz, J., (2010), 'Government Failure vs. Market Failure: Principles of Regulation', in *Governments and Markets. Toward a New Theory of Regulation*, Cambridge University Press:13-51
  - Thatcher, M., and D. Coen (2008), 'Reshaping European Regulatory Space: An Evolutionary Analysis', *WestEuropean Politics* 31 (4): 806-836.
  - Thiel, C., W. Nijs, S. Simoes, J. Schmidt, A. van Zyl and E. Schmid (2016) 'The Impact of the EU car CO2 Regulation on the Energy and the Role of Electro-mobility to Achieve Transport Decarbonisation', *Energy Policy* 96: 153-166.
  - Walby, S., (1999) 'The New Regulatory State: the Social Powers of the European Union', *British Journal of Political Science* 50 (1): 118-140.

### Questions:

- To what extent is the removal of legal and physical barriers a sufficient condition to create a single market?
- Is there any relationship between efficiency, distributive justice and regulation?
- To what extent do regulatory policies in the EU have little to do with correcting market failure?
- Do member states still remain key actors of the regulatory policies?
- Who have been the winners (so far) of the regulatory (liberalization) policies implemented according to the SEM?
- How does the design of decision making shape regulatory policy outcomes?
- What are the conditions that determine whether EU competition policy is free market or interventionist?
- What has been the impact of the single market on national economic governance? Is there a bureaucratic drift?

## 5. Public Policies: Economic and Monetary Union

The Political Economy of Monetary Union (EMU) – Development of EMU in Europe – Explaining Economic and Monetary Union - Monetary and Economic Policy in EMU (National fiscal policies – European fiscal policies – Labour market flexibility)

### Required Readings:

- Hix, S. and B. Hoyland (2011) 'Economic and Monetary Union', in *The Political System of the EU*, pp. 264-292.
- Artis, M. (2006) 'What do we know about Currency Unions?', Bank of England Quarterly Bulletin, Summer 2006.

### Further Readings:

- Adams, M., F. Fabbrini and P. Larouche, (2014) *The Constitutionalization of European Budgetary Constraints*, Oxford: Hart Publishing.
- Arestis, P., and M. Sawyer, 2011, 'The Design Faults of the Economic and Monetary Union', *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 19 (1): 21-32.
- Banducci, S., J. Karp and P. Loedel (2009), 'Economic Interests and Public Support for the Euro', *Journal of European Public Policy* 16 (4): 564-581.
- Bernanke, B., and F. Mishkin (1997), 'Inflation Targeting: A New Framework for Monetary Policy?' *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 11(2): 97-116.
- Bolukbasi, H., (2009), 'On Consensus, Constraint and Choice: Economic and Monetary Integration and Europe's Welfare States', *Journal of European Public Policy* 16 (4): 527-544.
- Brown, B., (2010), *Euro Crash. The Implications of Monetary Failure in Europe*. Palgrave.
- Bulmer, S., (2014) 'Germany and the Eurozone Crisis: Between Hegemony and Domestic Politics', *West European Politics* 37 (6): 1244-1263.
- Crowe, C., and E. Meade (2007), 'The Evolution of Central Bank Governance around the World', *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 21 (4): 69-90.
- Cottarelli, C., and M. Guerguil (edt), (2014) *Designing a European Fiscal Union. Lessons from the Experience of Fiscal Federations*, London: Routledge.
- Crum, B., (2013), 'Saving the Euro at the Cost of Democracy?', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51 (4): 614-630.
- De Grauwe, P, (2014), *Economics of Monetary Union*, Oxford University Press.
- Drudi, F., A. Durré and F. P. Mongelli, 2012, 'The Interplay of Economic Reforms and Monetary Policy: The Case of the Eurozone', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50:6: 881- 898.
- Enderlein, H., and A. Verdum (2009), 'EMU's Teenage Challenge: What Have we Learned and Can we Predict from Political Science?', *Journal of European Public Policy* 16 (4): 490-507.
- Feldstein, M., (1997) 'The Political Economy of the European Economic and Monetary Union: Political Sources of an Economic Liability', *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 11 (4): 23-42.
- Forder, J., (2005) 'Why is Central Bank independence so widely approved?', *Journal of Economic Issues* 39 (4): 843-865.
- Grahl, J., (2011) 'Crisis in the Eurozone' *Soundings* 47.
- Hall, P., and R.I Franzese, (1998) 'Mixed Signals: Central Bank Independence, Coordinated Bargaining and European Monetary Union', *International Organization* 52 (3) 505-535.
- Hall, P., (2014) 'Varieties of Capitalism and the Euro Crisis', *West European Politics* 37 (6): 1223-1243.
- Hovarth, J., and A. Ratafi, (2004), 'Supply and Demand Shocks in Accession Countries to the Economic and Monetary Union', *Journal of Comparative Economics* 32: 202-211.
- Howarth, D. (2007), 'Running and Enlarged Euro-zone: Reforming the ECB: Efficiency, Legitimacy and National Economic Interest', *Review of International Political Economy* 14: 5(820-841).
- Kapounek, S., and L. Lacina (2009), 'The European Central Bank Inflation Target and Economic Growth in the Eurozone', in *The Economic Performance of the EU*, Palgrave, pp. 23- 41.
- Lane, P., (2006) 'The Real Effects of the EMU', *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 20 (4): 47- 66.
- Mathieu, C., and H. Sterdyniak, (2008) 'How to Deal with Economic Divergencies in the EMU?', in *Fiscal Policy in the EU*, Palgrave, pp. 157-183.
- McKay, D. (1999) 'The Political Sustainability of EMU', *British Journal of Political Science* 29, 463-485.
- Mongelli, F., (2005) 'What is the European Economic Monetary Union Telling us About the Properties of Optimum Currency Areas?', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 43 (3): 607-635.

- Moravcsik, A. (1998) 'Negotiating the Maastricht Treaty 1988-1991', in *The Choice for Europe*, pp. 379- 471.
- Moravcsik, 2012, 'Europe After the Crisis. How to Sustain A Common Currency', Foreign Affairs,
- Murlon-Druol, E., 2011, 'The Euro Crisis: A Historical Perspective', LSE (London School of Economics and Political Sciences) Ideas Strategic Reports No. SU00.
- Murlon-Druol, E., (2014) 'Don't Blame the Euro: Historical Reflections on the Roots of the Eurozone Crisis', *WestEuropean Politics* 37 (6): 1282-1296.
- Rodriguez Pose, A., and U. Fratesi. 2004. 'Between Development and Social Policies: The Impact of European Structural Funds in Objective 1 regions. *Regional Studies* 38: 97-113.
- Rogers, J., (2007) 'Monetary Union, Price Level Convergence and Inflation: How Close is Europe to the USA?', *Journal of Monetary Economics* 54: 785-796.
- Schäfer, D, (2016) 'A Banking Union of Ideas? The Impact of Ordoliberalism and the Vicious Circle on the EU Banking Union, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54 (4): 961-980.
- Rose, A., and E. Van Wincoop, (2001) 'National Money as a Barrier to International Trade: The Real Case for Currency Union', *The American Economic Review* 91 (2): 386-390.
- Saint-Paul, Gilles. (2004), Why are the European Countries Diverging in their Unemployment Experience?, *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 18 (4): 49-68.
- Sondermann, D., (2014) 'Productivity in the Euro Area: Any Evidence of Convergence'?, *Empirical Economics* 47 (3): 999-1027.
- Wihlborg, C., T. Willet and N. Zhang, (2010), 'The Euro Debt Crisis. It isn't just fiscal', *WorldEconomics* 11(4): 51-77.
- Young B., and W. Semmler (2011) 'The European Sovereign Debt Crisis: Is Germany to Blame?' *German Politics and Society* 29 (1): 1-24.

#### Questions:

- Can you identify any problems with the institutional design of the ECB?
- How does the design of decision-making inside the ECB shape monetary policy outcomes?
- What is the implication of EMU on collective bargaining between employers and trade unions?
- How might EMU influence economic and welfare policies implemented by the member states?
- Is the EU to blame for the high level of unemployment in Europe? To what extent is EU policy giving priority to price stability over employment policies?
- Is there a collective action problem in the implementation of monetarian and macroeconomic policies in the EU?

#### 6. Public Policies: Expenditure Policies

Theories of Public Expenditure and Redistribution – The Common Agriculture Policy – Cohesion Policy – Other Internal Policies (research, development, infrastructure, social integration) – Explaining EU Expenditure Policies

#### Required Readings:

- De Rynck, S., and P. McAleavey (2001) 'The Cohesion Deficit in Structural Fund Policy', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 8,4, 541-557
- Hix, S., and B. Hoyland (2011) 'Expenditure Policies', in *The Political System of the EU*, pp. 233-263.

#### Further Readings:

- Bachtler, John, (2016), *EU Cohesion in Practice*, Rowman & Littlefield.
- Bachtler, J., and C. Mendez (2007), 'Who Governs EU Cohesion Policy? Deconstructing the Reforms of the Structural Funds', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45 (3): 535-564.
- Bachtler, J., and G. Gorzelack (2007) 'Reforming EU Cohesion Policy: A Reappraisal of the Performance of the Structural Funds', *Policy Studies* 28 (4): 309-326.
- Becker, S, P. Egger and M. Von Ehrlich (2010), 'Going NUTS: The Effect of EU Structural Funds on Regional Performance', *Journal of Public Economics* 94: 578-590.
- Becker, S, P. Egger and M. Von Ehrlich (2012), 'Too much of a good thing? On the Growth effects of the EU's Regional Policy', *European Economic Review* 56: 648-668.
- Begg, I., (2003), 'Complementing EMU: Rethinking Cohesion Policy', *Oxford Review of Economic*



## Policy

19 (1): 161-179.

- Beugelsdijk, M and S. Eijffinger (2005), 'The Effectiveness of Structural Policy in the EU: an Empirical Analysis for the EU 15 in 1995-2001', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 43 (1): 37- 51.
- Bouvet F., and S. Dall' Erba (2010) 'European Regional Structural Funds: How Large is the Influence of Politics on the Allocation Process?', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48 (3): 501-528.
- Blom-Hansen, J. 2005. Principals, Agents and the Implementation of EU Cohesion Policy, *Journal of European Public Policy* 12(4): 624-648.
- Cappelen, A., F. Castellacci, J. Fagerberg, and B. Verspagen, (2003), 'The Impact of EU Regional Support on Growth and Convergence in the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 41 (4): 621-644.
- Chalmers, A W., (2013) 'Regional Authority, Transnational Lobbying and the Allocation of Structural Funds in the EU', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51 (5): 815-831.
- Dellmuth L.M. (2011), 'The Cash Divide: The Allocation of EU Regional Grants', *Journal of European Public Policy* 18 (7): 1016-1033.
- Dellmuth, LM and M. Stoffel (2012) 'Distributive Politics and Intergovernmental Transfers: The Local Allocation of EU Structural Funds', *European Union Politics* 13 (3): 413-433.
- Dotti, N F (2015) 'Unwritten Factors Affecting Structural Funds: The Influence of Regional Political Behaviours on the Implementation of EU Cohesion', *European Planning Studies* 1-17.
- Ferrara, M., (2009) 'National Welfare States and European Integration: In Search of a 'Virtuous Nesting',

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- Piattoni, S., (2010), 'The Development of Structural Funds: A Success Story? In Conzelmann, Thomas and Randall Smith (eds.), *Multi-level Governance in the EU: Taking Stock and Looking Ahead*, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden Baden 73-92.
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- Rumford, Chris, (2000), 'European Cohesion? Globalization, Autonomization, and the Dynamics of EU integration', *Innovation*, 13 (2): 183-197.
- Scharpf, F., (2010) 'The Asymmetry of European Integration or why the EU cannot be a social market economy?', *Socio-economic Review* 8: 211-250.
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- Scharpf, F. (1997) 'Economic Integration, Democracy and the Welfare State', *Journal of European Public Policy* 4 (1): 18-36.
- Tosun, J., (2014), 'Absorption of Regional Funds: A Comparative Analysis, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52 (2): 371-387.

## Questions:

- To what extent do redistribution policies depend on the interests of political decision-makers, the political power of organized interests and/or the decision rules of budget decision-making?

- The more budget the more integration?
  - To what extent do redistribution policies have reduced social and economic disparities in the EU member states?
  - How strong are transnational interests such as class in cohesion policies?
  - To what extent are cohesion policies the answer of the EU political system to the demands for a 'European Social Model'?
  - How important is the Commission in shaping EU cohesion policies?
  - How relevant are regions and sub-national interests in shaping EU cohesion policies?
  - Can the EU be a social market economy?
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- What explains the decline of agriculture and the rise of cohesion expending?

## 7. Public Policies: Citizen Policies

Theory of Citizenship – Economic Rights – Social Rights – Political Rights – Democratic Citizenship in the EU - An Evaluation of Citizen Policies in the European Union

Required Readings:

- Weale, A. (2005) 'The European Transformation', 'Democratic Citizenship' and 'Social Rights Beyond the Single Market?', in *Democratic Citizenship and the European Union*, Manchester University Press, pp. 1- 37 and 58-78.
- Bellamy, R., (2008) 'Evaluating Union Citizenship: Belonging, Rights and Participation within the EU', *Citizenship Studies* 12 (6): 597-611.

Further Readings:

- Abrahamson, P. (2010), 'European Welfare States Beyond Neoliberalism: Toward the Social Investment State', *Development and Society* 39 (1): 69-95.
- Arregui, J. (2012) 'Problemas de Legitimidad Democrática, Representación y Rendimiento de Cuentas en el Proceso Político de la UE', *Cuadernos Europeos de Deusto* 46: 85-112.
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- Beiner, R., (1995), *Theorizing Citizenship*, State University of New York Press.
- Bee, C., (2008) 'The Institutionally Constructed European Identity: Citizenship and Public Sphere Narrated by the Commission', *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 9 (4): 431- 450.
- Crouch, C., J. Eder and D. Tambini, (2001), *Citizenship, Markets and the State*, Oxford University Press.
- Davies, J., (2011), *The European Consumer Citizen in Law and Policy*. Palgrave Macmillan.
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- Goudappel, F., (2010) *The Effects of EU Citizenship. Economic, Social and Political Rights in a Time of Constitutional Change*, Asser Press.
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- Kostakopoulou, T., (1998) 'European Union Citizenship as a Model of Citizenship Beyond the Nation State: Possibilities and Limits', in *Political Theory and the European Union*, Routledge pp. 158-171.
- Kuhn, T., and F. Stoeckel, (2014), 'When European Integration Becomes Costly: the Euro Crisis and Public Support for European Economic Governance', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21 (4): 624-641,
- Maas, Willem, 2007, *Creating European Citizens*, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Majone, G. (2010), 'Transaction-cost efficiency and the Democratic Deficit', *Journal of European Public Policy* 17 (2): 150-175.
- McMahon, S., (2012), 'Assessing the Impact of EU Citizenship: The Status and Rights of Romanian Nationals in Italy', *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 20 (2): 199-214.
- Martinsen, D. S., (2005) 'The Europeanization of Welfare – The Domestic Impact of Intra-

European Social Security`, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 43 (5): 1027-1054.

- Morjé, M., (2005) `Variation in Dual Citizenship Policies in the Countries of the European Union`, *International Migration Review* 39 (3): 697-720.
- Mueller, D., (2004), `Rights and Citizenship in the European Union`, in *A Constitution for the European Union*, edit. By Ch. Blankart and D. Mueller, The MIT Press pp 61-84.
- O'Connor, J. S. (2005) `Policy Coordination, Social Indicators and the Social Policy Agenda in the European Union`, *Journal of European Social Policy* 15 (4): 345-361.
- Olsen, E., (2008), `The Origins of European Citizenship in the first two decades of European Integration`, *Journal of European Public Policy* 15 (1): 40-57.
- Olsen, E. (2013) `European Citizenship: Mixing Nation State and Federal Features with a Cosmopolitan Twist`, *Perspectives on European Politics & Society* 14 (4): 505-519.
- Papazoglou, M., (2010) `Assessing Models of Citizenship in the EU: the idea of responsive citizenship`, *Citizenship Studies* 14 (2): 221-236.
- Sasse, G., (2005) `EU Conditionality and Minority Rights: Translating the Copenhagen Criterion into Policy`, *European University Institute*, RSCAS No. 2005/16.
- Staiger, U., (2009), `New Agendas? Culture and Citizenship in EU Policy`, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 15(1): 1-16.
- Thym, D., (2015), `The Elusive Limits of Solidarity: Residence Rights of and Social Benefits for Economically Inactive Union Citizens`, *Common Market Law Review* 52: 17-50.
- Van Deth, J, (2009) `The good European citizen: congruence and consequences of different points of view`, *European Political Sciences* 8: 175-189.
- Warleigh, A., (2003) `Demos Construction: The Arrested Development of European Citizenship`, in *Democracy in the European Union*, Sage, pp. 109-120.
- Warleigh, A., (2006) `Making Citizens from the Market? NGOs and the Representation of Interests`, in *Making European Citizens. Civic Inclusion in a Transnational Context*, Palgrave, pp. 118-132.
- Weale, A., (1998), `Between Representation and Constitutionalism in the EU` in *Political Theory and the European Union*, Routledge pp. 49-62.
- Weale, A., (2005) *Democratic Citizenship and the European Union*, Manchester University Press.
- Kahanec, M., and A. Zaiceva. 2009. `Labour Market Outcomes of Immigrants and Non-Citizens in the EU`, *International Journal of Manpower* 30: 97-115.

**Questions:**

- What are the advantages and disadvantages of European Integration for the EU citizens?
- Why and how do European integration and the accompanying growth of supranational political authority pose a problem of political legitimacy?
- What features of the European project make it seem problematic from the point of view of the principles of democratic citizenship?
- Is the constitution of a public sphere possible?
- Why are policies to promote the free movement of persons less advanced than policies to promote the free movement of goods, services and capital?
- Given the value and importance of social citizenship, what reasons might citizens who were supportive of democratic welfare states have for favouring European integration?

**Tutorial sessions**

Students must discuss and consult the topic of her paper with Professor Arregui individually in tutorial sessions. These sessions will be from 9h to 12h.

**STRUCTURE OF PROGRAMMING OF ACTIVITIES**

	Activity in the classroom	Activity outside the classroom	Assessment activities
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Week	Learning activities	Didactic resources	Time scheduled	Learning activities	Didactic resources	Time scheduled	Items for assessment	Esti time
1	Lecture	Readings	3 hours*		Readings	2 hours	Participation	
2	Seminar	Readings	3 hours*		Readings	2 hours	Presentation/Participation	
3	Seminar	Readings	3 hours*		Readings	2 hours	Presentation/Participation	
4	Seminar	Readings	3 hours*		Readings	2 hours	Presentation/Participation	
5	Seminar	Readings	3 hours*		Readings	2 hours	Presentation/Participation	
6	Seminar	Readings	3 hours*		Readings	2 hours	Presentation/Participation	
7	Seminar	Readings	3 hours*		Readings	2 hours	Presentation/Participation	
8	Individual tutorial sessions		30 min				Paper	
9	Individual tutorial sessions		30 min				Paper	25 h
10	Individual tutorial sessions		30 min				Paper	

\*Break. 15 min

## Evaluation and grading system

The course requirements include:

**Weekly discussion of readings [20 percent of grade]:** Students are expected to complete the assigned readings prior to coming to class and to contribute to discussion during seminar. Active learning is at the heart of what we do in this course. That is, during lectures and/or seminars, I will pose questions, to encourage student participation and developing critical thinking. The estimated time to prepare for each session should be no less than 2 hours.

**Presentations [20 percent of grade]:** Every week, there will be one or two student presentations on questions that are posed in the syllabus. The presentations should last between 20 - 30 minutes. Each student must make at least one presentation. The estimated time to prepare each presentation should be no less than 2 or 3 hours.

A presentation should familiarize you and your fellow students with the important themes and concepts from a particular section. You must assume that the rest of the class has read the required readings and build on that shared knowledge. Anyone that merely summarizes the readings will receive a lower grade. Those that analyze and apply (theories from) the readings will receive a higher grade. More specifically, in your presentation you will discuss the importance of your topic, consider alternative explanations and answers from different approaches, describe conceptual issues that must be addressed by work on the question, describe the central arguments in the literature on the question, and/or analyze the importance of the theories for the future of European democracy.

Furthermore, in the presentations I will be looking at aspects such as : 1) Clarity: Does the presentation analyze the themes and concepts clearly and concisely?; 2) Creativity: Do you present the material in an interesting manner? Are the examples relevant?; 3) Correctness: How well did you understand the concepts and themes? Did you include the most important elements?

**Original research paper [60 percent of grade]:** Each student has to write an original research paper on some aspect about how and why the modes of governance in Europe (and its institutions) influence the outputs of the implemented EU policies. Students should discuss potential topics with Professor Arregui during the course. Each student must pose a relevant research question and to explain concisely how this question will be addressed. At

the same time, this preliminary project should also include a preliminary list with the related literature students are planning to use. The estimated time to write the research paper is 25 hours.